

# JOURNAL

## OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

**Mary Ann Szporluk and I.R. Titunik:** Ukrainian Baroque  
Poetry and Drama in Translation

**Oleh S. Ilnytskyj:** The Cossack and Peasant Ethos in  
Conflict: Reflections on *Хіба ревуть воли,  
як ясла повні?*

**Marta Tarnawsky:** Ukrainian Literature in English Published  
Since 1980: Part 4

**Colin P. Neufeldt:** Fifth Column? New Light on the Soviet  
Germans and Their Relationship to the Third  
Reich

**Book Reviews**

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# ЖУРНАЛ

УКРАЇНОЗНАВЧИХ СТУДІЙ

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## UKRAINIAN BAROQUE POETRY AND DRAMA IN TRANSLATION

*Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj (? –1646)*

### A SONG SUITABLE FOR THE FEASTS OF LORDS\*

O sudden Death,  
Thou catchest me ere I my breath.  
Woe's me, a mighty wealthy lord,  
Thou'st snatched away my precious hoard,  
And hid for aye in dark what once my eyes adored.  
Where now my castles, their costly fortifications,  
My palaces, their fine and splendid decorations?  
My gold-laden coffers?  
My gold-bridled horses?  
Where my shining finery embroidered with gold thread?  
My lynx and sable furs, my splendid silks and satins red?  
O Death, thy coming snatched all this away  
And from my eyes 'tis hid in dark for aye.  
My gardens where?  
My vineyards fair?  
These by thy feet, O Death, downtrodden be  
And snatched from me for aye most suddenly

---

\*The original is written in non-isosyllabic lines rhymed generally in couplets but with occasional runs of three or more consecutive rhymes. The rhymes are often inexact, which the translation mirrors. The poem is part of Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj's cycle of prose and verse pieces published under the title *Perlo mnohocēnnoe*/The Pearl of Great Price 1. The text is reproduced in *Ukrains'ka Poezija (kinec' XVI—počatok XVII st.)*, ed. V.P. Kolosova and V.I. Krekoten' (Kiev, 1978), 316–18. Translation by I.R. Titunik.

By underlings of thine

and enemies of mine.

My treasures are spoiled and stripped,

My costly tapestries to shreds are ripped.

O Death, thou surly art and full of spite,

My misery alone is thy delight.

Thou dost me suddenly of all undo

And midst the stinking corpses lay'st me out to stew.

My friends who whiff my body's stench

Stand far from me and noses clench.

But yesterday my house held lavish cheer,

Musicians plinging,

singers gaily singing,

From brass trumpets blares out ringing,

Dancers hopping, skipping, springing,

Goblets filled with wine and swilled and spilled,

My tables covered o'er with choicest meat,

My company all guests and friends from the elite.

But now all cheerful, goodly things have gone,

Glory and wealth have fled into oblivion,

Now only what is evil doth me dote upon.

Fear, anguish, groans

and tearful moans.

Death, thou full of spite and surly art,

Stingy of ear and hard of heart,

Sollicitous alone to cause us smart.

Thou'st struck me down still young and quick

And played on me a double trick:

My well-loved friends, they weep for me;

Mine enemies, they leap with glee.

Servants but yesterday flocked to my call,

Today I have not one to be with me at all.

They stand aside

and noses hide.

My retinue, who now me so abhor

And just a stinking carcass take me for,

One final duty only do me owe:

Into the dark box me to bestow

And upon me heavy earth to throw

That vicious worms may quickly fatter grow.

O Death, of thee how dread the contemplation,  
At which my soul is now in fear and trepidation.  
Thy sword thou'st bared 'gainst one and all  
And with it mighty giants caused to fall  
Beneath thy feet and trampled them withal.  
The famous of this age hast thou displaced  
And hid in dark without a trace.  
Where now the men who lovers are of leisure?  
Men who love rich pleasure,

men who lust for treasure?

All hast thou trapped in death's grim net  
And in dark doom away hast set.  
Where now tyrants worthy of blame  
And where princes of the world's good fame,  
Who sport with high flying birds  
And sometimes with ground-dwelling beasts?  
Death hath them to the tomb translated,  
Their joy and glory confiscated.  
Where now the vainglorious warriors,  
The innocents' iniquitous worriers?  
And where the hetmans fearsome and imperious?  
From Death's swift sword they took the wound  
And now inert in dark they lie entombed  
And by the vicious worms are soon consumed.  
O surly, fearsome Death, thou tak'st the crowns from  
                    emperor and king  
And to the grave dost them bareheaded bring.  
Thou in this world much mischief makest  
And with sage philosophers amusement takest:  
Within their heads, where shining wisdom once did stay and  
                    had held sway,  
There now remains but an hiatus of decay,  
And thanks to thee, 'tis filled with worm array.  
O Death, through thy advent so fearful  
And my time so grievous and tearful,  
Thou bindest in silence the honeyed tongue of eloquence  
And bringest forth before the audience,  
Like a dumb scarecrow, some fellow  
Famous as orator and well learned in word lore.  
And many a jokester's unclosed mouth hast thou put to rot,

With rotten teeth left where lips now are not.  
 Thou makest fat bodies verminous,  
 Not with perfume anointest but vapors malodorous;  
 Handsomeness thou turnest all hideous.  
 O Death, such is thy power over us.  
 Thou rich men from their riches hast riven  
 And all the famous of our age into thy dark dungeon driven.  
 The mighty of this world thou hast cast beneath thy feet  
 And made the vicious worms to be their winding sheet.  
 O Death, hideous and pitiless, thou art like a maddened mower  
 Who ravages under foot a most marvelous flower.  
 Nor for youth nor for beauty know'st thou misericord  
 And not a one of such persons hast thou pity toward.  
 O death, who dost not eyes bend and ears dost not lend,  
 Thou settest not aside persons of high station;  
 Thou turn'st a deaf ear to our lamentation.  
 O Death, such is thy natural detestation,  
 Thou nor heed'st nor see'st any person's supplication.  
 All equally dost thou take  
and into the dark grave rake
 And food for vermin make.  
 O Death wrathful,  
thy power is dreadful.



*Stefan Javors'kyj (1658–1722)*

from EMBLEMMATA ET SYMBOLA\*

Emblemma I

My mortal body wound in shroud of murk and night,  
     no straight way could I gaze upon the Triune Light.  
 But as in mirror peering, beyond unending space,  
     I oped the eye of Faith and saw my Maker's face.<sup>1</sup>  
 But now, behold, Death hath demolisht all that mirror  
     and giveth me the hope to see my God the clearer.

II

A blessing Death bestows on me, not strife,  
     by sundering my union brief with life;  
 For Death not me but chains round me doth tear  
     that held me down in dungeon of despair.  
 Thus, that Death giveth me which I willed well,  
     that I might be released in Christ to dwell.

III

My house of flesh, which Death's resistless thrust  
     doth tumble down, was made of wretched dust.  
 But Heaven holds our other domicile;  
     *that* home is, *this*—a refuge for a while.  
 And so I feel about this downfall no distress:  
     my Father's house once reached, I'll need no refuges.

---

\*Translation of the first six emblems which constitute a self-contained unit having the dedicatee as speaker. The entire cycle memorializes the death of Varlaam Jasyns'kyj (1627–1707) and consists of eight emblem and eleven symbol poems in six-line stanzas of thirteen-syllable rhymed couplets. It has been speculated that the first six emblems were meant to serve as Jasyns'kyj's epitaph. The entire text is reproduced in I.P. Eremin, "K voprosu o stixotvorenijax Feofana Prokopoviča," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, VI, 1960, 507–10. Translation by I.R. Titunik.

## IV

Well knowing where all laid up treasures ought to lie,<sup>2</sup>  
     my spirit ever soared to dwelling place on high.  
 There rests my precious pearl, and there our gold is held,  
     there, too, eternally is where my heart hath dwelled.  
 How vain that Death my fleshly house doth cave in,  
     when safe and sound remains my home in Heaven.

## V

My fam'ly blazonry's adorning sign, the Moon,<sup>3</sup>  
     my mind inscribed in me as lay I in Death's swoon;  
 For earth will cover me when in the earth I'm laid  
     and there, as doth the moon's, so my light, too, will fade.  
 But up above where Triune Sun its light eternal  
     doth shine, I shall emblazoned be with Sun supernal.

## VI

Of Jacob have I heard who laid on stone his head<sup>4</sup>  
     and, dreaming, saw a ladder that up to Heaven led.  
 Fain to follow Jacob, asleep in Death's repose,  
     I tomb of Virgin Mother to be my pillow chose.<sup>5</sup>  
 I see thee, Jacob's ladder, thou lead'st us unto God!  
     O guide me, Holy Mary, on high to His abode.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Reference to 1 Corinthians 13:12.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to Matthew 6:19–21.

<sup>3</sup> A moon appears in the Jasyns'kyj family coat of arms. Heraldic poetry, extremely popular in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, is of course emblematic poetry par excellence.

<sup>4</sup> Reference to Genesis 28:10–17.

<sup>5</sup> Jasyns'kyj was buried in the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mother of God in the Kiev Crypt Monastery.

*Stefan Javors'kyj (1658–1722)*

Two versions of a poem based on the *ikos* “Radujsja, čertože bezsemennago uneveščenija”/“Hail, Chamber of the Nuptial without Seed.”\*

a)

Thy chamber, Holy Mary, I see—’tis wondrous fair,  
     Lord God our human flesh upon Himself took there.  
 How dare I unto Thee approach, who am all gloom,  
     as doth make manifest my foul and stained costume?  
 Shed light, I pray, on me whom darkness hath dismayed:  
     a shadow I, but Thou art all in Sun arrayed.

b)

O Virgin Mother of God, Thou art in Sun arrayed;  
     how dare I unto Thee approach, who am all shade?  
 Thou Beauty art, I—filth, in Thee is no spot found,  
     whilst I in the deep slough of foulnesses am drowned.  
 Thou Grace art, meanness—I; Thou—Paradise, I—hell;  
     the Holy Spirit in thine every part doth dwell,  
 Whilst I’m the devil’s man, crammed full of devil’s spite.  
     No mingling, then, can be betwixt me, murk, Thee, Light.

---

\* Both poems are in thirteen-syllable rhymed couplets. The first appeared, with the author identified as Javors'kyj, in Lavrentij Horka's *Ideo Artis Poeseos* (manuscript of the first decade of the eighteenth century). The second (variant) was included by Feofan Prokopovyč in an appendix to his *De Arte Poetica*, prefaced by a statement that these were verses “in which a certain most eminent and learned man, held in high esteem by our college, . . . in so very reverent a manner addresses the Blessed Virgin” (Feofan Prokopovyč, *Sočinenija*, ed. I.P. Eremin [Moscow, 1961], 262). That the expression “most eminent and learned man” refers to Javors'kyj is a fact long ago established by N.I. Petrov (see below) and reconfirmed more recently by Ryszard Łużny (see his “‘Poëtika’ Feofana Prokopoviča i teorija poëzii v Kievo-Mogiljanskoj akademii (Pervaja polovina XVIII veka),” *Rol' i značenie literatury XVIII veka v istorii russkoj kul'tury* [Moscow-Leningrad, 1966], 51, and “Stefan Jaworski—poeta nieznany,” *Slavia Orientalis*, no. 4, XVI, 1967, 376). Both poems are printed in N.I. Petrov, “O slovesnyx naukax i literaturnyx zanjatijax v Kievskoj Akademii ot načala ee do preobrazovanija v 1819 g.,” *Trudy Kievskoj Duxovnoj Akademii*, I, 1867, 86, from which the texts for translation were taken. Translation by I.R. Titunik.

*Feofan Prokopovyč (1681–1736)*

**AN EPITAPH FOR THE RECENTLY DECEASED  
DEACON ADAM\***

Thou laughed, O Adam, over worldly vanity  
 (Thyself its folly having known to some degree),  
 How some men after empty honours hotly lust,  
 Whence they so sick at heart become they bite the dust;  
 Or someone spends his days and nights, and never sleeps,  
 Scheming how he might feast his eyes on golden heaps;  
 Or there are those who kiss the high and mighty's feet  
 And reckon naught too lowly or too indiscreet.  
 These things thou mocked. Now called to Heaven's  
                   heights from Earth,  
 Thou mock'st our fuss and fume with even greater mirth,  
 While we shed bitter tears for thee, all woebegone  
 That death so soon, so swiftly thee descended on.  
 This, too, becomes a target for thy comic jeers  
 And we who mourn for thee give over shedding tears.

---

\*A translation of Feofan's Slavic version, in thirteen-syllable rhymed couplets, of his original poem in Latin elegiac couplets. Both texts are reproduced in Feofan Prokopovič, *Sočinenija*, ed. I.P. Eremin (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 220 (Slavic) and 486 (Latin). Translation by I.R. Titunik.

*Dmytro Rostovs'kyj [Daniil Tuptalo] (1651–1709)*

**RACHEL'S LAMENT\***

Shall I force my tongue to speak, or utter no reply  
 When I hear you question me, from where and who am I?  
 Lamentation hinders me from speaking forth my tale;  
 Often sobs well up in me and cause my words to fail.  
 Yet I cannot be silent; my heart is seized with pain  
 And my soul full wounded is, great grief it does sustain.  
 How can a fire be hidden that rages in the breast?  
 How can I conceal the pain of spirit so distressed?  
 From out my soul's affliction, my spirit's voice proclaims  
 The grief alive within it, and "Woe, o Woe!" exclaims.  
 Thus do I announce to all who fix their gaze on me,  
 Desiring to be apprised of what this is they see:  
 I am Rachel's mournful wail, I am her sad lament,  
 And truly many sorrows to Rachel's heart were sent.  
 My people, do you not know this Rachel I speak of?  
 Once she lived together with her husband named Jacob;  
 She was the wife of Jacob, a saintly man and fair,  
 Who once saw in the heavens a vision of a stair  
 On which the feet of angels were climbing up and down,  
 And to the sleeping Jacob many secrets were made known.  
 He was husband of that wife of whom the prophet said:  
 "A voice was heard in Ramah, loud tears did Rachel shed  
 For her beloved children, children dearly cherished,  
 Who at the hands of evil, pitiless men perished.  
 Thenceforth Rachel would refuse to be consoled again  
 Having seen the dreadful sight of all her children slain."  
 But may not someone gainsay: "Few fruits did Rachel bear;  
 For long her womb was barren, then two sons did appear:  
 Joseph, a youth most handsome, and Benjamin, her last;  
 After Rachel bore these two, her time on earth had passed.  
 Yet her sons lived a long while; her children both were sound,  
 They multiplied their people, and both great tribes did found:

---

\*Scene 10 of Rostovs'kyj's *Roždestvenskaja Drama* (Nativity Play). The text was translated from *Russkaja dramaturgija poslednej četverti XVII i načala XVIII v.*, Moscow, 1972, ed. O.A. Derzhavina et al. The scene is written in 13-syllable and 11-syllable line couplets. Translated by Mary Ann Szporluk.

Over whom, then, I wonder, grieves this mother forlorn?  
 Over whom does she sorrow? What infant does she mourn?"

Whoever thus has spoken knows not the secrets great  
 Of God; he has not perceived the vast abyss of fate.  
 Let that mystery be known that many do not know:  
 What took place in Jacob's home in that time long ago.  
 Rachel, who yet was childless, had long in spirit grieved,  
 For no fruit by her husband had she ever conceived.  
 Then God remembered Rachel, her barrenness, her prayer;  
 Hearing her warm entreaty, a child He let her bear.  
 And with this gift He gave her out of His great mercy  
 The spirit of a prophet—prophetic would she be  
 Fully able to foresee what the future would bring  
 And to know what would befall each one of her offspring:  
 Her children and their children to the very last age;  
 Their fortunes and misfortunes, their freedom and bondage.  
 Thus as Rachel was about to bring forth her first son,  
 E'en before she gave to suck that tiny new-born one,  
 She saw visions in her sleep in the night as she lay:  
 All that Joseph would endure her visions did portray.  
 She saw his brothers sell him into captivity,  
 He was bound and led away; a slave he was, unfree;  
 Rachel heard his sobs and wails; to her he wept in pain,  
 He cried "Rachel, o Rachel," imploring her again,  
 "Rachel, o mother mine, why have you forsaken me?  
 Mother, from these evil hands your first-born child set free!"

Rachel often saw this sight in the midst of a dream,  
 She would awake in horror; in darkness she would scream  
 And clasp the child to her breast; often she held him so,  
 While the tears from her eyes like a river would flow.  
 And again when she conceived Benjamin, her second,  
 Before he was delivered, she could see far beyond;  
 What his future was she knew when he was in her womb,  
 And her prophetic visions made known all that would come:  
 She saw all that would befall the tribe of Benjamin—  
 Its trials and tribulations, the downfall of his kin:  
 Some by foreign tribes were scattered, some by their own dispersed,  
 But none were spared destruction; his stock was most accursed.  
 And in its full unfolding this prophetess beheld  
 The feuding that was to be, and the folk cruelly felled:

From the bright face of the earth the tribe of Benjamin  
Would be torn and uprooted by his very own kin,  
And this in retribution for a sinful, cruel deed  
Which even now to recall is most loathsome indeed.  
This mother also foresaw a second evil hour  
When the sword of Assyria would utterly devour  
The last part of Benjamin, and her eye fell upon  
Those not slain, now chained as slaves, sent off to Babylon.  
Rachel, having seen this sight with her prophetic eye,  
Then sobbed forth sobs most bitter, and doubly did she cry:  
First for those of hers now slain, and then for those enslaved  
Children, her most beloved, who never would be saved.  
Yet for none of these children did Rachel lament more  
Than in that evil hour of pain and dire dolour  
When she beheld the sharp sword unsheathed in such hurry  
To murder all Bethlehem's small children in fury.  
Those kin who fought in battle their foes' offenses braved,  
And others hoped for freedom, though now they were enslaved;  
But these innocent infants wrapped up in swaddling clothes,  
How could they defend themselves against these  
murderous foes?

The sight of this dread vision moved Rachel's tears to flow,  
And from her bitter weeping no comfort did she know  
Even till the hour of death. But when, as she still cried,  
She gave birth to Benjamin and soon thereafter died,  
Her venerable body was buried in a grave  
Which to the site then hallowed the name of Rachel gave.  
And later in this same place was Bethlehem laid down  
Which from the tomb of Rachel was known as Rachel's town.  
And when murder most savage in Bethlehem was done,  
Again the lamentation of Rachel was begun:  
For although deprived of life in the tomb she rested,  
Nonetheless to Rachel's soul all was manifested.  
Thus, for that which was to be, just as she once had cried  
When she was alive, so now she sobs, though she has died;  
Most bitterly still she sobs for what shall come to be,  
Just as the evangelist wrote down for men to see:  
"A voice is heard in Ramah; most woeful come its moans  
From the town of Bethlehem, whose dirge it now intones.  
Rachel's weeping voice is heard, and with more pain it sounds



Than did her first lament, in grief it so abounds.  
 For then the cry of mourning from one lone throat was born,  
 And from a single pair of eyes tears issued forth forlorn;  
 But now for every infant, for each whose blood is shed,  
 A mother's voice is howling in mourning for her dead."  
 Of this plaint I am the voice; its herald everywhere,  
 From the time when Rachel lived till now its pain I bear.  
 Tidings to all who hear me I bring most piteous  
 Of mere babes cruelly slaughtered the death most hideous.  
 Let him who to compassion can render up his heart  
 Commiserate with Rachel at least in some small part,  
 With Rachel's suffering heart let his heart sympathize,  
 Let Rachel's endless weeping bring warm tears to his eyes.  
 For Herod, that cruel tyrant, despiser of all good,  
 The very embodiment 'mong men of Satanhood,  
 Thinking he would thus be rid of the newly born king,  
 Marked all of the innocent infants for slaughtering.  
 Troops of soldiers he dispatched, well-armed as though for war,  
 As though they were to battle a foreign conqueror.  
 O, most renowned tormentor, to my words now listen:  
 As you have these gentle youths assaulted by your men,  
 Have they gathered warriors to fight against your reign?  
 Are they raising regiments that threaten your domain;  
 These infants whom you tear away from their mothers' breast?  
 And cruelly these innocents your swords now put to rest.  
 When I contemplate these things with my spiritual eye,  
 In mournful words I address my heart with heavy sigh:  
 "O heart, o my heart, you are harder than stone,  
 Why hold back your tears, in rivers they would run;  
 Why, in your sorrow, are your tears yet unfelt  
                     like wax that does not melt?  
 Behold how piteous and grievous these times be!  
 The wails of mothers din deep inside of me,  
 Mothers for children raising tearful dirge,  
                     in village and burg.  
 Dear babes are soaking in the blood that has bled,  
 Mothers are drowning in the bitter tears shed;  
 While ignoble troops strike the children dead  
                     sans pity or dread.  
 Most furious beasts seize babes from mothers' hands,

Tear them from sweet breasts, as Herod them commands:

All are sacrificed, these lambs quite innocent  
    whose bodies now are rent.

All Bethlehem land with ghastly look's imbrued,  
 Stained by crimson streams of sinless infants' blood;  
 In fields and streets a sea of blood does flow,

   O, misery; O, woe!

Full fourteen thousand it behooved them to kill,  
 And yet of such blood they have not had their fill,  
 Nor yet have they quenched that beastly man's fell thirst,

   Herod, the accursed.

Innocence cries out to Heaven with loud pleas,  
 Herod, you shall sate your thirst in brimstone seas;  
 So it will be when to Hell you make descent  
    to eternal torment.

I weep and shall weep with no end to my grief,  
 The pain in my heart shall never know relief;  
 Against foul Herod I'll cry imprecations  
    unto all generations."

(Song: "A voice is heard in Ramah . . .")

Lavrentyj Horka (1671–1737)

## JOSEPH THE PATRIARCH\*

*Joseph the Patriarch,*

*Who through his betrayal, bondage, servitude, and the honour of the royal throne prefigured Christ, the Son of God, who was betrayed, who suffered and was resurrected with glory, is presented in the magnificent Kievan Academy for the sight of the Christian-loving people of the Russian Empire by its noble Imperial Russian sons in a performance called a tragicomedy by the poets, on the 25th day of May in the year 1708 on the Tuesday after Pentecost.*

### ACT 1, SCENE I

*In Egypt a friend of Joseph's rejoices, for Joseph, though he was once on the point of death and then sold by his brothers into slavery, had not perished; he announces that Joseph lives well in the house of the nobleman Potiphar and is in full charge of all Potiphar's wealth.*

O, that blessing such as this, which we have now received  
 Would dwell with us forever, for without hope we grieved  
 Till this day brought news of him; O, that such grace would stay!  
 I could want nothing better than what I have this day,  
 That my beloved Joseph, my friend, beauteous to see,  
 Sold unto certain death, is alive, from death is free!  
 A joy which knows no measure is nurtured in my breast,  
 It fills my heart and my mind; this joy I manifest.  
 And so my soul makes merry, and my heart is as light  
 As if something I had lost reappeared in my sight.  
 Join me now, o chosen friends, in my glad rejoicing:  
 For lo! Joseph, who was sold, is found among the living!  
 Leap for joy, o ye mountains! O high hills hereabout,  
 From your depths release rivers, let your sweet streams rush out!  
 Land of Canaan, celebrate this day for ever more,

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\* Translated from the text in Nikolaj Tikhonravov, *Dramaticheskija Proizvedenija 1672–1725*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1874. A number of scenes have been omitted in the translation. The synopses of the omitted scenes appear in the source. Most of *Joseph* is written in couplet rhyme in 13-syllable lines. Other meters and rhyme schemes are used in the choruses. The translation is faithful to the original form. Translated by Mary Ann Szporluk.

Because your fruit has blossomed upon a distant shore.  
 Jacob, though your older years are troubled with great woes,  
 And filled with bitter weeping, dress now in unrent clothes;  
 For lo! today God wishes to wipe the tears you shed  
 From off your eyes and give you jubilant tears instead.  
 Fratricidal envy will presently appear:  
 Shown by God, who dwells on high, and sees all that is here.  
 Even the blood-soaked garments will be revealed most plain,  
 Though the blood was not Joseph's but a goat's which was slain.  
 For lo, unto slavery was your son sold away,  
 Though his kin had conspired to murder him that day;  
 Yet in Potiphar's house now he is the very lord,  
 Living with nobility and having great reward.  
 Over all his master's wealth is he given command,  
 And rightly does he rule and oversee his land.  
 Each of you be joyful, then, who have lived in truth's ways,  
 And chosen the path of light over dark all your days.  
 For behold, from death God saved an innocent young man,  
 And did not let his brothers fulfill their evil plan!  
 Be filled with joy then, Reuben, for what has been fulfilled  
 Is what you so desired: your brother was not killed,  
 But lives and dwells in Egypt, and lacks for nothing there;  
 Neither in want nor in woe has Joseph had to share.  
 You cried aloud when Joseph was not found in the pit,  
 Today among foreigners in favour does he sit.  
 "The lad is gone," you shouted, "without me he will die!"  
 "And I, where shall I go now? In agony I cry."  
 Judah, you spoke also then: "Do not kill our brother,  
 But sell him into bondage; would that in another  
 Land he die; for he is ours, our own blood and our flesh."  
 And behold, like a lily does he blossom so fresh.  
 He blooms among the thistles; his spirit does not fade;  
 In glory most splendid is Joseph now arrayed.  
 Therefore I do make merry, and joyfully I play,  
 Because I see my Joseph, who is alive this day.  
 Jacob, if you are able to see what is ahead,  
 What glad tidings you will have of the son you thought dead.  
 Wherefore the light of your eyes was extinguished before,  
 Now it is kindled again, his light now shines once more;  
 It shines throughout all Egypt, proclaiming to all men

That in Potiphar's house our Joseph lives again.

## ACT 1, SCENE II

### *Envy*

*The spirit of fratricidal envy, which incited the brothers to slay Joseph, having heard from Joseph's friend that Joseph is alive, rages and curses Joseph and his brothers, as well as Potiphar and that day on which Joseph was not murdered; and it wants Joseph to die by any means.*

Alas! Alas! O woe is me! O woe so dolorous!  
 O madness! I am tortured by grief most furious!  
 O sorrow! What do I hear? What madness do you sound?  
 What nonsense? What joy is this you weave your words around?  
 What kind of joy? Speak out now! Utter your words so bold!  
 Joseph, the despised, still lives? Repeat what you have told.  
 And where is he? Does he still make his way on this earth?

### *Joseph's friend.*

He lives in Potiphar's house, and all his master's worth  
 Joseph has full charge of; his is a life most fair.

### *Envy.*

No, no! Your words are false: in no way and nowhere  
 Can he be alive. Why, then, do you idly chatter?  
 I do not believe you, idiot! Of this matter  
 You know nothing. I did incite the brothers to kill  
 Him in fury, but you say he keeps on living still?  
 This I cannot bear to hear. Today he is alive?  
 O, cursed be that time when Joseph did survive,  
 When he was spared from dying! O, most deceitful hour,  
 When death that wretched Joseph did not foully devour!  
 He did escape for a while, did escape from my clutch,  
 That perfidious dreamer, but I'll not abide such  
 News, not abide it at all. I will not let him be,  
 But hasten to slaughter him presently, presently.  
 Against him I shall raise the nethermost depths of hell,  
 With poison most fatal I'll make many hearts swell,  
 All of Satan's forces to my bidding I shall call,

They will swiftly scurry forth and bring about his fall.  
 O, idiotic brothers, no murder did you dare!  
 You have no minds! No reason at all! For you did spare  
 The enemy, your brother. And if this enemy  
 Remains alive, then what we dreamt will come to be:  
 When he sits upon the throne you needs must tribute pay.  
 It would have been better had he not been sold away  
 Unto slavery; if in the desert you did slay  
 Him, but now you'll have to toil every moment of the day.  
 Woe to you! For you will have to minister unto  
 Your younger brother as unto a lord, to him who  
 Should have had to serve you; his rule you now will know.  
 Alas! What great misfortune! O woe to you! O woe!  
 O dearly beloved hell! Even your dominion  
 So powerful—alack!—will certain be undone  
 And made most shameful if this single youth so mighty  
 Conquers you and proves hell helpless for eternity.  
 This youth does not desire joy, nor pleasure does he crave,  
 He does not honour common gods, nor is he power's slave.  
 He scorns the sacred customs of Egypt and all those  
 Gods who are beloved to you he hurries to oppose.  
 How stupid this Potiphar! O, let him be cursed, who  
 Does not coerce Joseph in every way to do  
 His will: indolently, he troubles not to direct  
 Him to good fortune: what's more, he shows him great respect.  
 O woe to my very self, because this deceitful  
 Dreamer is alive! Most detestable and shameful  
 Is that hour when from my clutches he did slip away!  
 I shall seek bitter torments for him day after day.

### ACT 1, SCENE III

*The Power of Hell comes from hell with devils to help Envy and to contemplate various deaths for Joseph; finally, in compliance with the wishes of Envy, she desires to put Joseph's body and soul to dishonourable death.*

*The Power of Hell.*

Do not be so troubled! Do not be afraid! For all

Our hope has not yet perished, nor is our strength made small.  
 We shall destroy him certain, destroy him, we do vow;  
 Such do we ourselves desire. His death is ready now,  
 And it will be most sudden; for soon he needs must die,  
 As in our power his life and bitter end do lie.  
 But let us now beforehand take counsel on which end  
 Will be the cruellest one for him.

*Envy.*

Make ready to send  
 The strongest legions of death; against him they shall be  
 Fully unleashed that we may kill him most speedily  
 And lead him down to hell.

*The Power of Hell.*

I shall this day prepare them,  
 And I offer you my praise for your fine stratagem.  
 But now let us select a doom for him which will be  
 Most strong. Shall we cleave his abominable body  
 With a sword, or drown him alive in the deepest sea?

*Envy.*

Yea, but in neither of these ways do I wish to see  
 Him die: for even good men time and again are cleft,  
 And to the waves of the sea many men have been left.

*The Power of Hell.*

Shall we give him fatal drops, as to an enemy,  
 That make his insides tear apart, or rather shall we  
 Impale his severed head upon a stake? In the heat  
 Of fire burn him alive, or all his bones with hammers beat?

*Envy.*

I desire for him a dire demise.

*The Power of Hell.*

In that event  
 With a knife into small pieces he can cleanly be rent;  
 Or shall horses tear apart his limbs? Or else with saws  
 Shall we obliterate him, or feed him to the jaws

Of beasts while he still lives?

*Envy.*

Such deaths are most savage,  
But none will suffice, and none of them my passion will assuage:  
For even if he does die, his name and all his fame  
The world will honour, and holy and true will proclaim  
Him; I want his very soul!—his soul! his body, too;  
And his honourable name I will kill through and through.

*The Power of Hell.*

All will be well, very well, if we can damn his soul.  
We have need of nothing more, for from the very hole  
Of hell to aid us now I will charge an enemy  
Who is most strong—the body; how to snare men quickly  
It knows well, it has much power: and in the hearts of rich  
Wives it can ignite great lust for him, passion from which  
A young man can not escape: for it is inherent  
In youth to be well disposed to worldly enjoyment.

## ACT 1, SCENE IV

*The protection of God disperses the hellish throngs and foretells of Joseph; now he will suffer many temptations, fetters, woes, and prison, but will come to be seated on the throne of Pharaoh.*

*(scene omitted)*

*Chorus.*

*The chorus shows the inconstancy of this world; how men are exalted and thrown down, persecuted, envied, and killed; it sings of Joseph's misfortunes, persecutions, and sorrows, those which he suffered from his brothers at home, and those while in bondage to envy.*



## CHORUS, OR SONG

O man so favoured, open your eyes and see  
 How the world proceeds in its inconstancy.  
 First it lifts you high and seats you on a throne;  
 But in a short while to fate's hands you are thrown.  
 Not long does the world let you live without woe,  
 But quickly it wants to entrap you and sow  
 Hatred about you, let jealousy ensue,  
 And the instruments of death prepare for you.  
 No outcry or wail can avert the world's way;  
 From every tribe it needs must take its prey.  
 Thus tribulation remains man's constant lot,  
 Mother and father are parted from their tot;  
 The poor are seated with princes in renown,  
 And lo! on this morn the world will cast you down!  
 For so does it want you to live in misery,  
 And chooses a death for you accordingly.

This deceitful world suffered Joseph not  
 To live in glory; his brothers it sought  
 and urged them to slay  
 their brother that day  
 Or sell him away into slavery.  
 Many men wanted to strike Joseph down,  
 Yet with a noble he lives in renown.  
     He lives in great might  
     and shines with the light  
 Of his faith to all mankind's sight.

*(a different tune)*

They neither did succeed  
 Nor had the might indeed . . . to slay;  
 For God's right hand did give  
 Joseph the power to live . . . that day.  
 And when dishonourable death a second time he'll meet  
 In prison he will be,

Where great woe he will see . . . again;  
 Then hatred he will smash  
 And the nets of death slash . . . certain.  
 For madly then will perish all the powers of deceit.

## ACT 2, SCENE I

*A lady, the wife of Potiphar, seduced by the demon of flesh, is possessed by an indecent desire.*

Most high and almighty Gods, who have the power to let  
*(The demon of flesh wounds the lady's heart with an arrow.)*  
 Men spend their lives in pleasure, or misfortune beget  
 For them; why have you left me, wherefore abandoned me  
 To a life of bitter tears and great adversity?

*(Potiphar's wife cries.)*

I have suffered many wounds from one sorrow alone,  
 Yet to evil torment's hands by another I am thrown.  
 My friend has gone far away; does he live? I know not.  
 And I who have a husband, in widowhood do rot.  
 O would it not be better with no man to abide  
 In this world than to live now with my desires denied?  
 Neither the sleep I long for, nor the depths of the night  
 Free me from my mad sorrow. O, painful is my plight!  
 Most cruel is this wild passion which burns inside of me,  
 Stabs my womb, and in my heart blazes rampantly  
 Like a raging fire. Today no sacrifice I'll make  
 To any of the Gods; nor in any work partake;  
 For my wish is but to die when I behold the one  
 I love. I'll follow his steps; full of fire will I run.  
 What are you doing, vile one? Are you so insolent  
 To flee? O, my wretched life! O perilous moment!  
 How ill-fated is the time! For who will bring relief  
 To my burning body in this hour so full of grief?

## ACT 2, SCENE II

*Conscience appears**Conscience*

O, lady of noble birth and most excellent bride!  
Listen to my urgent words; hear them and set aside  
Your unprofitable grief. Pay heed to my advice,  
As I understand full well how idle hopes entice  
You now, how you are so bound, yet, know these hopes are vain;  
And what you so desire now, you never will obtain.  
Cast them quickly from your heart; whoever so defies  
Evil at its birth, who even casts out fears, ties  
The mighty enemy in bonds most powerful; but he  
Who is subject to passion, his own can never be.  
He is not healthy, nor glad, nor will he long endure  
In life. Oft he will succumb, I know, to an impure  
Incurable love; without shame he will be and dry;  
And one day his very soul he will give up. So I  
Say to you full honestly; forbear from suffering  
Such depravities from love; as this love is a thing  
Most evil. And do you think that it can be concealed?  
There never is a secret which cannot be revealed.  
For certainly you know how men use their tongues for ill;  
They are arrows bearing death, they are swords meant to kill.  
Therefore I entreat you: uproot your passion, then;  
That you do not fall prey to the tongues of other men.

*Lady.*

All these things you speak about I understand full well;  
What you say is very true, yet I cannot compel  
My heart to cease its burning; believe me, that my heart  
Only scorns the good advice you would to me impart.  
I fear that to a worse deed fury does impel me:  
As when on a stormy sea, a ship most heavily  
Laden down with goods is rocked by waves around it—vain  
To offer then advice, nor efforts are of gain:  
All lose heart in their alarm, while the vessel with a roar

Breaks apart and sinks to the very bottom with its store  
 Of wealth; for there was no one able to restrain it.  
 Such is our own suffering. Therefore without profit  
 Now is the advice you give; for once it bursts in flame,  
 Love is not so easily extinguished as you claim.

*Conscience.*

It is hard for the powerful to curb their desires.  
 They rest themselves, not labouring, and nothing requires  
 Them to tame their lust. They eat and drink to satiety  
 And the more thereto when they enjoy authority  
 And strength and power. Men such as these do always burn  
 Beyond any measure; yet all the more do they yearn  
 Wantonly to flaunt their rule: for he who can do much  
 Also desires to do that which he cannot. And such  
 A man obeys no one; he lives according to his will;  
 He falls into a wild rage and flies about until  
 He is brought down. Poor homes do not enjoy such license:  
 There is neither freedom there, nor pleasures so immense.  
 Therefore think what it befits noble ladies to do,  
 And deign to keep your lord in consideration, too.

*Lady.*

My husband is my lord, and he loves me very much.  
 He will want to forgive me, I think, and keep dark such  
 A deed.

*Conscience.*

All his love will be changed to mad anger though;  
 As soon as he discovers this, no mercy will he show,  
 Nor will he forgive you then.

*Lady.*

O, do not trouble me.

*Conscience.*

I trouble you not; from shame and dishonour I free  
 You for the sake of love.

*Lady.*

Wherefore dishonour and shame  
When the heart wishes such?

*Conscience.*

It is great shame.

*Lady.*

All the same

I do not think it so.

*Conscience.*

Know it as such; for extreme  
Love does also make deep anger; and your friend does seem  
Most hard.

*Lady.*

He is a strong man, but lions are not known  
To kill each other, nor do leopards attack their own.

*Conscience.*

But your father will beat you.

*Lady.*

My father did nurture  
Me on sweet things from childhood, he'll not want to injure  
His very own child.

*Conscience.*

Your mother will kill you.

*Lady.*

For her

Own very child every mother is ready to suffer  
Wounds. And if she is ready her very soul to lay  
Down for her daughter, why, then, would she desire to slay?

*Conscience.*

But you know not well the one to whom you will succumb.

*Lady.*

Wherefore not well?

*Conscience.*

He is steadfast.

*Lady.*

Love will overcome

This steadfast man.

*Conscience.*

He will flee you.

*Lady.*

Though he run away

To a land beyond the sea, I will pursue and some day  
Conquer him.

*Conscience.*

The more I beseech you, then, my lady:  
If you remember youth, when all knew you to be  
An honourable young girl; if there is little shame  
To taint you now; and if you would escape from the blame  
Of many mouths; if an illustrious stock, honour,  
And fame you do not wish to see consumed away, or  
Cast off from the world: then do I beg you not to let  
This impure fire burn on still; for in your hands is yet  
The power to vanquish this passion of yours so vain;  
And if you conquer it, you'll be worthy to attain  
Immortal happiness. If my advice, however,  
You disdain, in a short time you will die forever.

*Lady.*

I die? What do you mean? What are you saying, foolish  
Creature? That I shall perish? I say you will perish!  
At my hands you will die. How dare she speak against me  
With such strong words! O, she herself has now come to see  
My authority. Servants, come and quickly take her!  
Cast her into prison now; bind her hands together!  
"I am," she says, "your Conscience; and I will teach you

All the virtuous deeds you are duty bound to do.”  
 What virtuous deed is that, which would make me beat my  
 Very self, or cause my needy flesh to further die?  
 Such deeds as these I do not need; Conscience I'll defeat.  
 All advice I will refuse, for I want what is sweet.

### ACT 2, SCENE III

*Deceit praises the lady for not having obeyed her conscience and promises to help the lady and to seduce Joseph; on which account to her own servant she praises her clever power and goes to catch the holy man.*

(scene omitted)

### ACT 2, SCENE IV

*Workers, who are going to the village, wait for Joseph, their overseer; he gives them a steward, and on his orders they leave to do their work. Joseph, who wants to depart for another place, prays to God.*

(scene omitted)

### ACT 2, SCENE V

*Deceit, having found Joseph, who is still praying, begins to seduce him with false words, praising his management, works, his high ability, and his physical beauty; and strives to bend him to the lady's desire; but Joseph chases deceit away, and tearfully prays that he not be overcome by her temptation.*

(scene omitted)

## ACT 2, SCENE VI

*Deceit informs the lady that Joseph did not heed her advice, and that having chased away deceit, he became firm and unpliable; she says that it is easier to do unseemly things in this world than to seduce Joseph: for Joseph, having chased away deceit, fell to his knees, and prayed to God that God keep him from the sin which was at hand.*

*(scene omitted, followed by a Chorus)*

*A chorus of young boys sings of Joseph's courage; for though he was often tempted, he was not seduced; and they reveal Joseph to be the image of Christ, the Son of God, who was tempted in the desert by the devil; the chorus goes on to say that Joseph, who is praying, signifies Christ as He prayed in the garden.*

*(omitted)*

## ACT 3, SCENE I

*A seer discloses the secret of what the shameless wife of Potiphar dared to do: that is, how she tempted him often and in many different ways, that still she did not seduce Joseph to her will, and that finally she fell shamelessly upon Joseph and he fought her shamelessness; how he left his garment and fled from her hands, and how the lady, having kept this garment of Joseph's, wants to slander the innocent Joseph before Potiphar.*

*(scene omitted)*

## ACT 3, SCENE II

*Potiphar's wife is furious that Joseph did not obey her desire, and she slanders Joseph unjustly before Potiphar, who has just returned from a trip; for proof of her false slander she shows the garment of Joseph.*

*(scene omitted)*



### ACT 3, SCENE III

*Potiphar reasonlessly believes the false words of his wife, quickly orders that Joseph be found, and becomes enraged at the innocent man.*

*(scene omitted)*

### ACT 3, SCENE IV

*Joseph, who was innocently slandered, stands before Potiphar, and on Potiphar's order is bound, fettered, beaten, and thrown into prison; in the meantime Potiphar rages because of Joseph and feels pain in his heart.*

*(scene omitted, followed by a Chorus)*

*Chorus.*

*The virtues mourn for Joseph, who was innocently thrown into prison, and they explain that Joseph, tied, beaten, and fettered, is the image of the suffering Christ; he who was thrown into prison prefigures Christ, who descended into the lowest parts of the earth.*

*(omitted)*

### ACT 4, SCENE I

*King Pharaoh, having seen a terrible vision in his dream, and most troubled by it, narrates this same vision to his princes and boyars, and announces that he has ordered his page to seek astrologers from the city in order that this dream might be interpreted to all.*

*(scene omitted)*

### ACT 4, SCENE II

*The astrologers arrive and interpret the Pharaoh's dream to everyone, but they are not able to interpret it decisively, for which reason they are sent forth to their homes.*

*(scene omitted)*

### ACT 4, SCENE III

*Pharaoh orders princes from all over Egypt to gather astrologers to interpret his dream from all the Egyptian lands; whoever interprets it is promised many honours.*

*(scene omitted)*

### ACT 4, SCENE IV

*Enmity, fearing that Joseph might interpret the Pharaoh's dream, has conceived a new wile to secure eternal death for Joseph: before Potiphar he accuses Joseph of having bragged (while he was departing) that he would destroy Potiphar and all his house; he advises Potiphar to kill Joseph once and for all.*

*(scene omitted)*

### ACT 4, SCENE V

*Potiphar, who has listened to enmity's advice, rushes to kill Joseph, and after he has already ordered him brought forth from prison to be tortured, suddenly, as a servant from the king delivers Pharaoh's order to attend to the necessary business then occurring, Potiphar leaves Joseph, who is still alive, and departs to attend the king; having returned, however, once more he wants to put Joseph to death.*

*(scene omitted, followed by a Chorus)*

*Chorus.*

*Arabian youths appear, dancing in triumph, for they trouble and torment with sorrow and sadness in many ways not only the rich and the poor, but the mightiest kings in daytime and at night, in dreams and while awake.*

*Arabian youths (sing and dance)*

## THE DANCE

Glory gorgeous to behold,  
 Royal robe of purest gold,  
 Floods upon us woes,  
 Gives us no repose,  
 When it holds in hand,  
 Taking full command,  
 Multitudes in thrall,  
 Both the great and small.  
 Dream of fancy not acquired  
 Does not give the sleep desired,  
 Much does it perplex,  
 And most greatly vex,  
 Wealthy men and meek,  
 Powerful and weak,  
 Troubling them at night,  
 Filling days with spite.

## ACT 5, SCENE I

*The king asks the senators whether they have found a man to interpret the dream, but there was no one to be found in all the Egyptian lands, wherefore Pharaoh becomes all the more troubled and promises to empower doubly the one who interprets the dream.*

*(scene omitted)*

## ACT 5, SCENE II

*The chief butler informs the king that when he was in prison, sentenced to death, he had a terrible dream, which Joseph interpreted for him at that time, and what he interpreted soon came to pass. Pharaoh*

*orders that Joseph be brought to him quickly; however, Potiphar wants to hinder the matter, yet his attempt is in vain.*

*(scene omitted)*

### ACT 5, SCENE III

*Senator 4 (asks the Chief Butler).*

Is this one Joseph?

*Chief Butler.*

This one: to him the dream disclose.

*Pharaoh.*

Take away these chains from him, and bring him better clothes  
To wear. Joseph, we have heard of your ability  
To understand a dream and to interpret any  
Vision in a dream. Interpret now for us if you  
Are able to.

*Joseph.*

Only God on high who can look through  
All future time and years, for He is powerful,  
Is able, if He wishes, to give so plentiful  
A gift to his own servants, and thereby to unveil  
All secrets that are not known; for without God we fail,  
Else it is not possible to interpret to men  
Those secrets which can save them.

*Senator.*

Hear what he did dream then.

The Pharaoh thought that he stood by a river; and out  
Of it came seven cows of good appearance; full stout  
Were they in body, and so well fed that seldom were  
They taken out to pasture. After this another  
Seven cows came forth; and these were thin in form and build.  
They walked beside the first cows, and right away they killed

Those cows, they tore apart their limbs; the thin cows ate  
 All seven of the fat cows; and though they so did sate  
 Themselves, the sated cows ate on, because they were so gaunt,  
 So very thin were they, that still more food did these cows want.  
 From his sleep the Pharaoh woke, then dozed again until  
 He fell asleep and had a second dream which did fill  
 Him with fright: he saw how seven ears sprung from one stem;  
 These ears were full and plump, seven more ears after them  
 Sprouted up; the east wind these withered ears had blasted;  
 And these ate up the first ears; yet their hunger lasted.  
 This dream we told to many, but none of those neither  
 In all Assyria nor in Lydia either  
 Could interpret it to us; thus do we agonize,  
 For we do not comprehend what the dream signifies.  
 Therefore deign by that grace which your God to you does show  
 To take away this sorrow from the heart of Pharaoh  
 And explain to us clearly what lies behind this sight  
 So very strange.

*Joseph.*

It means that days most good and bright  
 Approach, but also days of raging death and sorrow:  
 There will be seven years of plenty when fruits will grow,  
 And there will be abundance of all sorts. This is what  
 The seven fatted cows and ears do signify. But  
 Seven years will follow these, when famine will be seen;  
 When upon the earth there will be neither grass, nor green,  
 Nor bread, nor any oxen for the next seven years:  
 Therefore the thin cows ate the fat cows. And the dry ears  
 Reveal the same interpretation: for lo!  
 They swallowed up the plump ears and were not sated. So  
 The seven years of plenty will pass by, and each one  
 On the earth will fast forget his former plenty. None  
 Will know earthly abundance because the plague will last  
 For seven years; nor will any comforts be amassed  
 To feed the hungry nation. And this will come to be  
 Most certainly. Therefore, God has given us to see  
 The same interpretation in the two dreams of the ears  
 And cows. And truly there is nothing more which appears  
 In either of these dreams that I can reveal to you.

Therefore, today, great Pharaoh, deign to take from your true  
 Servant this advice: select a man wise and discreet  
 And set him over the land. Let him collect the wheat  
 And all the harvest from the seven years of plenty  
 Of which this is the first year, and from both the mighty  
 And the rich let him gather all the food, all the wheat  
 And grain, and let there be saved enough for all to eat  
 In those seven years of ill when famine on the land will fall,  
 So that the kingdom of Egypt may not perish at all.

*Pharaoh.*

What do you think, my princes: does he counsel us well?

*Senator 1.*

No one will interpret better.

*Senator 4.*

There does not dwell  
 In all of Egypt so wise a man.

*Senator 5.*

I say there is no person who is more perfect than  
 Joseph in all the world in these times in which we dwell,  
 Who secrets of the future is full able to tell,  
 As it is not possible through reasoning to know  
 These things which God openly to his servant does show.

*Pharaoh.*

And know that my heart also is most comforted now;  
 For I sense in my spirit a joyfulness somehow  
 Most wondrous, because of all that Joseph has made known:  
 I feel as though the heaviest weight has just been thrown  
 Off my head. So gladdened am I by his most fit  
 Interpretation of these dreams and by his wit.

## ACT 5, SCENE IV

*For his great wisdom Pharaoh orders that Joseph be clothed in the royal garments; placing a chain of gold around Joseph's neck, Pharaoh makes him the second king of all Egypt and gives him full power over all his kingdom. Having witnessed this, Potiphar, out of fear, exits in secret.*

*Pharaoh.*

Inasmuch as God has shown all this knowledge to you,  
 There is no man wiser or more discreet than you. New  
 Glory are you worthy of therefore; you shall collect  
 The fruit of all the harvest, and now I do elect  
 You to head all my people: moreover, you alone  
 Shall be first in my kingdom; as second, then, to none  
 Save Pharaoh shall you be praised by all men with the same  
 Regard which they pay to me; and only by my claim  
 Upon the throne shall I be thought more great than you. Bring  
 Me the royal vestments. Princes! Clothe him like a king.  
 Step forward, Joseph. This very day I do embrace  
 You as the second king of Egypt, and therefore place  
 My entire kingdom under your rule. Then let no man  
 In all of Egypt dare do any other thing than  
 That which is your wish. And never in my land  
 Without your love or your consent shall I lift up my hand.  
 Henceforth the name "Saviour of the World" shall you embrace;  
 Inasmuch as you have spread throughout the world the grace  
 Of heaven: for verily a secret you did tell  
 Which all of Egypt did not know; and the world as well  
 Knew nothing of this secret, which, had we not been told,  
 We would have had to perish from famine uncontrolled.

## ACT 5, SCENE V

*Potiphar, having seen that Joseph, whom he had strongly chained in iron and wanted to kill, now has been made the second king, grows afraid and is greatly troubled; he tells his wife that Joseph unexpectedly has become Lord of all Egypt. His wife discloses her wicked cunning to him, by which Joseph innocently suffered on her account, and they vow to ask forgiveness from Joseph.*

*Potiphar.*

Alas! we now are done for! O woe! A grievous fate  
Draws near!

*Wife.*

My lord! This cannot be!

*Potiphar.*

So great  
A sorrow looms ahead that if it chance upon us  
We will most surely perish.

*Wife.*

What kind of sorrow thus  
Cruel?

*Potiphar.*

Do you not know, then, what today has come to be  
In Egypt?

*Wife.*

I do not.

*Potiphar.*

To us is born jeopardy.

*Wife.*

What jeopardy?

*Potiphar.*

Joseph, our slave, is made lord today  
Of us and of all Egypt, and lo! all men do pay  
Him honour equal to the Pharaoh; he is seated  
In full glory and as a king by all is greeted,  
As to the throne of Pharaoh is he raised. I from fear  
Went secretly from there, lest we be ordered here  
To perish together with our children or be  
Sent away to exile.



*Wife.*

Have no fear.

*Potiphar.*

Do you not see

The danger herein; these woes do you not comprehend?

*Wife.*

I will reveal the whole truth to you. I did intend  
With many wiles to tempt our Joseph to my distraught  
Passion, he did scorn me though; and from that time I sought  
To revenge myself on him, as he was not seduced.  
And if he suffered torments, it was I who unloosed  
Them by my injustice, for he was most innocent  
Of such abomination; it was my indecent  
Mind that did invent all this.

*Potiphar.*

O, I am undone now!

Why were you so bold, you foolish woman? He will vow  
To kill us surely for our guilt.

*Wife.*

Fear not. For I know

That he is most good-hearted; I expect he will show  
His forgiveness to us. As it was because of me  
That he gained his present fame: for after all if he  
Had not been slandered by me, he'd not have had to sit  
In jail. Then Pharaoh would not know of him. Therefore it  
Was I who brought this glory to him.

*Potiphar.*

Wherefore in vain

Do you speak? He will kill us.

*Wife.*

He will not. I remain

Certain in my heart he will forgive us all; thus  
Let us go to him.

*Potiphar.*

Would that he forgave us! Let us  
Go and fall before his feet.

## ACT 5, SCENE VI

*All the virtues and all the choirs with music and songs and the entire royal assembly accompany Joseph to the royal throne. The princes rejoice for the one seated on the throne and kneel before him as their lord.*

*Potiphar and his wife arrive and confess their sin before all present; they wish to receive forgiveness and most humbly bow before Joseph, as if their king and ruler.*

## CHOIR, OR VIRTUES

Fall to your knees, o noble men, before your newest lord,  
Who in magnificent glory governs with one accord:  
Revere and magnify him; let all your praises flow;  
To the saviour of all nations your full devotion show.

*Senator 1.*

Be filled with joy, our sovereign, so glorified today,  
All the peoples of the nation to you their homage pay!

*Senator 3.*

Celebrate in all of Egypt, a land plentiful now,  
Where to be destroyed by famine the Lord does not allow!

*Senator 5.*

O new and most wise sovereign, we magnify your name.  
All cast down their eyes most humbly before your mighty fame!

*Senator 7.*

Let all nations their praises to the holy Joseph sing,  
For through him will be glorified the palace of the king!

*Senator 9.*

O sovereign most judicious, we rejoice for your sake!  
Who are most worthy this command unto your hands to take.

*Senator 11.*

All the princes and the people today in you delight,  
And your enemies in legion will bow before your might.

*(Potiphar and his wife bow down before Joseph)*

*Potiphar.*

We have sinned against you, sovereign! Forgive us for  
This madness! And grant us absolution, we implore  
You, for our sin. Forget all of our trespasses now,  
And may we be worthy of your great goodness. Bestow  
Upon us your bountiful grace. For we did harass  
You most improperly, and all that has come to pass  
Was done in foolishness. The sin is ours alone; you  
Are all truth and innocence. Give pardon to us who  
Sinned against you so. Compassionate lord, all forgive  
Us from your heart, we beg you; and do not be vindictive  
Towards us for our folly.

*Joseph.*

God alone Almighty

Decided this; I recognize in what befell me  
The acts of God as well. But you need not be afraid  
Of any evil at all, for this matter will fade  
From my memory without a trace for evermore.  
Never will I want to take revenge on you therefore.

*The Chorus together, and Epilogue*

*Announces that Joseph, delivered from his chains in prison and  
honoured with the throne of Pharaoh, is the prefigurement of Christ, who  
rose from the dead, and is crowned with glory and honour for the suffering  
of death, and most high in all the heavens on the throne of God is seated.*

A fearful secret does God to us disclose

When in Joseph's life Christ's image he foreshows;  
A most wondrous boy, a youth full blessed indeed,  
From prison and chains miraculously freed  
To take the throne; as a king in glory grand  
Did he proceed and over all in the land  
Had sovereignty. To him all princes paid  
Their loyal tribute, and enemies obeyed  
Him, bowing their heads, when out of shame and fear  
They came, and Joseph as their king did revere.  
Like the risen Christ is this image we see:  
He who will raise up to heaven our body,  
He who is seated on the right hand of God,  
And honoured with glory divine and great laud.  
To him in full awe victorious song sings  
The angelic choir of most peaceful beings  
With the hosts of saints, as on God it bestows  
Great adoration and much reverence shows.  
And now we ask our Christ, the king of glory,  
To crown the heads of those who hear this story.

## THE COSSACK AND PEASANT ETHOS IN CONFLICT: REFLECTIONS ON *ХІБА РЕВУТЬ ВОЛИ, ЯК ЯСЛА ПОВНІ?*

Lack of unity is one of the more common criticisms levelled against Panas Myrny's and Ivan Bilyk's *Khiba revut voly*.... Oleksander Biletsky once compared it to "a building with many added wings and superstructures erected at different times and without a strict plan."<sup>1</sup> Referring to Myrny's *Poviiia*, he argued that this later work had "none of the digressions that undermined the composition of *Khiba revut voly*..."<sup>2</sup> Mykola Syvachenko, a close student of the novel, likewise contended that "the inclusion...of such a large number of life's phenomena, events, and people from different epochs could not but leave a mark...on its composition."<sup>3</sup> And Mykola Hlobenko, writing in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, echoed these sentiments: "extensive independent excursions...[deprive the novel] of compositional unity."<sup>4</sup>

The question of unity is, in essence, a dispute over the novel's second part. Critics almost universally agree that within the novel proper, i.e., Chipka's story, this section plays little more than a tangential role. One can note that it posed numerous problems for the authors themselves. During the novel's editing and rewriting, this "cursed part," to cite the words of Ivan Bilyk, was nearly eliminated, for it seemed "superfluous" and "destructive of the whole." The authors, nonetheless, finally retained it on the grounds that "without [this] setting, [this] decoration," Chipka's drama "would have no meaning..."<sup>5</sup>

More than any other critic, Mykola Syvachenko has tried to vindicate this much maligned part by arguing that its historical perspective more than compensates for the structural imbalance it creates. He has at the same time emphasized that "the authors took great pains to avoid making this just an alien, bare retrospective, an artificial *Vorgeschichte*."<sup>6</sup> Part Two, in his opinion, not only bolsters the "general idea" of the novel by portraying social conditions during serfdom, but also provides meaningful genealogies for the main characters. Myrny's biographer, Vitalii Cherkasky, while conceding that the "connections" between Part Two and the rest of the novel "could have been better...more tightly fused," justified its inclusion on "sociological" grounds. According to him, the purpose of this section was to unmask the landed nobility and depict the demoralizing influence of the tsarist army.<sup>7</sup>

There is, in summary, a consensus on two things about *Khiba revut voly*...: (a) in terms of compositional structure, Part Two is not an asset to the novel and (b) despite this fact, it remains important to the work's overall meaning. As far as the last point is concerned, it must be said that the justifications and vindications offered on its behalf admit for Part Two only an

ancillary role in the novel. Critics adduce that its basic function is to elaborate, to “widen the social horizons.”<sup>8</sup> If this is indeed true, then it can hardly explain why the authors considered the second part central to the novel’s meaning.

This article proposes an alternate explanation for the retention of the “cursed part.” It suggests that rather than merely providing historical breadth to *Khiba revut voly*..., Part Two is, in fact, the thematic key to the work. This part lays bare, so to speak, the fundamental structural opposition (i.e., dichotomy) governing the novel, and serves as a paradigm of the very conflict that confronts its main protagonist, Chipka.

The dichotomy in question can be described as a collision between the peasant and the Cossack ethos. It is aphoristically expressed in the second part in these words: “Минулось козацьке царство, настало хліборобське господарство...” (p. 75).<sup>9</sup> Each half of this “Cossack-peasant” dyad is associated with a larger, coherent system of ideas and values. “Peasant” life (i.e., “хліборобське” or “пахарське” життя) not only bespeaks obvious peasant reality (land, farming), but also subsumes such notions as boredom, passivity and acquiescence in the *status quo*. This “network,” in addition, includes love, family, and marriage. Although there are males in the novel who represent this ethos, female characters are, invariably, its active carriers and exponents. Consequently, the “Cossack-peasant” opposition posits a male-female confrontation as well.

The “network” of themes comprising the Cossack ethos not only functions as an antipode to everything the peasant ethos cherishes, but is also emblematic of valour, action, defence of justice and male camaraderie. We can best see this dichotomy at work by examining Part Two.

As is well known, the major characters of this historical excursus are Myron Hudz and his grandson Maksym. In essence, their “biographies” exemplify the Cossack ethos defying a peasant world. This is first brought into focus as a contrast between Myron Hudz and his wife Maryna; it is illustrated once again by Maksym’s rebellion against his father and mother, i.e., the institution of the family.

Myron’s lifestyle and temperament are a reflection of his values. The former Cossack (*Sichovyk*) is invariably active, even aggressive. His quest for justice (“немає добра...немає”, p. 73) is confrontational: evil must actually be destroyed if virtue is to prevail (“То з добрими, то й у миру, а з лихими — коли їх не вкладеш, то вони тебе уложать...”, p. 71). A telling detail in the narrative is that Myron settles in the village of Pisky as a *hunter*. This profession distinguishes him from the farmers around him while reinforcing the aggressive and exuberant Zaporozhian ethos:

Не кидав свого запорозького звичаю — воювання... Воював з ляхнею, воював з башнею, воював з татарвою, а тепер воюватиму — з звіром! (p. 68)

Equality, freedom, and group solidarity are among the most important ethical and social values typified by Myron's persona ("Ой, не так *колись* було у нас на *січі* — у нашому *козацькому краї!* Усі рівні, усі вільні...", pp. 72–3). Such traits are shown to be conspicuously absent in the "peasant-farmer" world: "Кожне про себе дбає... Братове лихо — чуже лихо" (p. 73).

Maryna's ideological posture is a direct inversion of her husband's. She is the very embodiment of the peasant ethos. Peace, calm and love are leitmotifs associated with her. Myron's clear sense of the "enemy" (*voroh*) contrasts sharply with Maryna's concept of universal and uncritical love ("Мати нашепче дитині про *любов до всього живого*...", p. 71). The concepts of vengeance and retribution have no place in her system of values. In this respect, she is typical of all major female characters in the novel.

The opposition between Maryna and Myron leads to a struggle for the heart and mind of their son Ivan (Ivas). Although the reader is told that Myron's values flow in Ivan's veins ("Кров батьківська, січова, ще з малку обізвалася у жилах малої дитини", p. 69) and that the father imbues his son with Cossack tales about valour and violence ("...чуючи од батька страшні приповіді про війну та походи..."), the ultimate victor in this tug of war is Maryna. Ivan falls completely under the sway of his mother's ethos:

А ввечорі, як не спиться Івасеві, візьме мати його русяву головоньку у свої руки, цілує, милує і стиха, любим голосом, малює йому картину іншого життя...життя *тихого, пахарського побуту*... (p. 70)

As Maryna's tales ensnare the child's mind, Myron witnesses the demise of his son's chivalric traits ("...замирала в синові *лицарська вдача*...", p. 71).

*Khiba revut voly*... portrays family/peasant life as a stultifying experience, leaving no doubt that marriage has a debilitating effect on the Zaporozhian ethos. Not only the son, but Myron himself is vanquished by the combined forces of land and family. He literally falls prey to his wife:

Отак Мирін доки *воював*, доки *бився*, *рубався*, поки й сам не набіг на свого звіра, що й його звоював. І ніхто другий звір той, як Марина Зайцівна — з піщанських-таки хуторів козака дочка (p. 68).<sup>10</sup>

Myron's subjugation is represented symbolically as an abandonment of the tools of his trade and the subordination of life to land and family:

З того часу заржавіла січова рушниця, злігся порох,



*розгубилося кремення. Став Мирін Гудзь поле орати та хліб пахати, а Марина — сина Івана колахати... (р. 69).*

Observe that activities relating to land and family are described in tandem, as things that go hand in hand. This is quite characteristic of the novel as a whole (e.g., “...Орали землю, засівали, жали, косили, діток плодили — під ширили...” (р. 83).

It is significant that although Myron is subdued by the peasant ethos, he continues to yearn for the “good fight.” Thus, even in defeat, this unique trait sets him apart from the society that has trapped him:

*Все це переживав старий Мирін, за плугом ходячи: все це переболіло його гаряче серце, коло хазяйства нудячись. І син цурався батьківського духу...люди пониділи: ніхто не хоче прямо міряться силою: Всюди тихо, хоч умирай. А ще козача вдача гучно одкликалася у старому серці; рука шукала потягтись з ворогом... (р. 72)*

As the above demonstrates, *Khliba revut voly...* associates the peasant ethos with boredom, torpor and languor. This is well exemplified in Myron's confrontation with a group of self-satisfied *khliboroby*. Their praise of the secure and quiet life (“Тепер, спасибі Богові хоч тихо... У нас і хліб є, й скотинка прибуває, і захист безпечний... Живемо, як і люди”) elicits from Maksym this caustic remark: “Живете? Нудієте, а не живете: Цвітете...” (р. 73). Later the message becomes even more direct:

*Змалечку привчають селяни дітей, щоб вона [і. е., хліборобська праця] здавалась ні нудною, ні тяжкою. (р. 105)*

*І знову в поле та в поле...знову торішня робота...знову торішні клопоти...та так не один, не два роки: так ціле життя, цілий вік... Робиш, щоб було що їсти; їси щоб здужав робити. Отака-то весела хліборобська доля. (р. 105)<sup>11</sup>*

The chapters “Pisky v nevoli” and “Pany polski” in Part Two link the preceding themes of the peasant ethos with another one: the loss of freedom. Timidity, domesticity and an absence of civic responsibility pave the way for serfdom. When Pisky falls into the hands of the gentry, some “hotheaded souls” flee in search of freedom (“вільної сторони”), but most remain behind, prisoners of their emotional attachment to land and hearth:

*А решта — зосталася. Куди його? як його? Воно б то й тягу дати, п'ятами наживати, — та як глянуть вони на свої хати, садочками закрашені. на свої засіяні поля... шкода їм стане*



рідної сторони; *страшно* невідомої, темної, як ніч будучини...  
Та й zostалися... (p. 83)

Given the novel's thematic opposition, it is logical that Myron, the symbol of freedom and rebellion, should die the moment the village is ensnared:

Як косою, скосила його думка про неволю. Захирів старий...та  
й умер останній січовик без одного року ста літ. (p. 84)

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The dichotomy that informed the story of Myron Hudz continues in the narrative about his grandson Maksym.

The representative of the peasant ethos here is none other than Ivan Hudz, Myron's son. Being Maryna's creation, Ivan naturally follows in his mother's footsteps ("Зажив Іван Гудзь з своєю молодою дружиною *тихо та мирно, люб'язно — спокійним хліборобським життям...*", p. 75). And although Ivan's sons, too, are raised in the spirit of her ethos ("Піднялись трохи хлопці, — треба їх до діла привичаїти...", p. 105), one of them (Maksym) comes to defy it. The noteworthy aspect of Maksym's rebellion is that he rejects his own father in favour of the grandfather's "wise," "true" and "good" Cossack ways. The novel clearly depicts Maksym as Myron's ideological and symbolic successor. In fact, he is virtually Myron's reincarnation:

Максим полюбив діда *більше* батька, матері; прийшлись йому до вподоби його розкази *страшні*, полюбились йому дідові вичити — *розумні, правдиві, добрі*. Уподобав і дід свого *цікавого й моторного* онука. На крайнім порозі життя оддав старий своє, літами та негодами побите серце малій дитині! Старість побраталась з молодістю, молодість прилипла до старості... *Старий січовик натхнув свою душу в молодесеньку душу онука.* (p.76)

Unlike the peasant network, which is tagged with such words as "quiet," "calm," "boring," Maksym is described as "interesting," "passionate," and "energetic." These attributes have several other permutations, for example: "Максимові хотілось...бити, рубати, розгардіяшити..." (p. 106); "Йому хотілось гуляти, битися, рубатися..." (p. 130). What is most interesting is that the young man's vigour is manifestly juxtaposed to the dullness of his father's home and land:

Душа його (Максима) прохала *волі*; молоді сили — *простору*.

Сумно було Максимові серед широкого, пустого *степу*, серед поораної *ріллі*; тісно у *тихій батьківській хаті*; тяжко між *мовчазною* скотиною, котру йому як старшому першому довелось пасти... (p. 108)

Maksym's life becomes nothing less than a reenactment of the Zaporozhian ethos. Salient in this respect are his dreams of the Sich ("I виплітали його думки у темній темряві *страшну* картину *січі*... Гук, крик, бій...", p. 115) and his discovery of camaraderie and community outside the family setting, in the context of a male society, i.e., the army:

Привик Максим до такого життя. "Ні, — думав він, — *московщина* далеко краща, ніж *рідна сторона*! Що там? степ та й степ, плуги та борони, та вітер по степу; *а люди — кожен сам собі*... А тут — чого душа забажала усе є; *а товариші — брати рідні*; за ними, як у Бога, за дверима — і допоможуть, і виручать...з ними *краще, ніж з батьком та матір'ю!*" (p. 121)

While Maksym's life as a soldier and brigand is certainly of a lower order than Myron's Cossack existence, he too possesses a moral streak, a sense of outrage at the injustice around him. Moreover, the source of this consciousness is the Zaporozhian ethos:

*Січові* оповістки про *запорозьку вдачу*, про *запорозьку волю* запали у гаряче серце онукове... Як у гніздечку, так у Максимовім сердечку виплодилась воля, про яку *дід переказував*... (p. 105)

[Його] *пекло ненавистю* до всього, що *гнітило або перечило*, не давало робити, як нам хочеться, як нам здумається. (p. 106)

Maksym, like his grandfather Myron, eventually embarks on marriage. In his case, however, wedlock becomes neither an occasion for domesticity nor an instrument of his downfall. The family he establishes with Iavdokha (a former prostitute and hence, by definition, an antithesis to the typical female) is a travesty of the peaceful life led by his parents. It will fall to his daughter, Halia, to undo the parody: she will set out to recapture for herself and her husband Chipka the ideal her father disgraced. On the other hand, it will be Chipka's fate, in the name of the Cossack ethos, to resist her.

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The conflict of the novel proper is entirely consistent with the pattern established in Part Two. However, it is made more complex by the fact that

the main protagonist must overcome not only external opposition to the Cossack ethos, but also the ambivalence within himself. Chipka, unlike Myron or Maksym, is a "divided" character, torn between the imperatives of love and the desire for vengeance. It is his destiny to choose between them. This element of choice endows him with a tragic dimension that is missing from other representatives of the Cossack ethos.

In Chipka's story, the fundamental dichotomy is introduced ambiguously: the main protagonist is portrayed at the outset of the novel as both a "peasant" and a "Cossack." Not only does the reader first encounter Chipka in the midst of a field, but the very title of the opening chapter ("Poliova Tsarivna") evokes the principal elements of the peasant "network": land, woman, and love.

...На ланах грає сонячна хвиля; під хвилею спіє хліборобська доля... Недаром в таку годину — аби неділя або яке свято — хлібороби виходять на поле хліба обдивлятися! Отакої саме пори...ішов молодий чоловік... Глянув на ниву, — і лице засвітилось одрадою: "От де моя праця...не марно потрачена: вона зробила з мене чоловіка, хазаїна!..." (pp. 6-7)

Although seemingly in harmony with this environment, Chipka is at the same time subtly differentiated from it by typically Cossack attributes ("Лице довгобразе — козаче...", p. 7). The adjectives that describe him resonate with qualities ascribed earlier to Myron and Maksym:

Одно тільки в нього *неабияке* — дуже *палкий* погляд, *бистрий*, як блискавка. Ним світилася якась *незвичайна* *сміливість* і *духовна міць*, разом з якоюсь *хижою* тугою. (p. 7)

Chipka's divided personality is also underscored by genealogy: the Cossack in him is traceable to the father; the mother's character explains his attraction for Halia and the land.

The father (Ivan Varenyk, also known under the alias Ostap Khrushch) is portrayed as a recalcitrant eccentric (cf. Chapter II, "Dvuzhon"). His itinerant and polygamous life is again a mockery of marriage and traditional family existence. Varenyk's death on a battlefield reinforces not only the military theme in the lives of Myron and Maksym, but prefigures Chipka's own peculiar "Zaporozhian" lifestyle. The conclusion of the novel ties father and son together quite unambiguously. As Chipka is marched off to Siberia, his former friends Hrytsko and Khrystia observe:

- Воно таки правда, що цей Чіпка непевний...
- Такий і батько був...
- І вродився так — прости, Господи! (p. 346)

Chipka's mother, Motria, is Varenyk's antipode. She is a woman preoccupied with respectability, suffering a husband who brings her shame ("Сором перед людьми, — чим його змити?", p. 19). Her life is defined by the home ("Як уступила Мотря в *свою хату*, то немов на світ *народилася...*"). Her ethical values (e.g., "Хай їм *Господь* за те [неправду] оддячить, *а не люди...*", p. 47) are also poles apart from her son's notion of righteous vengeance. In a word, she thoroughly personifies the peasant ethos.

Halia, Chipka's wife, is endowed with traits not unlike Motria's. Her ideals are revealed in the picture of domesticity she draws for Chipka just before their marriage:

Та як ми заживемо з тобою! які порядки заведемо! Зранку — ти будеш *хазяйнувати* коло худоби, а я — у господі... Потім пообідаємо, спочинемо... а ввечері я вечерю зварю... І все у нас буде *тихо, мирно....* (pp. 270–71)

As we have seen, males representing the Cossack ethos find no solace in this type of existence. For them family happiness affords, at best, only temporary satisfaction. Such is the case with Ivan Varenyk [i.e., Ostap Khrushch]:

Остап — спершу був повеселів; такий балакучий, такий щирий, — Мотрю жалує, коло тещі ласкавий; а далі все *хмурнішав* та й *хмурнішав*. Стала *нудьга* виглядати його очима, *журба* невимовна гнітити його душу і серце... Ходить, бувало восени або зимою по двору, опустить на груди голову та за цілий день і слова не промовить ні до кого... (p. 15)

Chipka's reactions fall into the same pattern as his father's. At first he takes pride in the *pakhar's* life, but eventually becomes disillusioned with it. The household becomes a source of depression. Chipka begins to long for freedom and his thoughts turn to male companionship:

Все то *хазяйські клопоти*. Чіпці — *байдуже* до всього того... Ходить він по двору — *нудно*; увійде у хату — хатні померки ще дужче розвертають *сумну думку*. (p. 317)

У своїй *хаті* він був, як чужий; вона йому *остогидла*. Йому було у ній *душно, тісно*; серце *забажало волі, душа — простору*. Він почав згадувати *старе товариство...* (p. 325)

Hrytsko (Chipka's friend) is the only major male character in the novel proper who unequivocally embraces the peasant ethos. In this respect, he is a replica of Ivan Hudz:

Зажив Грицько *тихим пахарським життям* ...так як і люди. З жінкою Грицько жив *мирно, люб'язно* ... І стали вони між людьми поважними *хазяїнами* ... (р. 66)

As one might expect, Chipka recoils from Hrytsko's lifestyle:

Грицько з своїми завсідними жалобами на *втрати*, з своїми розмовами про *достатки*, про *худобу*, з своєю жінкою — *тихою й доброю молодницею*, з усім напрямком свого *тихого, пахарського життя*, — здався йому тепер *нудним, сумним*. (р. 325)

The thematic structure dictates that Chipka's disillusionment with the "peasant" ethos lead to a conflict with his wife. This is exactly what happens. During their courtship, Halia repeatedly tries to dissuade Chipka from his vengeful acts. To her entreaties ("Чіпка...голубе мій! кинь! кинь! Не буде щастя, не буде добра..."), he replies: "...О-ох, Галю! не знаю, що буде. Я — *отаман*..." (pp. 261–2). On another occasion, Halia's request is met with stubborn silence: "—Так ти покинеш? Покинеш, мій голубе, таке життя?... *Чіпка мовчав*" (р. 270).

As Chipka gradually retreats from the female/peasant world into the militant community of males, Halia attempts to impose her ethos on his companions. Naturally, she fails:

Вона захотіла увійти в те товариство *тихим* янголом-спасителем, навчити *запеклі харцизяцькі душі*, п'яні голови любови до людей, до їх *мирних звичаїв*, до раз заведеного *тихого життя*. Та ба! Тим *запеклим душам* треба було *волю* ... їх не наведеш на *протерту стежку тихого, незамутного життя!* Не з її *м'якою, до спокою, до тихого щастя похилою натурою*, не з її *розумом жіночим*, тонким та гнучким, руйнувати було ту башту *кріпкої волі* ... Тії волі не звоюєш *слабою жіночою рукою!* (р. 327)

That the conflict between Chipka and Halia must end in tragedy is made obvious in Chapter XXI ("Son u ruku"). This episode—a nightmare in which Chipka comes face to face with his victims—demonstrates that he rebuffs Halia (on a subconscious, symbolic level) long before their marriage. The novel is quite clear about this. In the course of this dream Halia points at the people Chipka has murdered and exclaims:

Це все ти *наробив*... За віщо ж ти чоловіка убив?... Що ти *наробив лютий, каторжний?*



Chipka's reaction is strange but significant:

Як скажений звір, що боїться води, труситься й лютує, зобачивши її, забувши все на світі, несамовито кидається на зустрічного й поперечного — так Чіпка кинувся, скочив у гору... “Згинь проклятуца, від мене! хай тебе огонь пожере, вихор рознесе-розвіє! *Що ти мені таке?... Жінка? сестра?? мати??* Я тебе всього двічі чи тричі бачив на полі, де ти стрибала, як коза... Чого ж ти сюди лізеш? чого ти *мішаєси*?..... Геть собі!...” (p. 221)

Nothing—neither Chipka's character, nor the plot, nor his relationship with Halia—prepares the reader for such venom. But from the perspective of the whole novel and, especially, the thematic dichotomy fleshed out in the second part, Chipka's behavior becomes totally comprehensible. By expressing the dream as an intrusion, a meddling (“чого ти *мішаєси*?”) of females (“*Що ти мені таке?... Жінка? сестра?? мати??*”) in the affairs of men, the authors again underscore the irreconcilable positions of the two camps.

After this dream the die is cast: the plot may show Chipka vacillating between one ethos and the other, but the outcome is literally predestined. Chipka's married life, like that of his male counterparts, must turn into a dismal failure. Indeed, his marriage eventually becomes nothing more than a cover for his unorthodox activities. This is prefigured immediately after the nightmare, when Chipka counsels his cohort Lushnia:

Станьмо краще такими людьми, як усі — приймемось за роботу, удень будемо працювати...а ніч-матінка — і научить і скаже, *де наше лежить*... (p. 229)

With these words Chipka embarks on the path advocated by Myron: direct confrontation with evil.

The conflict between husband and wife has its parallel in the tension between son and mother. Motria's repeated complaints to the *volost* about her son are a graphic example of this.<sup>12</sup> It is she who will betray Chipka to the authorities, leading to his arrest.

Although Chipka's fall comes at the hands of his mother rather than his wife, he, like Myron, is clearly victimized by the same peasant/female ethos. Defeated, he remains, nonetheless, unrepentant and unswayed. As Chipka is about to be led off to Siberia, Hrytsko approaches to greet him with a kind word. Chipka, however, demonstratively turns away. While other prisoners weep, he casts harsh glances at the crowd around him (“насилав на людей грізний погляд...”). His last words, meant for his mother, are sarcastic and threatening: “Грицьку! поклонись матері... Скажи: хай мене *дожидає в гості*, коли не *сконіє* до того часу...” (p. 346).<sup>13</sup> Thus the novel ends

on a note of defiance. The last few lines draw a picture of Pisky, exploited and despondent—an inevitable end for the “victorious” peasant ethos.

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Soviet critics like to stress that *Khiba revut voly...* is the first truly “sociological novel” in Ukrainian literature. Without necessarily denying this, one might point out that the novel is very much a “mythological” work. By this I mean that it betrays one of myth’s primary characteristics: a binary opposition, a tendency, as C. Levi-Strauss would say, to polarize experience.<sup>14</sup> As the preceding analysis has shown, this novel basically hinges on a single tale (myth) which is told three times. The *Urtext*, so to speak, is the story of Myron; its second telling is the narrative about Maksym, and Chipka’s story, of course, is its third realization. What gives *Khiba revut voly...* the characteristics of a myth is that its meaning unfolds in the process of each “variant’s” retelling. Only through this repetition does the underlying symbolic structure become apparent and meaningful. From this perspective, it can be said that Part Two plays no small role in the novel. Without the two “variants” contained therein, the narrative about Chipka would indeed, as the authors sensed, be meaningless.

In light of the dichotomy, traditional interpretations of the novel’s main characters raise serious doubts. Cherkasky, for example, maintains that Maksym is an antipode to Chipka: he links the former to “self-serving thievery and banditry,” while idealizing the latter for his “protest against social ills.”<sup>15</sup> Other critics have condemned Hrytsko as a completely negative character,<sup>16</sup> deriding him for his “individualism, petty-bourgeois egotism, and submissiveness before authority.”<sup>17</sup> But, at the same time, Chipka’s mother has been praised for her morality, suffering, and hard work; even the betrayal of her son has been construed as a “moral achievement.”<sup>18</sup> In a similar vein, Halia is seen simply as an unambiguous symbol of purity, goodness, honesty and humanity.<sup>19</sup> In my opinion, these are rather simplistic and arbitrary views, because they remove the characters from the larger symbolic structure of the novel. Within that context the similarities between Maksym and Chipka are more striking than the differences. By the same token, Hrytsko, Motria and Halia share so many common characteristics that these can hardly be ignored. A “sociological” approach to the characters cannot reveal this fact and consequently misses a central conflict in the novel.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> O.I. Biletsky, “Panas Myrny,” *Materialy do vyvchennia istorii ukrainskoi literatury* (Kiev, 1960), 3: 356.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 362.

<sup>3</sup> M.Ie. Syvachenko, "Panas Myrny," *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury u vosmy tomakh* (Kiev, 1969), 4: 282. See also Syvachenko's *Istoriia stvorennia romana "Khiba revut voly, iak iasla povni?" Z tvorchoi laboratorii Panasa Myrnoho ta Ivana Bilyka* (Kiev, 1957), 289–90.

<sup>4</sup> *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto, 1963), 1: 1025.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury u vosmy tomakh* (Kiev, 1969), 4: 282–3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>7</sup> V.M. Cherkasky, *Panas Myrny. Biohrafiia* (Kiev, 1973), 143; cf. also M. Ie. Syvachenko, *Istoriia stvorennia romana "Khiba revut voly, iak iasla povni?"*, 181–2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> All quotations from the novel are taken from: Panas Myrny, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1974). Emphases are mine (O.I.).

<sup>10</sup> There is irony in the fact that Myron dies at hands of a *hare* (Zaitsivna—Zaiets).

<sup>11</sup> The sentiments expressed in the novel about peasant life and its values were echoed by Myrny in an unpublished sketch of the early 1870s: "Нема, здається, у світі сумніших міст, як наші повітові міста. Життя не то, щоб громадського, а й трохи похожего на людське, немає. Все те дальше своєї хати, далі свого городу, далі свого поля не баче, не знає і знати не хоче; чутко одні тільки господарські та хатні турботи та клопоти, і другого питання не чутно... Нудно живеться!... Люди, як камінь холодні та суворі з своїми щоденними турботами, з своїми судами та пересудами..." Cf. O.I. Biletsky, "Panas Myrny," 354.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Chapter XVI: "Послухала Мотря людської ради — пожалілася у волость. Взяли Чіпку п'яного, силоміць посадили у чорну" (p. 169). Chipka's reaction to his mother's action is interesting in what it emphasizes: "Де вона? де стара відьма? Чи не заміж, була, забажала... То щоб син не перечив, — у чорну його!" (p. 169). In Chapter XXIX, Motria goes to the *volost* a second time: "Вранці пішла жалітися у волость — не за крадіжку, а за те що її "волоцюга побив" (p. 335).

<sup>13</sup> *Ity v hosti* is often used by Chipka and his friends as a euphemism for robbery and violence (cf. p. 194).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C. Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York, 1963).

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, 143.

<sup>16</sup> M.Ie. Syvachenko, "Panas Myrny," *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* (Kiev, 1969), 4: 290.

<sup>17</sup> O.I. Biletsky, "Panas Myrny," 58.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> M.Ie. Syvachenko, "Panas Myrny," *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* (Kiev, 1969), 4: 291.



## UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH PUBLISHED SINCE 1980: PART 4\*

This bibliography is part of a larger bibliographical project that eventually will cover books and pamphlets, as well as journal articles, translations and book reviews on Ukrainian literature published in English from the earliest known publications to the present time. For scope and methodology see the introduction to my *Ukrainian Literature in English: Books and Pamphlets, 1890–1965: An Annotated Bibliography* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988; Research Report no. 19).

Material published in the 1980s will eventually be cumulated, supplemented with additional titles and an index and published as a separate research report.

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\*An attempt will be made to provide ongoing comprehensive coverage of books and pamphlets, as well as articles, book reviews and translations of poetry, prose and drama published in monthly and quarterly journals and collections. Persons wishing to bring additional material to my attention are requested to write to me at the University of Pennsylvania Law Library, 3400 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Inclusion of a title will be postponed, however, until the item is personally examined and until the bibliographical information is verified.

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(To be continued)

# **Ukraine During World War II History and its Aftermath**

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## REVIEW ARTICLE

Colin P. Neufeldt

### FIFTH COLUMN? NEW LIGHT ON THE SOVIET GERMANS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE THIRD REICH

Meir Buchsweiler. *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs—ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?* Translated by Ruth Achlama. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte, Universität Tel Aviv, Vol. 7. Gerlingen, West Germany: Bleicher Verlag, 1984. 499 pp.

A topic of recent European history that continues to arouse historiographical debate is the relationship of the Third Reich to the *Sowjetdeutsche* (ethnic Germans who were Soviet citizens) in Ukraine prior to and during the Second World War. Historians are divided among themselves on the issue of whether or not the *Sowjetdeutsche* conducted secret negotiations with the Nazis and acted as a German fifth column prior to the German invasion of Ukraine (22 June 1941).<sup>1</sup> These scholars are also at loggerheads concerning the degree to which the *Sowjetdeutsche* aided and abetted the advancing German troops as they swept across the steppes of Ukraine. Some historians unabashedly contend that on the eve of the invasion the *Sowjetdeutsche* were fanatical supporters of the Nazi regime and its imperialistic policies, and acted as quislings toward the country within whose borders they lived. Other historians argue that there is no substantial proof to suggest that the majority of the *Sowjetdeutsche* acted as a fifth column prior to the invasion. Between these two polar positions still other historians have sought to find a middle ground concerning the loyalty

of the *Sowjetdeutsche* and their participation in the German war effort.<sup>2</sup>

A welcome contribution to this debate is the detailed and carefully documented monograph *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs—ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?*<sup>3</sup> Written by the German-born Israeli scholar Meir Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine* is an outgrowth of Buchsweiler's doctoral dissertation (University of Tel Aviv), first published in Hebrew in 1980 and later translated into German by Ruth Achlama and republished in 1984. Buchsweiler, who is currently director of the Bibliographical Institute of the United Kibbutz Movement in Israel and who has written works on bibliography and the methodology of historical research, bases his study on archival documentation, as well as on sources published in Hebrew and Western and Slavic languages.<sup>4</sup> Organizing his material in a coherent manner, Buchsweiler employs a thematic approach to his subject, and the German translation of his work presents his findings in a lucid, though at times cumbersome, style. He has also adorned this work with a useful assortment of maps, photographs, and tables, an extensive bibliography containing more than 2,300 entries, and two complete geographical and personal indices. For such reasons, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine* is a mine of information, and merits close study by scholars interested in this controversial topic of East European history.

In *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine* Buchsweiler launches his investigation into the history of the *Sowjetdeutsche* with a cursory but comprehensive analysis of the historiographical trends and available sources related to the subject. He correctly points out to his readers that in the past both German and Soviet scholars have avoided dealing with the history of the Soviet Germans during the Second World War because the subject continues to elicit unpleasant memories and is so emotionally charged (pp. 16ff). As a result, there are very few works that delve into this period of Soviet German history in a comprehensive manner. Unfortunately, the majority of these works forgo the use of Russian sources and rely primarily on second-hand material. Buchsweiler asserts that with few historiographical precedents to follow, he has had to rely upon primary sources, rather than previous interpretations, to determine the agenda for his investigation, and he has also had to travel to archives and libraries around the globe in search of such material. Buchsweiler goes on to explain that some of the sources he found most valuable were the memoirs and testimonies of the *Sowjetdeutsche* (many of which were written by Mennonites and are now found in Canada [pp. 28ff]). Other valuable, but more elusive sources are Soviet publications (printed between 1917 and

1941) and official German documents, many of which are located in the Soviet Union, and are thus beyond the reach of most Western researchers (pp. 29ff). Buchsweiler also notes that the records from German agencies (for example, the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut*) which dealt with the Soviet Germans, as well as files from international military tribunals, provided him with much of the information upon which he based his study (pp. 33ff). Buchsweiler concludes that from such a potpourri of sources he has been able to piece together a “mosaic” of historical facts and data, and thereby develop a general point of view concerning the historical role of the *Sowjetdeutsche* on the eve of and at the beginning of the Second World War (p. 18).

It is from this “mosaic” of historical facts and data that Buchsweiler’s readers learn who the *Sowjetdeutsche* were, what historical roots they had in Ukraine, and what their fate was in the Soviet Union during the interwar period and the first years of World War II. With respect to their historical roots, Buchsweiler states that the first extensive migrations of Germans from the Baltic and German states occurred during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762–96). In her desire to populate and settle the newly conquered steppes of Ukraine, Catherine promised the would-be German settlers complete religious and educational freedom, tax and military exemptions, and autonomy in local administrative affairs (p. 109). According to Buchsweiler, such privileges enticed German émigrés from a variety of religious backgrounds, so that by the middle of the nineteenth century numerous German-speaking colonies—Catholic, Protestant, and Mennonite—dotted the Ukrainian steppes (p. 111). While many of Catherine’s privileges were repealed toward the end of the nineteenth century, the industrious German colonists continued to thrive in their new homeland. Although the colonists generally isolated themselves culturally, religiously, and linguistically from their Russian and Ukrainian neighbors, they were able to acquire great tracts of land and to succeed in industrial and manufacturing endeavours (p. 111).<sup>5</sup>

What finally and irrevocably altered the idyllic and prosperous existence of the German colonists in Ukraine was the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Civil War that followed between 1918 and 1921. Buchsweiler argues that the Germans’ cultural exclusiveness, economic prosperity, and political loyalty to the tsar alienated many of them from the revolutionary aspirations of the Russian and Ukrainian peasants (pp. 117f). There were some ethnic Germans who wholeheartedly supported the overthrow of the tsarist regime, but the majority of them bitterly opposed the Bolshevik seizure of power, and some even took measures to restore the tsarist

monarchy. During the Civil War, a number of German settlements created *Selbstschutz* units (paramilitary self-defence troops) that not only recruited men to fight in the White Army of Generals A. Denikin and P.N. Wrangel, but also defended German settlements and estates from the raiding attacks of anarchists such as Nestor Makhno (pp. 119f).<sup>6</sup> In order to militarily equip these *Selbstschutz* units, the colonists initially solicited arms from Kaiser Wilhelm's German *Wehrmacht*, and later from the White Army itself. When the Red Army snuffed out the last vestiges of White Army resistance, however, these colonists acknowledged defeat, realizing that their own self-defence efforts had been in vain. Immediately after the Civil War, many German estates and businesses were either divided up between the ethnic Germans and the land-hungry peasants or confiscated by the new Soviet regime (p. 121).

The economic, cultural, religious, and political tribulations of the Civil War aroused within the ethnic German communities feelings of distrust and enmity toward the new Soviet government (pp. 133f). Consequently, large numbers of ethnic Germans left the Soviet Union in the period between 1918 and 1930 (within the Mennonite community alone approximately 20,000 people emigrated during this period [p. 226]). Many ethnic Germans, however, were not so fortunate. Buchsweiler explains that those who remained in the Soviet Union became guinea pigs for the socialist experiments of the new Soviet regime—experiments designed to transform the ethnic Germans (who in 1926 numbered 1,238,549) into loyal and patriotic Soviet Germans or *Sowjetdeutsche* (p. 128). Throughout the 1920s, many *Sowjetdeutsche* experienced economic hardship, religious oppression (churches were closed and most religious leaders were exiled and imprisoned), and political brainwashing (pp. 134ff, 140f).<sup>7</sup> But as Buchsweiler rightly points out, the climate of oppression of the early 1920s was relatively mild compared to the storms of political, economic, and cultural tribulation that the *Sowjetdeutsche* experienced a decade later. He states that in the 1930s Stalin's draconian collectivization, man-made famine, ruthless purges, and exile of thousands of kulaks to Siberia only exacerbated the Soviet Germans' opposition to the Soviet regime (pp. 222ff). Moreover, Stalin's endeavour to make Russian the sole language of instruction, politics, and commerce, his efforts to quell the publication of German literary works, and his attempt to change the orthography of the German language in the Soviet Union threatened the *Sowjetdeutsche* with the complete eradication of all expressions of their national life (pp. 166f, 184ff, 213f). Of course, Buchsweiler acknowledges that Stalin's terror took a substantial toll on all expressions of national life among the various

non-Russian nationalities in Ukraine.<sup>8</sup> But Buchsweiler also contends that, of all these nationalities, the *Sowjetdeutsche* felt a heavier hand of Soviet oppression and discrimination. He attributes this to the fact that there was among the Soviet Germans a proportionally higher percentage of kulaks than among other national groups (pp. 222ff, 243ff). For Buchsweiler, Stalin's terror gouged deeper wounds in the national life of the *Sowjetdeutsche* than in that of any other nationality.

Although the Soviets took far-reaching measures to prevent news of the plight of the Soviet Germans from escaping their borders, the repressions experienced by this ethnic minority in the 1920s and 1930s soon became known in Western Europe and North America. The sufferings of the *Sowjetdeutsche* particularly aroused sympathy within Germany. Buchsweiler observes that in the early days of the Weimar Republic there already existed a number of private agencies which not only provided financial assistance to German-speaking minorities living beyond the borders of Germany, but also championed the cultural autonomy and legal equality of such minorities (p. 41). In the 1920s and early 1930s, these private agencies—such as the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut (DAI)*, *Verein* (after 1933, *Volksbund*) *für das Deutschtum im Ausland (VDA)*, *Zentralkomitee der Deutschen aus Russland*, and *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Deutschen aus Russland und Polen*—monitored the plight of the Soviet Germans and reported to the citizens of Germany the hardships suffered by their brethren in the Soviet Union (pp. 47, 51, 55).<sup>9</sup> These agencies also lobbied the German government to put political pressure on the Soviets to allow the *Sowjetdeutsche* to emigrate to the West. Although the emigration efforts made by Weimar politicians were partially limited by political and diplomatic considerations (German-Soviet political relations), as well as economic interests (increasing trade opportunities), they were able to assist 6,000 Soviet Germans in emigrating to the West between 1929 and 1930 (p. 57n).

After the tottering Weimar Republic collapsed and Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, the *raison d'être* of many of the private agencies working on behalf of the German minorities was quickly modified to suit the ideological beliefs and motives of the fledgling Nazi government. Still bitter about the post-World War I settlement of the German nation in which large German minority populations were ceded to surrounding states, Hitler saw in these private agencies the means of bringing into reality one of the catchphrases of his book *Mein Kampf*: "The same blood belongs to a common Reich" (p. 39). Buchsweiler points out that Hitler's belief in the racial superiority of the German people, his



notion of a racially founded German solidarity that transcended state boundaries, and his talk of *Lebensraum* and *Ostpolitik* lay behind the motivated conversion of private agencies such as the *DAI* and the *VDA* for Nazi purposes.<sup>10</sup> Thus, after 1933 the new mandate of the *DAI* and *VDA* was to assist in the *Gleichschaltung*, the bringing into line, of German minority groups such as the *Sowjetdeutsche* (pp. 47ff, 49ff).<sup>11</sup> These agencies also investigated the Aryan blood lines of Germans living outside the Reich.

Besides nazifying a number of private German agencies for their own ambitions, Hitler and his associates infiltrated non-political, international relief campaigns and used these campaigns to help spread their fascist doctrines and beliefs. One such relief campaign was *Brüder in Not*, an international organization that shipped aid to famine-stricken *Sowjetdeutsche* in 1933 and 1934 (pp. 64ff). Buchsweiler notes that while the stated aims of the campaign were entirely humanitarian, the Nazis were able to infiltrate it early on when the Nazi agent Dr. Ewald Ammende was appointed director of *Brüder in Not* (p. 65). With Ammende as director, the Nazis used the campaign as a smoke screen for propaganda attacks against the Soviet Union. Although few Westerners suspected the campaign to be a Nazi front, Buchsweiler contends that from the beginning the Soviets recognized the true intentions behind the *Brüder in Not* campaign. The Soviets complained that the Nazis were unduly exaggerating the severity of the famine, while at the same time using the shipment of food parcels as a pretext for establishing illegal contacts with the *Sowjetdeutsche* (pp. 64f).

Nazi jingoists also created new Reich organizations intended not only to keep alight the flame of Germanism among German minorities, but also to mobilize these minorities into German fifth columns. According to Buchsweiler, Reich and Party organizations such as *Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP* (AO), the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (VoMi), and the *Forschungsstelle des Russlanddeutschtums* (FstR) were often employed as facades for Nazi SS and *Abwehr* operations (pp. 46, 52ff, 83ff).<sup>12</sup> For example, the VoMi—created to coordinate many of the policies and programs concerning German minorities after 1937—was under the direction of *Obergruppenführer* W. Lorenz, a high-ranking SS officer (pp. 52f). At the same time, the FstR—an organization established to help collect information about all ethnic Germans who had been or were still living in the U.S.S.R.—provided the German *Abwehr* with important lists of ethnic Germans living in the Soviet Union. In return for its services, the FstR received much of its financial support from the *Abwehr* in 1938 and 1939 (p. 84). Buchsweiler concludes from this that, as the Second World War



was drawing nigh, the *SS* and the *Abwehr* saw these Reich organizations as indispensable in their designs for organizing a German fifth column in the Soviet Union. Indeed, as Hitler looked longingly toward the Soviet Union, and particularly Ukraine, as the ultimate answer for sufficient *Lebensraum*, these Reich organizations appeared to be useful handmaidens of his policy of *Drang nach Osten*.

Between 1933 and 1939 the Nazis invested considerable time, effort, and capital in creating a complex network of organizations intended to exploit the latent loyalties of German minorities. But the proving ground for determining how successful these organizations were in establishing German fifth columns among these minorities was the Second World War. Buchsweiler mentions that in some countries, such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, there were well-established German fifth columns which, through espionage and sabotage, greatly assisted the Nazis in securing military control of these countries (pp. 98ff).<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the German *Wehrmacht* was met in these countries by jubilant ethnic Germans who viewed the Nazis as liberators coming from the Fatherland. But when the *Wehrmacht* rolled across the borders of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, it was to meet a very different reception (p. 276). In contrast to the welcome in Poland and Czechoslovakia, there were not ecstatic crowds of ethnic Germans in Ukraine greeting the German troops as their saviours from Soviet oppression. Instead, the majority of Soviet Germans in Ukraine met their "blood brethren" with cold caution, hesitant at first of showing too much enthusiasm for their new conquerors (pp. 307ff). It was only when the *Sowjetdeutsche* were convinced that the German occupation was not going to be temporary that their reticence dissipated.

To account for the initially reserved reception of the German *Wehrmacht* by the *Sowjetdeutsche* in Ukraine, Buchsweiler posits two reasons. The first was the Soviet Germans' fear that if they were caught collaborating with the Nazis, Soviet reprisals against the ethnic German communities would be forthcoming. Buchsweiler states that as soon as Hitler broke his peace treaty with Stalin and invaded the U.S.S.R., the Soviet government immediately suspected and accused all *Sowjetdeutsche* (who in 1941 numbered about 1.5 million), and particularly the Ukrainian *Sowjetdeutsche* (about 420,000), of being in league with the Nazis (pp. 277ff, 397). Now the scapegoats of anti-Nazi odium, large populations of Soviet Germans were either sent to labour camps, drafted into the army, or deported to western Siberia and central Asia (approximately 100,000 Ukrainian Germans were deported between 22 June 1941 and the conquest [p. 288], and on 28 August 1941 the Soviet Presidium ordered the entire

Volga German Republic to be exiled [p. 278]).<sup>14</sup> Those populations which the Soviets had been unable to conscript and deport, given the rapid advance of the German army into various regions of Ukraine (particularly the Odessa region), believed that the German occupation was temporary, that the Soviets would soon return, and that they themselves would suffer the same fate as their brethren. Moreover, many of the liberated *Sowjetdeutsche* in Ukraine feared that Soviet agents were lurking in their midst (pp. 308f). Thus, if they showed too much enthusiasm for the Nazi conquest, or were seen to be cooperating with the Nazis, retribution would follow if and when the Soviets recaptured these regions.

The second reason for the cool reception by the Soviet Germans in Ukraine related to the inability of Nazi organizations (such as *VDA*, *AO*, *VoMi*, and *FstR*) to establish a German fifth column in the Soviet bloc prior to the German invasion (pp. 337ff, 384). Buchsweiler notes that these organizations were unable to rip open a wide enough hole in Stalin's Iron Curtain to penetrate the Soviet Union effectively, capitalize on the anti-Soviet sentiments of the *Sowjetdeutsche*, and successfully prepare the *Sowjetdeutsche* for the German invasion and conquest. Thus, when the German troops did arrive in Ukraine, they did not find a cadre of dedicated ethnic Germans actively carrying out espionage and sabotage activities for the glory of the Third Reich; instead, they found unorganized *Sowjetdeutsche* who were generally illiterate in Nazi ideology and who, when shown a picture of Hitler, more often than not had no inkling of who he was (pp. 314ff). In addition, the information that the *VDA*, *VoMi*, *FstR* and other such organizations were able to collect concerning the population and location of Soviet German communities was often scanty, incomplete, erroneous, and of very little help to the German *Wehrmacht*. In fact, the information about some regions was so exiguous that on a number of occasions the *Wehrmacht* accidentally and unwittingly shelled Soviet German villages (pp. 341ff). Thus, as the German army made its way deeper into the Ukrainian heartland, it had to discover for itself where the Soviet German settlements were.

The reserved reception of the German troops and the absence of a German fifth column in Ukraine did not initially inspire great confidence within the German *Wehrmacht* as to the military potential of the *Sowjetdeutsche*. But Buchsweiler contends that after the German troops started to mete out special privileges and treatment to people of German origin, the reserve of the *Sowjetdeutsche* quickly dissipated. Soon many Soviet Germans proceeded to collaborate with the Nazis in varying degrees. Buchsweiler corroborates these observations with his detailed

analysis of the German occupation in the Odessa region—a region Buchsweiler employs as a test case for his study because of the significant number of *Sowjetdeutsche* (130,000) who lived there during the occupation and because of the prolonged fighting that occurred there at the beginning of the invasion (p. 293). From his analysis, Buchsweiler observes that one of the first indications that the Soviet Germans were entitled to special treatment and privileges was given five days after the Nazis and their Romanian allies encircled the city of Odessa on 10 August 1941. At that time, *Generaloberst* E. von Schobert issued orders declaring that any person who harmed the *Sowjetdeutsche* or mistreated their property was to be executed (pp. 297f). To enforce these orders, the *Wehrmacht* enlisted the aid of the *SS Einsatzgruppen* (p. 318). The tasks of these infamous “special action teams” included not only purging the newly won Ukrainian countryside of Jews and pro-Soviet sympathizers, but also protecting and attending to the needs of the *Sowjetdeutsche* who had recently been “liberated” (p. 319).<sup>15</sup> Another *SS* unit which assisted in safeguarding the Soviet Germans was the special commando company *Brandenburg* (p. 300). The assignment of this company—which on 13 August 1941 was stationed in German settlements near the war front northwest of Odessa—was not, as commonly believed, to carry out sabotage and surveillance activities in the Soviet-occupied zone; rather, it was to protect the local Soviet Germans and muster them into an effective fighting arm of the *Wehrmacht* (pp. 300ff). Later, when Odessa was captured on 16 October 1941, and Hitler consigned to Romania the newly created Transnistria (a sizable territory between the Dniester and Buh Rivers), the Nazis set up other special *SS* units, such as the *Sonderkommando “R”* (*SkR*), to work on behalf of the *Sowjetdeutsche* in this region (pp. 294, 295ff, 313ff). Although a Romanian governor administered Transnistria, the *SkR*, along with *Einsatzgruppe D*, supervised Soviet German affairs, protected the Soviet Germans (ironically, mostly from the Romanians), and levied and armed several Soviet German *Selbstschutz* units within the Romanian protectorate (pp. 318ff).

In German-held territories beyond the borders of Transnistria, other Nazi organizations—such as the *Reichministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete* (*OMI*) and its subordinate agencies, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* and *Kommando Dr. Stumpp*—assisted the German *Wehrmacht* and “special *SS* action” and commando units with Soviet German affairs in Ukraine (pp. 322ff).<sup>16</sup> Buchsweiler reports that after the *Wehrmacht* and the *Einsatzgruppen* militarily stabilized and secured a besieged region, the *OMI* and its agencies moved into that region and assumed direction over civilian

government. It was through the agency of the *OMI* (under the direction of A. Rosenberg) that the *Sowjetdeutsche* received their lion's share of privileges (p. 329). According to Buchsweiler, the *OMI* not only granted the *Sowjetdeutsche* special favours in matters such as food rations, housing, property rights, taxation, marriage, and education, but also doled out to a significant number of ethnic Germans important bureaucratic positions in the local governments (pp. 329ff). In the religious sphere, the *OMI* permitted many of the Soviet German churches—the vast majority of which had been closed by the Soviets in 1935—to reopen their doors for worship services (pp. 332f). The *OMI* also went to great lengths to fulfill the desires of some Soviet Germans (who had been separated from their fellow Germans for various reasons) to be reunited with their families and friends in other German villages of Ukraine. To accomplish this, the Nazis often commandeered homes from Jews and other “less desirables” in a particular German village, and moved into the expropriated homes those *Sowjetdeutsche* wishing to relocate (pp. 334f). Efforts were also undertaken to redistribute more farmland to the ethnic Germans. Although the *Sowjetdeutsche* were not successful in persuading the German authorities to dismantle the collective farms (*kolkhozy*) in Ukraine, they were the beneficiaries of sizable tracts of land, farm implements and livestock, often at the expense of their Jewish and Ukrainian neighbours (pp. 330f). Undoubtedly, while the *Sowjetdeutsche* did not receive from the Nazis a *carte blanche* in all economic, social, religious, and political affairs relating to their communities, their perquisites were significant enough for the rest of the population of Ukraine to regard them as a privileged group reaping the benefits of their German lineage.

After becoming the recipients of Nazi benevolence, a significant number of *Sowjetdeutsche* buried their qualms and turned a blind eye to the Nazis' “final solution” for the Jews, assisting in the German war effort, or even participating in Nazi atrocities and war crimes. Buchsweiler supplies damning evidence indicating that the majority of *Sowjetdeutsche* realized soon after the German invasion what the fate of the Ukrainian Jew was going to be, yet only a small minority voiced their concerns on behalf of the Jews or safeguarded Jews from Nazi depredations (pp. 364ff, 372ff).<sup>17</sup> One possible factor contributing to the ostensibly widespread feeling of apathy toward the plight of the Jews is that the Soviet Germans were usually the donees of property and possessions of dispossessed and murdered Jews (pp. 372f). Another factor relates to the long-standing hatred that some Soviet Germans harboured against the Jews prior to the outbreak of World War II. Buchsweiler notes that during the interwar

period, *Sowjetdeutsche* often regarded the Jews as communists and Soviet agents who profited from the Soviet collectivization schemes pertaining to German settlements (pp. 233ff). With such feelings of animosity still lurking after the German invasion, some *Sowjetdeutsche* had very little sympathy for the Jewish plight, while others directly contributed to Jewish tribulations. Buchsweiler reveals that a number of Soviet Germans who enlisted in the *Selbstschutz*, German *Wehrmacht*, and *Waffen SS* served not only as bureaucrats and interpreters, but also as military police and soldiers whose duties included assisting in the extermination of the Semitic race (pp. 358f, 375ff, 379ff, 386). Certainly Buchsweiler does not attribute to the *Sowjetdeutsche* the leading role in the heinous crimes committed against the Ukrainian Jews between the German invasion and retreat of 1943–4, but he does argue that they played an important supporting role which included everything from passive collaboration to active participation (p. 386).

Without doubt, the subject of the *Sowjetdeutsche* in Ukraine, their settlement in southern Russia, their persecuted existence during the interwar period, their prewar relationship with the Nazis, and their collaboration with the Nazis during the German occupation of Ukraine has elicited a commendable effort from Buchsweiler. Not surprisingly, Buchsweiler's investigation dispels many misconceptions, and corrects numerous oversimplifications that historians have entertained concerning the role of the *Sowjetdeutsche* in Hitler's *Ostpolitik*. Yet despite the many strengths of Buchsweiler's study, his work is flawed by weaknesses that cannot be ignored. One such shortcoming relates to Buchsweiler's discussion of the question of a German fifth column among the *Sowjetdeutsche* and his facile endeavour to reconcile the incompatible historiographical views of Louis De Jong (who contends that prior to the German invasion of Ukraine a German fifth column did not exist among the *Sowjetdeutsche* [pp. 16, 384]) and Alexander Werth (who argues that a German fifth column was already established among the *Sowjetdeutsche* before 22 June 1941 [pp. 16, 384]).<sup>18</sup> From his analysis, Buchsweiler deduces that prior to the German invasion, the Nazis and their agencies were unable to penetrate the Soviet border and collaborate with the Soviet Germans to any significant degree. This conclusion buttresses De Jong's contention that a German fifth column did not exist. At the same time, however, Buchsweiler asserts that this conclusion does not belie Werth's argument that the Soviet Germans did act as a fifth column. Buchsweiler maintains that Werth too is correct, for once the German occupation was in place, the *Sowjetdeutsche* served in espionage and military capacities and



thus undertook the role of a fifth column. With arguments such as these, Buchsweiler believes that he has harmonized the position of Werth with that of De Jong. But has he? Readers will soon discover that Buchsweiler has not really succeeded in harmonizing these two irreconcilable positions, but instead has arbitrarily broadened the definition of “fifth column” to include what is usually termed collaboration activity during an occupation by a foreign army (see esp. p. 337). According to the recently deceased historian Stephan M. Horak, however, Buchsweiler’s understanding of fifth column “is technically incorrect, for the very term ‘fifth column’ refers to an element active in another country in the absence of an occupation army. Therefore, one should speak only of collaboration, which should be analyzed as to its voluntary, passive or forced beginnings.”<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Buchsweiler’s tumid definition of the term “fifth column” is not only “technically incorrect,” but also confuses the substantive issue—there is an important distinction between fifth-column activity and post-invasion collaboration.

Another weakness in *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine* is Buchsweiler’s neglect of the Ukrainian social, economic, and political milieu within which the *Sowjetdeutsche* communities existed. Although Buchsweiler provides his readers with a helpful and informative inquiry into the relationship between the *Sowjetdeutsche* and their Jewish neighbors, he does not include any comprehensive discussion of the economic, social, and political intercourse which transpired between the ethnic Germans and the Ukrainians. There is no serious analysis of the economic tensions and social dynamics that characterized the relationship between these two nationalities. It is also regrettable that Buchsweiler refrains from examining what political aspirations, if any, the Soviet Germans shared with the Ukrainians during the interwar period and the first years of World War II. Such an examination would certainly have shed valuable light on the relationship between the *Sowjetdeutsche* and Ukrainian nationalists who entered the territory of Soviet Ukraine in the wake of the German invasion. Some of these nationalist movements—such as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists—were sympathetic to fascism and believed that the Nazi conquest of Ukraine would lead to the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state. Although these movements were ineffective in persuading the Nazis to permit the existence of such a state, collectively they proved a formidable political force that was influential throughout Ukraine.<sup>20</sup> Buchsweiler, however, does not even mention in passing these important political phenomena of twentieth-century Ukrainian history, but leaves his readers to guess for themselves what the Soviet Germans’ attitude

generally was toward the concept of an independent Ukraine, what kind of relationship existed between the *Sowjetdeutsche* and the Ukrainian nationalist movements, and whether or not any *Sowjetdeutsche* participated in these movements. Undeniably, Buchsweiler's failure to examine the Soviet Germans' response to Ukrainian nationalism, as well as his sketchy and truncated analysis of the Ukrainian social and economic context, circumscribe the value of his work.

Readers might also cavil about Buchsweiler's lopsided treatment of the *Sowjetdeutsche* themselves. It is true that Buchsweiler admirably delineates the cultural, economic, political, religious, educational, and literary characteristics which distinguished the *Sowjetdeutsche* from other national groups, but he neglects to define those characteristics which differentiated the various Soviet German subgroups (Catholic, Protestant, and Mennonite) from one another. Admittedly, Buchsweiler spares no effort in documenting the fascinating story of the Mennonites in Ukraine, and he includes two chapters ("The Mennonites" [pp. 111–16] and "Canadian Mennonites—A Possible Parallel?" [pp. 91–4]) that deal directly and indirectly with this Anabaptist sect in southern Russia. But for the reader interested in the distinctive religious, political, social, and economic features of either the Catholic or Protestant Soviet German community, the paucity of pages devoted to these subjects is disappointing. There are no specific chapters or detailed analyses pertaining either to the Catholic or the Protestant *Sowjetdeutsche*. Moreover, Buchsweiler's observations concerning the Mennonites are at times one-sided and askew. While Buchsweiler frequently cites from Mennonite memoirs as well as from the works of Mennonite historians to reinforce his observations, it is apparent that he does not really appreciate the ethos and salient features of the Mennonite faith and culture. Buchsweiler approaches the history of the Mennonites as some Soviet scholars do—from a perspective that minimizes many of the religious and ideological elements of the community, while magnifying many of its social and economic features. At the same time, Buchsweiler's penchant for hyperbolizing the extent to which some Mennonites in Ukraine compromised their religious beliefs and principles during the Russian Civil War and the interwar period leaves the reader with a biased and partisan impression of the Mennonite community. In his discussion of the formation of Mennonite *Selbstschutz* units during the Russian Civil War, for example, Buchsweiler makes a point of emphasizing that those Mennonites who organized a *Selbstschutz* not only acted as hypocrites, but reneged on an historic tradition of nonresistance (pp. 118f). Yet Buchsweiler does not call attention to the fact that during

this period the majority of Mennonites did not take part in *Selbstschutz* activities or compromise their principles of nonresistance—in many instances, Mennonites suffered death for their religious ideals.<sup>21</sup> By highlighting some facts while downplaying or neglecting others, Buchsweiler renders his analysis of the Mennonites less than accurate and objective. As a result, readers must ultimately turn to other works, such as John B. Toews's *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites*, for a more balanced and detailed examination of the history of the Mennonite community during this period.<sup>22</sup>

One other quibble remains. Concerning Buchsweiler's treatment of the role that the Romanian allies played in Hitler's effectuation of *Ostpolitik*, one wishes that Buchsweiler had utilized more Romanian sources in substantiating some of his observations. Undoubtedly, Buchsweiler has marshalled an impressive array of German and Soviet materials dealing with the Romanian war effort, and his scrupulous use of German documents pertaining to Romania's occupation of Transnistria is a valuable object lesson demonstrating what can be done with such sources. But the addition of Romanian state documents, war diaries, memoirs, and personal correspondence would have given more credence to Buchsweiler's findings and conclusions.

Taken collectively, however, the criticisms and questions raised here do not significantly undermine the value of this book. Rather they are an attempt to take seriously a substantial and provocative piece of work. *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine*, which is clearly Buchsweiler's labour of love, is a praiseworthy and erudite study. Whether or not historians agree with all of Buchsweiler's conclusions concerning the relationship of the *Sowjetdeutsche* to the Third Reich, all who peruse the pages of his work will be challenged and rewarded in some way. For some historians, the work will also serve as a sounding board on which to test their theories concerning the role of the *Sowjetdeutsche* in Hitler's *Ostpolitik*. With the burgeoning number of books on the history of Central and Eastern European German minorities prior to and during the Second World War, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine* is indeed a valuable introduction to a widely misunderstood period of East European history.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "Fifth column" activity occurs in wartime when civilians behind the defence lines of a particular country secretly assist the enemy by acting as spies, saboteurs and propagandists. The term "fifth column" was coined by General Emilio Mola (1887–1937) during the Spanish Civil War. He stated in a radio speech in October 1936 that his four armed columns attacking Madrid would be helped by a "fifth column" of General Franco's agents and sympathizers within the city. See Louis De Jong, *The German Fifth Column in the Second World War*, trans. C. M. Geyl (London, 1956), 3ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a work that views the *Sowjetdeutsche* in Ukraine as German fifth columnists, see Alexander Werth, *Russia at War 1941–1945* (London, 1964), 731, 814f. For a work which seeks to prove that there was no fifth column activity among the *Sowjetdeutsche*, see De Jong, 235ff. Other works that attempt to address the question of the relationship of the *Sowjetdeutsche* to the Nazis on the eve of World War II and during the conflict include the following: Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion* (Stuttgart, 1983), 47ff, 86ff; Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus* (Altona, 1962), 351ff; Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas, From 1761 to the Present* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1977), 283ff.

<sup>3</sup> An English translation of the German title would be the following: *Ethnic Germans in the Ukraine on the Eve and at the Beginning of the Second World War—A Case of Double Loyalty?*

<sup>4</sup> Two recent articles by Meir Buchsweiler on the subjects of the *Sowjetdeutsche* and of German plans for aggression against the Soviet Union during the 1930s are the following: "Probleme der Sowjetdeutschen Literatur zwischen den Weltkriegen," *Jahrbuch des Institutes für Deutsche Geschichte [Israel]* 12 (1983): 285–316; "Menetekel. Der Sowjetrussische Marschall M. Tuchatschewski warnt im März 1935 vor Deutschen Aggression-planen," *Jahrbuch des Institutes für Deutsche Geschichte [Israel]* 13 (1984): 351–65.

<sup>5</sup> See also Joseph S. Height, *Homesteaders on the Steppe* (Bismarck, 1975), 1–368; Koch, *The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas, From 1763 to the Present*, 4ff.; John B. Toews, "Cultural and Intellectual Aspects of the Mennonite Experience in Russia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 53 (1979): 137–59; John B. Toews, "Emergence of Early German Industry in the South Russian Colonies," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 55 (1981): 289–371.

<sup>6</sup> See also John B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites* (Newton, Kansas, 1982), 79–94; John B. Toews, "The Origins and Activities of the Mennonite Selbstschutz in the Ukraine (1918–1919)," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 46 (1972): 5–40; John B. Toews, "The Halbstadt Volost 1918–1922: A Case Study of the Mennonite Encounter with Early Bolshevism," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 48 (1974): 489–514.

<sup>7</sup> Some other works that also examine the history of the *Sowjetdeutsche*, and particularly the Mennonites, during the 1920s include the following: Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 28–50, 139–155; Heinrich Woelk and Gerhard Woelk, *A Wilderness Journey: Glimpses of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia 1925–1980*, trans. Victor Doerksen (Fresno, 1982), 7–22; John B. Toews, ed., *The Mennonites in Russia, 1917–1930: Selected Documents* (Winnipeg, 1975); John B. Toews, “The Mennonites and the Siberian Frontier 1907–1930: Some Observations,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 47 (1973): 83–101; John B. Toews, “The Russian Mennonites and the Military Question (1921–1927),” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 43 (1969): 153–68.

<sup>8</sup> For an excellent analysis of the plight of the Ukrainian people during Stalin’s terror, see Bohdan Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (London, 1985), 113ff.

<sup>9</sup> See also MacAlister Brown, “The Third Reich’s Mobilization of the German Fifth Column in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Central European Affairs* 19, no. 2 (1959): 128–48.

<sup>10</sup> For an interesting discussion of Hitler’s understanding of *Lebensraum* and his ideological and political arguments for the occupation of Ukraine, see Ihor Kamenetsky, *Hitler’s Occupation of the Ukraine (1941–1944): A Study of Totalitarian Imperialism* (Milwaukee, 1956), 2–17; Ihor Kamenetsky, *Secret Nazi Plans for Eastern Europe: A Study of Lebensraum Policies* (New York, 1961), 25ff, 49ff.

<sup>11</sup> See also Anthony Komjathy and Rebecca Stockwell, *German Minorities and the Third Reich* (New York, 1980), 6–15.

<sup>12</sup> For an exhaustive examination of the activities of the VoMi prior to and during the Second World War, see Valdis O. Lumans, “The *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* and the German National Minorities of Europe” (Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979).

<sup>13</sup> For more detailed investigations of the formation of German fifth columns in Central and East European countries (particularly in Poland and Czechoslovakia), see De Jong, *The German Fifth Column in the Second World War*, 39–297; Komjathy and Stockwell, *German Minorities and the Third Reich*, 17–166.

<sup>14</sup> From his analysis, Buchsweiler concludes that approximately three-quarters of the entire Soviet German population remained on the Soviet side of the front throughout the war. The majority of these *Sowjetdeutsche* were either conscripted into the army or deported to other regions. Thus, only about one-quarter of the Soviet Germans actually lived under the Nazi occupation (p. 384). For an analysis of Soviet deportations of Soviet Germans, see Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities* (London, 1970), 105ff.

<sup>15</sup> A comprehensive analysis of the activities of the *Einsatzgruppen* during World War II can be found in Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961), 182ff.

<sup>16</sup> An excellent discussion of the affairs of the *OMI* in Ukraine can be found in Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941–1945*, 2nd edition (Boulder, Colorado, 1981), 107–81.

<sup>17</sup> See also Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 295ff., 329ff.

<sup>18</sup> See also De Jong, *The German Fifth Column in the Second World War*, 235ff.; Werth, *Russia at War 1941–1945*, 731, 814f.

<sup>19</sup> Stephan M. Horak, Review of *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs—ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?* by Meir Buchsweiler. *Slavic Review* 44 (Winter 1985): 746.

<sup>20</sup> For a lucid treatment of the role of Ukrainian nationalist movements on the eve of and during World War II, see John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1963).

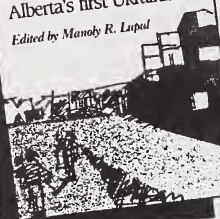
<sup>21</sup> C. J. Dyck, ed., *An Introduction to Mennonite History* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1981), 182.

<sup>22</sup> See Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites*, 79ff.

# Continuity and Change

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Manoly R. Lupul is professor in the Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, and editor of *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

IVO BANAC AND FRANK E. SYSYN, eds., with the assistance of ULIANA M. PASICZNYK. *CONCEPTS OF NATIONHOOD IN EARLY MODERN EASTERN EUROPE* (Special Issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, X, No. 3/4, December 1986). Cambridge, Mass.: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 1987. viii, 327 pp.

For most of this century, East European scholars, fascinated by the long perspective of ethnic attachments, have been publishing important comparative studies of the origins of nations. During the interwar period Poles took the lead, with such works as Marcel Handelsman's "Le rôle de la nationalité dans l'histoire du Moyen Age" (Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, 1928) and Marjan Jedlicki, "Les rapports entre la Pologne et l'Empire" (Seventh Congress, Warsaw, 1933). In the interwar period, despite adverse political trends, Poles and Hungarians continued the traditional concern for the national factor in history, as several collective works cited below indicate. It is highly appropriate that the self-consciously national community of Ukrainians in North America should now sponsor a broad symposium on the more recent origins of national identity as an independent variable in societal development.

In principle, as the title indicates, the present publication is restricted to the early modern period, i.e., to the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. In practice—to our great benefit—symposium contributors have treated this mandate flexibly. In his lead article, Omeljan Pritsak draws on his immense knowledge of the medieval period to trace the concept of Kiev as a "sacral idea," and Jerzy Ochmański outlines the entire development of the Lithuanian nation. Keith Hitchins's discussion of the religious and national consciousness of Transylvanian Romanians concentrates on the last decades of early modern developments, while, of course, Hugh L. Agnew's treatment of Josephinism and Bohemia really verges on the modern period. Generally, though, the authors do focus on early modern turning points in their subjects. Frank Sysyn, Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, and Zenon Kohut present monographs on specific aspects of the Cossack period central to emergent Ukrainian nationhood. In covering various aspects of religion and language among South and East Slavs, Harvey Goldblatt, Paul Bushkovitch, and James Cracraft also adhere to the assigned chronological limits. The biographical essays (Ivan Golub on Križanić, Ivo Banac on Vitezović, and Radovan Samardžić on Branković) are dedicated to South Slav national pioneers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The six scholars (Chynczewska-Hennel, László Benczédi, Golub, Ochmański, Samardžić, and Janusz Tazbir) from East European countries significantly broaden the scope of the symposium. With the exception of Chynczewska-Hennel, who is

exemplary in her use of up-to-date sources in many languages, these contributors rely heavily on somewhat older works in their own languages. Since few scholars command all the East European languages, such summaries of research findings in them are valuable. Nevertheless, one may regret that the East European contributions omit very important publications from adjoining countries such as *La Renaissance et la Réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie* (Budapest, 1963) and *Nouvelles études historiques publiées à l'occasion du XIIe congrès international des sciences historiques* (Budapest, 1965)—or, for more remote background, *L'Europe au IXe–XIe siècles: Aux origines des états nationaux* (Polish Academy of Sciences, 1968). Most striking is the omission of major interpretations of Sarmatism. Several contributors refer to this myth; but even Tazbir, for whom the concept is central, does not refer to Andreas Angyal, *Die slawische Barockwelt* (Leipzig, 1961) or the more recent article by Jerzy Michalski, "Le Sarmatisme et le problème d'européisation de la Pologne," in Vera Zimanyi, ed., *La Pologne et la Hongrie aux XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Budapest, 1981). Unfortunately, several Western contributors also neglect recent literature on their subjects. This may be partly due to an inordinate time-lag between paper presentations and publication. But reference to Emanuel Turczynski, *Konfession und Nation: Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationalbildung* (Düsseldorf, 1976) and Peter Sugar, ed., *Ethnic Diversity and Conflict in Eastern Europe* (Santa Barbara, 1980) might have led several contributors to take somewhat different positions.

Most of the contributions represent a considerable conceptual advance over earlier symposia on East European nation-building. Authors like Pritsak demonstrate a sophisticated awareness that myth construction was the crucial element in pre-nationalist evolution. Although several authors (especially Tazbir) emphasize with good reason the role of such classes as the *szlachta* in nation-formation, Marxist-Leninist influences appear to be superficial even in East European contributors' pieces. In fact, room remains for more economic data and interpretation, especially concerning urban influences.

Several authors adopt a stringent definition of nationhood. James Cracraft appears to limit it to the age of nationalism: "I view the concept of the nation-state as an element, even a product, of nationalism" (p. 527, note 13). Bushkovitch criticizes the notion that national consciousness arises only in the modern era; but, because he considers that Great Russian nationalism really arose only during the nineteenth century, he does draw a sharp line (for his own specialty) between modern and pre-modern periods. Such a stringent conception of the relation between nationalism and nation-state is associated with emphasis on language as the prime defining characteristic of ethnic groups. This works well in discussing Russians, for (see Kohut, p. 571) it can be argued that their language did not emerge as a distinctive vehicle until Mikhail Lomonosov developed the "three styles" conception of literary expression.

Nevertheless, there are alternative ways of conceiving nationhood. One emphasizes the significance of ways of life. In discussing Sarmatism, Tazbir approaches such an interpretation (which is mentioned by other contributors). More



intensive analysis of Sarmatism as the "equestrian lifestyle" attractive to very diverse gentries in the eighteenth century might have deepened our understanding of the interplay between elite ways of life and identity. Probably more generally important as an alternative method of approaching nationhood is consideration of distinctive religious cultures as *continuous* with ethnicity rather than as *contrasting* identity patterns. In fact, most contributors devote the larger part of their treatments to religious factors, but (in this reviewer's opinion) draw too sharp a line between religious identity, predominant for centuries, and "modern" nationalism, nominally secular but often (as the contemporary Middle East demonstrates) perpetuating intense religious identities. One reason such continuity is depreciated, perhaps, is the virtual ignoring in this volume of diaspora elements (Jews, Armenians, etc.) present in Eastern Europe, whose persistence has obviously depended on religious peculiarity. Finally, as an alternative path to the nation-state one might consider instances (familiar in Western Europe and perhaps represented in the east by Russia) in which dynastic politics *formed* a nation, and thereafter *used* nationalism as a kind of ideology to uphold the state.

No doubt analysts will long disagree on the relative validity of alternative interpretations presented in this volume or suggested above. For the present, fleshing out alternative conceptual schemes by detailed and reliable historical data, as the contributors to this volume have skillfully done, is a most valuable aid to our understanding of nationhood. The work will be especially useful to comparative analyses of national emergence, which have often found it difficult to grapple with the complexities of East European experience so cogently elucidated in these pages.

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BOHDAN S. KORDAN AND LUBOMYR Y. LUCIUK. *ANGLO-AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION 1938-1951: A DOCUMENTARY COLLECTION*. Kingston, Ontario/Vestal, New York: The Limestone Press, 1987. 242 pp.

Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan are to be commended for compiling this collection of 54 documents dealing with Western responses to the Ukrainian question from 1938 to 1951. The compilers culled these documents from government archives in Great Britain, the United States and Canada.

The collection and publication of these documents is an attempt to "indicate the pattern of the relationship between the Ukrainian independence movement and the leading powers of the western alliance" (p. vii). While we learn little that would surprise us, the collection is a valuable source for the study of great-power decision making in regard to the aspirations of submerged nationalities.

The foreword by Hugh A. MacDonald of the London School of Economics is entitled "The Ukrainian Question in the Context of Great Power Conflict." MacDonald uses this essay as a vehicle to "examine more generally the dynamics of nationalism in the experience of creating, or failing to create, new states" (p. xxiii).

MacDonald examines American policy toward the British and French empires after the Second World War and concludes that the American policy of supporting third-world nationalisms was of fundamental importance in the dissolution of those empires and the formation of a multitude of new nation-states. But the conditions that attended decolonization in the third world never existed in Europe. In giving a general outline of the development of modern Eastern Europe, MacDonald shows that nation-building and the creation of new states there closely followed great-power considerations. On the other hand, particular circumstances sometimes allowed submerged nationalities to create states. MacDonald emphasizes the highly contradictory circumstances in which nation-building took place during the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the peace settlement following the First World War. Thus, referring to Ukrainian nationalism, MacDonald states that "it has been smothered, divided, and driven to distraction by working through those very same dynamics of change which in other places have led secessionist movements to success in creating new states" (p. xxix). MacDonald suggests that Ukrainian nationalism has not yet found itself in the proper international circumstances in which it could achieve its goal.

The introduction by Luciuk and Kordan presents an excellent survey of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and the situation in Ukraine from the end of the First World War to 1951. The Anglo-American view, as revealed by the documents, is integrated into the introduction and a thoughtful analysis is provided.

One's strongest impression after reading this volume is that, as the compilers state, western politicians dealt with the Ukrainian national question in a consistently cynical or indifferent manner (p. viii) and that high politics and a preference for the *status quo* made Ukrainian nationalist aspirations unattainable. As Luciuk and Kordan state in their introduction, to identify lack of national consciousness among Ukrainians as the main reason for their inability to create a sovereign state is to oversimplify (p. 1). They correctly go on to say that modern liberation movements rarely succeed unless they are afforded external support or benevolent non-interference (p. 1). But they appear to be mistaken when they say that Anglo-American reluctance to support Ukrainian nationalist aspirations was, arguably, as much to blame for the defeat of those aspirations as were German or Soviet imperialist ambitions (p. 2). This would only be true if the British and Americans had ever contemplated support for Ukrainian independence as a viable policy. In fact, they had been concerned before the war that an independent Ukraine would be, at best, a German client state. After the war, the Yalta agreement removed the question of Ukrainian independence from the political agenda. Thus it can be said that Ukraine attracted Anglo-American attention only when the machinations of some hostile power threatened the *status quo* or, after the Second



World War, when it offered the prospect of destabilizing the USSR. Traditionally, the area had been of no essential interest to the United States; and if Czechoslovakia, to British minds, had been "a faraway country" inhabited by "people of whom we know nothing," then Ukraine was even more distant. As one British official put it, "East Galicia is outside our beat and always will be" (p. 73).

The documents themselves deal with the pre-war, wartime, and post- or cold war periods. They cover a wide variety of subjects and represent a considerable range of sources, primarily official correspondence between diplomatic representatives abroad and their respective foreign services, as well as intragovernmental memoranda. The minutes and attached comments that follow many of the documents offer interesting personal glimpses of policy-makers. More than two-thirds of the documents are of British or Canadian origin.

The documents show that the Anglo-Americans were reasonably well informed about events in Eastern Europe. Some predictions were not, in retrospect, sound, but others, such as an American brief dated December 1938 which stated that "an actual German thrust vis-à-vis the Soviet might spell an eventual trap for Germany" (p. 30), proved accurate. It should be pointed out that only a very few of these documents are addressed to the highest levels of the political leadership of Great Britain, the United States and Canada, and none come down from these sources. Other than the transcript of an Eden-Stalin conversation dated 17 December 1942 (pp. 123-31), no record is given of thinking at the very highest levels.

On the evidence of this book, the British and Americans appear to have been most concerned with three specific matters: the Ukrainian problem as it related to Poland (docs. 9-13, 19, 23, 26); Germany's attempt to create a puppet state in Ukraine (docs. 2-5); and the Soviet Union's role in Ukraine. Before the German-Soviet war Britain considered the USSR a hostile power and even contemplated fomenting an insurrection in Ukraine (doc. 11). After the German invasion of the USSR, policy changed, and the prime concern was to keep Stalin on side. The especially touchy subject of the Soviet Union's western frontiers caused major diplomatic problems for the western Allies (docs. 19, 23, 26). The wartime American and Canadian documents deal almost exclusively with North American concerns, especially the political orientation of Ukrainians in Canada and the USA (docs. 14-18, 20-21, 24-25, 30). The post-war documents deal with reports on the Ukrainian resistance movement (docs. 28, 36, 39, 42, 44, 47, 49); the question of Ukrainian Displaced Persons in Western Europe (docs. 34-35, 37, 46); and the prospects of exploiting Ukrainian nationalists against the Soviet Union (docs. 49-50, 52-54).

Some documents offer piquant insights into the decision-making process. For example, Frank Savery, an official with the British Embassy to Poland in France in 1940, is characterized in the following manner: "while Mr. Savery has an unrivalled knowledge of the facts of the Ukrainian question, he may not be a good advisor on policy. My experience of him has been that he thinks, in these matters, more as a Pole than as an Englishman" (p. 67). The prospect of Ukrainian

independence led to research on the historicity of the Ukrainian people. "Some authorities" consulted by the British Department of Overseas Trade for the Foreign Office assert that "Ukrainians are of artificial origin without any real claim of race distinction and are in fact a collection of magnificent scally-wags" (p. 45).

Some of the compilers' editorial decisions deserve to be questioned. The inclusion of Canadian documents is surprising when one considers that Canada played no role in Eastern Europe. As the compilers themselves point out, Canada's foreign policy closely followed the general Anglo-American line (p. vii). Since the introduction promises an analysis of "the relationship between the Ukrainian independence movement and the leading powers of the western alliance" (p. vii), the omission of France is puzzling. Surely, in 1938, France was a leading power in the western alliance with vital interests in Poland, with which she had close historic relations and treaty obligations. France also had an interest in Soviet developments. Thus the condition of Ukrainians in those states was probably of some concern to France. Furthermore, while the compilers state that 1938–51 is "not an arbitrary demarcation" (p. vii), one questions why these dates were chosen. While the Munich crisis or events that subsequently unfolded in Carpatho-Ukraine provide logical starting points for such a study, the documents do not deal with them. Nor does 1951 strike one as a pivotal year in Anglo-American policy toward eastern Europe—certainly the documents give no such indication.

The lack of annotation is disturbing. By failing to put the documents into their historical context, the compilers have made the volume less useful than it could have been, especially for the non-specialist. Organizations, personalities and events are passed over without comment, the authors of the documents assuming previous knowledge on the part of their readers. For example, not everyone will recognize Father Voloshin (*sic*, p. 61) as the president of Carpatho-Ukraine. The lack of information about the authors of documents and minutes (their position in government; their relations with the ministers who supervised them) makes it difficult to judge the importance of their views for policy-making. It makes a considerable difference whether the author is a high-level civil servant who has the ear of cabinet or a low-ranking diplomat making a routine report. Information is not given consistently in the titles assigned to each document by the compilers (e.g., the British foreign secretary is not named in doc. 1 but is named in doc. 5). There is no index. The select bibliography, surprisingly, fails to list any major study of British or American foreign policy in Eastern Europe.

These criticisms aside, the compilers have done a great service by collecting and publishing these documents. Let us hope that a properly annotated volume presenting pre-1938 documents will be forthcoming.

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ALBERT P. VAN GOUDOEVER. *THE LIMITS OF DESTALINIZATION IN THE SOVIET UNION: REHABILITATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION SINCE STALIN*. Translated by Frans Hijkoop. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986. 276 pp.

Can a molehill ever be made out of a mountain? Apparently so. There is a mountain of facts crammed between the covers of this book, but whether it all amounts to anything more than a hill of beans is doubtful. The author presents a great deal of information about the rehabilitation of victims of the Stalinist terror, yet the reader is at a loss to know what it all means. It will require other scholars to make the mountain of facts in this book meaningful.

The rehabilitation of Stalin's victims was as Orwellian as their original victimization. This book, by a Dutch scholar, brings us no closer to understanding either phenomenon. That may be because it seems unable to decide what kind of study it is, a study in policy-making or law or an exercise in historical fact-gathering. It "deals with the forms, aspects and significance of the phenomenon of rehabilitation in the Soviet Union between 1953 and 1980" (p. 1), but lacks historical as well as theoretical reference points to make it meaningful. What the author has done here is to comb the periodical and daily press, and the encyclopedias, for all possible mentions of those who suffered repression in the 1930s; what the rationale may have been for rehabilitating or not rehabilitating various categories or particular individuals remains a mystery. So, indeed, is the very business of sifting through all of this published material. As the author himself says, "Nothing is known about the relation between the mention of names of victims in the press, the appearance of a biographical note, the registration of a name in a source edition and formal rehabilitation" (p. 81). Counting the victims, then, becomes only an exercise in self-induced psychological depression.

Readers of this *Journal* will nevertheless find a few redeeming features in the volume under review. There is the author's ingenious method of calculating that approximately two million political prisoners were released from the gulags after Stalin's death (p. 46 and Appendix A). There is a relatively lengthy case study of the Ukrainian Old Bolshevik, H.I. Petrovsky (pp. 173-80), and several mentions of Mykola Skrypnyk. In general, the policy of rehabilitation pursued in the period studied is best characterized as timid, especially as regards persons condemned as "bourgeois nationalists."

Among the book's lesser deficiencies are its translation into English, its eccentric transliteration system, which in places is downright wrong, its proofreading, and the extreme minuteness of the typeface used for the notes, which makes them just barely legible without the aid of a magnifying glass. Its major shortcoming, as mentioned, is the lack of any apparent unifying idea or theoretical framework that would enable an assessment of the significance of the findings to be made or that would explain why the findings were sought in the first place. It contains four appendices and a bibliography, as well as indexes of contents and names.

Now that Mikhail Gorbachev has tentatively reopened the Pandora's box of Stalin's "excesses," the topic of rehabilitation has regained currency. The publication of Professor van Goudoever's study is a timely event, providing background information to present events. But it will take other scholars to make sense of what the Soviets are doing in the act of political rehabilitation.

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NORMAN PENNER. *CANADIAN COMMUNISM: THE STALIN YEARS AND BEYOND*. Toronto: Methuen, 1988. 319 pp.

Norman Penner's *Canadian Communism* is the latest addition to the rapidly growing literature on the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). It differs from other works on the subject by trying to cover sixty years of party history in three hundred-odd pages and by attempting to "compare the British, Canadian and American Communist parties, at each stage of their development, as part of my study of the history of the Canadian Party" (p. vii). This approach has considerable merit, provided the author has a good grasp of communist politics and can document his assertions. The reader's confidence in Penner's ability to master the intricacies of Soviet guidance of communist parties is not enhanced when he fails to provide a source in support of his bold statement that Stalin "insisted" that the communists remain "at all costs" (p. 221) in the coalition governments formed in Western Europe in the wake of the *Wehrmacht's* defeat.

Narrative rather than analysis dominates most of the eleven chapters. The emphasis is very much on the Stalinist period of the CPC. The pre-1917 roots of Canadian communism are ignored. The years 1957–81 are dismissed in seventeen pages, even though the CPC produced an interesting critique of the Canadian state and economy and the communists did influence the growing peace movement. In his conclusion, Penner muses over the impact of Stalin's blunders on the communist movement outside the USSR before turning to Gorbachev, who "wants to make changes of a more fundamental nature than those he has undertaken so far" (p. 292).

In general Penner's account of the rise and fall of the CPC confirms what has been known since the publication of Ivan Avakumović, *The Communist Party in Canada. A History* (1975), and the communists' own version of what happened in *Canada's Party of Socialism. History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921–1976* (1982). On some aspects of party history, Penner does provide new and useful information. This is especially true of his description of communist efforts to regain legal status and seek release from internment after the invasion of the Soviet Union, a topic that Penner has studied with the help of declassified documents and proceedings of the House of Commons Committee on the Defence of Canada

Regulations. No less interesting are some of his remarks on the communist role in the labour unions in the 1920s, on communist attempts to provide a more attractive party programme at the height of the Cold War, and the debilitating controversies that shook the CPC leadership after Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes.

Unfortunately, several major weaknesses overshadow these contributions to our understanding of the communist phenomenon in Canada. Given the emphasis on moves and reactions of the top party leaders in Canada and their overseers in Moscow, in the Communist Party of the United States and elsewhere, *Canadian Communism* is history "from above" rather than at the grass roots. The reader will gain no insight into the communist ambience in the 1930s and 40s, into what the rank-and-file party members did to further the communist cause and how they coped with indifference and hostility at the workplace. Penner's unwillingness to discuss this aspect of the communist movement is all the more surprising as he is in a very good position to throw light on the matter in view of his long involvement in party activities. Equally disappointing is his failure to tackle the thorny subject of party finances and the way in which the Comintern, the Cominform and other international communist organizations transmitted advice and directives to their Canadian comrades. Some of those who were very much involved in raising and transferring funds or who acted as glorified messengers are still with us and could have told Penner a thing or two.

Most disappointing of all is Penner's failure to give proper consideration to the ethnic factor in the fortunes of the CPC. In the short chapter devoted to the subject Penner gives no indication that he has perused the communist ethnic press, let alone Soviet publications in Russian and Ukrainian that discussed the performance and problems of "mass organizations" and of the CPC. The same fate befalls most of the writings of Canadian scholars who have made a valuable contribution to our understanding of communist activity in this or that ethnic group. Instead, Penner, the recipient of a "generous grant" (p. x), and his "seven trained research students" (p. vii) have relied primarily on statements in English by communist leaders in charge of party work in the Ukrainian Canadian and other ethnic communities. The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) and its successors receive very little attention once the dust has settled in the conflict between the spokespersons of the ULFTA and Tim Buck in the late 1920s and early 30s. From then on the communist-led Ukrainian organizations are largely ignored until Penner discusses the debate in Canadian communist circles over the nationality policies of the CPSU in Ukraine in the 1960s. Under the circumstances the reader is not made aware of the sources of communist strength among Ukrainians, Jews and Finns until the 1950s, of the determined communist efforts to maximize their influence among those who were not of Anglo-Saxon or French origin, or of the bitter hostility that the communists and the USSR aroused among many Canadians of East European extraction at a time when significant segments of WASP opinion were sympathetic to major Soviet and Canadian communist initiatives. The result is a flawed history of the CPC and an additional inducement



to scholars to examine an important aspect of the communist movement in Canada that Penner has neglected.

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OLEH WOLOWYNA (ed.). *ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS WITH UKRAINIAN MOTHER TONGUE IN THE UNITED STATES*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1986, xii, 176 pp.

Amid the dearth of reports on Ukrainians in the United States, any major new publication in that area should be hailed with grateful enthusiasm. Even so, the volume edited by Oleh Wolowyna and published in the HURI Sources and Documents Series merits special attention. For one, it is the first systematic foray into the sociography of American Ukrainians in nearly fifty years. Secondly, rather than being a tour de force by one individual (as were the earlier works of, for example, Bachynsky and Halich), it is the product of the joint efforts of a sizeable group of scholars, both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian. And thirdly, notwithstanding its descriptive demographic-statistical orientation, it has a firm analytical focus that both clarifies the rationale of the study and lends it thematic unity: the juxtaposition of data that suggest "Ukrainian-Americans are becoming harder to distinguish as a group from other Americans" with the question of identity retention, which is as much a matter of concern to the Ukrainian community as it is of theoretical importance to the sociology of ethnicity. Awareness of this tension between the Ukrainians' stake in socio-economic assimilation and their desire to hold on to their ethnic-national distinctiveness is shared by all the contributors, with Myron Kuropas and Charles Keely pointing to its source in an underlying value dilemma and Wsevolod Isajiw reminding us that many of the assertions as well as fears in this area are still, at this point, unexamined assumptions.

The editor's introduction alerts the reader to methodological problems inherent in the data and affecting the conclusions that can be supported by them. Of central importance here is the fact that most of the information comes from the 1970 census, which used the respondents' "mother tongue" for ethnic identification. Even though that did not mean the language spoken by the respondents but only what was spoken in the home of their childhood, our subject pool, in effect, encompasses (1) only between 20 and 40 per cent (depending on the estimate used) of all Americans of Ukrainian descent, (2) only the least assimilated, and (3) relatively few individuals to represent the third and subsequent generations. While the second point is not necessarily a minus if one wants to focus on those who are most likely to carry on the Ukrainian community, the other two more or less severely limit the generalizability of the study's conclusions to the entire

Ukrainian-American population.

To this reviewer, another serious drawback of the data as presented is failure to distinguish between the two main waves of immigration, so that the category "foreign born" contains the few still living "old" immigrants as well as those who came after the Second World War; and, even more critically, the children of the pioneers are placed under "native born, foreign parentage" together with the progeny of the "new" immigrants. This not only precludes more refined analyses and obscures essential differences of culture and ideology between immigrant waves as well as age cohorts (by 1970, the "native born, foreign parentage" of the first wave were in their fifties or even older; those of the second wave, in their twenties or younger), but statistically endows the two large categories with potentially misleading aggregate traits that derive from, and yet cannot be traced to, one or the other component. Thus, for example, Tables 6.2 and 6.5 show that the percentage of individuals, both male and female, with 17 or more years of schooling among "all Ukrainians" (i.e., the category that includes all foreign born) is not only higher than for the "total U.S. white" population but also exceeds "U.S.-born Ukrainians" (a fact erroneously reversed in the text on p. 123 but mentioned correctly on p. 157). Plainly, this is a trait associated not with the "old" immigration but with the recent refugees, and yet the taxonomy as it stands conceals this. In fact, the only place where it is possible to distinguish between the two major waves of immigrants and their descendants (thanks partly to ingenious utilization of data from Halich's 1937 study and partly to subdivision of the "native born, foreign parentage" by age) is Table 1.11, which shows how meaningful these distinctions are: the "n.b., f.p." under 25 years of age closely follow the residential dispersion of their parental generation, the post-Second World War arrivals, whereas those over 25 stay closer to theirs.

The introduction is followed by J. Fulton's summary of selected demographic characteristics, which offers, as a bonus, what looks like the most reasonable estimate of the total number of persons of Ukrainian descent in the United States to appear in some time. In turn, V. Bandera's chapter, "The Ukrainians Among Us," helps set the stage by providing a useful survey of the history and organizational structure of the Ukrainian-American community, emphasizing the amount and direction of growth over the generations. (In view of the otherwise thorough coverage, it would have been interesting to see some figures on Ukrainians in the professions and in business, as well as on participation in U.S. politics).

Chapters by Wolowyna and Salmon ("Population Distribution and Internal Migration"), Kincade ("Fertility and Marital Status"), Golscheider ("Family Structure and Family Extension"), Wolowyna ("Socioeconomic Characteristics"), and Magnani and Zimmer ("Residential and Housing Characteristics") systematically compare the statistical measures for Ukrainians with those for the total U.S.—in the case of socioeconomic traits (education, occupation and income), the total U.S. white—population and, where appropriate, those for selected Eastern European ethnic groups. On the whole, these comparisons show the Ukrainian-Americans approximating U.S. trends on many characteristics, certainly



by the third generation; on some measures, such as home ownership and school enrollment, they are ahead of the general population; on others, e.g., fertility or occupational ranking, they appear to be catching up.

Thus the statistics would seem to support the impression that Ukrainians as a group are slowly but surely undergoing integration into the socioeconomic fabric of America. However, to maintain proper perspective one must remember that statistical summary and analysis, although mandatory as a first step toward understanding, cannot replace it. The inherent limitations of quantitative data are recognized by Keely in his brief but seminal discussion: "Ukrainian-Americans . . . are becoming harder to distinguish as a group from other Americans if one relies on demographic and socioeconomic measures [alone]." Fortunately, both he himself and Isajiw complement the statistical conclusions by calling attention to the meaning behind the figures and by offering sociological reflections on the major trends. (They are also the only ones who actually address themselves to the problem of national identity and thus justify the use of that phrase in the volume's title). Keely not only places the question of ethnic group survival for American Ukrainians in qualitative context, citing the significance of language, religion, and irredentist ideology, but points out with rare insight that "the bases of survival are changing" and suggests that "the greatest resource for continuity [may be] something not measured by United States censuses. . . ." Isajiw, moving with his customary skill between empirical generalizations and theoretical interpretation, tries to shed light on the more intriguing findings—some of which, especially the recurrent theme of socioeconomic gender differentials, raise questions far beyond the scope of the present study—and also regales us with a sociologically informed and politically sensitive outline of three stages in the process of Americanization. Together, their remarks, directly or by implication, suggest some important leads for qualitative research.

The book's shortcomings are few and minor compared to its contributions. There are some misstatements, e.g., "the *less* assimilated . . . are underrepresented in the sample" (p. 56); "pressures to *intermarry* are effective among Ukrainians" (p. 71); "Being married . . . results in *less income*" (should be: 'less income gain'; p. 122; all italics mine). The limitations and potential for distortions imposed by the nature of mother tongue data have already been mentioned. One specific instance is the virtual impossibility of interpreting some of the interethnic comparisons in Chapter VI, owing to the fact that the category "Russians" includes, as the author himself (foot)notes, "a certain [read: unknown—I.V.Z.] percentage of Jews." (As a side effect, the use of the language criterion also produces the anomaly of using "Yiddish" to refer to an ethnic group). On a different plane, the authors' consistent failure to indicate which differences in intergroup comparisons are statistically significant makes it difficult for the reader to place things in proper perspective.

On the whole, however, *Ethnicity and National Identity* handles its data with expert aplomb. As an example, the chapter on housing, perhaps the least relevant in enhancing the understanding of ethnicity, still makes satisfying and stimulating

reading because of the intrinsic sociographic interest of the data and because of its workmanlike analysis.

From the very beginning, once the weakness of the 1970 statistics is revealed, the reader's mind is invaded by the nagging doubt: was it perhaps a mistake to do this study at this time, and would it not have been better to wait for the 1980 census, which identifies ethnic affiliation more accurately by using a question about *ancestry*? The answer can only be a resounding "no." Wolowyna and his colleagues only did with the 1970 census what should have been done routinely after every census, and they are to be commended for venturing the all-important first step. The thing to do now is to make sure the march continues.

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PATRICIA HERLIHY. *ODESSA: A HISTORY, 1794-1914*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1986. ix, 411 pp.

Одне з найважливіших питань історії України, при тому ще незадовільно досліджене, це вплив міських скупчень чи взагалі урбанізації на розвиток українського, донедавна по суті селянського народу. В історіографії панує думка, що міста, з огляду на їх неукраїнський демографічний та культурний характер, мали негативний вплив на модернізацію українського народу. Зразу виникає питання, чому міста в Україні ставали чи вже були неукраїнськими саме в ті часи. Тут маємо на увазі період між інтеграцією Центральної та Східної України в Царську імперію в першій половині XVIII ст. та Західної України в Австрійську імперію між кінцем цього століття та вибухом Першої світової війни. Треба додати, що кінець цього періоду, від половини XIX ст., відзначався бурхливою індустріалізацією та урбанізацією в Україні.

Процес відчуження міст від сільського запліччя був інакшим у кожному конкретному випадку, але в загальному можна розрізнити два типи цього розвитку. По-перше, старі, історичні міста в Центральній, Північній та Західній Україні, які нерідко відігравали визначну роль в княжій та козацькій державах, мали вповні український характер аж до часу їх окупації російськими чи польськими (а опісля австрійськими) властями. В нових обставинах вони часто перемінювалися в адміністративні центри. Наплив чиновників із національності окупантів супроводжувався іміграцією до цих міст різних чужинців, головнo євреїв та німців, які в більшості випадків знаходили собі там працю в промислі й торгівлі. З часом ці пришельці випихали українських автохтонів на передмістя чи

абсорбували їх. Якщо деякі українці й залишалися по містах, вони творили незначну меншість всього населення.

По-друге, потреба оборони кордонів чи морського побережжя Царської імперії, яка просувалася, між іншим, на південь та південний схід України, вимагала розбудови військових форпостів, близько яких згодом розвивалися міські скупчення. Індустріялізація, зокрема в регіонах багатих на мінеральні ресурси, також потребувала більших робітничих осередків, які згодом переростали в міські поселення. Вистачить згадати такі міста першої групи як Одеса, Херсон та Миколаїв чи міста другої групи як Єлисаветград (тепер Кіровоград), Олександрівськ (Запоріжжя), Катеринослав (Дніпропетровськ), Юзівка (Донецьк) та Луганськ (Ворошиловград). Всі вони, засновані при кінці 18-го ст. або на самому початку 19-го ст., зразу ж стали заселяватися неукраїнцями. В містах Донбасу поселювалися головню росіяни, а в містах Південної України, в додатку до росіян, різні інші національності. Довколишнє сільське населення, в переважаючій більшості української національності, майже не брало участі в формуванні цих міст.

Місто вважало себе вищим у відношенні до села під оглядом культурним та соціальним, і дивилося на селян з погордою. Без огляду на те, воно мало притягаючий вплив на сільське населення. Осілий в місті український селянин скоро денационалізувався, бо в його розумінні це означало соціальне підвищення. Важливою перевагою жителів міста над селом була краща освіта, як також більш модерні вмінності для фабричної чи торговельної праці. Не дивно, що політичні прагнення українського народу, сільського за своєю структурою та ментальністю, зокрема в критичні 1917-20 роки, не знайшли зрозуміння чи підтримки з боку міського населення. Навпаки, міста тоді виявилися ворожими до своїх сільських сусідів.

Це відношення в загальному залишилося таким самим і дотепер. Отже можна запропонувати гіпотезу, що засадничі тенденції, які визначають відношення між містом та селом в Україні, є сильніші й триваліші, ніж зміни в соціально-економічній системі країни, спричинені революцією. Тому вивчення передреволюційного досвіду є цікавим не тільки в історичному аспекті. Аналіза тодішніх відносин також важлива для зрозуміння сучасної ситуації та, в якійсь мірі, може бути ключем до передбачення дальшого розвитку.

Відносини між містом і селом можна вивчати сумарно для всієї України. Їх можна вивчати також на індивідуальних прикладах. Рецензована книга Патрісії Герлігі, професора історії Brown University та довголітнього наукового співробітника Українського наукового інституту при Гарвардському університеті, про правдоподібно найбільш цікаве та відоме в світі місто України, Одесу, якраз являється знаменитим матеріалом для студій цих відносин. Треба зразу підкреслити, що ціллю Герлігі не було відповісти безпосередньо на вище поставлене нами питання. Автор

поставила перед собою завдання представити не дуже то довгу, але зате незвичайно цікаву та різноманітну історію Одеси між роками 1794 та 1914 (офіційна дата заснування 1795 р.) у всіх її аспектах. Цю історію читається з безперервним зацікавленням.

Внаслідок успішних війн Катерини II з Турецькою Портою, Росія опанувала все північне та східне побережжя Чорного моря, включно з Азовським морем та Кримським півостровом, при кінці XVIII ст. Розвиток мережі нових фортець та пристаней був необхідною передумовою політичної та економічної консолідації нової займанщини. Побудова Одеси на місці турецької фортеці Хаджибей була важливою ланкою в цій політиці. Свій початковий феноменальний ріст завдячує Одеса низці сприятливих чинників. Одним із них, без сумніву, було щастя Одеси, що її долею на початку, як і пізніше, керували такі талановиті люди, як еспанець-ірляндець Йосиф де Рібас, французький князь Арман Рішельє та граф Олександр Лянжерон, росіянин князь Михайло Воронцов, граф Олександр Строганов та генерал Павло Коцебу. Даліше, метою царського уряду було зробити Одесу торговельним центром і тому оголошення її вільним містом (звільнення від мита при експорті та імпорті) в 1817 р., як також різні субсидії для розбудови міста, були надзвичайно важливими в початковій стадії. Звичайно, вирішальним фактором, який забезпечував економічний успіх Одеси, була урожайність його сухопутного запілля. Південна Україна, чи за тодішньою офіційною назвою "Новоросія", була вимірним регіоном для всякої сільськогосподарської діяльності: випасу овець та худоби, продукції різного роду зерна, зокрема славнозвісної на цілий світ української пшениці, та вирощування овочів та ярини. Все це чекало на можливості вивозу на ринки Західної Європи. Розбудова Одеси дала саме такі можливості. Помітним недомаганням у цій картині були труднощі з транспортом. При відсутності вигідних річок та каналів єдиним засобом транспорту сільськогосподарських продуктів були чумаки. Однак, через недостаток битих шляхів, цей середник був відносно дорогий та не завжди певний.

Характерною ознакою Одеси був багатонаціональний характер її населення. На початках її мешканцями ставали не тільки виходці з інших частин імперії, але також греки, італійці, євреї, французькі, турки, різні південно-слов'янські національності та інші елементи. Коли на початку історії міста головну роль у всіх аспектах його соціального життя відігравали греки, з часом вплив євреїв збільшився непропорційно до їх численності. Відомо, що емігранти відзначаються більшою підприємливістю, працьовитістю та відвагою ніж осіле населення. В додатку до цих прикмет, нові мешканці Одеси принесли зі собою знання торгівлі та, в меншій мірі, промислу. Такий характер вони зуміли надати новому місту, яке в дуже короткому часі стало другим після Св. Петербургу комерційним портом імперії. Іміграція не обмежувалася до Одеси; деякі зі згаданих національностей, заохочувані царським урядом, поселювалися на

розлогих степах Південної України. Тут маємо на увазі німців (менонітів) та німецьких швайцарів, які поселялися компактно в т.зв. колоніях, суцільно ізольованих від місцевого населення, та займалися переважно високопродуктивним хліборобством.

Ріст Одеси за цей період не відбувався без перебоїв; бували й поважні занепади. Наполеонівська війна та континентальна блокада стримали цей ріст на якийсь час. До цього можна додати природні нещастя, як епідемії та сільськогосподарські неврожаї внаслідок посухи чи саранчі. Проблеми з перепливом через Дарданельську протоку, принаймні до 1828 р., також часами поважно утруднювали вивіз зерна з Одеси до портів Західної Європи. Все ж, ріст Одеси в той час був бистрий; наприклад, її населення більш ніж потроїлося між 1815 і 1861 рр., з 35 до 116 тисяч.

Розвиток Одеси за час між половиною XIX століття та 1914 р. не був такий блискучий, як під час попереднього періоду. Вододілом була Кримська війна та, до якоїсь міри, один з її наслідків — емансипація кріпаків. Унаслідок воєнних подій, Одеса була тимчасово відтята від своїх ринків у Західній Європі. Прогалину, спричинену нестачею української пшениці, радо заповнили Сполучені Штати своїми збільшеними доставами. Відвоювати ці ринки після війни було вже не легко, навіть для досвідчених одеських купців. Емансипація кріпаків спричинила подорожіння хліборобського угіддя та робочої сили і, внаслідок цього, всієї сільськогосподарської продукції. Хоча й побудовано залізничний шлях між Одесою та Поділлям і Бесарабією, доплив зерна до одеського порту залишився відносно недостатнім. Вивіз українського збіжжя ставав непевним також через часті страйки портових робітників. Портові споруди вимагали реновації. Вкінці, з 1857 р. Одеса втратила статус вільної пристані. В світі, репутація Одеси значно погіршилася після погромів проти євреїв (до речі, підбурених місцевими греками, які програвали в економічній конкуренції з євреями). Зріст торгівлі Одеси з Далеким Сходом після відкриття Суецького каналу не в силі був компенсувати занепад торгівлі зі Західною Європою. Життя ставало тяжчим для одеситів.

Розвиток промисловості міг би був заступити відносний занепад торгівлі в економічному житті Одеси. Однак промисловість, хіба за винятком харчової промисловості, не знайшла там таких догідних умов для розвитку, як зовнішня торгівля. Передусім в Одесі постійно відчувалася обмеженість води. Джерела енергії, зокрема донбаського вугілля, були розміщені задалеко з економічних міркувань. Власники нагромаджених у торгівлі та банківництві капіталів нерado інвестували їх у промислові підприємства. Характер населення був також важливим. Грецькі, а згодом єврейські підприємці були знаменитими в торгівлі; їх здібності до промислової активності та зацікавлення нею були вже значно слабші.

Стиль життя одеситів далі продовжував бути космополітальним та свободним, і радше нагадував Західну Європу, ніж решту імперії. Місто, як завжди, чарувало приїжджих своїм прекрасним географічним положенням.



Одеса пишалася чудовими будинками й палатами, широкими вулицями, великими бібліотеками, добрими різномовними школами (хоч не було ні одної україномовної), гарним театром, славною на весь світ оперою. Недарма Одесу звали Малим Парижем, Південною Пальмірою, Другим Петербургом і подібними іменами. Однак економічна база Одеси ставала все більш крихкою. Неможливо передбачити, як було б розвинулося її життя, коли б не вибухла війна.

Тепер повернімося до поставленого вище питання, що спільного мала Одеса з українством? Про це можна виробити собі погляд на підставі багатства матеріялу про загальний розвиток Одеси, який подає Герлігі в своїй книзі. Автор, до речі, завзято старається пов'язати історію Одеси з історією України, коли, наприклад, скрізь вживає терміну “Південна Україна” та подає назви місцевостей та особливостей, важливих для цього міста, в українській транслітерації. Це правильно з формального боку, але, все ж таки, це виглядає якось штучно. Ані такі назви тоді не існували, ані ті люди не мали ніякого відношення до тодішнього українства й напевно гаряче заперечували б його. Герлігі навіть віднайшла рудиментарні вияви національної свідомості серед нечисленних одеських українців. Шкода, що вона не проаналізувала вагомого вкладу в економічну й культурну розбудову міста справжніх українців — родин Симиренків та Яхненків. (Українці становили 5,6 відс. всього населення Одеси в 1897 р.; одначе, судячи по прізвищах, їх було мабуть більше.) Ці деталі аж ніяк не закривають факту, що Одеса не мала нічогоісінько спільного з українством в аналізованому періоді. Вона служила лише транзитним центром для перепродажу продуктів її сільського, в великій більшості українського, заплілля.

Одеса, як транзитний центр і посередник у вивозі рілньничих продуктів, була без сумніву дуже важливою для економіки села південно-західньої України та взагалі для розвитку всієї української економіки. Розподіл праці між одеськими купцями і посередниками та переважно українськими селянами, розуміється, не був виявом альтруїзму цих перших. Навпаки, з огляду на їхнє, до певної міри, монополістичне становище, ці підприємці наживалися добрими зарібками коштом селянина. Немає ніяких познак, що вони якимсь чином реваншувалися своїм економічним партнерам за ці зиски. Як ми бачили, коли зайшла потреба, одеські фінансисти не захотіли інвестувати свої капітали в промислові підприємства чи то в самій Одесі чи в її околицях. Вони радше видавали ці капітали на розкішне життя за границею або в тій таки Одесі, на палати, коштовні магазини чи культурні установи. Не виключено, що вони інвестували свої капітали закордоном чи в інших частинах імперії. Одначе, користи українському селянинові з того не було жодної. Одеса була екстратериторіяльною сутністю на українській землі. Одесит не знав мови своїх сільських сусідів, доля яких не цікавила його. Національні проблеми цих людей для одесита навіть не існували. Що ситуація під цим оглядом не

змінилася за радянських часів, видно з недавнього досвіду одних туристів. Коли вони розмовляли між собою по-українському в одному з одеських ресторанів, офіціант їх спитав, яке тепер життя в Чехословаччині, бо він почув їх “чеську” мову.

Для зрозуміння відносин між містом і селом у Південній Україні перед революцією на прикладі Одеси — без сумніву скрайнім прикладом — книга Герлігі є неоцінним джерелом. Але, як сказано, аналіза цієї проблеми не була головною метою автора. Вона хотіла подати в першу чергу історію цього міста у всіх її вимірах. Це завдання вона виконала блискуче. Книга дуже докладно досліджена; правдоподібно, жодне гідне уваги джерело, що відноситься до Одеси, не залишилося поза увагою Герлігі. В книзі можна знайти докладну аналізу політичних, соціальних, економічних та культурних відносин у цьому місті в досліджуваному періоді. Зокрема автор плястично представляє положення, архітектуру та географічне довкілля Одеси. Щоб вияснити розвиток Одеси, вона також докладніше зупиняється над історією всієї Південної України. Професор Герлігі не тільки є вишколеним та досвідченим істориком, але має дар оживленого викладу. Тому книжка читається незвичайно легко. Розуміється, і тут можна знайти деякі недотягнення. Хотілося б бачити статистику більш систематично представлену; бракує опису розвитку та впливу Одеського університету; цікаво, чи одеські підприємці інвестували свої капітали закордоном; що то був за спільний революційний польсько-український комітет у 1861 р. (ст. 283)? Можна б додати й інші побажання. Однак, ці незначні недоліки не зменшують великої вартості книги.

Рецензована праця є не тільки значним професійним успіхом автора, але й, правдоподібно, дотепер найкращим, всестороннім джерелом знання про Одесу. Здається, не скоро можна буде її перевершити. Вкінці можна висловити надію, що знайдуться й інші дослідники, які підуть шляхом Патріші Герлігі й напишуть монографії подібної якості про інші міста України.

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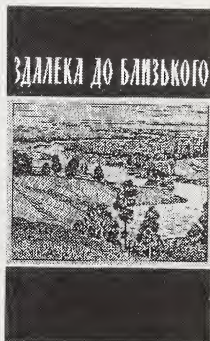
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г — g	м — m	ш — sh
д — d	н — n	щ — shch
е — e	о — o	ю — iu
ё — ie	п — p	я — ia
ж — zh	р — r	ь — -
з — z	с — s	-ий — y in endings
и — y	т — t	of personal
і — i	у — u	names only

