

JOURNAL OF

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Summer–Winter 1997

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## Introduction

The essays in this issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* were originally presented in March 1994 at a conference held at the Pennsylvania State University. The conference marked the two-hundredth anniversary of the death of Hryhorii Skovoroda, the first great Slavic philosopher and, as Nobel laureate Joseph Brodsky has remarked, the first great Slavic poet. Despite extraordinary renown in his native Ukraine and in Russia, not much is known about Skovoroda in the West. One of the conference participants, Professor George L. Kline, pioneered Skovoroda studies in the English-speaking world with his published translation of an excerpt from Skovoroda's "Conversation with Five Travelers on the Meaning of Happiness." He also supervised several dissertations and theses on Skovoroda, including an M.A. thesis by Dr. Taras Zakydalsky, another conference participant. Professor Dan Chopyk translated Skovoroda's *Fables and Aphorisms* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990). And recently the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press published *Hryhorij Savyč Skovoroda: An Anthology of Critical Articles* (1994) on aspects of Skovoroda's life and works.

The relative dearth of critical work on Skovoroda in the West may have resulted from the inaccessibility of many of his seminal texts to the English reader. I am pleased to say that in the near future the Pennsylvania State University Press will be publishing *The Selected Works of Hryhory Skovoroda: Philosopher and Poet* in English translation under my editorship. This volume will, in part, remedy the textual problem and, I hope, spark interest in Skovoroda, especially among comparatists who will be able to read a large portion of his works for the first time. Skovoroda's Socratic message of knowing thyself and his message of finding inner spiritual peace through love and harmony with the world around us is surely one that is apropos, particularly in a world so obsessed with materialism and personal gain.

The essays in this issue range from the placement of Skovoroda in a comparative philosophical context to in-depth analyses of ideas, themes, and works in his oeuvre. The reception of Skovoroda in Ukraine and Russia marks a particular contribution of several of these essays. The myth of Skovoroda as an itinerant philosopher who had renounced worldly things seems at times to have loomed larger than his works themselves. Both the man and his message deserve equal stature, and it is time for his writings to take their rightful place

in the history of world philosophy. These essays and the forthcoming publication of Skovoroda's writings in English should contribute to the attainment of this goal.

I am thankful to a number of organizations and individuals for making the Skovoroda conference and the publication of Skovoroda's works possible. At the Pennsylvania State University these include the Woskob Fund for Ukrainian Studies, the Myroslawa and Iwan Iwanciw Fund for Ukrainian Studies, the Liberal Arts Office of Research and Graduate Studies, and the Department of Slavic and East European Languages. Many other organizations and individuals kindly contributed to the Lesia Ukrainka Publication Fund at the University to support our efforts: the Self-Reliance Federal Credit Union (New York), Self-Reliance Federal Credit Union (Newark, N.J.), Self-Reliance Federal Credit Union (Hartford, Conn.), Ukrainian Fraternal Association, Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, Ukrainian Future Credit Union (Warren, Mich.), Rochester Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, and Ukrainian Credit Union (Minneapolis); and Mr. Peter and Mrs. Katerine Caruk, Ms. Mary Chimow, Mr. Longen and Mrs. Marian Chuchman, Dr. Bohdan Chudio, Mr. Adrian Dolinsky, Mr. Paul and Mrs. Irene Dzul, Ms. Olga Fedirko, Mr. Joseph Gellner, Mr. Michael Hlady, Mr. Michael and Mrs. Mary Hojsan, Ms. Maria Iskiw, Ms. Daria Kozak, Mr. Wasyl and Mrs. Anna Makuch, Mr. John Orichosky, Mr. Jaroslav and Mrs. Jaroslava Panchuk, Dr. Julian and Mrs. Myroslawa Pawlyszyn, Mr. Michael Tansky, Mr. Dmytro and Mrs. Helen Tataryn, Ms. Lana Tonkoschkur, Mr. Peter Twerdochlib, Mr. George and Mrs. Nina Woskob, Mr. Roman Zaharchuk, Mr. Carl Zapotny, and other, anonymous donors.

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Michael M. Naydan

## Skovoroda as *Philosophus Ludens*

Taras D. Zakydalsky

Towards the end of his life, Hryhorii Skovoroda summed up his existence in a dedicatory letter to Mykhailo Kovalynsky:

Many ask, what is Skovoroda doing with his life? How is he amusing himself? I rejoice in the Lord. I delight in God, my Saviour. Play, in Latin *oblectatio*, in Greek *diatribe*, in Slavonic *hlum* or *hlumlenie*, is the head, top, flower, and seed of human life. It is the centre of every life. All the activities of every life lead to this like a stem transformed into a seed. There are some who live without a centre, like sailing men without a harbour. But I am not speaking of the depraved. Everyone, as you see, likes his amusement. As for me, I am amusing myself with the commandments of *the Eternal One*. You know how I love Him and how He loves me. You ask, how can the Ten Commandments be enough for an amusement of many years? Phooey! Even if I had twice the years of Methuselah they would suffice. (1: 307)<sup>1</sup>

The full significance of this passage can be brought out only by relating it to critical events in Skovoroda's life, the basic features of his personality, and his philosophical doctrine of congenial work. To examine these issues I shall employ the concepts of game, work, play, and toil, all of which need to be clarified.

I propose to use these concepts in a somewhat wider and more precise sense in which they are commonly used. To get to their meaning I treat them as two pairs of opposites, contrasting game with work, and play with toil. Games are activities that are rule-defined. The rules may be vague and unformulated as they are in imitation games improvised by children. If they have an end or goal such as winning or achieving a certain score, the end is defined by the rules of the game and has no significance outside the game. Because of their logical

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1. All references to Skovoroda's works are to his *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, 2 vols., ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973). I thank George L. Kline for bringing a number of initial errors in my translations of Skovoroda to my attention.

structure, what is important in games is not the end result but how one plays them. This is why we remind people who put too much store in winning that their activity is only a game. Since it is the activity itself, not the outcome, that is important, the only natural or appropriate reason for participating in a game is that we enjoy playing it. Any other reason—material reward, fame, or influence—is external to the game.

Work, on the other hand, is end-defined. To call an activity work is to say that it is defined by a certain result, not by a set of rules or procedures. Boat-building is defined by the product it produces, not by a set of operations. The activity consists of procedures or methods that are causally, not logically, linked to the goal. Since the means can be defined independently of the end, they can change without changing the nature of the activity. Thus, the techniques of boat-building may vary, yet the activity continues to be defined as boat-building. Since it is the end result that is essential to work, to treat the result as something secondary and less important than the activity by which it is attained is to treat work as a game. Although the products of certain activities are not as tangible and definite as those of boat-building, by conceptualizing them as work we recognize the logical primacy of the end in their description. To call philosophical or scientific research “work” is to say that the end of the activity—knowledge—and not the activity itself is crucial. A philosopher or scientist who cares more about his skill in solving puzzles or scoring points against his colleagues than about the advancement of knowledge treats philosophy or science merely as a game. The natural and appropriate reason to engage in work, then, is to enjoy the end that it brings about. Like games, work can be undertaken for an external reason—not for of its intrinsic end but for some other purpose. The boat-builder may have no need for or interest in boats: his work may be just a job for him, a way of earning a living.

Both games and work can occupy various position on the play-toil scale.<sup>2</sup> The distinction between play and toil hinges on the degree of enjoyment and care involved in these activities. Play in itself is activity that gives pure enjoyment, devoid of any care. The subjects are immersed totally in the pleasure of the present moment and has no awareness of the past or future. Their activity is unconstrained by any rule, purpose, standard of performance, or distinction between subject and object. This kind of consciousness is either superhuman or subhuman. It belongs either to the mystic or to an animal, but not to a normal human being. Toil, on the other hand, is activity that is weighed down with care, devoid of any enjoyment. To toil is to do something out of sheer need,

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2. The subsequent discussion is based on John Passmore, *The Perfectibility of Man* (London: Duckworth, 1970), 294–303.

obsession, or external coercion without a spark of pleasure or freedom. Unrelieved with memory or hope this is an inhuman state of dumb oppression. Our activities—games and work—fall between the poles of play and toil.

Games are usually close to the play end of the scale. But they are not unalloyed play, for they invariably involve some care. The players are constrained by the rules, even if these happen to be the vague requirements of imitation in games, or by performance standards and the moves of their opponents. Typically, a game is played simply because it is enjoyable; hence enjoyment usually outweighs the anxiety or care involved in it. But games can approach toil when they become an obsession, as they sometimes do for gamblers, or when some external purpose—monetary gain, social status, or reputation—becomes the only reason for participating in them.

Like games, work may involve different mixtures of enjoyment and care. Typically, work requires more care than a game, for it is directed to a definite outcome. One must take care to use the appropriate means to obtain the desired result. But even then one can have no guarantee of success: chance can thwart one's best efforts. This fact is another source of anxiety and an unavoidable one to boot. But at the same time work can be imbued with enjoyment. One source of enjoyment may be the activity itself. If this is the main source of enjoyment, then work approaches a game. The other source of enjoyment is the end for which the activity is undertaken. The end of an action may be regarded as a means to something else or as an end in itself. The ends of most actions are mixed. To the extent that it is regarded merely as a means, the activity is devoid of enjoyment and approaches toil. Work that is done only under internal or external coercion is viewed universally as a curse. On the other hand, activities that are regarded as ends in themselves approach what John Passmore calls love.<sup>3</sup> To love the object of one's activity is to delight in its existence, its qualities, and its growth. Work inspired by love is full of care and, at the same time, enjoyment: the mother's devotion to her child is given freely and is rewarded with joy at the child's development. The philosopher's or scientist's love for knowledge makes him care for its growth and ready to make sacrifices for it, but at the same time it brings him joy. Love is the richest human experience, because in it the tension between care and joy reaches its highest point.

Where does Skovoroda's amusement (*zabava*) belong in this conceptual scheme? Is it sheer play, a mystical experience? The language he uses in the preceding quotation is unusual for mystics, but this is not decisive. What is important is that his rejoicing in the Lord has a very specific content—the Ten Commandments. It appears, then, that his activity is some kind of contemplation

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3. Ibid., 299.

on the eternal moral law. In my scheme contemplation belongs in the category of games: the thinker is not searching for the truth, but possesses it; hence he is free of any anxiety about attaining his goal. But insofar as contemplation is a rational process, the thinker is subject to certain rules and standards, and this adds a pinch of care to his enjoyment. Judging from Skovoroda's other descriptions of his activity, however, I doubt that contemplation is the correct term to apply to it. The following story by Skovoroda provides a key to the nature of his occupation.

A hermit lived in complete solitude. Every day, as the sun rose, he entered a large garden. A beautiful and very quiet bird lived in the garden. He observed with curiosity the wonderful traits of this bird, enjoyed himself, pursued it, and thus passed the time without being aware of it. Alighting on purpose close to him, the bird encouraged his pursuit and seemed to be within reach thousands of times, but he could never catch it. "Don't grieve that you can't catch me, my friend. You will continue to pursue me all your life not in order to catch me but only to amuse yourself."

Once a friend visited him. After [they exchanged] greetings a friendly conversation sprang up [between them]. "Tell me," said the guest, "how do you amuse yourself in this sleepy wilderness? I would die here of boredom." ... "And I," said the hermit, "have two games: the bird and the *beginning*. I am always pursuing the bird, but can never catch it. I have a thousand and one silk figural knots. I seek the *beginning* in them and can never untie them.

"To me," said the guest, "your games seem childish. But if they are innocent and are capable of amusing you, I shall say good-bye." And he left his friend with his amusing *beginning*. (2: 11–12)

The bird in this story cannot be the eternal truth or the Ten Commandments, which Skovoroda already possesses, and which, according to his doctrine that what is necessary for happiness is readily accessible to everyone, should not require much effort to attain. The clue to the bird lies in the knots that Skovoroda is untying and tying throughout his works. As the word "figural" suggests, these knots are symbols of various kinds—sensible objects, images, metaphors, allegories, and fables—that point to another reality. Skovoroda amuses himself by interpreting these symbols, by setting up puzzles and solving them. In his dialogues most of the space is devoted to the allegorical interpretation of Biblical images, mythological figures, passages from the Bible or classical literature, folk tales, popular sayings, and so on. Only a small portion of the dialogues consists of philosophical discourse—the definition of concepts, the presentation of doctrines, and arguments about them. As an activity, allegorical interpretation clearly belongs to the category of games. It is not a search for new knowledge. The interpreter already knows the truth. His task is to connect the signs of one language with the signs of another language: in Skovoroda's case the symbols of the Bible and other literature with philosophical concepts. Unlike the rules governing interpretation from one natural language to another, the rules

of allegorical interpretation are extremely vague: anything may serve as the symbol of anything, and in the final analysis it does not matter what is connected with what. What matters is only how skilfully the task is performed. The more imaginative and witty the interpreter, the more surprising are the connections he makes and the wider are the network of symbols he weaves together. This kind of exercise, then, is simply a game of skill. Like all games, it amuses some people, while it leaves others wondering what is amusing about it. Most of us, I think, would agree with the judgment of the hermit's friend that the game in question is harmless but rather childish. Skovoroda, probably, would also agree.

The peaceful life devoted to studying the Bible and writing that Skovoroda enjoyed for the last thirty years of his life appears not to have been the highest thing for him. On at least two occasions he abandoned it at the call of a higher duty—the claim of friendship. In a letter to his friend and student Kovalynsky written in the summer of 1765, he gives a deeply moving account of his most intimate feelings and tries to give them a philosophical justification:

No one rejoices in friendship more than I: this is my sole joy and my treasure; what is surprising in the fact that in surrendering to grief I did not keep the proper measure. We forgive those who cry upon losing a valuable horse or abandon themselves to grief after a fire. I too must be forgiven, because I do not see the one who is dearest to me and I fear for him. All the more because the human soul and a friend, undoubtedly, are more valuable than anything else. If he were in a safer place, I would be less troubled, but he is staying in a noble's household—a den of deceit and wickedness. A person of your tender age is inexperienced and easily falls prey to deceit and immoral influence; I speak from experience and am troubled all the more—I am troubled and have a right to be troubled. For what am I to do in life, what am I to occupy my soul with, what am I to care for? To care for nothing, to be disturbed by nothing, means not to live, but to be dead, for care is the motion of the soul, and life consists of motion. Some care for one thing, others for another; as for me, I care for the souls of youths and young men who are well disposed and friendly towards me. But where there is work, there is also rest. Where there is care, there is also joy. The miser cares for gold, suffers because of gold, but sometimes also finds joy in gold, and in order to rejoice he gives in to care and rejoices exhausted by his cares. Thus I, too, love to experience anxiety over the welfare of my friends in order to know also joy sometimes, although I already know it now. For what can be sweeter than having a good soul love and long for you? What can be more pleasant than the love of a friend? I do not value any gift if it is not tied to love and benevolence. For me there is nothing dearer or sweeter than a soul that loves me, although I might lack everything else. As for my care and joys and fame, and I would say life, including eternal life—what is it? A friendly soul, a soul that loves me, a soul that remembers me. I value it more than the pyramids, mausoleums, and other royal monuments. And what is nobler than a noble soul, and more eternal?... For it was for your sake, to be quite honest, for your sake alone, that I left my peace that was so pleasant for me, cast myself onto the waves of life, for two years suffered so much hostility, encountered such calumny, such enmity. No archimandrite, no hegumen of a monastery, would have torn me away from the sweetest peace to the detriment of

my reputation and health if I had not seen you long before their entreaties and demands and if my soul had not fallen in love with you at first sight. (2: 350–1)

What a powerful expression this is of the state that John Passmore calls love, and how surprising it is that Skovoroda prefers it to the state of quiet and restful enjoyment. He attempts to justify his preference by referring to the contradictory nature of life and the beauty of the beloved's soul, but is this justification convincing in the context of his philosophy?

The doctrine of congenial work is the most developed part of Skovoroda's philosophical system and the central core of his moral teachings. According to this doctrine God assigns to each individual a certain innate task that is, on the one hand, sufficient for the individual's happiness and, on the other, useful to the common good. No matter what goods one might possess, a life devoid of congenial work is a torment; on the other hand, a life devoted to one's natural task, no matter how hard and demanding, is happy.

Look how blessed nature governs things and learn from it. Ask your swift hound when is it gladdest? "When I am chasing a hare," it replies. When is the hare tastiest? "When I am chasing it," the hunter replies.

Look at the cat sitting in front of you. When is it in the best mood? When it wanders all night or sits outside a hole. Even if it catches a mouse the cat does not eat it. Lock up a bee with an abundant supply of honey: won't it die of yearning during the season when it can fly through the flowering meadows? What is sadder than to wallow in abundance and suffer deadly torment without congenial work? Nothing is more unbearable than to be of an indisposed mind, and without congenial work the mind is indisposed. And nothing is more enjoyable than to live according to nature. Bodily labour, bodily pain, and even bodily death are sweet when the soul, the mistress of the body, delights in congenial work. One must either live in this way or die. (1: 126–7)

It is clear from this passage and many similar ones that the enjoyment derived from pursuing one's natural vocation has nothing to do with the end or purpose of the activity. It comes from the activity itself. The hardships one encounters in the course of doing one's congenial work are obstacles to the activity, not failures to attain the expected end. But to treat work in this way is to treat it as a game. Natural vocations are like roles in a play assigned to different actors by a supreme director. "The wise creator has determined both the main characters and the lowly masks in the important comedy of this life" (2: 388). As in a game, what matters in a dramatic play is how the actors perform their roles, not what results they achieve, for they, of course, achieve nothing.

The doctrine of congenial work serves as the foundation of Skovoroda's social philosophy. Each society is provided with the right kind and right number of vocations for its perfect operation. "There are as many vocations as there are stations in life" (1: 424). If only every member of society followed the vocation assigned to him by providential nature, society would operate as smoothly as a

clock mechanism in which every part moves according to the designer's plan (1: 417). Skovoroda conceived of society as a vast system of interlocking roles or activities driven not by human needs but by a plan set by nature. It is enough that its members, like the wheels and cogs of a clock, merely perform certain motions; what these motions accomplish, if anything, is irrelevant.

This is perfectly consistent with Skovoroda's metaphysical doctrine. The work of most people is concerned with the production of material goods that are necessary to meet human needs. For Skovoroda physical things in general, whether they are the products of labour or not, have very little value. This is evident from the epithets he applies to sensible, perishable things: they are mere shadow, dust, ashes, earth, emptiness, nothingness (1: 175), sand, death, darkness, bile, anger, hell, grass, leaves, a dream, and a fading flower (1: 177). He does not reject sensible objects as evil. He recognizes that some things are necessary for human life, but he misreads the relation of work to the production of the necessities of life. According to his doctrine of providential nature, it is nature or God that provides what is necessary not only for life, but for happiness. This implies that there is no causal link between labour and its products. What happens, rather, is that human beings perform the roles assigned to them by nature, and nature supplies them with the necessities of life. Thus, in Skovoroda's analysis, the productive activities that are paradigms of work turn out to be games.

Even if the doctrine of providential nature were removed from Skovoroda's system, there would still be no room for a concept of work in it. The reason for this is that our finite, temporal existence is a rather insignificant thing in the context of his philosophy. Compared to eternity, the brief life of the individual in this sensible world is as important as the mushrooms in Skovoroda's metaphor: "Necessity is universal and eternal. God and wisdom are without beginning. What was born yesterday with the mushrooms is simply good-for-nothing" (1: 377). What is true of all finite, temporal things is true of human life as well. This is stated quite explicitly by Skovoroda:

"Oh, all things that abandon us do not belong to us. Even if they stay with us until they abandon us. But we know that all of them are unfaithful friends. One man dies at thirty, another at the age three hundred. If to die is a misfortune, then both [of them] deserve pity. For a prisoner who is to die in thirty days it is no great comfort that others will be dragged to the scaffold in three hours. What do I care for health that ends in illness? What do I care for youth that gives birth to old age? Oh, don't call it sweetness if it gives birth to suffering. Don't take anything that comes to an end as permanent. Don't call anything that people reject happiness. Judge everything by its fruit and end. I do not love life that is marked by death, life that is itself death. (1: 264)

It is clear now why the concept of work cannot do any work in Skovoroda's system. Work, in the full sense of the term, derives its importance from its

relation to human needs. The activities we call work are all related, directly or indirectly, to the sustenance, development, and fulfilment of human beings. If human existence is drained of value, there is no purpose to work, which by its nature is purposeful activity. Thus, in Skovoroda's system there can be room only for games, not work.

But is there any room for friendship? Is there any way Skovoroda can justify the trouble he takes to educate his young friend Mykhailo and to save him from the den of sinners? As we saw in the quotation above, Skovoroda tries to justify his action by referring to the good of Kovalynsky's soul, which is threatened by corruption and sin. But of what consequence is vice in Skovoroda's philosophy? The immediate and only effect of vice is misery, torment, and unhappiness. Skovoroda says nothing about the soul's existence after death, but he explicitly denies any kind of judgment, reward, or punishment in the afterlife (2: 470–1). Heaven and hell, according to him, are within human beings (1: 87) and exist in this life (2: 135). The worst that could possibly happen to Mykhailo, then, would be for him to lose his virtue and happiness. For Mykhailo the finite individual with a brief but promising life before him, this would be a total disaster; but for Mykhailo the eternal soul, a moment of earthly misery is as insignificant as a moment of happiness. It was not Skovoroda's philosophy, but his common sense and genuine love, that prompted him to come to Kovalynsky's rescue. Had he acted consistently with his philosophy, Skovoroda would have stayed in his retreat, amusing himself with his knots and birds.

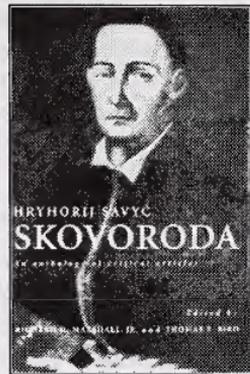
If earthly life and happiness are insignificant in Skovoroda's system of thought, then the question arises: what is the point of his system? Skovoroda claimed that his philosophy is a sure guide to happiness, the kind of happiness, of course, that he describes in his system. I see no reason to challenge this claim. His philosophy is a tightly woven system that can deliver what it promises. And although the happiness it promises may be less than we expected, it is not to be dismissed lightly. Even if our eternal soul judges this life and its highest good to be insignificant, to us, finite individuals stuck in this life, happiness is much preferable to misery. Following Skovoroda's guidance, we may discover our natural vocation in life and pass the time playing our little game, whatever it might be—quietly, peacefully, without interfering in the games of other people. One could do a lot worse. It is not surprising that Skovoroda held Epicurus in high esteem. Although the two philosophers begin with very different metaphysical premises, they conclude with similar practical conclusions.

I have shown that Skovoroda did not always live up to his philosophy. Our *philosophus ludens* realized on several occasions that life was too precious to be treated as a game, and abandoned his pleasant pastime to engage in real work—a labour of love. At critical moments in their life, it is not unusual among philosophers to step outside the systems they constructed. In doing so they demonstrate

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that “there are more things in heaven and earth ... than are dreamt of in ... [their] philosophy.”

# *Hryhorij Savyč Skovoroda* An Anthology of Critical Articles



Edited by Richard H. Marshall, Jr. and  
Thomas E. Bird

Hryhorij Skovoroda (1722–1794) is a major figure in the history of Ukrainian and Russian literature and philosophy. Educated at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, he served variously as music director of the Russian imperial mission in Hungary, private tutor, and instructor of ethics and poetics at the Xarkiv Collegium. The last decades of his life, which he spent wandering about eastern Ukraine, were devoted to writing and contemplation.

Skovoroda's writings—verse, fables and philosophical dialogues—are profoundly steeped in Biblical tradition and characterized by the striking use of symbol and metaphor, as well as sophisticated linguistic experimentation. His influence on Ukrainian and Russian writers began in his own lifetime and has continued and grown ever since. It is strongly evident in the works of such figures as Taras Ševčenko, Nikolaj Gogol', Andrej Belyj and Vasyl' Barka, among others. Skovoroda is an indelible presence in the realms of philosophy, literature, religion and linguistics. Yet he is inadequately appreciated, particularly in the West.

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# Skovoroda's Divine Narcissism

Natalia Pylypiuk

*My heart overflows with a goodly theme; I  
address my verses to the king, my tongue  
is like the pen of a ready scribe.*

Psalms 45:1

*I will pour my heart out, speech is  
a good [gift], my tongue is a reed ...*

Skovoroda<sup>1</sup>

The year 1798 saw the publication in St. Petersburg of an anonymous book entitled *Бібліотека духовная, содержащая в себе дружескія бесѣды о познаніи самого себе* (Spiritual Library Containing Friendly Conversations on Cognition of the Self).<sup>2</sup> Comprising an incomplete version of *Наркісс. Разглагол о том: узнай себе* (The Narcissus. A Deliberation on the Topic: Know Thyself),<sup>3</sup> this was the earliest printed edition of a work by Hryhorii Skovoroda (1722–94). *The Narcissus* is the first major prose composition by the last significant author educated at the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium. It represents a highly

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1. The second passage is Kvatrat's contribution to the first "Symphony" of *The Narcissus. A Deliberation on the Topic: Know Thyself*: "Отрыгну сердце мое, слово благо, язык мой — трость..." Skovoroda is drawing from a Slavonic version of the Bible, in which the word "reed" refers to a writing tool. Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, vol. 1, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 196. All subsequent citations of Skovoroda's works are also drawn from this two-volume edition.

2. The publication was the effort of Mykhailo Antonovsky (1759–1816), a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium (1772) and Moscow University (1779–83). He worked as a librarian in St. Petersburg and wrote a history of "Little Russia" (i.e., Ukraine, 1799).

3. Henceforth *The Narcissus*.

original and individualistic transfiguration of the divine Literature, which in a Slavonic redaction had served—along with its secular and Latin-language counterpart, *The Aeneid*—as the pre-eminent illustrative material of Mohylian poetical and rhetorical theory.

That very year saw the release, also in St. Petersburg, of the first three parts of Ivan Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* (The Aeneid), a mock-heroic treatment of Vergil's famous epic. For many readers this work marked a definitive rupture with the past by elevating the Ukrainian vernacular as the medium of artistic expression and celebrating, albeit satirically, the secular ethos of the Cossack gentry. Both publications portended the printed existence of Ukrainian belles lettres. Moreover, each constituted a unique transformation of the theory of style that—through its codification in the neo-Latin manuals of the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium—had delineated Ukrainian cultural practices during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, only Kotliarevsky's attempt affected the manner in which historiography was to conceptualize the birth of modern Ukrainian literature.

It is not my purpose to portray Skovoroda as a modern author, although such an argument could be made given his critique of organized theology and his notions of art and self. As the title suggests, the focus here will be on *The Narcissus*. My paper proposes a multifaceted examination of this work, suggesting in particular that it encodes and celebrates Skovoroda's self-recreation as a writer at a critical juncture of his professional life. The colloquies contained in *The Narcissus* were written approximately during the first two years after his dismissal in 1769 from the Kharkiv Collegium, where he had intermittently taught poetics, syntax, Latin, Greek, and ethics for ten years.<sup>4</sup> Initiating as they do Skovoroda's prose-writing career, I will argue that the colloquies were composed in an attempt to restore his own psychological equilibrium. More importantly, however, my paper upholds that twenty-three years later, in a specular moment of self-reception, the senescent Skovoroda appended a prologue to the colloquies to mark his own life-long achievements and legate them to future generations.

This paper is organized in two sections. The first begins with a discussion of the history and constituent parts of *The Narcissus*. It then proceeds with a summary of the entire work, the purpose of which is threefold: to identify its rhetorical strategies and the genre designations selected by Skovoroda; to highlight its main ideas and their humanist profile; and to signal its relationship

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4. For a lively account of Skovoroda's life, see Leonid Makhnovets, *Hryhorii Skovoroda: Biohrafiiia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1972). For an interpretive treatment in Russian of Skovoroda's life and works, see Iu[r]ii Ia. Barabash, "Znaiu cheloveka ..." *Grigorii Skovoroda: Poeziia, filosofiiia, zhizn* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989).

with other works he wrote in the late 1760s and early 1770s. *The Narcissus* is a complex work, both conceptually and linguistically. My outline does not try to do justice to its formal features or verbal echoes of Greek and Latin sources, which turn Skovoroda's unique brand of Slavonic virtually into a private language. The outline, however, does facilitate my subsequent arguments, and may also be of use to the reader who approaches Skovoroda for the first time.

In the second section, entitled "*The Narcissus: A Rite of Passage*," I first consider the ideational profile of the colloquies. Then I focus on the "Prologue" and its controlling allusion, the "Narcissus" conceit. At first glance, Skovoroda's prefatory part appears to have little in common with the rest of his work. To demonstrate the contrary, namely that the "Prologue" conveys symbolically the pivotal role of these colloquies in his life, I will first align the "Narcissus" conceit with syncretistic methods of interpretation. Then I will situate it within the tradition of mystical initiations into eschatological participation in God, such as those represented by Nicholas of Cusa and Desiderius Erasmus. My paper does not address the philosophical dimension of *The Narcissus*, but rather the manner in which Skovoroda places the self within a sacralized fictional world.

\* \* \*

The complete text of *The Narcissus* consists of three discrete parts: the (1) "Prologue" ("Пролог"), which concludes with an excursus entitled "The Miracle Revealed in the Waters to Narcissus" ("Чудо, явленное во водах Наркиссу"); (2) seven colloquies, of which six are devoted to the injunction "know thyself" ("Разговор о том: знай себе"), while the last, and longest, bears the name "Colloquy Seven, on the True Human Being or the Resurrection" ("Разговор 7-й о истинном челоуѣкѣ или о воскресеніи"); and (3) an exercise involving textual comparison, which is designated as "A Symphony, That Is, a Consonance of Sacred Words [...]" (Симфонія, сирѣчь согласіе священныхъ слов [...]) and includes five scriptural concatenations with brief commentaries.

There are two extant autographs of *The Narcissus*. Analysis of the older document has revealed that Skovoroda wrote the "second" and "third" parts of this work approximately between 1769 and 1771.<sup>5</sup> By this date, he had created two-thirds of the poems comprising his *Garden of Divine Songs*; fifteen of his *Kharkiv Fables*; "The Primary Door to Christian Ethics"; and—probably—the brief sermons "Arise upon Seeing His Glory" and "Let Him Kiss Me with the Kisses of His Lips!" The greater part of his prose oeuvre was still ahead of him.<sup>6</sup>

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5. See the notes in Skovoroda, 1: 498–9.

6. It is possible that "Симфонія, нареченная Книга Асханъ о познаніи самого себе" (A Symphony Called the Book of Askhan on Self-Knowledge) was written two years before *The Narcissus*. But most scholars regard it as a somewhat later work.

Skovoroda began composing the main body of *The Narcissus* soon after his dismissal from the Kharkiv Collegium. It appears that the person who initiated the dismissal was the newly appointed (28 December 1768) bishop of Belgorod, Samuil Myslavsky, a former classmate. He resented that Skovoroda, a layman, was in charge of the course on Christian ethics and used his own manual, i.e., “The Primary Door to Christian Ethics” (ca. 1767–8). Myslavsky decreed the adoption of a textbook published in Moscow and demanded that all translations from Latin at the collegium be done in the “purest” form of Russian, avoiding both the old redaction of Slavonic and any “vulgar dialect.” The latter, we can assume, referred to the Ukrainian vernacular. It is not clear whether Myslavsky reviewed Skovoroda’s manual before or after introducing these reforms; whatever the case, he found it inadequate and contrary to standard practices.<sup>7</sup> One of Skovoroda’s letters from this period suggests that he had been accused of heresy. Subsequently, relying on the kindness of friends and well-placed acquaintances, he assumed an itinerant way of life and thus, by force of circumstance, became—after his dismissal—the first Ukrainian author to devote himself entirely to the literary craft. This was unlike his predecessors who combined their writing with other duties—for example, teaching and lexicography (Pamvo Berynda), the printer’s shop and the parish (Ioan Velychkovsky), the government of the church (Dmytro Tuptalo and many others), or the military chancery (Samiilo Velychko).

In its early stages (i.e., between 1769 and 1771), Skovoroda’s first major prose work did not contain a prologue and was simply called: “A Colloquy on the Topic: Know Thyself” (“Разговор о том: знай себе”). But in a letter Skovoroda wrote to his former student Mykhailo Kovalynsky on 26 September 1790, the noun “Narcissus” already plays a role in the title. This letter included an inventory of Skovoroda’s prose works and translations, which suggests that he may have sought to publish them. At the time Kovalynsky was living in St. Petersburg, which would soon become the centre of Ukrainian publishing activity in the Russian Empire. In a comment to the inventory, Skovoroda acknowledges that he rediscovered *The Narcissus* only recently, among the papers of his friend, the priest Iakiv Pravvytsky; otherwise, he would have forgotten the work forever (“о «Наркіссѣ» навѣки было забыл”) Interestingly, he also evaluates the inventoried works by marking their titles with one, two, or three asterisks. While some get no marks, *The Narcissus* is one of four works appraised with three

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Structured very differently from *The Narcissus*, it nonetheless shares the same set of characters and thematic concerns.

7. Makhnovets, 203. It is interesting to note that approximately twenty years later, in a letter to his former student Mykhailo Kovalynsky, Skovoroda included his own Latin poem—a prayer on behalf of Kharkiv—and invited his addressee to “make Slavonic verses”: “Tu versos facies slavonicos” (Skovoroda, 2: 357).

asterisks. It is the first item in the inventory and is accompanied by the remark: "Firstborn fruit" (2: 357).

The second autograph of *The Narcissus*—a redaction of the main text that was begun after 1781—includes the "Prologue". A letter to Kovalynsky, dated 2 April 1794 (seven months before Skovoroda's death), clearly reveals that this part had been written as recently as that year. Interestingly, in the letter he says "I made [rather than 'I wrote'] the prologue" and refers to the entire work as a book: "Feci prologon et in 'Narcissum,' id est in librum: 'Nosce te ipsum' [...]" (2: 359). Thus, *The Narcissus* is a work that bridges the beginning (1769) and end (1794) of Skovoroda's life as a prose writer.

### The "Prologue"

The "Prologue" begins with the deictic and autobiographic statement, "This is my firstborn son. Born in the seventh decade of this century."<sup>8</sup> Having thus displayed two codes of authorship (origin of text and date of composition), Skovoroda proceeds to talk about the noun "Narcissus." In a scholarly tone he explains that it is the name of a flower and a youth, whose story "is a very old parable of antique Egyptian theology, which is the mother of Hebrew theology."<sup>9</sup> Thus Skovoroda implicitly distances his hero from Ovid's narrative. As a matter of fact, he converts and reduces to a minimum the plot found in the *Metamorphoses* by never mentioning the advances of the nymph Echo, various Naiads, and young men.<sup>10</sup> The image of Narcissus, states the author, "brings these good tidings: 'Know thyself!'"<sup>11</sup> Arguing that love is Sophia's (i.e., Wisdom's) daughter, he proclaims that self-love (*самолюбность*) is truly blessed because it is holy; it "discovers and perceives that single beauty and truth: 'There stands in your midst one whom you do not know.'"<sup>12</sup> By linking

8. "Сей есть сын мой первородный. Рожден в седмом десяткѣ вѣка сего" (1: 154).

9. "[...] есть предвѣняя притча из обветшалыя богословія египетскія, яже есть матер еврейскія" (1: 154).

10. See "The Story of Echo and Narcissus," in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolphe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 67–73.

11. "[...] благовѣстит сіе: «Узнай себе!»" (1: 154).

12. "[...] обрѣла и узрѣла едину оную красоту и истину: «Посредѣ вас стоит, его же не вѣсте»" (1: 154). This citation, and all subsequent ones that Skovoroda draws from the Bible, I offer in my own translation. Whenever a citation is readily identifiable, I provide the source, which will allow readers to compare Skovoroda's text with an English translation of their choice.

George Y. Shevelov argues that, most probably, Skovoroda consulted the Synodal Bible of 1757. (See his "Prolegomena to Studies of Skovoroda's Language and Style," in Richard H. Marshall, Jr. and Thomas E. Bird, eds., *Hryhorij Savyč Skovoroda: An Anthology of Critical Articles* [Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian

self-love with this verse (John 1:26), a reference that eighteenth-century audiences would have readily recognized, Skovoroda seems to be promoting a particular type of self-love. As he subsequently explains, “whosoever has perceived one’s [own] beauty in the waters of one’s impermanence, he will become enamoured neither of any exteriority nor the water of one’s perishableness, but of oneself and one’s essential principle.”<sup>13</sup>

But, as if to thwart the expectations set up by such a spiritual exegesis, the author depicts his progeny’s self-centered amorous frenzy in surprising physical terms, plunging the reader into a vertiginous semantic labyrinth: “It is true that my Narcissus is consumed, being set ablaze by the embers of love; growing in devotion [alternately, growing jealous], he tears himself apart, tosses about and agonizes; he indulges; he burns up and speaks in all languages, but not about many things nor anything idle, but about himself, for himself, unto himself. He cares about his sole self. Only one thing is necessary to him. Finally, his entire self, like ice, melting from the self-loving flame, he transfigures into the source.”<sup>14</sup>

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Studies Press, 1994], 100). I have not compared the Ostrih or Synodal Bible with the passages quoted or alluded to in *The Narcissus*. It is important to note that Skovoroda often quoted from memory and was not driven by a Hesychastic concern with textual and orthographic precision or by our own contemporary standards of scholarly accuracy.

13. “Кто-де прозрѣл во водах своя тлѣни красоту свою, тот не во внѣшность кую-либо, ни во тлѣнія своего воду, но в самага себе и в самую сбою точку влюбится” (1: 154). Note that Skovoroda assigns specific roles to the plural (“во водах”) and singular (“во ... воду”) of “water.”

14. “Наркісс мой, правда, что жжется, ражжигаясь угліем любви, ревнуя, рвется, мечется и мучится, ласкосердствует, печется и молвит всѣми молвами, а не о многом же, ни о пустом чем-либо, но о себѣ, про себе и в себе. Печется о едином себѣ. Едино есть ему на потребу. Наконец, весь, аки лед, истаяв от самолюбнаго пламя, преобразается во источник” (1: 154).

Skovoroda’s polyglot magma, syntactic inversions, and games with polysemy and homonymy make the task of translating his prose very difficult. Thus, for example, the last word in this passage may also be translated as “spring,” which would equally convey the fusion of Narcissus with his own reflection in the “waters.” But Skovoroda’s subsequent interrogative apostrophe—“Why did you not metamorphose into a rivulet or a stream? Why not into a river or the sea?” (“Почто не преобразился еси в ручай или поток? Почто не в рѣку или море?” [1: 154–6])—signals the need, in this case, to align “источник” not with a “spring [of water],” but with a “source [of energy/life/knowledge].”

After this “self-indulgent, almost narcissistic”<sup>15</sup> account, Skovoroda apostrophizes: “Today you have metamorphosed from a creeping worm into a winged [alternately, feathered] butterfly. Today you have resurrected!”<sup>16</sup> Then, alluding to the cosmogonic phoenix (in his own words, “eagle’s fledgling”) and its journey to the City of the Sun, he declares that Narcissus has metamorphosed into “the sovereign of all creatures, into the sun.”<sup>17</sup>

The ensuing excursus, “The Miracle Revealed in the Waters to Narcissus,” begins with a question: “Tell me, oh most fair Narcissus, have you perceived anything in your waters? Who appeared to you in them?”<sup>18</sup> The hero’s response—a linked sequence of allusions to, and unidentified citations from, Holy Writ—begins with the following statements: “In my waters emerged the Elisean iron. I discerned on the canvas of my emanating flesh an image not made by human hands, ‘which is the radiance of the father’s glory.’ ‘Set me as a seal on your arm.’”<sup>19</sup> In this segment the allusions are to “Other Miracles of Eliseus” from 2 Kings (6:1–6) and the iconographic tradition of the so-called *acheiropoetoi*;<sup>20</sup> the citations are drawn from Hebrews 1:3 and the Song of Songs 8:6. I will return to these later. The remaining “links” in the hero’s response serve to illustrate other manifestations of blessed self-love (e.g., David,

15. Bohdan Rubchak, “From Strength to Strength: Observations on Hryhorij Skovoroda and Vasyli' Barka,” in Marshall and Bird, 170. Also see Rubchak’s translation (pp. 170–1) of the passage cited in n. 14. I agree with Rubchak that this passage is full of “veiled innuendos.”

16. “Нынѣ из ползущаго червища востал еси пернатим мотыликом. Нынѣ се воскресл еси!” (1: 154). Note that “пернатъ” may mean either “winged” (*pennatus*) or “feathered” (*plumatus, plumosus*). Skovoroda deliberately selects a polysemous adjective to convey the metamorphic stages that the young phoenix undergoes. See my subsequent discussion of Skovoroda’s syncretistic method, and n. 76.

17. “[...] во владыку всѣх тварей, в солнце” (1: 156).

18. “Скажи мнѣ, прекрасный Наркиссе, во водах твоих узрѣл еси что ли? Кто явился тебѣ в них?” (1: 157).

19. “На водах моих восплыло елиссейское желѣзо. Узрѣл я на полотнѣ протекающія моя плоти нерукотворенный образ, «иже есть сияніе славы отчія». «Положи мя яко печать на мышцѣ твоей»” (1: 157).

20. The *acheiropoetoi* (Ukrainian: “нерукотворні ікони”), venerated in the Eastern church, were considered to be authentic images of Christ that had been created without human agency. The pre-eminent manifestation of this tradition in Western iconography is called the *sudarium* or Veronica. These designations refer to a portrait of Christ reminiscent of the piece of cloth with which the pagan woman Veronica wiped the sweat and blood from Christ’s face on the way to Calvary, and upon which his authentic impression remained. See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 80–2. I gratefully acknowledge the impact of Koerner’s invaluable study on my conceptualization and analysis of *The Narcissus*.

Solomon, Paul). At the beginning, the concatenated passages celebrate the search for wisdom, but gradually they turn into a consideration of death, a set of readings appropriate for an initiation to practice for the last things.<sup>21</sup>

In the concluding paragraph of this section the voice appears to belong, once again, to the author. Referring to the passages just mentioned in the hero's response, it makes the following analogy: just as the human countenance is reflected "in [its] source," the "cupid" (i.e., love) of these scriptural "Narcissi" is evident in the words of Isaiah, like a rainbow amidst the clouds.<sup>22</sup> At the end, the voice quotes Isaiah's prophecy concerning political and spiritual restoration (58: 11–12) and thus gives a comforting closure to Narcissus's consideration of death.

## The Colloquies

As we turn to the main body of *The Narcissus*, let us reiterate that the colloquies were written approximately twenty-three years before the "Prologue", when, at the age of forty-seven, Skovoroda lost all prospects of obtaining a teaching position. To appreciate the impulse behind their composition, it is useful to note that Skovoroda designated this kind of writing as a "diatribe." His understanding of the term does not coincide with our contemporary designation for abusive criticism. Rather, Skovoroda's diatribe is embedded in a tradition of literary adaptation of a classical form of philosophical disputation, which was devoted to the criticism of popular mores or customs, the consideration of moral issues, and the investigation of the means to acquire wisdom and cultivate virtue.<sup>23</sup>

As a moralizing thesis, the diatribe is classified within the scope of deliberative rhetoric, whose function is the discrimination of what is advantageous and morally upright for the commonweal. The deliberative encourages the expression of opinion and emphasizes resolution by consensus. Its function is not to praise or dispraise (as does the epideictic), nor to accuse or defend (as does

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21. In chronological order: [?]; 2 Peter 3:5; Isaiah 33:17; 2 Corinthians 11:2; Song of Songs 5:4; Mark 10:28; Psalms 72:26, 118:123, 41:2; Galatians 6:14, 2:20; and Philippians 3:21, 1:23, 1:21.

22. "Как во источникъ лицо челоуѣчее, так во Исаиных словах, будто дуга во облакъ, виден сих Наркиссов амур" (1: 158).

23. The term "diatribe" can be extended to mean "discourse," "ethical treatise," or "lecture." Skovoroda's colloquies, however, reflect the more particular application of the term, namely "philosophical disputation." Early-twentieth-century scholars saw the diatribe as the genre of itinerant preachers. Today there is more evidence to warrant the categorization of the diatribe as the genre of the philosophical school. For an excellent overview of the development of the diatribe, see Stanley Kent Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letters to the Romans* (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1981), 7–75, esp. 35.

the judicial). Because it is devoted to expedient and useful civil questions, including moral theory and conduct, the deliberative focusses on the probable or necessary.

Skovoroda gently alludes to this definition in the "Prologue". There, in anticipation of the criticism his audience may direct at him for claiming the improbable, namely the physical metamorphosis of Narcissus, he states: "The face and the heart are different [things].... You judge correctly! And so I judge: it is altogether impossible. And what would be the use?"<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, to emphasize that the altered state of Narcissus does not posit the impossible, but rather the spiritually useful, Skovoroda declares: "Thanks be to the blessed God. It is His ineffable mercy and power that makes the useless impossible and the possible useful."<sup>25</sup>

This declaration fuses Skovoroda's paraphrase of the first part of 1 Peter 1:3 (i.e., "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ!") with his own rhetorical exegesis of the verse's second part ("By his great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead ...").<sup>26</sup> Thus, Skovoroda's recomposition of Peter's verse places God's regeneration of humankind within the scope of the probable and the necessary. This prepares the audience for the subsequent explicit warning: the image of the sun is a poetic trope for an incorporeal entity—namely, the "true sun" ("истое, не [...] пустое солнце"). By implication, Skovoroda's Narcissus has achieved something altogether possible and useful, a state of "living hope." Skovoroda's allusion to the goals of deliberative rhetoric may appear recondite to the modern reader, but those of his contemporaries who had obtained a humanistic education would have readily grasped it. The allusion presages the genre represented by *The Narcissus*. For this reason, I translate "разговор"—the term appearing in the titles of its seven conversations ("Разговор о том же: знай себе"—as "colloquy." I do so in deference to the tradition established by the humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus, whose *Colloquia familiaria* were known in early-modern Ukraine, and also to distinguish "разговор" from the term with which Skovoroda designates *The Narcissus* in its entirety: "Наркісс. Разглагол о том: узнай себе." The decision to render "разглагол" as "deliberation" is motivated

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24. "Лице-де и сердце разнь... Право, право судите! И я суджу: отнюдь невозможно. Да и кая полза?" (1: 156).

25. "Благодареніе убо блаженному Богу. Сія есть неизреченная его милость и власть, сотворшая бесполезное невозможным, возможное полезным" (1: 157).

26. Cited according to the *Revised Standard Version of the Bible* (Great Britain: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1971), 1016. All subsequent citations of the Bible are from this edition, henceforth designated RSV.

by my reading of the colloquies as a sustained confabulation concerning one aspect of moral theory.<sup>27</sup>

Within the classical tradition the diatribe was a basic tool of instruction: it sought to transform students, to point out their errors and to correct them. The most salient formal characteristic of the diatribe was debate with a fictional interlocutor, who served as a mouthpiece for opinions or practices being condemned by the teacher. As a rule the diatribe relied on the use of aphoristic language and proverbs. It is important to mention in this context that Skovoroda treated the Greek term “diatriba” as coterminous with the vernacular Ukrainian “забава” (diversion), the Latin “oblectatio” (a delighting), and the Ukrainian-Slavonic “глумленіє” (amusing exercise).<sup>28</sup> Thus, in his opinion, moral lessons ought to be a pleasurable diversion, a game. And this is exactly what the fictional world of his colloquies represents.

In *The Narcissus* the teacher is called Druh (“Friend”), whereas his main foil is a neighbour called Luka (“Luke”). The former acts in accordance with his creator’s moral philosophy and artistic eloquence. Noteworthy here is that one of Skovoroda’s fables written in the early 1770s defines a “friend” in the following manner: “Tell me, what is a friend? A servant and a well-wisher. What better service is there than to lead toward a vision of God?”<sup>29</sup> In the first colloquy Druh is approached by Luka, who is faced with a dilemma: recently, during a conversation led by certain learned men, identified as Somnas and Naval, he discovered that he did not have a “taste” for scripture even though he believes in its healing power (1: 158). This incongruity motivates Druh to transform Luka so that he might practice his faith with conviction rather than as a mindless, unexamined custom, or habit (“один только обычай,” as Luka

27. Seventeenth-century ecclesiastical literature employed the noun “разглагольство” and the verbs “разглаголати” and “разглагольствовать” as synonyms of “обсуждение,” “рассуждать,” and “беседовать” to connote the deliberation of issues pertaining to the well-being of the church (“о церковных дѣлахъ”). (See the entries for these words in *Slovar russkogo iazyka XI–XVIII vv.*, vol. 21 [Moscow: Nauka, 1995], 167.) This suggests that Skovoroda’s application of the noun “разглагол” in the title of *The Narcissus* draws on a well-established tradition and reflects a conscious designation of genre.

28. See the dedicatory letter (1: 307) accompanying “Диалог, или разглагол о древнем мірѣ” (A Dialogue, or Deliberation on the Ancient World), which Skovoroda wrote in 1772 and revised in 1788. In a forthcoming article I discuss the significance of this text for an understanding of the designations Skovoroda gives his dialogic compositions.

29. “Скажи мнѣ, что есть друг? Слуга и доброжелатель. Кая ж лучшая услуга, как привестъ к вѣдѣнію Божію?” (1: 132). From the moral to the thirtieth Kharkiv fable, “The Nightingale, the Lark, and the Thrush,” which belongs to a group of works Skovoroda completed by 1774.

himself acknowledges [1: 162]). By positing that understanding is dependent on self-knowledge, Druh declares that Luka is deprived of eyes, nostrils, ears, and all other sense organs because he has lost the true human being in himself (1: 159). This leads to numerous comical exchanges. For example, Luka, seeing that all his organs and parts of the body are in place, complains that he cannot “swallow” his friend’s “cruel” and “thorny” concepts. The latter responds with a stinging play on words—or rather, a critique of Luka’s senses: “But, look, I told you that you cannot hear flavour.”<sup>30</sup>

In essence, Druh argues that—unless governed by the mind—the physical senses convey illusory messages. To communicate the point he employs a paradox: “this eye of yours is a heel or a tail in your eye.”<sup>31</sup> Underlying this figure of anatomical inversion is a “medieval geography of the body that posits a radical caesura between the head or upper body, seat of the soul or spirit, and the area below the waist, seat of sexuality and the fallen instincts of the flesh.”<sup>32</sup> This geography was very much alive in the rhetorical repertoire of Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe.<sup>33</sup> Drawing on Plato’s *Timaeus*, Erasmus employed this very geography in his discussion “on the outer and inner man”: “And he [Plato] established the seat of the divine soul, that is, reason, in the brain, as if in the citadel of our city, like a king in the loftiest part of the body [...]. But the mortal parts of the soul, namely the passions [...] he removed from the divine soul. [...] He confined the appetitive instinct, which is attracted to food and drink and by which we are driven to the pleasures of Venus, below the midriff [...] far from the royal seat, so that it might live there in a stall like

30. “Я видь тебѣ говорил, что не можешь вкуса слышать” (1: 159). “Вкус” is polysemous and can mean “taste,” “savour,” “flavour,” or “bite/sting.” Thus, Luka cannot “see” [But, look], “hear” [I told you so; you cannot hear], “taste” [flavour], and “feel” [bite/sting]. Worth noting in this context is that the Latin word for “wisdom”—*sapientia*—derives etymologically from *sapor*, i.e., “taste.” Being a good Latinist, Skovoroda would have enjoyed playing on the idea that true perception (wisdom) involves having taste.

31. “[...] сіе твое око есть пята или хвост в твоём окѣ” (1: 159).

32. Koerner, 172.

33. Witness, for example, Erasmus’s commentary on the adage *Nescit capitia et inguinis discrimen* (“He does not know the difference between head and groin”): “Among respectable parts of the body the head holds first place, and so it is quite right to keep it bare; from the belly downwards all is indecent, and is kept covered.” (*The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 34, *Adages*, trans. and annot. R. A. B. Mynors [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992], II vii 6, 5.) For a discussion of Skovoroda’s acquaintance with Erasmus and especially his *Adagiorum Chiliades*, see my article “The Primary Door: At the Threshold of Skovoroda’s Theology and Poetics,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 572–3.

a wild, untamed animal, because it is in the habit of inciting violent uprisings and is less obedient to the orders of the commander.”<sup>34</sup>

Skovoroda’s Druh argues that Luka cannot truly perceive himself, because he gazes with the “heel” or “tail-end” of the eye rather than with his real eye (1: 160). And, in a fashion similar to that of Plato and Erasmus, he internalizes the geography of the body by focussing on the mind and the heart: “Look, you know without a doubt that what we designate as the eye, ear, tongue, hands, feet, and our entire outward body does not do anything by itself or act in anything. All that is subordinate to our thoughts. The mind, its [the body’s] sovereign lady, finds herself in uninterrupted animation day and night. It is she who deliberates, counsels, makes conclusions, compels [alternately, constrains]. Whereas our outward flesh, like a bridled beast or tail, unwillingly, follows in her footsteps. So you see that the mind is our principal and core point. And for this reason, she is often called the heart. Thus, not our external *flesh*, but our *mind*, is our principle *human being*. We consist of her. And she is us.”<sup>35</sup>

Having dealt with modes of perception, Druh turns to the pre-eminent role of the invisible in all creation and suggests that faith is tantamount to having a real “eye.” Luka, however, is not at all persuaded.

In the second colloquy, a reference to the church in Okhtyrka reveals that the gatherings take place somewhere near Kharkiv. Notwithstanding his dissatisfac-

34. This passage is from *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier (Enchiridion militis christiani, 1503)*; it appears in a section immediately after one entitled “That the beginning [the principal point] of wisdom is to know oneself, and on true and false wisdom.” Cited from Charles Fantazzi’s trans. in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 66, ed. John W. O’Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 39. For the Latin original, see Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Anemarie Holborn (Munich: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), 43–4.

35. “Ты видь без сумнѣнія знаешь, что называемое нами око, ухо, язык, руки, ноги и все наше внѣшнее тѣло само собою ничего не дѣйствует и ни в чем. Но все оно порабощено мыслям нашим. Мысль, владычица его, находится в непрерывном волнованіи день і ночь. Она то разсуждает, совѣтует, опредѣленіе дѣлает, понуждает. А крайняя наша плоть, как обузданный скот или хвост, поневоле ей послѣдует. Так вот видишь, что мысль есть главною нашею точкою и среднею. А посему-то она часто и сердцем называется. Итак, не внѣшняя наша *плоть*, но наша *мысль* — то главный наш *человѣкъ*. В ней-то мы состоим. А она есть нами” (1: 160).

I have translated “мысль” as “mind” in keeping with Skovoroda’s footnote to this text, in which he cites Cicero’s “Mens cuiusque, is est quisque ..... and links the meaning of “ум” with “человѣкъ” and “мысль.” Tentatively I also propose “human being” for Skovoroda’s “человѣкъ” to distinguish, in classical fashion, between *homo* and *vir*. I am aware, however, that the latter choice does pose a problem, inasmuch as what is at issue here is a verse by Paul (2 Corinthians 12:2), which in English has been traditionally rendered as “I know a man....”

tion, Luka returns accompanied by a friend, Kleopa ("Cleopas"). According to the latter, Druh's words are caustic but somehow pleasant. It appears that other encounters among the three men have taken place before. The colloquy considers the nature of art. The men agree that the essence of a painting resides not in pigments but in design (i.e., the proportion and arrangement of colours); similarly, an architectural plan defines the essence of a church building. By analogy, Druh points out to Luka that the true essence of the written word does not consist of letters (i.e., their graphic semblance), but of tropes, thereby making a distinction between the ability to read and to understand. Druh places on one axis "head," "design," "trope," "plan," "symmetry," "proportion," and finally "mind" to defend the universal pre-eminence of the invisible. It is intrinsic not only to artifacts but also to natural phenomena, such as grasses and trees.<sup>36</sup> The spirit ("дух") holds everything together. But Druh's invitation to consider one more "head"—i.e., God—is rejected by Kleopa, who would rather investigate the meaning of the true "body."

Luka does not appear in the third gathering, because he remains sceptical of the conclusions reached so far and has decided to join the learned schoolmen. However, Kleopa brings a friend, the villager Filon ("Philo"). Druh begins discussing the next "head"—i.e., God. His arguments encapsulate the sacralized teleology of eloquence Skovoroda elaborated in the "The Primary Door to Christian Ethics." In essence, this is a humanist understanding of God's speech, counsels, and thoughts as the plan sustaining the whole of creation.<sup>37</sup> Druh explains that this very plan informs the integrity of the true human "body," an entity that does not disintegrate with the death of the flesh. The true "body" is spiritual (1: 170).

The fourth colloquy continues deliberations begun elsewhere. Luka is once again part of the group, and he begins with a rejoinder concerning the importance of knowing oneself. Thus, the Delphic injunction at the core of all the deliberations is reiterated. Druh develops his argument about the consubstantiality of the true human being and God, and asserts that there is nothing more confining than visible reality. In this colloquy Druh refuses to consider Kleopa's question pertaining to the source of evil: "Whatever we cannot attain let us not investigate."<sup>38</sup> His answer suggests that such a question cannot be resolved and, therefore, should not be pursued. Thus Skovoroda signals, once again, his understanding of the scope of deliberative rhetoric.

36. A standard procedure in rhetoric, especially when validating an argument or a proposition, is marshalling evidence drawn from the natural world.

37. See my article "The Primary Door..." 556–61.

38. "Чего достичь не можем, не испытуймо" (1: 174).

All four men—Druh, Luka, Kleopa, and Filon—participate in the fifth colloquy. At this stage they seem to be reaching an agreement concerning the illusory nature of the visible. Luka confesses that it is difficult to dispel deeply ingrained views. Druh responds that nothing prevents men from deliberating and discussing them (“о сем разсуждать і разговоривать” [1: 178]). He continues to develop his theory of the two natures—one visible, the other invisible.

The entire company participates in the sixth colloquy, which at first takes place somewhere in the fields. Both Kleopa and Filon work the land (i.e., they engage in “земледѣлство”). It appears that Luka has finally grasped the meaning of invisible nature. Filon wishes to investigate the meaning of eternity, and asks for an analogy that would reveal what the true human being resembles most in the visible world. Druh responds: “He resembles a good and well-filled ear of wheat”<sup>39</sup>; and he proceeds to discuss the seed’s cycle of regeneration. The group passes from the fields to the orchard, where they see a gazebo embellished with an icon made by one of Filon’s friends. Inscribed on the icon is Isaiah’s verse, “All flesh is hay and all human glory is like a grassland blossom...”<sup>40</sup> Kleopa asks for an interpretation, and Luka obliges. Drawing on Druh’s analogy, he argues that just as the ear of wheat does not fear decomposition, man has no need to fear death.<sup>41</sup> The colloquy concludes with Luka’s apostrophes urging Kleopa to discover the Messiah within his own flesh—not an idol made of flesh, but the very man whom Paul knew. Luka encourages his soul (“душа”) to celebrate: “He [the true human being<sup>42</sup>] is your spouse. He is the head in you in the semblance of your flesh and blood. The salvation of your entire person and your God.”<sup>43</sup>

“Colloquy Seven on the True Human Being or the Resurrection” begins with a new set of characters—the venerable (“старец”) Pamva, Anton (“Antony”), and Kvadrat (“Quadratus”)—who are later joined by the original interlocutors. Pamva, who plays a prominent role here, has been undergoing his own metamorphosis, the object of which is to control his “impious” tongue. Here the allusion has to do with the application of speech toward positive ends. As part of his self-imposed discipline, Pamva continuously studies the meaning of a

39. “Подобен доброму и полному колосу пшеничному” (1: 180).

40. “«Всяка плоть — сѣно, и всяка слава челоуѣка яко цвѣт травный...»” (1: 181). Compare: “All flesh is grass, and all its beauty is like the flower of the field” (Isaiah 40:6; RSV, 574).

41. Skovoroda “made” Luka change his heart while working on a later version of the colloquy; this is reflected in his own corrections to the second autograph, which is at the basis of the edition I am using.

42. Cf. comment in n. 35.

43. “Он муж твой. Он глава твоя в тебѣ под видом твоея плоти и крови. Спасеніе лица всего твоего и Бог твой” (1: 182).

single verse (Psalm 39:1), very much in the spirit of Erasmus's recommendations in *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier*: "Meditation on a single verse will have more savour and nourishment, if you break through the husk and extract the kernel, than the whole Psalter chanted monotonously with regard for only the letter. [...] I know from experience that this error has taken hold [...] also of those who in name and in habit profess perfect religion. Such is their aberration that they think it is the culmination of piety to recite the greatest number of psalms possible each day, even though they barely understand the literal sense."<sup>44</sup>

Pamva instructs Anton that all knowledge first requires ascending the mountain of the vision of God ("вѣдѣнія божія," 1: 184), and suggests that he seek assistance in Christ's Gospel and David's psalms. When the conversation turns to the Resurrection, Luka gives the etymology of the Latin and Greek term: to raise the fallen on their feet. Druh finally joins in and unexpectedly admits to despair: "To be honest, I—among others—find myself in a cold and deadly gloom. But I feel within me a secret ray mysteriously warming my heart."<sup>45</sup> For Druh, the flesh and blood are totally useless if there is no hope for resurrection, if there is nothing beyond visible reality.

Druh compares speech to a river, and the tongue to its source. He and Pamva agree that any discourse that focusses on demise, illness, grief, and vexation serves to undermine hope. Such discourse is analogous to the mouth of a wide open grave, an abyss. Commending Pamva for "sealing" his former tongue, Druh encourages him to sing openly with the new one. Echoing the Neoplatonist concept of the soul's ascent to beatitude, Druh declares that by discarding the earthly Adam, we can fly with the heart to the Pauline man and enter the very core of our heart and soul. Forsaking all foul thoughts and concerns of the flesh, we reach the true human being and enter the "tabernacle not made by human hands" ("в нерукотворенную скинію"), an imperishable and most pure body that—without confluence—conjoins under one hypostasis the Divine and the perishable. Druh's reference to the "tabernacle not made by hands" is drawn from Hebrews 9:11–12 where Paul speaks about the more perfect nature of Christ's priesthood: "But when Christ appeared as high priest of the good things to come, then through the greater and more perfect tabernacle (not made with hands [*ou acheiropoetos*], that is not of this creation) he entered once and for all into the Holy Place, taking not the blood of goats and calves but his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption."<sup>46</sup>

44. *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 66: 35.

45. "Я, правда, между прочіими и сам сижу в холодном смертном мрякѣ. Но чувствую во мнѣ тайную лучу, тайно согрѣвающую сердце мое" (1: 189).

46. RSV, 1008. Italics mine. The Greek term in brackets is drawn from Koerner, 84.

The Pauline man, explains Druh, inhabits all of us: “Whosoever comes to understand that very human being falls in love [with him], is reciprocally loved [by him], and is one with him [...]”<sup>47</sup>

Comparing Holy Writ to God’s psalter, Anton suggests that the group entertain itself by playing this “instrument.” Pamva is unanimously elected to “play.” The colloquy ends with Druh’s appeal: “Let us arm ourselves with consonance against the accursed tongue [...]. Perhaps we can, at the very least, drive this unclean spirit from our company.”<sup>48</sup>

If the first colloquy is devoted to the senses and, by implication, to modes of perceiving and interpreting reality, the last (seventh) colloquy is devoted to speaking and, thus, to modes of sustaining reality. Druh posits that speech can destroy but also create hope. For him resurrection and eternal life involve attaining—here and now—oneness with Christ, the divine prototype.

### “A Symphony”

The conclusion consists of a colloquy engaging all seven participants. It is divided into six brief sections, of which the first may be viewed as an “overture.” Skovoroda designates the second section as a “Chorus,” and the remaining four as “symphonies.” The object of the latter five sections is to cite scriptural passages that concatenate with the first verse of Psalm 39. In this context it is worth noting that one of the strategies of deliberative rhetoric involved the *collatio* (assembling) of texts according to commonplaces, and their comparative analysis. The purpose of such an exercise was to determine the probability of something.<sup>49</sup> Erasmus, in his methodological treatise *Ratio verae theologiae*, argued that *collatio* was required by the “very quality of the manner of speech in which sacred Literature is transmitted to us, for it is almost entirely concealed in tropes and allegories, and in similes and parables, and is indirect sometimes, even to the obscurity of enigma.” Appealing to the judgement of Origen and Augustine, the humanist scholar maintained that “the best method for interpreting divine Literature is to render an obscure passage clear by a comparison [*collatio*] from other passages.”<sup>50</sup> Thus, Skovoroda’s full title—“A Symphony, That Is,

47. “Сего-то *человѣка*, если кто уразумѣл, тот и возлюбил и сам взаимно любезным здѣлался и едино с ним есть [...]” (1: 191).

48. “Вооружимся согласіем противу проклятаго языка [...]. Авось-либо по крайней мѣрѣ из нашей компани выжежем сего нечистаго духа” (1: 193).

49. In *De inventione* Cicero treats *collatio* as a subdivision of probability, which depends on comparison, and defines it in the following manner: “[it] is a passage putting one thing beside another on the basis of their resemblances.” Cited according to Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus’ Civil Dispute with Luther* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 44.

50. Cited according to O’Rourke Boyle, 45–6.

A Consonance of Sacred Words with the Following Verse: ‘I Said: I Will Heed My Ways, so that I Do Not Sin with My Tongue ...’” (“Симфонія, сирѣчь согласіє священныхъ словъ со слѣдующимъ стихомъ: «Рѣхъ: сохранию пути моя, еже не согрѣшати языкомъ моимъ ...»”)<sup>51</sup>—encodes that part of the deliberation when Druh’s academy engages in the textual analysis of scripture.

What I have called the symphony’s “overture” serves as a thematic bridge between the seventh colloquy and the conclusion of *The Narcissus*. Like the fourth colloquy, this part begins in *media res*: Pamva is asked to continue narrating a parable about two recently liberated captives who have God to thank for their freedom but are nonetheless hungry and long for home. Somewhere in a mountainous wilderness they come upon a spring and begin looking for signs of life. A narrow and winding path up the mountain leads them to a cave emblazoned with the words, “The Sanctuary of Light. The Tomb of Life. The Portal to Beatitude.”<sup>52</sup> After a humorous deliberation on whether to enter or not (“I will either die or live”),<sup>53</sup> the older man decides that, yes, they should go in. Inside they encounter several families of farmers enjoying a banquet in honour of their lord’s “birth.” He, being a munificent master, provides them with all they need for happiness. Taken in as relatives, the two travellers stay for the six-day celebration before deciding to meet this man. Walking through the dark cave, they set foot on the “Lord’s path” “at midnight, on the seventh day after their entry into the cave in 1771.”<sup>54</sup> At dawn, upon reaching their destination, they hear the hymn “He Vanquished Death through Death,”<sup>55</sup> and a chamber refulgent with the morning light opens unto them.

The scriptural correspondences presented in the subsequent sections revolve around various thematic clusters, among them: keeping the law; the joy of David’s psalter and benevolent speech; the danger of flattery; and the need to vanquish malevolent speech. In their analysis of the various passages, the interlocutors attempt to find at least a third passage to verify the probability of their initial interpretation.

51. “Согласіє” may also be translated as “collation” to convey the rhetorical tradition at hand and to intimate the evening ritual of reading and discussing scripture at monasteries. My choice—“consonance”—was predicated by the musical semantic axis of Skovoroda’s text. But it may also be translated as “harmony.” Note that in early-modern Ukrainian literature the term for “rhyme” is “согласіє.”

52. “«Сокровище свѣта, гробъ жизни, дверь блаженства»” (1: 193).

53. “Или умру или жив буду” (1: 193) is a popular adage that conveys an either-or situation—in other words, the absence of real choice.

54. “Седмаго дня по входѣ своемъ в пещеру 1771-го года с полночи вступили чужестранцы во путь господскій” (1: 195).

55. “Смертію смерть поправ ...” is sung during the Easter liturgy.

The final exchange between Druh and Pamva summarizes the result of the collation: the tongue of the serpent subjects the heart to vexation (“смущення”), whereas the tongue proclaiming God’s peace (“Божій мир”) brings joy and light to our abyss. Druh indicates that his entire self, now reconciled to perishability, rejoices and is ready to follow his new tongue and the imperishable human being. He concludes by crying out with Isaiah: “I am God’s” (“Божій есмь”). Pamva, on the other hand, commands his soul to disdain all visible and invisible flesh and to approach the Lord by means of faith rather than vision (1: 200).

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### *The Narcissus: A Rite of Passage*

*A tree is known by its fruits.*  
Skovoroda<sup>56</sup>

Death is an immutable reality. Deliberative rhetoric is not equipped to defend the probability of its reversal successfully. To paraphrase Skovoroda, this is impossible and therefore useless. In *The Narcissus* “death” and “resurrection” are poetic tropes for insensibility and sensibility. Skovoroda does not question the mysteries of God’s birth and resurrection: he simply does not investigate them. Instead he emphatically promotes a spirituality based on moral discernment and censures the turpitude that arises from empty ritual and the shallow reading of divine Literature. It is worth recalling that in “The Primary Door to Christian Ethics” he rejected the validity of logical inquiry into the mysteries, and proposed that for God it is far more important to animate one aimless soul with the spirit of his commandments (1: 148–9). The pursuit of precisely this goal is encoded in the fictional world of *The Narcissus*.

The colloquies attest to Skovoroda’s conviction that temperate discussion can act as the conduit from the threshold of spiritual death—inapprehensible as it may be by the physical senses of the living cadaver—to spiritual resurrection, or, as can be derived from Luka’s etymological exegesis, to the act of standing on one’s own feet. Paraphrasing the ideas that Druh enunciates in the seventh colloquy, it can be said that resurrection and life eternal are achieved through self-discovery, the recognition of one’s divine prototype. Holy Scripture is Skovoroda’s pre-eminent, if not exclusive, object of poetic analysis. It is his medium of introspection and a tool for taming the passions, a kind of logothera-

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56. “Древо от плодов познавается” (1: 109). This adage concludes the moral of Skovoroda’s second Kharkiv fable, “The Crow and the Siskin.”

peutic site.<sup>57</sup> But, in his fictional world, the interpretation of scripture is not a solitary exercise. Nor does it progress within the discrete temporal and spatial framework of ritual—such as the Liturgy in church, the evening collation at a monastery, or the theology class at a collegium. Rather, it manifests itself in a pastoral and ambulatory academy that meets, among other places, in the fields and the orchard and amicably attracts the participation of farmers (Kleopa, Filon), along with educated men who have been to the tsar's gardens (Luka)<sup>58</sup> as well as venerable monks (Pamva).<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, the learned men Somnas and Naval do not come knocking at the open door of this particular school.

Skovoroda's colloquies are constructed in such a fashion as to suggest that not all discussions held at Druh's academy have been "registered" in *The Narcissus*. The purpose of this technique is to emphasize that for Druh and his disciples the consideration of scripture and philosophical issues is an ongoing process rather than a cycle of institutionalized events. The exercise is collective and seeks the attainment of a common understanding. His choice of deliberative strategies places Druh in the role of a disputant and inquirer, not in the role of a judge or dogmatist. Thus, while drawing the disclosure of an eloquent but invisible reality, he is still allowed to reveal his own incertitude or express feelings of despair. His disciples, in turn, are expected to co-operate in their self-making.

By organizing his first fictional world into seven colloquies, Skovoroda applies the theological and poetic method he began formulating in "The Primary Door to Christian Ethics." He assumes the role of God's "heir" or "emulator" ("наследник") and imitates the prototypes that created and poetically informed him, among them, the story of Genesis, that divine "workshop of tropes" ("фабрика фигур"), as he would later refer to it in "A Small Book Called *Silenus Alcibiadis* ..." (1775–6). The colloquies, in short, can be read as Skovoroda's own book of genesis, an interpretation predicated not only by the fortuitous number "seven," but also by the associative chain that the title of the last colloquy unleashes.<sup>60</sup> In referring explicitly to the Resurrection, the seventh

57. Note Luka's reference to "врачевство" (1: 158; "лѣкарство" in the first autograph). Cf. Hryhorii's "врачебный дом [...] библия" in Skovoroda's "Colloquy of Five Travellers on True Happiness in Life" (1: 345).

58. "[...] в царских садах" (1: 176).

59. "Старец" may connote an important (i.e., venerable) monk or hermit. It is also used in reference to mendicants or simply older men. Pamva's discussion of the vision of God and his parabolic style suggest to me that he is a monk.

60. In a forthcoming article I will address the musical, geometric, and numerological symbolism in *The Narcissus*. For now, let me note that there are seven colloquies and seven participants: two in the first colloquy (signifying conflict); three in the third; four in the fourth, fifth, and sixth; and seven in the seventh colloquy and subsequent "sym-

colloquy invokes not only the most important Sunday in the liturgical calendar of the Eastern church, but also the day when the Lord rested after six industrious days of speaking the world into existence. Skovoroda's first six colloquies—whose titles differ only in numeration, but universally bear the injunction “Know Thyself”—are devoted to the development of tools by which one can discern the incorporeal “head” (i.e., design/trope/plan/symmetry/proportion/mind) at the core of that very existence and, by extension, literary creation. Skovoroda's method of reading the Bible involves a humanist understanding of God as the ultimate poet. Witness, for example, that in “A Small Book Called *Silenus Alcibiadis ...*,” when explicating the Book of Genesis, Skovoroda has God command his secretary, Moses, to employ sunlight as a metaphor for himself: “And God said: ‘Listen, Moses! Let the sunlight be my figure!’”<sup>61</sup>

Although Skovoroda does not investigate in scholastic fashion the mysteries of faith, his fictional characters—including Druh—partake of them through shared discussion and narrative. As we saw in the seventh colloquy, the venerable Pamva instructs Anton (and those around him) to ascend the mountain of the vision of God. Vision, a theological metaphor for eschatological participation in God, is a transforming and purifying ritual devised to prepare the mind to perceive incorporeal reality.<sup>62</sup> Pamva reveals precisely this understanding of “вѣдѣние” (vision/knowledge) when he interprets some of the psalms as the expression of David's ardent desire to join the Lord. Significantly, it is Pamva who begins the ensuing “musical celebration” with his parable about the two freed captives. The cave they enter is not Plato's cave where chained men marvel at shadows. Rather, it is simultaneously the cave of Christ's birth (“вертеп,” 1: 195) and of his entombment (“пещера,” 1: 195); in that place, simple people partake in the Eucharistic mysteries. Seven days later the men journey from midnight until dawn (Skovoroda's tropes for “blindness” and “true perception”) to greet the Resurrection. In employing one of the principal tools of divine pedagogy, the parable, Pamva mimics the liturgical drama of Easter and thus initiates Druh's academy to practice for the last things.

Pamva's parable is a story within a story. In many ways it is a type of *mise en abyme*, for—like the miniature replica of a shield that is painted in the centre of a shield<sup>63</sup>—it shows a similarity with, and reveals an aspect of, the collo-

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phony.”

61. “«И рече Бог: — Слушай Мойсей! Пуцай будет солнечный свѣт фигурую моею!»” (2: 18). For a discussion of the Renaissance Humanist theory underlying Skovoroda's exegesis in “A Small Book Called *Silenus Alcibiadis ...*,” see my article “The Primary Door,” 565–9.

62. Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Christening Pagan Mysteries: Erasmus in Pursuit of Wisdom* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 49.

63. The phrase “mise en abyme” was coined by André Gide, who adopted the term

quies that contain it. Consider, for example, that in the cave the banquet celebrating Christ's birth lasts six days, just as there are six colloquies devoted to the injunction "Know Thyself!" There are two main protagonists in both the colloquies and the parable: in the latter an older man leads a younger one across an important threshold and both experience a beatific vision. In the colloquies Druh's attention is focussed on the transformation of Luka so that he may develop true perception and resurrect the "human being" within himself. The etymology of his name ("Lucius" in Latin) is probably not a coincidence. It suggests that daylight is Luka's essence, something he does not as yet comprehend because he cannot see the "true sun," in other words, his own divinity. (Recall that "sun" and "sunlight" are Skovoroda's tropes for God.)<sup>64</sup> If we accept Pamva's parable as a metatext, as an interpretive key from within, we may view the colloquies as Skovoroda's Eucharistic symposia, in which the spiritual essence—rather than ritual aspect of the mass—is manifested.

Did Skovoroda create the colloquies to regain his composure during a trying period of transition in his life? The evidence to support an affirmative answer is circumstantial: the colloquies were his first major prose work, a fact that he emphasized later in life. And in them Skovoroda began applying the ideal of moral theology he had formulated in the very manual that so displeased the bishop. An interesting clue, but one drawn from the colloquies, is Druh's confession concerning his psychological despair. Does this reflect Skovoroda's own despondency or merely that of his mouthpiece, a fictional character? A far more significant, but enigmatic, clue is the date in Pamva's fable. Why would Skovoroda inscribe the year 1771 in a narrative that is so obviously parabolic and intimates an eschatological initiation? Because, one may argue, the parable functions like the mirror in Jan van Eyck's famous *Arnolfini Portrait*: it verifies something about the author.<sup>65</sup> If so, was the impulse behind the colloquies—whose completion coincides with this date—connected with Skovoroda's own rite of passage into a new mode of being, one which, for example, led him to adopt Isaiah's voice and proclaim that he is now God's ("Божій есмь")? The

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"abîme" from heraldry. See the discussion by Koerner, 56. Also see Lucien Dällenbach, *The Mirror in the Text*, trans. Jeremy Whiteley with Emma Hughes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 8.

64. My analysis could not detail the teaching strategies of the diatribe (e.g., censure and protreptic) and innumerable poetic games that Druh employs to transform Luka and—I might add—amuse his audience. Nor could it hint at the irony of the latter's reactions, which, at times, appear to subvert his friend's method of argumentation. *The Narcissus* is a very entertaining work, and these topics deserve a separate study.

65. This refers to a 1434 marriage portrait in which a mirror on the wall reflects the couple from another perspective while incorporating the artist in a self-portrait. See Koerner, 55–6.

inclusion of the date is especially perplexing when we note that in his works calendrical time units hardly ever appear, if at all. Is Skovoroda then, like the proverbial Sileni Alcibiadis, concealing and revealing a self-historicizing gesture? I believe that a plausible answer to these questions may be formulated once we consider the “Prologue” more closely.

Skovoroda wrote the “Prologue” in early 1794, at a time when consideration of death was no longer just a useful spiritual discipline, but a pressing necessity. Before I discuss the importance of this newer composition, now placed in anterior position, let me reiterate the full title of the work he legated for posterity: *The Narcissus. A Deliberation on the Topic Know Thyself*. Titles and prologues invariably effect tautologies: it is their function to foreshadow the themes of the books they introduce. A prologue, as a rule, aspires to assist the reader by declaring the author’s goals, outlining his method of argumentation, and often situating his work within a historical context or literary tradition.

In many respects, Skovoroda’s title and “Prologue” perform these functions by alluding to the type of rhetoric that directs the colloquies. Moreover, the concatenated scriptural passages in the “Prologue”’s excursus augur the eschatological profile of *The Narcissus*’s conclusion. The injunction “Know Thyself” clearly presages the main concern of the colloquies. The Delphic oracle was known in Ukraine since at least the inception of humanistic schooling. It had been recapitulated for the Renaissance by Erasmus in *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, where, among other things, he discussed the external and internal nature of man and the proper method of reading the Holy Scriptures.<sup>66</sup>

And yet, the parallel of the titular poses a problem. The implicit equal sign that stands between the Slavonicized forms of the Latin noun “Narcissus” and the Greek injunction suggests that the work might offer a *florilegium* (i.e., an anthology, a gathering of “flowers”) for the enjoyment and moral edification of the reader. And as we saw, this indeed happens in the “symphony.” But the reader’s initial expectation is somehow foiled when confronted with what appears like an erotic portrayal of Narcissus behaving not as a static, innocent, and fragrant spring flower, but as a man endowed with speech and driven to ecstasy by love of self. The passage challenges our sense of decorum and, more importantly, contravenes our expectations if we recall that early-modern Ukrainian literature, dominated as it was by the ethos of a lettered piety but untouched by the courtly theory of style, did not pay much attention to the theme of human love.<sup>67</sup> Erotic components are not foreign to the lyrics of the urban

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66. Cf. nn. 34 and 44. First published in 1503, the tract enjoyed numerous editions in Latin and in translation, including in Polish (1558) and Russian (1783). In my opinion, this book almost certainly influenced Skovoroda’s thought.

67. For a discussion of the theory of style promoted by the Mohylian version of the

and rural milieux, but these did not abide by the poetics of the humanistic school. Even so, I know of no “narcissistic” topics among them. To borrow an adage from Erasmus, Skovoroda’s passage is a *phoenice rarior*<sup>68</sup> and, thus, startles the reader from the very outset.

We do not know what literary elaborations of the Narcissus myth Skovoroda had read. He was most probably acquainted with Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, even though—at the trivium of the Kyiv-Mohyla school—they may have reached him in a moralized redaction. We also know that he was acquainted with the emblemata so popular in early-modern Europe, including Ukraine. Skovoroda, in fact, illustrated some of his colloquies with emblems. Thus, it makes sense to consider one example that would have been available to him in a number of editions (or versions), namely, the collection by Alciatus (1492–1550). The emblem I have in mind bears the Greek motto “Φιλαυτία” (self-love) and depicts the unfortunate Narcissus gazing at his own reflection in a stream. It is explicated by the following epigram: “Because your beauty (*forma*) was excessively pleasing to you, Narcissus, / it was changed into a flower (*flos*) and into the well-known plant that causes insensibility (*stupor*). / Self-love (Φιλαυτία) means the decay (*marcor*) of character (*ingenium*); / it brings and has brought to ruin (*peccatum*) many learned men (*doctus*), / who, having cast off the procedure of the ancients (*vetus*), seek new doctrines (*dogma*) / and wish to hand down nothing but their own fantasies (*phantasia*).”<sup>69</sup>

The censure of self-love represented above was universal in early-modern Europe.<sup>70</sup> A comparison of Skovoroda’s treatment of “самолюбность” with

humanistic school, see my “Kyivski poetyky i renesansni teorii mystetstva,” in Oleksa Myshanych, ed., *Ievropeiske vidrodzhennia ta ukrainska literatura XIV–XVIII st.* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 75–109.

68. See his notes on the adage, “As rare as the phoenix is used of things, or even of men, that are very hard to find [...],” *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 34, II vii 7, 7–8.

69. Cited according to Andreas Alciatus, *The Latin Emblems, Indexes and Lists*, vol. 1, ed. Peter M. Daly et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), Emblem 69. This publication provides facsimiles and an English-language translation of the 1621 Latin edition, which appeared in Padua. (Alciatus’s first Latin edition had appeared in 1531.)

70. For another critique of self-love that was probably known to Skovoroda, consider Desiderius Erasmus’s commentary on the proverb “Multi te oderint, si teipsum amas” (Many will hate you if you love yourself): “[...] warns us against conceit and self-love, for many people are sure to have a low opinion of one who rates himself too highly, while modesty on the other hand is a sovereign way to gain popularity and support. Suidas says that the nymphs used the words I have just quoted, when they were rejected by Narcissus. There is another iambic line to the same effect: ‘No friend you will have, if you’re your own best friend.’ None are less adapted for mutual affection and goodwill than those who suffer severely from love of self.” *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 34, II x 26, 138.

this epigram starkly reveals the nature of his transvaluation. On one level there is a distant conceptual parallel between his view and the epigram in Alciatus, which inculcates the narcissism of learned men who are misled by new doctrines. The semantic axis of Skovoroda's title elevates classical Greece and Rome, and his "Prologue" openly extols antique mythologies and religious systems—Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, and Judaeo-Christian. On another level, however, Skovoroda differs radically from Alciatus: unlike the latter, he does not align self-love with insensibility and moral decay, but, rather, views it as the progeny of wisdom and the result of aperception.

Skovoroda's syncretistic attitude toward ancient cultures is not an intellectual novum. It descends from the procedures of the Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria (second century), who achieved the first real synthesis of Classical philosophy and Christianity, and Lactantius (fourth century), for whom all the ancients—not only the Hebrews—had been graced with pre-Christian revelation:

From their earliest days the Church Fathers had confronted pagan religions and Greek philosophy. They experienced mixed feelings of attraction and repulsion, an impulse to assimilate and, simultaneously, combat those ideas and beliefs. The second century [...] was marked by the final crumbling of Greek rationalism [...]. Pythagoreanism was reborn, and with it were resurrected the beliefs of the ancient people of Judea and Chaldea, of the Druids, of the Indian gymnosophists and the Persian magi—and, especially Egyptian wisdom. For the Greco-Roman world, Egypt was antiquity.[...] Syncretist writings appeared, gnostic movements arose, and amid all this rumble of sects and doctrines spread the revelations of Hermes Trismegistus, the Egyptian god Toth.<sup>71</sup>

In the philosophical-religious approach to the cosmos preserved in the Hermetic writings, Lactantius saw a confirmation of Moses's account of creation and a prophesy of the Incarnation. For him there existed a system of universal correspondences and, thus, pagan philosophers were to be interpreted in a Christian sense.

The corpus of Hermetic writings had a tremendous influence on Renaissance thought.<sup>72</sup> Neoplatonists such as Francesco Patrizi even sought to supplant

71. Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana, or, The Traps of Faith*, trans. Margaret Sayers Peden (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 349.

72. Frances A. Yates indicates that all of the writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus "exhibit a similar type of philosophical-religious approach to the cosmos, involving regenerative experiences and outbursts of religious ecstasy." The work on astral magic of the Renaissance writer Marsilio Ficino was influenced by the magical passages in the *Hermetica*. His translation of this corpus of writings was widely read throughout the sixteenth century. The misdating of these texts led many Renaissance authors to treat them as the fount of *prisca* (ancient) *theologia* and the precursor of Platonism, and to view their "author" as a gentile prophet. Some strains of Renaissance hermeticism (Giordano Bruno's, for example) were nurtured by animist interpretations of nature found

Scholastic philosophy with their own brand of hermeticism. While the Jesuits introduced only certain hermetic notions into Scholastic doctrine, they did adopt the syncretistic method of interpretation employed by the Church Fathers. They deemed the “redemption” of ancient national religions (i.e., the reconciliation of non-Christian religions with Catholicism) as a useful tool in the project of conversion.<sup>73</sup> In this context it is worth recalling that the Jesuit educational model and publications were embraced by the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium—Skovoroda's alma mater.

Much more work is necessary to frame the elusive Skovoroda firmly within these systems: the syncretism of the Fathers of the Church; Neoplatonic hermeticism; or the Jesuit method of syncretistic interpretation. However, this general perspective allows us to appreciate the many correspondences he sets up in the “Prologue”. Let us consider, for example, the analogy between the “eagle's fledgling” (i.e., the phoenix) and his Narcissus. According to Ovid, the revelations of Pythagoras dealt with such issues as “How the great world began, the primal cause / The nature of things, what God is [...] all the secrets hidden / From man's imperfect knowledge.” In retelling these teachings, Ovid presents the myth of the phoenix and emphasizes that while all things “have their beginning in some other creature,” [...] the Phoenix “renews itself / Out of itself.”<sup>74</sup> In Claudian's treatment of the myth the bird begs the sun to set it alight, whereas Lactantius and other Christian writers present the phoenix as “a virgin creature whose earthly existence manifests the asexual afterlife promised by the Gospels.” Lactantius also depicts a worm as a link in the transformation from the ashes and the new bird.<sup>75</sup> Viewed within this context, the ardent desire Narcissus feels for the “source” and his metamorphosis into the “sun” (through the intermediary stages of the “creeping worm” and winged-feathered “butterfly”) reflect the essential mytheme of the periodic death and rebirth of the phoenix. At

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in the *Hermetica*. See the entry by Yates, “Hermeticism,” in Paul Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 3 (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1967), 489–90.

73. Paz, 350.

74. Ovid, 367 and 377.

75. Marie Miguet, “Phoenix,” in Pierre Brunel, ed., *Companion to Literary Myths, Heroes and Archetypes*, trans. Wendy Allatson, Judith Hayward, and Trista Selous (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 952–3. According to Miguet, in the second half of the seventeenth century the phoenix became a true literary myth. For example, Cyrano de Bergerac, in *Les Etats et empires du soleil* (pub. 1661), gave life to the genre of the philosophical tale. In this work, a utopian journey, Bergerac conveys his belief that “there is a burning soul within human beings that is in communication with the sun, the great soul of the world.[...] after death, the soul returns to its source, the sun, but during life the power of the imagination already makes for communication between the sparks contained in the individual and the world's soul” (pp. 956–7).

the core of Skovoroda's symbolical matrix there is a patristic acceptance of pre-Christian revelation and a humanist admiration for the cultural legacy of the antique world, including Egyptian wisdom.<sup>76</sup> Mohylanians before him shared these attitudes, and they would have been delighted by his artifice.

But Skovoroda does not conjoin the three transfigurations (Christ's, Narcissus's, and the phoenix's) into one conceit—subsumed under the name “Narcissus”—primarily to display patristic sensibility or humanistic erudition. I propose that the conceit, inasmuch as it is the controlling allusion in the “Prologue”, serves as an allegory of the author, the literary prototypes that informed him, and the colloquies he composed. It documents Skovoroda's own response to a work he wrote long ago, and seeks to determine the manner in which the future reader will approach his legacy.

The “Prologue” is a wonderful mosaic of oratorical genres and reflects the artistic maturity of the later writings, where the sinuosities of Skovoroda's thought are especially complex. Simulating oral speech, it combines, among others, the strategies of the encomium and the religious sermon to tell the story of a “heroic” subject, announce his resurrection, and disclose his miraculous vision. When the “Prologue”'s orator states “This is my first-born son. Born in the seventh decade of this century,” he declares in no uncertain terms that the “hero” emanates exclusively from his authority as creator. “Rhetoric is an art of positionality in address,”<sup>77</sup> and thus the opening statement deploys a hierarchical situation, in this case the pre-eminence of the “hero,” to place his progenitor at the top of a vertical chain.

The first word of the “Prologue”, the demonstrative pronoun “this,” elicits a traditional image of the orator pointing at the subject of his speech. Narcissus, as the exordium immediately insinuates, descends from the tree of antique discourse and thus appears, at first, to be an abstract entity, an utterance issued by the orator at a moment long past. But this entity is soon incarnated into a living man whom the orator calls “my Narcissus,” and whose animated behaviour and self-consuming passion he describes with semantic saturation. Is Skovoroda then—like the proverbial deceiving orator—gesturing toward the left when the

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76. Note the author's reference to Egyptian wisdom and allusion to the phoenix when he paraphrases one of Narcissus's replies: “Oh sacred source! I love only you. I disappear into you and am metamorphosed. Do you hear? This is what the eagle's fledgling extols: the Theban wisdom of the mother eagle!” (“Источниче святы! Тебе единого люблю. Ищезаю в тебе и преображаюся ... Слышите ли? Се что воспѣвает орлія птенец, орлія матери февайдскія премудрости!” [I: 156]).

77. John Bender and David E. Wellbery, “Rhetoricality: On the Modernist Return of Rhetoric,” in Bender and Wellbery, eds., *The Ends of Rhetoric: History, Theory, Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 9.

subject is located to the right?<sup>78</sup> I propose that he is; in fact he switches directions more than once, not necessarily because he intends to deceive, but because he needs to introduce the three aspects of his conceit. To recognize them the audience must follow, in a manner of speaking, the orator's hand, or rather his index finger. Where is it pointing?

Let us reconsider the deictic: "This is my first-born son." At first it sounds like an appropriation, like something God the Father would say about God the Son. Could it also be pointing at the Eucharistic formula "This is my body"? In this respect the genealogy subsequently presented by the orator (which, as we saw, first mentions an Egyptian parable and gradually leads to John's "There stands in your midst one whom you do not know") includes an important family link: "love is Sophia's daughter." This, a bilingual play on the Greek word for philosophy, is a cryptic allusion to the book of Proverbs, where lady Wisdom extends the following invitation: "'Whoever is simple, let him turn in here!' To him who is without sense she says, 'Come, eat of my bread and drink of the wine I have mixed! Leave simpleness, and live and walk in the way of insight'" (Proverbs 9:4–6).<sup>79</sup>

The reading of Skovoroda's deictic introduction as an echo of the transubstantiation pericope is tenable when we note that lady Wisdom's banquet intimates the eschatological feast that Yahweh promises Israel. For Christian exegetes it also "adumbrates the messianic banquet which Jesus serves, the wine of wisdom and the bread of teaching which he extends, and also his flesh and blood in the Eucharist, which itself anticipates the heavenly feast."<sup>80</sup> Interpreted from this perspective, the orator's initial gesture ("This is my first-born son") and exordium not only introduce the subject, but also extend an invitation to partake of it. Given the eucharistic and eschatological nature of the colloquies, this is most appropriate. The gesture, however, also emulates a prototype and thus discloses the divine model behind the "father-son" relationship between Skovoroda and Narcissus. The latter, at this stage, is still an incorporeal, abstract entity representing a tradition of discourse that begins in antiquity and leads to apostolic times.

Narcissus, however, does not remain long on the level of discourse, but is almost immediately personified as a corporeal and amorous being. One can better understand such a transformation by drawing analogies to the mystical tradition and, in particular, the syncretistic method. In Spanish-language literatures numerous examples abound pointing to syncretism as the mediator between the

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78. The allusion here is to Emperor Domitian's councillor Catullus. See O'Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform*, 5.

79. RSV, 513.

80. O'Rourke Boyle, *Christening Pagan Mysteries*, 54.

amatory style of the Song of Songs and the literary tradition that designated God a “Narcissus of the upper heavens.” For our purposes only one will be adduced here: *The Divine Narcissus* (1690) by the Mexican poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. This play, or rather *auto sacramental*, transforms Ovid’s story and presents an allegory of the passion of Christ and the institution of the Eucharist: God is Narcissus. He, however, does not fall in love with his own reflection but with Human Nature; thus, the object of his love is and is not himself. Human Nature benefits from his redemptive love, but Narcissus must die. The *auto* ends on a jubilant note with the resurrection of Narcissus as a flower and with Human Nature embracing Grace.<sup>81</sup>

It will be recalled that Skovoroda’s Narcissus became enamoured of his “essential principle.” Informed by the colloquies, we know that this refers to the “mind,” “head,” “true human being,” “tabernacle not made by human hands” that dwells in all of us. Thus, the Mexican and Ukrainian authors investigate, from opposite sides of the “mirror,” the meeting place between God and self. I am not suggesting that Skovoroda knew the poetry of Spain and her colonies, nor did he need to: the specular site in question is part of a very rich mystical tradition in neo-Latin literature. Therefore one example, drawn from the *Vision of God* (1453) by Nicholas of Cusa (Cues on the Moselle), will suffice. In this work the Cusan formulated a method of contemplation that involves gazing at a work of art that portrays an omnivoyant face—i.e., one that creates the illusion of always watching and following the gazer. Although the Cusan did not specify that the work must depict Christ, early manuscripts of his *Vision of God* included some version of the Veronica, in other words, an image representing the iconographic tradition of the *acheiropoetoi*.

Relevant to my argument is the Cusan’s treatment of the all-seeing face as a metaphor for the oneness between God and the individual. Nicholas informs the Benedictine monks at Tegernsee, to whom he dedicates his book, that once the gazer realizes he is being constantly watched as an individual, he will feel that the Lord cares solely for him: “For Thou, the Absolute Being of all, art as entirely present to all as though Thou hadst no care for any other. And this befalleth because there is none that doth not prefer its own being to all others, and its own mode of being to that of all others, and so defendeth its own being as that it would rather allow the being of all others to go to perdition than its own.”<sup>82</sup>

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81. “Auto Sacramental de ‘El Divino Narciso’,” in *Autos Sacramentales de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, with a prologue by Sergio Fernández and notes by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970), 3–84. Also see the discussion by Paz, 350–6.

82. Nicholas of Cusa, *The Vision of God*, trans. Emma Gurney Salter, with an intro. by Evelyn Underhill (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1960), 14–15. All

According to the art critic Joseph Leo Koerner, the passage above illustrates an understanding of the “self’s irreducibly egocentric perspective on the world” as the primary tool with which the individual can grasp the magnitude of God’s love: “Our inability to ‘imagine’ that the love we experience could be shared may be a token of our deepest narcissism, yet as such it can also function as our truest index of value.”<sup>83</sup> It seems to me that this premise and tradition inform Skovoroda’s portrayal of his Narcissus: “he burns up and speaks in all languages, but not about many things nor anything idle, but about himself, for himself, unto himself. He cares about his sole self. Only one thing is necessary to him.”<sup>84</sup>

In the seventh colloquy Druh proclaims that understanding of the Pauline human being (i.e., the divine prototype) leads to reciprocal love and oneness with him.<sup>85</sup> Skovoroda illustrates the power of this oneness in the “Prologue” when he portrays Narcissus becoming inflamed by the “source.” However, his description is embedded in the tradition that interpreted the Song of Songs in a mystical sense. Note, for example, Skovoroda’s exegesis of a fragment drawn from 8:6, which he provides in the moral of the thirtieth Kharkiv fable, when discussing the divine love that sustained many heroes even in the face of extreme difficulties: “This one [love] inflamed and directed the hearts of the apostles, prophets, and martyrs to accept excruciating suffering, and [also] set ablaze and animated the hermits and [holy] abstainers toward heroic self-sacrifice. Of this enlightening and inflaming but not singeing fire, Solomon speaks in the ‘Song of Songs’: ‘Strong, like death, is love, / Cruel, like the netherworld, is jealousy, / Her wings are the wings of fire; / An ardent ember are her flames’ (ch. 8).”<sup>86</sup> As we can see, the semantic axis of the fragment Skovoroda cites (i.e., “the

subsequent citations of *The Vision of God* are also drawn from this edition. For the Latin original, *De Visione Dei Liber Pius*, see the facsimile of the 1514 Paris edition, *Nicolae Cusae Cardinalis Opera* (Frankfurt: Minerva, 1962), fols. XCIX–CXIII.

83. Koerner, 131.

84. Cf. n. 14.

85. Cf. n. 47.

86. The italicized text below points at correspondences with the passage cited in n. 14: “Сія [любов] *распалила* и устремила апостолскіи, пророческіи и мученическіи сердца на лютыи страданія, а пустынников и постников к горчайшим подвигам *ражжгла* и оживляла их. О сем просвѣщающем и распаляющем, но не опаляющем огнѣ Соломон в «Пѣснь Пѣсней»: «Крѣпка, яко смерть, лубы / Жестока, яко ад, *ревность*, / Крила ея — крила огня; / *Угліе огненно — пламы* ея» (гл. 8)” (1: 132).

Compare Skovoroda’s redaction of the sixth verse with its immediate context: “Set me as a seal upon your heart, as a seal upon your arm; for love is as strong as death, *jealousy is cruel* as the grave. Its flashes are *flashes of fire*, a most *vehement flame*. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can floods drown it.” (Song of Songs 8:6–7), RSV, 539. Italics mine.

ardent embers of the flames of love”), as well as that of his exegesis, coincides with Narcissus’s divine frenzy.

Narcissus’s behaviour represents the culmination of the avid desire that the Cusan expects his brethren to discover once they behold eternal life “as in a mirror, in an icon, in an enigma”: “[...] to inflame me to love of Thee by love’s imparting, and to feed me by inflaming, and by feeding to kindle my yearnings, and by kindling to make me drink of the dew of gladness, and by drinking to infuse me in a fountain of life, and by infusing to make it increase and endure. ’Tis to cause me to share Thine immortality, to endow me with the glory imperishable of Thy [...] kingdom, ’tis to make me partaker of that inheritance which is only of Thy Son, to establish me in possession of eternal bliss.” (pp. 17–18).

The metamorphosis of Narcissus into the sun also observes the mystical canon of poetic tropes. Consider the following passage from “How Jesus is the Consummation,” the last chapter of the *Vision of God*: “What is it, Lord, that Thou conveyest to the spirit of the man whom Thou makest perfect? Is it not Thy good Spirit, who in His Being is consummately the power of all powers [...]? ’Tis as when the sun’s strength, descending on the spirit of growing things, moveth toward perfection, so that by the right pleasant and natural mellowing of the heavenly heat it may become good fruit on a good tree: even so Thy Spirit, O God, cometh upon the intellectual spirit of a good man, and, by the heat of divine love, melloweth its latent power toward perfection, that it may become fruit most acceptable unto Him” (p. 126). Seen in this context, Skovoroda’s Narcissus can be appreciated as a portrait that melds the imagery of the Song of Songs with mystical similes associating the Holy Spirit with the sun.<sup>87</sup>

Guided by the tenet that each human being is made in the image of God, Nicholas of Cusa maintains that by gazing into the icon, individuals will recognize themselves: “Each face that can look upon Thy face beholdeth naught other or differing from itself, because it beholdeth its own true type” (p. 24). As Koerner explains, in this kind of contemplative method “the self begins to color the object of its devotion, acquiring the attributes of the God it claims to worship.”<sup>88</sup> Skovoroda’s Druh employs a similar strategy when, in the fourth colloquy, he introduces a specular trope and posits that once man discovers his true senses, especially true sight, his perception of God changes: “then you will see in Him [God], as if in a spring or a mirror, everything that was always there

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87. Neoplatonic views of the lover living in the object of his love also appear to inform this portrait. See the discussion by P. O. Kristeller, “Erasmus from an Italian Perspective,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 23 (1970): 11. (This article concerns Ficino’s commentary on Plato’s *Symposium*.)

88. Koerner, 131.

but you never saw."<sup>89</sup> It follows from this that knowledge of self leads to perception of God; consequently love of self and love of God are not exclusive, but reciprocal.

Koerner's study convincingly demonstrates how, in the Cusan's work, God ensures continued devotion to himself by "appealing to our narcissism."<sup>90</sup> I should note, however, that the *Vision of God* does not mention Narcissus or narcissism. Nevertheless, it is clear that when Skovoroda chooses to depict an eschatological participation in God and to name its hero Narcissus, he is functioning within a tradition that understood and celebrated the egocentric nature of the exercise. Let us recall that the "Prologue"'s deictic introduction registers an author's ego from the very outset.<sup>91</sup> Skovoroda, moreover, explicates Narcissus's message—"Know Thyself!"—as analogous to the proposition: "[...] do you wish to be satisfied with yourself and fall in love with yourself?"<sup>92</sup> His exegesis appears less strange when we juxtapose it with one famous mystical initiation into divine madness that posed a similar question:

Now tell me: can a man love anyone who hates himself? Can he be in harmony with someone else if he's divided in himself, or bring anyone pleasure if he's only a disagreeable nuisance to himself? [...] What good is beauty, the greatest gift of the gods, if it is tainted by the canker of decay? [...] And finally, is there any duty throughout life that you can perform gracefully as regards yourself or others [...] unless you have Self-love at hand to help you [...]? [...] But, then what agreeable, pleasant, or graceful act can you perform if you are not self-satisfied? Take away this salt of life and immediately the orator and his gestures will be a bore, the musician will please no one with his tunes, the actor and his posturings will be hissed off stage, the poet be a laughing-stock along with his Muses, the painter and his works deemed valueless, and the doctor starve amidst his remedies.<sup>93</sup>

These words belong to Erasmus's heroine, Folly. Throughout her mock encomium—in praise of herself—she delivers numerous stinging attacks on all kinds of human folly, including negative aspects of *philautia*. Her oration may at first appear as an unreliable text for comparison here; for this reason we

89. "Когда усмотрел ты новым оком и истинным Бога, тогда уже ты все в нем, как во источникъ, как в зеркаль, увидѣл то, что всегда в нем было, а ты никогда не видѣл" (1: 175).

90. Koerner, 131.

91. On deixis and the construction of self, see Keith Green, "Deixis: A Reevaluation of Concepts and Categories" (pp. 10–25); and Alison Tate, "Deictic Markers and the Creation of Voice in Modernist Poetry" (pp. 131–42); both in Keith Green, ed., *New Essays in Deixis: Discourse, Narrative, Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).

92. "Будьто бы сказал: хочещи ли быть доволен собою и влюбиться в самага себе?" (1: 154).

93. *Moriae Encomium (The Praise of Folly)*, trans. Betty Radice, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 27, ed. A. H. T. Levi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 98.

should note that Erasmus's Folly is not unwise, and that she, like a good orator, keeps her audience guessing as to when she is being foolish and when not. What is important, however, is the fact that toward the end of her speech Folly initiates her audience into the mysteries of faith. What began as an encomium gradually transforms into a funeral oration, and Folly, "to assume reality" and "transcend her fiction in an afterlife," leaves her audience to meditate on the vision of God she will experience through death.<sup>94</sup> As she herself states, "this is the part of Folly which is not taken away by the transformation of life but is made perfect."<sup>95</sup>

Within this context the second hypostasis of Narcissus as a man appears less enigmatic. By composing the colloquies as his personal book of genesis, Skovoroda professed long ago that he had assumed the role of heir and emulator of God and his divine Literature. He continues to manifest that very role in transfiguring now his first sustained deliberation into the image of a human being. The "begetting" of Narcissus is modelled on the biblical narrative that depicts the intellectual emanation of the Father as a Son, in other words the Johannine prologue.<sup>96</sup> An important clue supporting such a reading of the "Narcissus" conceit is Skovoroda's choice of the graecism "пролог" (prologue) over its Slavonic equivalent, "предисловие," when naming the prefatory part of the colloquies. Read as an analogue to John's *logos*, the second hypostasis of Narcissus is charged with the task of revealing something about his begetter that could not be understood unless described in human terms. To borrow from Erasmus's *Paraphrase on John*: "in order to give some knowledge of things that are neither intelligible to anyone nor explicable by anyone, it is necessary to make use of words for things familiar to our perception."<sup>97</sup> By marshalling the strategies of mystical writings to depict his progeny's narcissistic behaviour, Skovoroda intimates that the colloquies were born out of the divine frenzy that the partaking of the "inner" generates. His "Prologue", in fact, prepares the reader for such a portrayal of Narcissus when it links self-love with John 1:26.

In his *Paraphrase on John* Erasmus states: "For though a son is not the same as his father, yet in his likeness he reflects as it were his father, so it is possible to see each one in the other, the father in a son and the son in a father."<sup>98</sup>

94. O'Rourke Boyle, *Christening Pagan Mysteries*, 49.

95. *Moriae Encomium*, 152.

96. See Skovoroda's exegesis of the Johannine prologue in "A Small Book Called *Silenus Alcibiadis* ..." (2: 17–19). Also see my discussion of this exegesis in "The Primary Door," 565–9.

97. *Paraphrasis in Joannem*, trans. and annot. Jane E. Phillips, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 46, *New Testament Scholarship*, ed. Robert D. Sider (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 15.

98. *Ibid.*, 15.

Embedded in this interpretation is the principle that every work of art reveals an aspect of its creator; or, in Skovoroda's more earthy style, "a tree is known by its fruits." The depiction of Narcissus's behaviour, I propose, illustrates what the author educes from reading his own "eagle's fledgling," i.e., the colloquies he created at the outset of his prose-writing career. It is a portrait of the self behind this early work. In typical Skovorodian fashion, it does not convey a discrete physiognomy or a temporally specific likeness. Rather, Narcissus is an allegory of a man who pursued—by the sheer force of self-love—a life of introspection, examined faith, and creativity. In delineating himself, Skovoroda regales his audience with Folly's "salt of life," i.e., self-satisfaction. His Narcissus is not a monochromatic and mute emblem ready to serve as a static frontispiece for a future publication of the colloquies or collected works. Ablaze with colour and animated by the Holy Spirit, he is a speaking icon that depicts Skovoroda's inner self: employing the tool of his trade (not one, but many languages); avidly pursuing his goal (reading divine Literature and formulating a moral, philosophical, and very poetic theology); and content with what he is and has accomplished. But this portrait is not devoid of self-irony, if we consider that the phrase "speaks in all languages"—besides alluding to possession by the Holy Spirit—may also refer to the hybrid nature of Skovoroda's Slavonic; or that the phrase "not about many things nor anything idle" may betray an awareness of the confined scope of his themes.

The date of the "Prologue"'s composition leads me to propose that the phoenix mytheme symbolically conveys the genesis, apparent death and, most importantly, regeneration of Skovoroda's first major prose work, which he had retrieved from oblivion only four years earlier. To be sure, the "Prologue" does not uncover any of the circumstances surrounding his first major literary effort, and this fact complicates the operation of a biographical reading. Nonetheless, the underlying premise of the mytheme, an *ex se* (out of itself) birth, intimates that the colloquies were born out of some form of earlier "death" by their author. Read through the prism of this mytheme, the year inscribed in Pamva's parable records the date of a pivotal passage in Skovoroda's life. By the same token, the need to register the resurrection of the colloquies appears to be motivated by the realization that yet another passage, namely, the author's corporeal death, is imminent now. Thus, although it eschews biographical details, the "Prologue" nonetheless seeks to determine the reading of the colloquies as a perpetuation of their rebirth and, by extension, their author. If his artistic self-reflection was not so ambitious when Skovoroda first set out as nothing else but a writer, now, seven months before his death, it was as vigorous as his spirit. To quote from the

letter in which he announced having “made” the “Prologue”: “Old age grieves, or, rather, the corporeal grave suffers, not the spirit.”<sup>99</sup>

The resurrection of Narcissus is forcefully focussed on the here and now. Note the dominance of the “continuous present” in the “Prologue”, the repetition of the adverb “today,” the orator’s apostrophes to his hero, and the ensuing responses by the latter. Everything that pertains to Narcissus is an ongoing process and anchors the discourse world he represents to the immediate situation of the orator “speaking” to his audience.<sup>100</sup> Through the act of being read, Narcissus—the text—transcends death, like a phoenix, and responds to his father’s questions. As the *logos* incarnate, he demonstrates that “there is no other object that more fully and clearly expresses the invisible form of the mind than speech that does not lie.”<sup>101</sup> Narcissus’s first three statements are difficult to interpret.<sup>102</sup> The first, suggesting as it does Eliseus’s miraculous retrieval of an axe head from the river Jordan, would probably elicit a knowing smile from every Mohylanian alumnus: this particular narrative was used in Kyivan poetics to illustrate the dangers of literal interpretation.<sup>103</sup> In a work from 1773–4, “Кольцо” (The Ring), Skovoroda himself enumerated the image of the floating iron among those in the Bible that need to be read poetically rather than literally; as he put it, their savour (“вкус”) is hidden under a bitter crust (“горькая корка” [1: 374–5]). Thus Narcissus’s first statement, like the author’s portrayal of his behaviour, presents a riddle. Does the Elisian iron allude to the recovery of the long-forgotten colloquies? If so, this would be typical Skovorodian wit. However, the image may also serve as a warning about the way we read this writer in general and *The Narcissus* in particular.

The second sentence (“I discerned on the canvas of my emanating flesh an image not made by human hands, ‘which is the radiance of the father’s glory’”), pointing as it does to Paul’s epistle to the Hebrews, intimates that Skovoroda speaks “to us by his son,” Narcissus.<sup>104</sup> Thus, once again, the divine model

99. “Senectus mea dolet, sed sepulchrum corporis dolet, non animus” (2: 358).

100. Cf. the verbs in the passages cited in notes 8, 11, 14, 16 (adverb), and 18.

101. *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 46: 15.

102. To review them, see n. 19.

103. Narcissus’s first allusion is drawn from the following context (italics point to his immediate reference): “So he [Eli’sha (i.e., Eliseus)] went with [the sons of the prophets]. And when they came to the Jordan, they cut down trees. But as one was felling a log, his axe head fell into the water; and he cried out, ‘Alas, my master! It was borrowed.’ Then the man of God said, ‘Where did it fall?’ When he showed him the place, he cut off a stick, and threw it in there, and made *the iron float*.” 2 Kings 6: 4–6, RSV, 297.

104. Skovoroda’s citation (the italicized phrase below) is drawn from: “In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom also

behind the “hero’s” filiation to his author is confirmed. The sentence, however, exults in ambiguity when we consider that the reference to an image made without human agency—in other words an *acheiropoetos*—evokes associations with Christ’s passion and the imprint of his suffering face on the Veronica. Does it suggest that Narcissus’s emanating flesh is acquiring the semblance of the God he worships? Or is the author intimating through his fictional progeny some personal agony? Narcissus’s response does not specify, and, I propose, deliberately so.

The complexity of the “Narcissus” conceit is predicated by the reference to the *acheiropoetos*.<sup>105</sup> Let us recall that in the seventh colloquy Druh uses this very term to describe the tabernacle that resides in the core of every individual.<sup>106</sup> The concept has a long and involved history. “In the Platonic and Philonic tradition of early Christianity, the divine prototypes of all earthly things were called *acheiropoetoi*.” But “man as mere image of God was sometimes distinguished from his divine model by being termed *cheiropoetos* (i.e., made by human hands).”<sup>107</sup>

The game of extracting Skovoroda’s kernel from its biblical husk should lead us first to review the rules of his game. Recall that in the second colloquy Druh’s theory concerning the pre-eminence of invisible nature was developed on the postulate that the essence of all phenomena—whether naturally occurring or man-made—resides in, and is sustained by, an internal design or plan. Taken to its logical conclusion, Druh’s argument posits that invisible nature is the nexus between the “maker” and the “object made,” and, on another level, between the “divine creator” and creation.” The quest for self-knowledge promoted by Druh focusses on the invisible site where man meets his divine prototype. In the end, the process is one of self-making. The “Narcissus” conceit plays with these very

he created the world. *He reflects the Glory of God* and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by word of his power.” Hebrews 1:1–3, RSV, 1003.

105. This is the singular of *acheiropoetoi*. Its structure consists of three elements: *a* (“without”) + *cheir* (“hand”) + *poiein* (“to make”). Koerner, 80.

106. See nn. 46 and 47.

107. Koerner, 85. In the Eastern church the status of *acheiropoetoi* was accorded to images of the visage of Christ that were considered of miraculous origin. Judged authentic records of his earthly appearance as body, such images were upheld as confirmation of God the Son’s full humanity and of history as a central reality of the Christian faith. For this reason they were marshalled first in support of the central doctrine of the Incarnation (fifth and sixth centuries), and then to combat iconoclastic positions among members of the Byzantine church (726–842). Miracles associated with these images stimulated—often outside the jurisdiction of organized theology—the proliferation of this type of iconography. And, thus, the *acheiropoetos*, like the Gospels, came to be valued as both “a miracle worker in an ongoing present and the token of an apostolic past.” This summary is based on Koerner, 80–3.

ideas by setting up the explicit relation between the “father” and “son” (implicitly, between the author and literary creation). At least twice, first by paraphrase and then by allusion (i.e., the orator’s deictic introduction and Narcissus’s second statement), Skovoroda adumbrates a divine model behind his relationship to Narcissus and thus establishes an analogy between a “divine father/creator” and a “human father/maker.” By the same token, he aligns the “divine Word” and “human literary creation.” To borrow Koerner’s incisive and felicitous phrasing, what we have here is the linking of two “*creative natures*” and two “*created natures*,” and mimesis celebrating “the power of human poesis.”<sup>108</sup>

Complexly construed, the “Narcissus” conceit reiterates the venerable Renaissance analogy “between God as artificer and the artist as divine.”<sup>109</sup> It does not, however, equate Skovoroda with God. Worthy of note in this context is the fact that the “Prologue” prudently avows the distance between the orator’s voice and the author by never identifying the “I” with a concrete human name.<sup>110</sup> (This despite the fact that Skovoroda, in his letter to Kovalynsky, clearly acknowledges having “made” this text.) The author of the “Prologue” simply assumes that his reader will also respect this distance.

Let us recall that when Narcissus speaks, he does so as the progeny who transfigured himself into the sun and as the resurrected text of the colloquies. He also speaks for his “father.” Thus Narcissus’s vision takes place in the specular site where he and his author, canvas and emanating flesh—i.e., two *cheiropoetoi*—meet face to face with their divine and imperishable model, an *acheiropoetos*. The doctrine of the Incarnation maintains that Christ conjoins, under one hypostasis but without confluence, two natures—one divine, the other perishable. Christ’s human semblance is an aspect of the latter. In the words of Erasmus’s *Paraphrase on John*, “[t]here is nothing corporeal in God.”<sup>111</sup> For this reason, I propose that the reflection Narcissus sees is not the Christomorphic portrait of Skovoroda that an iconographic and literal reading of the *acheiropoetos* image would suggest. The statement about the floating iron warns us against such an interpretation.

I propose that Narcissus’s canvas bears the imprint of what emanates from Skovoroda through the agency of God—in other words, the colloquies. Through them is manifested the “design/trope/plan/symmetry/proportion/mind” that invisibly links the human and the divine author. *The Narcissus* is the canvas “made” by Skovoroda that simultaneously reflects an image “not made by human

108. Koerner, 132.

109. Koerner, 136.

110. Elena Semino, “Deixis and the Dynamics of Poetic Voice,” in Green, 143–60.

111. *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 46: 16.

hands” precisely because it registers the speech of the “father’s” invisible mind. On this canvas the imperishable and perishable creative natures are conjoined without confluence. Thus, in my opinion, when Narcissus mentions “the radiance of the father’s glory,” he could easily be referring to both his divine and human begetters.

In the *Vision of God*, the Cusan depicts God as a self-reflecting being who “created this whole world for the sake of intellectual nature,” and argues that individuals must fulfil their own destiny: “Lord, [...] Thy One Spirit [...] is received in manifold ways, for It is received in one way by one, in whom It produceth the spirit of prophecy, and in another [...] in whom It produceth skill in interpretation, and yet by another, to whom It teacheth knowledge, and so in divers ways in others. For His gifts are diverse, and they are perfections of the intellectual spirit, even as that same heat of the sun bringeth to perfection divers fruits on divers trees” (pp. 126–7).

My reading of Narcissus’s vision proposes that Skovoroda found contentment in the destiny he chose for himself as prophet, interpreter, and teacher of divine Literature. To appreciate this, let us recall that, as he continues his account, Narcissus first alludes to Song of Songs 8:6 by appropriating the woman’s request to her lover: “Set me as a seal on your arm.” Then he cites, or suggests, the many Narcissi whose psalms, prophecies, parables, proverbs, and diatribes constituted Skovoroda’s favourite reading and object of analysis.<sup>112</sup> From the perspective of the latter’s own exegesis of Song of Songs 8:6 we can infer that Narcissus’s account reflects much more than his father’s reckoning as a writer. As we saw, this exegesis aligned the flame of love with the perseverance that sustained apostles, prophets, martyrs, hermits, and holy abstainers through suffering (“страданія”), and led them to heroic feats (“подвиги”).<sup>113</sup> Thus, Narcissus’s vision articulates what Skovoroda beheld long ago when he gazed into—or, rather, read—his beloved source: his “own true type” as an author with a prophetic and apostolic mission. Druh’s appropriation of Isaiah’s voice (“I am God’s”) at the conclusion of the symphony attests that Skovoroda attained such an understanding of himself by the time he set out to write the colloquies. Thus, the date in Pamva’s parable is not at all a gratuitous element.

Throughout the “Prologue” the “Narcissus” conceit affirms the irreducible relation between author and fictional progeny. For this reason, its concluding passage—a citation of Isaiah—performs a dual function. It is a comforting closure to Narcissus’s eschatological vision and, simultaneously, Skovoroda’s

112. To review the context from which the allusion is drawn, see the English text of Song of Songs 8:6-7 cited in n. 86. The authors Narcissus subsequently cites or intimates are listed in n. 21.

113. See n. 86.

own consolation of self: “And your Lord shall be with you always; and you will be satiated as your soul desires; and your bones will grow fertile and will be like a watered garden and like a spring whose waters do not fail; and your bones [= clan] will sprout like grass and multiply, and the offspring of generations will follow. And your wastelands will be built up [= inhabited] for eternity; and your foundations will be everlasting unto generations of generations; and you will be called the erector of fences; and the paths within you will be appeased.”<sup>114</sup>

Given Skovoroda’s identification not only with biblical authors, but also with apostles and prophets, the last passage of the “Prologue” intimates a very personal prophecy. As the concluding remarks by Druh and the account of Narcissus attest, such an appropriation of voice is not an isolated instance in Skovoroda’s works. Throughout his career as a teacher and writer, he turned to the prophetic legacy of his biblical models whenever he needed to emphasize that social harmony begins at the individual level, that the regeneration of society could be advanced through discovery of the self.<sup>115</sup> The type of self-love Skovoroda promoted was not turned inward.

The controlling allusion of the “Prologue” allows Skovoroda to celebrate his own transformation, perseverance, and accomplishment in an environment that, from his perspective, was a spiritual wasteland. Thus, his concluding passage may also be a veiled expression of hope that the foundations he set up—through the colloquies and other works—would serve future generations of readers. *The Narcissus* began as a rite of passage into the creative life. It ended as a rite of passage into life eternal.

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114. “«Будет Бог твой с тобою присно, и насытишися, яко же желает душа твоя, и кости твоя утучнѣют и будут яко вертоград напоенный и яко источник, ему же не оскудѣ вода, и кости твоя прозябнут, яко трава, и разбогѣют, и наслѣдят роды родов. И созиждутся пустыни твоя вѣчными, и будут основанія твоя вѣчная родам родов, и прозовешися здатель оград, и стези твоя посредеѣ тебе упокоиши»” (1: 158).

115. For example, in “The Primary Door to Christian Ethics,” Skovoroda marshalled an abbreviated version of Isaiah’s prophecy (1: 145) and argued that the well-being of individual families, cities, or polities depended on their observance of the divine plan that imperceptibly unfolds throughout the whole of creation (1: 147). In 1790, in the letter where he enumerated and assessed his prose works, Skovoroda included a “Prayer to God on Behalf of the City of Kharkiv” (“Oratio ad Deum in urbem Zacharpolim”). The epigraph of this brief Latin poem points at Zechariah’s vision of an elaborate lamp stand as a symbol of the temple destroyed by the Babylonians, which the Jewish community must rebuild to restore their kingdom (3:8–10 and 4:1–7). Skovoroda’s poem augurs that once Christ opens Kharkiv’s seventh eye (i.e., lights the last lamp of Zechariah’s lamp stand), the city will turn into a “true sun” (*sol verus*, 1: 356).

## ***The Narcissus: Skovoroda's "First-Born Son"***

*Stephen Scherer*

In the considerable body of secondary literature on Hryhorii Skovoroda's life and thought, there are few extended discussions of any of his particular works.<sup>1</sup> We find many pieces devoted to his larger philosophy or to various aspects of his thought, that is, his theology, epistemology, morality, anthropology, pedagogy, and so on. But the individual works, and especially the longer philosophical ones, have been ignored as suitable subjects for analysis. There is a certain logic to this, given that we are ordinarily interested in either an integrated view of Skovoroda's entire philosophy or a more detailed look at one or another aspect of his thought. But neither of these approaches, however interesting, enlightening, or inspiring, makes it possible for us to follow Skovoroda's thinking in an organic way, from beginning to end, through a single work.

*The Narcissus: A Deliberation on the Topic "Know Thyself"* (*Narkiss. Razhlahol o tom: uznai sebe*) is a good candidate for this treatment on two counts. First, it was one of Skovoroda's initial efforts to write a longer and more complete statement of his views. Earlier he had written some of the poems from the *Garden of Divine Songs* (*Sad bozhestvennykh pisnei*), as well as some occasional poetry, "De libertate" for instance. He had also composed some shorter prose pieces before he undertook the creation of *The Narcissus*. "Having

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1. To get a sense of the size and nature of this secondary literature, see V. I. Shynkaruk et al., eds., *Hryhorii Skovoroda 250: Materialy pro vidznachennia 250-richchia z dnia narodzhennia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1975), 245-53; and O. I. Biletsky et al., eds., *Ukrainski pysmenyky: Bio-bibliohrafichni slovnyk v p'iaty tomakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhnoi literatury 1960), 520-36. In the years since these volumes appeared the literature devoted to Skovoroda has grown appreciably, but its nature, especially with regard to the analyses of his individual works, has remained constant.

Awakened They Saw His Glory” (“Ubuzhdshesia vydisha slavu eho,” Luke 9:32) and “Let Him Kiss Me with the Kisses of His Lips!” (“Da lobzhet mia ot lobzanii ust svoikh!” Song 1:1) come to mind in this regard. While the views that Skovoroda presented in these works were consistent with his larger philosophy, they did not represent a full or systematic account of his teachings.

Second, Skovoroda had a special affection for *The Narcissus* among all of his creations. In the opening line of this treatise he referred to it as “my first-born son,”<sup>2</sup> and in a letter to his friend and biographer Mykhailo Kovalynsky, written in September 1790, he called it “the first-born fruit.”<sup>3</sup> In fact, it may not have been the first of his longer tracts in chronological terms, because the date 1771 that appears near the end of *The Narcissus* suggests that it may have been written after “A Symphony Called the Book of Askhan on Self-Knowledge (“Symfonia, narechennaia Knyha Askhan o poznanii samoho sebe”), which Skovoroda dated 1767.<sup>4</sup> If this is true, the appellations “first-born son” and “first-born fruit” carry even greater significance.

*The Narcissus* begins with two introductory sections, a short “Prologue” (“Proloh”) and an even shorter piece entitled “The Wonder Revealed in the Waters to Narcissus” (“Chudo, iavlennoe vo vodakh Narkissu”). In the “Prologue” Skovoroda, in impressionistic fashion, both argues for the importance of self-knowledge and suggests what self-knowledge consists of. The mythological figure of Narcissus, he writes, “as much as asks: do you want to be satisfied with yourself to fall in love with yourself? Know yourself! Test yourself vigorously. Indeed! How is it possible to fall in love with the unknown? Hay does not burn without touching fire. The heart does not love without seeing beauty. Clearly, love is *Sophia*’s daughter. Love burns where wisdom looks.”<sup>5</sup>

But if people were meant to love themselves on the basis of self-knowledge, what self would self-knowledge reveal? On this question Skovoroda does not speak directly, but he suggests that the self to be discovered is an inner, non-material self. He writes that “Whoever has seen clearly in the water the beauty of his own decay has become enamoured not by externality or putrefaction, but by himself, by his own most essential point.”<sup>6</sup>

2. Hryhorii Skovoroda, “Narkiss. Razhlaloh o tom: uznai sebe,” in his *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. O. I. Biletsky et al. (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainkoi RSR, 1961), 27.

3. Hryhorii Skovoroda, “Lysty do M. Kovalynskoho,” in his *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 2, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 357.

4. Skovoroda, “Narkiss,” 75.

5. *Ibid.*, 27.

6. *Ibid.*, 28.

For Skovoroda the discovery and love of one's essential and immaterial self means the transformation of oneself into the basis of all being. While he does not elucidate this matter in the "Prologue," he does suggest, using the symbols "source" and "sun," that this transformation would fuse the individual with the divine.<sup>7</sup> Skovoroda expresses his displeasure with those who have rejected such ideas when he writes, "the hypocrites and superstitious ones, on hearing this, are confused and complain. To be transformed into the source? How can this be?"<sup>8</sup>; and "But the hypocrites stubbornly butt their horns. This seems so reasonable! It stands to reason that a person can by no means be transformed to look like the sun."<sup>9</sup>

The "Prologue," in which Skovoroda begins to articulate, however allusively, his principle ideas, is remarkable for two other characteristics that run through the remainder of *The Narcissus*. The first is his allegorical use of Biblical quotations to support his arguments. When asserting the importance of self-knowledge, he argues that "there stands in your midst one whom you do not know" (John 1:26). When defending the idea of man's transformation into the source, he offers this: "Vapour is God's strength and the pure emanation of the almighty glory" (Wisd. 7:25). When suggesting that the individual could become one with the divine sun, he challenges his audience: "You are the light to the world" (Matt. 5:14). And when attacking the hypocrites who have resisted his thoughts, he reminds them that "the flesh is nothing, the spirit gives life" (John 6:63).<sup>10</sup> The second characteristic is the emotional colouring that marks his work. Skovoroda does not write as a detached or objective observer. He is fervently committed to his ideas, and he expresses this commitment with enthusiasm and joy when he has a point to make, or with exasperation and disdain when he wants to caution his audience against the rejection of his arguments.

The brief "Wonder Revealed to Narcissus in the Waters" continues the content of the "Prologue" insofar as it consists, in the main, of a litany of Old and New Testament quotations that, when allegorically interpreted, communicate the reality of the connection between man and God. A sampling of these once more demonstrates Skovoroda's manner of interpreting the Bible: "Put me like a seal on your arm" (Song 8:6); "Show us the light" (Ps. 4:6); "When will I arrive and appear before your face" (Ps. 42:2); "I do not live, but Christ lives in me" (Gal. 2:20); "Until He transforms our lowly body" (Phil. 3:21). This litany and the introductory portions of *The Narcissus* conclude with the magnificent

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7. Ibid., 28-9.

8. Ibid., 28.

9. Ibid., 29.

10. Ibid., 27-9.

verses of Isaiah: "And the Lord will give you rest continually and will satisfy your soul as you desire and fatten your bones, and you will be like a well-watered garden and like a fountain whose waters will not fail, and your bones will issue forth like grass, and multiply and inherit the generations. And places that have been empty for ages will be built in you, and you will raise up the foundations of the generations, and you will be called the builder of fences and will restore the paths within" (Isa. 58:11–12).<sup>11</sup>

Having introduced his audience to larger notions about self-knowledge, Skovoroda launches into his more systematic discussion of the matter in a series of seven conversations and a concluding "Symphony." The first conversation has only two discussants, Luka and his Friend (Druh). The Friend leads all the discussions and is Skovoroda's voice. Early in the conversation the Friend tells Luka, to the latter's surprise, that he does not possess himself or have others around him for that matter: "You see yourself, but you do not comprehend or understand yourself. And not understanding yourself is precisely the same as losing yourself. If a treasure is buried in your home but you do not know about it, then it is the same as if it did not exist."<sup>12</sup>

In fact, the Friend tells Luka that he is simply a "shadow" because he does not understand the reality of his being. Or, as the Friend puts it, "going past your essence, you have lost your principle."<sup>13</sup> When Luka asks for help in grasping this, the Friend adds: "our so-called eye, ear, tongue, hands, feet, and entire body accomplish nothing by themselves, but are completely enslaved by our thoughts ... so you see that thought is our principal point or means ... therefore not our outer flesh, but our thought, is our principal person."<sup>14</sup>

The real person, then, is thought, and to support this notion the Friend cites Jeremiah 17:9: "The heart of the person is deep, beyond all things, and is the person, and who can know it?"<sup>15</sup> Here the Friend equates the "heart" and the "abyss" of our thoughts, and not much later he admits that the only vehicle for achieving an understanding of this is faith: "How can you believe if, besides the visible, you do not see anything? Remember, faith despises empty visibility and depends on that which, in its emptiness, is the head and strength and foundation, which will never perish."<sup>16</sup>

11. *Ibid.*, 30–1.

12. *Ibid.*, 32.

13. *Ibid.*, 33.

14. *Ibid.*, 34.

15. *Ibid.*, 35. Skovoroda's rendering of this verse, "Hluboko serdtshe cheloviku, pache vsikh, i chelovik est, i kto poznaet eho?" is a translation of the Septuagint. For a discussion of this verse and its several forms, see James Scanlan et al., eds., *Russian Philosophy*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1965), 52, n. 50.

16. Skovoroda, "Narkiss," 36.

Though at times during the discussion Luka is on the verge of grasping these matters, he always fails. Therefore the first conversation ends with the Friend remonstrating with Luka: "You are precisely a shadow, darkness, and decay! You are the dream of your true person. You are the chasuble, but it is the body. You are an apparition, but it is the truth in you. You are nothing, but it is the essence in you.... But you do not recognize it in these places, because you do not admit with Abraham that you are earth and ashes. So eat the earth, love your heel, and crawl along the ground."<sup>17</sup>

In the second conversation the Friend, joined by Luka and another discussant, Kleopa, tries to demonstrate that invisible and immaterial thought takes precedence not only in individual men, but in the universe as a whole, or, as he puts it, in all the Copernican worlds.<sup>18</sup> In this instance he argues, first, that the proportion and arrangement of colours, rather than the colours themselves, are the essence of a painting; second, that the shapes and figures of letters, rather than the colours therein, are the essence of writing; and third, that a church's architectural plans, rather than its brick and lime building materials, are its essence.<sup>19</sup> On this basis the Friend concludes, "So why do you not perceive that the unseen takes precedence in other creatures and not only in man?... Does not God sustain everything?... He is the true tree in the tree, the grass in the grass, the music in the music, the house in the house; in our finger-like body He is the new body and its precise point or head."<sup>20</sup>

In the third conversation the interlocutors change. Luka, who had earlier wavered between acceptance and rejection of the Friend's ideas, is replaced by a peasant, Filon. Filon worries that his lowly status might offend a learned man such as the Friend, but the Friend puts him at ease immediately by quoting the verse, "Man looks at the face, but God looks at the heart" (1 Samuel 16:7).<sup>21</sup>

In the conversation itself the Friend tries to do two things. First, to stress that a single invisible reality underpins both humanity and nature. To this end he contends that, "If we want to measure the sky, the earth, and the seas, it is necessary first to measure ourselves with Paul on our personal measure. And if we do not find our measure within us, then with what can we measure?"<sup>22</sup> The importance of seeing that the same reality supports both individuals and universal nature is so great that the Friend repeats this argument not much later: "But who can recognize the plan in the vastness of heaven and earth, which adhere to their

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17. *Ibid.*, 37.

18. *Ibid.*, 38.

19. *Ibid.*, 38–9.

20. *Ibid.*, 39–40.

21. *Ibid.*, 41.

22. *Ibid.*, 41.

own eternal symmetry, without first perceiving it in their own paltry flesh. All-in-all has been constructed or stuck together with this plan, and nothing can last without it.”<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, the Friend elaborates the notion that the decline and decay of matter does not signal any ultimate ruination. Kleopa resists this conception by arguing that if a wall had collapsed or a vessel had broken, they both would have perished. But the Friend brings Kleopa up short by asking, “How could you dare say that with the breaking of the shell the vessel would vanish? Do you dare to establish the vessel from dust and not in God? What solidity can there be in something that could at any moment be subject to ruination and change? Does not the invisible finger of God sustain the dust in the walls? Is not He the head in the walls? Is the wall not eternal if its principal origin is eternal?”<sup>24</sup> And so the Friend concludes that the invisible reality of individual phenomena is eternal. “Do not believe that your hand will decay,” he argues, “but believe that it is eternal in God. Only its shadow will perish. The true hand and the truth are eternal because they are invisible, and invisible because they are eternal.”<sup>25</sup>

Luka rejoins Kleopa, Filon, and the Friend for the fourth conversation, but Kleopa, who had been the chief discussant along with the Friend during Luka’s absence, continues in that role. Luka’s return, however, does serve as the occasion for the Friend to sum up his view of self-knowledge and of the reality of the self: “There is a single labour in both of these—knowing yourself and understanding God, recognizing and understanding the precise person; the whole difficulty and deception is the result of His shadow, at which we all stop. The true person and God are the same. Never yet has the visible been the truth, or the truth visible; but always and in everything the truth is hidden and invisible because it is the Lord’s. But the Lord, and the Spirit, which does not have flesh

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23. *Ibid.*, 42. Skovoroda’s earlier mention of the Copernican worlds, and his effort here to demonstrate that a single plan supported everything in the visible universe, suggests that while his thought was not scientific in character, it was informed in part by the larger accomplishments of the scientific revolution. While it is certain that Skovoroda did not study these matters during his formal education at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, he would have had ample opportunity to learn of them during his stay in St. Petersburg (1742–4) or his travels to western Europe (1745–50). It is also important to remember that translations of Christiaan Huygen’s *Kosmotheoros* and Bernard de Fontenelle’s *Pluralité des mondes* had been published in Russia in 1717 and 1740 respectively. See Dmitrii Vishnevsky, “Obshchee napravlenie obrazovaniia v Kievskoi akademii v pervoi polovine XVIII st.,” *Kievskaiia starina*, 1904, no. 2: 171; Valentin Boss, *Newton and Russia: The Early Influence, 1698–1796* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 50; and K. I. Shafranovsky, “Razgovory o mnozhestve mirov Fontenellia v Rossii,” *Vestnik Akademii nauk SSSR*, 1945, no. 5–6: 225.

24. Skovoroda, “Narkiss,” 44.

25. *Ibid.*, 47.

and bones, and God are one."<sup>26</sup> This assertion identifies every individual's true person with the Holy Trinity of Christianity in general, and with the Divine Logos, Jesus Christ, in particular. There is a certain logic in this for Christians, because they then share divinity with the Supreme Being who, through the Incarnation, shares their humanity.

The strength with which the Friend makes this assertion, and it is surely one of the most memorable statements in the whole of *The Narcissus*, creates a problem for Kleopa. Kleopa now argues that since every person has a "heart," that is, is sustained by the true person who is the Divine Logos, how could good and evil people both exist?<sup>27</sup> But the Friend rejects this reasoning: "Truly, it is difficult to explain that evil people have lost their heart, that is, themselves. And although it was said between us in our first conversation that whoever did not know himself had lost himself, still, for more certitude, here is God's voice for you. 'Listen to me, lost heart, who is really far from the truth.'" (Isa. 46:12).<sup>28</sup>

In his effort to make this explanation clear, the Friend emphasizes that knowledge of the true person needs both Divine grace and individual will: "We must compel ourselves to give a place in our heart to the already mentioned Divine word. If it breathes its blessing upon us, then everything will appear simple and direct to us."<sup>29</sup> The Friend reiterates this important idea later in the conversation: "And if the spirit of God has blown on your heart, then you must examine that which, since your birth, you have not seen."<sup>30</sup> So the Friend argues that those who ignore God's grace and do not exercise their individual wills can not discover the true person. They are bound to remain imprisoned by appearances.

In the fifth conversation the interlocutors are the same as in the fourth—Luka, Kleopa, Filon, and the Friend. Although Filon had been present during the preceding two conversations, he had contributed nothing substantial to them. But he sets the tone for the fifth conversation with the words, "Precisely from here, I think, is the old proverb 'He is so stupid that he does not know how to count

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26. *Ibid.*, 47–8. This identification of the "true person" with God has inclined some critics to argue that Skovoroda was influenced by the Protestant mystics of Germany, particularly Jakob Boehme. See Dmitrii Chizhevsky [Dmytro Chyzhevsky], "G. S. Skovoroda i nemetskaia mistika," *Nauchnyia trudy Russkago narodnago universiteta v Prage* 2 (1929): 283–301; and D. Gumilevsky (Archbishop Filaret), *Obzor russkoi dukhovnoi literatury, 862–1858*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1861), 72.

27. Skovoroda, "Narkiss," 49.

28. *Ibid.*, 50.

29. *Ibid.*, 50.

30. *Ibid.*, 51.

to two.’ But we presently only count to one in the whole world because we have not seen anything of the other in it.”<sup>31</sup>

The Friend not only agrees with this assessment, but offers the Old Testament story of Joshua and Caleb as a historical example of the failure of a whole people to distinguish between the strength of the invisible and the weakness of the visible. After all, the Friend argues, at the conclusion of this biblical episode the Lord said, “‘All who have angered me shall not see it.’... ‘My servant Caleb, because my spirit is in him and he has followed me, I shall lead into the land where he had gone, and his seed shall inherit it’” (Num. 14:23–4).<sup>32</sup> In the Friend’s interpretation of this story, therefore, the six hundred thousand who are the slaves of appearances are denied entry to the promised land, while Joshua and Caleb are rewarded for their ability to understand that all power is in God and not in externality.

Having considered both Filon’s folk saying and the Old Testament tale about the dual nature of the universe, the Friend brings the fifth conversation about self-knowledge to a close with his own formulation about this essential truth:

The entire world consists of two *natures*: one visible, the other invisible. The visible [nature] is called creation, while the invisible [one] is called God. This invisible *nature*, or *God*, permeates and sustains all creation; it was, is, and will be always and everywhere. How can He not be angry if we, looking at the changes of the perishable *nature*, are frightened?... Consider: if He is the being and fulfilment of everything, then how can you lose what is yours? Whatever you have, He is all of that for you. Nothing that is yours perishes, because God knows no ruination.”<sup>33</sup>

The same interlocutors continue their exchange in the sixth conversation. And it is evident there that they are still mulling over the powerful concepts that had been introduced in the preceding two conversations: (1) the identity of the true person in each of us with God; (2) the manner in which everyone can come to an understanding of this true person within themselves; and (3) the nature of this true person.

With regard to the first concept, the problem inheres in the fact that since each of us has a true person and the true person is God, therefore each of us is God. But now the Friend listens with approval as Kleopa qualifies this absolute identification of man and God: “He [God] is authentically in our visible flesh the immaterial in the material, the eternal in the perishable, one in each of us and whole in everyone, God in flesh and flesh in God, but neither is flesh God nor

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31. *Ibid.*, 54.

32. *Ibid.*, 56.

33. *Ibid.*, 57.

God flesh."<sup>34</sup> However much the true person links man with God, God still retains an identity separate from man.

Closely connected to the question of man's divinity is the vehicle by which man can know about his true person or divine essence. In an effort to get at this problem, Luka asks: "Who can hear God's word if God is not in him? The light is seen when light is in the eyes."<sup>35</sup> Kleopa, again with the Friend's apparent approval, adds: "The Divine spark can fall on the dark abyss of our heart and suddenly illuminate it. Let us only believe that God is in human flesh."<sup>36</sup> On this second question, then, Kleopa and Luka do not so much qualify the Friend's earlier teaching as digest and reformulate it. After all, in the fourth conversation the Friend had argued that knowledge of the divinity within us is the result of both Divine grace and the exercise of the individual will, and so Kleopa and Luka have now reached an accord with that view.

It is Filon who poses the third question, "To whom is the true person, our master, similar in the flesh?"<sup>37</sup> The friend responds:

He resembles a good and full ear of wheat... What is the ear [of wheat]? The ear [of wheat] is the very strength in which the stem with its branches and the beard with its chaff are contained. Has not all of this been hidden in the seed, and does not all of it emerge in the spring, having changed into green in place of its decrepit yellow raiment? Is not the strength of the seed invisible?

Yes [it is]. It acts when all of its externality has already perished, so that no one would connect a new fertility to the dead and unfeeling earth, that is, to rotting externality ...<sup>38</sup>

Thus the Friend compares the true person in each of us to the mysterious power of the seed, which contains in itself the power to generate and sustain all the elements of the plant.

The seventh conversation is marked by a changed group of interlocutors and a different theme. Kleopa and Filon, who had been present for most of the earlier conversations, are absent; Luka and the Friend remain, and they are joined by Pamva, Anton, and Kvadrat. The subject of the seventh conversation moves from self-knowledge, the true person, and the reality of God within creation to a consideration of language in general and the Bible in particular. It is not clear

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34. *Ibid.*, 58. This terminology indicates that Skovoroda wanted to avoid pantheism, the doctrine that the universe, conceived as a whole, is God. Instead, he took the position of immanent theism, which recognizes the distinction made in Orthodox theology between the transcendent Divine essence on the one hand and the immanent Divine energy or economy on the other.

35. *Ibid.*, 58.

36. *Ibid.*, 58.

37. *Ibid.*, 58.

38. *Ibid.*, 58.

why this conversation needs a different set of participants. Perhaps Skovoroda believed that this last theme was so refined that Kleopa and Filon would have been out of place or less credible than their replacements.

The new theme is introduced by Pamva, who quotes the Biblical verse, "I said, I will take heed of my ways, that I sin not with my tongue" (Ps. 39:1).<sup>39</sup> Anton acknowledges the importance of this citation when he adds that "the tongue directs the whole body and is the head of everything."<sup>40</sup> The entire company then agrees that truthful speech has to reflect an understanding of the Divine reality that sustains all of creation. But more than this, if man wants to understand Divine reality and reflect this understanding in his speech, he has to assimilate the wisdom of the Scriptures. Pamva gathers up all these points when he exclaims, "who will lead us out of the ditch of the netherworld? Who will take us up the mountain of the Lord? Where are you, our light, Jesus Christ? You alone speak the truth in your heart. Your word is true. Your gospel is the burning lantern, and you are the very light in it."<sup>41</sup>

The implication of this statement is not only that one has to apprehend the truth of the Bible if one wants to have a correct view of the universe and speak truthfully about it, but also that a proper view of the Bible is indispensable because the Bible, like man and nature, is dualistic: that is, it has a visible, one might say sensible, aspect and an invisible, Divine essence. If one can not pierce through the verbal appearance of the Bible to its Divine essence, then the Bible will deceive rather than enlighten. Pamva speaks more directly to this matter when, referring to the Bible, he states, "this Divine house appears on the outside as a beast's cave, but on the inside a virgin gives birth to the one whom the angels praise without interruption."<sup>42</sup> The Bible then is truly divine, and its divinity is identified more particularly with the second person of the Divine Trinity, Jesus Christ. Its divinity, however, is hidden by its external appearances, which, like all externality, could mislead the unwary.

Kvadrat tries to explain the Bible's dualistic nature by comparing it to a wall:

But how is it possible not to call this wall built by God a limit when it is the border between light and the altogether alien darkness? This wall has a dark side, the one that looks toward the darkness. But its side that faces east is interior and entirely suffused by the light of heavenly God, so that if an unenlightened resident arrives at its door, which is outwardly dark, he will see no beauty whatsoever and will step away to wander in the

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39. *Ibid.*, 61.

40. *Ibid.*, 62.

41. *Ibid.*, 63–4.

42. *Ibid.*, 64. This identification of the Divine element in the Bible with the second person of the Trinity was consistent with the earlier identification of the true person in each individual with the Divine Logos, Jesus Christ.

gloom; when he becomes convinced and, unexpectedly, the doors open, then, having been illuminated by the light of the resurrection, he will cry out with David: "I shall confess to you how frightfully amazed I was" (Psalms 139:14).<sup>43</sup>

In practical terms, then, the capacity to comprehend the Bible allegorically, that is, to understand the message about the true person within each of us that the Bible continuously communicates, is to find its Divine essence.

The Friend concludes the discussion of the allied questions of language and the Bible by attacking the improper use of language and then calling for a celebration of the Bible. He does the former when he refers to speech that does not recognize the Divine essence of all creation as "the poison of the vipers, the sinful sting, the serpent's tongue that led Adam down into labour and sickness"<sup>44</sup> and as "you deaf demon, you mute and empty language."<sup>45</sup> He accomplishes the latter when he exhorts the entire company, "Let us call out to the Lord with psalteries! Let us arm ourselves with agreement against the accursed tongue, the enemy of our divine person. Perhaps we will at least drive this unclean spirit from our company."<sup>46</sup>

The last portion of *The Narcissus* is entitled "A Symphony, That Is, Agreement of the Sacred Verses with the Following Verse: 'I Said: I Shall Watch My Ways So As Not to Sin with My Tongue'" ("Symfonia, syrlich sohlasie sviashchennykh slov so sliduiushchym stykhom: 'Rikh: sokhraniu puty moia, ezhe ne sohrishaty iazykom moim'"; Ps. 39:1).<sup>47</sup> This "Symphony" constitutes the Friend's celebration of the Bible and its wisdom, a celebration that is joined by the same characters who had discussed the problem of language and the Bible in the immediately preceding conversation. The celebration begins with Pamva's recitation of a parable about two slaves who had become lost in the wilderness. By good fortune, the slaves meet some local farmers who are celebrating the birthday of their master. One of the farmers urges the travellers to visit their master, who, he says, is interested not in appearances but, rather, in the heart. The slaves follow this encouragement, and as they approach the master's house they hear a chorus singing "Through death He conquered death...." When the singing stops, the doors suddenly open and the slaves enter a hall illuminated by the morning light.<sup>48</sup> The parable ends here, and while it is not easy to plumb its every detail, it seems that it is a symbolic representation

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43. *Ibid.*, 68.

44. *Ibid.*, 69.

45. *Ibid.*, 70.

46. *Ibid.*, 74.

47. *Ibid.*, 74.

48. *Ibid.*, 74–5.

of the experience of enlightenment that is possible for everyone to attain if they have faith in the power of God's grace.

From this parable about the journey to enlightenment the discussion moves to a consideration of the verse, "I said: I will watch my ways that I sin not with my tongue" (Ps. 39:1). After some debate, the company agrees that this verse, as supported by other Psalms, demonstrates the Psalmist's (David's) recognition that he had passed from ignorance and superstition to enlightenment, and that in the future he would maintain or protect this outlook so that untruthful or deceitful speech would not lead him back to his former views.<sup>49</sup>

While the Friend agrees with this interpretation of the verse in question, he adds: "But you have omitted the most necessary thing, namely: 'I said.'"<sup>50</sup> After all, he reminds his listeners, "David says in many places 'I said,' and after this follows something very important."<sup>51</sup> The phrase "I said," argues the Friend, signals that David had "healed" his speech and thus had created a solid foundation for his understanding of the Divine essence underpinning visibility. As a punctuation to the Friend's line of argument, the other interlocutors voice a litany of Psalms to support this analysis: "I spoke with my tongue" (Ps. 39:3); "You gave joy to my heart" (Ps. 4:7); "My heart is overflowing with a good thing ... my tongue is the pen" (Ps. 45:1); "My tongue rejoices in your truth" (Ps. 71:24); "The word of the Lord aroused him" (Ps. 104:19); "Rejoice in the joy of your tongue" (Ps. 105:5).<sup>52</sup>

Not surprisingly, the Friend re-emphasizes here that language based on a misunderstanding of Divine reality could spread deception and evil. This language he calls the "old" language, and when he asks the company for a litany of Biblical support for his opinion concerning this language, they respond: "There is no truth in their mouths. Their heart is filled with vanity" (Ps. 5:10); "The flattering lips are in the heart" (Ps. 11:3); "The fool speaks in his heart" (Ps. 13:1); "Trouble and evil are under their tongue" (Ps. 9:28).<sup>53</sup>

Having celebrated the Biblical wisdom concerning the need to avoid the "old" language, the Friend addresses the "new": "I believed this peaceful language, and therefore I spoke. And what did I say? Here is what: 'All men are liars' [Ps. 115:2]. 'All flesh is hay' [Isa. 40:6]. 'The flesh is nothing' [John 6:63]. I said: 'I will call on the name of the Lord' [Ps. 115:4]. I said: 'I will watch my ways' [Ps. 39:1]. I will follow my new language, the imperishable man. I will not go

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49. *Ibid.*, 75–6.

50. *Ibid.*, 76.

51. *Ibid.*, 77.

52. *Ibid.*, 77.

53. *Ibid.*, 80.

into decay in pursuit of the sinful language. I will cry out with Isaiah: 'I am God's' [Isa. 45:22, 46:9]."<sup>54</sup>

While these words of the Friend could have served admirably to conclude the "Symphony," it is Pamva who has the last word. What he says not only closes the "Symphony," but generally recapitulates *The Narcissus* and even reminds one in an odd way of the parable with which he had begun the "Symphony": "A few of us have entered into the interior of our flesh as if into the bowels of the earth. We have discovered what we did not see. We found new people who had hands, feet, and everything else that was new. But it is not yet the end. Let us continue the journey to our perfect world. Scorn, O my soul, absolutely all flesh visible and invisible! Depart from it and draw near to the Lord. Depart with faith and not with a vision. Faith multiplies and moves mountains. Here is the lamp of your paths, a new language!"<sup>55</sup>

A consideration of the above discussion suggests several conclusions. The first is that we should pay more heed to the logical and dramatic structures of Skovoroda's individual works. *The Narcissus*, however labyrinthine at times, is not simply a free-floating discussion of arcane points. It starts with a question about the importance of self-knowledge and then proceeds by stages to consider how one discovers the immaterial basis of man, nature, and the Bible. Along the way, and also in a logical fashion, it identifies this immaterial basis of visible reality with the true person—i.e., the Divine Logos, Jesus Christ—taking care to maintain simultaneously a separation between God and creation that is in accord with Orthodox theology. It concludes with a discussion of language and the Bible in which the need to use a language that recognizes the Divine basis of everything is made paramount.

While Skovoroda's works may not be remarkable for their dramatic content, it is clear that the manner in which the characters in *The Narcissus* interact was also important to him. Luka's disappearance and return, Filon's humble presence coupled with his folksy but important contributions, Pamva's late arrival but crucial remarks, and the Friend's now hortatory, now disdainful, now encouraging arguments all indicate that Skovoroda wanted to create a fictional environment that was the rough equivalent of the social environment in which he lived.

A second conclusion, and one closely linked with the first, concerns the fact that in *The Narcissus* one encounters most of Skovoroda's fundamental philosophical ideas. His discussion of the three worlds—man, nature, and the Bible—their dual nature, visible and invisible, as well as the manner in which we can know about these worlds formed the basis of this work. As a result it is

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54. Ibid., 82.

55. Ibid., 82.

possible to argue that *The Narcissus* represents Skovoroda's effort to present a complete picture of reality.

A last conclusion flows from the first two, namely, that *The Narcissus*, by virtue of its logical structure and complete picture of reality, represents the first articulation of a philosophy in the history of the East Slavs. Of course, there are those who would choose the works of Aleksandr Radishchev or Petr Chaadaev in this regard.<sup>56</sup> But a close reading of *The Narcissus* suggests that it was the "first-born son" not only of Skovoroda, but also of East Slavic philosophy.

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56. For a good discussion of this question (although I disagree with its conclusions), see Mary-Barbara Zeldin, "Chaadaev as Russia's First Philosopher," *Slavic Review* 37, no. 3 (September 1978): 473–80.

# Skovoroda's and Socrates' Concepts of Self-Cognition: A Comparative View

*John Fizer*

Since the middle of the last century, Hryhorii Savych Skovoroda, the eighteenth-century Ukrainian polyhistor, has been hailed by Russian and Ukrainian scholars as, correspondingly, the Russian or the Ukrainian Socrates. To those Russians who perceived the history of Russian intellectual thought from the perspective of imperial historiography, Skovoroda, the first secular philosopher in the Russian Empire, had to be made equal with the pre-eminent thinker in the occidental world. Their imperial ideology was in need of a luminary of such dimension.<sup>1</sup> In their quest to underscore the Skovoroda-Socrates affinity, they claimed the "discovery" of a lost work by Skovoroda in which he expressed his desire to be a Russian Socrates. In it, it was alleged, he wrote: "Hallowed be Thy name in the thought and intentions of Thy servant who has intended with his mind and desired with his will to be a Socrates in Russia."<sup>2</sup> But a linguistic analysis of this work, and its comparison with Skovoroda's authentic works,

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1. See Grigorii P. Danilevsky, "Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda," in his *Sochineniia*, vol. 8 (St. Petersburg, 1902), 326. Gustav Shpet saw in this laudation of Skovoroda as a Socrates or a Plato "a very big desire to have in the eighteenth century the first serious Russian philosopher" (*Ocherki razvitiia russkoi filosofii* [Petrograd: Kolos, 1922], 69). Vasilii V. Zenkovsky, while avoiding the "Russian Socrates" cliché and recognizing Skovoroda's connection "with the ecclesiastical life of Ukraine," nevertheless regards him "universally Russian in importance" and hence "occupying a legitimate place in the history of Russian philosophy" (*A History of Russia Philosophy*, vol. 1 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1952], 54).

2. George L. Kline, introduction to *Russian Philosophy: An Historical Anthology*, vol. 1, *The Beginnings of Russian Philosophy: The Slavophiles, the Westerners*, ed. James M. Edie et al. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 17.

proves it to be a crude forgery, reminiscent of forgeries such as that of James Macpherson in Ireland or of the Králevohrad manuscript in Bohemia.

The Ukrainian references to Skovoroda as the Ukrainian Socrates have been motivated by a different set of reasons. His itinerant and mendicant existence, his preoccupation with teaching and preaching ethical norms of behaviour, and his dialogical mode of writing evoke similarities with Socrates. This was well summed up by Dmytro Chyzhevsky: "The ethical pathos of Skovoroda reminds us of Socrates but not only of Socrates, since he himself [Skovoroda] refers with equal reverence to Epicurus and Protagoras. His pathos resembles the ethical mood of moral philosophers of antiquity in general. "His life," Chyzhevsky continues, "is somewhat reminiscent of Socrates' life, but his ethical views ... have little in common with Socrates' ethical intellectualism. Skovoroda's ethics follows the path of Plotinus and the Church Fathers."<sup>3</sup>

Although Chyzhevsky's conclusion is sound, the epistemological and ethical views of these two thinkers must be confronted more closely in order to find out whether indeed they do resemble each other in any way. By such a confrontation I am not implying, as did some Russian writers, the epistemic equivalence between the two in the history of philosophy. The disparity between them is too obvious even to suggest that. Socrates, justifiably so, has had a supranational significance, while Skovoroda has remained a circumscribed figure. More to the point, while Socrates' concept of self-knowledge, *sofrosyne*, has become a topos in Western philosophy, that of Skovoroda has remained, even in modest East European philosophy, mostly unheeded.

At the very centre of the philosophical concerns of both Skovoroda and Socrates is the issue of self-knowledge or self-cognition, an issue that, beginning with the Cartesian school, has continuously attracted the attention of philosophers, psychologists, pedagogues, and lately even neurologists.

Skovoroda's concept of self-cognition has been commented upon, albeit often superficially and tendentiously. Indeed, many of Socrates' thoughts reverberate in Skovoroda's dialogues, even though, as Chyzhevsky concluded, they are not the sole source of his philosophy. I do not share Chyzhevsky's claim, however, that Skovoroda is more pre-Socratic than Socratic, simply because in his language, unlike Socrates, he relies heavily upon tropes and symbols rather than upon direct denotation. I believe that Skovoroda's interest, like that of Socrates, in the basic matter out of which everything is generated was limited, and that he, too, should be termed a moral philosopher. In his *Apology*, Socrates stated: "The simple truth is, O Athenians, that I have nothing to do with physical speculation," namely, whether the basic matter of all

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3. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, *Narysy z istorii filozofii na Ukraini* (Prague: Ukrainskyi hromadskyi vydavnychi fond, 1931), 39.

elements is water, fire, air, or what have you. Socrates shifted the immovable foundation from the facts of the world to the facts of the human psyche. On this score Skovoroda's and Socrates' attentions indeed converge.

Socrates' concept of *sofrosyne*, as much as can be known since Plato wrote the Socratic dialogues, have been thoroughly scrutinized. Commentaries on practically every utterance in these dialogues continue to grow as if they still contain some latent meaning. To me, a lay philosopher, the "Socratic problem" therefore seems to be less the authenticity of Socrates' voice than the enormity and diversity of these commentaries. As is well known, aside from Plato's *Laws* there is no written work in which Socrates is absent. Hence which voice is Socrates' and which is Plato's has often been a matter of contention.<sup>4</sup> I therefore accept Socrates as Socrates wherever he appears as he appears, except where he postulates the theory of Forms or Ideas. In these cases, it seems to me, the voice is explicitly Plato's.

My summation of Socrates' *sofrosyne* is based on the *Alcibiades Maior*, *Charmides*, *Gorgias*, *Republic*, *Meno*, and *Parmenides*. It is generally agreed that in these dialogues the term *sofrosyne* is polysemous, with multiple denotative and connotative meanings functioning as the antidote to hubris, and that to Socrates it was the most important of all virtues. Some of these meanings are: self-knowledge, self-control, caring for oneself, inner discipline, the health of the soul, knowing what one knows and what one does not know, the science of all other sciences, that within us by virtue of which we are wise or foolish, and soundness of mind. Often Socrates combines *sofrosyne* with *ανδρα* (valour), *καλοκαγαθια* (ingrained beauty of character), *ευταξια* (good order of the soul), and *φρονεσις* (sagacity). All of these interrelated functions distinguish us as humans and, as such, act as predicates of our mind, soul, and self—our *eidōs*. In the *Euthydemus*, *sofrosyne* is attested by the Oracle of Delphi as "know thyself" (*γνωθι σεαυτον*).

How can the soul know itself and thus discover itself? To Socrates the soul is "that which is self-moving" and endowed with an organ to learn the truth. This organ, or "eye of the soul," originally buried in the mud, is gradually drawn and led upward by the dialectical method to the highest level of intelligibility. We read in the *Alcibiades Maior* that "knowledge of thought is the most divine part of the soul." As one eye sees itself reflected in another, so the soul sees itself reflected in another soul, especially in that region where its noblest and divine powers dwell—the region of knowledge.

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4. "The line between Socrates and Plato is hard, if not impossible, to find" (Plato, *Meno: Text and Criticism*, ed. Alexander Sesonske and Noel Fleming [Belmont: Wadsworth, 1965], 1).

To reach the highest level of intelligibility, self-knowledge, like the empirical knowledge of external reality, must be systematic, focussed, and sequential; that is, it must be “in the order of succession.” *Sofrosyne* thus leads from darkness to light, from unawareness to self-revelation.

From a narrow epistemological perspective, *sofrosyne* is the only absolute knowledge that one can have. Empirical knowledge of the world, its origin, its nature, and its end, fascinating as it might be, does not yield an apodictic and necessary truth. For this reason it cannot be the quest of philosophical inquiry. Epistemology or understanding (*επιστημη*), therefore, is inevitably grounded in self-cognition, in the discovery of the soul as the seat of moral ideas or virtues. It is bound with ethics rather than with psychology or anthropology. Hence *sofrosyne* is not mere introspection of one’s inner experiences, but rather a systematic and dialectical inquiry into the *eidōs* of one’s soul and thereby into the ethical and metaphysical dimensions of our existence.

How does Skovoroda’s “philosophy of the heart” relate to Socrates’ “philosophy of the soul”? If we substitute the term “heart” with the term “soul,” as Skovoroda himself often does, the surface affinity between their systems becomes striking.<sup>5</sup> But the conceptual relation between them is much more complex than that. Socrates and Skovoroda postulated the existence of the endogenous structure that makes epistemology rely upon man’s keen awareness of a priori existing knowledge. In Skovoroda, however, this structure is considerably different from that in Socrates. How does this structure operate in both philosophers, specifically in their theories of knowledge, ethics, and metaphysics?

*Sofrosyne*, as the soundness of mind or temperance, as *σοφια*, is central to Socrates’ theory of knowledge. It differs from all other modes of knowledge in that it does not have an object that is different from itself. *Sofrosyne* therefore is the simultaneity of subject, predicate, and object. In his *Narkiss*, Skovoroda, like Socrates in the *Euthydemus*, urges his interlocutor to care only about one

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5. Belief that the heart is the seat of the soul goes back to the pre-Socratic period. Hippocrates wrote: “Some people say that the heart is the organ with which we think and that it feels pain and anxiety. But it is not so. Man ought to know that from the brain and from the brain only arise pleasures, joys, laughter and tears. Through it, in particular, we think, see, hear and distinguish the ugly from the beautiful, the bad from the good, the pleasant from the unpleasant.... To consciousness the brain is the messenger” (as quoted in Wilder Penfield, *The Mystery of the Mind: A Critical Study of Consciousness and the Human Brain* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975], 7). Skovoroda’s symbolic use of the term “heart” is grounded in the Bible. He writes: “As [St.] Jerome has taught us, and we do believe him,... the true person is *the heart in the person*” (“Narkiss. Razhlahol o tom: uznai sebe,” in Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. O. I. Biletsky et al. [Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainskoi RSR, 1961], 49).

thing: "Know thyself, listen to thyself, look into thyself."<sup>6</sup> Self-knowledge is the basis of all other knowledge. To this extent Skovoroda emulates Socrates. But, unlike Socrates, along with the cognition of one's soul Skovoroda derides the body, perceiving the soul and the body antithetically and presenting them correspondingly as truth and illusion, as beauty and dirt. Such derision of the body was inconceivable not only to Socrates, but also to most Ionic Greeks. In the *Gorgias* and *Charmides*, Socrates defends the importance of both. *Sofrosyne* of the soul, he maintains, helps to keep the body in good health. To use the modern term, Socrates upholds the psychosomatic compatibility of the body and the soul. He insists that Eros, as a great demon (*δαίμονιον*), manifests itself as the desire of both the body and the soul. The soul and the body cannot be conceived separately. Skovoroda, on the other hand, conceives of the body as a temporary prison of the eternal soul, which has but one quest—to part with the body and reunite with God.

Another essential component of Skovoroda's epistemology that sets him apart from Socrates is his insistence upon faith as a principal source and guarantor of genuine knowledge. In the first conversation of Skovoroda's *Narkiss*, the protagonist Luka is told by Druh ("Friend," namely, Skovoroda) that "faith despises appearances and relies upon what, in the emptiness, is the head, power, and foundation and never dies." Luka asks Druh: "why did you speak about faith and now speak about an eye?" Druh replies: "'A genuine eye and faith are one and the same.... because a genuine person has a genuine eye that, by bypassing appearance, sees under it [something] new and rests upon it. That is why it is called faith. To believe and to rely upon something, as on a firm foundation, all that is one and the same thing.'"<sup>7</sup> Translating this dialogical exchange into a formal definition, Skovoroda asserts that the validity of anything as true is independent of observation and the adequation between perceptual evidence and inductive judgment. Hence, as a basically idealistic theory of knowledge it is much closer to the Neoplatonist philosophy of Plotinus than to Socrates' rationalistic philosophy.

By stating this, I do not want to reject any and all affinity between Skovoroda's and Socrates' epistemologies. Like Socrates, Skovoroda believed in self-knowledge as anterior to all knowledge. "One who is unable to look first into one's flesh," he writes, "cannot discover the design in the materials of earth and heaven"; "[t]he seeds of all sciences are hidden within man"; "he is their secret source"; and "[a]ll knowledge, in its essence and its base, is self-knowledge." Similar assertions recur in his dialogues, sermons, and treatises. Despite a different mode of linguistic rendition, Skovoroda's dialogues, like those

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6. Skovoroda, "Narkiss," 27.

7. *Ibid.*, 36–7.

of Plato, are aporetic in that they proceed from intentional ignorance to demonstrated illumination. Here I again disagree with Chyžhevsky, this time concerning Skovoroda's and Socrates' use of language. It is true that Plato's dialogues are not as rich in imagery and symbolism as Skovoroda's, and hence do not evoke as varied a reality as those of Skovoroda, but this does not mean that Plato was less interested in the referent function of his language. Being also a poet, Skovoroda deliberately chose a highly figurative style, which was prevalent during the baroque period. In the first conversation of *Narkiss*, Druh (i.e., Skovoroda) instructs Luka this way: "Don't be empty-headed. Examine every word warily. At the same time secure a spot for it in your heart. I myself love this thought ineffably. And I wish it would be yours forever so that our hearts and thoughts would be one. Nothing could be sweeter than this. But, please, first ponder it well.... Be simple. But at the same time be cautious."<sup>8</sup> Hence semiotic contact and semantic oneness with his audience was also Skovoroda's express goal.

Skovoroda's epistemology, like that of Socrates, is subservient to ethics and metaphysics. Ultimately, he insists, knowledge must apprehend the most divine components of the heart, that is, God and thought (*Τεος και φρονησις*) in their complementary relationship. The reflexive activity of our heart, he postulates, is deeply grounded in our ethical and metaphysical exigencies. In the third conversation of *Narkiss*, Druh (i.e., Skovoroda) tells his interlocutor, Kleopa, that to measure and to know what measurement is without knowing the plan behind it is a futile undertaking: "Even if you were to measure all of the *Copernican worlds*, without discovering their plan, which supports all of the exteriors, nothing would come of it."<sup>9</sup> Knowledge (measurement) divorced from its plan, its telos, is sterile sophistry. To conceive of this plan, however, one has to have it in one's heart. "Who can know the plan in the earthly and heavenly extended materials that are attached to their eternal symmetry if one can not see it first in one's insignificant body?"<sup>10</sup>

How is the genesis of this anterior knowledge explained by Socrates and Skovoroda? In *Meno* Socrates tries to prove that all knowledge is but a recollection (*αναμνησις*) of what the soul has already known in a previous existence. Thus a person who is ignorant, like the boy Meno, may have a true opinion on a subject that he does not know consciously. From this example Socrates infers that if Meno had arrived at the knowledge of the Pythagorean theorem, of which he initially was not aware, he must have known it before he was born; ergo, his soul must have always existed.

8. *Ibid.*, 34–5.

9. *Ibid.*, 41.

10. *Ibid.*, 42.

Skovoroda also speaks about the anterior knowledge in the human heart, but he ascribes it to a divine plan that "is extended throughout the entire cosmos nonsensibly and contains and performs everything." Hence "man and God are the same."<sup>11</sup> To know, therefore, is "to refrain from hindering the wisdom that lives within us."

The difference between Skovoroda's and Socrates' metaphysics is equally profound. Skovoroda's is manifestly theocentric, while Socrates' is anthropocentric. Nowhere does Socrates equate man and God, while Skovoroda frequently does. The *sofron*, the wise and just man, Socrates says, is dear to God, and by his virtues he might even resemble Him, but he is not and never will be God. His knowledge therefore is and always will remain incomplete, while that of God is and always will be perfect.

In view of these differences, are Skovoroda's dialogues truly Socratic, and would Socrates, as George Kline believes, have recognized the questions that they deal with as his own?<sup>12</sup> I doubt it very much. Unlike Socrates, Skovoroda conceived of the cosmos in terms of three concentric circles—the macrocosm, microcosm, and symbolic cosmos. "The first world," he writes, "is universal, and the inhabited world is where all born things dwell. It consists of innumerable world-worlds and is a large world. The two other worlds are partial and small. One is a microcosm, that is, a small world, or man. The other world is symbolic, that is, the Bible."<sup>13</sup> The macrocosm and microcosm have two antagonistic natures—one material, which is visible, the other spiritual, which is invisible. The second penetrates and sustains the first. What is interesting here is that Skovoroda's "Dialoh. Imia emu—Potop zmiin" (A Dialogue Called the Serpent's Flood), in which he summarizes his cosmological theory, is based on Plato's concept of forms.

Skovoroda's quasi-pantheistic theory is nowhere to be found in Socrates. The "things above" (*τα μετεωρα*) Socrates claimed not to know. Conceiving everything from the perspective of man, Socrates thus projected anthropology into cosmology rather than vice versa. In the *Gorgias*, for example, the cosmos is seen as an analogue of man's well-ordered life. The ordered movement of the universe reflects the perfect human soul. But when Skovoroda argues that man, a small cosmos, functions within the large cosmos and is imbued with one and the same living soul, this is a Pythagorean idea rather than a Socratic one.<sup>14</sup>

11. "Dialoh. Imia emu—Potop zmiin," in Skovoroda, *Tvory*, 1: 536.

12. Kline, 17.

13. Skovoroda, "Dialoh," 536.

14. The similarity between Skovoroda's and Pythagoras's views is not accidental. Skovoroda made frequent references to Pythagoras. For example: "They [Pythagoras and his disciples] always believed that the mysterious person of our heart is of the same

Whence does Skovoroda's terminology of macrocosms and microcosms derive? It is most probably borrowed from the Stoics, who made no distinction between God and the world. What God is to the world, they claimed, the soul is to man. Hence the world is the macrocosm and man is a microcosm. The soul is the ruling part of man and is possessed of reason. But Skovoroda took only this from the Stoics, to whom physical and spiritual realities were synonymous with corporeality. Otherwise, they believed, the reciprocity between the body and the soul would be inconceivable. To Skovoroda the spiritualist, such a view would have been tantamount to a denial of God.

What should we conclude in regard to the alleged affinity between Skovoroda and Socrates? First and foremost that the claims, both Russian and Ukrainian, that Skovoroda's philosophy emulates that of Socrates is more a compensatory wish than a textual fact. An attentive reading of Skovoroda's dialogues leads us to conclude that his philosophy is highly eclectic, drawing upon a great many ancient philosophers (among them Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Plutarch, Plotinus, and Seneca) and, judging by his frequent references to the Church Fathers, upon their writings as well. Yet, despite such an assortment of often mutually exclusive sources, his philosophy is remarkably coherent. How then did he achieve this coherence? To obviate conflicts, Skovoroda skilfully extrapolated from these sources only those statements or often only expressions that validated his suppositions. Thus, from the Stoics he took the concept of macrocosms and microcosms, but refrained from their materialistic monism. From Socrates he took the concept of *sofrosyne*, but ignored its polysemy and its broad applicability.

If we were to correlate Skovoroda with a single Greek philosopher, in matters of nature and the structure of all reality it would have to be Plotinus. Like Skovoroda, albeit in more dramatic terms, Plotinus conceived of Being as made up of One and of the Soul emanating from it. To Skovoroda self-cognition was not, as Socrates thought, one of the multiple predicates of our mind, but the soul's contemplation of One. To know One, Skovoroda believed, meant to become one with it. In the moment of such a cognitive union the soul becomes God. It reascends to its original source, surrendering to One. Matter to Skovoroda, as to Plotinus, was non-being, the darkness into which the One shines. It is the evil principle, a formless quantity that receives its illusory form from the soul. Interestingly, the language of Plotinus's *Enneads*, very much like that of Skovoroda's dialogues, is excessively metaphorical.

Nowadays the question of whether Skovoroda was or was not a philosopher, which some writers posed in the past,<sup>15</sup> appears to be paralogical, simply

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essence and nature as the most blessed spirit that well governs the universe's machines" ("[Tsitseron. O starosti]," in Skovoroda, *Tvory*, 2: 186).

15. The first refutation of Skovoroda as a philosopher was made by Illarion Chestovich:

because there is no one apodictic definition of philosophy. If, however, we accept its etymology as its defining criterion, then Skovoroda must be recognized as a true philosopher.

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“The goal and boundaries [of philosophy] are well established, and therefore it is difficult to escape being out of touch with time by introducing into it such a would-be philosopher as Skovoroda” (*Istoriia Sankt-Peterburgskoi dukhovnoi akademii* [St. Petersburg, 1857]), 296). In 1922 Shpet expressed a similar view: “Those few thoughts in Skovoroda that remind me of philosophy, and around which his fantasy and instructions ferment, hardly rise above the level of generalities and truisms concerning philosophy” (Shpet, 69).

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# Pietist Nationalism and the Russian Rediscovery of Skovoroda

*Alexandar Mihailovic*

After his death in 1794, Hryhorii Skovoroda's achievements underwent a period of obscurity. Because of the paucity of published texts by and about him, for the next thirty years most of the information about this Ukrainian philosopher and his writings remained anecdotal. Skovoroda came to be regarded as an almost folkloric figure on the basis of manuscripts purported to be by him and various contemporaries' accounts of his peripatetic and mendicant lifestyle. The number of apocrypha about Skovoroda grew considerably, but few attempts were made to categorize them and separate the wheat of these materials from their chaff.

In the second half of the 1820s this situation began to change, but in a way that was unexpected. At that time little material was published in Ukraine; and it was articles in Russian literary journals that truly sparked a renewed interest in Skovoroda. The "thick journals" that emerged in Moscow and St. Petersburg during the late 1820s and early 1830s fed the interest of the reading public in the empire's non-Russian literatures through reviews and accounts of various authors and translations of their works. In the case of Skovoroda, his macaronic East Slavic style made such translations more or less unnecessary. Interpretation of his writings, however, was another matter. In the stringent political and social atmosphere of Nicholas I's reign, some of Skovoroda's ideas, in particular his reverence for the individual consciousness (with the pious heart functioning as a kind of almost Protestant "inner voice"), were not easily reconcilable with official Orthodoxy.

Because of the stringent demands of tsarist censorship during Nicholas's reign, commentators on Skovoroda essentially had two choices. They could either portray Skovoroda as a religious thinker whose writings were fully consistent with the Orthodox tradition, or characterize him as an exclusively literary figure whose thought was unsystematic and thus, *qua* philosophy, a failure. Those who chose the latter gambit drained Skovoroda's philosophy of any programmatic or

didactic meaning unpalatable to the imperial status quo; fortunately, however, they merely glossed over rather than actively rewrote or distorted Skovoroda's works. What thus emerged in Russian writing during the 1820s and 1830s was a picture of Skovoroda that highlighted a recast Russian religious nationalism at least as much as a slanted rereading of the author's works. The Russian criticism of that time reflected the mind-set that resulted in Count Sergei Uvarov's doctrine of Official Nationality. The "non-Orthodox" elements in Skovoroda's thought were, in fact, fully consonant with similar ones interpolated into the official view of Orthodoxy in the 1830s. The convergence of an eminently non-institutional religious thinker such as Skovoroda with the cynical and worldly religiosity of Nicholas's regime was unexpected. It was, however, a confluence not without certain ironies that highlight the actual gulf separating Skovoroda's views on personal piety from those of Nikolaevan ideology.

Russian writing about Skovoroda dates almost as far back as the philosopher's death. The first example is, of course, "Zhizn Grigoriia Skovorody" (1794) by Mykhailo Kovalynsky, a close friend of Skovoroda's. Kovalynsky's work is both a keen appreciation of Skovoroda's philosophy and a hagiographic account of his life. Sensing the idiosyncrasy of Skovoroda's writings, Kovalynsky clearly felt the need to provide an exposition of the entire oeuvre, and he went about it in a way that implicitly recognizes the insufficiency of biographical events in explaining Skovoroda's worldview. Although Kovalynsky's biography was circulated in manuscript form, it had little impact until it was finally published in 1886.<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly and perhaps significantly, subsequent writings on Skovoroda emphasized the philosopher's Ukrainian provenance in a way that Kovalynsky scrupulously avoided. The first published article on Skovoroda, by Gustav Gess de-Kalve (Hess de Calvet [?]) and Ivan (Jean) Vernet, appeared in the Kharkiv journal *Ukrainskii vestnik* in 1817.<sup>2</sup> It was followed by I. Snegirev's derivative article in *Otechestvennyia zapiski* in 1823.<sup>3</sup> More significant from the perspective of literary history is Izmail I. Sreznevsky's "Excerpts from Notes about the Venerable Hryhorii Skovoroda," which appeared in a literary miscellany, *Utrennaia zvezda*, published in Kharkiv in 1833.<sup>4</sup> Sreznevsky, a Iaroslavl-born

1. First published as "Zhitie Grigoriia Skovorody, opisannoe drugom ego M. I. Kovalinskim," *Kievskaiia starina* 16 (1886): 103–50; most recently reprinted as "Zhizn Grigoriia Skovorody" in Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 2, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 439–76.

2. "Skovoroda, ukrainskii filosof," *Ukrainskii vestnik*, no. 6 (April 1817): 108–51.

3. I. Sn., "Ukrainskii filosof Grigorii Savich Skovoroda," *Otechestvennyia zapiski* 16 (1823), no. 42: 96–106; no. 43: 249–63.

4. "Otryvki iz zapisok o startse Grigorii Skovorode," in *Utrennaia zvezda*, vol. 1 (Kharkiv, 1833), 67–92.

Russian from an academic family, was not only a prominent lexicographer and professor of Slavic languages at St. Petersburg University. As a young man he studied and taught at Kharkiv University. During that time he collected and first published a significant quantity of Ukrainian folklore, and associated with a number of prominent literary figures, such as Nikolai Gogol, with whom he maintained an occasional correspondence. With Kharkiv figuring prominently in Skovoroda's life as a teacher, it was not long before the ambitious Sreznevsky (who had already published the first Ukrainian literary miscellany, *Ukrainskii almanakh*, there in 1831) would attempt to pave the way for the recognition of a little-published writer of quasi-legendary status. His effort was very much a part of the Ukrainian ethnographic project he conducted throughout that decade; he published the results of his research in his journal *Zaporozhskaia starina* (6 issues, 1833–8) and in his miscellany *Ukrainskii sbornik* [2 vols., 1838, 1841]).

But the most significant appreciation of Skovoroda appeared in 1835 in *Teleskop*, a journal that became infamous that same year when it was shut down for publishing Petr Chaadaev's first *Philosophical Letter*. The article about Skovoroda was written by Alexandru (Aleksandr) Hașdeu, a highly obscure writer of Moldovan origin.<sup>5</sup> Hașdeu's name was consistently garbled by his East Slavic contemporaries as "Khizhdeu," a phonetic rendering that eloquently bespeaks the subliminal Russocentrism of imperial literary journalism that remained constant throughout the 1820s and 1830s. Hașdeu's piece is significant for a number of reasons. As Joseph Fuhrmann has noted, it was one of the first serious attempts at examining Skovoroda's legacy primarily as a philosophical system, and it contains an appendix that defines many of Skovoroda's terms and references.<sup>6</sup> Although Hașdeu's article quotes a great deal from unpublished works that, as Fuhrmann notes, were of "questionable authenticity," it is also notable for being the first one not to highlight Skovoroda's Ukrainian background, an approach that had had the effect of reducing him to a provincial literary curiosity. The impact of Hașdeu's article was considerable, and it undoubtedly precipitated the interest in Skovoroda that gradually grew over the next few decades.

Hașdeu was born in 1811 in the village of Miziuryntsi (now in Shumsk raion, Ternopil oblast) in Right-Bank Ukraine.<sup>7</sup> His father was a Russian

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5. A. [Hașdeu], "Grigorii Varsava [sic] Skovoroda: Istoriko-kriticheskii ocherk.: Otryvok pervyi. Obshchee osnovnoe poniatie o Skovorode iz ego sobstvennago soznaniia. S prilozheniem Skovorodinskago Idiotikona," *Teleskop*, 1835, no. 5: 3–42; no. 6: 151–78.

6. Joseph T. Fuhrmann, "The First Russian Philosopher's Search for the Kingdom of God," in *Essays on Russian Intellectual History*, ed. Leon Bordeu Blair (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 69.

7. Most of the following biographical information about Hașdeu was gleaned from E. M. Dvoichenko-Markova, "Aleksandr Khasheu i russkaia literatura," in *Ocherki*

translator of Polish and Moldovan literature. Haşdeu studied at the Kishinev (Chişinău) Theological Seminary; there, in addition to taking the traditional subjects, he was taught by the Transcarpathian Slavist Iurii I. Venelin. Theology and Slavic philology significantly influenced Haşdeu's later work, and they are both abundantly evident in his article on Skovoroda. In 1829 Haşdeu entered Kharkiv University, which was at the time a major centre of Ukrainian cultural and intellectual activity. It was there that he became acquainted with Sreznevsky and helped him to compile the folkloric materials for *Zaporozhskaia starina*. Haşdeu wrote almost entirely in Russian. He translated Romanian and Ukrainian historical folk songs; composed poetry that was highly derivative of his translations in both style and substance; and popularized Romanian and Ukrainian literature through his numerous literary and historical overviews about them.

In Haşdeu's writings it is often difficult to see where he stands politically. The virtual absence of political reverberations in his poetry—which, as Pushkin's poetry demonstrates, can be audible even after the censor has done his job—is certainly conspicuous. One senses that Haşdeu constantly trimmed and hemmed and hawed when he wrote about Russian-Moldovan cultural relations, taking special pains to portray them as a seamless ethnic symmetry. The following lines from one of his poems are certainly highly suggestive of a writer with a culturally divided consciousness: "Lish kistiu chuzhbiny / Rabotaiu ia, / No kraski kartiny / Ne vziaty s chuzhbiny."<sup>8</sup>

Many of Haşdeu's writings are characterized by this feeble prevaricating. They present the interaction of different literary traditions as simple give-and-take devoid of the hegemonistic impulses of the Russian Empire. There is nothing in Haşdeu's archives or his published works that suggests that he saw anything wrong with the Russian annexation of his ancestral homeland of Moldova (as Bessarabia gubernia) in 1812.

This slant explains the viewpoint and possible motivation of Haşdeu's article on Skovoroda. As already mentioned, the most apparent difference between Haşdeu and previous commentators on Skovoroda is the fact that Haşdeu does not highlight the philosopher's ethnicity. This is not to say, however, that he does not regard Skovoroda's ethnicity as an issue. Polemicizing with Gess de-Kalve and Vernet's article, Haşdeu argues that to call Skovoroda a Ukrainian Cynic or a Ukrainian Diogenes is misleading, and he counters that it would be more

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*moldavsko-russko-ukrainskikh literaturykh sviazei (S drevneishikh vremen do serediny XIX veka)*, ed. K. F. Popovich et al. (Chişinău: Shtiintsa, 1978), 116–28. Haşdeu died in Khotyn in 1872 and was buried in the village of Kerstentsi (now in Khotyn raion, Chernivtsi oblast).

8. "Only with the paintbrush of a foreign land / Do I work, / But the painting's colours / Are not taken from a foreign land." As quoted in *ibid.*, 124.

accurate to call him a Russian Socrates. He writes that both Socrates and Skovoroda felt the calling from above to live out their lives as instructors to the people (*narod*); furthermore, each of them functioned as an example of *homo ludens* operating in the rhetorical modes of enthusiasm and irony, the latter manifesting itself in play and humour rather than (as might be expected) in rationalist sobriety.<sup>9</sup> Haşdeu emphasizes that, for Skovoroda, self-knowledge (*samopoznanie*) is achieved precisely through this levity. His Skovoroda is more reminiscent of Diderot or even Erasmus than of Plato's Socrates.

What is especially significant here, however, is Haşdeu's transformation of Skovoroda from a Ukrainian into a Russian. He refers patronizingly to the "entire common people of Ukraine"<sup>10</sup> as revering Skovoroda; later he effects a rhetorical shift whereby Russia becomes the philosopher's nation. There is more to this change than a slip of the pen: Haşdeu is clearly not satisfied with confining Skovoroda to Ukraine, which he implicitly regards as a provincial backwater. In spite of his love for the cultural legacy of Ukraine and Moldova, Haşdeu seems loath to ascribe a talented non-Russian writer to anything but Russian literature.

In the second installment of his article, Haşdeu elaborates on this and other points. Borrowing, without explicit acknowledgment, Skovoroda's notion of the human heart as a microcosm of the cosmos, he makes the point that the philosopher's faith or belief was born not only in his own heart, but also in that of his people.<sup>11</sup> Later he highlights with approval Skovoroda's assertion that the teacher is not only obliged to be ever-present among the people, but must be from, for, and with the people and work for them.<sup>12</sup>

It could be argued that Haşdeu does not have ethnicity in mind when he uses the term "*narod*," a word that is notoriously slippery and subject to a wide range of interpretations even in the most unequivocal of contexts. Nonetheless, the constant iteration of the term, its cognates, and his emphasis on its conceptual underpinnings suggests that Haşdeu had something more specific in mind than simply a disaggregated "people." Furthermore, he all but trumpets his Russo-centrism in a footnote to Skovoroda's statement. There, instead of citing his source, he fatuously praises Skovoroda's assertion as being not only profound and learned, but also pre-eminently Russian: according to Haşdeu, other nations, such as the English, reached the same conclusions as Skovoroda had about the

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9. A. [Haşdeu], 21–2.

10. "Ves prostoi narod Ukrainy." *Ibid.*, 13.

11. "Vera Skovorody rodilas v ego serdtse i v serdtse ego naroda." *Ibid.*, 153.

12. "Uchiteliu nadlezhit byt vezdesushchim v narode: ibo izvod obrazovaniia dolzhen byt iz naroda, radi naroda, dlia naroda, narodnyi, dolg zhe uchitelia est zvanie poznat nuzhdu, meru, primer isty obrazovaniia, i sochetat sebja s narodom, to est: izvod s istoiu" (Haşdeu's emphasis). *Ibid.*, 164.

role of the teacher, only over thirty years later. Haşdeu brings home his point about Skovoroda's close ties to Russia a few pages later, where he states that Skovoroda's consciousness was the first of its kind in Rus' and was not an imitation of anything foreign.<sup>13</sup> There can be little doubt as to where Haşdeu's cultural sympathies lie, his own background notwithstanding.

With sixty-five years of Soviet scholarship ringing like tinnitus in our ears, it is easy to neglect or perhaps forget the actual implications of Skovoroda's beliefs for the philosophical circles of the early nineteenth century. No matter how much we may disagree with Soviet Skovoroda scholars such as Volodymyr I. Shynkaruk,<sup>14</sup> it is easy to see in Skovoroda's rejection of the world a politically radical gesture, a denunciation as much as an anchorite renunciation. One must bear in mind, however, that austere pilgrims such as Skovoroda were hardly uncommon before the Revolution of 1917; and it is unlikely that their lifestyle would have been perceived as rebellious. If anything, the mendicant represents the rejection of society in toto, not merely of its ruling echelons.

This attitude is borne out by another work about Skovoroda that appeared in the 1830s. In 1836 *Moskovskii nabliudatel* published Sreznevsky's generous fictionalization of Skovoroda's life, "Maior, maior!"<sup>15</sup> Fascinated by the Skovoroda legend but apparently feeling that he had temporarily exhausted his critical treatment of it a few years earlier, Sreznevsky now tries to give a fuller psychological portrait of the philosopher. His story, interesting if a bit charmless, depicts Skovoroda as an idiot savant whose introspective philosophy of the pious heart makes his relations with people in general—and with an elderly major and the major's daughter in particular—virtually impossible. Skovoroda is to wed the daughter but irresponsibly flees the altar and returns to the wilderness. Many years later, now an old man, he reappears at the major's house only to find it abandoned and overgrown. The story ends on an unexpectedly sombre note, with Skovoroda contemplating the ruins with apparent regret.<sup>16</sup> With his use of the Skovorodian term "*serdtse*" here and earlier in the story (in a manner that unmistakably echoes its use in Skovoroda's philosophical texts), Sreznevsky offers, if anything, a veiled criticism of this worldview as one tending towards a dangerous passivity and quietism. Like the narrator of Henry James's "Beast

13. "Takovoe soznanie bylo pervoe, novoe, obraztsovoe na Rusi; ono ne bylo [...] podrazhanie inorodnomu." *Ibid.*, 167.

14. V. I. Shynkaruk [Shynkaruk], "Filosofskoe uchenie G. S. Skovorody (k 250-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia)," *Voprosy filosofii*, 1972, no. 12: 112–18. This article is a representative example of Soviet scholarship on Skovoroda.

15. I. I. Sreznevsky, "Maior, maior! Rasskaz," *Moskovskii nabliudatel* 6 (1836): 205–38, 435–68, 721–36.

16. "V etom domike, vokrug etogo domika, gde rastsvelo na mig schastie dlia ego serdtsa, vse zaglokhlo, odichalo: i v serdtse ego vse uzhe glukho, glukho." *Ibid.*, 736.

in the Jungle,” Sreznevsky’s Skovoroda realizes all too late that the principles by which he lived had led him not to the hidden realm of spiritual riches, but to a barren solitude. Far from assisting him in coming to terms with death, Skovoroda’s doctrine of the pious heart renders him incapable of truly dealing with mortality.

This is not to say, however, that Sreznevsky’s highlighting of Skovoroda’s asceticism is devoid of political significance. Again, we of the twentieth century have been conditioned to see in the term “political” only that which is antinomian or subversive. A turning away from the world *is* a political gesture, only in the opposite direction. What all of these critical and imaginative writings have in common is an emphasis on Skovoroda’s pietism, a fact that needs to be interpreted in light of the historical movement of Pietism that began in late seventeenth-century Germany.<sup>17</sup>

Stephen Scherer asserts that the impact of Pietism on Skovoroda was considerable, possibly as a result of his travels in Germany from 1745 to 1750 and his extensive reading.<sup>18</sup> As established by Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke at the University of Halle, Pietism was a powerful force in the German states from 1675 well through the middle of the eighteenth century. It stressed the regeneration and justification of the Christian individual through the reading of the Bible, a practice that sympathizers of the movement called “a religion of the heart.” For the pietists spiritual regeneration was always personal, and only secondarily social. Although Pietism did have a potentially radical element in its rejection of institutional Christianity—and, in this regard, it influenced (among others) Kant and Kierkegaard—the insistence that its adherents be the “quiet people” naturally ran against the impulse towards social amelioration. Pietism exerted a considerable influence on Prussian education, and Francke enjoyed the patronage of Frederick I. The Pietist influence on Skovoroda is quite clear as far as the primacy of the Holy Writ and its reshaping of the heart are concerned. An excellent example of this is Skovoroda’s “Knyzhechka o chtenii sviashchennaho pysaniia, narechenna Zhena Lotova” (A Little Book on Reading the Holy Scripture, Called Lot’s Wife), which Skovoroda penned in the 1780s. One sees nothing there, however, of the constrictive and desiccated burgher mentality that subsequently came to be associated with the Pietist movement.

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17. One of the more cogent accounts of Pietism can be found in James Van Horn Melton’s *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

18. Stephen Scherer, “Skovoroda, Hryhorii Savvich,” in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, vol. 35 (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic Press International, 1983), 188.

It is precisely the socially conformist tendency of Pietism—in other words, the elaboration of its tenets into a political philosophy of quietism that construed state and, more pointedly, bureaucratic service as a Christian duty<sup>19</sup>—that found fertile soil in the early nineteenth-century Russian Empire. This influence is most clearly evident in the writings of Hașdeu's contemporary and fellow Moldovan, Aleksandr (Alexandru) S. Sturdza (1791–1854), a reactionary statesman and diplomat who, in 1818, submitted an "Instruction" on education in Russia that stated that the Ministry of Education's goal should be the inculcation in Russian society of "a constant and saving harmony between faith, knowledge, and authority, or, in other words, between Christian piety, intellectual enlightenment, and the duties of citizenship."<sup>20</sup> This statement betrays the influence of Franckian or Prussian institutional Pietism, which Sturdza, notwithstanding his abhorrence of Lutheranism, undoubtedly picked up while studying in Germany. I submit, however, that Sturdza's attacks on Lutheranism were in fact themselves Pietist and of the same cloth as his contempt for Catholicism. In the late seventeenth century Spener indicted Lutheranism as becoming increasingly Catholicized, a pernicious drift that rendered the church accountable neither to man nor to law.<sup>21</sup> Although Sturdza was released from government service with the death of Aleksandr I, even in retirement, at his estate in Odesa, he continued to influence ideologists such as Uvarov and became close with Gogol during the latter's controversial search for spirituality. Sturdza quickly gained a reputation as a Moldovan quisling of the Russians.<sup>22</sup>

Sturdza reflects more explicitly the mind-set of the same Russophile Moldovan intelligentsia to which Hașdeu belonged. During Nicholas's reign, one focus of Russification in the imperial south was the Romanian Orthodox Church under the leadership of Gavril Banulesco Bodoni, who was known as a frequent partisan of Russian causes.<sup>23</sup> In fact, members of the Moldovan and Wallachian

19. See Gerhard Kaiser, *Pietismus und Patriotismus im Literarischen Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Säkularisation* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1961), 32–40.

20. Quoted in "Sturdza, Aleksandr Skarlatovich," in *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 19 (St. Petersburg, 1909), 603. Translated in James T. Flynn's "Sturdza, Aleksandr Skarlatovich," in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, vol. 38 (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic Press International, 1984), 1–2. I would like to thank Professor Paul Bushkovich (Yale University) for initially pointing out to me the possible significance of Sturdza for the "pietist" influence in Russian religious circles of the time.

21. For a discussion of the complex and often tense relationship between Spenerian Pietism and the Lutheran faith, see Melton, 24–6; and Kaiser, 9–10.

22. The Sturdzas were one of the Moldovan families given estates in exchange for their support of the 1812 Russian annexation of Bessarabia. See George F. Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774–1828: A Study of Imperial Expansion* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1976), 2.

23. See George F. Jewsbury, "Bessarabia, Russian Relations with," in *The Modern*

Orthodox clergy themselves often belonged to the local boyar families that ruled the area.<sup>24</sup> In this regard the southern clergy significantly differed from that on Russian soil proper, which tended to be socially distinct from the nobility. Sturdza himself, while personally highly devout, conceived of Orthodoxy above all as a geopolitical force. During the 1820s he worked closely with the sizable Greek community in Odesa in promoting the cause of Greek independence to sympathetic Russians living in the area. His sister Ruxandra (who was married to a German) often assisted him in these activities and became an influential political player in her own right.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, Sturdza was far from being narrow-mindedly xenophobic. In a letter he wrote while he was in Berlin, the multilingual Sturdza describes attending with great interest lectures at the university there on a variety of subjects, including natural law, church dogma, and physics. He remarks that there was much in those classes that he found interesting.<sup>26</sup>

Sturdza's ideas are, in fact, highly eclectic, and his views on the Orthodox church in particular are quite distinctive. In a posthumously published essay titled "Institutions religieuses de la Russie," he excoriates Peter the Great's policy of joining the church to the government and suggests that the policy, far from consolidating the faith, only exacerbated the problem of schismatic sects.<sup>27</sup> Sturdza is particularly harsh towards what he calls the "*aberrations mystiques*" of many Russians, and asserts that such tendencies are foreign to the other Slavs of the empire, such as the Ukrainians and Belarusians.<sup>28</sup> His conception of religious belief has a strong rationalist and moralistic component, and he views Orthodoxy as a phenomenon first and an institution second.

For Sturdza, in its practice the church exists only in the hearts of a community of believers and should be completely separate from worldly power, which is not to say that the church is devoid of political significance. This

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*Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, vol. 4 (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic Press International, 1977), 85.

24. Representatives of the higher Orthodox clergy served on the governing boards of administrative organizations. See V. N. Vinogradov, *Rossiiia i obedinenie rumynskikh kniazhestv* (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1961), 44–5.

25. For an account of the political activity of Roxandra and her brother, see Hans Petri, "Alexander und Ruxandra Sturdza: Zwei Randfiguren europäischer Geschichte," in *Festschrift für Balduin Saria zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: R. Oldenburg, 1964), 355–90.

26. Quoted in a biographical sketch apparently based on family archives: Diktiadis, "Kratkoe svedenie ob A. S. Sturdze," in A. S. Sturdza, *Vospominaniia o zhizni i deiatelnosti grafa I. A. Kapodistrii, pravitelja Gretsii* (Moscow, 1864), 200–1.

27. See *Oeuvres posthumes religieuses, historiques, philosophiques et littéraires d'Alexandre de Stourdza* (Paris: Dentu, 1858), 44–8.

28. *Ibid.*, 55–6.

significance resides in an almost evangelical conception of a *Slavia Orthodoxa* that envisions a network of autocephalous churches united and animated by the power of personal belief. In his memoir of Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, Sturdza writes of the first president of newly independent Greece in a way that is strongly reminiscent of the personalistic doctrine of Pietism, with its emphasis on the devotional aspect of the heart: "Happy is he who is able to glance into the heart and gauge the life of the people who are chosen to be the instrument of Divine Will and an edifying example for those born on earth."<sup>29</sup> In one biographical sketch of Sturdza, a friend describes him in a way that pointedly calls up the late Pietist notion of Christian humility as an expression of duty and service: "with the clear self-awareness of a Christian, he looked at his inner person, sternly examined his qualities, and judged himself as destined 'for mediocrity.'"<sup>30</sup>

The ethic of the pious heart that enjoyed considerable currency in Sturdza's circle has no clear-cut counterpart in the Orthodox tradition. Although the question regarding the extent of the Pietist influence on Skovoroda's notion that "the true person is the *heart* in the *person*"<sup>31</sup> remains open," there can be little doubt as to the Pietist provenance of Sturdza's conception of a community of believers who are autonomous yet linked by virtue of the parallel natures of their personal experiences.

In his discussion of Skovoroda, Haşdeu emphasizes this dichotomy between the inner and the outer being and manifests a wide familiarity with post-Reformation German historical and philosophical writing; at one point he compares Skovoroda's love of puns with the eccentric wordplay practiced by the Wittenberg philologist Friedrich Taubmann (1565–1613).<sup>32</sup> Haşdeu apparently learned his German sources while studying at the Kishinev seminary, and at the end of his article he acknowledges some assistance in writing it from the archpriest Viktor Purishkevich, a professor of theology and a former rector at the seminary.<sup>33</sup> Haşdeu's epigraph from Jean Paul about the happiness of the man to whom God gives a great idea ("O selig, selig ist der, welchem ein Gott eine grosse Idee bescheert")<sup>34</sup> is strongly suggestive of what might be called a neo-Pietist reading of Skovoroda, in which a valorization of inner experience is

29. Sturdza, *Vospominaniia*, 1.

30. Diktiadis, 195.

31. Grigorii [Hryhorii] Skovoroda, *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. V. I. Shinkaruk et al., trans. I. V. Ivano and M. V. Kashuba (Moscow: Mysl, 1973), 142.

32. A. [Haşdeu], 159.

33. *Ibid.*, 169.

34. *Ibid.*, 3.

combined with a Calvinist sense of the pious people as the chosen ones or the elect.

In his monumental history of Russian theology, Georgii Florovsky points out, with evident disdain, that Pietism became a powerful influence on Russian official Orthodoxy during the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>35</sup> Although Pietism's influence was not generally acknowledged at the time, it nonetheless proved to be an invaluable support in the effort to adumbrate a closer natural tie between Russian state authority and religion and between autocracy and personal devotion. In this light, it quickly becomes clear that Haşdeu's piece is eminently Nikolaevan in its theological, philosophical, and implicitly nationalist perspective: he renders Skovoroda into the ideal ward of the Russian state, one who (in the pietistically quietist mode of celebrating *die Innerlichkeit*)<sup>36</sup> espouses the inner realm as the sole purview of correction and perfectibility in the cosmos. Other writings about Skovoroda during the 1830s, such as Sreznevsky's, throw into sharper relief the motif of cultural and personal isolationism in the life and work of the philosopher. It is an interpretation that curiously complements Haşdeu's, as if to affirm that manifestation of piety and belief can only be monadic and incommensurable with the experience of others.

One can hear in Haşdeu's essay reverberations from the secularization of the Russian Orthodox Church and its increasing entanglement in the official ideology of the day. This movement arguably reached its apogee towards the end of the nineteenth century in the figure of Konstantin Pobedonostsev, the procurator of the Russian Holy Synod. No other shift in Russian intellectual history clashes more audibly with the communitarian traditions of Russian Orthodoxy, famously recognized by Aleksei Khomiakov in his formulation of *sobornost*.

Sturdza at least dimly understood this tradition even as he sought to adapt it to his own eminently pragmatic Christianity, which owed as much to Protestant and Catholic sources as it did to Orthodox ones.<sup>37</sup> By all accounts, he was not altogether pleased with the course of government policy under Nicholas I, and may have retired from public life in the 1830s partly because of his displeasure with it.<sup>38</sup> His own outwardly conservative politics notwithstanding, Sturdza ultimately became yet another example of intellectual alienation during the Nikolaevan era. His isolated retirement in the countryside and the posthumous

35. G. Florovsky, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1982), 159–60, 261–70.

36. See Melton, *passim*; and Kaiser, *passim*.

37. In his *Pisma o dolzhnostiakh sviashchennago sana*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Sinodalnaia tipografiia, 1843), Sturdza recommends as supplementary reading not only St. Augustine's *Confessions* and Thomas à Kempis, but also Fénelon and Bossuet (pp. 233–4).

38. Flynn, 1.

publication of virtually all of his writings is not without a certain poignancy and resemblance to the fate of Skovoroda and his works. As Hașdeu himself puts it in his essay on Skovoroda, the Ukrainian philosopher stood in Rus' like a solitary mountain on a steppe, living in a higher solitude without the greeting of reply or emotion, without the acknowledgement of a single heartbeat in "the Russian world."<sup>39</sup> The image is a haunting one, and it asserts the marginalization of Ukraine no less than that of the individual consciousness itself. This vision was something of a conceptual innovation in the Russian context, representing what could be called individualistic nationalism. The figure of Skovoroda provided the perfect emblem for such a vision, one as much monadic as it was monastic. In the sphere of political affairs, it was the ultimate image of quietism.

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39. A. [Hașdeu], 20.

## Tolstoy's Skovoroda

*Richard F. Gustafson*

From the time of his death to our day, the name of the Russian novelist and religious thinker Leo Tolstoy has been linked to the name of the Ukrainian poet and religious philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda.<sup>1</sup> Two major Skovoroda scholars, the Ukrainian Dmytro I. Bahalii and the Russian Vladimir F. Ern, have pointed to this connection.<sup>2</sup> Scholarly attention has been drawn to the similarities between Tolstoy's and Skovoroda's ethical views and social ideals, and while any claim that Skovoroda influenced Tolstoy may be considered extreme, scholars have agreed that there is a "typological" closeness between the two thinkers.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, so much has been made of the parallels that, rather early on, the Ukrainian scholar Ivan Mirchuk tried to isolate the fundamental "inner" psychological differences between the two "externally" similar thinkers, relating these distinctions to his conception of their two, different national identities.<sup>4</sup>

The similarities are indeed arresting. Both Tolstoy and Skovoroda were shaped by the eighteenth-century European enlightened attitudes to the religious heritage, and they both focussed their attention on the moral implications rather than the doctrinal issues of the Christian religion. Their conception of Christianity was derived more from scripture than church tradition, and both of them had

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1. The first linking of Skovoroda and Tolstoy occurred a few days before Tolstoy's death. See A. Izmailov, "Dve legendy (Lev Tolstoi i Grigorii Skovoroda)," *Russkoe slovo*, no. 253 (3 November 1910). The most recent one to my knowledge is in Iu[rrii] Ia. Barabash, "Znaiu cheloveka ..." *Grigorii Skovoroda: Poeziia, filosofiiia, zhizn* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989).

2. D. I. Bagalei [Bahalii], "G. S. Skovoroda i L. N. Tolstoi: Istoricheskaia parallel," in *Pamiaty L. N. Tolstogo: Sbornik rechei ...* (Kharkiv: M. Zilberberg, 1911); and V. F. Ern, *Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda: Zhizn i uchenie* (Moscow: Put, 1912).

3. Barabash, 161.

4. J. Mirčuk [Ivan Mirchuk], "Tolstoy und Skoworoda: Zwei nationale Typen," *Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts auf Berlin 2* (1929): 27–51.

a universalist approach to Christianity that incorporated the views of many thinkers, even non-Christian ones. Both fought against superstition, hypocrisy, and ritualism. Both considered themselves teachers of “the people” and spent considerable effort writing “for the people.” Both developed theories of education designed to foster moral improvement and self-development, and both fought against education that focussed on the so-called sciences. Both Skovoroda and Tolstoy were men of severe conviction who were somewhat intolerant of divergent views and, at times, even irascible. Both of them preferred the country to the city; and both sought to simplify their lives and hence rejected alcohol and embraced vegetarianism. Both sought a consistency between their words and their deeds. Their piety tended toward mystical transports of love that they experienced when being alone with nature. They shared an existential sense that the world of the flesh is the realm of death and that this life is but a dream from which we shall awaken at death.

Given these similarities, it is not surprising that Tolstoy would have been drawn to Skovoroda. Indeed, as early as 1870 Tolstoy asked Petr I. Bartenev to send him some material on Skovoroda.<sup>5</sup> Upon reading it, however, Tolstoy found Skovoroda “boring”;<sup>6</sup> consequently he maintained no extended interest in the Ukrainian philosopher and did not mention his name again until three years before his death. At that time, in April 1907,<sup>7</sup> Tolstoy read a short book about Skovoroda written by his (Tolstoy’s) young personal secretary, Nikolai N. Gusev.<sup>8</sup> This book so impressed him that he immediately set about to rework it into a short piece for one of his own publications. The resulting essay, “G. S. Skovoroda” (40: 406–12; 1907), which remained unfinished, consists of large segments lifted directly from Gusev’s presentation of Skovoroda’s ideas, and connected by passages, mostly of a biographical nature, written by Tolstoy. That Tolstoy chose to write the sections on Skovoroda’s biography himself is telling, for certainly the life of this man, who abandoned his worldly career to pursue the life of a wanderer and whose life thus was in complete accord with his worldview, would be attractive to Tolstoy, especially in the last years of his life. Indeed, Tolstoy actually rewrote this biography in a much shortened form and included it in his book *Na kazhdyi den* (For Each Day). This short biography,

5. L. N. Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, jubilee ed. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1928–58), 61: 229. All subsequent references to Tolstoy’s works in this article are to the volumes and pages of this edition.

6. Valentin Bulgakov, *L. N. Tolstoy v poslednii god ego zhizni: Dnevnik sekretaria L. N. Tolstogo* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1957), 187.

7. *U Tolstogo, 1904–1910: “Iasnopolianskie zapiski” D. P. Makovitskogo*, ed. S. A. Makashin et al (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 2: 414.

8. *Narodnyi ukrainskii mudrets Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda* (Moscow, 1906).

which significantly launders the story of Skovoroda's life even as Tolstoy could have known it, clearly represents Tolstoy's fantasied ideal:

There lived in Little Russia more than a hundred years ago a wise man called Skovoroda. He was both intelligent and learned, and the higher clergy and secular leaders invited him to take up comfortable and important positions, but he did not agree and lived as a wanderer for his entire life. His only possessions were those that he carried on his back in a knapsack: a change of underclothes, and books. All who knew him loved him and were happy when he came into their homes. He judged no one, he gave people advice only when asked, and he was always satisfied with everything. His favourite saying was the following: "I Thank God that he made everything necessary easy and that he only made the unnecessary difficult."<sup>9</sup>

The structure of this unfinished essay is emblematic of Tolstoy's reading of Skovoroda in another sense: he seems to accept Gusev's selection and interpretation as the authentic version of the Ukrainian philosopher. All of Tolstoy's published references to Skovoroda—nineteen different quotations (or paraphrases of quotations), which he used (in eleven cases twice) in his subsequent collections of world wisdom, *Krug chteniia* (Circle of Reading, 1904–8), *Na kazhdyi den* (1906–10), and *Put zhizni* (Life's Path, 1910)—appeared after this encounter with Gusev's laudatory book and were apparently written under its influence. It is, of course, not surprising that the worldview that emerges in Tolstoy's essay on Skovoroda and in his quotations from Skovoroda tends to resemble closely Tolstoy's own. The dominant theme is love—of God and one's neighbour (43: 95; 44: 333; 45: 21, 87, 252, 490, 491), which is the secret to human happiness (44: 36, 337; 45: 87, 92, 490, 491) so easily available to us now (41: 279; 43: 239; 44: 275; 45: 21, 490, 491). The path to this "love" is discovered through introspection, in a kind of self-knowledge that distinguishes the "true," "divine" self from the shadowy, corporal self and is expressed in the doing of the will of the Lord (40: 407; 44: 337; 45: 33, 34, 87). This worldview centres on moral concerns of a most fundamental nature, and issues of metaphysics, epistemology, Biblical exegesis, or doctrinal interpretation, all of which figure in Skovoroda's works, do not emerge. Tolstoy's reading of Skovoroda derived from Gusev's non-scholarly, popular portrayal echoes, in a

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9. "Zhil v Malorossii, bolshe sta let tomu nazad, mudryi chelovek po prozvizhchu Skovoroda. On byl i umen i uchen, i arkhieriei i svetskie nachalniki priglasjali ego na vygodnye i vazhnye dolzhnosti, no on ne soglashalsia i vsiu zhizn prozhil strannikom. Imushchestvo u nego bylo tolko to, chto on nosil za spinoi v kotomke: peremennoe bele i knigi. Vse, kto znali ego, liubili ego i rady byli, kogda on zakhodil v ikh doma. On nikogo ne osuzhdal, daval liudiam sovety tolko, kogda ego sprashivali, i vsem vseгда byl dovolen. Liubimaia pogovorka ego byla takaia: 'Blagodariu Boga za to, chto on vse nuzhnoe sdelał legkim, a tolko nenuzhnoe sdelał trudnym'" (43: 239).

greatly simplified form, the best scholarly Russian treatment of Skovoroda from that era, exemplified by the still important work of Fedor A. Zelenogorsky, who saw in Skovoroda a “philosopher-moralist.”<sup>10</sup> Tolstoy may have known this study.

To one familiar with the rich Baroque texture of Skovoroda’s works, Tolstoy’s Skovoroda seems a bit flat. All of the citations are modernized and simplified, so that the poetic flavor of the original Church Slavonic of the Ukrainian recension that Skovoroda used is totally lost. And the material is presented in a logical manner that bespeaks Tolstoy’s style and vision: “Our body is weak, impure, and mortal, but in it is hidden a treasure—God’s immortal spirit. If we are aware of it in ourself, then we love people, and if we love people, then we are happy.”<sup>11</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to find any passage in Skovoroda that could correspond directly to such a citation. This is true not only of those citations marked “po Skovorode” (according to Skovoroda), but of most of the direct “quotations” as well. Tolstoy was well aware that Gusev had altered Skovoroda’s original texts, and he readily admitted that he had also done so.<sup>12</sup> This approach to translation was, of course, standard for all of Tolstoy’s selections from world wisdom, as was his tendency to cull material from secondary works rather than primary sources. What mattered to Tolstoy was the basic moral message.

Still, Tolstoy was very taken with the Skovoroda he encountered in Gusev’s book. Several days after he began his article on Skovoroda, he asked Gusev to send him all the materials Gusev had used for the book. Gusev informed Tolstoy of all the sources, stressing especially the 1894 collection of Skovoroda’s works edited by Bahalii, which included the “*zhitie*” written by Skovoroda’s pupil, Mykhailo Kovalynsky (40: 510–11). Tolstoy acquired that edition and read it in early June (56: 392), but upon encountering Skovoroda’s actual texts he became disenchanted: “it was not as good as I had expected,” he wrote (56: 197; 1907). One reason for this disenchantment may have been Tolstoy’s discovery of a major difference between his social philosophy and Skovoroda’s. In his

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10. F. A. Zelenogorsky, “Filosofiiia Grigoriia Savvicha Skovorody, ukrainskago filosofa XVIII stoletiiia,” *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* 23 (1894): 197–234, 24 (1894): 281–315. This study places Skovoroda within the context of Western philosophy and patristic literature and gives one of the most nuanced readings of his work available.

11. “Telo nashe slabo, nechisto i smertno, no v nem skryto sokrovishche—bessmertnyi dukh Bozhii. Esli my soznaem ego v sebe, to my liubim liudei, a esli my liubim liudei, to my schastlivy” (44: 337).

12. “Gusev izrecheniia poizmenial, a ia tozhe poizmeniaiui. Skovoroda pisal obyknovenno v stikhakh i malorusskim iazykom” (Gusev altered the sayings and I shall also alter them. Skovoroda usually wrote in verse and in the Little Russian [Ukrainian] language), Makovitsky reports him as saying. See *U Tolstogo*, 2: 441; 4: 142.

unfinished essay Tolstoy quotes verbatim Gusev's interpretation of Skovoroda's notion of "srodnost": "Skovoroda ... taught that all labour that people need to do is blessed by God, and that all people are equal."<sup>13</sup> Upon reading Skovoroda, Tolstoy discovered that Skovoroda's actual views were a rationalization of the existing social and ecclesiastical inequalities: "Skovoroda taught that priests should be respected and that the gentry should be obeyed. It seemed to him that it could not be otherwise (masters and subjects)."<sup>14</sup> This discovery may have been enough to discourage Tolstoy from further working on Skovoroda; at any rate, Tolstoy abandoned his work on the article, and his interest in Skovoroda waned, even though he continued to cite his version of Skovoroda's teachings and to consider him an important and underestimated writer whose works, he believed, should be made available to the larger European community.<sup>15</sup>

Tolstoy's disenchantment with the "real" Skovoroda is not surprising, for the two thinkers are as intellectually and stylistically different as they are, in the main, typologically similar. Although he was educated at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy and grounded in the classics of Roman and Greek antiquity and Eastern and Western Christianity, Skovoroda abandoned the academy's scholastic approach. Instead, he read the Old and New Testaments (especially Paul) using the hermeneutical procedures common in the Greek patristic tradition and developed by one of his favourite authors, the Platonist Philo Judaeus of Alexandria. Skovoroda was especially fond of the Old Testament, and he often presented his ideas by fanciful readings of that text, which, like Origen and the Cappadocians before him, he interpreted as an allegory of spiritual life as he understood it. What is especially striking is that Skovoroda places ancient pagan texts on a par with Scripture, presenting, for example, the myth of Narcissus as an allegory of spiritual introspection. He may have been influenced by a number of modern West European thinkers (he often mentions Spinoza, Malebranche, and Christian Wolff), but he lived in the intellectual world of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics and reworked their ideas into his Christian philosophy, just as did the Greek Fathers he knew so well.<sup>16</sup> A telling example of this approach is Skovoroda's "*liubymaia pohovorka*," which Tolstoy often cites, about God making what is necessary easy and what is not necessary difficult; this saying is, in fact, one by Epicurus that was accepted and quoted by Clement of Alexan-

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13. "Skovoroda ... uchil, chto vsiakii trud, neobkhodimyi dlia liudei, blagoslovliaetsia Bogom, i vse liudi ravny" (40: 410).

14. "Skovoroda uchil pochitat sviashchennikov i slushat bar. Emu kazalos, inache i byt ne mozhet (gospoda i poddannye)." *U Tolstogo*, 2: 446.

15. *U Tolstogo*, 2: 441; 4: 142.

16. See A. S. Lebedev, "G. S. Skovoroda kak bogoslov," *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* 27 (1895): 170-7.

dria.<sup>17</sup> Skovoroda's tendency to present his ideas through allegorical rereadings of Scripture is coupled with a style that, as Chyzhevsky argues, is decidedly "antithetical" and grounded in the basic device of accumulating pairs of opposites.<sup>18</sup> Skovoroda is drawn to the paradoxical and presents his views in poetic images and dramatic dialogues rather than in essays or sustained arguments designed to make a single and clear point.

Nothing could have been more alien to Tolstoy. A child of the French Enlightenment, he strove to present his ideas as arguments grounded in reason. Of course, he then would find support in selected passages from the Gospels. But Tolstoy rejected the Old Testament and all of Paul's writings, precisely Skovoroda's favourite scriptural texts. At times Tolstoy did follow the allegorizing hermeneutical procedure we find in Skovoroda, but he used it only in reading the New Testament; he never attempted to Christianize the Old Testament or make Paul acceptable through this procedure. In general we could say that the language, style, and intellectual milieu of Skovoroda's works were very foreign to Tolstoy's outlook and approach. It is in fact surprising that upon actually reading Skovoroda's works Tolstoy did not reject them out of hand, as he had so many others. Certainly Gusev's interpretation had a major influence on Tolstoy's continued positive view of Skovoroda.

The fact that Tolstoy's Skovoroda closely resembles Gusev's and appears to be a certain distortion of the actual Skovoroda should not blind us, however, to the more fundamental typological resemblance between the Ukrainian and Russian thinkers. We now know that the moralistic vision Tolstoy proclaimed so loud and often in his many essays and books in fact rested on a rather complex metaphysical vision that he worked out for himself in his diaries and notebooks. What is so striking is that this metaphysical vision, which grew out of Tolstoy's way of being in the world, is actually quite close to Skovoroda's. Indeed, it is this similarity of existential worldview that may explain Tolstoy's genuine interest in supporting the dissemination of Skovoroda's texts even though they were alien to him in style, and often even in idea. The similarity between their metaphysical visions can be seen most directly by comparing their doctrines of God and man.

One of Tolstoy's citations from Skovoroda—virtually the only one that is not moral in direction—actually hints at their shared metaphysical view:

In all times, among all peoples, there has been a belief that an invisible force rules the world. Among the ancients that force was called universal reason, nature, life, eternity; among the Christians that force is called the [Holy] Spirit, the Father, the

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17. *Ibid.*, 172.

18. Dm. Chizhevsky [Chyzhevsky], "G. S. Skovoroda i nemetskaia mistika," *Nauchnyia trudy Russkago narodnago universiteta v Prage* 2 (1929): 283–301.

Lord, reason, truth. The world is visible, [and] changeable, as if it were a shadow of that force. Just as God is eternal, so too is the visible world, His shadow, eternal. But the visible world is only a shadow. Truly existing is only an invisible force—God.<sup>19</sup>

Thus Tolstoy repeats Skovoroda's text but eliminates Skovoroda's references to the classical names for God and changes Skovoroda's "nature" to "force":

The entire world consists of two natures: one is visible, the other is invisible. Visible nature is called creation, while the invisible is called God. This invisible nature, or God, permeates and rules all of creation: He existed everywhere and always, exists [now], and shall exist. For example, the human body is visible, but the mind that permeates and rules it is not visible. For this reason, among the ancients God was called the universal mind. They had various names for Him; for example, *nature, the being of things, eternity, time, fate, essence, fortune*, and so on. And among Christians the following names for Him are best known: *the [Holy] Spirit, the Lord, the Ruler, the Father, the Mind, Truth*.<sup>20</sup>

Skovoroda and Tolstoy share a view of Divinity as the underlying reality that embraces, permeates, and sustains all creation, the ontological status of which is somewhat uncertain. Consequently both of them have been accused of being strict monists and pantheists. For Skovoroda and Tolstoy, as for so many thinkers in the Eastern Christian tradition, with its strong mystical tendency, the relationship between God and the world is so close that they are at times tempted to speak in terms of identity. They both use the copulative in a loose, rather metaphorical way, and they both share a realistic attitude toward the various names of God. Both thinkers tend to speak of this close relationship between God and His world in metaphors of light and liquidity, where God is the source of the streams that flow into the world, and the flow itself.<sup>21</sup>

19. "Vo vse vremena, u vsekh narodov byla vera v to, chto kakaiia-to nevidimaia sila derzhit mir. U drevnikh sila eta nazyvalas: vsemirnyi razum, priroda, zhizn, vechnost; u khristian eta sila nazyvaetsia—dukh, otets, gospod, razum, istina. Mir vidimyi, peremennoi, kak by ten etoi sily. Kak Bog vechen, tak i vidimyi mir, ten ego, vechen. No vidimyi mir tolko ten. Istinnno sushchestvuet tolko nevidimaia sila—Bog" (44: 138; also 45: 65).

20. "Ves mir sostoit iz dvukh natur: odna—vydymaia, druhaia—nevydymaia. Vydymaia natura nazyvaetsia tvar, a nevydymaia—Boh. Siia nevydymaia natura, ili Boh, vsiu tvar pronysaet i sodержyt; vezdi vsehda byl, est i budet. Naprymir, tilo chelovicheskoe vydno, no pronysaiushchii i sodержashchii onoe um ne vyden. Po sei prychni u drevnykh Boh nazyvalsia *um vsemirnyi*. Emu zh u nykh byly raznyia imena, naprymir: *natura, bytie veshchei, vichnost, vremia, sudba, neobkhodymost, fortuna*, i proch ... A u khrystiiian znatniishiia emu imena sliduiushchiia: *dukh, hospod, tsar, otets, um, istynna*" (Hryhorii Skovoroda, "O Bohi," in his *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. V. Shynkaruk et al. [Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973], 145–6).

21. For Skovoroda, see, for example, "Narkiss. Razhlaloh o tom: uznai sebe," in his

The theological vision Skovoroda and Tolstoy share should, strictly speaking, be characterized as panentheistic—a vision that sees all in God and God in all, but allows for a distinction between God and creation.<sup>22</sup> Alongside this tendency toward monism, both thinkers display a strong tendency toward dualism. The above quotation from Skovoroda reflects his characteristic way of speaking of “two natures” that are “visible” and “invisible,” “shadow” and “essence,” matter and spirit. Tolstoy, of course, built his entire view on a strict opposition between the spirit and matter, the “Divine” and the “animal.” For both Tolstoy and Skovoroda this dualism can be traced back to a Platonic or Neoplatonic conception of reality, in which the world of ever-being forms is contrasted to the world of ever-becoming matter.

What is most striking is that both of them understand the world of ever-being in terms of consciousness. Skovoroda speaks of “invisible nature” in terms of thought (“*mysl'*”), wisdom (“*premudrost'*”), the word (“*slovo*”), and the mind (“*um*”); Tolstoy speaks of it in terms of reason (“*razum*”), consciousness (“*soznanie*”), and reasoned consciousness (“*razumnoe soznanie*”). For both of them this realm of consciousness is intimately related to “love,” which they understand as an ecstatic movement outward and as inner harmony and peace. In addition, Skovoroda often speaks, in Old Testament fashion, of the “heart.” In this way, the theology of both thinkers reflects the general tendency of eighteenth-century Western theology to turn inward, a tendency that later blossomed into the theolocal vision of Schleiermacher. This “theology of the heart,” as exemplified in German Pietism as well as in François Fénelon, John Wesley, and Jonathan Edwards, is grounded in the assumption that “the liveliest way of framing an idea of God is to consider our own souls.” It stresses the moral and spiritual experience of Christ now (“born again”); focusses on a “living faith” that co-ordinates doctrine and life; and works out the implications of the evangelical notion that the “kingdom of God is within you,” a phrase dear to both Skovoroda and Tolstoy.<sup>23</sup>

For the two Slavic religious thinkers, the doctrine of man that follows from this vision reflects their curious combination of monism and dualism. For Tolstoy the doctrine of man rests on the clear distinction between the person (“*lichnost'*”)

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*Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 154–7. For Tolstoy, see Richard F. Gustafson, *Leo Tolstoy: Resident and Stranger. A Study in Fiction and Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 449–52.

22. On Skovoroda and pantheism, see Richard Hantula, “Highlights of the Skovoroda Jubilee,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 253. On Tolstoy and pantheism, see Gustafson, 101.

23. For a discussion of the “theology of the heart,” see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 118–73.

and the divine self, a distinction that rests on the fundamental opposition of the two basic principles—the animal or fleshly principle (“*zhivotnoe/plotskoe nachalo*”) and the divine or spiritual principle (“*bozhestvennoe/dukhovnoe nachalo*”). The person is understood as that self that is self-centred and self-enclosed, living in the body and for material satisfaction; it partakes of the realm of matter. The divine self is understood to be the true self beyond space, time, and matter, a quantum of love-energy reaching outward to others and the All called God; it partakes of the realm of spirit. While the reality of the particular selves is not denied, the spiritual self in harmony with the All is, strictly speaking, what is.<sup>24</sup> The structure of the person is both dualistic and monistic.

For Skovoroda the doctrine of person has, at first glance, a strong dualistic ring, as in this characteristically poetic passage: “You are shadow, darkness, and decay. You are a dream of your true person. You are the raiment, but it is the body. You are an apparition, but it is the truth in you. You are nothing, but it is the substance in you. You are filth, but it is your beauty, image, and plan, not your image and not your beauty, because it is not from you but only contained within you, O [you] dust and nothing!”<sup>25</sup>

For Skovoroda the person is but the “dream of your true person,” a “shadow” that resides in the realm of matter, which is eternal (he speaks of “*materia aeterna*”<sup>26</sup>). But the person is also the “true person,” which Skovoroda understands as the “heart,” “the soul, that is, the true being, and real gist, and the very essence (as they say), and our seed, and the power in which solely consists ... life and our existence.”<sup>27</sup> Skovoroda’s dualism strongly resembles Tolstoy’s world of two principles: “if there are two persons, an earthly one and a heavenly one, in the same person, then there are two beginnings: one serpentine or fleshly, the other Divine.”<sup>28</sup> But, like Tolstoy’s doctrine of man, Skovoroda’s doctrine

24. See Gustafson, 83–8 and *passim*.

25. “Ty-to tin, tma i tlin. Ty sonie istynnaho tvoeho chelovika. Ty ryza, a on tilo. Ty pryvydinie, a on v tebi istyna. Ty—to nichto, a on v tebi sushchestvo. Ty hriaz, a on tvoia krasota, obraz i plan, ne tvoii obraz i ne tvoia krasota, ponezhe ne ot tebe, da tolko v tebi i sodержyt, o prakh i nichto!” (Skovoroda, “Narkiss,” 163).

26. “Knyzhechka, nazывaemaia *Silenus Alcibiadis*, syrkh Ikona Alkiviadskaia (Izrailskii zmii),” in Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 2: 16.

27. “... [D]usha, to est istoe sushchestvo, i sushchaia ista, i samaia essentsia (kak hovoriat), i zérno nashe, i syla, v kotoroi edynstvenno sostoit zhyzn i zhyvot nash ...” (Skovoroda, “Narkiss,” 173).

28. “...[E]sli dva sut chelovika, perstnyi i nebesnyi, v tom zhe cheloviki, to i dva nachala: odno, zmiino, ili plotskoe, drugoe Bozhie” (“Knyzhechka o chtenii sviashchenn[aho] pysaniia, narechenna Zhena Lotova,” in Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 2: 34).

is also monistic: the “true person and God are one and the same,”<sup>29</sup> as are God and all of “nature.”<sup>30</sup> So strong is this tendency toward monism in Skovoroda that the influence of Spinoza has been postulated.<sup>31</sup> Both Tolstoy and Skovoroda thus work with a paradoxical understanding of the relationship with the Creator and creation, a relationship that stresses both a sense of intimate connection and profound distinction, a simultaneous sense of immanence and transcendence.

We could say this co-existence of a tendency to monism and dualism is a characteristic of East Slavic religious philosophy. We find it in the central Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovev, who, likewise, has a strong connection to Spinoza even as he works with an opposition of the material and spiritual realms. Traces of it can be seen in Solovev’s teacher—the Ukrainian philosopher Pamfil D. Iurkevych—and in the twentieth-century Russian existentialist Nikolai Berdiaev. The co-existence of monism and dualism also clearly marks the work of Semen L. Frank. The reason for this tendency may be sought in the somewhat literalist understanding of the doctrine of salvation as deification and the consequent tendency to extend God-manhood to all of humanity (indeed to all of creation). For these thinkers the union of God and the world is fundamental, the gift and the task. Man is man, but at root and in his call he is at one with God. The model for this dualistic monism is the one person of Christ, who is, as defined at Chalcedon, of two natures—divine and human—understood as inseparable (“*nerazdilno*”) and unmerged (“*neslytno*”). The entire tradition works, often unconsciously, with this paradoxical assumption expressed so succinctly by Skovoroda: “world and world, body and body, person and person—two in one and one in two, inseparable and yet unmerged.”<sup>32</sup> It is this profound similarity in the understanding of God and man that links the great Russian and Ukrainian religious thinkers Leo Tolstoy and Hryhorii Skovoroda.

29. “A vyd istynnyi chelovik i Boh est tozhde” (Skovoroda, “Narkiss,” 172).

30. “Razhovor piaty putnykov o istynnom shchastii v zhyzni (Razhovor druzheskii o dushevnom myri),” in Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 329–30.

31. See, for example, S[ofiiia] R[usova], “Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda, ukrainskii narodnyi uchitel i filosof,” *Mir Bozhii*, November 1894, 64–7. The relationship with Spinoza has been stressed by many critics in the Soviet period.

32. “... [M]ir i mir, tilo i tilo, chelovika i chelovika,— dvoe v odnom i odno vo dvoikh, nerazdilno i neslytno zhe” (“Besida, narechennaia dvoe, o tom, chto blazhennym byt lehko,” in Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 273).

# Vladimir Ern and Hryhorii Skovoroda: A Historian and His Philosophical Antithesis

*Brian Horowitz*

Vladimir Ern (1881–1917) was an original philosopher and an important modern interpreter of Hryhorii Skovoroda; he published a major book about the Ukrainian wise man in 1912.<sup>1</sup> Amidst his worthy achievements—two substantial books on the history of Italian philosophy (on Antonio Rosmini and Vincenzo Gioberti), two books of polemical articles, a long essay on Vladimir Solovev, and an unfinished monograph on Plato—one also finds glaring embarrassments. Ern's virulent attacks against the Russian journal *Logos* (1909), the vitriolic anti-German views he expressed in the article "Ot Kanta k Kruppu" (From Kant to Krupp, 1914), and the radical neo-Slavophile ideology contained in his article "Vremia slavianofilstvuet" (The Time is Becoming Slavophile, 1915) display irresponsible accusations, unjustifiable intolerance, and chauvinistic nationalism.<sup>2</sup> Even more disconcerting, however, is the inescapable impression we get of Ern as a philosopher. Although Ern was a self-proclaimed anti-systematic thinker, his works reveal a finished philosophical system. Vasiliï Zenkovsky astutely judged that "If he [Ern] had lived longer he would undoubtedly have constructed an original system."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Vladimir F. Ern, *Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda: Zhizn i uchenie* (Moscow: Put, 1912).

2. The last two articles appeared in *Russkaia mysl*, 1914, no. 12: 116–24 (repr. in *Mech i krest: Stati o sovremennykh sobytiakh* [Moscow: Tipografiia T-va I. D. Sytina, 1915]); and *Vremia sliavianofilstvuet. Voina. Germaniia. Evropa i Rossiia* (Moscow: Tipografiia T-va I. D. Sytina, 1915).

3. Vasiliï V. Zenkovsky, *A History of Russian Philosophy*, vol. 2, trans. George Kline (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 918.

Although Zenkovsky generously ascribed originality to Ern, I consider Ern's philosophy contradictory and flawed by his strong inclination toward systematic thinking. From his search for a free Christian ontology, from his negation of all systems, Ern himself built a finished doctrine. In fact, system-making explains how he could vanquish his philosophical enemies with a sharp logic, and illuminates why Ern distorted the figure of Skovoroda in his well-known monograph about him.

As a thinker, Ern presents a modern philosophical rejection of rationalism. According to him, ratio is invalid. Being the core of rationalism, ratio indicates a kind of logical thinking in which the concept, idea, and category receive the action of thought. Reality, nature, and life are left outside of rationalism's true interest, and therefore freedom, contingency, and history—the domain of real living beings—are left untreated. Rationalism is therefore an abstract or dead philosophy wholly engaged with the impersonal, static, and determined aspects of thought divorced from life.

In contrast to nefarious ratio, Ern offers Logos. In the preface to his collection of essays *Borba za Logos* (The Struggle for Logos; Moscow: Put, 1911), Ern defines Logos as “all the particularities of that philosophy that has been fundamentally forgotten by the contemporary world and ... is uniquely true, healthy, and needed. Logos is a slogan that calls [upon] philosophy [to move] away from scholasticism and abstractions [and] to return to life, and, not violating life by means of schemata [but], on the contrary, listening to life, calls [upon] it to become an inspired and sensitive interpreter of its [life's] divine purpose, its hidden joy, its profound tasks.”<sup>4</sup> In that same book Ern explains Logos concretely as “the apex of consciousness,” “the eternal definition of the Absolute Itself,” or God. In this conception, the world, being the realization and revelation of the original essence of the Word, is formed in Logos and therefore made in conformity with and commensurate with Logos. In short, Logos is the world's divine element, which, while partaking of the human dimension, is also God. Ern avoids heresy by describing the human sphere this way: “It is the very same Logos, only in different stages of realization.”<sup>5</sup>

Although Ern has difficulty comprehensively defining his subject, he describes Logos through its attributes. Logos supposedly insures ultimate freedom. In Logos humanity encounters the divine and becomes liberated from the laws of logical reasoning, determinism, and even death. Individuals, realizing that Logos is within them, destroy the cleft between their intellectual life and their living being because they conceive of themselves as divine beings.<sup>6</sup> This

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4. Vladimir F. Ern, *Sochineniia* (Moscow: Pravda, 1991), 11.

5. *Ibid.*, 79.

6. *Ibid.*, 79.

conception represents a major ontological re-evaluation, because it places humanity on a higher cosmological and religious rung. Human beings are born in God, live in God, and die in God; they are unmistakably religious, and not naturally logical or rational thinkers.

The contradiction in Ern's work is that, although he was aware that systems are lifeless and unproductive, he was inclined to conceive of Logos as a fixed system. In *Borba za Logos* Ern denounces systems: "Any system is artificial, false, and, as the fruit of scholasticism [*"kabinetnost"*], meonic (abstract). In Vladimir Solovev's philosophy, meonism (abstraction) appears exactly where he, leaving the road of intuition, was seduced by the mirage of a system."<sup>7</sup> Despite such assertions, Ern is himself guilty of similar faults. His philosophy of Logos actually presents a fixed structure of the world previously made by God and given to humankind as a finished plan.

Using the example of Skovoroda, Ern discloses a deterministic conception of the relationship between the individual and the divine. In the preface to his book on Skovoroda (1912), Ern writes: "The basic sound by which the universe sounded to Skovoroda, and by which his soul sympathetically responded to the impressions of life, was born as if before Skovoroda's physical birth in the metaphysical depths of cosmic being, and Skovoroda's wisdom is as if a translation onto the plane of human consciousness of that which is already conceptually given on the plane of universal being and assigned to Skovoroda's earthly life as a *heroic free search for Truth and Perfection*."<sup>8</sup>

Although Ern insists that the search is free, it becomes clear from the passive verb forms "given" (*"dano"*) and "assigned" (*"zadano"*) that fate, and not the individual, plays the deciding role. In that case, all human action is reduced to a mere playing out of what has already been previously arranged. In his essay "Ideia katastroficheskogo progressa" (The Idea of Catastrophic Progress, 1909) Ern repeats the view that history is predetermined: "... in human history and in this our world there must be an end."<sup>9</sup> He continues: "I shall not speak of the consequences resulting from such a concept of progress.... I shall only say that this concept of progress requires the subjection of all life's problems, all forms of practical action, to a radical and fundamental re-evaluation.... Idols are falling,

7. Ibid., 86. "Meonic" (*meonicheskii*) and "meonism" (*meonizm*, from the Greek *Meon*) were terms of abuse that Ern used in his attacks on Western philosophers for speculating solely in terms of concepts and not entities. He interpreted meonism as a doctrine in which content is a facet of consciousness, unrelated to being itself.

8. Ern, *Skovoroda*, 36-7. Ern's italics.

9. Vladimir Ern, "The Idea of Catastrophic Progress," in *Readings in Russian Philosophical Thought: Philosophy of History*, ed. and trans. L. J. Shein (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977), 190. Shein's original translation has been slightly revised by me.

and in their destruction, in the universal confusion, you suddenly sense the spirit of God's purpose, the inscrutable ways of Providence."<sup>10</sup>

Because Ern considers as "progress the greater realization of Logos on the earth," the end will occur when "the old world, having fully matured and traversed the entire road of suffering, will tear itself away with a triumphant hosanna from its empirical axis and will be carried to the throne of the Most High in the hands of the Angels."<sup>11</sup> Paradoxically, here, at that final decisive moment of history, one painfully feels the absence of individual freedom, of unplanned contingency, and of existential self-creation. Humanity's future, one inevitably has to conclude, is subordinated to an ordered, preordained, and unavoidable plan.

In his book on Skovoroda, Ern similarly attempts to impose a finished system on the free movement of life. While Skovoroda is perhaps the freest and least systematic of all "Russian" thinkers, Ern tries to give him a finished and polished philosophical doctrine. Moreover, the ideas he attributes to Skovoroda tend to reflect Ern's own philosophical preconceptions more than the ones contained in Skovoroda's books, and therefore Ern's portrait of the Ukrainian philosopher diverges from the actual facts of his life and work. This difference between the actual figure of Skovoroda and Ern's portrait shows the heavy-handed interference of the biographer.

Ern intended that his biography of Skovoroda would serve as a concrete example of the correct philosophy and proper life lived in Logos. To be consistent with his philosophical principle, Ern claims that Skovoroda's philosophy informs his biography and that the biography cannot be understood without the philosophy.<sup>12</sup> For this reason Ern divides his book into two discrete sections: (1) Skovoroda the person (*lichnost*), and (2) Skovoroda's philosophy.

In the section devoted to Skovoroda's biography, Ern interprets the issues of Skovoroda's life as reflecting his attachment to Logos. Skovoroda's escape from his rustic, Cossack origins, his west European travels and education, his refusal to accept a settled life as a teacher or a monk, his love for the boy Mykhailo Kovalynsky, and his endless wanderings throughout Ukraine show not the "cerebral wisdom of a Gnostic and intellectualist, but the essential enlightenment of a soul possessed by the love for the Highest One [*"Velikomiu"*]."<sup>13</sup> According to Ern, although Logos was never mentioned by Skovoroda himself or by Kovalynsky in his "Zhitie Grigoriia Skovorody" (The Life of Hryhorii Skovoroda), it was nevertheless the central theme of his life:

10. *Ibid.*, 191.

11. *Ibid.*, 190-1.

12. Ern, *Skovoroda*, 29.

13. *Ibid.*, 41.

“the Eastern Christian philosophy of Logos [*logizm*] is not only the general element of Skovoroda’s philosophizing, but simultaneously the general conceptualizing element of his life’s character, lying at the foundation of the phenomenology of his life, [and] explaining both the personal facts of his biography and his general spiritual figure.”<sup>14</sup>

Logos supposedly also governed Skovoroda’s philosophy. Skovoroda’s central idea—that one only needs the treasures of the spirit and that material objects are superfluous—is interpreted by Ern as a commitment to Logos. Ern describes Skovoroda’s view of happiness this way: “The very last cripple can be just as happy as the first lover of fortune, because the principle of happiness is the same for both: affinity, a specific, purely personal calling, fidelity, and consistency with one’s own nature.”<sup>15</sup> According to Ern, human beings have to mirror in their exterior life the interior motor within which there is nothing less than their true self, that is, an aspect of divine Logos.

Although Ern’s portrait of Skovoroda would seem to be consistent, the reader will notice a tangible distance between the biographer and his subject. These points of disagreement represent exactly those moments when Skovoroda’s life and works resist Ern’s Logos philosophy. For example, Ern reproaches Skovoroda for his resistance to the Church, claiming that “in actuality, arbitrary asceticism and arbitrary selflessness are very dangerous from the church’s point of view.”<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Ern complains that Skovoroda arrived at his philosophy only “by way of the earth and not heaven” and that he was actually a Platonic idealist and only nominally a Christian thinker. Ern declares: “One need not be deceived by appearances. Skovoroda loves church phrases, [and] has an irresistible attraction to biblical texts. But he is a profoundly secular person. *He is of nature, not of the church.* His mysticism is cosmic and anthropological, not ecclesiastic. If at the edges of his wisdom he touches the wisdom of the church, that is only because cosmic wisdom, in its final definition, coincides with the wisdom of the church.”<sup>17</sup>

While Ern’s criticism of Skovoroda’s retreat from Christianity contradicts the many instances in which Ern equates Skovoroda with Logos, the attentive reader will notice that two distinctly different images emerge from the biography: Skovoroda as an emblem of Logos, and a Skovoroda who, faithful to a philosophical dualism, is inspired by a mystical belief in a perfect world of ideas. This cosmic thinker leans away from Christianity rather than toward it.

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14. *Ibid.*, 38.

15. *Ibid.*, 310.

16. *Ibid.*, 111

17. *Ibid.*, 43. Ern’s italics.

These contrasting portraits of Skovoroda actually have their roots in the central contradiction in Ern's philosophy that I described earlier. Ern hoped to fit Skovoroda into his Logos system; the attempt did not enjoy full success, however, because Skovoroda does not lend himself to systematization. Clearly, Skovoroda embodies contrary traits, and his philosophy cannot be brought to any single unity. Sidney Monas has accurately characterizes him:

Wherever we place [Skovoroda], he begins to bristle with paradoxes—a rationalist who speaks in the language of revelation; a man of calm inner peace who spent his life in restless wandering; a skeptic and a questioner who affirms the authority of the Church; a pantheist, but Orthodox; a Westerner whose thought closely resembles much of the neo-stoicism of the eighteenth century, yet who is so absolutely archetypally Russian in the style of his thought and life; a *strannik*, or holy wanderer, with the mind of Socrates and the temperament of Avvakum!<sup>18</sup>

The same inclination to create systems can be found in Ern's other works as well. Ern's neglect for empirical reality and his blind trust in his theory is especially apparent in his 1914 article "From Kant to Krupp." In that work Ern claims that the mind-set embodied in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* is the same as that which motivated Alfred Krupp to invent his lethal weapons of war. This mind-set emerges from Kant's insight that man is cut off from the exterior world and incapable of accepting an intuitive knowledge of God. The result of this revolution in philosophy is nothing less than the realization that God is dead and that man's consciousness is lord of the universe. According to Ern, following Kant, "the complex and titanic phenomenon of German culture was only the all-German adoption of the tremendous mystery of deicide...."<sup>19</sup> The death of God as a principle inevitably "led to the worldly kingdom of strength and power, the great dream of earthly domination and of the acquisition into German hands of all earthly empires and all earthly riches."<sup>20</sup> Krupp is therefore not divorced from the German tradition but its logical conclusion. The arms-maker has merely invented an efficient means of realizing concretely the goals derived from Kant.

Although the violence and cruelty of World War I gives us a context to understand Ern's motivations, his overwrought arguments, which he presents without any valid proof, reveal better than anything else his penchant for system-making. Here one finds no subtlety at all, no grey area reserved for German poets of the spirit or philosopher-opponents to Kant, such as Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, or Schelling. Ern has no patience for the complex and unclassifiable,

18. Sidney Monas, Introduction in *Essays on Russian Intellectual History*, ed. Leon Borden Blair (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 18.

19. Ern, *Sochineniia*, 311.

20. *Ibid.*, 311.

contingent, and uncertain. His arguments follow a preconceived plan with fixed precision despite the obvious fact that German culture since the Enlightenment does not fit his schema.

There is little doubt that Ern's schema does a disservice to truth. He prejudicially judges the influence of German culture on Russian thought, minimizing the positive effect of interaction with the West. He ignores the beneficial and healthy aspects of logical thinking (for example, in law, finance, and mathematics), and he incorrectly evaluates the character of Russian philosophy. Instead of seeing Russian philosophy as being *sui generis* because of its borrowing from both the East and the West, Ern considers Russian philosophy superior to both of them by virtue of its exclusive possession of Logos. Furthermore, he believes that Logos gives Russian thought a divine role to play as the bridge between Western rationalism and Eastern meditation. Since none of these arguments can be proved, one can claim that they come not from an investigation of empirical reality, but from an intuitive theory or conceptual system.

The contradiction in Ern's thought leads us to ask why he was deluded, why he considered his Logos a philosophy of freedom, contingency, and individual will. It seems that, like Solovev, Ern formed his philosophy from an original mystical revelation that God and humankind are joined in unity. Because this unity is realized, at least in the human sphere, by individuals, Ern considers that Logos reflects the features of human beings; it must therefore be characterized by freedom, irrationality, and individual responsibility. Consequently, although the fate of the world may have been predetermined by God, for man it would always be, and not just appear to be, a free human choice. In fact, there is no way to check. The free act of the individual cannot be fully comprehended, while God's will is closed to human understanding. Thus, the logical inconsistency is explained as a mere phantom, the illusion of an insufficient human reason.

The counter-arguments to Ern's mystical understanding of freedom do not necessarily require logical reason. It would be easy to point out the logical inconsistency between the terms "preordained" and "free will," but that strategy only brings us back to the meaning of revelation, a sphere troublesome for reason. Rather, the correct criteria for evaluating Ern can be sought in the life of Skovoroda. Because Ern's portrait of Skovoroda was intended to serve "as a living representative of Logos" who should be emulated, one wonders why Ern ignored the Ukrainian's example. Instead of sharing Skovoroda's goal of internal fulfilment and self-perfection, Ern sets off on the path of nationalist political propaganda while embracing a typically Solovevian version of Christian eschatology. In examining Ern's life and work, one observes that he forsook his personal self-definition for the sake of supra-individual concepts. Clearly, he strove after abstractions instead of cultivating the most concrete aspect of life—

the internal self—which is, incidentally, also the point of connection with universal Logos.

In conclusion, let me observe that Ern's oeuvre poses a significant problem for Russian religious philosophy. While Ern ascribes freedom and life to Logos, in truth Logos delivers only envisioned or theorized freedom. How, then, should we relate to the ideas of a thinker who, while standing for the goals of unity, love, and freedom, so flagrantly violated these laudable tenets and, in the quest to crush all systems, created a lifeless, impersonal, and deterministic system? This moral and epistemological issue, which also applies to a number of other twentieth-century Russian religious philosophers, raises uncomfortable questions that we are obliged to confront. Perhaps we might turn to Skovoroda and agree to employ as an incorruptible standard the principle of limitless freedom contained in his life and work in order to evaluate accurately the true commitment to freedom of the religious philosophers of our own century.

## Skovoroda in *Peterburg*: The Itinerant Philosopher in Andrei Bely's Modernist Classic

*Maria Carlson*

One of the most enigmatic and perplexing references in all of Russian literature to the Ukrainian philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda appears in the quintessentially Russian Symbolist novel *Peterburg* (Petersburg, 1913–14). The author, Andrei Bely (pseud. of Boris Bugaev, 1880–1934), conceived *Peterburg* as the second volume of a projected trilogy, “Vostok ili Zapad?” (East or West?), the first volume of which was *Serebrianyi golub* (The Silver Dove, 1909); the third volume remained unwritten. Bely had tentatively entitled this third volume “Nevidimyi grad” (The Invisible City) and probably meant it to be a modern Russian version of the medieval Kitezkh/Grail legend, partially realized in his novel *Zapiski chudaka* (Memoirs of an Eccentric, 1922).<sup>1</sup> The trilogy's purpose was to address Russia's fate and role in the spiritual history of humanity.

On the surface, *Peterburg* is the story of the Russian Silver Age's “fathers and sons.” The generational conflict is played out between Apollon Apollonovich Ableukhov—a consummate and reactionary St. Petersburg bureaucrat—and his

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1. This legend, dating back to events of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, was first written down and codified in the early eighteenth century (1713?) and became well known over the course of that century. The legend concerns the holy city of Kitezkh. God hid the city and its righteous inhabitants at the bottom of Lake Svetloiar to save them from the invading Tatars (barbarians from the East). To this day true Orthodox believers may hear the church bells of Kitezkh and see the spires of the invisible city's churches in the lake; but the city remains invisible to unbelievers and the unrighteous. Bely's spiritual mentor, the mystic and Anthroposophist Dr. Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), considered the mystery of the Russian city of Kitezkh analogous to the west European Grail Stream, which he felt was the expression of the central spiritual mystery of modern Western man.

troubled and radically inclined son and a confirmed Kantian, Nikolai Apollonovich. The son becomes involved with a revolutionary organization that demands that he assassinate his own father. He receives a bomb for this purpose from a Nietzschean paranoid named Dudkin. The assassination attempt ultimately fizzles, but not before the son has himself become a philosophical-occult time bomb. At the end of the novel, the father retires from his exalted position, goes to live quietly in the country, and writes his memoirs. At this final juncture, the son begins a life of itineracy. He lives for a while among the Tunisian Arabs and then for two years in Egypt, where he sits for hours before the enigmatic Sphinx, reading the Egyptian mystical *Book of the Dead*. From Egypt Nikolai Apollonovich travels to Nazareth in the Holy Land. By now he has completely forgotten Immanuel Kant and the temptations of Western rationalism.

At the very end of the epilogue to this complex novel, the narrator relates the following about Nikolai Apollonovich: "He lived alone; he invited no one to visit; he visited no one; he was seen in church; they say that recently he began reading the philosopher Skovoroda. His parents had died."<sup>2</sup>

In the peculiar string of information that constitutes the epilogue's conclusion, why did Bely consider it significant that Nikolai Apollonovich, the once passionate Kantian who had now forgotten Kant, was reading Skovoroda? There is no other reference to Skovoroda in the novel, and almost no mention of Skovoroda elsewhere in Bely's work.<sup>3</sup> In the "Commentaries" to *Simvolizm* (Symbolism), for example, Bely mentions over one thousand philosophers and writers, from Abelard to Zeno, but *not one time* does he mention Skovoroda.<sup>4</sup> Skovoroda appears only once in his extensive memoirs dealing with this period in his life, and then only in connection with Bely's young friend, Sergei Solovev (*vide infra*). A few critics, notably Aleksandr Lavrov, have noted that nothing in Bely's work is ever accidental and have attempted to address the seemingly parenthetical observation that Nikolai Apollonovich was reading Skovoroda. So

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If Bely's *Serebrianyi golub* discusses the danger from the irrational, occult East, then *Peterburg* clearly highlights the dangers presented by the overly rational, Kantian West. Kitezh would have been an excellent symbol for the synthesizing third volume of *Vostok ili Zapad*? because God had protected that profoundly religious, holy Russian city from the onslaughts of both the Tatars of the East and the Western rationalists.

2. Andrei Bely, *Peterburg* (Moscow: Nauka, 1981), 419.

3. The one exception is telling, for it also contrasts Kant and Skovoroda; see note 18.

4. Andrei Bely, *Simvolizm* (Moscow: Musaget, 1910), 455–633. Bely wrote the "Commentaries" at the same time as *Serebrianyi golub* (1909). It is my opinion that Bely did not actually read Skovoroda until considerably later in life, if at all. There is no question, however, that he came under the spell of the "myth" of Skovoroda as it was formulated in the early twentieth century by Vladimir Ern, at least in the latter's 1908 and 1911 articles (see n. 9).

why do the works of the humble Skovoroda suddenly appear in the hands of a cosmopolitan Petersburgian at the end of a sophisticated modernist novel?

### Skovoroda, Bely, and the Symbolists

In the main, the answer to this question lies in the development of a highly specific “mythologization” of Skovoroda by the Russian Symbolists themselves and by the scholars and philosophers who surrounded them. Certain features of Skovoroda compatible with refined Symbolist sensibilities were highlighted in the Symbolist mythology and were used to create an essentially “Symbolist” Skovoroda. This is not to say that the Symbolists fabricated these features out of whole cloth, that these features are untrue of Skovoroda, or even that they are internally consistent. Nevertheless, the Symbolists created a selective portrait of Skovoroda in tune with their own thoughts and worldview. Consider the following mythic features in the context of fin-de-siècle aestheticized mysticism in general and of Bely’s own speculative, mystical tendencies in particular.

Myth 1: Skovoroda was no mere philosopher, but a *poet-philosopher*, a fabulist, and an author, as were many of the Symbolists themselves. This had particular appeal to Bely, who was constitutionally unable to separate the poet from the wise man, the prophet, or the priest. The philosophically inclined Symbolists of Bely’s generation saw art as a fundamental form of expression intimately and organically connected to religion and idealist philosophy. They could thus legitimately perceive Skovoroda as their “forerunner.”

Myth 2: Skovoroda was a profoundly *Russian* philosopher, reflecting, in Ernst Radlov’s words, “a national worldview corresponding to the spiritual affinities of the Russian people [*narod*].”<sup>5</sup> This clearly resonated for certain mystical-populist tendencies (*misticheskoe narodnichestvo*) among the second generation of Symbolists; it is, in fact, the central theme of *Serebrianyi golub*, in which Bely attempts to realize literally the union of the *narod* and the intelligentsia in the liaison between the classical scholar Petr Darialsky and the peasant wench Matrena. The *narod* has some sort of truth; Skovoroda went among the *narod*; and therefore Skovoroda found truth: this is a straightforward Symbolist paradigm.

At the same time, although Skovoroda went among the *narod*, he was no bucolic bumpkin: he spoke and read foreign languages, had travelled in western Europe, had studied philosophy, and knew his ancient philosophers and the Church Fathers. Nevertheless, he preferred to roam the Slavic lands with his

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5. Ernst Radlov, *Ocherk istorii russkoi filosofii*, rev. ed. (Petrograd: Nauka i shkola, 1920), 8. Radlov differentiated between two different types of Russian thought: that which developed exclusively under the influence of foreign thought and did not oppose it; and that which strove to express an indigenously Russian national worldview.

staff, Bible, and flute (i.e., the emblems of man, God, and art). His life represented, in fact, that unrealized but devoutly desired Symbolist ideal, *the synthesis of the narod and the intelligentsia*. The bucolic element additionally vibrated with the vast paradigmatic structures and associations to Hellenism and Dionysianism that characterize the Symbolists' age. Skovoroda's admiration for Socrates, Plutarch, Plato, Plotinus, Pythagoras, the Stoics, and other classical Greek writers was shared by the writers of the Silver Age; however, although Skovoroda knew the thinkers and the writers of Greek antiquity, he did not idealize them as forerunners of the Russian *narod* (as Bely romantically did in *Serebrianyi golub*).

In addition to being an indigenously "Russian" philosopher, Skovoroda was the *first* Russian philosopher. With the assistance of the scholar and thinker Vladimir Ern (1882–1917) and others, the Symbolists developed a complex scenario in which Skovoroda (by then glamorized and canonized as the "first source of Russian philosophy") was made to play the role of the "Russian Socrates" to Vladimir Solovev's "Russian Plato." Solovev (1853–1900) unquestionably represented the acme of Russian thought in the Symbolist paradigm. Thanks to Ern, the Skovoroda-Solovev continuum was codified as the alpha and omega of indigenous Russian thought. Skovoroda came to be revered as the first real Russian philosopher who had said something not taken from or built on European thought and had introduced concepts into Russian thought not borrowed exclusively or mechanically from European sources.

Myth 3: Skovoroda was a secret mystic and occultist. The Symbolists avidly sought signs of Platonism, Neoplatonism, and pantheism in Skovoroda's thought; being determined albeit impetuous seekers, they inevitably found the thing they sought. Skovoroda became a philosopher who embraced the Neoplatonic dualism of the visible, phenomenal world of the senses and time, and the invisible, noumenal world of the spirit. The Symbolists made much of Skovoroda's familiarity with such dogmatically dubious but philosophically seductive figures of the early church as Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254) and Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite (ca. 500), two mystical theologians with Neoplatonic, even heretical tendencies, who also figured prominently in Solovev's works.

The mystical attributes, however, did not stop with Neoplatonism. In hot pursuit of Skovoroda's speculative tendencies, Georgii Florovsky, writing two decades after *Peterburg* but emerging from the same fin-de-siècle tradition as Solovev and Bely, not only attributes Pietistic tendencies to Skovoroda, but also finds "proximity to Masonic circles" and, at a minimum, "an adherence to that particular mystical type" that would voluntarily enter into Freemasonry.<sup>6</sup> In Skovoroda the Symbolists easily discerned the Russian counterpart of the

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6. Georgii Florovsky, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1937), 120.

German mystics Valentin Weigel (1533–88) and Jakob Boehme (1575–1624). Even Skovoroda's famous epitaph, "The world set a trap for me, but it did not catch me," appeared to the Symbolists to be an overt rejection of phenomenal reality and a clear statement of Gnostic or neo-Buddhist contempt for the material world rather than a moral or ethical statement.

Within this particular paradigm, there was one other philosophically grounded element of considerable importance. Working backward from Solovev, the Symbolists claimed to have found in Skovoroda's philosophical thought a world structured on the eternal feminine principle, much as Solovev would structure his world on the Gnostic concept of *Sophia*. Skovoroda generated such speculation by works such as his poem "Razhovor o premudrosti" (Conversation about Divine Wisdom). His use of certain marked vocabulary (e.g., "eternity," "Trinity," "soul," "symbol") further contributed to his appeal. And when Skovoroda himself (through the voice of his biographer Mykhailo Kovalynsky) pointed out that "the world is symbolic," and that the Bible itself is a book of philosophical parables, symbols, and emblems, his fate among the Symbolists was sealed. The Symbolists also shared Skovoroda's essentially Christian but steadfastly anticlerical point of view.

Myth 4: Skovoroda's mendicancy was a sign that he was an "initiate" of the higher mysteries. Through the Symbolist looking glass, Skovoroda's cosmopolitan experience and distant travels indicated that he was not a simple religious pilgrim, but a sophisticated initiate of the esoteric mysteries, a spiritual seeker, a mendicant in the tradition of Christ. Thus the fact that in *Peterburg* Nikolai Apollonovich becomes something of an itinerant travelling around those areas where human history began is no coincidence.

Ern and others have pointed out the sectarian potential ("*potensial sektanta*") in this tendency, and it may be no accident (it was certainly noticed by the Symbolists) that Skovoroda lived precisely during that period when numerous Russian sects, including the Flagellants, Castrates, Molokans, and Dukhobors, had their origin or revival. Some Symbolists, notably the decadent poet Aleksandr Dobroliubov (1876–1944?), left society to realize literally the sectarian, mendicant lifestyle; this "reformed" decadent even founded his own sect, the Dobroliubovtsy.

While focussing on the mystical, the Symbolists ignored, in large measure, Skovoroda's ethics, his moral teachings, and his "anthropologism" (*antropologizm*). The fact that Skovoroda's work and thought left relatively little mark on his own time and on the development of Russian thought over the course of the nineteenth century simply made it easier for the Symbolists to initiate the mythologization of Skovoroda in their own time.

Myth 5: Skovoroda was a man of the eighteenth century. The theme of the eighteenth century is yet another associative field that contributed to the creation of the myth of Skovoroda. The eighteenth-century theme appears consistently in

the graphic and literary art of the period. Orest Somov, Viktor Borisov-Musatov, and Alexandre Benois painted various idyllic evocations of the eighteenth century, both Russian and European; interest in Gavriil Derzhavin and other late-eighteenth-century poets was revived during the Silver Age; a number of Symbolist writers wrote poetry and prose devoted to the period (for example, Bely's poetic cycle "Prezhde i teper" [Before and Now] and his novel *Serebrianyi golub*), which evoke the same nostalgia for the period of the eighteenth century in both of its incarnations: the elite, "Western" (French) world of manor houses, white wigs, and the Encyclopaedists on the one hand, and the peasant, "Eastern" world of sectarians and religious ecstasy on the other. This was the age of the "grandfathers" (*dedy*), which was preferable to the age of the "fathers" (*ottsy*).

While the Symbolists' interest in the eighteenth century was certainly bound up with the aestheticism of the period, its general ornamentalism, and its opulence, this interest was also occasioned by that century being an important watershed in Russian history. It was then that Russia and Russian culture, under the influence of Peter the Great, veered away from their indigenous roots and embraced west European culture. This choice "doomed irrevocably," in the words of Bely's novel, Russia's own "Russian" identity and created the Russian cultural schizophrenia that the theme of "East or West?" expresses.

Myth 6: Skovoroda's thought represented the synthesis of antitheses: mysticism and rationalism, religion and reason, faith and knowledge. These dichotomous psychic rifts were ostensibly generated by the Enlightenment, and blame for them was laid directly at Kant's door. The Symbolists considered these irreconcilable dichotomies to be the tragedy of Western culture, "caused" by Kant's emphasis on empiricism and rationalism. Russia's mission was to reintegrate these opposites, to generate a syzygy. Russia could do this because (according to the Symbolists) it had rediscovered the religious impulse of creativity and excavated the religious roots of art (consider the works of Viacheslav Ivanov). Skovoroda, as a pre-Kantian, had always known (or so it appeared to the Symbolists) about the essential unity of these dichotomies. In fact, Ernst Radlov (1854–1928), a historian of Russian philosophy, wrote that Skovoroda revealed the first uniquely Russian philosophical talent in Russia and that he is known specifically for his interesting blend of rationalism and mysticism.<sup>7</sup>

A variation on this central theme is the general Symbolist notion that Skovoroda's thought clearly reveals the triumph of wisdom over mere science and of idealism over dead empiricism; again, this is the theme of the rejection

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7. See Radlov's article, "Filosofiia," in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar*, vol. 28, *Rossia i S-Savarna*, ed. K. K. Arsenov et al. (St. Petersburg: Brokgauz i Efron, 1899), 833.

of cold empiricism and rationalism in favour of intuitivism, religious thought, and the idealism that is characteristic of the thought of the Russian religious renaissance. It was a contemporary of the Symbolists, the philosopher Vladimir Ern, who clearly formulated the paradigm in his book on Skovoroda: Western philosophical criticism in the Kantian manner "is destined to be fatally impotent" in Russia because Russia is a profoundly Orthodox land and its dominant is a "logism [*logizm*] of an Eastern Christian speculation ... an *internal* given for Russia."<sup>8</sup> In Ern's view, Russia is fated to be the battleground between Western *ratio* and Eastern *logos*. This battle is also the central theme of Bely's unfinished trilogy.

### Skovoroda, Bely, and Ern

The mythologization of Skovoroda was encouraged by a number of publications at the turn of the century, among them Professor Dmytro Bahalii's jubilee edition of Skovoroda's works published by the Kharkiv Historical-Philological Society in 1894, and the indefatigable Mikhail Bonch-Bruевич's edition of Skovoroda's collected works published in St. Petersburg in 1912. But it was Ern's 1908 article on "The Russian Socrates," his two 1911 articles about Skovoroda, and his 1912 book on Skovoroda based on these two articles that most precisely constellated the myth of Skovoroda for the Symbolists.<sup>9</sup>

Of the various Skovoroda studies published in the early twentieth century, Ern's works made the greatest impact on the Symbolists, for Ern created a mythological Skovoroda who superseded and marginalized any historically specific Skovoroda.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Ern developed and popularized the parallel he saw between the mythic figure of Skovoroda and the already mythologized and mightily revered figure (by 1912) of Solovev. Ern called the former "the Russian Socrates"; the latter he called "the Russian Plato." Such neat categories appealed to the passionate schematizer, Bely.

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8. Vladimir F. Ern, *Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda: Zhizn i uchenie* (Moscow: Put, 1912), 25, 22. For a further discussion of "logism" (i.e., the philosophy of Logos) in this context, see Brian Horowitz's article in this issue.

9. "Russkii Sokrat," *Severnoe sianie*, 1908, no. 1 (November); "Zhizn i lichnost Grigoriia Savvicha Skovorody," *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii*, no. 107 (1911): 2, 126–66; "Ocherki teoreticheskoi filosofii G. S. Skovorody," *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii*, no. 110 (1911): 5, 645–80. See also n. 8.

10. Aleksandr Lavrov also points out that "Andrei Bely may have had in mind not so much the image of Skovoroda in his historical concreteness as in the myth that Ern created about the 'first Russian philosopher.'" See his "Andrei Bely i Grigorii Skovoroda," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest) 21, no. 3/4 (1975): 395–404, here 397.

Bely and Ern were friends and colleagues. They had met at the end of 1903, when Ern had invited Bely to join the Circle of Christians (Kruzhok khristian). The philosophical and mystically inclined Ern had been particularly active in setting up the history of religion section of the Trubetskoi Student Society (Studencheskoe obshchestvo imeni Trubetskogo). In the fall of 1904 both Ern and Bely were involved in a study circle devoted to Solov'ev's religious philosophy. Later, as a professor at Moscow University, Ern was also a friend of Lev Kobylynsky-Ellis, Viacheslav Ivanov, and other philosophically inclined Symbolists associated with the group around the Moscow philosophical journal *Logos*; he found this group, on the whole, rather too "rational."

One of Ern's major philosophical points (consistent with the view held by many of his contemporaries) was that the crisis that European thought experienced during the fin de siècle was based on its Kantian foundation. This led ineluctably to "dead empiricism" and the transformation of Nature into a "soulless mechanism." Ern himself represents that aspect of Russian religious thought that rejects the Kantian "heresy" and is based (in Ern's own words) on "the logism of an Eastern Christian speculation" rather than Western rationalism.<sup>11</sup> Both Bely and Ern would certainly have been struck by the fact that Skovoroda (1722–94) and Kant (1724–1804) were contemporaries, and they would have been inclined to see Skovoroda as an indigenously Russian alternative to Kant and as someone provided by history to offset the Kantian error.

Ern, Bonch-Bruevich, and Bahalii, by the way, were not alone in their interest in Skovoroda and his myth. During the years 1908–12 there was a miniature Skovoroda industry, characterized by numerous public lectures, articles, newspaper blurbs, and so on, about him. The Silver Age's romanticized and "mythologized" version of Skovoroda continued its further development in the works of other Russian thinkers. Florovsky has already been mentioned, but other notable critics and intellectuals, such as Aleksei Losev (in a 1918 essay entitled "Russkaia filosofiiia" [Russian Philosophy], republished several times), continued to promote this particular view of Skovoroda. Consequently a mythic Skovoroda was canonized, and his place was ensured in the venerated pantheon of the contemporary intelligentsia.<sup>12</sup> This paradigm continues to exert a powerful

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11. Ern, *Skovoroda*, 22. For a detailed discussion of the polemics between Bely and Ern (occasioned more by the lack of a common ground between Ern's extreme neo-Slavophile position and Bely's purely philosophical point of view than by any real interest by Bely in Skovoroda), see Lavrov, 396. Lavrov's article elaborates on the philosophical reception of Ern's "mythologized" version of Skovoroda by Sergei N. Durylin, Gustaf Shpet, Dmitrii V. Filosofov, Boris V. Iakovenko, and others.

12. A. F. Losev, *Filosofiiia. Mifologiiia. Kultura* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo politicheskoi literatury, 1991), 209–36.

influence today within renewed cults among the Russian intelligentsia (one need only observe the current views on the eccentric philosopher Nikolai Fedorov [1828–1903]).

### Skovoroda, Bely, and Solovev

Given the importance of Solovev in Bely's life and thought, Ern's emphasis on the importance of Skovoroda for the life and eclectic thought of Solovev is another critical factor in explaining the unexpected presence of Skovoroda in Bely's novel. Bely's admiration for and public veneration of Solovev required that he perceive Skovoroda as the origin and pure source of all truly Russian thought in the modern period ("Eastern Christian logism" as opposed to Western secular rationalism), because the accepted Symbolist paradigm, further consolidated by Ern's influential book, insisted that Solovev's thought was the flower of the seed that Skovoroda's had planted.

Ern was not the only mythopoeist forging the contemporary myth of Skovoroda; the Solovev family itself helped to promulgate the myth. Bely's very good friend and a nephew of Solovev, Sergei Solovev (1885–1942), was particularly solicitous on Skovoroda's behalf. On the maternal side, Sergei Solovev was descended from Mykhailo Kovalynsky, a familiar name in the Skovorodian context who was Skovoroda's disciple and the author of the first biography of Skovoroda.<sup>13</sup> On the paternal side, Skovoroda was the great-uncle (*dvoiurodnii ded*) of Vladimir Solovev's mother.<sup>14</sup> V. A. Velichko, cited in Sergei Solovev's biography of his famous uncle, also names Vladimir Solovev's mother, Poliksena Vladimirovna, as a descendent of Skovoroda: "Everything mystical, poetic, and demonic in him he received from his mother's side, for she was descended from an ancient and uniquely gifted Ukrainian family; a mysteriously tragic fate overtook one branch of this family,... while the famous Ukrainian philosopher, Hryhorii Skovoroda, belonged to the other branch."<sup>15</sup> In his book of poems *Tsvetnik tsarevny* (The Princess's Flower Garden, 1913), Sergei Solovev writes about Skovoroda as a "*sviatoi chudak*" (holy eccentric), an interesting description that could as easily refer to Vladimir Solovev or Bely.

13. First published as "Zhitie Grigoriia Skovorody, opisannoe drugom ego M. I. Kovalinskim," *Kievskaiia starina* 16 (1886): 103–50; most recently reprinted as "Zhizn Grigoriia Skovorody," in Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 2, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 439–76.

14. According to Vladimir Solovev himself. See the "Commentaries" to Bely's *Peterburg*, 685. Bely provides this same information in his autobiography, *Mezhdv dvukh revoliutsii* (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo pisatelei v Leningrade, 1934), 17. It is confirmed by Sergei Solovev in his biography of his uncle, *Zhizn i tvorcheskaia evoliutsiia Vladimira Soloveva* (Brussels: Zhizn s Bogom, 1977), 33, 378, 407.

15. Solovev, 33.

A portrait of Skovoroda hung in the library of the Kovalensky family's dacha at Dedovo near Moscow, where Sergei Solovev and Bely spent many happy summers.<sup>16</sup> Sergei Solovev describes how, in the middle of June 1899, he and his father welcomed Vladimir Solovev to Dedovo with bread and salt: "He [Vladimir Solovev] brought the manuscript of his first conversation about war and the foreword to his translation of Plato. In the shaded library of our home, under the portrait of Skovoroda, he read the conversation about war to us."<sup>17</sup> "The pure Slav [Vladimir] Solovev ends his life as an itinerant, just like his ancestor Skovoroda," writes Sergei Solovev in his biography of his uncle.<sup>18</sup> Although he wrote this in the early 1920s, surely it reflects an overlapping image of his two famous ancestors that was developed over two decades and in the context of his friendship with Bely. (I have developed this point in some detail in order to show the particular association between Vladimir Solovev and Skovoroda that would have been particularly activated for Bely).

The importance of Skovoroda for Vladimir Solovev, which was derived not so much from Solovev himself as from the mythology created by the Symbolist period, is developed explicitly (for a Symbolist novel, that is) in the few paragraphs of the brief epilogue of *Peterburg*. These paragraphs in fact contain a number of images traditionally referring to Solovev and preparing the reader for the brief and telegraphic mention of Skovoroda. One such example is the reference to bellflowers (*kolokolchiki*, or *campanula*) in the epilogue. Among the Symbolists it was well known that the bellflower was Solovev's favourite flower; he in fact wrote two lyrical poems in which he connected this lovely wildflower very specifically with spirituality and purification. The name certainly has additional connotations to church bells, and leads in a different associative direction to the thematic complex of Kitezh (the probable intended direction of the unwritten third volume of Bely's trilogy, but not of immediate concern here).

A second and more telling reference by Solovev is to Egypt and the Pyramids. In October 1875 he suddenly left London to make a pilgrimage to Egypt (the theme of itineracy); there, among the Pyramids between 25 and 27 November, he had a vision of "Her," that is, of Sophia, the Wisdom of God, who figures not only in Solovev's own writing but also in the myth of the Eternal Feminine so prominent in Symbolist thought and imagery. A knowledgeable reader of Bely would immediately recognize the Pyramids as a reference to Solovev's intense mystical experience in the desert outside Cairo, recorded in his

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16. The dacha was the estate of Sergei Solovev's grandmother Aleksandra G. Kovalenskaia, a Russian descendant of Mykhailo Kovalynsky.

17. *Ibid.*, 378.

18. *Ibid.*, 407.

1898 narrative poem “Tri svidaniia” (Three Encounters [with Her]) and in other materials.

With a single line in *Peterburg*, “on chital filosofa Skovorodu” (he was reading the philosopher Skovoroda), and a handful of recondite images, Bely pays tribute to three important figures in his own life: to his own philosophical mentor Vladimir Solovev; to his colleague Vladimir Ern, a philosopher and avid and eccentric reader of Skovoroda; and to his friend Sergei Solovev, a living relic of Vladimir Solovev, Skovoroda, and Kovalynsky. With a single laconic line in his highly philosophical novel, Bely also telegraphs his final rejection of the critical philosophy of Immanuel Kant and his turn to the cosmocentric mysticism of Rudolf Steiner’s Anthroposophy. The actual content of Skovoroda’s thought and the meaning of his life become secondary in this magnificent act of Symbolist mythopoesis.

In this particularly suggestive and typically Symbolist intersection of life and art, Bely also hints (and this is a very important hint, since Bely fancied himself as a serious cultural philosopher) that the answer to Russian questions will be found in indigenous Russian sources. Bely intended his trilogy to be a discourse on the fate of Russia. If the passionate poet Darialsky in *Serebrianyi golub* had been destroyed by the dark forces of the East hidden in the heart of Russia, then the cerebral thinker Nikolai Apollonovich in *Peterburg* had looked too much to the West, had been “tempted” by Kant, and had very nearly succumbed. In the end Russia is neither “the East” nor “the West”: it is *Russia*. Kant *should* and *must* be forgotten by the Russians.<sup>19</sup> If answers are to be found, Bely tells us, they can only be provided by native “Russian” thinkers who, while understanding both the East and the West, are able to suggest Russian solutions. Such thinkers are Hryhorii Skovoroda and Vladimir Solovev.

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19. While writing *Peterburg* or shortly after completing it, Bely revised one of the poems in his cycle “Iskusitel” (The Tempter)—“O pust trevozhno razum brodit ...” (O, Let the Mind Anxiously Wander)—to include lines that clearly emphasize Skovoroda as a Russian alternative to Kant: “Ostavte ... V etom foliante / My vse utonem bez sleda! / ... Ne govornite mne o Kante! / Chto Kant?... Vot ... est ... Skovoroda. / Filosof russkii, a ne nemets!!!” (Put it aside ... In this folio / We will all drown without trace! / ... Don’t speak to me of Kant! / What’s Kant?... Here ... is ... Skovoroda. / A Russian philosopher, and not a German!!!). For more information on this new stanza, see Andrei Bely, *Stikhotvoreniia*, vol. 3, ed. John Malmstad (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1982), 225.



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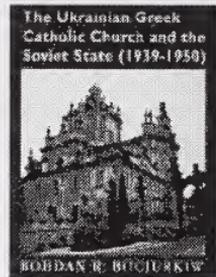
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## Skovoroda: *In* but Not of the Eighteenth Century. A Commentary

George L. Kline

Richard Gustafson and Maria Carlson have presented us with rich cultural and intellectual fare. And since Vladimir Ern's interpretation of Skovoroda has been discussed by both Brian Horowitz and Maria Carlson, I shall pay separate attention to some of the questions about this interpretation that they have raised.

I begin with the question of Skovoroda's relation to the eighteenth century. There is, I would suggest, a strong sense in which he may be said to have been *in* but not *of* that century. After all, Skovoroda stood against what has come to be called the "Enlightenment project," opposing much of mainstream eighteenth-century thought and opinion. The eighteenth century was marked by secularization, and he opposed that.<sup>1</sup> It was also marked by urbanization—a process that intensified in the nineteenth century—and he opposed that as well. Or, perhaps more precisely, he opposed not the city as such, but certain things that the city represented: on the one hand, advanced science and technology; on the other hand, the refined pursuit of comfort, luxury, and pleasure. The eighteenth century saw a turn to hedonism on the part of a good many people, and a turn to the *theory* of hedonism on the part of some philosophers. Skovoroda was opposed to *both* of these tendencies.

Even more importantly, the eighteenth century saw a growing focus on the *instrumental* use of reason and science, and a growing Promethean faith in the power of natural science and its applications in technology to solve key human

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1. Ern, I think, is simply wrong when he calls Skovoroda "a profoundly *secular* person" (emphasis added) in *Grigorii Savvich Skovoroda: Zhizn i uchenie* (Moscow: Put, 1912), 43. Skovoroda was sometimes anticlerical; but the centrality and depth of his own religious convictions is scarcely open to doubt.

and social problems. I think it is fair to say that Skovoroda stood decisively against both the general Enlightenment project and specific Promethean projects.

Richard Gustafson has spelled out the doctrinal similarities between Tolstoy and Skovoroda in a detailed way that is convincing—as far as it goes. He is right in asserting that both thinkers opposed secularism, urbanism, and hedonism, and that both of them rejected any science that fails to solve, or at least help to solve, urgent moral and social problems. But on one key point—one that Gustafson skirts—the two thinkers seem to me to part company. Gustafson notes Tolstoy's insistence on *razumnoe soznanie* (rational consciousness) and on the urgent need to reformulate and, in a sense, recreate Christianity, and indeed all of the major world religions, on a thoroughly *rational* foundation. In this central project, Tolstoy was, as Gustafson puts it, “a child of the French Enlightenment.” He tried, like the *philosophes* before him and Spinoza before them, to reduce traditional doctrines to a rational core, purging away their “superstitious” elements. Thus, in his “rational reconstruction” of the doctrine of the Resurrection, Tolstoy reduces that doctrine to the metaphorical claim that “one leaves the tomb of ... one's individuality” in order to enter into “the life of the whole.” He interprets the Divine Logos as simply the content of a purified human rationality.<sup>2</sup> In attempting to remove everything that is mystical and symbolic from Christian doctrine, Tolstoy seems to me to move in the opposite direction from Skovoroda and the latter's “pre-modern,” essentially symbolist sensibility.

As for the comparison of the personalities of Tolstoy and Skovoroda: I am not convinced by Gustafson's claim that they were *equally* irascible and *equally* intolerant of views other than their own. Tolstoy was an angry, troubled, and verbally violent man (such of his contemporaries as Gorky attest to his constant overuse of the Russian equivalents of four-letter words—something that one cannot imagine in Skovoroda). More importantly, Skovoroda shared with both the ancient Stoics and the ancient Epicureans the ideal of inner peace, tranquility of soul, and imperturbability (*ataraxia*). But Skovoroda understood this latter virtue in a more positive way than the Stoics had—as the result of *controlling* rather than *suppressing* the “unruly passions.” And he emphasized both joy and gratitude—“In all things give thanks,” as he constantly enjoined. In Tolstoy I find very little of either joy or gratitude, and very few of the hymns of praise that characterize Skovoroda's poetry, e.g., when he sings “... slavym Tia, Tsaria Tsarei. / Tia poet i vsia vseleenna...” (King of Kings, we sing Thy praise, as does the universe entire; “Song 28” of Skovoroda's *Garden of Divine Songs*). Perhaps this is just another way of saying that Skovoroda was both a happy man and a lyric poet and that Tolstoy was neither.

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2. Nicholas Weisbein, *L'Evolution religieuse de Tolstoï* (Paris: Librairie des cinq continents, 1960), 435, 447.

Maria Carlson has stressed the powerful orientation of the early twentieth-century Symbolists toward the Russian eighteenth century. My question is: what precisely did they see, or want to see, in that century? Apparently, according to Carlson, it was *not* eighteenth-century ideas and opinions but, rather, the opulent and elegant daily life—the *byt*—on which they focussed. Fair enough! But the question remains: why did they pause with the eighteenth century rather than going back to the seventeenth, which, in France, was characterized by the elegance, opulence, and formality that the Symbolists prized (its exemplar being Versailles)? Was it because the Russian eighteenth century was in fact closer to the French seventeenth century than to the French (and general west European) eighteenth century?

Carlson has also noted Skovoroda's lack of influence, either specifically philosophical or generally cultural, in nineteenth-century Russia. One reason for this, of course, is the scandal of the (non-)publication of his works, the first decently representative edition of which did not appear until a hundred years after his death.<sup>3</sup> But I suspect that there is a deeper reason. To put the point crudely: in the Russian Empire the nineteenth century was, in terms of ideas, values, and opinions, a very "eighteenth-century" period, exhibiting those features of the French eighteenth century referred to above. Such a cultural and intellectual climate—at least as represented by the Westernizers, the Nihilists, the Populists, and the early Russian Marxists—was deeply uncongenial to Skovoroda's anti-Enlightenment thought.

I recognize, of course, that there were certain "minority currents" in the eighteenth century that might also be said to have been *in* but not *of* that century. These included German pietism (of which we have heard a good deal in Alexandar Mihailovic's paper), Rousseauism (which, especially its cultural anarchism, had a strong influence on Tolstoy), and the first tender shoots of that Romanticism that would burst into full flower in the early decades of the nineteenth century. But the *majority* current remained as I have described it.

I come now to my half-dozen questions about Ern's interpretation of Skovoroda's thought.<sup>4</sup>

1. Why did this Russophile, this "desperate nationalist" (as Brian Horowitz aptly dubbed him), turn precisely to Skovoroda and Solovev as exemplars of Russian speculation, indeed as the historical alpha and omega of such speculation? Skovoroda, after all—like Kant—lived and died *before* nationalism became a significant force in Europe, mostly in reaction to Napoleonic imperialism, in

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3. *Sochineniia Grigoriia Savvicha Skovorody*, comp. and ed. Dmytro I. Bahalii (Kharkiv: Kharkovskoe istoricheskoe-filologicheskoe obshchestvo, 1894).

4. In the paragraphs numbered 1–6 below, the page references in parentheses after the direct quotations are to Ern's book on Skovoroda (see n. 1).

such countries as Germany, Italy, and Russia. Skovoroda was surely no nationalist, either Russian or Ukrainian. It would be more accurate to characterize him as a Christian Stoic “cosmopolitan” in the root sense of that much-abused term, namely, a “citizen of the whole [Christian-European] world.” As for Solovev: his philosophical *publitsistika* (i.e., writing on current social, political, and cultural issues) is celebrated for its slashing attacks on the nationalist positions of such late Slavophiles as Nikolai Strakhov and Nikolai Danilevsky. If Solovev had lived to read Ern’s book on Skovoroda or his anti-German diatribes dating from the First World war, he would surely have subjected their nationalistic and xenophobic claims to the same kind of attack. After all, fundamental to Solovev’s view is a distinction (ignored by Ern) between *narodnost* or *natsionalnost* (roughly, “nationality”), on the one hand, and nationalism, on the other. Solovev affirmed the positive, indeed the intrinsic, value of *narodnost*, as he did that of *lichnost* (“person” or “personhood”) in the case of the individual. But he decisively repudiated the perversions of these values in nationalism and egoism, both of which are self-centred, self-serving, and indifferent to the interests of others.

Thus Solovev contrasts the positive fruits of British *narodnost*—the works of Shakespeare and Byron, Berkeley and Newton—with the negative fruits of British nationalism—the repressive and destructive expansion of the British Empire. In a parallel way he contrasts the positive fruits of German *narodnost*—the works of Lessing and Goethe, Kant and Schelling—with the negative fruits of German nationalism—the “forced Germanizing of their [the Germans’] neighbours, from the time of the Teutonic Knights to our own day.”<sup>5</sup> He was no less critical of the growing Russian nationalism of his own time, with its generalized xenophobia and its particular anti-Catholic, anti-Polish, and anti-Semitic manifestations.

2. Ern sees Western philosophy, dominated by *ratio*, as a rationalism that is “irreligious in principle”; Russian philosophy, centred on Logos, takes “reason as a whole” (including its religious dimension), in contrast to Western philosophy, which lops off its top and bottom (p. 19). I don’t know quite what to make of this claim, except perhaps to send it over to our Freudian colleagues for analysis. But on a related point Ern is less obscure: the philosophy of Logos, which he calls *logizm* (roughly, “logicism”) is characterized by *organichnost* (roughly, “organic character”) and sees everything—God, the world, the church, as well as the individual—in terms of *lichnost* (p. 21). The implied contrast is

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5. Vladimir Solovev, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 2d ed., 10 vols., ed. S. M. Solovev and E. L. Radlov (St. Petersburg: Prosveshchenie, 1911–14; reprint, Brussels: Zhizn s Bogom, 1966), 5: 12–13; also reprinted in his *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. N. V. Kotrelev (Moscow: Pravda, 1989), 269.

with the non-organic, impersonal, even mechanistic view of the Western rationalists.

3. Ern's Symbolist sympathies come out strikingly in the claim that Russian philosophy, which began with Skovoroda, is ending (as of 1912) with Prince Sergei Trubetskoi and *Viacheslav Ivanov* (p. 24)! This is related to Shpet's perceptive remark that Ern's book is not a scholarly study in the history of philosophy, but "an excitedly or nervously [*vzvinchenno*] literary work" written with great élan, but providing the reader with a better sense of Ern's own philosophical position than of Skovoroda's. The portrait of Skovoroda is drawn to fit the way that Ern would *like* his "first Russian philosopher" to have been rather than the way he actually *was*.<sup>6</sup>

4. Ern claims that although Skovoroda, in his moments of metaphysical myopia, confuses the foundation of the world with God and thus falls into pantheism, in his more inspired moments he "proziraet tainstvennuu osnovu mira v Deve" (glimpses the mysterious foundation of the world in the Virgin; pp. 270, 271) and "zagovarival o zhenstvennoi sushchnosti mira, o tainstvennom otnoshenii ego k Deve" (spoke about the feminine essence of the world, about the world's mysterious relation to the Virgin; p. 341). In Skovoroda's thought "tainstvennaia i glubochaishaia sushchnost mira sviazyvaetsia ... s Prechistoiu Devi" (the mysterious and most profound essence of the world is linked ... to the Immaculate Virgin; p. 268). On this point I agree with Chyzhevsky, who noted that although "there have been attempts to find in Skovoroda the rudiments of a doctrine of Sophia," in fact "one should probably ... label the attempt to exhibit this doctrine in Skovoroda (by Ern) a *failure*."<sup>7</sup> I would add only that Ern's attempt is a part of the "mythologizing" of Skovoroda to which Maria Carlson has referred, and it makes Skovoroda sound altogether too much like Solovev, with his theological doctrine of the *Bozhestvennaia Sofiia* (Divine Sophia) or like Blok and Bely, with their poetic symbol of the *Prekrasnaia Dama* (Beautiful Lady).

5. According to Ern, Skovoroda's central symbol of the "tree and its shadows" is hostile to the symbolism of the Bible (p. 265). This seems to me to be both textually wrong and wrong-headed. Skovoroda's basic idea is that of the relation of the one to the many, an ancient Platonic topos. For Skovoroda a single century-old oak tree stands firm while its multiple and shifting shadows undergo endless transformations during the course of a day and over the course of a year. Skovoroda adds the Slavic poet's insight into the linguistic similarities

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6. Gustav Shpet, *Ocherk razvitiia russkoi filosofii* (Petrograd: Kolos, 1922), 70; repr. in his *Sochineniia*, ed. E. V. Antonova (Moscow: Pravda, 1989), 85.

7. Dmitrii Tshižewskij [Dmytro Chyzhevsky], *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker* (Munich: W. Fink, 1974), 106. My trans. and emphasis.

of the nouns *tin* (“shadow”) and *tlin* or *linie* (“corruption” or “decay”) and of the adjectives *tinnyi* (“shadowy”) and *tlinnyi* (“perishing”). Shadows are characterized precisely by the fact that they not only constantly shift and change, but also by the fact that they perpetually *perish*.

I fail to see what is troubling Ern here. After all, Skovoroda sometimes refers to such an oak tree (or apple tree) as a *drevo zhyzni*, and the symbol of the “Tree of Life” comes straight from the Old Testament (cf. Prov. 3:18).

6. It is not entirely clear whether Ern is claiming that Skovoroda shares his own anti-Westernism. This is not made explicit, so far as I can see, but appears to be the subtext of certain passages in Ern’s book, such as the one in which he calls Skovoroda the “secret father” of Slavophilism (p. 339). But both this label and the implicit claim that Skovoroda is anti-Western seem to me to be misguided. Skovoroda offered no general critique (as Ern and the Slavophiles *did*) of Western thought and culture. And he criticizes London, Paris, and Florence not because they are *Western*, and not even because they are *cities*, but rather—as we have seen—because they are the loci of the practitioners of “useless” natural science and the builders of vain technologies, on the one hand, and of the pursuit of *la dolce vita*, on the other. I am convinced that Skovoroda would have been just as critical, and for the same reasons, of Russian or Ukrainian cities if they had in fact exhibited the bell towers and clockworks of London or the pleasure palaces of Paris or Florence. (This was certainly the position of Fedorov and Tolstoy.) In a word, Skovoroda’s position is not anti-Western, but only directed against certain urban developments that had progressed further in western Europe than in Russia and Ukraine in his day.

There have been many hasty and misleading interpretations of Skovoroda’s apparent equation of Epicurus and Christ—“Tak zhyval afineiskii, tak zhyval i evreiskii / Epikur — Khrystos” (This is how both the Athenian Epicurus and the Jewish Epicurus—Christ—lived; “Song 30” of *The Garden of Divine Songs*)—something considered so scandalous that tsarist censors required these lines to be rewritten into the lame but inoffensive “Tak zhival afineiskii / Provodil dennskoi / V sadakh Epikur” (This is how the Athenian Epicurus lived: he spent all day long in his gardens).<sup>8</sup>

But Skovoroda’s essential point, properly grasped (as by Chyzhevsky), is not so shocking after all. What Epicurus and Christ have in common is their “freedom from anxiety” (*Angstlosigkeit*) and “joy” (*Freude*) in the face of the trials and sufferings of human existence.<sup>9</sup> These seem to me to be conspicuous

8. *Sochyneniia v stikakh i proze Grigoriia Savicha Skovorody* (St. Petersburg: Lisenkov, 1861). Cf. the editorial note in Skovoroda’s *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 479.

9. Tschizewskij, 174.

qualities of Skovoroda, but not—to revert to an earlier point—conspicuous qualities of Tolstoy, especially in his later years.

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## In Search of Hryhorii Skovoroda: A Review Article

*Natalia Pylypiuk*

*The world sought to snare me,  
but it never trapped me.*  
Skovoroda

Richard H. Marshall, Jr. and Thomas E. Bird, eds. *Hryhorij Savyč Skovoroda: An Anthology of Critical Articles*. Foreword by Marc Raeff. Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1994. xvi, 319 pp. \$44.95 cloth.

The social and intellectual ferment that took place on the territories of Galician and Volhynian Rus' at the end of the sixteenth century introduced cultural practices that by 1617 began to take root in Kyiv, the original seat of Rus'. Informed by a metalinguistic doctrine that in essence was historical and philological, these practices initially sought to regenerate and defend the religion of Rus' in its struggle with the more aggressive and competitive models presented by reform movements and, ultimately, post-Tridentine Catholicism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In Kyiv, at first under the tutelage of the confraternity school and subsequently the Kyiv Mohyla Collegium, these practices were sustained for approximately two centuries by the Orthodox redaction of the humanistic trivium and neo-scholastic quadrivium. Formulated by the monastic clergy, this curriculum—like its immediate Jesuit model—upheld the pre-eminence of classical languages and promoted a religious ethos rather than a secular one. The freedom and financial support that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church enjoyed on territories under the jurisdiction of the Hetman state (1648–1762) did not stimulate an internal re-evaluation of the collegium's basic orientation. And, paradoxically, no social stratum during this period sought to

formalize its own secular profile and elevate—through codification and systematic training—the dignity of the native vernacular. Unchallenged by alternative native institutions, the Kyiv Mohyla Collegium and its affiliates shaped the intellectual discourse and profile of Ukrainian society well beyond the confines of the Hetman state. Eloquent testimony of this school's significance is the leading role that its graduates played in the Europeanization of the Muscovite church and, throughout the eighteenth century, in the development of Russian imperial secular literature, education, the arts, and the sciences.

Recent scholarship, both in Eastern Europe and in the West, has devoted attention to the institution that produced the clerical and secular elites of early-modern Ukraine. But the manner in which the practices sustained by the Mohylanian ethos affected Ukrainian popular culture throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been poorly studied, if at all. Consequently, for example, we do not as yet appreciate the nexus between religious poetry and the love lyric documented in manuscript collections of the period. Nor do we understand the mechanisms that led to the preservation in Kharkiv gubernia—by oral transmission as late as the 1890s—of a mid-eighteenth century Galician redaction of the paschal "Discourse on the Harrowing of Hell." In this context it is worth recalling that Kharkiv gubernia, formerly Slobidska Ukraine gubernia, was a frontier territory with no institutional ties to the Hetman state or Galician Rus'.

Hryhorii Skovoroda (1722–94), who spent most of his creative life in Slobidska Ukraine, was born in Hetman Ukraine and obtained his formal education at the Kyiv Mohyla Collegium. In a unique fashion his writings represent the last expression of the Mohylanian ethos on the eve of Ukrainian culture's secularization and adoption of the vernacular. Skovoroda's experience as a singer at Empress Elizabeth's court in St. Petersburg, where many of his countrymen—including a wealthy uncle—were making profitable careers, is not directly reflected in any of his works. Removed by social status from the stratum that engaged in political life, Skovoroda never showed an interest in public affairs—this, despite the fact that among his friends we find members of the elite, various landowners, Kharkiv's vice-governor, and a lawyer. Although he was courted by the monastic clergy, Skovoroda refused to join their ranks, thereby rejecting the modicum of security that such a professional choice would have brought him. Instead, he chose the life of a secular preceptor and, upon failing to secure a permanent position, focussed on writing while practicing what can be termed as a private form of monasticism. His prose works, exegetic in thrust, marshal vocabulary drawn not only from moral philosophy, but also from poetic theory and politics. His poetry, which is essentially religious, often conjoins the strategies of both the devotional and the love lyric.

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The anthology under review was published on the heels of the second centenary of Skovoroda's death. Besides celebrating his life and work, it honours the memory of Dmytro Čyževs'kyj (1894–1977), the Ukrainian Slavist whose scholarship contributed so much not only toward our appreciation of Skovoroda as writer and thinker, but also toward our understanding of many Slavic literatures, medieval and modern, Orthodox and Catholic. The first two chapters of his seminal work, *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker* (Munich, 1974) appear here, in a very fine English translation by Walter Petrovitz and Gus Fagan, under the title “An Introduction to the Life and Thought of H. S. Skovoroda.”

Edited by Richard H. Marshall, Jr. of the University of Toronto and Thomas E. Bird of the City University of New York, the anthology gathers the work of twelve American and Canadian scholars. Representing approximately five generations, these authors engage in a wide spectrum of disciplines: history, education, linguistics, literature, philosophy, and theology. Their articles are organized under three rubrics: Skovoroda and Society, Skovoroda and Literature, and the Philosophy and Theology of Skovoroda. “A Bibliography of Skovorodiana” compiled by Richard Hantula comprises the fourth part of the volume; consisting of 310 entries, it seeks to supplement the bibliography by E. S. Berkovych et al. (Kharkiv, 1972) with items by Western authors and material published up to 1986.

In the foreword to the volume, Marc Raeff, the eminent American historian of early-modern Russia, refers to the contributions as symposium papers. Unfortunately, the editors do not offer any information about the event, its participants, and the conceptual underpinnings guiding the publication. This last question is especially important when we note that the volume includes previously published material besides Čyževs'kyj's—namely, (1) Stephen P. Scherer's “Skovoroda and Society,” which originally appeared in *Ukrainskyi istoryk*, 1971, no. 3–4 (1971); (2) George Y. Shevelov's “Prolegomena to Studies of Skovoroda's Language and Style,” from his collection *In and around Kiev* (Heidelberg, 1991); and (3) Petro B. T. Bilaniuk's “Introduction to the Theological Thought of Hryhorij Skovoroda.” The latter amalgamates a paragraph from Bilaniuk's 1974 review (*Slavic Review* 33, no. 3) of Skovoroda's *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh* (1973) and a lengthy paragraph from his 1973 article “Hryhorij Skovoroda—Philosopher or Theologian?” (*The New Review* [Toronto] 13, no. 1–2) with an article he published in 1982 (*Studies in Eastern Christianity* [Toronto] 2).

Thus, what may have been initially conceived as a collection of original contributions evolved into an anthology of works “by many of the leading specialists ... outside Ukraine.” If we assume that this geographic demarcation, which is stated on the dustjacket, intimates a methodological boundary and, by

extension, a polemic with Soviet scholarship, the criteria governing the selection of articles for this volume become more evident. It is from this perspective that I will formulate my assessment of the anthology. Nonetheless, let me state at the outset that the inclusion of previously published material does not necessarily detract from the volume's merit. To illustrate this point, it is worth noting that Bilaniuk's 1982 article is not mentioned in Hantula's bibliography. This minor editorial oversight reveals that interdisciplinarity, while desirable, is not always attainable. The inclusion of Bilaniuk's reworked article gives access to a theological intellection that otherwise may have been unnoticed by the philologist.

Raeff's elegant foreword focusses on the relative obscurity of Skovoroda in his own lifetime and his "rediscovery" by Russian and Ukrainian readers in the late nineteenth century. In his opinion, the unpropitious climate for the reception of Skovoroda's writings was generated by two factors: the secularizing processes that engulfed Russia in the eighteenth century; and the concomitant "brain drain" that Ukraine experienced when its religious and secular elite invested considerable energy in the creation of a new imperial culture. Having a better education than the Russians, the Ukrainian elite succeeded in gaining admission into the Russian service nobility. This, argues Raeff, led to its assimilation and abandonment of Ukrainian literary and cultural traditions. The subsequent development of a new Ukrainian consciousness, modelled as it was on Romantic idealization of the Folk, widened even further the gap between Skovoroda and his potential readers in the nineteenth century.

Raeff's explanation of the reasons behind the negligible interest in Skovoroda by his contemporaries is well argued and persuasive. It also underscores, albeit implicitly, Skovoroda's aloofness from the secularizing processes that so engaged his co-evals. This aspect of his character is especially remarkable when we recall that his formal training did not differ in essence from theirs. In this context it is worth noting that, in Raeff's opinion, "[t]he rhetoric, logic and neo-scholastic metaphysics" taught at Kyiv "served as indispensable mental preparation for the reception of the intellectual presuppositions of European political culture," whose philosophical and intellectual foundations were, respectively, "natural law and neo-stoicism" and "the rationalism of seventeenth-century natural philosophy."<sup>1</sup>

The social changes discussed by Raeff may be illustrated with the family history of Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, who was descended from the Cossack gentry. One of his ancestors, the painter Klemens Chyževsky, lived in Kyiv in the early

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1. Marc Raeff, "Ukraine and Imperial Russia: Intellectual and Political Encounters from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj et al (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 70.

eighteenth century. Yet another, Petro Chyzhevsky, was a singer at Elizabeth's court and may have been a colleague of Hryhorii Skovoroda. But unlike the son of the indigent Cossack Sava, Petro was ennobled by the empress. His nineteenth-century descendant, Ivan Chyzhevsky (Dmytro's father), was a teacher, scientist, political figure, and, at one time, the mayor of Oleksandriia.<sup>2</sup> In this context one is tempted to ask: were Dmytro Čyževs'kyj's political alliances during the Revolution of 1917 and as a member of the "Russian minority" on the governing board of the Ukrainian Central Rada (1918) not, in part, an extension of the assimilation processes that began in the eighteenth century?

But, it is the Skovoroda scholar who commands our interest here. Having studied mathematics and astronomy in St. Petersburg (1911–13), Čyževs'kyj transferred to Kyiv University (1913–19) to study philosophy, Slavic philology, and Indo-European linguistics. Narrowly escaping execution, he left Ukraine at the age of twenty-seven and settled in Germany, where he studied philosophy with Karl Jaspers, Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, and Richard Kroner (1921–4). Both his dissertation and *Habilitation Schrift* were devoted to Hegel. From 1924 to 1932 Čyževs'kyj lived in Czechoslovakia, where he became a member of the Prague Linguistic Circle and taught at the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute and the Ukrainian Free University. In Prague he published his earliest works on the history of philosophy in Ukraine and began working on Skovoroda. His subsequent life was no less peripatetic than that of his eighteenth-century countryman. Although he never secured a professorial appointment, he taught at the universities of Halle, Jena, and Marburg (1932–49); then at Harvard (1949–56); and at Heidelberg and Cologne, even past his official retirement in 1964. An important segment of his voluminous legacy is devoted to the German mystics of the Reformation, the German Pietists, and the Czech theologian Comenius.

Although Čyževs'kyj's *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker* was published in 1974 (under the auspices of the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies), he had completed its manuscript by the early 1950s. Thus, the study reflects both the training he obtained in Germany and the research that led him to publish several philosophy textbooks for Ukrainian institutions in interwar Czechoslovakia and ground-breaking studies of baroque aesthetics in Ukrainian, Czech, and Polish literature. In essence, the 1974 publication expands on his *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody* (Warsaw, 1934), but excludes its scholarly apparatus and illustrations

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2. For a biographical sketch, see Hugh McLean, "Chyzhevskyi, Dmytro Ivanovych," in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literatures*, vol. 4, ed. Harry B. Weber (Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1981), 148–54; and Omeljan Pritsak and Ihor Ševčenko, "Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *In Memoriam* (23 March 1894–18 April 1977)," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 3 (September 1977): 379–406.

of emblems. In the volume under review no attempt is made to incorporate those elements of the Warsaw publication that correspond to the anthologized chapters, or to address the discrepancies that surface in the light of more recent scholarship. Thus, for example, Čyževs'kyj states that Skovoroda began studying at the age of sixteen, whereas Leonid Makhnovets and other Soviet authors thereafter maintain that Skovoroda enrolled in the collegium when he was twelve.

Čyževs'kyj's introductory chapter in his monograph, which appears in the anthology under review as "The Man and His Fate," sets out to discover Skovoroda by separating the verifiable from the legendary in his biography, and to recuperate the baroque writer from post-Enlightenment oblivion and Romantic misconceptions. Seeking to enter his subject's intellectual world, Čyževs'kyj enumerates the classical, patristic, and post-Renaissance authors known in Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He emphasizes that many of the latter authors "lived at the zenith of the baroque, steeped in baroque culture." His chapter "The Principles" discusses the features of Skovoroda's style—namely, "his fondness for antithesis, the interplay of opposites, contradictory formulations, and paradoxical points." Indirectly polemicizing with his predecessors, Čyževs'kyj defends Skovoroda as a systematic thinker whose style is intrinsically bound with his philosophical and theological tenets, and for whom "every true essence is by its very nature contradictory" (p. 20). Convinced that a statement Skovoroda once made concerning his late "discovery" of the Bible suggests "a spiritual debt abroad," Čyževs'kyj pursues his search by comparing Skovoroda's style and interest in the symbolic and emblematic with that of the German mystics, especially Jakob Böhme. The chapter concludes with an excursus on Skovoroda's symbolic interpretation of the Bible. Čyževs'kyj vehemently dismisses those (probably Soviet) scholars who pointed at Skovoroda's reading of Scripture as evidence of his antagonism toward Christianity. To demonstrate their ignorance of Christian theology, he aligns Skovoroda's method with early Christian exegetical traditions and the practices of Valentin Weigel, Sebastian Franck, and Böhme.

These chapters, as well as those not included in the anthology (on metaphysics, anthropology, ethics, mysticism, and the mystical writer), demonstrate the strategies Čyževs'kyj deployed when one set of sources closed behind him but others opened up to him. More than once in his monograph he states that more thorough research is necessary to ascertain whether this or that European writer was well known in Ukraine. In my opinion, Skovoroda's acquaintance with the German mystics remains hypothetical. Moreover, his approach to Holy Writ reverberates with the methods taught to all neo-poetas in the humanistic trivium—including its Kyiv redaction, as even a cursory reading of Teofan Prokopovych's and Mytrofan Dovhalevsky's manuals of poetics and rhetoric suggests. In all fairness, however, let me note that these became available long after Čyževs'kyj wrote his monograph.

Čyževs'kyj's contribution should be perceived from a historical perspective. Besides sensitizing the modern reader to Skovoroda's poetics, it situated Skovoroda within the stream that nurtured, directly or indirectly, his spiritual and creative pursuits. Most importantly, it posited the intimate relationship between Skovoroda's mysticism and his ethics. To appreciate the last point, however, the reader must turn to those chapters by Čyževs'kyj that have not appeared in the anthology.

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In "Skovoroda and Society," the first article under the rubric of the same name, Stephen P. Scherer demonstrates the contradictions produced by attempts to classify Skovoroda as the representative of one or another social class. Scherer proposes that a "class orientation or social militancy" on Skovoroda's part would have undermined the attainment of his basic goal, the creation of a harmonious society (p. 73). Skovoroda devoted his energy "to the discovery of the divinity within man" precisely because he believed that individual spiritual regeneration prevented social strife (pp. 69–70). Accepting Scherer's main thrust, I would like to add that Skovoroda was not equipped to consider alternative choices. His only tools, besides a pre-secular understanding of natural philosophy, were a teleological perspective on language and what I would term an irenic theology.<sup>3</sup> These, in my opinion, are at the core of his exegetical enterprise and single-minded pursuit to slay the hydra of literal interpretation. Skovoroda's training did not prepare him to analyze and oppose—I emphasize, from a political standpoint—the institution of serfdom, which the ennobled Cossack officer class and the policies of Catherine II entrenched.

I wholeheartedly agree with Scherer that Skovoroda's thought becomes more comprehensible "when viewed against the backdrop of the society in which he lived and his reaction to it" (p. 73). However, I suggest that Scherer's interpretation of Skovoroda's undated poem "De libertate" as a "candid attack on Russia's ruin of Ukrainian independence" (p. 64) is stretched. It is safer to view this text as an adaptation of the theme *An aurea libertas auro pretiosior omni?*, one of the many assigned to neo-poetas with the objective of developing their skills in one of the branches of rhetoric.<sup>4</sup> Here the Latin title of the poem is an important clue. Skovoroda's laudatory apostrophe to the "Father of Liberty, the hero Bohdan [Khmelnysky]" may reflect the impact of *Mylost Bozhiia* on traditional school exercises. To be sure, this set of declamations—written and performed at

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3. See my article "The Primary Door: At the Threshold of Skovoroda's Theology and Poetics," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 551–83.

4. For a discussion of the humanistic trivium and its rhetorical exercises, see the third chapter of my Ph.D. diss., "The Humanistic School and Ukrainian Literature of the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century" (Harvard University, 1989), esp. 171–90.

the Kyiv Mohyla Collegium in 1728—extolled Khmelnytsky's victory over the Poles while covertly celebrating the abolishment of the Russian administrative unit overseeing the hetman's office. But by the time Skovoroda first enrolled at the school and pursued trivium subjects (1734–41), the conjoined theme of "Khmelnysky and golden liberty" may have become a commonplace, raw material waiting to be adopted by the neo-poeta's invention and transformed according to the techniques of imitation. Interest in the combined theme may have been revived when, in 1744, Empress Elizabeth agreed to restore the office of hetman. That very year, upon returning from St. Petersburg, Skovoroda resumed the quadrivial program that had been interrupted by his induction into the court choir. Whatever the stimuli behind the eight-line exercise and its date of composition, "De libertate" is the only "political" poem in Skovoroda's entire oeuvre. Moreover, in typical Skovorodian fashion, it does not address the concerns of any specific corporate entity, but, rather, expresses the poet's desire to preserve his own freedom ("О, когда б же мнѣ в дурнѣ не пошиться, / Даби волности не могл как лишиться").

J. L. Black's "H. S. Skovoroda as Teacher: The Image as Model" treats the eighteenth-century writer's opinions about education in the context of contemporary discussions on the topic. Stressing that Skovoroda's teaching career ended precisely at the time when Catherinian educational reforms were being introduced, Black enumerates the similarities and differences between Skovoroda's views and those of Ivan Betskoi—the leading adviser of the empress—and his successor Fedor Iankovich. He sees many parallels between Betskoi and Skovoroda, but concludes that the Ukrainian teacher "cannot be considered part of any school of pedagogical thought" (p. 81). The promise of Black's study resides in its attempt to view Skovoroda the preceptor from the perspective of the educational policies being formulated at his time; in pointing at the textual closeness of one passage in Skovoroda's "Colloquy Called the Alphabet, or the Primer of the World" with Prokopovych's *First Primer for Youth* (1720); and in its consideration, along with Skovoroda's tracts and colloquies, of Skovoroda's epistolary legacy—a source often neglected by scholars. The study is somewhat weakened by Black's reliance on the legendary rather than the verifiable—for example, the anecdote that sixteen-year old Hryhorii persuaded his father to enroll him at the collegium (p. 76), whereas—as Black himself states—Skovoroda entered the school in 1734, that is, at the age of twelve; the assertion that the young Skovoroda's travels (as a musician in the hire of the merchant Vyshnevsky) "enabled him to experience the cross-currents of contemporary European intellectual life" (p. 77); and the claim that Skovoroda influenced the growth of educational facilities in Ukraine (p. 88). In this context, two minor comments are also in order. The surname of the serf owner whose son was tutored by Skovoroda is Tomara (not Tamara, p. 78). The monkey Pishek, a proponent of formalistic learning and the antipode to Skovoroda's stork, is a

female—not a male—character (Black writes: “He was shocked when he discovered that Erodus ... had been educated at home,” p. 86).

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George Y. Shevelov’s “Prolegomena to Studies of Skovoroda’s Language and Style” introduces the second part. It is the longest article in the anthology and, perhaps, the most exciting, because it formulates the prerequisites for studying not only Skovoroda’s language but also his system of beliefs and formal strategies.

Skovoroda’s language has been characterized as either “Russian, bookish Ukrainian, a misbegotten monster, or [as] a necessary stage on the road from the literary language of the post-Meletian era to modern standard Ukrainian” (p. 112). In his inimitable style, the dean of Ukrainian linguistics dismisses all such characterizations as ignorant and premature. The study he proposes would comprehend a three-pronged approach, which I summarize in my own words: (1) the identification and exclusion from analysis of all quoted biblical and ecclesiastical material in Skovoroda’s oeuvre; (2) the investigation of the remaining material—i.e., Skovoroda’s proper—as it evolved over forty years of creativity, along with the inventorying of its stable and changing elements; and (3) the analysis of the functions Skovoroda accords in his oeuvre to Church Slavonic, Russian, and Ukrainian with a view of his immediate audience and social milieu.

Shevelov undertakes the first steps of precisely such a study, and thus his article is constructed—in his own designation—as a triptych. In the first part he states that the screening of quotations would facilitate an assessment of the active components of Skovoroda’s style. Pointing to the mosaics that Skovoroda builds from biblical fragments and his unscrupulousness in matters of quotation, Shevelov reminds us that well-versed readers in the eighteenth century could “perceive the quotations at once, as well as allusions to quotations, and the associations they carried with them” (p. 96). To date, no edition of Skovoroda’s oeuvre has attempted to identify his quotations in a systematic and exhaustive manner.

Turning to the variants of the Church Slavonic Bible available before and after the mid-eighteenth century, Shevelov’s analysis of twenty-eight quotations leads him to conclude that Skovoroda relied on the Synodal Bible, i.e., the mandatory text in the church in Ukraine once its autonomous status had been eroded. But Shevelov also demonstrates that Skovoroda “did not consider it vital to adhere” to every grammatical construct, letter, word, or image “of his underlying text” (pp. 101–2). Aligning Skovoroda’s technique with earlier Ukrainian writers, Shevelov tentatively suggests that “Baroque Ukraine enjoyed fairly great freedom [...] before the authority of the rigidly dogmatic Russian church was firmly established” (p. 101). He also indicates that Skovoroda’s

manipulations and whimsical games served a manifold purpose, from instilling a double meaning into a text, or bringing it closer to the colloquial language, to expressing his own symbolic manner of thinking (p. 103).

Here a digression from Shevelov is in order. Skovoroda's playfulness notwithstanding, there is evidence that he also introduced changes for more than aesthetic or symbolical reasons. For example, in "A Small Book called *Silenus Alcibiadis* ...," Skovoroda corrects the "Elizabethan" (i.e., Synodal) Bible's version of the Johanne Prologue's second verse (John 1:2). By changing—from *sei* to *sie*—the demonstrative pronoun referring to *slovo* (the noun in the first verse), Skovoroda reinstates the agreement that we find in the Ostrih Bible. This, as I have indicated elsewhere, may point at an Erasmian perspective on language and biblical exegesis.<sup>5</sup>

In the stylistic continuum outlined by Shevelov, Skovoroda's prose stands farther away from the Church Slavonic "monolinguality" of the sermons by his famous predecessor Prokopovych, and closer to the bilinguality (Church Slavonic-Ukrainian, with numerous Polonisms) of those by Ioannikii Galiatovsky, a seventeenth-century preacher. However, Shevelov emphasizes, Skovoroda's Church Slavonicisms are at least of two types—biblical and Russian. On the other hand, the language he uses as a contrastive partner is not Ukrainian, but archaic Russian.

In the second part of the triptych, Shevelov—the American professor of linguistics—fuses with his other persona—the Ukrainian literary critic Iurii Sherekh—and brings a generous gift to linguists and literary scholars alike. Tracing the nature of Skovoroda's experiments in genre, language choice, syntax, semantic switches, and imagery, Shevelov proposes a tentative organization of Skovoroda's oeuvre into four discrete periods. He maintains that, between 1776 and 1780—especially in "A Little Book on Reading the Holy Scripture, Called Lot's Wife"—Skovoroda succeeds in creating a metalanguage of his own, the purpose of which "is to take the reader away from the surface of all things and of the entire visible world and to transcend all that is sensually graspable [...]" (p. 117). Conceding that his periodization may turn out inadequate, Shevelov insists that a dynamic, albeit tentative, treatment of Skovoroda is better than a static one.

Echoing arguments made by Čyževs'kyj, Scherer, and others, the third part of Shevelov's article deals with the mythologies that have surrounded Skovoroda. Recalling the presence of Boethius, Seneca, St. Maximus the Confessor, and Augustine in Skovoroda's oeuvre, Shevelov debunks the Soviet characterization of Skovoroda as a "people's philosopher." Then he proceeds to shatter the prism of Ukrainian Romanticism and of Russia's two capitals. Shevelov indicates that

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5. See my article "The Primary Door," esp. 566.

poetic experimentation led Skovoroda to create a language that incorporates “much from Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, standard Russian, and certain elements from Latin, Greek [...], but which was not identical with any of these [...]” This was a linguistic revolution, which “was carried out not in favour of colloquial Ukrainian or standard [i.e., St. Petersburg and Moscow] Russian”, but in favour of the Russian spoken by educated landowners and the upper classes of Slobidska Ukraine (p. 128). Shevelov concludes by warning the post-Romantic reader that Skovoroda did not record the language of his social milieu, but erected his own personal edifice in a baroque style “that never accepted the reality of life and the reality of the [spoken] language in a literary work” (p. 129).

Shevelov’s article is challenging and deserves to be placed on the “required reading” list of aspiring Slavists, be they Ukrainianists or Russianists. Those interested in the relationship between centres and peripheries, between empire and colony, will especially benefit from his historical approach.

Bohdan Strumiński’s “Textological Notes on Skovoroda’s *Alphabet*” is the last contribution in this section. Given its linguistic focus, it may be useful to consider it after Shevelov’s. Strumiński compares a secondary manuscript copy of the “Colloquy Called the Alphabet, or the Primer of the World” (made sometime between 1785 and 1800 and now preserved at Harvard University’s Houghton Library) with that work in three editions of Skovoroda’s works: Vladimir Bonch-Bruевич’s (1912), which was based on yet another secondary manuscript made sometime after 1788; and the two-volume critical editions edited by O. I. Biletsky (1961) and V. I. Shynkaruk (1973). The editors of the latter had Skovoroda’s autograph at their disposal. Nevertheless, Strumiński concludes, the autograph was not consulted. Consequently the 1973 publication repeats the errors involving Slavonic, Greek, and Latin words that had crept into the 1912 edition of the colloquy. Strumiński’s comparison of the secondary manuscripts themselves reveals that the copyists of the Houghton text de-Ukrainianized morphological and phonetic features of Skovoroda’s Lubny (Poltava) dialect. On the other hand, they also removed some traits of Muscovite pronunciation from his spelling.

In short, to date no critical edition of Skovoroda’s oeuvre meets scholarly standards. Strumiński’s notes poignantly illustrate Shevelov’s warning: it is premature to make categorical judgements about Skovoroda’s language.

If one discounts Čyževs’kyj’s *Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok: Narysy* (3 vols., Prague, 1941–4), Western scholarship has not paid much attention to Skovoroda as a poet. It is this aspect that Karen L. Black addresses in “The Poetry of Skovoroda.” Her well-constructed and informative article focusses only on those poems that Skovoroda invested with independent status rather than an ancillary function within a prose text. Black acknowledges Skovoroda’s poetic gifts while indicating that most of his poetry is didactic and combines the formal devices of

baroque preachers with his own interest in ethics. Although his thematic clusters are fairly commonplace in baroque poetry, she emphasizes that “there is nothing commonplace in the techniques of their formulation” (p. 138) and provides a detailed and very perceptive account of Skovoroda’s techniques.

Black points at the rich lexical choices Skovoroda makes, and she engages in a brief excursus on the separate development of Church Slavonic in Ukraine and Russia and of their respective vernaculars. In her opinion, a number of factors affect Skovoroda’s poetry: the less marked tendency to lexical purism in the Ukrainian *knyzhna mova*; the fact that the rhetorical training in Kyiv allowed more use of the semantic resources of other Slavic languages; and, finally, Skovoroda’s knowledge of languages (Latin, Greek, German, Russian, and some Hebrew and French).

When discussing Skovoroda’s use of involuted patterns of syntax, Black proposes that changes in their frequency may help to establish a chronology of his undated poems. She also indicates that Skovoroda’s shifts—within discrete poems—from syllabic to syllabotonic composition (and vice versa) suggest a tendency to signal changes of mood. The remainder of her article addresses the stylistic function Skovoroda accords to Church Slavonic and vernacular forms; his experimentation with rhyme schemes, consonance, assonance, and semantic manipulation; and his frequent use of apostrophes and ejaculations. In Black’s opinion, “shifts in person/addressee at fairly short intervals contribute much to that sense of changing equilibrium so characteristic of Skovoroda” (p. 152). She concludes that Skovoroda is the last baroque poet of any stature, yet, paradoxically, he did not wield an influence on the succeeding generation of poets.

Besides being an excellent guide to the formal features of Skovoroda’s poetry, Black’s article proposes new criteria for its periodization and classification. It merits the attention of all scholars interested in the literature of early modernity.

In a collegial spirit, I would like to comment on Black’s reading of one word in “Song 29” of Skovoroda’s *Garden of Divine Songs*. I fully agree with her that the poem’s “last three stanzas show a typical transmutation of Christ through three representations (p. 153).” Allow me to paraphrase the relevant verses (my translation): “O happy harbour, / Peaceful, sweet, safe! / O son of Mary! / You be the sole / Shore for my ship ... (stanza 3); “You are asleep in my boat / Wake up! Hear my lament! / Ah, restrain the sea [...]” (stanza 4); “Deliver me from perdition, / Tame, spirit, the carnal passions, / They torment my spirit, / [and] Embitter life / Save me, [your] Peter, I pray!” (stanza 5).

Black maintains that “Петра,” the noun in apposition in the last verse of the fifth stanza, is “a somewhat puzzling apparent switch of person.” To solve the contradiction, she points to “the underlying etymological ‘rock’ of *Petra*” and concludes that “this is Christ in his metaphorical function, not Peter” (p. 154).

Let us review the entire stanza (italics mine): “Избави мя от напасти, / Смири душе тлѣнны страсти, / Се дух мой терзают, / Жизнь огорче-

вают / Спаси мя, Петра, молюся!” I propose that no switch of person occurs here. If this were the case, Skovoroda would have used the vocative form “Петре.”<sup>6</sup> Instead he uses the accusative, in agreement with the pronoun “мя.” What is actually taking place in the last verse is the self-revelation of the speaker, Peter. I fully agree with Black that the final appeal, like all others in the poem, is addressed to Christ.<sup>7</sup> But it is the Apostle—the “rock” upon which Christ erected his church—who has been speaking from the very beginning.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Witness other vocatives of masculine nouns in Skovoroda’s poetry: “Боже,” “Богдане,” “душе.” The accusative form “Петра” appears in both of the two-volume Soviet Ukrainian editions of Skovoroda’s works, ed. O. I. Biletsky et al (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainkoi RSR, 1961) and V. I. Shynkaruk et al (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973). However, Valerii Shevchuk’s Modern Ukrainian translation of “Song 29” does propose, without any explanation, the vocative form “Петре”; see Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Tvory u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. Oleksa Myshanych, trans. Mariia Kashuba and Valerii Shevchuk (Kyiv: AT “Oberehy,” 1994), 79.

7. Christ is never addressed by this name. As I see them, the transmutations He undergoes in the poem are, in chronological order: the harbour; the son of Mary; the shore; an entity that, when awoken, has the power to restrain the sea; and the spirit that can deliver Peter by taming his carnal passions. I read the second verse of the fifth stanza as an address to the pneuma: “душе” (i.e., the vocative of “дух”). Morphology allows only one more possibility: the vocative of “душа” (psyche), which is also “душе.” But given Skovoroda’s elevation of the pneuma over the psyche, the latter interpretation must be disqualified. (Consider that in his “Dialogue Called the Serpent’s Flood,” the Imperishable Spirit—“Нетлѣнный Дух”—does not use the vocative when addressing the Soul—“Душа”.) And yet, it is plausible that the ambiguity conveyed by the appeal to “душе” is intentional.

I admit that the absence of punctuation marks in the critical editions of Skovoroda undermines my reading of this particular verse. Interestingly, Shevchuk’s translation does place “душе” in apposition: “Смири, душе, тлінні страсті.” I support my reading with Skovoroda’s own explanation, i.e., the bridging exercise between “Song 28” and “Song 29” (emphasis mine): “Воля, сердце, любовь, Бог, дух, рай, гавань, блаженство, вѣчность есть тожде” (Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk et al [Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973], 88). One more point: the command “запрети морю” (verse 3, stanza 4), which I interpret as “restrain the sea [of turbulent emotions],” but literally says “forbid the sea [to be turbulent],” evokes associations with the “запрѣтальня молитви” (i.e., prayers against the devils) mentioned in the Kyivan Caves Patericon.

8. The poem, I suggest, may be read together with Skovoroda’s prose explanation. Although textually related to “Song 28,” it also serves as a preparatory exercise for “Song 29.” Note the initial quotation from Augustine: “Tolle voluntatem propriam et tolletur infernus.” Also note the explanation: “Обрѣтшии средѣ моря своя воли Божию волю — обрѣте кифу, сирѣч гавань оную: «На сем камнѣ утвержу всю церковь мою»” (Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 87–8; emphasis mine).

Guided by Skovoroda’s comments, I obtain the following reading of “Song 29.” The storm rocking the boat in the first and second stanzas is a metaphor for the speaker’s

The fact that in this poem Skovoroda speaks through Peter's voice may suggest that, at least in some of his works, he assumes an apostolic role.

Bohdan Rubchak's "From Strength to Strength: Observations on Hryhorij Skovoroda and Vasyl' Barka" acquaints the reader with a fascinating and complex poet who, like Skovoroda, hails from the Poltava region, holds a deep fascination for his literary "ancestor," and even imitates the style of a pious recluse. Vasyl Barka, an émigré since 1943, has also engaged in literary criticism, devoting a number of studies that link Taras Sevchenko and Pavlo Tychyna with the thought of Skovoroda.

Rubchak's study considers Barka's collection *Okean* (The Ocean, 1959) and epic novel in verse *Svidok dlia sontsia shestykrylykh* (The Witness for the Seraphims of the Sun, 1981). An accomplished poet and critic himself, Rubchak is careful to note that many of the similarities between Barka and Skovoroda stem from their fondness for Plato, Dionysius the Aeropagite, Augustine, and the Bible. According to Rubchak, the many points of conversion between the two authors include: the division of reality into the visible and invisible; mystical-erotic images; systems of mirroring; the coiled snake and the concomitant images of the garland, circle, and ring; the notion of "сродность," the topos of the Book, and the double nature of the Bible.

Given the thrust of my article, I would like to draw attention to Rubchak's perspicacious reading of Skovoroda. Worthy of note, among others, is his assessment of the prose in *The Narcissus. A Deliberation on the Topic: Know Thyself*: "a prose whose veiled innuendos far surpass not only Ovid himself but also such embarrassingly erotic descriptions of Narcissus as Rilke's poem 'Narcissus' [...]. [I]t is as if Skovoroda's askesis were deconstructing itself by the voluptuous language in which it is stated" (p. 170). Ever attentive to formal details, Rubchak points at the manner in which Skovoroda's use of near-rhymes serves as a textual "mirror" of the "mirroring" taking place in this colloquy. Students seeking to apply contemporary literary theory to the analysis of Skovoroda will benefit from Rubchak's suggestion that Skovoroda's procedure "is somewhat similar to philosophers like Heidegger and literary critics like the 'deconstructionists'" (p. 185).

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psychological turmoil. The reliance on his human will leads him to lose inner peace, his navigator, and hope. In the last stanza, where the speaker identifies himself by name, the storm imagery disappears. Peter explicitly acknowledges that carnal passions torment his spirit and embitter his life. The harbour and shore (stanza 3)—toward which he aspires—is within reach, "asleep" in his boat (stanza 4). The allusion to the scriptural image of Christ asleep is a metaphor of Peter's dormant divinity. As in the proverbial Silenos of Alcibiades, the mystery is hidden within. To awaken his own divinity, Peter must vanquish his will and submit to God's.

Mikhail Weiskopf's "Gogol' and H. S. Skovoroda: The Problem of the 'External Man'" is devoted to yet another writer from the Poltava region. Resuming a project Čyževs'kyj began more than fifty years ago, Weiskopf proceeds to demonstrate that both thematic and semantic parallels between Gogol and Skovoroda can be traced. His study is devoted to a comparison of (1) Gogol's "Terrible Vengeance" and Skovoroda's colloquies *The Narcissus* and "A Symphony Called The Book Askhan on Self-Knowledge"; (2) Gogol's "Tale of How Ivan Ivanovich Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovich" and Skovoroda's "Colloquy of Five Travellers on True Happiness in Life (A Friendly Colloquy on the Spiritual World)"; and (3) Gogol's "Overcoat" and Skovoroda's "Colloquy, Called the Two, on How It Is Easy to be Blessed." Weiskopf concludes that "the fundamental line of correspondence between Gogol and the Ukrainian mystic develops through Gogol's unilaterally negative realization of Skovoroda's subjects" (p. 192). Weiskopf defends this thesis best when analyzing "The Overcoat" as a reversal of Skovoroda's dictum, "It is difficult to be evil" (in Greek: Χαλεπα τα κακα). Without quarreling with Weiskopf's analysis of the semantic dynamics in "The Overcoat," I am reminded nevertheless that Gogol did not invent the name of his hero Akakii, as this study seems to suggest. There is, after all, a St. Akakos among the forty martyrs of Sebaste, whose feast is celebrated on 22 March (O.S.). In the Ukrainian church, a St. Akakii Lystvychnyk is honoured by the singing of a *stykhyra* on 29 November. Thus, Weiskopf's hypothesis that the hero's name was probably taken from Skovoroda's Greek dictum is fruitful. The etymology of *akakos* ("innocent," "simple," "guileless"—in short, a negation of evil) can only support Weiskopf's contention that Gogol parodies Skovoroda. Weiskopf also cites Daniel Rancour-Laferriere's study connecting Akakii's "tailor," Petrovich, with Peter the Apostle. In this context, allow me to add that the "tailor" is also Skovoroda's namesake. For, as the narrator of "The Overcoat" informs us, Petrovich at one time was simply called "Grigorii" ("Сначала он назывался просто Григорий [...]").

Yet another intriguing detail unmentioned by Weiskopf, but one that supports his main thesis, is Akakii Akakievich's love for his work and the manner in which he discharges his office: "Вряд ли где можно было найти человека, который так жил бы в своей должности. Мало сказать: он служил ревностно, — он служил с любовью.... Наслаждение выражалось на лице его ..." (It would be impossible to find anywhere a man who lived so for his office. It is not enough to say that he served fervently. No. He served with love.... The joy was expressed in his face ...). It appears to me that this may also be a travesty of Skovoroda's concept of congenial work and the concomitant

idea that one derives happiness when employed according to one's natural inclinations.<sup>9</sup>

My only critical note concerns Weiskopf's contention (on p. 194) that Skovoroda's orthography effaces the difference between the words for "accord" ("peace") and "society" ("world"). As we have seen from Strumiński's textological notes, the critical editions we have are not reliable. George Kline, in his article on Skovoroda's metaphysics (p. 231, n. 20), points to the fact the philosopher regularly wrote "мир" for the former and either "мір" or "мыр" for the latter, and that he even drew attention to this distinction in one of his letters.

Aleksandr Lavrov's "Andrej Belyj and Hryhorij Skovoroda" (translated into English by Esther Rider) maintains that the Russian Symbolist's understanding of the Ukrainian author was "formed less by historical reality than by the myth of the 'first Russian philosopher'" (p. 206). This myth, created by Vladimir Ern in a 1912 monographic study, gave a rather arbitrary interpretation of Skovoroda's thought and perpetuated the image of him as a popular philosopher. Ern's views on Skovoroda led Bely to move away from Kant and identify with Slavophile, Orthodox doctrine. Bely was attracted to Skovoroda's "symbolism," but "esteemed" his life as a "more meaningful phenomenon than his philosophical legacy" (p. 210). Lavrov also maintains that Ern's comparison of Leo Tolstoy with Skovoroda affected the young Symbolist poets Aleksandr Dobroliubov and Leonid Semenov.

\* \* \*

The third part of the anthology opens with George L. Kline's "Skovoroda's Metaphysics." His tightly knit investigation considers Skovoroda's colloquies and his Latin poetry and letters, and refutes the assertion by Soviet scholars that Skovoroda's metaphysics contain the germ of a materialistic ontology. Kline argues that Soviet philosophers, drawing on a tradition rooted in Feuerbach and the young Marx, have read Skovoroda's empiricist elements as materialistic. Kline concedes that Skovoroda did equate "sensuousness—or visibility or perceptibility—with materiality" (p. 224), and explains that this confusion of phenomenalism with materialism can be traced from Aristotle to Locke.

Especially useful is Kline's attention to Skovoroda's understanding of *materia aeterna* and related concepts. He concludes: "the kind of matter that Skovoroda calls 'eternal' is simply cosmic content as opposed to form; matter in the contrasted sense ... of what is perceptible, merely apparent, shadowy, superficial,

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9. Compare "Зачем хватаешься за должность, не вѣдая, будеш ли в ней щасливым?" (Why do you grasp at an office if you know not whether you will be happy in it?) and "Сколько должностей, столько сродностей" (There are as many offices as there are natural inclinations). Skovoroda, "Razhovor, nazvuvaemyi alfavyt, ili bukvar myra," in his *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 418 and 424.

and perishing is obviously *not* eternal” (pp. 226–7). Kline concurs with Čyževs'kyj that Skovoroda's baroque catalogues treat the properties of matter in harshly negative terms. For him, transience, corruptibility, and perishingness are the properties of matter. In this point, like in most others of his metaphysics, Skovoroda applies the terminology that is used by Plato and Aristotle and reappears in the koine of the New Testament.

Skovoroda's numerous metaphors deploying the nouns “мір,” “мыр,” and “*mundus*” (world) point at a pejorative application, one that agrees with the New Testament's application of *kosmos*. Kline also shows that Skovoroda maintains a sharp distinction between the nouns “натура” and “естество,” on the one hand, and “природа,” on the other. Skovoroda aligns the former pair with Epicurus's “blessed nature” (*makaria phusei*) and reserves the latter exclusively for references to corruptible nature. Agreeing that symbolism is an essential feature of Skovoroda's metaphysics, Kline stresses that this symbolism differs sharply from its Romantic and post-Romantic uses. Kline concludes that Skovoroda's theological position is *panentheistic*—i.e., for him the world constitutes only one part of God's being.

Kline's study is useful for students of both philosophy and literature. His treatment of Skovoroda's terminology can be applied when studying—among others—the concept of *царство природы людской* (the kingdom of human nature), which so often surfaces in the poetry and drama by Mohylian authors.

In “Skovoroda's Moral Philosophy,” Taras Zakydalsky argues that a unified and coherent system can be derived from the oeuvre of the eighteenth-century writer. Zakydalsky acknowledges that the main sections of Skovoroda's philosophy pursue very practical goals, but stresses that Skovoroda did not offer a normative morality. While upholding the pre-eminence of the Bible as a source of wisdom, Skovoroda frequently turned to ancient Greek and Roman authors and maintained that wise men have lived throughout the ages and among all nations.

Zakydalsky agrees with those scholars who maintain that Skovoroda's definition of happiness is similar to the Epicurean, Stoic, Cynic, and Skeptic concepts, but points to the following differences: (1) Skovoroda identifies sweetness (the aim of life) with “the heart's gaiety” rather than with Epicurus's ideas of “pleasure or absence of pain.” Moreover, his identification of gaiety (“веселіє”) with boldness (“кураж”) implies a more positive mental state than *ataraxia*. (2) While accepting the Stoics' definition of happiness as inner peace, tranquility, and serene life, Skovoroda rejects the psychological state of *apatheia*. Instead, he speaks of inner peace in terms of “joy,” “gaiety,” and “conquering the passions.” As Zakydalsky summarizes, Skovoroda sought to define happiness in positive rather than negative terms; his understanding of happiness was closer to Aristotle's *eudaimonia*.

For Skovoroda happiness is the full realization of one's potentialities, while "work in one's natural vocation is the principal way of fulfilling God's will." Given that "the spiritual nature within each individual is an active principle," Skovoroda believes that "idleness produces boredom and suffering" (p. 245). The discovery of one's vocation is contingent upon self-knowledge. This last point, argues Zakydalsky, presented Skovoroda with a serious dilemma. The realization that self-knowledge is difficult to attain conflicted with his basic premise that divine providence gives easy access to whatever is necessary for happiness. In Zakydalsky's estimation, the appeal of Skovoroda's moral philosophy resides in its emphasis on active participation and the reconciliation of self-interest with the common good. Its weaknesses derive from the inordinate emphasis Skovoroda places on nature over nurture and on will over reason. Zakydalsky also indicates that Skovoroda failed to address the question of evil in society or to consider why God permits individuals—including educators—to become corrupted. Zakydalsky concludes this comprehensive overview by indicating that although Skovoroda believed in the immortality of the soul, he never speculated about the afterlife: "Heaven and hell dwell in men's souls. Judgement occurs in this life, for sin is its own punishment" (p. 250).

Petro Bilaniuk's main thesis in "An Introduction to the Theological Thought of Hryhorij Skovoroda" is that the mode of knowledge and the source of truth constitute the *differentiae* between the complementary disciplines of theology and philosophy. Maintaining that "the Bible was the main source of divine self-revelation" for Skovoroda, Bilaniuk posits that Skovoroda was not a systematic philosopher and must be classified primarily as a theologian. He also rejects the notion that Skovoroda formulated a "philosophy of the heart"; he argues instead that Skovoroda presents "a discursive theological elaboration of biblical teaching, combined with philosophical elements borrowed principally from ancient Stoic thought" (p. 254). Bilaniuk's reading of Skovoroda's "Colloquy Called the Alphabet" results in a persuasive argument concerning Skovoroda's own theological method and interest in the proper training of theologians (p. 255).

In an attempt to place Skovoroda's thought within a historical context, Bilaniuk outlines the tenets of the Alexandrine and Antiochian theological schools, which arose in the third century. The latter school developed its philosophical tenets on the basis of Aristotle, continued the old Rabbinical tradition of exegesis, and used an inductive and historico-philological method. This school emphasized the real and perfect human nature of Christ. On the other hand, the Alexandrine school, built on the Neoplatonic tradition, made recourse to an allegorical and typological explanation of the Bible and relied on deduction as the principal method. In the area of Christology, the school emphasized the mystery of the incarnation and the divinity of Christ. Bilaniuk places Skovoroda within this stream and cites various passages from his prose oeuvre to illustrate this. Unfortunately, Bilaniuk does not provide any passages from the Alexandrine

fathers, and consequently the reader cannot engage in an independent comparison. Perhaps the next step in the study of Skovoroda's theological method could be conducted against the backdrop of the Mohylanian curriculum (i.e., manuals, readings, exercises) and the authors it produced.

A second contribution by Stephen P. Scherer, "A Note on the Character, Orthodoxy, and Significance of Skovoroda's Thought," concludes the anthology by summarizing the opinions expressed about the philosopher throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the often conflicting divergence of these opinions Scherer detects "the ethnic identifications, religious inclinations, and ideological attachments of their respective authors" (p. 279). He disagrees with those critics who maintained that Skovoroda veered from Orthodox dogma. In Scherer's opinion, Skovoroda synthesized a broad range of religious and secular sources to devise a holistic philosophy that, even today, has the power to reproach "the unexamined life"; and emphasized divine reality, the eternity of matter, and a morality that pursued the creation of a harmonious society (p. 280). In the light of Kline's investigation, the second point requires some qualification. Also, a detailed assessment of Skovoroda's theology would have to weigh the fact that he rejected the stance assumed by Mohylanian authors in their polemics with Catholic (and other) opponents. In my reading of Skovoroda I have not encountered an instance where he aligns himself on either side of the *quaestio theologica* that so concerned the professors at his alma mater. Was this because the creation of a harmonious society precluded the consideration of issues that were, in essence, contentious and unnecessary for the attainment of happiness?

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This is the first English-language anthology of critical articles devoted to Hryhorii Skovoroda. It reflects, in many ways, the state of scholarship on this important figure of early-modern Ukrainian literature. It is also the discrete manifestation of a critical tradition committed to the process of discovery—a tradition that does not seek to turn the object of study into the tool of one or another ideology. By engaging the reader in a continuous colloquy with Skovoroda's language, poetics, philosophical terms, and pedagogical and theological outlook, it draws us closer to both the man and his alma mater. This is an anthology scholars will want to consult for a long time.

# CANADIAN SLAVONIC PAPERS

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## REVUE CANADIENNE DES SLAVISTES

Vol. 38, nos. 3-4 (September-December 1996) appeared in August 1997 with articles on Polish film, late imperial Russian and early Soviet history, Ukrainian phonology, Ukrainian-Canadian *belles-lettres*, as well as Václav Havel's drama and the evolution of the Croatian coat of arms. Included was the Annual Bibliography of Canadian Publications on the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for 1995.

Vol. 39, nos. 1-2 (March-June 1997) is scheduled to appear in March 1998, and will be a special issue devoted to Poland since 1989, with articles on politics, prose, geography, film, publishing, theatre, poetry and more.

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## Europe or Eurasia? The Ideology of “Kuchmism”: A Review Article

*Taras Kuzio*

Volodymyr B. Hrynov (Vladimir B. Grinev). *Nova Ukraina: Iakoiu ia ii bachu/Novaia Ukraina: Kakoi ia ee vizhu*. Kyiv: Abrys, 1995. 99 + 99 pp.  
Dmytro Vydrin and Dmytro Tabachnyk. *Ukraina na porozi XXI-ho stolittia: Politychnyi aspekt/Ukraine on the Threshold of the XXI Century: Political Aspect*. Kyiv: Lybid, 1995. 292 pp. (English text on pp. 150–292).

The authors of these two books are important political figures in Ukraine today. Their writings merit attention for the insight they provide into the ideology of the current Ukrainian leadership under President Leonid Kuchma.

Volodymyr Hrynov (Vladimir Grinev) is a presidential adviser on regional questions. He is also the chairman of the Inter-Regional Bloc of Reforms (MBR), which Kuchma, as the joint chairman, helped Hrynov to establish as their vehicle for the 1994 parliamentary and presidential elections. After Kuchma was elected the president of Ukraine in July 1994, the MBR was transformed into a political party led by Hrynov, who clearly hoped that it would become the “presidential party.” The MBR is one of two main parties in the 1998 parliamentary-election bloc SLON (Social-Liberal Alliance).

Dmytro Tabachnyk, an old ally of Kuchma’s since the latter was the prime minister in 1992 and 1993, was the chief of Kuchma’s presidential staff until December 1996. Because of his age and not very flattering curriculum vitae, Tabachnyk has often been attacked in the Ukrainian press as a “young upstart” (he is in his early thirties). Vydrin was the presidential adviser on domestic questions until his resignation in December 1995. A well-known writer, he has initiated biannual meetings between Ukraine’s and Russia’s high-level experts and elites. Vydrin is also the director of the International Institute of Global and

Regional Security, a Kyiv think-tank that has co-operated with its Western equivalents.

Hrynov's book, which has a Ukrainian text and a Russian version, is critical of President Leonid Kravchuk's "artificial isolation" of Ukraine from Russia and of the fact that independence has not brought real freedom for Ukraine's population. As for those who call for a return to the past, Hrynov writes that they "do not understand that it was precisely in this past that the core of our current problems arose and step by step, year by year, brought us to this current tragedy" (p. 4).

In chapter one, on the market economy, Hrynov makes it clear that he is both anticommunist and antinationalist, and a supporter of an independent Ukraine built on Western, liberal-democratic principles and in a strategic alliance with Russia. In his opinion, only private property and a market economy will give the majority of the population economic freedom and a high standard of living (p. 15). Hrynov's criticism of nationalism is explicitly outlined in chapter two, entitled "The State for the Citizen, and Not Citizens for the State." He rejects the correlation made by critics between strong presidential, executive power and total regimentation (p. 24).

Chapter three deals with what is still a highly controversial subject in Ukraine—whether Ukraine should be a federal or a unitary state. "The supporters of a unitary state or, as it is fashionable to say in certain circles, united state regard the idea of federalism as one that harms the integrity of the state and is even inimical to the very idea of Ukrainian statehood" (p. 27). Hence any debate on this subject is very acrimonious, because "the federal basis of the state is regarded as a basis for potential separatism, and a unitary state [is regarded] as a mechanism for its [own] 'suppression'" (p. 27).

In contrast, Hrynov sees federalism as a mechanism by which Ukraine's regions could defend themselves against the great-power designs of the new political centre, Kyiv. In his view, the nationalists and former *nomenklatura* of the Kravchuk presidency were wrong when they argued that "without a unitary state it will not be possible to tie together the remainder of the regions to their [the nationalists' and *nomenklatura*'s] understanding of statehood" (p. 29). Federalism would remove conflicts between the regions and the centre, while a unitary state could be a threat to national cohesiveness, especially if the state is aggressive (p. 35). In a federal state, regional and state programs would work side by side with state laws, which would be higher than regional decrees. Federalism would also ensure a higher rate of economic reform and privatization (p. 37).

Chapter four deals with state policies. Here Hrynov outlines his support for a strong presidency based on the American model, where the president is both the head of state and the executive, and for the creation of political parties based on ideas, not personalities. He is also in favour of a bicameral parliament based

on proportional, regional representation, the abolition of local councils, the defence of human and ethnic-minority rights, and a market economy "of the contemporary capitalist type with developed forms of social guarantees." (p. 40). He is opposed "to any kind of state (i.e. nationalist or communist) ideology" (p. 41).

Chapter five discusses Ukraine's intellectual potential and the revival of Ukrainian culture. The former Soviet system "spiritually degraded society and ruined its culture" (p. 50). But with the disintegration of the former USSR, a moral, ideological, economic, and legal vacuum was created. The Kravchuk leadership did little to develop Ukrainian culture; instead they tried to tie a new state ideology to culture while reducing expenditures on the latter. In Hrynov's view, the state's financial support for academic and cultural activities should be maintained.

Chapter six deals with another controversial, sensitive question—nationality and language policies. In Hrynov's view, Ukraine is a symbiosis of two similar languages, cultures, and historical traditions—the Ukrainian and the Russian. Ukraine was never a colony, and Russia was never an "aggressor" toward Ukraine (p. 61). This has led to a high degree of ethnic tolerance in Ukraine. In western Ukraine, in contrast, Ukrainian nationalism and anti-Russian feelings grew owing to interwar Polish repression and prevention of modernization or industrialization. Western Ukraine therefore became consolidated not on a liberal level, but on a national one.

The "party of power" in Ukraine under Kravchuk, Hrynov notes critically, wanted to isolate themselves from reforms in Russia, and this led to "anti-Russian isolationist policies" (p. 64). These policies did not work. In Hrynov's view, national identity cannot be imposed from above; it is something that individuals must decide for themselves. There is no such thing as a "core nationality" in Ukraine, and the state should encourage the development of all of Ukraine's ethnic groups, not just the Ukrainians. If the Ukrainians are singled out, this will lead to the discrimination of others. Hrynov argues that the Ukrainian language was not affected by Russification. He also opposes the current status of Ukrainian as the sole state language, because, in his view, "this could be understood to mean that the law is directed not towards the defence of the Ukrainian language, but at discriminating against Russian" (p. 70). Therefore he supports the position that Ukraine should have two state languages—Russian and Ukrainian.

Chapter seven deals with national security and defence issues. Ukraine's "inferiority complex" required an "external enemy" and a "siege-complex syndrome" (p. 73) under Kravchuk. In Hrynov's view, the security threat to Ukraine comes not from abroad, but from within—from its economic crisis, from its official nationality policy, which is anti-Russian, and from the lack of cultural and socio-economic regional autonomy. Under Kravchuk Ukraine distanced itself

from its recent allies, especially its “natural ally” Russia. This led to the “ruination of the common [Russian and Ukrainian] economic, cultural, and informational space and to the political self-isolation of Ukraine from the world” (p. 76). Because of the lack of an external aggressor, Hrynov believes that all Ukraine needs is a 100,000-strong professional, well-equipped, mobile army that “would promote the best traditions and inheritance of the past, but would be free from the problems and repeat occurrences that affected the Soviet army and from the tendencies that are unfortunately still evident in the Ukrainian armed forces” (pp. 78–9).

Hrynov’s final chapter deals with Ukrainian-Russian relations. He writes that Ukraine’s attempts to distance itself from Russia did not lead to greater integration with the West, but merely to self-isolation. In his view, there is no historical basis for Ukrainian-Russian antagonism (p. 82). Hrynov blames the former Ukrainian leadership for having unilaterally aggravated relations with Russia. He favours transparent borders within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), no customs barriers, no closed military-industrial cycle, co-ordinated reform policies, Ukraine’s full membership in the CIS Economic Union, and the strengthening of a strategic alliance between Ukraine and Russia.

Vydrin and Tabachnyk’s book contains a Ukrainian text and an English version. But the latter is unreadable—it was translated by a computer program. This is strange, given the high-ranking positions of the co-authors and the fact that one of the financial backers of the book was the U.S. MacArthur Foundation. The book also suffers from two other drawbacks: it has no real introduction, where the co-authors could have summarized their arguments and thesis, and no summary of their arguments in the conclusions. Therefore it is easy to become lost in the narrative. The tone of the book is at times impolite. When it was published, both of the co-authors were members of the presidential administration; therefore their criticism of their opponents should have been more diplomatic.

Vydrin and Tabachnyk maintain that because of the slowness of reforms in Ukraine, “we still do not have a civil society in its traditional understanding, that is, [a society] where the majority of the citizens hold one system of general values, moral underpinnings, ideas, myths, values, social norms, etc.” (p. 10). Consequently the state’s structures seem to be hanging in a vacuum, because it is not clear what values they are to reflect besides the dominant one of independence.

According to the co-authors, a civil society has not emerged in Ukraine because the state’s structures often reflect only the interests of the *nomenklatura*, who copy Western models or rely on the Soviet past as a guide, and because there is no real middle class nor real private property or true political-party structures. The so-called middle class that exists has arisen as a result of criminal activities and reflects the interests of criminal clans. None of the political

groupings in parliament are interested in real reform; that is why none of them have proposed programs that would consolidate society. The members of the existing, corrupted "middle class" are also not interested in real reform, but only in increasing their personal wealth. During Kravchuk's presidency they were highly successful in amassing wealth from international trade with the West, which they ploughed back into "*prykhvatyzatsiia*" (privatization by the *nomenklatura*).

Vydrin and Tabachnyk point out that changes have begun in Ukraine, but none of them can be regarded as cardinal (p. 8). They ascribe Kuchma's victory to the success of "the industrial establishment as reflected by the interests of national capital." Under Kuchma, in contrast to Kravchuk's presidency, traditional industrial (not commercial) capital and centrist forces came to power. The political parties have generated new ideas and programs; but their weakness has led to a feeble legislature and judiciary, the absence of "grand" political figures, an ineffectual and corrupt state structure, and a presidential administration similar to the central apparatus of the Soviet-era Communist Party of Ukraine.

Vydrin and Tabachnyk provide a useful discussion of Ukrainian elites or the lack of them (on p. 24 they allege that Ukraine is the largest country in the world without political elites). "The main criterion of [Ukraine's] contemporary elites is ... personal security over the political instincts of national security" (p. 31). They divide the evolution of Ukraine's elites into four stages: (1) the *nomenklatura* (former elite) stage (1990–1); (2) the pre-elite stage (1992); (3) the corporate-elite stage (1993–4); and (4) the integral-elite stage (years unspecified).

In their discussion of the seven men who contested the summer 1994 presidential elections, the co-authors describe Kravchuk as an ideologue whose role it was to explain the new state ideology after the collapse of the former USSR. Oleksandr Moroz, the current Socialist Party of Ukraine leader and chairman of parliament, has tried to combine the functions of Kravchuk the ideologue and Kuchma the manager. But Kuchma is a leader as well as a manager. He has been ready to make concrete decisions and take personal responsibility, and he is not disposed towards any ideology. Kuchma's roots are urban and not rural, unlike Kravchuk and Ivan Pliushch, the former chairman of parliament (December 1991–March 1994).

By the 1994 elections, the issues that had dominated in Ukraine had been replaced by other priorities—the renewal of ties with Russia, crime prevention, and social welfare. In eastern Ukraine these problems have been more important than the question of independence, and Kuchma's emphasis on them led to his victory and consequently the greater representation of eastern Ukraine in the Kyiv elites. Kuchma's victory raised questions previously taken for granted—what Ukraine is building and where it is going. Here Vydrin and Tabachnyk criticize the previous administration: "The former ideologues (of the 'nation-

state,' 'revival of the nation,' 'rebuilding the state,' etc.) who had ambitions to play an all-national role completely exhausted and discredited themselves. These ideologues based themselves on local, western Ukrainian political and social communities, and only through the force of the *nomenklatura* did they maintain themselves as all-national" (p. 32). But the co-authors also criticize those Communists who still want to revive the former USSR, a goal that does not enjoy support throughout Ukraine. Like Hrynov, therefore, both Vydrin and Tabachnyk are anticommunist and antinationalist.

Various forces have tried to influence Kuchma to move in their direction. They include the "Belovezhans"—a derogatory term for those who are linked to the disintegration of the former USSR at the 7–8 December 1991 meeting in Belovezhskaia Pushcha—with their "bankrupt ideas" of building a new state ideology based on total respect for the state. They have the support of the national-democratic parties and the former *nomenklatura*. Meanwhile the parties of the Left have exploited social problems and tensions to promote a "people's democratic state." A third force—the so-called national liberals led by Kuchma—has promoted anti-crisis and reformist policies under their Centre-Left leader.

Kuchma has promoted the notions that Ukraine must continue to play a stabilizing role in the post-Soviet geopolitical space and have a place and role in the macro-economic process of Eurasian integration. His reform strategy is to ensure that Ukraine enters the world market as an equal. He is also strongly in favour of the integration of the post-Soviet economic space, "which is a priority for Ukraine's geo-economic interests as a state in the Eurasian region" (p. 37).

According to Vydrin and Tabachnyk, the elaboration of a new foreign policy based on new concepts and of a new doctrine of national security is in Ukraine's national interest. Radical reforms would create conditions for Ukraine's economic and political security; and new social and cultural policies would integrate Ukraine through the revival of cultural and spiritual values and the prioritization of health care, the creation of a new civil society, and social welfare.

The co-authors detail the differences between the two Leonids—Kravchuk and Kuchma. The national-democratic parties and other democratic forces have supported the national liberals on social-market reform, but have opposed Kuchma on "principled questions" such as economic integration within the CIS and the normalization of relations with Russia. Vydrin and Tabachnyk favour a Centre-Left, centrist strategic alliance between the *nomenklatura* cum middle class and the national liberals oriented toward the defence of domestic capital while remaining hostile to nationalism. This "Bloc of Constructive Forces" would include the Council of Regions, the Union of Mayors, the centrist parliamentary factions, the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (which dominates the Council of Entrepreneurs attached to the presidency), the political parties cooperating with the industrialist centrist forces, trade unions, and those bankers who support the defence of industrial capital.

Vydrin and Tabachnyk devote much space to the question of normalizing and improving relations with Russia. They believe that relations would have improved already if politicians had not attempted to "improve" these relations themselves (p. 62). Ukraine paid dearly for trying to attain "full independence" under Kravchuk, for its society was not ready professionally, psychologically, or politically for independence: "Mistakes in such a situation practically were inevitable" (p. 63). They criticize Kravchuk's foreign policy for being "isolationist" and "romantic" (for example, the proposal to create a Central European Zone of Security and Co-operation), for promoting the idea of Ukraine as a buffer between the West and Russia (which, they allege, is backed by Germany and the United States), and for being overly optimistic as to the international help Ukraine would obtain. Kravchuk's isolationist policies vis-à-vis the CIS merely worsened Ukraine's economic crisis and social strife. They also led to greater demands for re-integration with Russia, particularly in eastern Ukraine, where a civil society and strong political parties do not exist, in contrast to western Ukraine.

The co-authors believe that Ukraine is more likely to obtain equal treatment within the CIS, and that Ukraine should cultivate allies (e.g., Kazakhstan and Moldova) that hold similar views. They admit, however, that improving relations with Russia will not be easy, because Russia inherited the model of aggressive and undiplomatic relations that the former USSR applied towards Eastern Europe (p. 68). Ukraine's growing self-identification has been linked to its differentiation from the "others"; because Russia is the closest "other," Ukraine's need to distance itself from it has been the greatest (p. 69). Often the most anti-Russian members of Ukraine's presidential administration (where they account for twenty percent of the staff) are ethnic Russians (p. 70).

One reason why it has been difficult to improve relations with Russia is that the policy of improving such relations has been associated with the radical Left (the Communists, Socialists, and Peasant Party of Ukraine), who have called for a military, political, and economic union between Ukraine and Russia. Many citizens have regarded the policy of normalizing relations with Russia as "inspired by the Communists," and the public at large has confused such normalization with the restoration of the USSR. The liberals have used anti-Russian slogans for domestic reasons only (many of them have business partners in Russia). On the other hand, the national democrats and nationalists, who are based primarily in western and central Ukraine and have declined in popularity since 1993, have been the most vocal on the alleged Russian threat.

That Ukraine should be an active promoter of Eurasian integration is a central theme of Vydrin and Tabachnyk's book. Ukraine should build up its position based on its national geopolitical interests as Russia's principal competitor within the CIS, and thereby influence domestic developments in Russia. The co-authors are critical of "Yeltsinintegration," according to which

many Russian leaders see Ukraine purely as a “prodigal son” who will return sooner or later. Russia does not take Ukrainian independence seriously, the co-authors argue. Russia favours unequal relations and regards Ukraine as a vassal and lesser state.

The “economic war” that has existed between Ukraine and Russia since the disintegration of the former USSR has shown that neither country is able to overpower the other; if that were so, a “hot war” would have ensued (p. 79). Russia has overestimated its strength to apply economic pressure because it has not had a complete monopoly of control over supplies and because its re-orientation to other markets is not possible. Russia has long complained that Ukraine has re-exported its raw materials at higher prices and that there has been no co-operation on pricing policy with Ukraine, which has often led to the undercutting of Russian products and to Ukraine’s large debts and isolationist policies, which have blocked CIS integration. Meanwhile Ukraine has complained that Russia sells its raw materials at world prices to ruin its economy and that Russia usurped the USSR’s wealth, and has criticized Russia’s policy of attempting to buy up Ukraine. Russia may no longer want to ruin Ukraine’s economy, but both countries will continue to compete on the international market.

In the short term, therefore, “it is still too early to be an optimist” about Ukrainian-Russian relations (p. 89). Integration is only likely to take place in the economic sphere, but not in the political or military spheres. If Ukraine decentralizes its regions and enterprises, relations will improve with Russia because industrial directors and businessmen are more pragmatic and less ideological. This improvement in relations will be aided by the creation of Industrial-Financial Groups: “That is why the basis for the improvement of these relations more than likely rests not within the realm of inter-state re-integration, but on the basis of ties—the creation of joint enterprises, banks, and then financial-industrial groups” (p. 92). The areas of conflict with Russia—the Black Sea Fleet, the division of the Soviet inheritance, and competition for influence in foreign markets are not enough to create a “hot war” between Ukraine and Russia.

In the former USSR nuclear weapons served not only a military function, but also a political one. They were an idol, a lord, a myth before which people prayed, the pride and “intellect” of the state. Ukraine inherited not only many of these nuclear weapons, but also the myths that surrounded them: the belief that any state that possessed nuclear weapons had prestige and greatness and that these weapons were the main way of guaranteeing independence. Consequently one’s attitude toward nuclear weapons reflected one’s civic patriotism and loyalty. Nuclear weapons could be traded as a valuable commodity, or used to deter Russia from engaging in aggression toward Ukraine.

Russia's interference in Ukrainian affairs could come about as a consequence of the discomfort of its Russian minority and the suppression of their status, rights, and abilities. Why was there no ethnic conflict under Kravchuk, the co-authors ask? They answer: (1) Psychological pressure on the Russians in Ukraine has not been not great; in reply to opinion polls, two-thirds of them stated that they had not experienced discrimination. (2) The Russians and the Ukrainians speak a similar language, are mostly Orthodox believers, and have similar mentalities. (3) There are no strong Russian civic groups or political parties, such as Inter-Front, in Ukraine. (4) The former Soviet security forces were not autonomous and had been completely nationalized. (5) Ukraine's economic decline has affected all ethnic groups and drained all their energies. (6) The radical nationalists moderated their stance after the victory of the pro-Russian separatists in the Crimea in early 1994. Finally, (7) although the leaders of the Ukrainian national revival are critical of Russia, they are moderates domestically.

The Russians in Ukraine remain negative toward Ukraine's national symbols, which they perceive as "nationalistic," and toward the independent state's new historical figures. While the "Russian idea" is prevalent in Russia, it has not yet taken root in Ukraine or been understood there. Ukraine has had a confused, dual policy: while professing equality for all ethnic groups, it has sought to ensure the dominance of the Ukrainians and the assimilation of others. The Ukrainianization policy is not unlike Russification, the co-authors argue. "The process of the assimilation of Russians in Ukraine has to some extent already begun," especially of higher and middle-ranking state officials (p. 88). But it will take years, if not decades, before this assimilation succeeds.

One of the weakest sections of Vydrin and Tabachnyk's book is entitled "The New Ukraine within the New World Order." It takes up nearly a third of the book. "The principal question is: which political force will take upon itself the policies of Ukraine's national interests," they ask (p. 95). "The growth of the Russian leadership's imperial ambitions, with the unofficial support of the United States, has only served to sharpen the disputes that have existed in the [former Soviet] region since the collapse of the [Soviet] Union.... Because of this, the view that Russia is not a state and that the growth of Russian revanchists will, in the near future, threaten Ukraine with its loss of sovereignty finds a wide group of supporters within the ranks of Ukraine's central political elite" (p. 110).

Will Ukraine belong to the "the backyard of Europe or the heart of Eurasia?" Vydrin and Tabachnyk ask. Opposition to President Kuchma is based, they believe, among the earlier Euro-centrist "isolationist conservatives." But for Ukraine to have European priorities is not realistic, as is not the policy of creating a Baltic-Black Sea axis of "Europe without Russia," i.e., a new cordon sanitaire. In other words, the "Belovezhan politicians" could not "recognize the real geopolitical priorities of Ukraine" (p. 127). Outside observers always describe Ukraine's strategic choice as being either with Russia or with Europe.

The problem is that “any kind of extremity here can become a threat to Ukraine’s integrity and statehood” (p. 129).

Although the national democrats and the liberals both support domestic reform, the former regard Eurasia as they did the USSR, and “the attempts by the president [Kuchma] to clearly define Ukraine’s national (especially geo-economic) interests [as being] within the post-Soviet space are classified [by them] as an attempt towards the ‘restoration of the [Soviet] empire’” (p. 136). This critical view of Eurasia as synonymous with the former USSR is shared by the intelligentsia, think-tanks, and publications in Kyiv that support a European orientation and the creation of a “national state.” They are very active, have funding, and organize conferences and seminars where they regularly accuse Kuchma of “refusing to return Ukraine to Europe” and of being “pro-Asian.”

Vydrin and Tabachnyk criticize these views. Their position on Eurasian integration is positive; they do not see it from the same perspective as those who wish to revive the USSR, but from the perspective that integration is vital to Ukraine’s national interests. Ukraine’s geography is such that it could become a vital transit corridor. Therefore, the co-authors argue (in a similar manner to Hrynov), Ukraine should be at the forefront of Eurasian integration, because it will enhance its regional status. (Kuchma has since explained that for him Eurasia includes not only the former USSR, but also China, Vietnam, Korea, Indonesia, and other countries in southeast Asia with which Ukraine could expand economic relations.<sup>1</sup>)

## Methodological Problems and Confused Concepts

The authors of both books are anticommunist and antinationalist liberals. Therefore they contrast the alliance between the Kuchma social-democratic-liberal leadership and the industrial establishment with the alliance between the national democrats, statist, and *nomenklatura* under Kravchuk that had greater links to Ukraine’s rural community. Although this is undoubtedly the case to some degree, the former *nomenklatura* (or “party of power”) did not back Kravchuk completely in the 1994 presidential elections. If it had, Kravchuk would have defeated Kuchma. A substantial section of the party of power therefore must have supported Kuchma.

The liberalism espoused by Hrynov and the national liberalism espoused by Vydrin and Tabachnyk are both still rather weak tendencies in Ukraine, as the latter co-authors point out. A strongly developed civil society, a middle class, and widespread private property ownership are lacking in Ukraine, and it will be difficult to consolidate them in the midst of the ongoing economic crisis that has occurred as a result of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

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1. *Vechirni Kyiv*, 1 February 1996.

Furthermore, Ukraine may be forced to pass through an authoritarian phase. Fortunately for Ukraine, however, the civil-society vacuum has not been filled by nationalism, unlike in many other regions of the former USSR (especially in Russia). Because there is no unifying national idea in Ukraine, the probability of domestic conflict and conflict with Russia has been reduced. At the same time, the pace of transition has slowed as a result of the search for compromise politics.

While Hrynov opposes the adoption of a state ideology (be it communist or nationalist), Vydrin and Tabachnyk believe that the absence of an all-embracing national idea (or state ideology) has had negative consequences for Ukraine's development. Ukraine's citizens are not united around a single cause for which they would be willing to make short-term sacrifices. Kuchma agrees more with the latter co-authors than with Hrynov: "First, I would like to stress that I never rejected the national idea. I do not reject it even now. But I am convinced that an idea did not and will not work if it has only an ethnic content. I understand, however, that the national idea is one of the important mobilizers in the independent Ukrainian state."<sup>2</sup>

Hrynov's support for Ukraine's territorial transformation along federal lines is a major reason why he has become isolated politically and why the liberal centrists have become divided. Federalism finds no favour within the Kuchma camp or among the Socialists in parliament; indeed, its introduction is widely perceived as something that would lead to Ukraine's disintegration and the growth of separatism. Proponents of federalism have therefore, at this crucial juncture in nation- and state-building, been routinely denounced as "treacherous." Article two of the June 1996 Ukrainian constitution describes Ukraine as a unitary state; article 132 elaborates that this unitary structure "combines centralized and decentralized methods of state administration."<sup>3</sup>

Hrynov's views on nationality and language policies have also divided Ukraine's liberals and elicited sharp criticism.<sup>4</sup> His argument that Ukraine is a symbiosis of two languages, cultures, and historical traditions (Russian and Ukrainian) echoes the position of the eighteenth–nineteenth-century Russophile

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2. Interview with Kuchma entitled "Napovnyty natsionalnu ideiu realnym zmistom," *Vechirni Kyiv*, 1 February 1996.

3. The constitution was published in *Holos Ukrainy*, 13 July 1996, and in *Golos Ukrainy*, 27 July 1996.

4. Negative reviews of the two books under review here include Kostiantyn Rodyk, "Shtuchne dykhannia dlia nebizhchyka, abo 'Korotky kurs' vid Hrynova," *Chas*, 20 October 1995; Ivan Drach et al., "Nova Ukraina chy nova koloniia?" *Holos Ukrainy*, 12 December 1995; Marta Kolomayets, "Kuchma Administration Authors Promote Focus on Eurasia," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 25 February 1996; and Mykola Tomenko, "Iaku Ukrainu buduie komanda Prezydenta?" *Holos Ukrainy*, 13 June 1996.

Ukrainian nobility. If his views become accepted, it is difficult to see what nation- and state-building policies, other than those adopted by the Belarusian leadership, could be undertaken in Ukraine. Hrynov's views have not only been sharply criticized by Kyiv intellectuals and journalists; they have also not found much support in eastern Ukraine. During a visit to Donetsk University in August 1996, I discovered that the main Ukrainian history textbook used in the Faculty of History was the Russian-language translation of Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History* (University of Toronto Press, 1988).<sup>5</sup> The Ukrainian-language and Russian-language editions of this textbook by a Ukrainian-Canadian historian are used throughout Ukraine's education system and within the armed forces.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, many of Hrynov's complimentary views about tsarist Russian rule in Ukraine and his criticism of Polish rule in western Ukraine reflects the teachings of Soviet historiography, which adopted tsarist guidelines in 1934.<sup>7</sup> David Saunders has concluded that an infamous edict banning the Ukrainian language issued in 1863 by Petr Valuev, Alexander II's interior minister, was aimed at preventing the emergence of a Ukrainian nation that would and diverge away from the Russians.<sup>8</sup> Hrynov's views are contradicted by Saunders's conclusion: "Having sensed the possibility of a broadly based Ukrainian identity, he [Valuev] was determined to prevent it from becoming a reality."<sup>9</sup>

Hrynov's argument that Ukraine never suffered from Russification is contradicted by a huge array of evidence from both the tsarist and Soviet eras, when the Ukrainian language was either banned or discriminated against and vilified as an uncouth, peasant tongue with no future and unable to meet the demands of the modern era.<sup>10</sup> In view of the disadvantaged situation that the Ukrainian

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5. On the teaching of Ukrainian history, see Zenon E. Kohut, "History as a Battleground: Russian-Ukrainian Relations and Historical Consciousness in Contemporary Ukraine," and Serhii M. Plokhyy, "Historical Debates and Territorial Claims: Cossack Mythology in the Russian-Ukrainian Border Dispute"; in S. Frederick Starr ed., *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), 123–45 and 147–70 respectively.

6. Andrew Wilson wrongly believes that "nationalist" views such as Subtelny's would be met with hostility in Ukraine's Russophone regions. See Wilson, "The Donbas between Ukraine and Russia: The Use of History in Political Disputes," *Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 2 (April 1995): 265–89.

7. Stephen Velychenko, *Shaping Identity in Eastern Europe and Russia: Soviet-Russian and Polish Accounts of Ukrainian History, 1914–1991* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 140, 160, 167, 210.

8. David Saunders, "Russia and Ukraine under Alexander II: The Valuev Edict of 1863," *The International History Review* 27, no. 1 (February 1995): 28.

9. *Ibid.*, 50.

10. See Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968); and Vasyly Lyzanchuk,

language was in under Soviet rule, it is completely understandable, and in keeping with liberal government policy in the West, that the newly independent Ukrainian state adopted an affirmative-action approach to the status of the Ukrainian language. Hrynov's position is contrary to the support that liberals in the West give to positive discrimination.

Similarly, although some Western liberals would agree with Hrynov about the need to reject prioritization of the "core nation," they would not be looking at this problem from Hrynov's perspective. Western liberals reject the term "core nation" within developed states that have civil societies and have completed their nation- and state-building process. But all western and central European countries have "core nations" that constitute the majority of their populations (e.g., the English in the United Kingdom, the French in France, the Germans in Germany, the Dutch in the Netherlands, and the Swiss Germans in Switzerland) and were the focus of attention in their nation- and state-building policies during the nineteenth century. In Ukraine neither a civil society nor the nation have yet been completely constructed. If the core Ukrainian nation is not the focus of attention during this nation- and state-building stage, what will be built? Would it not be more like multicultural Canada than something resembling a European nation-state?<sup>11</sup>

The three authors under review, as well as the Western analysts Dominique Arel and Andrew Wilson,<sup>12</sup> argue that under Kravchuk Ukraine's civic nationality policies evolved into ethnic nationality policies vis-à-vis Ukraine's Russophones. But the problem with dividing nationalism into civic ("liberal") and ethnic ("illiberal") varieties is that historically *both* varieties have become homogenized internally and have differentiated their societies externally during the course of nation- and state- building. As one observer has explained: "For however committed to civic, 'universalistic,' 'liberal' norms a given form of

*Navichno kaidany kuvaly: Fakty, dokumenty, komentari pro rusyfikatsiiu v Ukraini* (Lviv: Instytut narodoznavtsva NAN Ukrainy, 1995).

11. It is not surprising that the main Western critique of Kravchuk's nationality policies—a critique surprisingly similar to Hrynov's and Vydrin and Tabachnyk's—is by a French Canadian, Dominique Arel. See Arel's "Ukraine: The Temptation of the Nationalizing State," in Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., *Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), 157–88; and idem and Valeri Khmelko, "The Russian Factor and Territorial Polarization in Ukraine," *The Harriman Review* 9, nos. 1–2 (spring 1996): 81–91. For a critique of Arel's views, see my article "The Evolution of National Identity in Independent Ukraine," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 2, no. 4 (winter 1996): 582–608.

12. See Valeri Khmelko and Andrew Wilson, "Regionalism, Ethnic and Linguistic Cleavages in Ukraine," in Taras Kuzio, ed., *Contemporary Ukraine: Dynamics of Post-Soviet Transformation* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, forthcoming).

nationalism may be, nationalism is at bottom, as Weber saw, both an homogenizing and a differentiating mode of discourse. Nationalist discourse—even of the liberal sort—drives towards cultural standardization within the nation, which makes it hard to sustain genuinely multi-ethnic and multi-national expression. At the same time a nation favours clear territorial boundaries that distinguish it from ‘foreigners’ and ‘aliens.’”<sup>13</sup>

The authors of both books remain critical of Kravchuk’s presidency for its alleged isolationist policies vis-à-vis Russia and the CIS. Kravchuk would strongly disagree with this view. Under both Kravchuk and Kuchma Ukraine has rejected the two dangerous extremes that Vydrin and Tabachnyk point to—complete political, military, and economic withdrawal from the CIS or full integration within it. Hrynov has been the only one in the democratic camp who backs greater non-economic integration of Ukraine with Russia and the CIS. As Vydrin and Tabachnyk point out, the Ukrainian elites and public have closely associated this view with the revival of a new USSR, and therefore, apart from Hrynov, it is only backed by the Communists (and to a lesser degree by the Socialists and the Peasant Party).

With regard to Ukraine’s attitude to political and military integration within the CIS, there has been little difference between Kuchma’s and Kravchuk’s policies. Under both presidents Ukraine’s declared non-aligned, neutral status has remained an instrument by which Ukraine has withstood pressure to join the CIS’s Tashkent Collective Security Treaty. The peculiar nature of this “neutrality” has remained the same under both leaders. Ukraine continues to reject joint CIS military manoeuvres or to participate in CIS peacekeeping operations. But under both Kravchuk and Kuchma Ukraine has been an enthusiastic member of NATO’s Partnership for Peace program (under Kuchma Ukraine has participated in more military exercises sponsored by NATO’s Partnership for Peace program than any former Soviet-bloc state). Ukraine has also refused to participate in any peacekeeping operations except those under the auspices of the United Nations (i.e., in former Yugoslavia and in Angola).

In terms of economic policy, under Kuchma Ukraine has adopted a more pragmatic approach toward the CIS. The authors of both books back Ukraine’s economic integration with the CIS and see Ukraine as playing a central, integrating role within Eurasia. But a number of problems immediately arise whenever this question is raised. Regardless of the wishes of the authors of both books, the disintegration of the former USSR and post-Soviet Russia’s and Ukraine’s nation- and state-building policies have pushed the two countries apart.<sup>14</sup> If the current Ukrainian leadership is as interested in protecting

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13. David Little, “Belief, Ethnicity and Nationalism,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1, no. 2 (summer 1995): 290.

14. This has been reluctantly admitted even by Russian authors. See Tatiana Ivzhenko,

domestic capital as Vydrin and Tabachnyk allege, then the question we should ask is: for whom *and* against whom is this capital being protected? Countries in the throes of economic transition have often protected domestic capital, but at a price. Protectionism has led to the preservation of inefficient industries that often can only survive by relying on state credits. In addition, as Kuchma has pointed out, the only foreign capital that is a potential threat to Ukraine is not Western, but Russian.

Under Kuchma Ukraine has continued to reject full membership in the CIS Economic and Payments and Customs unions, and the transparent borders within the CIS (all of which Hrynov backs). Trade between Ukraine and Russia (and other CIS states) has declined, and both countries have built up their respective arms industries for both domestic and foreign export markets. Policies have been influenced by the exigencies of nation- and state-building, mutual suspicions, and the requirements of national security. Vydrin and Tabachnyk back Kuchma's policies of creating Industrial-Financial Groups as a way of improving Russian-Ukrainian relations at the micro-economic level and of renewing economic ties for some enterprises that otherwise would go bankrupt. But it is difficult to see how these policies can make a large contribution in view of the diversification of trade and domestic suppliers that has begun and will continue in both countries. Ukrainian officials have repeatedly complained, for example, about the untruthful media reports and dirty diplomatic and business tricks Russia has used to prevent the promotion of Ukrainian arms sales abroad.<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult to find anyone within the Ukrainian leadership who can define what Hrynov means when he calls for a "strategic partnership" with Russia. Russia and Ukraine have different perceptions of what such partnership means. On the fifth anniversary of Ukraine's independence, Ukraine's foreign minister, Hennadii Udoenko, described his country's differences with Russia as follows: "Russia proposes co-operation on the principle of special partnership and the special interests of the Russian Federation on the territory of the former USSR. In this area our standpoints do not coincide."<sup>16</sup>

Although President Kuchma and Hrynov were allies during the 1994 elections, their attitudes towards Russia have clearly diverged since that time. As Kuchma puts it: "if you say that Ukrainian sailors must leave Sevastopol, what

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"Ukraina stremitsia stat blizhe k Zapadu: Opredelennaia chast kievskogo politicheskogo isteblishmenta pitaetsia pri etom otoiti ot partnerstva s Rossiei," *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 25 July 1996; and Arkady Moshes, "Moscow-Kiev Rift Set to Widen," *Moscow News*, 11-17 September 1996. See also my forthcoming article "Europe or Eurasia? National Identity, Transformation and Ukrainian Foreign Policy," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 1998).

15. *Zerkalo nedeli*, 3-9 August 1996.

16. Quoted in *Uriadovyi kur'ier*, 10 August 1996.

does it mean? If we cannot live together in peace in one place, where do you propose that we go? To Donuzlav—are we supposed to set up tents there? Is this strategic partnership?"<sup>17</sup> This different understanding of "strategic partnership" became clear at a Russian-Ukrainian conference in late 1995 in Kyiv: "While for the Ukrainian experts the essence lies in Ukraine's desire to have Moscow recognize its equal-partner status, on Russia's part the Moscow intellectuals did not even mention that issue. According to the latter, strategic partnership amounts to two states having a unanimous attitude toward a third state."<sup>18</sup>

In other words, the Eurasianism that all three authors promoted in 1994 and 1995 failed because of Russia's unwillingness to accept Ukraine as an equal within the Eurasian geopolitical space. Russia has never offered a strategic partnership of equals recognizing each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty to Ukraine.<sup>19</sup> Ukraine has therefore increasingly looked and moved westwards, away from Eurasia towards Europe. This new policy was formulated by Ukraine's Foreign Ministry in the summer of 1996 as "co-operation with the CIS—integration with Europe."<sup>20</sup>

In its search for a "strategic partnership," Russia has regarded Belarus—not Ukraine—as the model country, and it has established close working relations with it. The Belarusian leadership has supported Russian hostility to NATO's expansion,<sup>21</sup> backed the creation of an anti-NATO military bloc, and agreed with Russia's demands for changes to the flank limits of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty and with Russia's military intervention in Chechnia.<sup>22</sup> The Ukrainian leadership has not supported any of these Russian positions; therefore it is difficult to see how there could be any basis for a Russian-Ukrainian "strategic partnership" along the lines that Hrynov has proposed.

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17. *Radio Ukraine World Service*, 18 January 1996.

18. *Zerkalo nedeli*, 11–17 November 1995.

19. See my "Russia Still Threatens Ukraine's Stability," *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, 7 November 1996; and "New Foreign and Defence Policies," in my *Ukraine under Kuchma: Political Reform, Economic Transformation and Security Policy in Independent Ukraine* (London and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin's Press, 1997), 179–226, where I compare Kravchuk's and Kuchma's security policies.

20. *Polityka i chas*, 1996, no. 7. See also Arkady Moshes, "Ukraine's Shaky Neutrality," *Moscow News*, 4–10 July 1996. For a survey of Ukrainian security policy under Kuchma, see F. Stephen Larrabee, "Ukraine's Balancing Act," *Survival* 38, no. 2 (summer 1996): 143–65.

21. See my "Ukraine and the Expansion of NATO," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 7, no. 9 (September 1995); and my "NATO Enlargement: The View From the East," *European Security* 6, no. 2 (summer 1997): 48–62.

22. See my "Chechnya Crisis and the 'Near Abroad,'" *Central Asian Survey* 14, no. 4 (1995): 553–72.

Vydrin and Tabachnyk express the more pragmatic view (in contrast to Hrynov's romantic view) that Russia is unwilling to regard Ukraine as an equal or to accept its independence as a permanent factor. Nevertheless, when Kuchma was elected the Ukrainian president all three authors still held romantic notions about Russia that have since proven to be unrealistic.

All three authors call for the "normalization" of relations with Russia and see good, neighbourly relations as important factors in maintaining domestic stability within Ukraine. Hrynov goes even further, claiming that Russia was never an "aggressor" against Ukraine and is still not likely to be one. Vydrin and Tabachnyk argue in a more realistic manner about the unlikelihood of better Ukrainian-Russian relations in the short term. Any objective treatment of Ukrainian-Russian relations since 1992 would have to criticize both nations for mistakes that have been committed—and not just the Ukrainian side as Hrynov does. Within two years of becoming president, Kuchma began using the same critical language about Russian policies as that of his predecessor, Kravchuk. Although it is highly unlikely that Russia is a potential military threat to Ukraine, Russia's refusal, until May 1997, to recognize the current borders, which are binding in international law, would be seen by any country's elites as a potential threat to its national security. This is especially the case in Ukraine when so many members of the Russian elite, including the so-called democrats, have made territorial claims against Ukrainian regions.

Vydrin and Tabachnyk ask whether Ukraine will belong to "the backyard of Europe or the heart of Eurasia." Naturally, the heart of Eurasia is occupied by Russia, which perceives the integration of the CIS around itself as synonymous with its nation- and state-building (and even renewed empire-building) process. Therefore it is difficult to see how Ukraine could or would want to have a central role in the heart of Eurasia. It would not only be difficult to achieve because of the "Yeltsinintegration," which Vydrin and Tabachnyk criticize, but it would also contradict Ukraine's nation- and state-building process. Forging a new national Ukrainian identity—a central tenet of Ukraine's nation- and state-building process—would be impossible within Eurasia.<sup>23</sup> A new national identity can only be forged if Ukraine is re-integrated with Europe. Surely it would be better for Ukraine to be on the edge of Europe rather than on the edge of Asia, to rephrase Vydrin and Tabachnyk's question.

The Eurasian integration proposed by all three authors has therefore largely remained an unfulfilled dream. There is little support within the Ukrainian leadership for anything other than economic co-operation within the CIS, primarily for those sectors of the Ukrainian economy that cannot find a market

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23. See Stephen R. Burant, "Foreign Policy and National Identity: A Comparison of Ukraine and Belarus," *Europe-Asia Studies* 47, no. 7 (November 1995): 1137–9.

elsewhere. Full Eurasian integration is still largely perceived as synonymous with the revival of the former USSR. Ukraine's non-communist Eurasianists have therefore had little success in promoting their agenda, and their influence has declined since Kuchma was elected in July 1994. If Kuchma, Tabachnyk, and the other authors under review want to be *derzhavnyky*, they have little option but to support the restriction of Ukraine's integration within the CIS, where Russia will always play a dominant role. Russia's understanding of "strategic partnerships" and integration within the CIS, where other member-countries, such as Belarus, are simply Russian-dominated quasi states, undercuts the arguments of liberal Eurasianists (such as Tabachnyk, Vydrin, and Hrynov) that Eurasia is Ukraine's "natural" geopolitical and geo-economic home.

All three authors belong to the liberal, Centre-Left or centrist, camp in Ukrainian politics and espouse the anti-communist and anti-nationalist views of the Kuchma leadership (Vydrin was, however, also a member of Kravchuk's presidential election-campaign team in December 1991). All of them, like Kuchma, are positioned between the radical Left, on the one hand, and the Centre-Right national democrats, on the other.

The national democrats and the radical Right are weak within eastern and southern Ukraine, where the main political rivals are the radical Left and the social democrats. The three main liberal groupings are Hrynov's MBR, the People's Democratic Party of Ukraine (NDPU)—the new "party of power" to which Kuchma transferred his allegiance—and the Liberal Party of Ukraine (LPU). The MBR is the only political party (besides the splintered radical Left) that still advocates Eurasianism. The NDPU and LPU espouse a European orientation. Until recently, the LPU had within its ranks the former president of Ukraine (Kravchuk) and a former prime minister (Ievhen Marchuk, the leader of the Social-Market Choice parliamentary faction and now a presidential candidate representing the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine [United] in the next elections), and it still has a well-known reformer and presidential aide on economic policy (Volodymyr Lanovy). While the MBR backs Kuchma, the LPU stands in opposition to him.

Both Hrynov's and Tabachnyk and Vydrin's books present Kuchma's victory as that of a pragmatic centrist with close ties to the industrialist lobby. But Kuchma's victory was also that of the Russophone Ukrainians of eastern Ukraine, who, as a social group, have the distinct inability to be either anti-Ukrainian or anti-Russian. Consequently, although Kuchma is trying to normalize relations with Russia, he is not undertaking this at the expense of nation- and state-building and his loyalty to independent Ukraine. Kuchma's presidency has shown that Russophone Ukrainians are as loyal to independent Ukraine and *derzhavnyky* as much as their Ukrainophone compatriots.

Kuchma's predecessor, Kravchuk, is also a centrist. His Ukrainophone, western Ukrainian background have made him more supportive of co-operating

with the Centre-Right national democrats on nation- and state-building. On socio-economic questions, both Kravchuk and Kuchma have held similar social-democratic and liberal views, and both of them have supported a state-regulated transition to a social-market economy. Kuchma's pragmatism and industrialist background have made him less cautious about renewing economic ties with the other states of the former USSR. On political-military integration within the CIS, however, there is little difference between the negative views of the two Leonids.

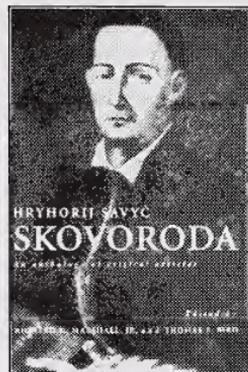
Although Hrynov's book is better written and organized than Vydrin and Tabachnyk's, it suffers from being a romantic wish-list of ideas and policies that is far removed from Ukraine's current reality. Vydrin and Tabachnyk's book, in contrast, although not as well written, is more realistic and pragmatic in its prognosis and pessimism about the speed of the transition process, the creation of a civil society and market economy in Ukraine, and the normalization of relations with Russia.

What is interesting is that all three authors were allowed to publish their views so openly while they were in official positions, and that no sanctions were taken against them. Their books provide an insight into the inner discussions within the Kuchma administration. In contrast, no member of the Kravchuk administration has bothered to explain the ideology of "Kravchukism," if, indeed, there ever was one. This has been left up to members of the national-democratic parties or the literary intelligentsia.<sup>24</sup>

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24. See, for example, Valentyn Chemerys, *Prezydent: Roman-ese* (Kyiv: SP "Svenas," 1994). The only exception has been a book where one of the authors (Mykola Mykhailychenko) was Kravchuk's domestic policy adviser: N. Mikhailichenko and V. Andrushchenko, *Belovezhe, L. Kravchuk, Ukraina, 1991–1995* (Kyiv: Ukrainskyi tsentr dukhovnoi kultury, 1996).

# *Hryhorij Savyč Skovoroda* An Anthology of Critical Articles



Edited by Richard H. Marshall, Jr. and  
Thomas E. Bird

Hryhorij Skovoroda (1722–1794) is a major figure in the history of Ukrainian and Russian literature and philosophy. Educated at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, he served variously as music director of the Russian imperial mission in Hungary, private tutor, and instructor of ethics and poetics at the Xarkiv Collegium. The last decades of his life, which he spent wandering about eastern Ukraine, were devoted to writing and contemplation.

Skovoroda's writings—verse, fables and philosophical dialogues—are profoundly steeped in Biblical tradition and characterized by the striking use of symbol and metaphor, as well as sophisticated linguistic experimentation. His influence on Ukrainian and Russian writers began in his own lifetime and has continued and grown ever since. It is strongly evident in the works of such figures as Taras Ševčenko, Nikolaj Gogol', Andrej Belyj and Vasyľ Barka, among others. Skovoroda is an indelible presence in the realms of philosophy, literature, religion and linguistics. Yet he is inadequately appreciated, particularly in the West.

This collection contains essays by many of the leading specialists on Skovoroda outside Ukraine. In it, Skovoroda is examined from a number of perspectives: historical, social, literary, pedagogical, linguistic, theological and philosophical. The volume contains essays by Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, Stephen Scherer, Joseph Black, George Y. Shevelov, Karen Black, Bohdan Rubchak, Mikhail Weiskopf, Aleksandr Lavrov, Bohdan Strumiński, George Kline, Taras Zakydalsky, Petro Bilaniuk and an exhaustive bibliography of Skovorodiana by Richard Hantula.

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## Book Reviews

Paul Robert Magocsi. *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996. xxvi, 784 pp. \$35.00 paper, \$75.00 cloth.

Those who have written a history textbook understand the enormous difficulties involved. Inexhaustible materials have to be squeezed into a limited number of pages, and the resulting narrative must be clear and simple. Moreover, the author should present more than a single interpretation of at least the most important developments and, in general, provide the reader with a brief introductory acquaintance with the colossal historical literature on his or her subject. There is no history without geography, and therefore maps, preferably numerous and effective, are indispensable. Specialists on eastern Europe are also particularly aware of the problems of nomenclature and transliteration.

Professor Magocsi overcame these and still other difficulties extremely well, indeed at times brilliantly. His forty-two unobtrusive, usually page-long maps establish a better graphic setting for history than any other textbook I am acquainted with, thus confirming the distinction the author had already earned with his historical atlases. A remarkable, quite unusual, and very successful aspect of the book is the daring inclusion right in the text (although on a distinctive light grey rather than white background) of numerous documents, eyewitness accounts, and other primary sources as well as occasionally some more specialized explanatory material. The marvel is how well these insertions blend with the basic narrative and support it. The section “For Further Reading” near the end of the volume is an excellent annotated bibliography, limited, to be sure, to works written in English or available in English translation—that last point of translation is to be stressed—but very rich nevertheless and, presumably, especially useful to students. The entire book is almost free of errors and misprints. I found only two mistakes in the forty-two-page bibliographic section, one mistake in the fifty-seven-page index, and perhaps eight or ten in the entire huge text itself.

Excellent in form and notably reliable and precise, Professor Magocsi's *History of Ukraine* is also intellectually attractive and stimulating. The author emphasizes an inclusive approach, according to which everything that ever happened in Ukraine at any time is part of Ukrainian history, no matter how minor, brief, or belonging essentially to other regions, peoples, or civilizations. Of course, he can not include everything in a single book, even a mammoth one, but he certainly makes a heroic stab at it. More importantly, Professor Magocsi consistently presents different major historical interpretations and evaluations of important developments in Ukrainian history, and he does that usually with a praiseworthy objectivity and impartiality, perhaps at times even too much

so. For example, both Russian and Polish claims on Ukraine and Ukrainians are delineated sharply and fairly (pp. 11–18); yet poorly prepared students may not be able to see that the two cases are not really parallel, and that the Russian relationship is the much more complex one. The author is a master of including, even in a few lines, several divergent interpretations of a given major topic, without choosing among them. Thus, on the Great Famine of 1993 he writes:

There is, moreover, great disagreement as to the cause of the famine. Was it the result of bureaucratic bungling during the collectivization campaign? Was it part of an explicit policy against recalcitrant peasants, regardless of nationality? Was it an attempt to eliminate nationalist opposition in all areas deemed critical to the Soviet Union (the famine occurred in the Don Cossack-inhabited northern Caucasus and German-inhabited middle Volga regions as well as in Soviet Ukraine)? Or was it an act of genocide directed specifically against Ukrainians?

Although conclusive answers as to the cause continue to elude researchers of the period, there is agreement that several million deaths did occur in Soviet Ukraine during the Great Famine of 1933. The most conservative estimate of the number of famine victims, from either starvation or disease related to malnutrition, is 4.8 million people. This figure represents 15 percent of Ukraine's population at the time. Even according to conservative figures, this meant that during the spring and summer of that fateful year of 1933, 25,000 people died every day, or 1,000 people every hour, or 17 people every minute. (p. 563)

As the above quotation strongly suggests, Professor Magocsi is not only a daunting compiler of facts and opinions, but also a writer who tries to teach to his readers the human cost of Ukrainian history. That human, emotional element is especially pronounced in some of the primary sources incorporated into his narrative. Indeed, such eyewitness testimonies as that of the same Great Famine of 1933 (pp. 559–61) or that of pogroms in the mid-seventeenth century (pp. 200–1) are so powerful that they bid to submerge the rest of the book.

Although I am not the best judge of what the correct Ukrainian history should be, I feel certain that Professor Magocsi is a Ukrainian historian. Interestingly, more than half of his forty-two fine maps depicting various periods and different subjects and developments include the clearly marked and usually designated 1995 boundaries of Ukraine—in graphic terms at least the one quasi-permanent, if not eternal, reality to be found in the book. And while being extraordinarily receptive, fair, and judicious in regard to all inhabitants of the area, the author is, appropriately, especially concerned with the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian ethnos, which, it would seem, he projects very far back. He associates the concept of a common East Slavic language out of which three modern languages emerged with the Russian point of view, although it may be more precise to consider it the dominant, although not exclusive, linguistic opinion in general.

I would recommend Paul Robert Magocsi's *History of Ukraine* very highly.

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*University of California at Berkeley*

Pavlo Robert Magochii [Paul Robert Magocsi]. *Halychyna (istorychni ese)*. Lviv: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 1994. 322 pp.

Ten of the twelve essays in this collection had already been published in English. Only two essays appear here for the first time. Therefore most of this book's contents will be familiar to specialists in the history of Galicia. Now that they have been published together in a Ukrainian translation, we are able to evaluate the "uncommon content" (as Volodymyr Hrabovetsky, Sr. states in his preface) of Paul Robert Magocsi's contributions to the history of Galicia in their entirety.

Magocsi's approach is uncommon in two major ways: he posits a multiple hierarchy of loyalties and mutually exclusive identities during the Ukrainian national revival in nineteenth-century Galicia; and, unlike most historians, he emphasizes the history of the losers (the adherents of an Old Ruthenian or a Russophile identity) rather than of the winners (the supporters of a Ukrainian identity).

Magocsi is incorrect when he states that the entire Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia shared the Old Ruthenian orientation before the 1870s. In fact, there were already four competing orientations during the Revolution of 1848. The intellectuals who formed the Ruthenian Congress in that year had a dual orientation—Polish and Ukrainian. Recent studies have revealed that these Polonophile Ukrainians were the most radical in their views regarding the political solution of the Ukrainian problem in Galicia; in a sense, they were more independentist than the leaders of the Supreme Ruthenian Council. Another orientation—the Ukrainophile—emerged in Galicia in the 1830s, and there was a nascent Russophile orientation by 1848 (although it is difficult to trace its origins).

In his approach to the problem of ethno-political orientations in Austrian-ruled Galicia, Magocsi is applying a scheme that he elaborated in *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1849–1948* (1978). There is nothing wrong in applying the same scheme to another region. But Magocsi goes overboard in his effort to distinguish and vindicate the Ruthenian (Rusyn) and Russophile orientations in Galicia. It would have been more productive and challenging if he had explained why the Ruthenian national orientation failed in Galicia, unlike in Magyar-ruled Transcarpathia.

There is a possible explanation: because of Polish dominance in Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ruthenians there were unable to resist Polish assimilation pressures without embracing a broader—pan-Ukrainian or pan-Russian—national identity. Both of these identities provided a feeling of belonging to a larger entity that was equal to the Poles (i.e., the Ukrainians) or even greater than that nation (i.e., the Russians). What was not less important is that both identities fostered a historical memory about past national victories over Poland—the Khmelnytsky uprising in the Ukrainian case, and participation in the partitions of Poland and the suppression of the Polish uprisings of 1830–31 and 1863 in the Russian case. Such feelings of victory were very important for Galicia's Ruthenian intelligentsia because their nation, although it comprised the majority in that region, had the status of a national minority in their own land and therefore suffered from an inferiority complex.

Why did the Ruthenians in Transcarpathia not choose a broader identity even though they experienced even stronger (Magyar) assimilation pressures and suffered acutely from an even greater inferiority complex? Was the more direct impact of the Ukrainophiles of

Russian-ruled Ukraine responsible for the victory of the Ukrainian identity in Galicia? Did their limitations both in intellectual and material resources prevent them from influencing affairs in more distant Transcarpathia? Such an explanation seems plausible, although there is not any evidence yet to prove it.

For the Ukrainian reader this book may be misleading. The translations of Magocsi's originally English essays are marred by many inaccuracies. It seems that the unnamed translator (translators?) was not aware that terms carry different meanings in English and Ukrainian. For example, "Halychyna" (Galicia) is not an "artificial" term in Ukrainian, as the opening essay states. The book needed, but did not receive, a good deal of serious editing. It does not state who the translator(s) and editor(s) are or which printing house in Ukraine printed it. Hrabovetsky's foreword is full of vapid boasts. In it we learn that under Magocsi as its director, the Multicultural History Society of Ontario became a "powerful scholarly institution of the [Canadian] state"; and that "written with a professional's resolute and confident hand," Magocsi's essays "have that particularity that the reflections of light and accents present in them cannot be caught by an amateur's inexperienced eye." Unfortunately, the "non-amateur" has to turn his "experienced" eye to Magocsi's original essays in English to catch these reflections and accents.

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David A. Frick. *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1995. xxii, 395 pp. U.S. \$17.00 paper, \$29.00 cloth. Distributed by Harvard University Press.

"At the core of Smotryc'kyj's formation, as that of so many others of his age, was the field that can be described as sacred philology. Doctrinal concerns shaped his philology, and philological arguments informed his confessional and cultural polemics" (p. 1). Thus begins David Frick's *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, the first major English-language biography of one of the seventeenth century's most controversial figures.

Frick's approach to Smotrytsky is unique, drawing from Renaissance philological concepts and incorporating elements of the "micro-historical approach" that reconstructs details from the lives of individuals, and pays attention to conflicts between individual worldviews and with higher authorities. Smotrytsky was first a grammarian, and Frick capably demonstrates that the subjects of grammar and rhetoric constituted the basic framework within which this archbishop of Polatsk formulated his religious and political programs. Against the philological background of Smotrytsky's way of thinking, Frick examines the life-long conflict between Smotrytsky's views and his desire to conform to authority.

Frick's book is divided into two parts. The first nine chapters constitute a chronological *vita*. Frick draws from a rich treasury of original sources, including Smotrytsky's own letters. The endnotes occupy one hundred pages, and in themselves constitute a valuable research resource. On the basis of these sources, Frick proposes an alternative approach to the customary division of Smotrytsky's life into two periods (i.e., before and after his public coming out as a Uniate in 1628). He suggests that Smot-

rytsky's confessional loyalties were ambiguous long before 1628, and that even after that date Smotrytsky's loyalties still remained ambiguous.

In his approach to the tricky subject of Counter-Reformation religious loyalties, Frick draws from the subject of Renaissance sacred philology. He examines Smotrytsky's change in confessional loyalties against the tensions among conformity, dissent, and dissimulation—tensions that marked Reformation and Counter-Reformation religious polemics. Present-day scholars are often bewildered by the contradictions of the seventeenth century and by the ability of Renaissance grammarians and rhetoricians to strike various, sometimes contradictory, poses for the purpose of argument. According to Frick, the Renaissance art of dissimulation (*ars dissimulandi*), familiar to all rhetoricians, provided Smotrytsky with various codified techniques of licit lying. In the case of Smotrytsky, the use of mental reservation (*reservatio mentalis*) permitted him on various occasions to say one thing and, at the same time, hold a completely different reality in his mind. Smotrytsky's hidden allegiance to the Uniate movement in the years preceding his public conversion, even while serving as an Orthodox bishop, is carefully examined in the light of the philological tradition that enabled him to hold seemingly contradictory loyalties.

The second part of the book consists of four excursuses based on Frick's observation of conformities and deviations in Smotrytsky's philological program. These excursuses reflect patterns of behaviour that "put Smotryc'kyj in a position of conflict, caught between authorities to which he needed to conform (and to which he did conform, for the most part) and his own views, which were not always and in every detail identical with either of the increasingly rigid orthodoxies to which he declared his allegiance at various times" (p. 16). Frick examines the play of tensions among conformity, dissent, and dissimulation in three realms: language and culture (chapter 11), church and faith (chapter 12), and nation and state (chapter 13). In his search for the "real" Smotrytsky, Frick hopes that "the tensions between program and practice, between behavior and internal intent (wherever we can infer this), between attempts to conform and failure to do so—in short, the contradictions themselves, can sometimes lead us by way of a kind of spiritual triangulation to some fruitful areas ..." (p. 15).

He begins by examining several rules that governed seventeenth-century persuasion. Various strategies for lying, such as *reservatio mentalis*, were well developed during this period, and rules were in place for their appropriate use. As Frick points out, "Smotryc'kyj lived in a world in which 'truths' from the realms of culture, faith, and politics were—like those he sometimes offered concerning his own persona—regularly used in campaigns to manipulate public opinion" (p. 177). What is most important for Frick's argument is that Smotrytsky was aware of the contingency of these truths: "truth" in informed public disputations was contextual, and so was the appeal to authorities in polemical arguments. As a grammarian, Smotrytsky had a full arsenal of philological strategies for manipulating his audiences. Techniques of dissimulation, such as the manipulation of philological lexicon, were freely used by Smotrytsky to bolster his own position (be it Orthodox or Uniate) and undermine that of his opponents and the sources they invoked.

In the excursus entitled "Polonica Orthodoxe," Frick draws attention to the abnormalities and deviations in Smotrytsky's Polish usage. Frick gives various examples of when Smotrytsky "corrected" the Vulgate readings in the authoritative Polish Bible according to Greek sources. He proposes that Smotrytsky's deviation from accepted Polish

norms was intentional and carried with it a political purpose—the grammarian was trying to create an Orthodox Polish program comparable to the philological programs of the Polish Protestants and Catholics. The creation of an Orthodox Polish version of scripture was an integral part of Smotrytsky's sacred philology—it was intended to be part of the Ruthenian arsenal for confessional, cultural, and political competition with the Catholic and Protestant Poles. In effect, he was attempting to co-opt the language of the dominant culture for the goals of the subordinate.

The excursus entitled “Fides Meletiana” offers engaging speculation and some partial answers to the question of Smotrytsky's personal religious beliefs. Frick proposes that in questions of faith Smotrytsky drew substantial nourishment from the writings of Marcantonio de Dominis, an ex-Jesuit posthumously condemned as a heretic, who held an unusually inclusive vision of the Universal Church. Smotrytsky, who likely read the works of Dominis, proposed his own inclusive vision of the *Ecclesia Universalis* that allowed him to carry ambiguous Orthodox and Catholic loyalties. Frick proposes that sometime during the years 1615–21 Smotrytsky shifted from an exclusive definition of faith based on positive definitions of Orthodox dogma to an inclusive definition that relied on a negative approach to doctrine (i.e., “the Roman Church is not incorrect, so what would it hurt for the Orthodox to live in unity with it?”). In this respect Frick presents Smotrytsky's conversion as “a retreat from offering positive definitions of correct dogma to a reliance upon a new sort of *via negativa*” (p. 226).

*Meletij Smotryc'kyj* represents an important milestone in early-modern Ukrainian and Belarusian studies. Building from a sound foundation in sacred philology, Frick offers a fresh perspective on the life of one of the seventeenth century's most enigmatic figures. He demonstrates that the subjects of grammar and rhetoric constitute the basic starting point for scholars in early-modern studies, and in this respect his book makes an especially valuable contribution to that field. He reminds us that ambiguity—the ability of Renaissance speakers to contradict themselves as the rhetorical situation requires—was part of the constantly shifting ground that underlay Counter-Reformation religious polemics. Professor Frick presents scholars and students of early-modern Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland-Lithuania with a guide to understanding the complex cross-cultural tensions that characterized not only the life of Smotrytsky himself, but the very confrontation among Uniates, Orthodox, and Roman Catholics in eastern Europe during the Counter-Reformation.

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Stefan M. Pugh. *Testament to Ruthenian: A Linguistic Analysis of the Smotryc'kyj Variant*. Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1996. xiv, 302 pp. U.S. \$39.95 cloth. Distributed by Harvard University Press.

The Smotryc'kyj referred to in the title of this interesting study is Smotryc'kyj the younger—Meletij, author of the famous *Grammatiki slavenskija pravilnoe sintagma* (Vievis, 1619), which set the norms for Church Slavonic applicable right up to the present

day. The preface to this grammar forms part of the data that Pugh analyzes, along with *Kazan'e* (Vilnius, 1620)—a eulogy delivered at the funeral of Archimandrite Leontij Karpovič—and *Jevanhelije učitelnoje* (Vievis, 1616). The latter work could best be described in English as a “teaching Bible” in which a homiletic Gospel from Slavonic and Greek is translated into the language that Pugh chooses to call Ruthenian. In all three sources Pugh has at his disposal some 130,000 forms for analysis, over ninety percent of which are to be found in *Jevanhelije učitelnoje*.

In chapters 1 (“Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language,” pp. 1–20) and 10 (“Afterword,” pp. 279–87), Pugh explains his decision to use the designation “Ruthenian” for Smotryc'kyj's language. In the same pages he also describes the specific features of this supranational language serving the literary needs of the Orthodox Slavs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The author refers (p. 5) to a Ukrainian-Ruthenian and Belarusian-Ruthenian variant of this language and admits (pp. 38–42) that Smotryc'kyj's writing could possibly be assigned to the former. It is Pugh's hope (p. 14) that his study will become part of a general description of the “Ruthenian Vernacular Standard.”

Pugh addresses the question of whether Smotryc'kyj should be considered a Ukrainian or a Belarusian cultural icon. The fact that he was born in what is now Ukraine does not really solve the question of his nationality or of his native dialect. According to the modern classification of Ukrainian dialects, his birth in Smotrych just north of Kam'ianets-Podilskyi means that his mother tongue would have been the Podillian subdialect of Southwest Ukrainian. But even if the modern isoglosses can be extended into the past, it still puts Smotryc'kyj's dialect on the very western fringe of Podillian, where it could easily have been influenced by the Dniester dialect.

We know that Smotryc'kyj did not spend his formative years in the Smotrych area, but in Ostrih, whose inhabitants speak the Volhynian subdialect of Southwest Ukrainian. We also know that for generations the Polissian dialects of North Ukrainian have been subject to constant erosion from the south. It is therefore very possible that in the late sixteenth century Ostrih was still in an area where a type of Northwest Ukrainian continued to be spoken (either the West or Central Polissian subdialect). No one now doubts that the North Ukrainian vs. Southwest Ukrainian dialectal division reaches back to late Proto-Slavic times. To this day the bundle of isoglosses dividing one from the other is tighter and more clearly defined than any bundles of isoglosses separating the dialects of Polish. In Smotryc'kyj's day the differences could have been quite noticeable to any speaker of Early Middle Ukrainian. We simply do not know how the dialect of Smotryc'kyj's early boyhood might have been influenced and altered by that of Ostrih.

In any event, by the time Smotryc'kyj was in his early twenties (1600–1) he was in the Vilnius region, whose Slavic population now speaks either the western subdialect of Southwest Belarusian, or Central Belarusian, a mixed dialect. Again, the speech here must have differed greatly from that of Ostrih and Smotrych, because such differences are still clearly evident to this day. Nevertheless, Smotryc'kyj's writings were fully comprehensible to Slavic speakers in such far-flung places as Kyiv, Lviv, Minsk, Chernihiv, or Uzhhorod. This is what makes a study of Smotryc'kyj's language both fascinating and necessary, and Pugh has handled this task with clarity and precision.

Pugh accomplishes this by giving a detailed description of orthography and phonology (Chapter 2, pp. 21–45). He then describes each part of speech in a separate chapter: the substantive (Chapter 3, pp. 46–89), the adjective (Chapter 4, pp. 90–108), the

pronoun (Chapter 5, pp. 109–37), the numeral (Chapter 6, pp. 138–56), the adverb (Chapter 7, pp. 157–201), prepositions, conjunctions, particles, and interjections (Chapter 8, 202–48), and, finally, the verb (Chapter 9, 249–78). Throughout the work, clarity of presentation is enhanced by an ingenious editorial device: all forms attested in Smotryc'kyj are printed in an archaized Cyrillic font patterned on a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century typeface, whereas Modern Ukrainian and Belarusian forms (both standard literary and dialectal) are printed in a modern Cyrillic font. This allows for instant recognition, whereas a Roman transliteration would have obscured the distinction between Modern Ukrainian and Belarusian vs. Polish.

To give the reader some idea of Pugh's methodology, let us take a more detailed look at Chapter 9. Almost two pages are devoted to the infinitive attested uniformly with the marker *-ty* or *-čy*. There is no sign of Modern Ukrainian *mohty*, *pekty* or Belarusian *mahčy*. Pages 250–9 are devoted to the “Non-Past Paradigms”; there we learn, among other things, that the third-person singular occurs invariably with the ending *-tъ*. There is not a single example of the zero ending in the first conjugation found in modern literary Ukrainian and Belarusian and in the vast majority of dialects.<sup>1</sup> Again contrary to the modern situation, the third-person plural ending is usually spelled *-tъ*. There is only one example (*movjat'*) of the present-day *-t'*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, *-mo* predominates in the first-person plural. Epenthetic *l* is attested after labials in the first-person singular, but has not spread to the third-person plural, as in literary Ukrainian (cf. Ukrainian *spljat'* vs. Belarusian *spjac'*).

Pugh's “Excursus on *byti* ‘to be’” (pp. 255–7) is followed by a discussion of the preterite (pp. 259–65). Here he cites those few examples of the aorist and imperfect, both of which are clearly a relic of the past. Therefore, the only remaining preterite is that formed with the *l*-participle. Interesting here is the complete absence of *l > v* in the masculine singular that exists in Modern Ukrainian and Belarusian.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in the majority of instances the *l*-preterite occurs with a truncated form of the auxiliary ‘to be.’ This follows the Polish model in such detail that one suspects that this form does not reflect any spoken norm in any seventeenth-century dialect of Ukrainian or Belarusian. Even the Polish masculine vs. non-masculine distinction has been introduced into the third-person plural, where it is marked by the spellings *-li* vs. *-ly*. It would seem that this is an artificial creation, since Pugh also cites (p. 39) evidence that Smotryc'kyj frequently confused the two graphemes—*y* and *i*—reflecting the merger of Proto-Slavic /i/ and /y/ phonemically and phonetically in all dialects of Ukrainian except the Transcarpathian, Sian, and Lemko. If Smotryc'kyj actually pronounced *li* (with soft *l*) vs. *ly* (with hard *l*) on the basis of virile vs. non-virile, it would be something he had acquired from Polish, not from any form of Ukrainian or Belarusian.

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1. Such data are very puzzling. The dropping of *t* or *t'* is so widely attested in Ukrainian and Belarusian that it is hard to believe that this feature arose only after Smotryc'kyj's time or that he was totally unfamiliar with forms such as *xoče* or *znaje*.

2. This does not apply to ‘to be,’ where both *jest'* and *jest* as well as *sut'* and *sut* are attested.

3. Again it is hard to believe that a feature so widely attested arose only after Smotryc'kyj's time.

There follows an equally detailed description of the future, the conditional, the imperative, and participles (pp. 266–78). Of interest is the fact that in the past active participles are found examples (p. 36) of the type *našovši* instead of the historically expected *\*našedši* or *\*našodši*. Does this mean that the Modern Ukrainian and Belarusian *v* for *l* in the third-person masculine past is ultimately a participial form in origin, as George Y. Shevelov has argued in his *Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1979, 218–20)? That is, Ukrainian *znav* etc. does not derive from *\*znalъ*, but from *\*znavъ*. If so, it was always puzzling why verbs whose roots end in *d* or *t* did not have a past tense like *\*šed* or *\*šod*, since the Proto-Slavic past active participle would have been *\*šьdъ*. It can now be argued that the *v* in Ukrainian *našovši* resulted from rebuilding *\*našodši* modelled on *-vši* in the vast majority of these participles. The *l*-participle is in turn rebuilt so that *\*našol* is replaced by *našov*.

Pugh completes this chapter with a description (pp. 277–8) of the competition between *a* vs. *ě* in the verb ‘to have’; cf. Polish *mieć, miał* vs. *mam, masz*, but Ukrainian *maly, mav* as well as *maju, maješ*.

The author deals with all parts of speech with the same depth and attention to detail as he does with the verb. This is a fine piece of scholarship to be recommended to all interested in the literary and linguistic history of Ukrainian and Belarusian.

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Thomas M. Prymak. *Mykola Kostomarov: A Biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996. xxiv, 263 pp. \$60.00 cloth.

Thomas Prymak’s biography of Kostomarov follows his authoritative study of another major Ukrainian historian, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: The Politics of National Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 1987). His choice of subject is understandable given Kostomarov’s role as a “leading light of the Ukrainian national awakening of the nineteenth century” (p. xv). Certainly Kostomarov must be regarded as the founder of modern Ukrainian historiography, with his studies of Khmelnytsky, Cossackdom, and “south Russian” folklore. Kostomarov also championed a new theoretical approach to Russian history, challenging the dominant “state school” by focussing on the *narod* rather than the state as the wellspring of historical development. He contended that Russian history had been driven by a dialectical tension between “northern” and “southern” Russians, who embodied respectively “monocratic” and “federal” state principles, as reflected in the tension between Muscovite order and Cossack liberty. From his far-reaching research into Novgorod, the Time of Troubles, or the figure of Mazepa, Kostomarov arrived at the interesting conclusion that Russia ought in its statehood [*gosudarstvennost*] to reconcile both of these elements, which were equally, to his view, “Russian.”

Prymak’s biography operates on two levels, narrative and analytical. The book’s structure is provided by the turns in Kostomarov’s life; within this framework, Prymak analyzes key texts of each period. Prymak succeeds admirably in the first task, but less well in the second. Relying strongly on Kostomarov’s own memoirs, Prymak follows the

historian's path from a difficult childhood in a Voronezh gubernia populated by Ukrainian-speaking peasants to his first exploration of the "Little Russian" language and history as a budding scholar in Kharkiv and Kyiv. This interest culminated in his participation in the famed and ill-fated Cyril-Methodian Brotherhood along with Panteleimon Kulish and Taras Shevchenko, among others. Kostomarov played a central role in writing "The Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People," the founding text of modern Ukrainian nationalism, but his involvement in the brotherhood led to his arrest in 1847 on the eve of his wedding—events of which Prymak provides a moving description.

Kostomarov overcame the obloquy of political exile to become a leading teacher of Russian history—first in Saratov and later in St. Petersburg, where he soon claimed a place alongside his adversary Sergei Solovev as one of Russia's two leading historians. From the 1860s onward Kostomarov also emerged as a defender of Ukrainian culture and history against mainstream Russian historians who decried his "Ukrainophilism." By his death in 1885, he had transformed the general understanding of Russian and Ukrainian history and culture. Prymak captures well the great personal feeling Kostomarov brought to his work. He also notes the historian's less attractive attributes, including an anti-Semitism that was no less distressing for its intellectual rationale.

Although Prymak has written a compelling life of Kostomarov, the analytical passages are more disappointing. While he presents a competent summary of Kostomarov's ideas as they developed, Prymak disregards the Russian and European intellectual contexts to which Kostomarov's theoretical position responded so strongly. Thus, in his discussion of the "Books of Genesis," Prymak notes Kostomarov's debt to Adam Mickiewicz, but settles for a line-by-line comparison of the two texts rather than exploring the deeper-lying conceptions of nationhood, liberty, and historical process that underlay both works. By the same token, only Johann Herder appears as a possible source for Kostomarov's understanding of national history: one searches in vain for a discussion of the influence of Hegel, Fichte, or Schelling—to name a few—who deepened and refined Herder's ideas and informed the views of such contemporaries as Mickiewicz or Alexander Herzen. To set Kostomarov in his Russian context, Prymak might usefully have invoked his contemporary Afanasii Shchapov, whose writings on Siberia echoed Kostomarov's on Ukraine. The coincidence of these two authors' emphasis, taken together with the pervasive contemporary debates that resulted in the *zemstvo* reform of 1864, suggests that Kostomarov's thought was a product of its times, not the *sui generis* fruit of an isolated individual.

In the theoretical sphere, Prymak's biography shows no interest in the recent and hotly contested debate over the construction of national identities. The process by which Kostomarov discovered and pursued his own Ukrainian roots—after an upbringing as a Russian-speaking *pomeshchik*—suggest that "Ukrainianness," as he understood it, was much more problematic than his biographer would admit. Indeed, to emphasize Kostomarov's devotion to the Ukrainian cause, Prymak takes up the cudgels against his subject's foes, particularly Solovev. While Solovev adhered to the "state school" associated with Nikolai Karamzin and Mikhail Pogodin, he was not, like them, an uncritical apologist for autocracy. Careful reading of his historical writings and others' memoirs indicate that the historian aspired to the "rule-of-law state" cherished by Russian liberals, including his friend Boris Chicherin. Unfortunately for those seeking convenient typologies, it was possible to be a liberal and to dispute the legitimacy of Ukrainian

claims to nationhood—or to recognize national distinctness while denying claims to statehood—as Petr Struve demonstrated fifty years later. Even among Ukrainians, such as Bohdan Kistiakovsky, the ambiguities of nationhood and statehood posed a continuing problem.

Prymak has performed an undoubted service to scholarship with this readable biography of an undeservedly neglected figure in Ukrainian and Russian historiography. The bibliography and notes attest the assiduity of Prymak's research and point the reader to often neglected resources. For these reasons and the high quality of its prose, this biography merits reading.

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Michael Palij. *The Ukrainian-Polish Defensive Alliance, 1919–1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution*. Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1995. viii, 391 pp. \$44.95 cloth.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s Central and Eastern Europe underwent dramatic geopolitical changes similar to the ones that occurred there after World War I. The collapse of communism in the former Soviet-bloc countries and the dissolution of the Soviet Union resulted in the emergence of a group of new independent states (e.g., Ukraine) and in the acquirement of real freedom by others (e.g., Poland). Ideology has ceased to be dominant in building relations among the countries in the region, and priority is now given to their national interests. These changes have stimulated scholarly interest in the post-World War I period in general and in relations between the two largest states in the region—Ukraine and Poland—in particular. In this regard, Dr. Palij's monograph is very timely and important.

On the solid basis of wide-ranging secondary sources and an impressive corpus of published documents and memoirs, Palij reconstructs the history of the Ukrainian-Polish political and military alliance of 1919–21. His massive bibliography (pp. 249–367) points the reader to most of the literature on the topic and makes his study an indispensable guide for English-speaking students of international relations in Central and Eastern Europe after World War I.

The volume consists of seventeen chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 review the biographies of the presidents of Ukraine and Poland—Symon Petliura and Józef Piłsudski—who shared a socialist background and a distrust of Russia. Palij's account of their lives and views acquaints the reader with the genesis and nature of the Ukrainian-Polish alliance, which was based to a large extent on the personal relationship between the two heads of state.

The author provides an extensive overview of the military history of Ukraine and Poland in the period under study (chapters 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 14, and 15), focussing on their joint military offensive against Soviet Russia and the subsequent Red Army offensive in Poland and its defeat. Palij also discusses Ukrainian-Polish socio-economic relations in Right-Bank Ukraine and the Polish competing approaches to Poland's eastern policy,

represented by Piłsudski and the National Democratic camp led by Roman Dmowski (chapters 6, 9). In contrast with Dmowski, Piłsudski's conception was less coherent; this led to contradictions in his policy. Chapters 12 and 13 give a detailed account of the Soviet-Polish peace negotiations in Riga, their results, and their consequences for the Ukrainian national cause. Chapter 16 investigates Petliura's last, émigré years and his assassination by a Soviet agent in Paris.

The central chapter in the book is chapter 7, on Ukrainian-Polish diplomatic relations and the conclusion of the Treaty of Warsaw. In it Palij examines thoroughly the contents of the political agreement and military convention between Petliura and Piłsudski, and demonstrates the treaty's unequal character (for the Ukrainians) resulting from Petliura's weak position at the negotiations. Unfortunately, the chapter lacks a broader examination of the course of the Ukrainian-Polish negotiations in the winter and spring of 1920—a relatively little-known aspect that could shed more light on the goals and motives of the two parties in the treaty. (This may be the result of the fact that the author did not consult archival sources before writing his monograph.) Palij describes the attitude that various Polish political forces and the Polish public had to the Ukrainian-Polish agreement, and recounts the change in this attitude along with the situation at the Soviet-Polish front. He says nothing, however, about the reaction of the Ukrainian politicians and public at large.

Many previous studies of this subject presented Piłsudski's policy vis-à-vis Ukraine either as almost altruistic and pro-Ukrainian (a view found mostly in Polish historiography) or as a plot against Ukraine (Ukrainian historiography). In his analysis of the Ukrainian-Polish alliance, Palij tries on the whole to be balanced and evenhanded. Piłsudski was guided by Poland's national interests, which foresaw the weakening of Russia and coincided to a certain degree with the national interests of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) struggling for independence from Russia. As soon as the joint offensive against Soviet Russia failed, however, Piłsudski ignored his agreement with Petliura, and UNR delegates were not even invited to the Polish-Soviet Russian peace negotiations in Riga.

While Palij's assessment of Piłsudski's position on the alliance is on the whole consistent, he is somewhat contradictory in describing Petliura's motives. In one place he writes that Petliura viewed the alliance "as a tactical move aimed at establishing contact with Europe and gaining a respite before continuing the struggle." Later he concludes that the treaty with Poland "was simply an act of desperation" (p. 76).

Despite his effort to be impartial, Palij generally presents a Ukrainian perspective on relations between Poland and Ukraine. One of his disputable statements deserves further comment, since it touches on an aspect that so far has lacked proper scholarly research. Palij states that during the joint campaign on the Ukrainian territory the Poles "acted as an occupying force, thus alienating the population" (p. 113). This opinion, however, is not backed up with strong evidence. The author argues that "contrary to the agreement, the Poles took into their own hands" control over Ukrainian railroads. Yet, the right of the Polish command "to direct all railroad lines during a given military action" was reserved in article 7 of the military convention (p. 73).

Palij does not confront the sensitive question of the impact of the Polish-Ukrainian War in Eastern Galicia on the relations between the UNR and Poland. He writes that "the main factor that prevented Ukraine and Poland from achieving friendly relations was ...

the war between Poland and the ZUNR [Western Ukrainian People's Republic] that erupted in November 1918" (p. 67). But he does not examine this factor in detail.

Despite their serious differences on Polish policy towards Ukraine, both Piłsudski and Dmowski supported Poland's incorporation of Eastern Galicia. Poland was not ready to give up its claim to Eastern Galicia. Consequently Piłsudski's Ukrainian policy was doomed to fail from the very beginning. On the one hand, he planned the creation of an allied Ukrainian state as a buffer between Poland and Soviet Russia. On the other, Piłsudski himself disrupted his plan by occupying Western Ukraine—which was a stronghold of Ukrainian independence—and thus weakening the UNR's resistance to Soviet Russia.

In turn, the ZUNR government and Galician Ukrainians showed reluctance to sacrifice regional interests for the benefit of a pan-Ukrainian national cause, whose success seemed very problematic without their support. Meanwhile, Petliura did not have enough power to force the ZUNR's president, Evhen Petrushevych, to accede to an agreement between UNR and Poland at Western Ukraine's expense. Consequently the Piłsudski-Petliura alliance was implemented only after Eastern Galicia was occupied by the Polish army and the ZUNR government went into exile. At that time the Bolsheviks had gained victory in the Russian Civil War and were preparing to defeat the UNR.

The key question about the Ukrainian-Polish alliance is why it failed and whether it could have been successful. Palij does not provide a comprehensive answer. He concludes that "the Polish government had no intention of fulfilling that treaty, not because Poland was too weak to carry its obligation toward Ukraine, but because the Poles had no intention of defending the cause of Ukrainian independence" (p. 201). This seems to be a partial answer. Even if Piłsudski initially had that intention, by 1921 he had no alternative but to do what he did.

The Ukrainian-Polish alliance was primarily a personal agreement between Piłsudski and Petliura. Neither of them had a broad base of support for the alliance, considering the centuries-old tensions between the two nations. The position of the Polish National Democrats and the general public mood in Poland made it impossible for Piłsudski to implement the alliance successfully. Meanwhile Petliura came under the attack of almost all of the prominent Ukrainian politicians (including Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Volodymyr Vynnychenko) for entering into the alliance and was branded a traitor by the Galician Ukrainians for it. In addition, the vast majority of the peasantry of Right-Bank Ukraine were hostile towards the Poles.

Petliura and Piłsudski, albeit for tactical reasons, managed to rise above the burden of the past. However, they not only failed to convince their countrymen, but even did not trust each other completely. As Palij points out, Piłsudski prevented the buildup of a strong UNR army. Furthermore, in 1920 even the combined Ukrainian-Polish efforts turned out to be insufficient for gaining a victory over Soviet Russia. In addition, the Ukrainian-Polish alliance was not supported by the Western powers. Both Petliura and Piłsudski counted on the Entente's support, which was crucial for the success of their endeavour, but they did not receive it.

On the whole, Dr. Palij's monograph contributes to the existing body of knowledge on Ukrainian-Polish relations, and will be useful for students of modern Polish and

Ukrainian history and international relations in Central and Eastern Europe after World War I.

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Anna Procyk. *Russian Nationalism and Ukraine: The Nationality Policy of the Volunteer Army during the Civil War*. Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1995. xvi, 202 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

Anna Procyk has raised our understanding of Russian nationalism to a qualitatively new level. Historians have tended to paint the political program of General Anton Denikin and the Russian politicians who surrounded him during the civil war with one colour: White, that is, anti-Bolshevik, at best conservative, at worst monarchist-reactionary. To the contrary, Procyk points out that the leaders of the White movement were, in fact, key participants in the February 1917 overthrow of the tsar, “the very force they purportedly wanted to put back in power.” Moreover, throughout the civil war these liberal Russian politicians consistently promoted a political program most closely consistent with that of the revolutionary Provisional Government. But in one very important sense they were certainly “restorationist”: they rigidly adhered to and were primarily driven by the desire to restore “Russia One and Indivisible.”

Quite ingeniously, Procyk has taken sources that have been available in the West for many years—the Wrangel Military Archive at the Hoover Institution, Denikin’s monumental *Ocherki russkoi smuty*, and the personal papers of the key politicians of the White movement—and read them through a national prism. Procyk focusses our attention on the nationality policies of that part of the White movement centred around Denikin’s Volunteer Army (VA), specifically because it was founded on the periphery of the fallen Russian Empire where the support of fledgling national movements proved to be crucial to military success. In particular, she examines the VA’s political program towards and relations with the various Ukrainian national governments and armies that contested control over Ukraine during the civil war.

Procyk describes the White movement as in essence a political compromise between former tsarist generals, obliged by a sacred military oath to defend and restore the Russian Empire’s pre-1917 unity, and leading Russian liberals, especially Petr Struve and Pavel Miliukov, imbued with a stubborn “emotional attachment to the greatness of Russia” (p. 170). These politicians and generals repeatedly refused to co-operate in an anti-Bolshevik alliance with any Ukrainian national government—from Skoropadsky’s to Petliura’s—because they believed that recognition of any Ukrainian government would violate their coveted principle of Russia’s indivisibility. Even moderate proposals for the federation of Russia were steadfastly opposed: “For Denikin and the Kadets in the Special Council—the principal architects of the White nationality program—federation, especially ‘federation from below’ whereby each component of ‘Russia’ would be united with the center on the principle of full equality, signified the first step toward ‘Russia’s’ disintegration” (p. 143).

These Russian liberal politicians are shown in bold relief to be relics of a past age who were unaware of the signs of post-World War I times. Sergei Sazonov, the VA's representative, arrived in Paris in late 1918 naively convinced of the Entente's support for the reunification of Russia. Instead, Entente leaders branded him "an archconservative unable to comprehend the spirit of the new era" (p. 95). To the suggestion of the Romanian prime minister, Ion Bratianu, that Bessarabia was actually Romanian territory unjustly seized by Tsar Alexander I, the Kadet leader Miliukov "angrily snapped back that if one would consider such reasoning valid for Georgia, the Baltic lands, and other borderlands, the disintegration of Russia would never stop" (p. 91). The Provisional Government's former ambassador to France, Vasili Maklakov, emerges as the one sound voice amongst them in trying to convince his Russian compatriots in Ekaterinodar that the Entente favoured compromise with the nationalities, and a federated Russia.

The Whites' rigid adherence to the unity of Russia had important consequences: the Entente in Paris, attempting to reconstruct Europe on the basis of the principle of national self-determination, was loath to support a restorationist movement so intolerant to the national strivings of the tsarist empire's formerly subject peoples. Thus, Denikin never managed to obtain sufficient military and financial aid from the Entente. Moreover, the Whites' refusal to recognize any of the Ukrainian governments seriously and repeatedly undermined their military efforts. The most glaring example came in September 1919, when Denikin's stubborn refusal to sign a truce with Petliura forced his troops to fight against, instead of with, Petliura's 45,000-strong Ukrainian army while, at the same time, fighting the reinvigorated Red Army.

Some may be tempted to draw from Procyk's findings that these White leaders' "Great Russian" chauvinism was the key determinant in their military defeat. However, Procyk judiciously points out that the Whites' intransigence on federation, their stubborn reluctance to compromise with any non-Russian national movements, was only one of the crucial reasons for their defeat.

This book is well written and well argued and provides a fresh perspective on the political worldview of the White movement's leading politicians and generals. Procyk draws our attention to the important role that nationalism played in what has too often been portrayed in Soviet and Western historiography as primarily a class struggle.

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René Does and Harm Ramkema, eds. *Demonen aan de Dniper: De moeizame staatsvorming van Oekraïne* [Demons at the Dnieper: Ukraine's Painful State-Formation]. Amsterdam: Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek, 1994. 147 pp.

In the Netherlands the word "Ukrainian" has had a negative connotation for many years. One likely reason is the collaboration of many Dutch people with the German authorities in the years 1940–45. Partially as a result of this collaboration and accommodation, relatively few of Holland's Jewish citizens survived the Holocaust. Moreover, numerous Dutch fought in the Waffen-SS on the eastern front. Ever since 1945, the feeling of shame and guilt has found its expression in extensive commemoration of the

Holocaust, but also in antipathy against nationalities that supposedly behaved worse than the Dutch under German occupation. In this regard, the Ukrainians, along with the Poles, come to mind first.

The stereotype of the bad Ukrainian was challenged when Ukraine became independent in 1991 in a peaceful way. The Dutch government quickly recognized the new state, and its ambassador arrived in Kyiv in the summer of 1992. Information about Ukraine in the Dutch language was scarce, however. For this reason, the Dutch-language collection of essays under review, published in 1994 by the private Institute for Public and Politics, must be welcomed. It is meant to provide basic information to the layperson who knows little or nothing about Ukraine. After an introduction by the Dutch ambassador (Robert H. Serry) and an essay with very general data by an editor (Valentyna Bondarenko) of the newspaper *Pravda Ukrainy*, eight essays discuss various themes. The German Ukrainianist Rudolf A. Mark surveys Ukraine's history up to 1991, while the American Susan Stewart deals with the national minorities and regional differences of independent Ukraine. She argues that problems in this field alone will not be able to pose a threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity.

The six remaining essays are by Dutch authors. They deal with politics in the years 1990–94 (Harm Ramkema); with independent Ukraine's economy (René Does); diplomatic relations (Gerard Snel); the churches (Arno Langeler); and with the Ukrainian diaspora before 1991, except for what is now known as the eastern diaspora (Joost den Butter). The last essay is a unique survey of Dutch-Ukrainian relations since 1990 by Bert Kuitenbrouwer. Ramkema, Does, and Snel all argue that President Kravchuk paid too much attention to political independence and should have devoted most of his attention to the economy. Generally most concerned about Ukraine is Does, who writes (in mid-1994): "The worst-case scenario for the Ukrainian economy is that all the possible disasters will come to pass: a spinning out of control of the economic crisis, a new nuclear disaster in Chornobyl, great social unrest, and a civil war between the east and the west of the republic, causing large streams of refugees toward Russia and western Europe. Because this scenario is not unthinkable, independent Ukraine constitutes a problem" (p. 75). Unfortunately, such negativism can also be found in the book's title and back cover, where one reads, alongside a mention of poverty, inflation, church rivalries, and an underdeveloped political culture: "The young republic of Ukraine appears to be in the grip of uncontrollable, demonic forces ... Ukraine has many problems with its state-building, while the stability of this state is of great importance to the future of Europe." Was any state ever created without problems?

This reviewer has two other criticisms. The book would have served its purpose better if it had included a select bibliography (it does list several relevant addresses), and it should not have employed the incorrect concept of "Kievan Russia" ("Kiev-Rusland"). Altogether, however, this book can be recommended.

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Petro Shkrab'iuk. *Vynohradnyk Hospodnii: Istoriia zhyttia o. d-ra Iosyfa Kladochnoho*. Lviv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I.

Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy and Vydavnytstvo Ottsiv Vasyliian "Misioner," 1995. 280 pp.

Fr. Iosyf Kladochny (1906–94) was a man whose actions proved that he was faithful to his ideas and to Christian teachings. His life reflects the trials and tribulations of the Galician church and society in the twentieth century.

Kladochny was well known in Ukrainian Greek Catholic circles from the 1920s onward. He was a close associate of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky from that decade to the metropolitan's death in 1944. A well-educated preacher and a prominent religious journalist and editor in interwar Galicia, Kladochny later served as a parish priest in Kyiv (1941–3) and a chaplain in the Division Galizien and was imprisoned for his faith in the Soviet Gulag (1947–56). After his release and return to Ukraine, he devoted his life to serving the clandestine Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Shkrab'iuk's biography of Kladochny consists of brief chapters written on the basis of archival materials, detailed interviews with Kladochny, Kladochny's correspondence and diaries, and the reminiscences of other individuals involved in the Ukrainian church and national movement in Galicia and outside its borders. The book is both scholarly and popular in approach. One senses that the author, who is a historian and a poet, is constantly seeking to uncover the mystery of Kladochny's faith, conviction, and steadfastness. Perhaps that is why he slightly poeticizes the situation in which the hero of his account lived and created.

Kladochny was involved in the central activities of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under interwar Polish rule and was acquainted with all of that church's hierarchs. He was entrusted with several special tasks by Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Notable among them was a clandestine trip from Soviet-occupied Galicia to the Vatican to deliver a letter from Sheptytsky to Pope Pius XII requesting that the pontiff agree to the consecration of Fr. Iosyf Slipy as Sheptytsky's successor and grant the metropolitan permission to consecrate the necessary bishops and create new eparchies when it becomes impossible to maintain ties between the Galician church and the Vatican (p. 145).

Shkrab'iuk, like Kladochny himself, very delicately treats the subject of the Ukrainian national-liberation movement, particularly the relationship between the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Greek Catholic Church in the 1930s. Kladochny recounts the critical and, in many cases, negative attitude young members of the OUN had to the church and, even more so, to priests. But the picture was far from unambiguous. The church enjoyed great authority among the inhabitants of Galicia, including many OUN members. Kladochny became aware of the latter when he served for several years as a chaplain ministering to Ukrainian political prisoners incarcerated in Polish prisons. In that capacity he aided OUN prisoners through his words and, as Shkrab'iuk emphasizes, his deeds. Kladochny was a confessor of many prominent OUN members, including Stepan Bandera. Bandera's strength of character and willfulness, but also his piety, left an indelible impression on Kladochny (p. 69).

Kladochny's active participation in pastoral work and journalism for the benefit of Galicia's Ukrainians attracted the attention of Polish security. Consequently he was arrested and experienced the "joys" of Polish prisons not only as a chaplain, but also as

an inmate. He describes his incarceration in the infamous Bereza Kartuzka concentration camp, from which he was released after Germany invaded Poland in 1939, as exceeding the horrors of his later imprisonment in the Gulag.

Shkrab'iuk's book presents his own and Kladochny's accounts of many prominent and little-known persons in a concise, precise, dispassionate, and sometimes amusing manner. Particularly interesting are Kladochny's reminiscences of Sheptytsky as a person, Sheptytsky's last days, and especially the metropolitan's prediction about the future of Ukraine and the Ukrainian church (p. 193). The pages containing these reminiscences are some of the best in the book. The mystical, immaterial aspect of existence—Kladochny's vision and the conditions of his life—is presented repeatedly in the book. Consequently the work holds the reader's interest as a biographical chronicle and as a scholarly study.

Shkrab'iuk tries to be all-encompassing in his narrative, and he often succeeds. But his account of Kladochny's life in the postwar period is much too meagre. Perhaps that is because Kladochny is no longer alive; but Shkrab'iuk could and should have turned to other archival sources and eyewitness accounts to fill the gap. Some of Shkrab'iuk's opinions—for example, about the value of uniting the Orthodox Church in central and eastern Ukraine with the Greek Catholic Church after the collapse of the USSR in 1941—are more than debatable.

Although the contemporary non-Galician reader in Ukraine will find it difficult to understand many of the words, Galicianisms, and religious terms used extensively in the book, on the whole it makes a good impression. It preserves for posterity a valuable account of twentieth-century Galicia by one of its prominent clerics. Thus far it is the only separate biography published in post-Soviet Ukraine that deals with the history of the Ukrainian church—a subject about which, until recently, most readers in Ukraine knew next to nothing.

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Heorhii Kasianov. *Nezhodni: Ukrainska intelihentsiia v rusi oporu 1960–80-kh rokiv*. Kyiv: Lybid, 1995. 224 pp.

In Ukraine today, scholarly monographs about Ukrainian history, particularly of the modern era, are sorely lacking. Therefore Dr. Kasianov's book is a welcome contribution. Kasianov is one of the first scholars in Ukraine to show that a movement opposed to the Communist system existed in Soviet Ukraine from the 1960s onward. He disproves the view presented in *Reabilitovani istoriieiu* (Kyiv: Ridnyi kraj, 1992) that the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union were simply the passive victims and martyrs of Soviet repression.

In writing his book, Kasianov consulted a broad range of sources: materials from several national archives and one oblast archive (though it seems that he underutilized the materials in the Ukrainian Security Service archives, which he had an opportunity to examine); books, articles, and documents that were published from the 1960s onward, primarily in the West; and the memoirs of and interviews with participants in the opposition. He does cite earlier authors who wrote on the subject, though not all of them.

Kasianov reveals the complexity and diversity of the Ukrainian dissident movement by analyzing the participation of the intelligentsia in it. He examines the problem through a cross section of participants. Unfortunately, his approach initially gives the reader the

impression that only members of the intelligentsia took part in the movement. Although Kasianov later gives a somewhat different impression, he nonetheless presents an incomplete picture by failing to discuss the workers, peasants, or representatives of other social strata (he does mention the latter, but only in passing) who also took part in the movement. His examination of the problem in relation to the evolution of Soviet totalitarianism, however, is very effective.

In Chapter 1, “The Children and Stepchildren of the Thaw” Kasianov describes how this evolution made it possible for the *shestydesiatnyky* to emerge during and after Khrushchev’s thaw. He argues that their emergence was a revolutionary event in the development of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. “The *shestydesiatnyky* ... restored all of the intelligentsia’s social and psychological traits, which [the traits] imbued this term [“intelligentsia”] with more than a vulgar socialist content, giving it also a moral and ethical one” (p. 30). Kasianov points out that the *shestydesiatnyky* became the intellectual and spiritual foundation of the subsequent Soviet Ukrainian resistance movement. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the “Jurists’ Case”—the trials of the clandestine Ukrainian Workers’ and Peasants’ Union. It explains how and why the first dissidents arose and what their aims were.

In chapter 2, “Heterodoxy: Existence as a Form of Resistance,” Kasianov analyzes the Soviet regime’s response to opposition by the intelligentsia. For the first time, the authorities were confronted with something that had seemed inconceivable—that far from all of Soviet society approved of their suppression of heterodox individuals (p. 50). The regime’s attempts to prove the existence of a large, underground anti-Soviet organization failed, and for the last time.

Kasianov does not idealize the protagonists of his study. He tells the reader that most of them were unprepared for the punishments they received. As a result, they repented and confessed their “crimes” under interrogation, during their trials, and even at other times. I cannot agree, however, with Kasianov’s claim that there were still no declared opponents of the regime among those who were arrested in 1965. Archival materials confirm that such opponents did exist, although under interrogation they often deluded themselves and confessed to committing “mistakes.” As well, not all of the “key figures” were initially arrested (p. 63), although one can certainly say that those who were arrested were among the most active oppositionists. That they were accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda was not entirely unfounded. From the regime’s point of view, the conversations, discussions, evenings, and lectures that these individuals organized were anti-Soviet and threats to the system. On p. 75 Kasianov first introduces the opinion that it was impossible for enduring clandestine, anti-Soviet organizations to exist. But the example of the Ukrainian National Front (UNF), which he discusses, is proof to the contrary; other enduring groups also existed, both before and after the UNF.

For the remainder of chapter 2, Kasianov analyzes Ukrainian *samvydav* from the time it emerged until 1972. He divides it into two categories—liberal and political—and points out that the latter category indicates that the *shestydesiatnyky* had become politicized and wanted to transcend the limitations of cultural heterodoxy (p. 96). *Samvydav* became the resistance movement’s organizational infrastructure in the late 1960s. Kasianov focusses on two or three anti-Soviet works, the writings of Ivan Dziuba and V’iacheslav Chornovil, and the *samvydav* journal *Ukrainskyi visnyk*, all of them fairly well-known works. But he does not explain their impact on Soviet Ukrainian public opinion and socio-political

thought. He also does not explain who some of the authors were or mention new dissident writings, especially of political *samvydav*.

In Chapter 3, "The Dissidents: Resistance as a Form of Existence," Kasianov describes the fate of the Ukrainian dissident movement from 1972 to 1985. As a result of its "general pogrom" of the dissidents in 1972 and 1973, the Soviet regime succeeded to a large extent in stifling the burgeoning resistance of the non-conformist intelligentsia—a resistance that had begun to change into political opposition and, in my opinion, in some cases had already become that.

Kasianov describes the methods Soviet security agencies used to repress dissidents. But the authorities again encountered the unexpected: both during investigation and in court, the accused refused to acknowledge that they were guilty of the crimes attributed to them. Kasianov states that the general pogrom facilitated the emergence of open opponents of the regime (p. 151). Once the members of the dissident movement were put behind bars and became prisoners of conscience, the opposition within the Ukrainian intelligentsia became significantly politicized. Other dissident currents became either ineffective or ones in which the principal figures were, in my opinion, the political opponents of the regime. Now only those who saw resistance as the only possible form of existence became or remained dissidents. Thus began both a heroic and a tragic period for the dissident movement.

The movement changed its tactics; adapting itself to the new reality and possibilities, it focussed on human-rights violations. But it retained national liberation as a strategic goal. Kasianov mentions this, but only in passing. The virtual absence of ethnic Russians in the movement is another indication of its primarily national-liberation character. Kasianov should have emphasized this much more clearly.

In chapter 3, Kasianov devotes much of his attention to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He points out that once the human-rights movement was effectively suppressed in the USSR, it lost its relevance for the political cold-warriors in the West. Instead, the movement received support almost exclusively from Western civil-rights organizations (p. 172).

The epilogue is, in my opinion, the best part of Kasianov's book. In it he presents a brief scholarly account of the causes and evolution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia's opposition to the Soviet totalitarian system. Nonetheless, Kasianov fails to define clearly the intelligentsia's role in the Ukrainian national-liberation movement. His notion of the latter is also quite vague, and he seems to distinguish it from the resistance movement (pp. 5, 189, and elsewhere). Although he does not idealize any of the protagonists and is not afraid to express his opinion about them, he should have evaluated the various currents and tendencies within and outside dissident thought and the resistance movement more critically.

Despite its inadequacies, this book is the best study published thus far in Ukraine about the liberation struggle that occurred there from the 1960s to the mid-1980s. Every person in Ukraine should read it.

Anatolii Rusnachenko, Kyiv

Volodymyr Kovtun. *Istoriia Narodnoho Rukhu Ukrainy*.  
Kyiv: the author, 1995. 396 pp.

As soon as it appeared, Volodymyr Kovtun's book elicited critical reactions, many of them far from scholarly. Members of certain political structures, particularly the "new" Rukh, responded harshly because the book criticized them. Even though Kovtun's presentation of the Ukrainian national movement in the late 1980s is not the last word on that subject, I do not think that he fully deserved the reaction he received. His critics did not notice many interesting, albeit debatable, things in his book. Although it has certain characteristics of a scholarly study, it is written in a passionate, journalistic manner by someone who was an eyewitness of what he is describing. Kovtun's book will not be quickly superseded by another work. It deals with more than its title indicates—not just with the Popular Movement of Ukraine, or Rukh, but also with the Ukrainian national-liberation movement against totalitarianism and Russian imperialism in general.

The contents of Kovtun's book can be divided into two large parts. The first part discusses the formation of the national opposition against the Soviet regime and the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU). The second part deals with the internal splits that occurred within the opposition itself after the third national congress of Rukh as a result of the inadequate state-building efforts of the former opponents of Rukh's existence. Kovtun's account of Rukh is preceded by his overview of the reasons for the crisis in the USSR and its disintegration and of the development of events in Ukraine up to 1989. Until that time the CPU's power seemed unshakable, and that party was a principal buttress of the conservatives in the all-Soviet Party leadership. The creation of Rukh accelerated the Party crisis in Ukraine. As Kovtun shows, the principal architects of Rukh were not very well-known and even unknown circles, or sooner still individuals, within Kyiv's cultural and humanities intelligentsia. It should be added that the idea of creating an organization like Rukh was being widely discussed in several of Ukraine's cities.

But the creation of Rukh as a national alliance was made public in Kyiv. Immediately it encountered hostility from all sectors of the CPU's Central Committee and particularly the CPU first secretary, Volodymyr Shcherbytsky. Kovtun describes in detail the methods the Party used to try to fight the nascent Rukh, from slander to the creation of organizations paralleling Rukh and its affiliated structures. He also devotes much space to the opposition's activities, particularly its mass actions. In March 1989 alone, 1,200 public protest meetings and gatherings were held; 13 million people participated in them (p. 65). In response, the Party mobilized its forces in a way that had not been seen since its active struggle with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the immediate postwar decade. Ironically, the Party's anti-Rukh campaign facilitated the growth of Rukh's popularity.

Because Kovtun does not clarify many of the terms he uses, he complicates our understanding of the problems he raises. For example, even though they are different, he makes virtually no distinction between the anti-regime and Ukrainian national-liberation movements. On the whole, the opposition rejected and challenged the Party's monopoly on power. The national-liberation movement was the most important and most visible sector of the opposition, and it had the greatest impact on events as they unfolded. There were, however, other oppositional movements as well—social-reform, general democratic, environmental, religious, and so on. One can agree with Kovtun's view that among them

the national-liberation movement was perhaps least of all affected by anti-Russian sentiments; for a while it even viewed the Russian democrats as allies (p. 9). Because Rukh was the most significant organizational component of the national-liberation movement, Kovtun views the history of Rukh as being the history of that movement.

Kovtun traces the ideological and, to a lesser extent, organizational evolution of Rukh in detail, and devotes much attention to Rukh's congresses. He ascribes the slow development of some of Rukh's ideas to its leaders' lack of familiarity with the history of Ukrainian political thought, particularly that of its radical thinkers. This is not true: the evolution of Rukh's ideas occurred at the same pace as the evolution of the masses. The former political prisoners who were active members of Rukh and even some of its leading members were familiar to a greater or lesser extent with radical Ukrainian thought. One should not say categorically, as Kovtun does, that social issues were raised only in southern and eastern Ukraine during this time (p. 159), but, rather, that social issues were stressed more there than elsewhere in Ukraine. Social problems were the catalyst of anticommunist and, with time, independentist sentiments. How most inhabitants of those regions imagined an independent Ukraine would be is entirely a different matter.

Kovtun presents the principal stages of Rukh's development thus: at first Rukh was truly a popular movement in support of Perestroika; after its first congress it became a movement for national rebirth; and after its second congress (October 1990) it became a movement for Ukrainian independence. The political and moral turning point was the students' hunger strike in Kyiv in October 1990 and the events connected with it (p. 191). Kovtun does not avoid addressing the problems and doubts that prominent Ukrainian cultural leaders (e.g., Ivan Dziuba, Myroslav Popovych) voiced about the slowness and difficulties of the national rebirth before and after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence.

Independence was not something that Ukraine received as a gift. Kovtun emphasizes that the popular movement had to struggle to attain it (p. 196). Thus ends the first part of his narrative. Why did Rukh not emerge from this struggle as the total victor? Why did it not lead the reforms in terms of ideas or authority? Kovtun seeks and finds several answers to these questions. (1) Because Rukh replaced the CPSU in the public mind, great hopes were placed on it, but when it became clear that these hopes would not be realized, public confidence in Rukh diminished. (2) After 1 December 1991 Rukh was unable to reorient itself politically and to put forth a convincing plan for the new development of Ukraine (p. 254). But Kovtun sees the root cause of Rukh's problems during the period of its third congress as resulting from the change in the leadership of Rukh—that is, when V'iacheslav Chornovil took the helm and, under him, Rukh declared its opposition to the government in power.

Almost the entire second part of Kovtun's book is devoted to a discussion of these problems and particularly to the person of Chornovil. Kovtun considers the position that Chornovil has taken in the Ukrainian movement in general, and in Rukh in particular, erroneous and deleterious for Ukraine. After all, Ukraine, has just liberated itself from the Soviet empire, or, as Kovtun calls it, "Russian communo-fascism." Although the threat that Russia poses to Ukraine is ever present, the Ukrainian government under Prime Minister Vitold Fokin "on a sufficiently professional level, clearly and methodically d[id] everything possible [to ensure] that [Ukraine's] independence remained a sham, [and] ably and deliberately paralyzed the most important vital centres of the state" (p. 239). Despite

his lip-service to independence, President Leonid Kravchuk did not change this state of affairs. Under such conditions, Kovtun believes that the unity of all the national forces is needed more than ever. According to him, the “old Rukh,” which came to an end once and for all at the fourth Rukh congress in December 1992, embodied this unity. Kovtun holds Chornovil responsible for the disintegration of this broad coalition of patriotic national organizations and for ignoring the threat of Russian imperialism.

I believe it is not worth exaggerating Chornovil’s influence on events as they unfolded within Rukh. There is also no need to take seriously the opposition of Rukh under Chornovil to the government: after all, there are people in Rukh who desired and received positions of power. As for underestimating Russia’s revanchist, imperialist policies, Chornovil is not the only one who should be accused: this self-deception is widespread in Ukrainian society at large. Alas, the social direction promoted by the “new Rukh” has been nothing more than words. But the same can be said of all Ukrainian political parties, both on the Right and on the Left. The events that accompany the collapse of any broad coalition of national forces are not specific to Ukraine (or to Russia, where such a collapse also occurred). After all, such forces tend to be quite disparate, particularly on issues of tactics, and occasionally on issues of strategy as well.

In his analysis, Kovtun has been misled by his insufficient consideration of the Ukrainian Republican Party (formerly the Ukrainian Helsinki Association) and other political parties, by his unconscious identification of the anticommunist movement with the national-liberation movement, and by his poeticization of the latter. He himself states that the aim of the intelligentsia-bureaucratic revolution of April 1985–August 1991 was the denationalization (*rozderzhavyty*) and privatization of the collective, common property of the Bolsheviks as a corporation (p. 37). After this goal and Ukraine’s independence had been achieved, all sides dispersed.

Did Kovtun succeed in writing a definitive history of Rukh? I think not. Among the reasons are his neglect of published and archival sources outside Kyiv and his complete disregard, at least in the text, of earlier writings on the subject. Kovtun has raised questions, but he has not provided the answers. Nevertheless, anyone who reads Kovtun’s book will gain not only an understanding of the problems consuming Ukraine and the Ukrainian movement in the last ten years, but also a sense of the spirit of the time.

Anatolii Rusnachenko, Kyiv

Taras Kuzio. *Ukrainian Security Policy*. Foreword by Nicholas S. H. Krawciw. The Washington Papers, no. 167. Westport, Conn. and London: Praeger Publishers, 1995. Published with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. xiv, 168 pp. \$49.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper.

It can reasonably be argued that security issues have constituted one of the most important complexes of problems and challenges facing policy-makers in Kyiv since Ukraine gained its independence. Why this is the case is not difficult to fathom. In December 1991 no one could have predicted that the Soviet Union would simply cease to exist, resulting in the appearance of fifteen new, independent states and rendering the

postwar system of international relations and security arrangements largely obsolete. Ukraine's nascent leaders found themselves in the unaccustomed role of acting as independent players not only in the international arena, which was largely a terra incognita, but also with regard to Russia, which in some sense was even less prepared than Ukraine to assume its new identity as an independent state.

For their part, the leaders of the Western alliance, having grown accustomed to dealing with a more or less predictable centralized Soviet state in a bipolar world, were now confronted with an array of troublesome unknowns, the most important of which was the fate of the Soviet nuclear arsenal that was now divided among four successor states, among them Ukraine. For Western diplomats, Kyiv usually conjured up associations with a certain chicken dish, not with a stockpile of long-range missiles carrying multiple nuclear warheads. The initial difficulties in relations between Ukraine and the West, particularly the United States, reflected the uncertainties and insecurities of both sides, while the problem of "normalizing" Ukrainian-Russian relations still remains on the agenda.

Ideally, a book on Ukraine's security problems would focus precisely on the various components of the interrelationship among Ukraine, the West, and Russia not only as the background against which Ukrainian leaders fashioned a national security policy, but also as the key determinants that continue to impinge on Ukraine's role in both regional and European security affairs.

To some extent, the book under review fits this description. Taras Kuzio's short monograph touches on a number of important problems that, taken together, go a long way toward explaining Ukraine's security dilemma. The first chapter, for example, although somewhat awkwardly entitled "Ukraine's Political Legacies," actually focusses on the historical legacy inherited by the independent Ukrainian state that left it ill-prepared to deal with its new role on the world stage—specifically, several centuries of domination by outside powers, and the debilitating consequences of Soviet totalitarianism. The result, as the author points out, is that Ukraine is divided in its loyalties, with varying levels of national consciousness in its different regions, and, on its fringes, subject to the territorial ambitions of some of its neighbours. In short, from the standpoint of nation- and state-building, present-day Ukraine remains a work in progress, which is not a terribly comforting situation for those responsible for safeguarding the country's security.

Security-related problems such as separatism in Crimea, regionalism, and the ongoing economic crisis; the West's initial lack of imagination in treating Ukraine as anything but a nuclear headache; Russia's difficulties in adjusting to post-Soviet realities, specifically insofar as its relations with the former Soviet republics are concerned; the transformation of the Soviet military on Ukraine's territory into a national institution; and the politics of denuclearization are surveyed in the remaining three chapters, entitled "Domestic Sources of Security Policy," "Foreign Policy and International Relations," and "Military and Nuclear Policy." Kuzio is clearly aware of what the major issues are. This reviewer, however, was left with a sense of dissatisfaction by the less than thoughtful and in-depth discussion, which, moreover, includes a heavy dose of minutiae, all presented in a dry and vapid style.

The text is marred by more than a tolerable level of factual errors and inaccuracies. We are told, for example, that Ukraine has experienced a declining economic growth rate in recent years (p. 41). In fact, Ukraine's GDP has fallen every year since independence,

and in 1996 it was only forty-three percent of what it had been in 1990. In his historical overview, Kuzio tells us that Western Ukraine was "stateless," that Russians constitute the majority ethnic group in Eastern Ukraine, that there was a USSR in 1921, and that Crimea was a Tatar autonomous republic. Later we learn that Leonid Kravchuk was elected head of the Ukrainian parliament in September 1990 (rather than in July) and that the Crimean vote for independence in December 1991 was 36.5 percent (rather than 54.2 percent). Errors of fact are compounded by poor analysis. Thus, readers will be astounded to discover that "During 1993-1994 Russia successfully transformed the CIS into a confederation, despite Ukrainian objections. It is now evolving in the direction of a new Eurasian Union of the former Soviet states. These trends will continue" (p. 64).

Both specialists and non-specialists will probably be disappointed with this book, which lacks focus, coherence, and, above all, clarity of thought and purpose.

Roman Solchanyk

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Halyna Koscharsky, ed. *Ukraine Today—Perspectives for the Future: Proceedings of the Conference "Ukraine Today: Perspectives for the Future," 19-21 June 1992, Macquarie University, School of Modern Languages, Ukrainian Studies Centre, Sydney*. Commack, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers, 1995. xiv, 174 pp. U.S. \$49.00 cloth.

The political independence of Ukraine in 1991 created an upsurge of interest in matters Ukrainian in the West. Some of that interest was scholarly; some was more popular in character, expressing solidarity with the newly independent state. Both are represented in the volume under review. It consists largely, but not entirely, of proceedings from a conference with the same title held at Macquarie University in Sydney in June 1992. (Precisely which contributions do not represent proceedings is not made clear by the editor.) The conference attracted speakers with diverse backgrounds, including politicians, scholars, representatives of community organizations, journalists, and a medical practitioner, some from Australia, others from Canada and Ukraine.

Given such diversity, it is hardly surprising that the volume presents a very mixed collection of articles, ranging from Orest Subtelny's scholarly survey of the current state of Ukrainian historiography running to just over twenty-three pages to a short piece on Australian-Ukrainian political relations of less than four pages. This creates an unevenness in the volume, matched by an unevenness in the style and format of the articles (some with footnotes, some without). Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that the volume does present some significant and historically valuable contributions to the discussion of independent Ukraine and its relation to the Ukrainian diaspora.

Professor Subtelny's article provides a detailed, well-structured account of the problems facing the contemporary historian of Ukraine ("The Current State of Ukrainian Historiography: An Overview," pp. 3-26). It deals not only with methodological and conceptual issues, but also surveys the development of Ukrainian historical writing in North America, Western Europe, and Ukraine during recent decades. Institutions, periodicals, and cadres in North America and Ukraine are discussed in some detail, and

it contains a valuable guide to the relevant literature. Anyone working in the field of Ukrainian historiography would do well to read this article. (A revised and somewhat expanded version of the text appeared with a similar title in the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 18, nos. 1-2 [1993]: 33-54.)

Also important as a source of information is Michael Lawriwsky's paper on the Ukrainian-Australian community in which traces the history of Ukrainian migration to Australia, offers a profile of the community, and examines the possible development of the Australian-Ukrainian relationship ("The Ukrainian-Australian Community: Relationships with Ukraine and Australia," pp. 93-114). In the area of cultural studies one should mention Marko Pavlyshyn's sophisticated discussion of the challenges of independence for Ukrainian culture ("Postkolonialna khvylyna: Ukrainska kultura pislia SRSR," pp. 149-58). In addition to these articles, worthy of mention are Myroslav Marynovych's brief account of the churches in independent Ukraine ("Tserkva v Ukraini: 'Oi try shliakhy shyrokii dokupy ziishlysia...', " pp. 117-26) and the historically interesting pieces on the Chernobyl catastrophe by Nadia Marynovych ("Tryvoha i bil Chernobylu," pp. 79-84) and Christina Bilinsky ("Medical Aid through Australian-Ukrainian Co-operation," pp. 85-90).

In conclusion, one should stress that the volume under review is better seen as a reflection of a stage in the rapidly changing evolution of Ukrainian studies in an English-speaking country and not as a state-of-the-art presentation of scholarship in this field.

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Bartłomiej Kaminski, ed. *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. International Politics of Eurasia, vol. 8. Armonk, N.Y. and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1996. xviii, 430 pp. U.S. \$26.95 paper, U.S. \$68.95 cloth.

International Labor Office, Central and Eastern European Team. *The Ukrainian Challenge: Reforming Labour Market and Social Policy*. Budapest: Central European University Press in association with ILO-CEET, 1995. xx, 318 pp. £13.99 paper, £35.00 cloth. Distributed by Oxford University Press.

Raphael Shen. *Ukraine's Economic Reform: Obstacles, Errors, Lessons*. Westport, Conn., and London: Praeger Publishers, 1996. xiv, 215 pp. U.S. \$59.95 cloth.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe shattered the illusion that command socialism was a durable rival of market capitalism. In the twinkling of an eye, it became apparent that the Soviet Union had not emerged in a historically brief period of time from an acute state of underdevelopment into an economic superpower (with supposedly the world's second-largest G.N.P. in 1989) and a living standard just below the western European mean, as the CIA and many

independent specialists claimed. This discovery, which was hardly news to native East European scholars, has had little impact on the methodology of post-communist research.

By and large the same protocols and naive statistical assumptions have been reapplied to the post-command environment; only now, instead of interpreting results in the light of the economic potential of planning, they are evaluated from the perspective of market potential. Those who are bullish about the self-cleansing capacity of markets welcome the change, rationalize the costs, and are optimists in varying degrees. Those who are less sanguine about the nature of the new markets being created are critical of the initial phase of transition, emphasize the costs, and are skeptical about the future.

The books reviewed here can be classified according to this criterion. All are in the bullish camp, but their assessments of shock therapy and the pace of progress differ. The volume edited by Bartłomiej Kaminski, *Economic Transition in Russia and the New State of Europe*, is a celebration of the efficacy of the West's policy advice to the East. Raphael Shen's *Ukraine's Economic Reform* is, by contrast, only guardedly optimistic and paints a relatively bleak picture of the first stage of Ukraine's transition effort and of the obstacles that lie ahead. The contribution of the International Labour Office's Central and Eastern European Team, *The Ukrainian Challenge*, also portrays shock therapy and Ukraine's economic plight in dire terms, but expresses boundless confidence in the power of international administrative assistance.

The "good news" of *Economic Transition* is most clearly expressed by the volume's editor. In his introductory essay, Kaminski takes the position that despite some unanticipated reverses (such as a forty- to fifty-percent decline in Russian gross domestic product), the social costs of democratization, liberalization, and privatization have been tolerable. Attempts at counter-revolution and Communist electoral restoration have been unsuccessful, and shock therapy is transforming the Eastern economic systems. Kaminski recognizes that some have argued that more moderate methods might have yielded better results, but he dismisses the proposition. "The experience of the new states of the former Soviet Union with macroeconomic stabilization provides ample evidence of the superiority of the radical approach over gradualism" (p. 8).

Most of the other fifteen articles in the collection support Kaminski's appraisal in varying degrees. The exceptions are two illuminating contributions on poverty and the military industrial complex. Branko Milanovic (Chapter 8, "Poverty and Inequality in Transition Economies: What Has Actually Happened") persuasively documents the following "facts" about the transition in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union through 1993 (based on his monograph *Poverty, Inequality, and Social Policy in Transition Economies* [Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1995]): (1) the social costs of transition have been far higher than expected; (2) unemployment has burgeoned and has been accompanied by the impoverishment of a significant segment of the population; (3) average income has declined sharply, and there has been a corresponding increase in inequality; (4) the private sector has intensified this inequality; (5) the "winners" have been the educated, the private sector, and the cities; and (6) urban-rural and regional disparities have been widening; but (7) pensioners have been holding their ground.

Yevgeny Kuznetsov (Chapter 14, "Learning to Learn: Emerging Patterns of Enterprise Behavior in the Russian Defense Sector, 1992–95") describes the steep decline in military industrial activity, which is partly attributable to rent seeking (the acquisition of unearned incomes through monopoly and patronage). He finds that some independent,

reform-minded managers are charting a more entrepreneurial course, and suggests that they might prevail after a further shakeout, but the overall impression conveyed is that conversion and revival are still only distant prospects.

The remaining contributions cover a wide range of topics. Gertrude Schroeder provides an overview of economic transformation in the post-Soviet republics. Marek Dąbrowski and Rafał Antczak expand on this theme with a comparative analysis of the economic transition in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. More specialized papers address the integration of the “second economy” into the first (Daniel Kaufmann and Aleksander Kaliberda); the Russian mafia (James Millar); Russian oil and gas exports to the former Soviet Union (Mikhail Korchemkin); foreign trade and global integration (Leonid Friedman; John Hardt and Gretchen Rodkey; and Bartłomiej Kaminski); and various labour issues (Aline Quester and George Quester; Simon Commander and John McHale). All of them characterize the East’s trials and tribulations as inextricable aspects of their systemic rebirth.

*Ukraine’s Economic Reform*, as the title indicates, is focussed exclusively on Ukraine. It is the author’s latest work in a series of books on the Eastern transition experience. His previous monographs dealt with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic countries. The same format is adopted. Shen begins with a short political economic history of Ukraine before and after communism, using these facts to isolate aspirations and obstructive legacies. He describes the framework for reform appropriate to this history, and then proceeds to discuss the government’s transition program. Topics considered include price liberalization, enterprise reorganization (legal foundations of corporate governance), privatization, foreign investment, foreign trade, and public and corporate finance. The material is well written and informative, but the perspective is diametrically opposed to Kaminski’s. Shen contends that shock therapy has had a catastrophic impact on Ukraine, pauperizing the nation without building a sound foundation for its eventual economic revival because the tactic disregarded structural, functional, historical, and political factors. He argues that shock therapy was ideologically driven and therefore dysfunctional, just as in the Communist period. Shen’s book concludes hopefully with recommendations that, while embracing the goal of economic transition, are aimed at rectifying past errors and preventing their recurrence. Some of them will surely be seen as controversial, because they reject the tenets of neoclassical economic liberalism. Shen suggests, for example, that “the government should temporarily freeze prices on consumer essentials at existing levels, until supply responses increase,” and should reinvigorate agriculture by providing “subsidized credits.” But his other recommendations are much the same as Kaminski’s, including tight credit to fight inflation, accelerated privatization, increased independence for the national bank, and an improved social-safety net.

The ILO’s *Ukrainian Challenge* covers some of the same ground as Shen, but concentrates on the labour market and social policy. The approach is descriptive and quantitative. Fact profiles are presented to serve as base lines for statistically mapping the transition from communism to post-communism. They enable readers to quickly monitor labour-force participation rates, educational attainment, labour mobility, employment, property rights, restructuring, and so on. Along the way the ILO team clarifies various statistical procedures, such as the counting of registered employment, and discusses anomalies such as low levels of official unemployment in the midst of industrial collapse.

Attention is also paid to the predicament of vulnerable groups, including women, older workers, youths, and the disabled.

With this foundation, the authors next describe various efforts to write transition labour law, and strategies for developing capitalist labour markets with tools ranging from youth programs to a national program for social (public) works. The same methodology is then applied sequentially to other important questions: reforming wage policy in a hyper-inflationary context; the emergence of industrial relations; trade unions and employers searching for new roles; and the challenge of social protection and social- and labour-policy priorities. Each chapter summarizes trends, draws conclusions, and offers a set of policy recommendations. In these ways the volume provides an action agenda and is an advocacy piece for governmental labour- and social-policy administration. Needless to say, it finds much to do. "Ukraine has made substantial progress in its development, and all the involved institutions should collaborate on its further improvement, with technical assistance from the ILO and other international organizations" (p. 312).

All three books offer clues about the real state of the East's transition and about the attitudes that are shaping informed interpretation. All of them recognize the revolutionary dimensions of the social dislocation caused by shock therapy (although Kaminski defends it as ideal). Likewise, all of them bear witness to changes that could augur a better future, but admit that the road ahead may be strewn with pitfalls. Optimism and pessimism thus appear to depend more on perceptions of which stylized facts are important, and on judgements about the balance of forces between self-cleansing markets and dysfunctional economic-cultural continuities, than on any serious analysis of the laws governing the newly emerging systems. It is therefore difficult to give much credence to the various authors' prognostications. Neoclassical economic liberals are sure everything will be just fine if the East continues to marketize, while more independently minded contributors invoke other nostrums to reach their own conclusions. Readers should therefore approach the factual content and attitudes of all three volumes critically while keeping an open mind about the future.

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Maria Drohobycy, ed. *Crimea: Dynamics, Challenges, and Prospects*. Foreword by Ambassador William Green Miller. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995. Ivi, 250 pp. U.S \$22.95 paper, U.S. \$59.50 cloth.

At a joint American-Ukrainian conference held in Kyiv in October 1994, political and academic experts gathered to address the dramatic turn of events in Crimea since the December 1991 vote for Ukrainian independence. Their work resulted in a strong collection of nine essays assembled and edited by Maria Drohobycy of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The authors address three principal groups of issues: Crimea's political and economic problems; the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations and the potential for tension there; and Crimea's geopolitical context and why

the preservation of the region's stability is vital not only for Ukraine's national security, but also for international security.

U.S. Ambassador William Green Miller's foreword is articulate and hopeful. It is a shame his most salient point—that "Crimeans do not harbor aggressive nationalist sentiments but rather seek economic prosperity"—was not further developed. Not only is he right, but it explains Crimea's Russian orientation since its vote for Ukrainian independence. If Ukraine's and Crimea's real GDP per capita were a few thousand dollars higher than Russia's, and if Ukraine's and Crimea's real economic growth were higher than Russia's projected growth rates for 1997 and 1998, there would be much more harmony between Kyiv and Simferopol.

The best way to approach the Crimean problem is to regard the conflicts there as a struggle among competing Crimean identities. The historical identity belongs to the Tatars. The ethnic identity, for the moment at least, is claimed by the Russians, who constitute the majority of Crimea's inhabitants. The political identity, however, is firmly Ukrainian. Together, these incompatible identities form the basis of competition.

Roman Solchanyk's "Crimea: Between Ukraine and Russia" is a good introductory paper. Emphasizing that "Crimea is, above all, a political problem," Solchanyk compresses the essential issues and events involving Kyiv, Moscow, and Simferopol from 1991 to 1995. He examines the views concerning Crimea's "historical" relationship between Russia and Ukraine, including the circumstances surrounding Crimea's "reallocation" from the Russian SFSR to Soviet Ukraine in 1954. Post-Soviet Russia's attempts at annulling this "illegal transfer" have been the primary source for tension. But what Solchanyk makes clear is that as we move into the future, appeals to the "legal basis" of the former Soviet Union as a framework for solving current disputes is not a practical option. He concludes that "a genuine and permanent solution to the Crimean question can be expected only in the context of the complete normalization of Russian-Ukrainian relations." While this is a safe bet, I would submit that tremendous progress could be made on Ukraine's part if Kyiv and Simferopol concentrate their combined energies on the economy long before Russia normalizes its relationship with Ukraine.

Next, Yevgenii Saburov, a former deputy prime minister of Crimea, surveys a wide variety of economic issues in "The Socio-economic Situation in Crimea." Aside from its economic infrastructure generated from military expenditures, Crimea's financial and material resources had always been contingent upon supplying the demand for fruits, vegetables, wine, and tourism. Currently, however, the peninsula's economy is in a recession. Along with adjusting to radical changes in the pricing structure of goods and services, inflation, subsidy cuts, budget deficits, and the rising cost of energy inputs, the economy is forced to cope with the loss of traditional markets, a loss that has hurt its agricultural, chemical, and machine-building industries. Tourism has suffered because resort managers lack the business skills to respond with new development strategies, thereby leaving their resorts and facilities underutilized. The declining standard of living and the return of thousands of Crimean Tatars from the formerly Soviet regions of exile have also forced the economy to fulfil new social responsibilities. Although his paper is thorough, Saburov's presentation could have been more effective if he had provided statistical tables and economic charts instead of interpolating the economic indicators in the text. Unfortunately, he does not include information on Crimea's respective balance

of trade with Russia and Ukraine nor examine the subject of Crimea's promising hydrocarbon industry.

Viacheslav Pikhovshek's ominously titled "Will the Crimean Crisis Explode?" is similar to Solchanyk's paper in that he looks at issues and events involving Kyiv, Simferopol, and Moscow. He evaluates the legal aspects of the formation of Crimea's autonomy, the dynamics of separatism in Crimea, unsuccessful attempts at a Kyiv-Simferopol compromise, and Russia's influence on the political situation. His observations, particularly of the role of political violence, are insightful and interesting. Pikhovshek takes advantage of a number of Ukrainian and Russian diplomatic letters addressed to the United Nations Security Council (reproduced copies are included in an appendix) that describe the clash over the status of Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet (BSF) during the height of tensions in July 1993. The events in question concern Ukraine's protest over the July 9 resolution adopted by the Russian Duma declaring Sevastopol "a part of the Russian Federation."

Surprisingly, no one picked up on the fact that this sequence of events smacked of textbook game theory. It would have been useful if Pikhovshek had analyzed Moscow's provocative first move as a deliberate precursory tactic for gaining a superior bargaining position over Crimea and the BSF. A separate chapter analyzing the cumulative moves, countermoves, and strategic positioning between Ukraine and Russia within a game-theory framework would have made an excellent addition.

Part Two begins with Volodymyr Yevtoukh's "Dynamics of Interethnic Relations in Crimea." This is an important contribution because it addresses Crimea's ethnic diversity (with at least eighteen identifiable nationalities), tendencies in migratory processes (e.g., "old" populations vs. "new" populations), and pressing settlement issues. Yevtoukh also describes how the three dominant ethnic groups shape the region's political make-up. Today Crimea's largest cities have a tri-ethnic structure, but the Russian ethnic component is the strongest. Ukrainians dominate Crimea's central and northern raions, while Crimean Tartars are strongest in Simferopol, Bakhchysarai, Bilohirsk, and Kirovske raions. In that regard, it is a pity that no one prepared an ethno-linguistic map of Crimea for the book.

One of the better papers is Mustafa Cemiloglu's "History of the Crimean Tatar National Liberation Movement: A Socio-Political Perspective." Cemiloglu, the current chairman of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis and a former Soviet political prisoner, begins his account in 1783 with the liquidation of the Crimean Khanate, but emphasizes developments in the twentieth century. He describes how, from the 1950s, the Crimean Tatars were disciplined in their efforts to secure permission to return to their homeland. These efforts began with the dissemination of some of the first samizdat periodicals, which contained national appeals, and of informational tracts, which were smuggled out to the international community and later rebroadcast back into the USSR. According to Cemiloglu, the repatriation of the Tatars from Central Asia back to Crimea is the final victory after many long battles.

The next essay, Andrew Wilson's "Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine: The Issue of Crimea," analyzes the presidential and parliamentary elections, referendums, voter turnouts, and candidates that have shaped Ukraine's post-Soviet political history. He surveys the Ukrainian political spectrum, and his inclusion of maps and voting statistics is helpful. At one point Wilson teases the reader with a quote from

Levko Lukianenko that implies Ukrainians have a legitimate historical claim to the peninsula because they “first appeared in Crimea in the fourth to sixth centuries.”

Unfortunately, neither Wilson nor any other contributor to this volume takes up the task of evaluating the various historical contestants for Crimea. If the contest for “inheritance” is such a prominent central argument not only for the Crimean Tatars, but also for the Russians and the Ukrainians, why not assemble the most legitimate arguments and openly debate their pros and cons in a scholarly manner? Why not have a round-table discussion? The failure to address this issue—one that is the heart of the Crimean problem—remains one of the book’s greatest shortcomings.

Part three begins with John (Ivan) Jaworsky’s “Crimea’s Importance to Ukraine and Its Future Security.” Jaworsky de-emphasizes the strategic importance of the BSF (later, in his paper, Sherman W. Garnett echoes that view, stating that the BSF is of little military consequence to NATO). If the BSF’s strategic significance is truly limited, the solution of the Crimean problem cannot legitimately include an emphasis on Crimea’s military and strategic importance. But such exclusion would constitute a liability for Russia’s psychological equity in Crimea and weaken its power to intimidate. Jaworsky also discusses territorial and administrative reforms in Ukraine and the preconditions of stable federal systems, i.e., the presence of a well-developed society, a supportive political culture, and broad-based consent systems and arrangements. Regrettably, Ukraine’s political and legal culture is so immature that launching into a discussion on federal systems seems out of place here. What would have been more welcome is a deeper analysis of the collusion between political and business leaders.

The final two papers, by Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer and Sherman W. Garnett respectively, survey the post-cold-war balance of power in the Black Sea region and American national-security interests. Using macro-economic data and military indicators, Sezer examines the various losses and gains of Russia, Ukraine, and Turkey, and evaluates their respective strategic positions. At first glance, Turkey and Ukraine appear to be clear winners, yet, as Sezer cautions, it is too early to draw conclusions about the exact future balance of power in the region. He concludes that while Russia has suffered dramatic losses in its maritime power, its behaviour in the southern Caucasus and elsewhere suggests that Russia “does not intend to settle for anything less than a position of preponderance in the evolving balance of power.”

Garnett’s paper is the most polished contribution. While admitting that America has “no direct and compelling” national-security interests in Crimea itself,” he writes that “it is in Crimea that the United States’s enduring security interests in the region will be severely tested.” Garnett describes America’s role in facilitating the construction of a productive trilateral framework for resolving conflicts between Ukraine and Russia. He also makes the realistic distinction between a stable outcome and a favourable outcome for the Crimean situation.

Besides a decent index, the book has insightful appendices, including several Russian and Ukrainian newspaper items and reproduced copies of Ukrainian and Russian diplomatic letters addressed to the UN Security Council in July 1993. In particular, there is an excellent thirty-two page “Chronology of Events in Crimea” that provides the reader with a rather dramatic step-by-step unfolding of events.

This book would have benefitted from the inclusion of an additional “think piece” addressing Crimea’s future. By this I mean an imaginative, well-argued projection of

Crimea's status ten or twenty years from now. What would happen if Crimea became a free-trade area? What dollar value could be assigned to Crimea's economic sector if it rationally harnessed its natural resources and industrial capacity? If one were to apply a statistical analysis of current population-movement trends, what would the ethnic composition of Crimea likely be fifteen years from now? What is the best guess of what Crimea's political association with Ukraine would look like in 2015? True, fortune-telling is unpalatable for many scholars. But, as Daniel Yergin and Thane Gustafson have creatively demonstrated in *Russia 2010*, the tools of science, statistics, and fiction can generate legitimate future scenarios, thereby affording participants valuable time to prepare for what probably lies ahead. A complete analysis of Ukraine and Crimea deserves as much.

The book has its share of minor technical errors. The spelling on p. xxiii ("erch Str" and "Crimean Moun") and the rather large footnote misprint on p. 168 should not have eluded the editor. A distracting number of different fonts and point sizes are used throughout the text (even footnote numbers in the same paper are a different size). The stylized map of Crimea on the book's cover is eye-catching; but consistency is missing in some of the maps inside the book. In particular, the map of Eastern Europe on p. 171 is sloppy and looks as if it were traced by hand. Surely scanning a high-quality map and overlaying the necessary place names would not have been that difficult. The labelling on the map of Crimea on p. xxiii is terrible. And I must repeat that is unfortunate that no one bothered preparing an ethno-linguistic map of Crimea; it would have been particularly useful as an explanatory tool in Andrew Wilson's essay.

On the whole, however, this book is a valuable and useful contribution to Crimean and Ukrainian-Russian studies.

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Philip R. Pryde, ed. *Environmental Resources and Constraints in the Former Soviet Republics*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.  
x, 366 pp. U.S. \$25.95 paper.

This volume applies a regional approach to the examination of resource management and environmental damage in the fifteen post-Soviet republics. The present state of their environments and efforts at sustainable environmental development is critically analyzed.

A historical-political background is traced for each of the republics with the view of putting their environmental problems and issues in perspective. The Soviet legacy with respect to economic-development policies and the role they have played in the current environmental situation is emphasized. The consensus is that this legacy is imprinted on the landscape of all the republics, and that it will take real commitment on their part to clean the environment.

The inclusion of ethnic, demographic, and physical-geographic characteristics provides useful background information to the understanding of the republics' economic difficulties and prospects in the wake of their independence. The histories of local environmental activism, especially those of the Baltic states, give the reader more insights

into their critical roles in the final breakdown of the Soviet system. According to Aarand Roos, “An early step occurred in 1977 when 18 Estonian environmentalists warned in an open letter against the ongoing shameful exploitation and pollution in the Baltic sea.” (*Estonia: A Nation Unconquered* [Baltimore: Estonian World Council, 1985], 101). The long-standing concern for the environment, and other forms of activism and resistance against the Soviet system of industrializing at all cost, finally brought the USSR to its knees. Paradoxically, as portrayed in most of the chapters in the book under review, environmental groups have not been fully integrated into the political systems of the new republics. However, many republics, including Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, are making progress in this regard.

Philip R. Pryde’s concluding chapter gives the reader much food for thought: lessons learned from the Soviet era must guide all peoples of the earth, including policy-makers, business executives, researchers, and environmental activists. We live in a global village, where an “injury” to the environment in one area affects the environment in another area many miles away, and vice versa. As put succinctly by Pryde, “Out of sight is not out of mind” (p. 341). One major lesson learned is that humanity cannot afford to defer environmental costs. In addition, the need to recognize that natural resources have value in situ is emphasized by Pryde. A new economic way of thinking, where the economy and the environment are intertwined, must be adopted. Finally, in order to achieve economic development and a clean environment, all republics involved in ethnic conflicts are advised to end them peacefully.

In Chapter 1, Pryde sets the tone for the subsequent regional analyses by identifying the challenges faced by the new republics in relation to natural resources and the environment. He examines how each country would fare in the long run within the larger economic and geographical setting. The former Soviet Union is characterized by a great ecological diversity (at least ten broad natural zones) that has undergone tremendous ecological degradation and abuse owing to the great emphasis that has been placed on industrial growth at a time when little or no attention has been paid to “environmental clean-up.”

Pryde identifies some of the major environmental disasters of the Soviet era (e.g., at the Chornobyl nuclear-power station and in the oil-producing regions of western Siberia). He also identifies the major armed conflicts that may compound environmental problems in the sovereign republics. The conflicts include those in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, in South Ossetia and Abkhazia in Georgia, in Tajikistan, and in Chechnia in the southern part of the Russian Federation. Pryde forecasts that the republics’ environmental situation may deteriorate further if the eagerness to improve their economies and offset unemployment problems through economic enhancement policies leads to the relaxation of environmental laws and to the downplaying of environmental issues. The individual republics’ stark realization that funding for fundamental programs is now their responsibility is beginning to sink in. Resource-sufficient republics such as Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan will become exporters of energy, while the rest of the pack will become importers. Trade agreements will therefore be different from those of the Soviet era. As an antidote for future self-sufficiency, Pryde calls for the careful allocation and redirection of economic resources.

Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 are devoted to the largest country on earth—the Russian Federation—and thoroughly discuss its European, Ural-Siberian, and Far Eastern regions.

In Chapter 2, Pryde portrays the federation as a complex association of ethnic groups dominated by the majority Russians. Since Russia gained independence, many of its ethnic groups have called for autonomy, and heightened tensions have resulted in armed conflicts. The situation in Chechnia is cited as a typical example.

Russia's resource base is arguably the most plentiful in the world. In 1990 it had the largest gas reserves in the world, the largest reserves of petroleum outside the Middle East, and the third-largest reserves of coal. Pryde also documents the vast biotic resources in the Russian Federation.

All of the contributors present the Russian Federation as a microcosm of the former Soviet Union and illustrating both its vast economic potential and its long-standing environmental neglect. Much of federation lies in the "critical environmental zones"—the Ural Mountains (contaminated by the Kyshtym disaster), the central Volga region, parts of Briansk Oblast (contaminated by Chernobyl fallout), and the oil-producing regions of western Siberia. Indeed, no region in western Siberia appears to have been untouched by radioactive pollution.

Anna Scherbakova and Scott Monroe, writing on the Urals and Siberia (Chapter 4), warn that the future of those regions, and for that matter of the whole federation, will hold promise only if the post-Soviet planners and managers are diligently devoted to cleaning up the numerous environmental-crisis areas that were created during the Soviet era. This effort will require a combination of sound economic and environmental policies, adequate financial resources, and political will. The formation of the Russian Ministry of the Ecology and Natural Resources (MinEkologiiia) in 1992 is a welcome first step.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 deal with the Baltic republics, with contributions from Siim Soot (on Estonia), Juris Dreifelds (Latvia), and Randy Kritkauskys (Lithuania). All three authors shed some light on the environmental problems and inroads made by these republics. Significantly, all three republics have citizens who are environmentally aware. Soot portrays Estonia as a highly urbanized country (seventy-two percent in 1989) with a heightened concern for the natural environment. The Soviet lack of concern about industrial waste and the blind drive to meet the goals of the Soviet five-year plans have burdened the Baltic republics with a legacy of large, hazardous waste-dumping sites. In 1990, for example, about 610,000 tonnes of stationary air pollutants and 130,00 tonnes of non-stationary pollutants were produced in Estonia alone. As difficult economic choices are being made, the future of the Baltic republics is quite unclear. However, all three authors are optimistic that the environmental movements that helped to topple the Soviet empire will continue to play major roles.

Chapters 9 and 10 are devoted to Ukraine, the second-largest post-Soviet republic in terms of population and economic potential. Ihor Stebelsky admirably presents Ukraine's physical-geographical and historical background and its main environmental problems. William Freeman thoroughly discusses the emerging environmental management system in Ukraine. Both authors portray Ukraine as a country suffering from severe environmental problems—again a legacy of the Soviet era. Soviet economic development left Ukraine heavily reliant on nuclear energy (which supplies thirty percent of the power), beset with industrial pollution, short on water, and faced with cleaning up the worst nuclear accident in history (Chernobyl) and with its fallout.

On a more optimistic note, Freeman reports on a changing environmental-management system in Ukraine. There has been an emphasis on the environment as a

factor in Ukraine's national security, the country's environmental priorities have been revised, and Ukrainian environmental institutions have been reoriented toward Ukrainian interests. However, as discussed by Freeman, the "new" way has so far encountered difficulties in overcoming the fundamental weaknesses of the old Soviet system, such as the fragmentation of environmental authority among government agencies, a government structure in which the environment is often ignored, and a reluctance to break from past practices. Freeman advises that in order to deal effectively with these issues Ukraine's Ministry for Environmental Protection must be given much more stronger regulatory powers. The population's strong environmental awareness could be put to good use if the central government is seen as responding to the needs of the people.

Chapters 11 and 12 are devoted to two small republics: Belarus, by Oleg Cherp and Nadezhda Kovaleva, and Moldova, by Adriana Dinu and Matthew Rowntree. Belarus's favourable natural features include its advantageous geographical position, diverse natural resources, availability of water, predominantly flat landscape, relatively mild and moist climate, and the absence of natural hazards. Unfavourable environmental situations exist in the areas affected by the fallout from Chernobyl (including Minsk, Navapolatsk, Vitsebsk, Mahilëŭ, Hrodna, and Mazyr), in the Salihorsk industrial region, in the regions of Polissia negatively affected by reclamation, and in areas where large livestock and poultry farms are located. The number of Belarusians who have suffered from the Chernobyl disaster is estimated between 2.5 million and 4.8 million (twenty-five to forty-five percent of the total population). Twenty percent of the country's agricultural land and fifteen percent of the forests have been lost. More than 100,000 people have been relocated, and thousands of people are currently suffering from thyroid cancer. The Chernobyl disaster has negatively affected the economy of Belarus, necessitating the diversion of sizeable funds from environmental-protection programs. Cherp and Kovaleva are optimistic that Belarusian human and natural resources could provide excellent potential for resolving environmental problems and mitigating the devastating impact of the Chernobyl disaster. At the same time they stress that the necessary conditions for achieving this are peace, good relations with neighbouring countries, and internal stability.

In chapter 12, Dinu and Rowntree portray Moldova as a republic with a mixed ethnic composition and increasing ethnic tensions. The antagonism is mostly between the Romanian Moldovans and the Russian and Ukrainian populations. Moldova is also portrayed as having strong ties with Romania. It has rich agricultural soils, with chernozems covering sixty-nine percent of the country. Seventy-four percent of the total land area is devoted to agriculture. Agriculture accounts for twenty-four percent of GNP and thirty-four percent of the work force. Apart from its agricultural resources, Moldova is endowed with extensive deposits of construction rocks, clay, gravel, limestone, and sands, as well as small deposits of brown coal, oil, and iron ore.

Like many of the former Soviet republics, Moldova has experienced wide-scale, intensive, and rapid unsustainable development. Air, soil, and water pollution are common and are the cause of Moldova's high incidence of abnormal births, infant mortalities, and lowered mental abilities. Large towns and cities such as Bălți, Râbnîța, and Tiraspol have been most affected. Although Moldova's new Department for Environment and Natural-Resource Protection is in the process of drafting new laws for the country, the majority of environmental policies reflect the legacy of Soviet lip-service to the environment.

Moldova's future depends on how the country will manage its natural resources and its relations with other countries.

Chapters 13 through 15 are devoted to the three Transcaucasian republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Lynn Richards (on Georgia), Armen Valesyan (Armenia), and Ze'ev Wolfson and Zia Daniell (Azerbaijan) are the contributors. According to Richards, the Georgia's environment stands out as one of the silent victims of the social and political strife in that country. Considerable ethnic unrest and armed conflict exist in two of Georgia's three autonomous regions (Abkhazia and South Ossetia). In addition, anthropogenic environmental problems, such as erosion and deforestation, are some of the problems that Georgia must deal with in the not too distant future. Very little attention has been devoted to the environmental consequences of the collapse of the nation's political, economic, and social infrastructure. Richard rightly concludes that until peace returns to Georgia, the environment and the economy will not improve.

Valesyan portrays Armenia as a newly independent republic with a fair share of environmental, social, and economic problems. Since 1988 Armenia has been in conflict with neighbouring Azerbaijan for the control of Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian enclave within Azerbaijan. No clear resolution of the problem is in sight. Although Armenia is rich in natural resources, the problems with pollution from resource extraction will have to be dealt with sooner than later to put the country back on the course of sustainable economic development. Much will depend on the extent to which Armenia is drawn into the international environmental arena.

Azerbaijan is the most strategically situated of the three Transcaucasian republics: it fronts the Caspian sea and connects Russia with Iran. Azerbaijan is well endowed with natural resources, though, as in the other republics, the extraction of these resources during the Soviet period has resulted in high levels of pollution and biosphere deterioration. The current conflict with Armenia does not help the situation. Military actions have resulted in the destruction of more than 100,000 hectares of arable land and long-time plantations and 600 hectares of forest.

Chapters 16 through 20 are devoted to the five predominantly Muslim republics—Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. David Smiths discusses Kazakhstan, the ninth-largest country on earth. He describes it as a country of great diversity of cultural attributes, physical-geographic features, and natural resources. Deterrents to development in Kazakhstan include harsh climatic conditions, dust storms, soil salinity, seismicity, landslides, and the vast distances that have to be traversed in transporting people, raw materials, and manufactured goods. Industrial air and water contamination and water and soil pollution by agricultural and urban areas remain the major environmental problems.

Turkmenistan, the southernmost republic, is discussed by Philip Micklin. Important natural resources include oil and natural gas deposits. Turkmenistan is the world's fourth-largest producer of natural gas. Its wind- and solar-resource potential is considerable. The key physical feature—the Kara-Kum desert, which covers about eighty percent of the republic—is critically analyzed by Micklin. He perceives aridity as one of the chief physical constraints of development in Turkmenistan. Water is in short supply. The other problem Micklin outlines is the Caspian Sea's cyclical long-term fluctuations. Like other former Soviet republics, Turkmenistan suffers from water-quality deterioration and air pollution from industrial and municipal sources. Turkmenistan faces an uncertain future.

Nevertheless, it must forge a new set of resource- and environmental-management policies and strategies. Micklin recommends stronger efforts at health improvement and reducing population growth as additional strategies to bring the republic back on track.

In her chapter on Uzbekistan, Nancy Lubin painstakingly documents the human and environmental costs of Soviet development in the republic. Uzbekistan remains an impoverished and undemocratic state. At the same time it possesses more resources than most of its neighbours to deal with these problems. Uzbekistan's major environmental problem is the Aral Sea, which has tragically been reduced to a third of its size. Some of the impacts of this disaster include salinization, salt and dust storms, increased desertification, and the consequent loss of plant and animal life and arable land. As various non-governmental environmental organizations emerge, their major challenge will be to become a vital component of the overall system of environmental policy making and management.

Like the other republics already mentioned, Kyrgyzstan suffers from problems ranging from environmental despoliation to economic impoverishment and ethnic clashes. According to Kathleen Braden, despite Kyrgyzstan's rich natural resources, much more effort will have to be made to address the dual issues of the environment and the economy.

Sharon Eicher deals with Tajikistan, a small, underdeveloped, war-torn, but resource-rich country. It is mostly mountainous, with developed irrigation and agriculture in the inter-mountain valleys. Environmental problems here are also the legacy of poor Soviet management and its compulsion to transform nature. Eicher vividly describes the problems of air and water pollution, resolving which would require, first and foremost, the peace and political stability so sadly lacking in this land.

On the whole, this book paints quite a gloomy picture of the state of the environment in the former Soviet republics. Weak democratic institutions and severe financial constraints, in some cases compounded by ethnic conflicts, further reduce the chances of any significant improvement of the situation in the near future.

Most of the chapters offer interesting insights not only on the overall state of the environment, but also on selected aspects of the physical and human geography of the former Soviet republics. Enhanced by the editor's substantial introduction and skilful synthesis, this volume adds up to more than the sum of its parts. Students interested in both post-Soviet and global environmental affairs would do well to read this volume if they want to understand the immense challenge the former Soviet republics face in designing and implementing sound environmental policies and practices.

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Rosalind Marsh, ed. and trans. *Women in Russia and Ukraine*.  
Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press,  
1996. xviii, 350 pp. U.S. \$24.95 paper, U.S. \$69.95 cloth.

One hopes this book will not only be assigned in Russian and East European courses, but that the instructors read at least some of the articles in it themselves. This varied, wide-ranging, and perforce uneven collection, with a number of contributions translated

from Russian, more or less reflects what the title, *Women in Russia and Ukraine*, implies. The book provides a sampling of approaches and topics that bring women into historical and contemporary analyses. Its attempt to incorporate the non-Russian dimension of the story is less successful. Indeed, the single major topic this collection does not address is nationalism as such. Most authors either take nationalism—in the sense of specific conditions in a particular area—for granted or simply do not focus on it. Nor does the editor go into terminological discussions of the book's geographical subject.

Russia often covers women of the whole former Soviet Union, with Ukraine sometimes singled out. There are two separate articles tacked on in the end about Ukraine specifically. This is not meant as a criticism, rather as praise, since heretofore Ukrainian women were often lumped with Russian women or not discussed at all.

The thrust of the book is the story of women, not the name of the place in which they live. Since the persons who deal with Ukrainian history are perforce familiar with the literature on nationalism, this book can serve as a welcome introduction to the less well known—among scholars of Ukraine—women's dimension.

The book touches on a wide variety of topics that constitute, in areas in which women's roles are more fully analyzed by now, women's studies. Lindsey Hughes, Catriona Kelly, and Shane O'Rourke discuss women and the Petrine reforms, merchant women, and Don Cossack women respectively, while Linda Edmondson seeks to explain the implications of various understandings of feminism within the Russian context. Hilde Hoogenboom goes beyond the image of the dedicated revolutionary to the implications of gender in the representation of the revolutionary ideal. These articles, while not directly focussing upon matters Ukrainian, nevertheless illustrate some of the issues with which few historians of Ukraine have grappled so far.

Two sections of the book focus on work outside the home, sexuality, health, and reproduction in the USSR and the post-USSR space. The topics range from the treatment of lesbians to the motivations of Stakhanovites (this by Mary Buckley); from medical policies of the 1920s to Gorbachev's attempt to mobilize women's support for Perestroika (by Melanie Ilic). Sue Bridger and Lynne Attwood perceptively discuss the ambiguities facing contemporary women in Eastern Europe at the dawn of a legalized market economy and private farming.

Donald Filtzer focusses on industrial working conditions during the perestroika. All of the articles in these two sections have a direct bearing upon understanding the situation of women in Ukraine, and many at times directly refer to the Ukrainian case, along with references to other areas of the former USSR.

It is the final section, however, which focusses upon feminism in the political, community, and social life of contemporary Russia and Ukraine, that most fully justifies the double title of the book—women in Russia and Ukraine. It also provides some of its most original work. Anastasia Posadskaia, a Russian economist who has thrown herself fully into the organization of women on all levels, but especially into the development of the Moscow Centre for Gender Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences, is introduced by Rosalind Marsh, who uses the opportunity to provide an overview of the contemporary women's movement in Russia. It is the term "movement," rather than the ubiquitous "question," that is operative here.

There is a women's movement in Russia, and that bodes well both for women's studies and a more varied and creative approach to the "woman question," rather than the

customary solution from above or solution by imitation of male models. Solomea Pavlychko, a Ukrainian literary scholar who does not shy away from the organized women's movement but who is not its most committed activist, provides a comprehensive picture of the various women's organizations that emerged in Ukraine partly as a result of opposition to the war in Afghanistan, partly because of Chernobyl and ecological concerns, and partly because of the tradition of pre-Soviet feminism in Ukraine. Marian Rubchak, an American historian, delves into folklore, anthropology, sociological analysis, and literary theory to explain both gender relations and images of women in Ukrainian society. But she, too, is cognizant of the reasons Ukrainian women have lagged behind Russian women in organizing strong organizations. Ukrainians had to build a state from the bottom up, and information about Western feminism was slow to filter into Ukraine. The latter is not quite true, but then there is little feminism in Russia outside Moscow and St. Petersburg.

While the contributions dealing with Russia provide us with additional information and refinements of arguments, the two contributions dealing with specifically Ukrainian topics constitute original introductions to the topic. That makes them even more important than the by now better known Russian story.

The determining factor for Ukraine—and hence also its women and their doubly depressed condition—is poignantly presented by Pavlychko as the result of Ukraine's isolation: "Ukraine (like most of the former Soviet colonies) missed the twentieth century in a very profound sense. [Contemporary] ... conscious anti-feminism and subconscious sexism can easily be explained by lack of democratic traditions, the underdevelopment of civil society and the low political culture of contemporary Ukrainian society."

Rubchak, on the other hand, attempts to go deeper into the cultural roots within Ukraine to understand the second-rate status of women. The arguments in this case are similar to those for other countries, but the significance of the argumentation is that it is being made at all. In Ukraine, many contemporary commentators and historians focus on traditional intelligentsia concerns in traditional ideological terms. Outside Ukraine, few scholars interested in Ukraine have bothered to take issues of women's studies seriously. Rubchak and Pavlychko, from different sides of the ocean, attempt to view Ukrainian women as part of the real Ukrainian society. They want to go beyond the image and ideology, be it feminism, nationalism, or anti-colonialism, into the real world in which the women live. By doing that, they see a fuller picture and thus are better than most of their colleagues who have not yet become familiar with the women's-studies dimension of the humanities.

By placing the discussion of women within the political, social, and cultural context of their societies, the authors participating in this volume have done a service to women's studies and to East European history. This book will be useful in graduate and undergraduate courses, where its individual essays can launch a good discussion. Scholars interested in any aspect of Ukraine should familiarize themselves with this collection if only to begin to recognize what women's issues are all about.

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Tamara Hundorova. *Franko—ne kameniar*. Melbourne: Monash University, Slavic Section, 1996. viii, 151 pp. Austral. \$14.95 paper.

This small book is both more and less than it seems. Tamara Hundorova is one of Ukraine's finest literary scholars, and therefore readers have a right to expect original, insightful, thought-provoking analysis from her. They will not be disappointed here. But readers who are familiar with Hundorova's recent work may well expect this study of Ukraine's second-best-known writer to offer bold new theoretical constructs or at least a new methodological perspective on this familiar subject. These readers will find their expectations, for the most part, unfulfilled.

In the preface (and in the title) to the volume, Hundorova sets her goal modestly and unambiguously: to displace, to de-canonize, the traditional image of Ivan Franko as "*kameniar*," a term that she admits is variously understood, but always designates Franko as a public persona and champion of political causes rather than a craftsman of aesthetic products. In other words, her goal is to offer a brief literary-biographical sketch that emphasizes the aesthetic and intellectual influences evident in Franko's literary works. In this respect, she has succeeded.

Hundorova divides her study into four chapters, each of which presents a decade of Franko's creative output. Each decade is characterized by a primary intellectual influence or mood, evidenced in the titles of the chapters: the Idealism of the 1870s, the Naturalism of the 1880s, the Psychoanalysis of the 1890s, and the Humanitarianism of the 1900s. Despite the obvious schematism of this approach, the portrait of Franko's works that emerges from the text is one of multifaceted intellectual and aesthetic challenges and experiments that begin with his first bookish, didactic efforts as a student, continue through a phase of social activism and naturalistic technique followed by a turn to more contemplative subjects and a psychological approach to characters, and culminate in a mature, philosophical period at the end of his life.

The primary strengths of Hundorova's study lie in her ability to sketch out significant analytical ideas in the course of brief descriptions of some of Franko's more important works. Her discussion of Franko's early story "Petrii i Dovbushchuky" or her analysis of his growing reliance on psychology give the reader an abundance of interesting ideas and suggestions for new interpretations of Franko and his works. But in such a brief work, with so much ground to cover and an absolute commitment to tie in all the genres of Franko's voluminous output, these ideas and suggestions are only thinly sketched out. The student of Franko's works who turns to Hundorova's work will certainly benefit from a wealth of insights, but the elaboration of these clues will be left to the reader.

Literary portraits aimed at a popular audience must always find a balance between scholarly rigour and the interests of a non-professional reader. Hundorova chooses to engage the reader in a serious discussion, but without the apparatus that would give scholars the context for this discussion. Without a bibliography or index and with only a few references to sources, Hundorova's work is unlikely to serve scholars as a benchmark for Franko studies. Moreover, since the stereotype she aims to subvert is more prominent in post-Soviet Ukraine than among diaspora Ukrainians, a portion of her audience will find the focus in the argument somewhat skewed.

Nevertheless, in the absence of other new work on Franko and in the near-vacuum of Ukrainian literary studies both in Ukraine and in the diaspora, this work should be read

by anyone interested in Franko, and must be purchased by any library with an Ukrainian collection.

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Larysa Z. Moroz. “*Sto rivnotsinnykh pravd*”: *Paradoksy dramaturhii V. Vynnychenka*. Kyiv: Instytut literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka, Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, 1994. 208 pp.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880–1951), the Ukrainian political leader and statesman, was also a popular and prolific writer of prose and drama. His literary works were suppressed in the USSR because of his political activity (during the years 1917–19 he served as the vice-president of the Central Rada and then as the head of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian government). Only in newly independent Ukraine has he again been given prominence, both in print and on stage. However, as the blurb on its bibliographic-information page rightly claims, this is the first book devoted completely to the study of Vynnychenko’s dramaturgy.

Larysa Moroz provides a survey of all of Vynnychenko’s twenty plays. She calls him “one of the most enigmatic playwrights,” and in her analysis of the plays she often mentions several possible conclusions that could be drawn from each ending. In her attempt to find “the key to understanding” Vynnychenko’s works, she discusses briefly a particular play, supplies at least one interpretation, and then quotes other authors, philosophers, or critics of the time who dealt with the specific theme. Moroz is particularly successful in bringing in various views by Kant, Fichte, and Berdiaev and mentioning ideas popular at the time when Vynnychenko wrote, such as “the moral imperative” of society’s demands on an individual, the cult of strength, or the quest for an inner harmony. (This approach delineates Moroz’s main line of study and deserves to have been reflected in the title somehow.) Her presentation of similar ideas in the works of many contemporary writers has its advantages and logical reasoning, although the myriad of quotations are at times a little distracting. But her abundant quotations from reviews of the plays’ stagings provide a worthwhile dimension, sense, and scope of the plays’ reception.

While discussing the plays, Moroz particularly draws attention to the dichotomy of truth and lies, a theme that often reappears in Vynnychenko’s works. In the last chapters of this book, she develops this idea further, pointing out the prevalence of a paradoxical multiplicity of truths that are disclosed in his plays. This multiplicity is reflected in the title of the present study, utilizing a quotation from Vasyl Stus.

Four of Vynnychenko’s plays are discussed in some detail (*Dysharmoniia*, *Bazar*, *Brekhnia*, and *Chorna Pantera i Bilyi Vedmid*). The other sixteen plays are given briefer treatments, but are dealt with on and off when a particular chapter is devoted to a specific theme (e.g., “Intellectualism and Paradoxicality,” “Honesty with Oneself—a New Moral Principle?” “Facing Eternity: Art and Motherhood,” “Personality and Environment: Self-Sacrifice and Consumerism”). This is particularly visible when the playwright’s famous principle of “honesty with oneself” is demonstrated in many plays in quite extreme situations.

Moroz claims that each play was “an experimental game” for Vynnychenko while he was studying the inner life of individuals and their relationship with the outer world, especially when facing the demands that society placed on them. Vynnychenko was thus “able to pursue such research in his laboratory” as he dealt with the unusual and bold topics of geriatricide, surrogate motherhood, and the like. Moroz also points out specifically how Vynnychenko depicts women protagonists, their desire for self-fulfilment, and their choice of principles and ultimate sacrifices while they go on “playing their roles” or even “put on masks” to provide their men with a better chance for self-expression or happiness. She also draws attention to the “practical attitude to life” of many protagonists, who at the same time often also desired absolute freedom, which is “almost impossible” to achieve. His protagonists “put their family life, personal and intimate happiness, in a direct dependence on society’s actions” and needs while they are seeking both an inner and an outer harmony. In his plays, Vynnychenko at first depicted mainly people from the intelligentsia and the particular vicissitudes that they faced, and then also workers and Jews.

Moroz’s study provides ample historical, political, sociological, and psychological background information for each of Vynnychenko’s plays. At the same time, it allows, and indeed even encourages, other possible points of view, other interpretations. Although this book does not provide a separate listing of the multifarious titles cited or mentioned in the text, it has a very serviceable four-page index of authors. On the whole, this a very useful publication and a very good introduction to Vynnychenko’s dramaturgy.

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V. P. Aheieva. *Ukrainska impresionistychna proza*. Kyiv: Instytut literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka, Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, 1994. 160 pp.

This is a study of the dominant formal elements in Ukrainian literary impressionism. Vira Aheieva begins her account with a concise sketch of modernism’s overall historico-literary context, but quickly moves to her main focus—modernism as a literary phenomenon, and impressionism as its primary manifestation. It is her contention that several stylistic strains came together in the first three decades of the century to create the unique mixture that was Ukrainian modernism: impressionism, neo-romanticism, expressionism, symbolism, and naturalism. Ukrainian modernism was characterized, however, by the strength of the impressionist strain.

Aheieva’s primary case studies are those works of Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, Hryhorii Kosynka, Andrii Holovko, Mykhailo Ivchenko, and Mykola Khvylovy that are most obviously affected by impressionist techniques. Aheieva has made a reputation as a lucid and careful analyst. Her dissections of the stories is succinct, insightful, and convincing. Her approach blends a description of formal features with a Bakhtinian juxtaposition of the positions of author and hero. The first part of the book discusses underlying structures and compositional features; the second concentrates on the organization of space and time; and the third deals with the use of language.

The text is full of stimulating observations, such as the description of the objective-subjective dichotomy in impressionism, of the style as only a phase in the writings of major prose figures, of various stories as hybrids of impressionism/expressionism, impressionism/neo-romanticism, impressionism/naturalism, and so on. The implications for the close reading of particular texts, as well as for literary history, although only adumbrated, are potentially far-reaching. Aheieva's conclusion is that for Ukrainian writers, particularly in the 1920s, the combination of impressionism with other stylistic tendencies was the common practice. The heavy reliance in particular on lyrical and subjective features (such as authorial interventions and lyrical refrains) also immediately distinguishes Ukrainian impressionist prose from the Russian Chekhovian school, whose writers relied on details of external observation by an impersonal observer-narrator.

She also points out that impressionism carried a rather heavy ideological load in the Ukrainian context. It was the primary assault weapon in modernism's battle with nineteenth-century populism. The most prominent features of impressionism were identified by modernism's enemies as challenges to and destroyers of the old realist method and its underpinning populist ideology. The stress on the individual, the psychological, the momentary, and the conflicted was immediately perceived as aimed at breaking up old certainties and, if not causing, at least accelerating the loss of faith in populist, patriotic principles.

Aheieva is familiar with and does mention some Western sources and discussions of Ukrainian modernism in Western publications. But a discussion of P. M. Bitsilli's writings on Chekhov or some further references to the wider literary European context would have been enlightening. Aheieva's comments on the international context, when they occur, are often made with reference to art history and frequently give illuminating readings of the stories. The book's strengths lie in the sure grasp of prose structures and the ability to relate these to the overall argument—the story of impressionism's brief but brilliant flowering. Kotsiubynsky's "Tsvit iabluni," "Debiut," and "Lialechka," Kosynka's "Desiat," "Sorochka," and "Favst," Holovko's "Chervona khustyna," and Khvylovy's "Redaktor Kark" and "Synii lystopad" all receive an analysis and a recontextualization within this narrative.

The book does, however, leave some questions unanswered. Was the style only applicable to short works? Does it find expression in longer works? The entr'acte scenario so typical of impressionist prose, and the devices of the internal monologue and *style indirecte libre*, which Aheieva gives as features of impressionist prose, also received extended treatment in more ambitious works, such as Iurii Ianovsky's *Maister korablia* (1928), Myroslav Irchan's *V burianakh* (1925), and Osyp Turiansky's *Poza mezhamy boliu* (1921). The implication that this style could not be sustained in longer works needs re-examining in the light of these Ukrainians and western European writers such as Proust and Joyce.

Aheieva's insistence on the fragmentary, fleeting, and divided, although essentially correct, avoids mention of the opposite urge—for closure and totalization, which is strongly in evidence as soon as a longer form is attempted. A great deal has been written in Western scholarship about the correlation between this latter aspect of modernist poetics and authoritarian politics. Whether one attributes greater or lesser weight to the "totalization" often associated with modernism, it seems to have great relevance to the discussion of Ukrainian impressionism in the 1920s. Both nationalist and communist

writers (particularly those who considered themselves part of the avant-garde) were under pressure to situate their fragmentary and subjective perceptions within a firm ideological framework. The conflict between style and ideology led to the reworking of many stories as a result of political pressure (e.g., Holovko's rewriting of "Chervona khustyna" [1924]). At a deeper level, it produced the fundamental tension between the subjective vision and the totalizing politics that marks many major figures. Many stories by Khvylovy demonstrate a resistance to this demand for conformity. Similarly, the prose of writers such as Holovko and Irchan demonstrates a desire to combine impressionist devices with unambiguous "leftist" conclusions. Kosynka's "Faust," as Aheieva shows, combines them with "nationalist" closure.

Although Aheieva's restraint is, no doubt, deliberate—an attempt at avoiding the kind of facile political commentary that has marred much Ukrainian criticism over the last seven decades—given the intrusion of the political into the shaping of Ukrainian prose, a greater engagement with the political implications of style seems justified.

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Iar Slavutych. *Tvory*. 2 vols. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1994. 671 pp. and 365 pp.

This collection of Iar Slavutych's works presents itself as definitive. In the afterword the author indicates that all the poems have been checked and some have been revised, and asks that in future the texts presented in these two volumes be the standard reference (2: 358). A few poems have been omitted, but the collection contains almost all of the poet's corpus spanning over fifty years of creative work. Volume 1 includes the collections *Spivaie kolos* (1945), *Homin vikiv, 1940–1945* (1946), *Pravdonosti* (1948), *Spraha* (1950), *Oaza* (1960), *Maiestat* (1962), *Zavoiovnyky prerii* (1968), *Mudroshchi mandriv* (1972), *Zhyvi smolospypy* (1983), and *Shchabli topol* (1992), as well as alexandrines and other poems not included in any collection. Volume 2 contains Slavutych's longer poems and translations, a short article on the poet by Leonid Cherevatenko, and the author's own afterword and bibliography. The edition allows a survey of Slavutych's development, and, by appearing at the present juncture, raises the issue of his reception in contemporary Ukraine.

The earliest poetry reveals Slavutych (he changed his name from Hryhorii Zhuchenko in 1941) as a nature poet strongly influenced by the Neoclassicists of the 1920s, Maksym Rylsky in particular. Descriptions of the steppe lands near Kherson, where Slavutych was raised, of his early childhood experiences and dreams, are captured within the classical rigour of the sonnet form. These poems already reveal the discipline of correct diction, stress, and metre, which he strove to achieve all his life, and the optimistic philosophy, rooted in the shared values of a rural community, that was to become a constant feature of his writings. It is important to recognize what this poetry did not attempt. It did not chart a landscape of inner emotion, nor did it display any inclination to the kind of psychological analysis that exposed fissures and uncertainties in the divided self. The dominant emotion is a firm sense of native identity in a fundamentally harmonious universe. Slavutych's inner world is, in fact, veiled by a narrative voice that is conventionally rhetorical, as in the exclamations "О любий дїду!" (dear old man!) and

“дорогий читачу!” (dear reader!) that punctuate the works. Visual imagery predominates; the author paints scenes, adding component to component. His focus is on producing a well-constructed, carefully sculpted object of art. There is a classical touch to this privileging of the external world and subduing of the quiet inner voice. The narrator appropriates the perspective of the gods, laying events and characters out before readers as on the palm of a hand. Individuals are merely part of the general landscape dominated by history and the endless sky. He speaks for the land, contemplates eternal truths, observes humanity from Nature’s timeless perspective, and scoffs at the urban, modernist attitude that celebrates the fleeting and discontinuous. Throughout, the city is a distant, unfriendly presence on the steppe horizon, a threat to the pastoral imagery and patriarchal values that reach back to a previous age of harmony and peace.

In his following collections, Slavutych’s argument with the “moderns” and espousal of monarchist views align him with an eighteenth-century consciousness sooner than with a twentieth-century one. Indeed there is something of the Augustan in him from the beginning. It is present in the clarity of expression, the love of the aphoristic phrase and sonorous word, the public stance and ad hominem invective, the lengthy digressions in his longer poems on the nature and purpose of art, and the love of majesty and permanence. All are reminiscent of a former time, when poets could instruct in civic values, fashion and the dollar did not rule, and one could confidently assume that beauty was eternal. This entire structure of feeling is erected upon, and sustained by, a comforting myth of national solidarity and historical destiny. The poet lays claim, in the afterword and Cherevatenko’s article, to be descended from Khmelnytsky’s *starshyna*, from Mazepa’s supporters, and landowners who helped Samiilo Velychko write his famous chronicle of the Khmelnytsky revolt.

The history of national resistance figures prominently in his poetry. His hostility to the city stems, therefore, both from an uprooted rural and a suppressed national tradition. In his long autobiographical poem “Moia doba” he writes: “Але московське ненаситне зло / Нагнало зграй на українське щастя. / За рік, за два мов повінню знесло / Щасливі села й хутори квітчасті. / Міста змінили старожитне тло / На кубістично-індустрійні снасті: / До них пішов зруйнований селяк / Продати силу м’язуватих рук” (But the Muscovite insatiable evil / Drove a swarm upon the Ukrainian happiness. / In one year, two, like a flood it swept away / Happy village and flowery homesteads. / Cities exchanged the ancient backdrop / For cubist-industrial tackle: / There the ruined villager made his way / To sell the power of his muscular arms [2: 62]).

Slavutych is, however, a product of the 1930s and 1940s. The pastoral mood and “neoclassical” restraint of his first collection are often drowned out in the second and third by a civic anger that owes much to Ievhen Malaniuk and such wartime poets as Oleh Olzhych and Olena Teliha. (Slavutych met Teliha in Kyiv early in the war, shortly before she was shot by the Germans, and she made a strong impression on him.) Partly as a result of these influences, he begins to glorify strong-willed, patriotic heroes, to condemn those whom Teliha had called life’s *partachi* (“bunglers,” pusillanimous compatriots unwilling to stand up for their own and their country’s honour), and to mobilize all available poetic resources for the encouragement of a militant, intransigent, independentist stance. During this period Slavutych makes frequent references to the medieval *Slovo o polku Ihoria*, the Cossack chronicles, and the lessons of history. He

employs a declamatory style that relies on repetitions, a muscular, consonant-laden diction, and a sense of outrage at Russian and Soviet atrocities committed against his homeland.

The passionate nationalist was not, however, born suddenly during the wartime years. As “Moia doba” demonstrates, the experience of dekulakization, which destroyed the family homestead and exiled his father, the famine of 1933, and local armed rebellions had already formed his views. One poem in the first collection, “Tebe pryhaduiem pisniamy,” was composed in 1939 on the anniversary of Shevchenko’s birth on the island of Khortytsia, the stronghold of the Zaporozhian Cossacks to which his grandfather took him. In it the twenty-one-year-old poet vows that a “fiery rain” is approaching and will wash the land and prepare a rich harvest. The grain would be gathered, and the chaff separated (1: 23). In his later work Slavutych refers to this moment as the conscious choice of a vocation, both poetic and political, one to which he would remain faithful through later years.

The two volumes of *Tvory* represent a poetic diary covering the events of the 1930s and 1940s in Ukraine, the displaced persons’ experience and Soviet attempts to repatriate them in postwar Germany and Austria, and the émigré experience in North America. As might be expected, it is dominated, particularly in the early years, by the need to bear witness to a history that had been distorted or denied. Elements common to émigré poets of this generation recur: elegiac motifs of lost innocence and happiness, calls for vengeance for Soviet crimes against humanity, and disgust at Western materialism. Gradually, however, Slavutych also casts himself in the role of chronicler of the diaspora experience, fixing for posterity the names, places, and achievements of the Ukrainians in Canada. There is a wealth of detail on the Canadian experience in these volumes that could interest many a contemporary reader in Ukraine.

Essentially, Slavutych’s muse owes as much to Mars as it does to Cleo or Apollo. Political lyricism in fact constitutes this poetry’s guiding motivation and special interest. Its myth of Ukraine is constructed in opposition to the Soviet one. In contemporary Ukraine this poetic counter-construct has recently come to many readers with the shock of the new. One of the intriguing questions concerning Slavutych’s current poetic rebirth in Ukraine (like that of other long-forbidden émigrés now made available) is how he will be received by a readership that has been denied access to this kind of poetic sentiment for five decades. Several polemical exchanges have already taken place in the newly independent state over the issue of his reception; some of them are documented by the author in his own poetry (1: 595). The indications are that, although not all will treat him with delight, he will find appreciative readers.

In discussing the nature of Slavutych’s political lyricism, it is useful to begin with a couple of poems from 1970. In “Viziiia” he imagines himself captured, humiliated, and sent to Siberia in his old age. There he is compelled to denounce everything that had been sacred to him. In a following poem, “Son,” he sees himself transported to Kyiv, but instead of visiting the city’s cultural treasures he witnesses a football match in which his own head serves as the ball. The rabble, who speak Russian and have no appreciation of the Ukrainian heritage that surrounds them, are, in fact, kicking around the national consciousness that the poet has struggled all his life to (re)construct. What this nightmarish fear reveals is that he views poetry as (1) high culture whose purpose is to consolidate, codify, and propagate a sense of national unity and identity, and (2) being

essentially not merely didactic but laudatory, a way of praising and ennobling specific individuals, events, and views. The greatest anguish is caused by the requirement to laud what one despises. It is a sentiment familiar to the colonized.

In another place Slavutych writes: “Ще від Шевченка не було співця, / Який не знав би як смердить в’язниця” (Ever since Shevchenko’s time there has not been a bard / Who did not know the smell of prison [2:103]). The assumption is that the “bard” must assume the role of a panegyrist, a glorifier of achievements, a propagandist—no matter on which side of the border he finds himself—whether he speaks sincerely or not. This clarity in matters of political conviction might provide a firm vantage point from which to view history’s whimsical dialectic, but at the same time it carries with it a loss of intimacy, a danger of generalization preceding analysis, of “simplifying oneself,” as one of Turgenev’s heroes put it.

The strengths and weaknesses of the poet’s didacticism can be illustrated with reference to his Canadian poems, which are collected in *Zavoioivnyky prerii* (1968). The Canadian “myth” he constructs is one of ethnic harmony: the Ukrainian settler reaches out his hand to the native Indian who has been driven from the land; the English, French, and Ukrainian communities are permanent presences that complement one another in the country’s cultural make-up. His chronicle of Ukrainian life in Canada celebrates the coming to fruition and marking of milestones: the settling of the land, the erection of Shevchenko’s monument in Winnipeg, the death of the painter Volodymyr Dobrolizh. The poet looks back with pride on a century of achievement. It is the voice of an entire people that speaks; the scale is grand. The poem “Pluhatari” (1966), with in its measured tones and congratulatory sentiments, is an ode to the conquest of the prairies. How different this vision of the emigration is from that of Ivan Franko, Myroslav Irchan, or Petro Karmansky, who depicted the difficult fate of emigrants moving to a new life. Slavutych’s purpose is to construct an image of strength and success, a gratifying picture of rewarded national endeavour. As an idealized group portrayal, it refuses to deal with complexities or nuances.

Interestingly, his nature poetry, which often depicts the Canadian winter, acts as a sobering counterpart to these encomiums and panegyrics. Here the smallness of the individual in the face of winter’s beauty and power, the restraining, steady metre, the onomatopoeic effects, and “minimalist” landscape painting produce some of his best poems. His travel literature, best represented by the collection *Mudroshchi mandriv* (1972), frequently fails to avoid the dangers posed by a superficial knowledge of subject matter, and, like some of his Canadian poetry described above, strays into flaccid generalization, cliché, and an imagery that appears borrowed from tourist postcards.

Slavutych is on more familiar ground when he writes of Ukrainian realities. The positive myths he proposes are delivered with ringing conviction. The angry civic voice presents a positive image of historical figures such as Ivan Vyhovsky, Petro Kalnyshevsky, and Ivan Mazepa, who have been demonized in Russian and Soviet historiography. The independentist, anti-imperialist, and anti-Russian line of argument is reinforced in numerous poems, particularly in *Maiestat* (1962), which can in fact be read as a primer of nationalist mythology, an answer to the Soviet view of history. Later, in the era of *samydav* and the dissident movement, the militant poet, who in one place describes himself as a “bard of Sparta” (1: 452), erects a pantheon to contemporary political martyrs in a series of poems dedicated to V’iacheslav Chornovil, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Valentyn

Moroz, Levko Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba, Ivan Svitlychny, Mykhailo Osadchy, Leonid Pliushch, Opanas Zalyvakha, Vasyl Stus, Ievhen Sverstiuk, and others.

Much of this poetry does not go beyond an assertion of national loyalty. More interesting is Slavutych's construction of the image of Russia and Russians, which must in contemporary Ukrainian circumstances still be considered highly inflammatory material. The Russians in his works are "Suzdal crows," "Moscow mafia," "Suzdal gorillas." In fact, an entire vocabulary of abuse can be distilled from his definitions. The inheritors and creations of an imperial legacy, the contemporary Russians are depicted as tainted with barbarism. What is disturbing to a contemporary reader is the lack of nuance. Slavutych is speaking in poems such as "Moskoviia" of all Russians, of a homogeneous, undifferentiated group—a stereotype. Throughout he is at pains to construct two contrasting semantic fields, the Ukrainian and the Russian, in order to draw a firm line of demarcation between the two peoples and cultures. This poetry provides a rich source for the study of stereotypical images, the inevitable consequence of any rigidly partisan approach to literature.

Some of Slavutych's psychologically most interesting poetry comes from the post-independence period, when this anti-imperialist mythology came up against some confusing realities. Unexpectedly, images of "rotten mud," which had previously been associated with Muscovy or Russia, begin to creep into the description of the Ukrainian situation. The postcolonial situation is described in one memorable image as the result of an unextracted "colonial nail that was hammered into the people" ("забито в люд колоніальний цвях," 1: 559). The complexities of the Crimean situation, of a bilingual (sometimes bicultural) reality, induce a characteristic response: the invocation of the spirit of Ivan Sirko, a seventeenth-century Cossack leader who punished apostasy with execution. Rejection of hybridity as an evil imposed by colonial violence is proposed by Slavutych, who has spent his whole life developing an anticolonial message built on the refusal of Russia. The present leaders of Ukraine, who have to live in the postcolonial reality, have shown considerably more political maturity and sensitivity.

Taken too far, an essentialist view of Ukrainian culture risks becoming reductive, a denial of cultural complexity. The point might be illustrated by considering one of the poet's national myths—the spirit of freedom. Slavutych, like the nineteenth-century poets who made this a cliché, celebrates this image of Ukraine. It is present in his glorification of the eighteenth-century *haidamaka* rebellions, the life of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the spirit of Shevchenko's poetry, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He describes the people's instinctive love of freedom and determination to fight for it; it has become part of their national essence. This is perhaps most successfully demonstrated in "Moia doba," which records the partisan struggles of the 1930s and 1940s.

There is, nonetheless, a tension between the need for national discipline and obedience, on the one hand, and this anarchistic philosophy generated by partisan warfare. The contradiction surfaces in an interesting discussion of Mazepa's imprisonment of Ivan Sirko. Both are Slavutych's heroes. Which, however, represents the national essence? Slavutych became particularly interested in this problem when he discovered that one of his ancestors, on Mazepa's orders, captured the Cossack chieftain Sirko (2: 115). The conflict between the two is resolved in Mazepa's favour: the higher state-building logic of the hetman must capture and direct, but not necessarily subdue, the potentially destructive energy of the warrior-chieftain.

Nationalism's message of discipline and unity, a stereotypical construction of the enemy, and a reinterpretation of history as a conscious independence struggle are inscribed into many of the texts. Throughout all phases of his development, Slavutych remains faithful to this discourse of national emancipation; he is "carrying its truth into the world," as he puts it. The summational, retrospective poems that close the two-volume collection provide a restatement of Slavutych's positions and a final settling of accounts. He recalls a few *bêtes noires*: modernist poetry, Soviet critics, and Russophile university professors in North America. He also takes aim at several politicians, among them George Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Boris Yeltsin, for their negative attitudes towards Ukraine's independence. Finally, he restates his artistic credo. There are several poems in the poet's corpus that might be read as an *ars poetica*. The imperative of creating the truthful and decorous passionately ("прекрасно, правдиво й гоже," 2: 207), expressed in an early poem, might serve as his motto. Beauty lies in the memorable imagery and the discipline of form; truth, in eternal values; and decorum, in uplifting sentiments. The later poems rephrase this position.

There are many literary reminiscences, phrases, and sentiments that echo the Ukrainian poets Oleksandr Oles, Teodosii Osmachka, Olena Teliha, Iurii Klen, Taras Shevchenko, and Ivan Kotliarevsky. The influence of some of them is acknowledged. In his own afterword, Slavutych indicates some favourite Western writers. Pride of place here belongs to Keats. Over thirty poems by the English Romantic were translated by Slavutych and are included in this edition. These are clearly works of love that render the originals with grace and lucidity. Other translations are mainly from Slavic and English-language writers. Particularly successful is Slavutych's treatment of the sonnet form in Shakespeare, Donne, Milton, Wordsworth, and Keats.

In Slavutych's poetry the sonnet and octave form in iambic pentameter predominates. This and the poet's predilection for the Neoclassicists suggests a deep affinity with and a yearning for an Augustan age. The neoclassical "feel" of his poetry extends also to his sense of humour: for example, the playful digressions that reflect on the progress of the writing (best evident in his "Moia doba"), and the game of half-concealed references to contemporary individuals and events. It is tangible in the occasional conceit, such as the comparison of the sun to a dinosaur egg found in the Drumheller area of Alberta: "неначе бронтозаврове яйце, / Віднайдене в Драмгеллерській долині, / По небу важко, втомлено пливе / Грудневе сонце..." (Like a brontosaurus egg / Found in the Drumheller valley, / Across the sky ponderously, wearily swims / The December sun ... [1: 333]).

Slavutych's own narrative persona wanders like a neoclassical Aeneas through foreign worlds and delights in the discovery of a familiar sentiment, the capture from a foreign language of an evocative word. He praises and condemns with the elevated tone and deliberate pace that belongs to a former age of certainty. A traveller to many foreign countries, he remains all the while rooted in his native culture, seeing the steppes of Kherson in Asia and Manitoba. At a time when other Ukrainian poets in the West were experimenting with free verse and surrealistic imagery, Slavutych unrepentantly cultivated the pre-modern. This traditional tone of voice, rendered into a contemporary diction and turned toward current issues, represents one aspect of Ukrainian émigré writing. Like other Ukrainian émigrés of his generation, he combines a reverence for the supreme value of classical antiquity with a passionate nationalism. Together with some of them, such as

Bohdan Kravtsiv and Bohdan Bora, he forms a cohort of writers who consciously refused the temptations of Western modernism.

It remains to be seen how much of an influence the style and ideology of Slavutych's poems will have in independent Ukraine. But readers will agree with Slavutych when, applying Horace's words to himself, he claims that he will leave a mark ("я ввесь не вму," 2:86).

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Vasyl Markus, Marko Pavlyshyn, and Volodymyr Troshchynsky, eds. *Entsyklopediia ukrainskoi diiaspory*. Vol. 4. (*Avstraliia — Azii — Afryka*). Kyiv: Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka and Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, 1995. 251 pp. Austral. \$35.00 cloth. Distributed by Ukrainian Encyclopedia, 75 New Road, Oak Park, VIC 3046, Australia.

According to recent estimates, approximately one-quarter of the world's Ukrainians live in foreign lands—the Russian Federation, the East European states adjacent to Ukraine, the Baltic states, various countries of western Europe and former Soviet Central Asia, and overseas in North and South America, Australia, and even Africa. Equivalent in size to the combined populations of Finland, Norway, and Denmark, and larger than many European nations, the estimated fourteen million or so members of the Ukrainian diaspora have not been the subject of serious study. A number of books and surveys have presented overviews of their collective experience. But efforts at studying this diaspora have seldom coalesced into a systematic examination of the phenomenon of Ukrainian mass emigration during specific pivotal periods, or in its entirety, or from the primary regions of emigration.

The historical and sociological study of the Ukrainian immigrant communities in individual countries has been much better developed, particularly in and for those countries that have systematically collected census data on their ethnic groups, such as Canada, the United States, and Australia. In Ukraine under Soviet rule, however, political and ideological constraints minimized the possibility of documenting the experience of the Ukrainians abroad. Only since Ukraine became independent in 1991 has some work been done there on the so-called eastern diaspora, that is, Ukrainians in the other former republics of the USSR.

Against this background of an uneven pattern of studies and of a relative lag in overall scholarship when compared to the production on other national groups, the multivolume Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Diaspora (EUD) project deserves our welcome. Conceived in 1987 by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the United States (SSSUS) and the Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva Foundation, the Ukrainian-language EUD project acquired new significance in the 1990s after Ukraine gained its independence. It then became possible to include the Ukrainians of the eastern diaspora in the project's purview and to involve scholars and editors in Ukraine and the eastern diaspora in the EUD. Since 1993 the project has been co-ordinated in Kyiv by the Institute of

Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (ISNASU). The collaborative efforts of the ISNASU and SSSUS (which maintains an EUD office in Chicago) have also led to the joint publication of the journal *Ukrainska diaspora*, of which several issues have appeared since 1992. Researchers enlisted by the EUD are encouraged to publish their findings in that journal, which is edited at the ISNASU.

The first of projected seven volumes of the EUD to appear is the one under review, devoted to Ukrainians in Australia, Asia, and Africa (vol. 4). The editor-in-chief of the EUD, Vasyl Markus, who has served as an associate editor of *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva* and vols. 1–2 of the English-language *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, was ably assisted in the editorial preparation of this volume by two other scholars: Dr. Marko Pavlyshyn, the Mykola Zerov Senior Lecturer in Ukrainian Studies at Monash University in Melbourne, and Dr. Volodymyr Troshchynsky, Ukraine's first-deputy minister for nationalities and migration and the author of *Mizhvoienna ukrainska emihratsiia v levropiiak istorychne i sotsialno-politychne iavyshe* (Kyiv: INTEL, 1994). The volume editors and the EUD project enjoyed the scholarly and technical collaboration and financial support of many other individuals; they are acknowledged in the volume's front pages. Forthcoming volumes will be on the Ukrainians in the United States (vol. 1), Canada (vol. 2), South America (vol. 3), western Europe (vol. 5), central and eastern Europe (vol. 6), and the eastern diaspora (vol. 7).

About ninety-five percent of the volume's contents deal with the lives and history of the over 30,000 Australians of Ukrainian origin. The sheer balance in favour of Australia reflects an ongoing commitment on the part of the Ukrainian community there to document its history—a commitment that, in turn, undoubtedly contributed substantially to this being the first volume in the series. The availability and systematic organization of source materials and financial and other resources appear to have converged congruously in Australia to provide the necessary prerequisites for the preparation of the volume. The establishment of Ukrainian-studies programs in the early 1980s at Macquarie University (Sydney) and Monash University consolidated earlier documentation efforts: the Ukrainian lectureships at both universities, jointly with the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, organized five conferences between 1983 and 1990 on Ukrainian settlement in Australia. Although subsequent conferences organized by the lectureships have been oriented towards contemporary Ukraine, interest in the history of Ukrainians in Australia has not abated; other community organizations have continued the task of chronicling Ukrainian life there.

The conference proceedings and the other earlier and later publications on Ukrainians in Australia furnished the bulk of the source material and data for this volume. Many of its articles, however, are original rather than "traditional" in the sense that they reflect the findings or novel approaches of the authors instead of duplicating existing knowledge from secondary or tertiary sources. The articles on Australianisms in the Ukrainian language and on Ukrainian literature, theatre, and church architecture in Australia, among others, are examples of their authors' specialized research.

The sports articles provide useful details about the dates and locations of Ukrainian sports clubs and survey the participation of Ukrainians in mainstream Australian sports; one of the co-authors, O. Buchatsky, is shown in a photo in action for the Bombers ice hockey team in 1962. Paul Pinkewich, who began representing Australia in international table tennis competitions in 1967 and now coaches young players, has a separate entry.

The articles on the Ukrainian communities in individual states, cities, and even suburbs are often supplemented by well-executed maps showing the locations of community organizations. The articles on the various religious denominations and secular organizations reflect impressive record keeping; the statistics on their memberships appear in tables showing trends over the course of particular periods. The article on the Sisters of St. Basil the Great offers insights into the relationship between the Ukrainian community in Argentina with others in the diaspora, exemplified by the summoning of Basilian Sisters in Argentina from 1967 on to serve the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in Australia.

Remarkably comprehensive as this volume is for Australia, articles on two other Ukrainian Australians would have merited inclusion. The first is John Newman (Naumenko), a member of the Australian Parliament (and probably the only one of Ukrainian origin to date) who was assassinated in 1994 in “the country’s first-ever politically motivated killing.” (See “Ukrainian Australian MP Assassinated,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 2 October 1994.) The second is Vasyl Kovalenko, who is acknowledged in the article on the Kuban Cossack dance ensemble he founded in 1956, which has performed around the world and on television; because of the ensemble’s obvious success, more information about its initiator would have been useful.

Chronologically, the volume largely covers the period since World War II. The overwhelming majority of the 30,000 or so Ukrainians in Australia, or their parents, arrived in that country as postwar refugees, and all the Ukrainian organizations that have existed there were founded by these immigrants or their descendants. There are sporadic references in a number of the articles to prewar immigrants, especially those who came by way of China, but the data is fragmentary.

Most of the volume’s information on Ukrainians in Africa was provided by Ukrainian refugees who settled in Australia after spending some time in Tanzania or Tunisia. They include Teofil Sudomliak, who also submitted two very rare photographs of Ukrainian religious life in Tanzania (p. 200). Two articles—on Hryhorii Bozhok (p. 45), who came to Australia by way of Egypt, and Ivan Broznytsky (p.49), who served in the French Foreign Legion in Africa before emigrating to Australia in 1952—illustrate the personal ties between the two continents. Otherwise, the articles on Africa provide little information that cannot be found in other published sources.

The same can be said about the volume’s articles about Ukrainians in Asia, where China had once been a dynamic centre of Ukrainian settlement. The author, Volodymyr Troshchynsky, relies almost exclusively on secondary sources published in the West. Much of the information he provides had already appeared in *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva, Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, and other handbooks. Since Troshchynsky relied heavily on the works of the late Ivan Svit (John Sweet), it is surprising that there is no article about Svit in this volume.

The articles on Ukrainians in China reveal a number of inconsistencies. On p. 26 the number of Ukrainians in China in the years 1920–40 is estimated as being from 35,000 to 50,000. Most of them settled in Manchuria, and on p. 96 their number there is estimated as being from 30,000 to 45,000 in the 1920s and 1930s. If the “majority of [these] Ukrainians were arrested and deported to the USSR” after World War II, as Troshchynsky notes, and the others resettled in the West, how should one evaluate his assertion, also on p.96, that there were still 20,000 Ukrainians and their descendants in China in the 1990s? Svit often referred in his works to 20,000 Ukrainian families in

Manchuria in the 1920s. It seems that the participant at a recent conference on Ukraine and China from whom Troshchynsky received his information about the number of Ukrainians in China used a figure that had been so recycled as to be detached from its original context and period. This is a good example of the danger of overutilizing secondary sources (in this case tantamount, one may whimsically say, to a game of “Chinese whispers”), as errors are likely to be committed in the process.

Because of the imbalance between the information available about Ukrainians in Australia and those in China, one must question the wisdom of including it in the same volume. Conceptually, a case could have been made to issue a separate volume on Ukrainians in non-Russian East Asia and another one on Africa and the Middle East (the rather anecdotal article on India on pp. 86–87 is more a survey of Ukrainian-Indian relations through professional ties than a discussion of settlement). The advantage of this approach would be that continents that have little in common with each other except the first letter in their name (whether in Ukrainian or in English) would be assessed separately for their intrinsic value. And secondly, such an approach would have given scholars time to make efficient use of the abundant materials on Ukrainians in Asia that is probably now accessible in the archives and libraries of Russia and Ukraine. The *Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library* in Lviv, for example, houses an impressive collection of Chinese-Ukrainian periodicals and some Russian titles, which should have been consulted extensively. The interwar Western Ukrainian press reported on Ukrainians in the French Foreign Legion (which was often considered scandalous) and published their letters and those of other Ukrainians who had settled in Africa and the Middle East.

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of the non-Australian (and non-New Zealand) articles, the editors are to be commended for overseeing the preparation and publication of this valuable sourcebook. The Australian authors in particular are to be congratulated for their important contributions to advancing our knowledge about Ukrainian settlement in their country. Owing to their efforts, this volume will serve as a solid frame of reference from which to compare the Ukrainian communities elsewhere in the diaspora. The volume also advances knowledge about Australia in general by detailing the evolution and position of one ethnic group in Australian society.

If this volume is an indication of what we can expect to get in the forthcoming six volumes of the EUD, their publication is eagerly anticipated.

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P. F. Kravchuk, ed. and comp. *Z ridnoho hnizda: Diaspora. 100 rokiv emihratsii ukrainsiv do Kanady (albom fotodokumentiv)*. Kyiv: Dovira, 1992. 79 pp.

A. M. Shlepakov, et al. *Ukrainian Canadians in Historical Ties with the Land of their Fathers (Dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada)*. Trans. Viktor Kotolupov and Viktor Ruzhitsky. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1991. 231 pp. Trans. of *Ukrainski kanadtsi v istorychnykh zv'iazkakh iz zemleiu batkiv* (1990).

Iu. Iu. Slyvka, ed. *Ukrainska emihratsiia: Istorii i suchasnist. Materialy mizhnarodnykh naukovykh konferentsii prysviachenykh 100-richchiu emihratsii ukrainsiv do Kanady*. Lviv: Kameniar, 1992. 384 pp.

The centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada in 1991 coincided with a period of unprecedented, almost inconceivable political upheaval in the homeland. Virtually overnight the Soviet Union collapsed and an independent Ukraine emerged on the world stage. As the old order crumbled, so too did barriers that had kept Ukrainians in Canada and Ukraine apart physically and intellectually, and an ideologically dictated relationship corresponding to the progressive (pro-Soviet, pro-Communist) and nationalist wings of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. The breakdown of traditional ways of interaction and perceiving each other, plus a fresh openness that affected both sides, meant that the Ukrainian-Canadian centennial was observed quite differently from the seventy-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada a quarter of a century earlier.

In 1966 the progressive and the nationalist Ukrainian Canadians celebrated separately, and only the former deliberately incorporated the contemporary homeland into their official anniversary program and construction of historical memory. The proceedings of a joint special convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) and Workers Benevolent Association (WBA), published as *Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century* (1966), best epitomize the progressive approach, with ritualized greetings from the Soviet Union (including from residents of the village of Nebyliv that supplied the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada) and a stress on the progressives' fraternal ties with the USSR and their Soviet Ukrainian brethren.

In 1991 the progressives and the nationalists still celebrated separately, despite some discussion of working together in recognition of the new reality overseas. But the dynamics between Ukrainians in Canada and the homeland had shifted dramatically. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the manner in which not just the Ukrainian-Canadian centennial, but the entire Ukrainian-Canadian historical experience, became—vicariously, of course—an “event” in Ukraine, particularly in intellectual circles.

The three books under review illustrate this point well. First, they demonstrate both the continuity and change in how Ukrainians in Canada and Ukraine have assessed and perceived each other in terms of the past, at the same time as underscoring the impact of politics and rapidly evolving current events on what was deemed historically significant or insignificant and why. And second, they illuminate the nature of the homeland's attachment to this important Ukrainian-Canadian landmark and the one hundred years it

commemorated, suggesting that the centennial was viewed fortuitously as something to be mobilized and exploited for quite domestic purposes reflecting present preoccupations.

The multi-authored *Ukrainian Canadians in Historical Ties with the Land of their Fathers* (five authors from Ukraine, eight from Canada) was a joint project of the Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the Canadian Society for Ukrainian Labour Research, and the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad. The Canadian contributors were all prominent progressives and included their unofficial historian, the late Peter Krawchuk (Petro Kravchuk). The book is plagued by unnecessary repetition of basic information; minor factual mistakes (for example, it is the Order of St. Basil *the Great*, 34); and, in the English edition specifically, typographical errors and sloppy translation (e.g., incorrectly spelled place names such as Mondair [p. 34] and Bellview [p. 60], and the legal term “enemy aliens” reduced to the nonsensical “hostile foreigners” [pp. 57, 76–77]).

Within their self-imposed ideological parameters, the authors provide a decent enough, albeit simplistic, historical overview of Ukrainian-Canadian relations with Ukraine. But as scholarship, the book is severely handicapped by its progressive bias, constructing a past dominated by pro-Soviet, pro-Communist organizations and coloured by their concerns and prejudices. It is significant that the Ukrainian original appeared in 1990, when a restructured Soviet state still seemed possible, and that the English edition was approved for printing after the aborted August 1991 coup but before the USSR disintegrated at year’s end. History-in-the-making, in other words, immediately transformed the book and its interpretive framework into an anachronistic curiosity. As the unintentional swan song of the progressive movement and historiographical tradition, however, it acquires a certain enduring value.

The serious student of Ukrainian-Canadian history—and, to a lesser extent, linguistics and literature—will probably find the discussion in Chapter 11 of research monographs and journalistic articles by Soviet Ukrainians the most useful in the book. Also included are works by Peter Krawchuk, rightly credited as the individual most responsible for Soviet knowledge about Ukrainians in Canada. The analysis of individual works is neither sophisticated nor objective, but the twenty-one titles in the appended bibliography are worth attention for their ideological perspective if not their scholarship. Equally interesting is the authors’ attempts not only at distancing themselves from rote criticism of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” (p. 206) and proclaiming a fresh start, but also at rationalizing how ideology had dictated what they saw in the past:

It is no secret that earlier researchers and journalists, at least the majority of them, while studying and describing capitalist society, tried to find in it negative features first of all, and by emphasizing them brought the reader to a direct or indirect conclusion concerning the advantages of the socialist system. No, not of that future socialist system in accordance with Marxist theory, but the present one, now described as ‘deformed socialism.’ Under the democratization of social life and the affirmation of openness in state policy and in relations between people, we have the opportunity to be more objective in reflecting the processes going on in capitalist countries. Such an approach helps us to overcome the obstacles on the way to mutual understanding, and to correct or

even reject our stereotyped images of their countries and peoples. (p. 194)

Unfortunately, the authors failed to follow their own advice.

The bulk of the book (chapters 3–10, 12) deals with a narrow slice of Ukrainian-Canadian organizational life, namely, the progressive movement and its interaction with the Soviet homeland (nurtured by shared socio-political goals and cultural traditions), with clear heroes and villains and carefully selected subject matter. Both the Catholic and Orthodox churches and secular nationalists receive only passing mention, imputing marginality and irrelevance to them although they were central to community life. Dominating the narrative, as the true representatives of Ukrainian-Canadian farmers and workers, are the pioneer socialist movement and its pro-Soviet, pro-Communist successors, notably the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), the WBA, and the AUUC.

In this context, the “Great October Socialist Revolution,” which “inspired Canadian workers to struggle for a better life and social justice” and “liberated the Ukrainian people from social and national bondage” (p. 62) becomes a positive landmark in the Ukrainian-Canadian consciousness. So does “the reunification of Ukrainian lands” in 1939, when the Soviet Union “liberated” Western Ukraine and the National Assembly in Lviv “requested” incorporation into the Ukrainian SSR (pp. 121–22). Progressives have always found the Second World War problematic, and this work is no exception, choosing to begin with Germany’s attack on the USSR in June 1941, which paved the way for a coalition “of all freedom-loving people against ... fascist aggression” (p. 139). The progressives, of course, unlike their nationalist opponents, had impeccable anti-fascist credentials dating from the Spanish Civil War.

After 1945 cultural-educational contacts between Ukrainian progressive organizations in Canada and the homeland increased, with the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad acting as the bridge. By 1990 it had embraced the “deideologization of international relations” to promote business and other ventures as well (pp. 177–79). Finally, the book discusses the “old and praiseworthy traditions” (p. 209) of the AUUC and WBA since the end of the Second World War on behalf of international peace and co-operation, supporting, for example, nuclear disarmament, the Cuban Revolution, and Canadian withdrawal from NATO. Working in the unfavourable atmosphere was further complicated by “dogmatism in the period of stagnation in the USSR ... and ... a number of miscalculations in Soviet foreign policy” (p. 220), such as the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Subsequent restructuring, openness, and democratization in the Soviet Union, however, encouraged the AUUC to reconsider its automatic and “primitive orientation toward the invariable justification and propagation of any proposal put forward by the Soviet Union or Soviet Ukraine” (p. 221). This last statement might claim a new independence of thought, but it stands at odds with the book’s contents and arguments.

The heroes of the story are the impoverished and oppressed Ukrainian peasantry, hardworking but exploited Ukrainian labourers and homesteaders in Canada, pioneer socialists such as Kyrylo Genyk and Pavlo Krat and the movement they spearheaded, and the pro-Soviet, pro-Communist organizations and leadership that replaced them. The villains, honoured more in the breach than by their presence, include Anglo-Canadian “chauvinists,” wrongthinking Ukrainian-Canadian “right-wing” organizations, and the

Catholic and Orthodox churches. A lengthy quote from the memoirs of Ivan Bodrug, whom the authors fail to identify as a Presbyterian minister, paints the latter as indifferent and uncaring (p. 33). Not all non-progressives, however, are presented as totally bad. Michael Luchkovich commands a certain respect for his stand in the House of Commons against the 1930 Polish Pacification of Galicia; and Vladimir Kaye-Kysilewsky, for his work as a historian, even though “as a politician he was a victim of myths and illusions” (132). The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League also comes across as more tolerant than the Ukrainian National Federation or the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (pp. 122–30).

The biggest villain, though, was Stalin. His “merciless axe” was responsible for the “tragic” fate, “still awaiting full and authentic coverage,” of Canadian Ukrainians who emigrated to Soviet Ukrainian communes in the 1920s and disappeared during the following decade. “Future historians,” the authors urge, “should seek out the names of all the Canadian communards, determine who fell victim to the terror and do justice to these noble people” (pp. 96–97). Stalin also “deceived” the Ukrainian-Canadian progressives about the 1932–33 famine, sparking the belated admission concerning the 1935 schism in the ULFTA that, in light of newly released documents, “Danilo Lobay was right in his condemnation of Stalinist lawlessness and the deformation of the Soviet social system” (p. 118). Still, Lobay and his colleagues were never “genuine leaders of the masses,” whom they “looked down on ... and, in a word, they turned into typical bureaucrats, political bankrupts” (p. 118). It is such awkward revisionism, as the authors try to adjust a long-held worldview to the new reality, more than its traditional progressive spin, that makes this book interesting.

Published two years after the Ukrainian original of *Ukrainian Canadians in Historical Ties with the Land of their Fathers* (and approved for printing in December 1991, the month of the independence referendum in Ukraine), *Z ridnoho hnizda* breaks the familiar mould. It leaves much to be desired technically, especially for a “photodocument,” as the many photographs are grainy and often retouched by hand, and grey textual highlights simply blend into the page. But the book is a refreshingly impartial and competent introduction to Ukrainian-Canadian history, particularly for audiences in Ukraine and at the elementary-school level. Section One reprints a short piece from 1950 by progressive activist Matthew Shatulsky on the immigration to Canada of the first two Ukrainians, Ivan Pylypiw and Vasyl Eleniak. Section Two, the “photodocument” proper, is dominated by visuals ranging from Pylypiw’s cottage in his native Nebyliv to prairie scenes, individual portraits, passports and book jackets, and dance troupes. Most are well known to Ukrainians in Canada (despite claims in the frontispiece about their uniqueness), but new to readers in Ukraine. And even Ukrainian Canadians will not have seen the facsimiles of documents from Ukrainian archives.

But what really makes *Z ridnoho hnizda* stand out from accounts of the Ukrainian-Canadian experience from the Soviet period, including *Ukrainian Canadians in Historical Ties with the Land of their Fathers*, is the text by the historian V. S. Lozytsky, deputy director of the State Archives Administration. First, there is the conceptual packaging around the notion of “our diaspora.” Although the idea is not pushed, in effect it claims the Ukrainian emigrant experience as a continuing part of the history of the Ukrainian nation, and thus, by extension, the emigrants’ descendants themselves as part of the Ukrainian nation. In another context, this latter assumption has clear political implications. Second, Lozytsky explicitly repudiates the selectivity applied to Ukrainian-Canadian

history in Soviet times. “Until recently,” he quotes from the 17 January 1991 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina*, “what did we know about our brothers across the ocean? Overseas Ukraine was for us virtually a terra incognita... But the truth is being told. The Iron Curtain has fallen, and the scales are falling from our eyes” (p. 79).

Lozysky restricts the progressives to three photographs (Winnipeg’s famous Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple, the writer Myroslav Irchan, and the facsimile of a letter he wrote in 1927), and a cameo appearance for ULFTA just before the end, in which its cultural activities, and not ties with Soviet Ukraine, are the focus. The space formerly reserved for the pro-Soviet, pro-Communist movement is now devoted to a factual and objective treatment of organizations, institutions, and individuals previously ignored or anathematized for “bourgeois nationalism.” They include both the Catholic and Orthodox churches; spiritual leaders such as Nykyta Budka and Semen Sawchuk; pioneer *bursy* and *narodni domy*; the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and Ukrainian National Federation (Plast is mistakenly identified as its youth affiliate); the dance instructor Vasyl Avramenko and the choirmaster Oleksander Koshets; and publications such as the novels of Ulas Samchuk and the political tracts of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Nationalist organizations are still identified with the “intelligentsia”; and the ULFTA, with workers and farmers. But the old biases dictating subject matter and interpretive slant are gone. As Anatolii Mykhailenko writes in the preface: “Ukraine today regards its overseas children with different eyes, without prejudice and ideological blinkers” (p. 8).

*Ukrainska emihratsiia*, the final book under review, breaks new ground in yet another direction. It consists of papers from a conference held in Lviv in September 1990 that drew together academics and others from Soviet Ukraine and elsewhere to share research results and perspectives on Ukrainian issues and life abroad, past and present. The sponsors were the Institute of Social Sciences and the Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ukraina Society (as the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad was popularly known), Lviv State University, and the Canadian Society for Ukrainian Labour Research. Canadian participants included established progressive activists such as Peter Krawchuk, Myron Shatulsky, and Mary Skrypyk, but they shared the platform with three “nationalist” scholars: Prof. Manoly Lupul (then the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies), Prof. Bohdan Medwidsky (a folklorist at the University of Alberta), and a recent doctoral graduate, the historian Andrii Krawchuk. In addition to the familiar Arnold Shlepakov, among the Soviet contributors writing about Ukrainian Canadians were younger faces, such as Stepan Kacharaba from Lviv and Oleksandr Makar from Chernivtsi.

Altogether, twenty-four articles on the Ukrainians in Canada appear in Part One. The eighteen selections in Part Two deal with countries other than Canada: Ukraine itself (such as emigration from Transcarpathia and the interwar Society for the Protection of Ukrainian Emigrants in Lviv), overseas (for example, the nationalist priest Ahapii Honcharenko in the United States and Ukrainians in Brazil), and neighbouring Europe (Ukrainian political émigrés in Germany in the 1930s and the Ukrainian question in the Francophone world, to name two). Typically for a collection of conference proceedings, the quality and length of individual submissions are uneven, some articles are more original and innovative than others, and there is no overall common thread to bind them. But regardless of their contribution to Ukrainian emigration and immigration studies in

terms of new scholarship, these works and their authors represent an unprecedented step in scholarly collaboration across ideological and geographical divides.

The most relevant section of the book for a review of Soviet publications marking the Ukrainian-Canadian centennial is obviously Part One. A few articles examine cultural themes, including questions of ethnic identity, and another handful look at language and linguistic issues (translation, syntax, borrowing). But the greater number echo the fascination in Canada with the first, pre-1914 immigration and entertain stock historical topics: conditions in late nineteenth-century Galicia and Bukovyna, the activities of emigration agents and shipping companies, agricultural settlement, pioneer literature, and individuals such as Ivan Pylypiw and Pavlo Krat. Aspects of the interwar experience—the dynamics of emigration from Western Ukraine, the ULFTA's youth schools, organized progressive women, Ukrainian life in Canada as mirrored in the Western Ukrainian press—also receive specific attention.

Sometimes authors do little more than summarize information or research findings for Ukrainian readers in Ukraine that is widely accessible in Canada; sometimes the main feature of individual pieces seems to be a growing familiarity among Soviet scholars with Ukrainians in Canada and the existing Canadian literature. Neither feat, however, is insignificant. At times the authors from Canada and Ukraine speak to each other directly and self-consciously, acknowledging, for example, the chasm that separated them (p. 153) and explaining the Ukrainian-Canadian reality of assimilation at a crucial turning point in Ukrainian history (p. 18). Even more interesting is Volodymyr Ievtukh's outsider's perspective of Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity (pp. 160–65).

In terms of original archival research, documented sources, thesis statement, and a critical approach to their subject matter, the articles by the Ukrainian-Canadian progressive contributors tend to be the least academic, although the Soviet historians are also often more descriptive than analytical. However, the latter (as well as Andrii Krawchuk, casting new light on the attitudes of French-speaking priests working among Ukrainian Catholic immigrants) utilize materials in local Ukrainian archives to explore, in particular, emigration activities on Ukrainian soil in particular. If the Canadian contribution to the volume is dissemination in Ukraine of the results of Canadian research, the Soviet contribution is the identification of some of the domestic archival and library sources that will only benefit Ukrainian-Canadian studies in the future.

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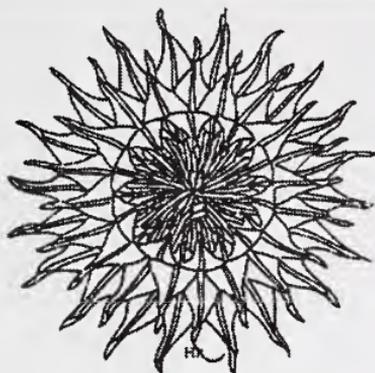
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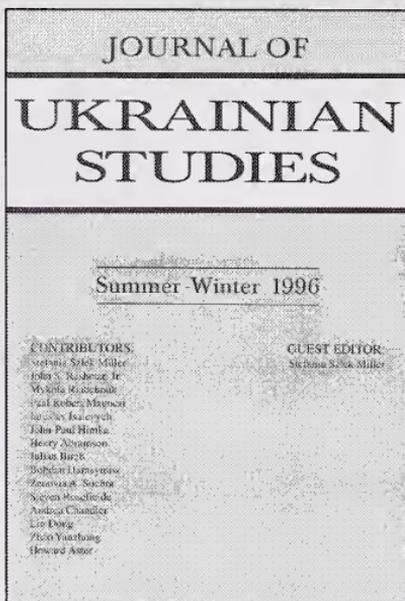
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