

# JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN GRADUATE STUDIES

L. Schneider: An Examination of Shevchenko's Romanticism

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

*With the appearance of this issue, the Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies completes its second year of publication. It has weathered the initial period of uncertainty and has evoked an encouraging response from over a thousand subscribers and readers. The editors have followed the policy outlined at the start of providing a forum for Ukrainian graduate students, as well as for other contributors who write on a wide range of Ukrainian topics. The Journal has tried to be scholarly, but has included good journalism and welcomed controversy and debate. The editors will pursue these aims in the future.*

*In accordance with the promise made at the outset, the Editorial Committee will now be comprised solely of graduate students and a managing editor. One faculty advisor will guide the whole operation, which will continue to be supported by the CIUS. The Editorial Board remains for the most part the same.*

*Another change which has been initiated with the current issue is to accept contributions not only from students and journalists, but also from specialists in Ukrainian studies, if such articles are not unduly narrow in scope. The publication in this issue of Professor Klymasz's public lecture is a good example. This change was necessary because fewer contributions have been received from students than was anticipated. The editors, therefore, urge students to submit their term papers, chapters of theses, and other materials so that the Journal can fulfill its original purpose. The editors hope to continue publishing some reprints in Ukrainian, translations, and comments. For the time being, no creative writing will be included. The Journal can grow only to the extent that the contributions make it possible. The last word, therefore, lies not so much with the editors as with the Journal's contributors and readers.*

*Finally, due to increased production and mailing costs, the annual subscription will be raised, beginning with Number 5, to \$5.00.*



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## AN EXAMINATION OF SHEVCHENKO'S ROMANTICISM \*

Critics of the history of Ukrainian literature generally attribute to Shevchenko's canon a role analogous to that which Russian critics perceive for Pushkin, namely, that Shevchenko's work reveals a definitive evolution which bridges the "Romantic" and "realistic" periods.<sup>1</sup> In this model, Shevchenko's early works — especially the poems in the first *Kobzar* (1840) — are generally considered to represent his Romantic idiom, but closer examination suggests that the use of this particular critical pigeonhole, which at first seems to clarify the general qualities of these poems, in fact brings into the critical analysis an immediately difficult complex of definitions and implications which ultimately make the significance of Shevchenko's work harder to explain. Without doubt, this approach of interpreting Shevchenko's early works in terms of the commonly accepted hallmarks of European Romantic writing was useful for the launching of Ukrainian literary scholarship, particularly during the initial stages of scholarly acquaintance with Shevchenko's work;<sup>2</sup> thus Cyzevs'kyj, Volynsky, and others described the fundamental role of literature in the development of national consciousness in the Slavic nations, which is a characteristic "Romantic" trait, and Kotsiubynska's valuable article explained the vital role of Shevchenko's work in this process by indicating strong, multifaceted relationships between the poetry of the Ukrainian master and his European counterparts.<sup>3</sup>

\* This paper was written in 1977 for the graduate course in Ukrainian literature at the University of Toronto entitled "Shevchenko and His Contemporaries."

<sup>1</sup> The leading works are Dmytro Cyzevs'kyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature*, trans. Dolly Ferguson et al., ed. George Luckyj (Littleton, Colo., 1975), especially the chapter on "The Significance of Ukrainian Romanticism," pp. 578-84 and separate sections on Shevchenko; M. K. Kotsiubynska, "Poetyka Shevchenka i ukrainskyi romantyzm," in *Zbirnyk prats shestoi naukovoï Shevchenkivskoi konferentsii* (Kiev, 1958), pp. 49-124; S. I. Rodzevych, "Romantyzm i realizm v rannikh poemakh Shevchenka," in *Naukovi zapysky Kyivskoho Derzhavnoho Pedystytutu* (Kiev, 1939), Vol. I; and M. Rylsky, "Shevchenko poet-novator," in *Shevchenko i mirovaia literatura* (Moscow, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> Mykola Shlemkevych offers a good summary of this critical material; see his "Substratum of Shevchenko's View of Life," in V. Mijakovs'kyj and G. Y. Shevelov, eds., *Taras Shevchenko, 1814-1861: A Symposium* (The Hague, 1962), pp. 37-61, especially pp. 37-39.

<sup>3</sup> See n. 1 and also P. K. Volynsky, *Ukrainskyi romantyzm u zviazku z rozvytkom romantyzmu v slov'ianskykh literaturakh* (Kiev, 1963).



Kotsiubynska's article, moreover, offered something more than simple justification for the inclusion of Shevchenko among the Romantics. It also enumerated many important peculiarities of Shevchenko's poems, perceiving qualities of realism, humanism, and simplicity which set his work apart from the "Romantic norm," and which attest to the unique independence of this poetry.<sup>4</sup> Shevchenko not only understood the influence of the broad current of European literature, but also exercised a profound ability to distil its intricacies into poetry which remained uniquely Ukrainian. However, the initial difficulty in such an examination is not with Shevchenko's poems, but with the term "Romanticism" itself, which has an ambiguous and contradictory nature. Despite Cyzevs'kyj's discussion of the problem involved in the use of the term, Lovejoy's distinguishing of various national romanticisms, and despite the efforts of Halsted and Walzel to describe the German Romantic movement as quite different from the French,<sup>5</sup> one still cannot escape the use of the universal term "European Romanticism" as an accepted critical category.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in our discussion of Ukrainian literature, even if we decide to accept "Romanticism" as a critical category for the sake of the least resistant path, we would have to recognize that in western Europe "Romanticism" represented a critical point of change in a long-established artistic tradition. Since Ukrainian culture lacked such a tradition,<sup>7</sup> the fallacy of any facile critical application of "Romantic" characteristics to a reading of Ukrainian literature of the early nineteenth century is obvious.

Therefore, Shevchenko's early works cannot be described as embodying a literary metamorphosis of the European kind. It must be remembered that the literary environments preceding Romanticism in western Europe and in Ukraine were quite different; western-European Romanticism had its basis, in part, in opposi-

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<sup>4</sup> Kotsiubynska, pp. 75-79, 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> Dmytro Cyzevs'kyj, *On Romanticism in Slavic Literatures* (The Hague, 1957); A. O. Lovejoy, "The Need to Distinguish Romanticisms" in J. B. Halsted, ed., *Romanticism: Problems of Definition, Explanation, and Evaluation* (Boston, 1965), pp. 37-44; Oskar Walzel, *German Romanticism*. Halsted's introduction to the aforementioned symposium is useful.

<sup>6</sup> An outstanding example of a scholar who searches for signs of cohesion in the period is Mario Praz in *The Romantic Agony*; Jacques Barzun has also written a "non-nationalistic" study of romanticism in "Intrinsic and Historic Romanticism," in Halsted, pp. 18-29.

<sup>7</sup> Cyzevs'kyj's *History* points out the tenuous nature of Ukrainian literature as an established artistic endeavour; the point is made *passim*.



tion to the rational, ordered, and rule-bound classical school, while Ukrainian classicism was rooted mainly in the burlesque travesty, in "low" genres, and in the use of the vernacular and the mock-epic style.<sup>8</sup> The popularity of such literature in Ukraine stands in direct contrast to the abhorrence with which such elements were regarded in western Europe, and it could in fact be argued that Ukrainian Romanticism is a less radical, more logical sequel to its peculiar kind of classical precursor than is the revolutionary Western Romanticism with its turnabout in aesthetics and form. Among the interests of European Romantics that are strikingly "new" are: concern with the vernacular, irony, use of folk life and customs for literary content, and allusions to historic events and personalities; but these same features were also important factors in Ukrainian classicism.<sup>9</sup> Even the quality of passionate and emotional excess which characterizes Western Romanticism has an analogue in Ukrainian classicism in the riotous burlesque of the mock-heroic style.

The significance of these differences in the two "classical" backgrounds is profound for the literary history of the following generation. Western-European Romantic writers fought for freedom in both a formal and a psychological sense; their new recognition of the value of the individual personality was based on philosophical and political experience, which demanded changes of form and aesthetic in order to accommodate the new focus. But however radical these demands became, in western Europe they never threatened the very existence of literature. Its survival was never in jeopardy because European classicism had continued the Renaissance message that the ordered creativity of the human mind was to be respected above all else. This does not minimize the force of the upheavals that took place in all facets of early nineteenth-century European life, but rather suggests that the upheaval was so fruitful in artistic terms precisely because of this tradition of artistic self-respect, which indeed becomes, in a different form, the central philosophy of Romanticism. The Ukrainian situation showed none of this habitual confidence in and serious respect for artists or art. The thrust of the burlesque tradition did not generate admiration for, but rather mockery of national customs and history.<sup>10</sup> The primitive language of the travesties

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<sup>8</sup> See the chapter on "Classicism" in Cyzevs'kyj, *History*, pp. 370-434.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402: "For Kulis, whose view was totally in accord with Romantic ideology, the *Eneida* was nothing but a parody on the way of life and even the language of the peasant, a parody showing 'a lack of respect' for the Ukrainian people."

pointed to the painful lack of linguistic sophistication in Ukraine and to the seemingly narrow scope of literary endeavour which could be sustained by such a language. While western-European Romantic writers fought to bring the literary language down from the archaic and rarified heights of classicism to a more universally meaningful level of expression, Shevchenko and his contemporaries struggled in the opposite direction, seeking to create a new language from the "base materials" of the travesties and folk speech. For the Ukrainians, it was not simply a matter of adapting literature to new philosophical exigencies, but, indeed, of preventing literature from dying altogether.

Furthermore, the lack of respect which the travesties show for the language and the life of the people had to be contested in Ukraine as a matter of greater political and social significance than anywhere else in Europe. Herder's work and the writings of the brothers Grimm served only to enhance, not to create, a position of political strength and national potential in Germany. In Ukraine, however, interest in folk culture and folk literature represented a frustrating attempt to preserve, and thus create in a new form, the most substantive, but also the most fragile and vulnerable elements of life itself.

Thus the tasks placed before Ukrainian Romantic writers by their own literary history were far different from those undertaken by their western-European counterparts; Ukrainian writers of this period were not engaged in the happy uncovering of their heritage as were, for example, writers in Germany, Scotland, or France, but were waging a struggle for artistic life from the position of cultural subservience. This subservience was not only to western Europe but, more significantly, to Russia, where literary activity was itself characterized chiefly by the tendency to produce by imitation of the West. Russia's political domination of Ukraine and its success in tempting away Ukrainian intellectuals magnified further the critical position of Ukrainian literary life. From this point of view, the "realism," or what has been seen by critics as a "Romanticism" imbued with startling "realism," in Shevchenko's early work can be more easily understood.<sup>11</sup> His problem was not to be a western-European Romanticist revelling in idiosyncratic psychological probings or extolling excesses of feeling as the hallmark of the new sensitive man; such concerns were entirely inap-

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<sup>11</sup> See n. 1, and also Victor Petrov, "Sevcenko's Aesthetic Theory: An Approach to the Problem" in *Mijakovs'kyj and Shevelov*, pp. 62-67; Petrov admits to this combination, but argues that the result should be viewed as a unique unity.

propriate for the situation in Ukraine, where neither the philosophical nor the socio-political base for such writing existed. Shevchenko was faced, rather, with the task of making the language and life of Ukraine "respectable," viable in literary terms, and worthy of interest. His first *Kobzar* indicates that he realized this necessity and chose to begin by rooting his "Romanticism" in reality. A brief look at Shevchenko's biography illustrates well how natural and uncontrived this combination of seemingly contradictory notions was for him, since his life, while certainly unusual from the point of view of "normal" expectations, approximates in several cases the "Romantic" desideratum. For example, one cannot help but sense a tremendous incongruity when one tries to apply Hugo's version of "Romantic" mentality to Shevchenko.

The Romantics moved out from the boudoir and salon to the field and hillside, just as for them the delights of social interchange were supplanted by private reverie, melancholy introspection, and the contemplation of the overflowing heart... Perhaps the noble savage, the child, the simple uneducated rustic still partook of the Golden age when mankind had hearts rather than purses of gold.<sup>12</sup>

The "boudoir and salon" were as foreign to Shevchenko as the "field and hillside" must have been to the first sentimental writers, and he was, in reality, at home with "the simple uneducated rustic" who, despite Wordsworth's attention and interest, remained for Western Romantics largely a highly malleable Ideal.

Many other strictly biographical elements establish Shevchenko as the ideal "Romantic" artist in contrast to his Western contemporaries, for whom the "Romantic" quest began as a search for the real world to replace the artificial classical salon. He did not have to strive for contact with his own folk culture, nor was the history of this culture a new or adopted concern for him; both the present and past realities of Ukrainian life were living experiences for Shevchenko, and his poetry is thus the product not only of a fertile imagination and vibrant talent, but, more importantly, of a life whose daily progress was defined by this greater national life.

When one thinks of Wordsworth's seclusion at Grasmere or Byron's exploits in Greece, one is struck by the fact that these great "Romantic" figures embraced their philosophies so closely that they made a choice for a life which accorded with their inner spiritual priorities. The peculiar power of Shevchenko's biography,

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<sup>12</sup> Howard E. Hugo, "Components of Romanticism" in Halsted, pp. 30-36; the quotation is on pp. 34-35.

however, lies in the fact that for him there was no such choice to be made. While Western Romantics had the luxury of working out alternative kinds of expression for their inner feelings, and were encouraged by a relatively educated and tolerant public, Shevchenko's represents a literary voice fighting for its right to speak in a largely unreceptive environment.

Shevchenko's actual experiences of imprisonment, exile, solitude, and suffering place him again at the heart of Romantic matter. Such experiences were for most Western Romantics felt only in the life of the mind. Real as this mental and emotional realm may be, it is nonetheless one which may be altered and molded, taking its shape by the free force of the imagination. I do not wish to imply that experience in the imagination is less meaningful than real physical events, but rather to suggest again that the quality of purposeful choice is the significant factor distinguishing the two spheres of experience. One of Shevchenko's recurring refrains is that of both personal and national *dolia*, fate or destiny which brings about events that cannot be imagined away. His own isolation and pain were not the results of a particular *weltanschauung*, but of the political and social situation which surrounded him, and the immediacy of these experiences is clearly evident in the unflinching honesty of his poetic treatment of suffering.<sup>13</sup>

This honesty itself presents yet another interpretative problem. From Wordsworth's *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads*, from the enthusiasm of "Romantic" writers for the lyric form, and indeed from the tendency in Romanticism to "reveal all" in the spirit of Rousseau's *Confessions*, it is clear that the movement placed a high priority on 'truth' or verisimilitude in every aspect of description. Yet when one thinks of the greatest "Romantics," Byron or Novalis, one is immediately faced with the fact that, while these writers are no doubt "honestly" describing emotional experiences they have had, the fantastic vehicle which must be employed to give them verbal substance removes them from the realm of universal experience. The consequent distance between the experience and the reader is vast. Halsted attempts to explain this divergence of the literary product from its basic philosophy by saying: "This is the point of the romanticist attack, not on science, but on materialism: materialism narrows down the universe to a fraction of itself. The romanticists were realists precisely because they admit-

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<sup>13</sup> Among the wealth of biographical sources on Shevchenko, one of the most useful is *Biohrafiia T. H. Shevchenka za spohadamy suchasnyktiv* (Kiev, 1958).



ted the widest possible range of experience as real."<sup>14</sup> This aversion to materialism is certainly shared by Shevchenko, but it does not lead him to the mysticism of Novalis or the fantastic imaginings of Hoffmann. The poems of the first *Kobzar* seek what is of value in the life of the world and reveal feelings and emotions no less intimate and profound than those of Novalis's *Hymns to the Night*; however, they do have an accessible quality, a natural comprehensibility, which contrasts sharply with the peculiar internal and self-centered nature of western-European Romantic lyricism.

A great factor in Shevchenko's clarity is undoubtedly his language, in its "simplicity, not as the opposite of complexity, but as limpid and crystallized complexity."<sup>15</sup> This crystallization works not only on the linguistic level, but on the symbolic as well; in addition to 'suffering', the *Kobzar* treats a range of elemental symbols — motherhood, sin, sorrow, freedom, fate, isolation, and the past — whose metaphoric force is not lightened or confused by elaborate or artificial qualification. At the same time, the poems never become "everyman" types of allegory, because the symbols operate in a localized and specified situation in which they lose the distance of mythic structures and return to a kind of pre-mythic immediacy and strength.<sup>16</sup>

Because of the cautions indicated in these introductory remarks, in the following analysis of Shevchenko's first *Kobzar* I will have to use the literary categories "Romantic" and "realistic" in a special, qualified way. The point that will be made in my presentation of detailed features of his poems is that, in the early *Kobzar*, Shevchenko did operate within the most basic critical tenets of the Romantic movement — the importance of love, emotionalism, national consciousness, folk speech and culture, and attention to history — but he did so in a way that is rooted in 'real' experience, framed in a universal context, because his social responsibility as a writer was the most vital aspect of his creation of 'literature'. The Western Romantic writers, in contrast — which I will illustrate in the discussion of details — were set free, by the fact that their culture was already firmly "literary," to make

<sup>14</sup> Halsted's introduction, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Cyzev's'kyj pays much attention to Shevchenko's poetic language and style in the chapter of his *History* on "Romanticism"; the quotation in the paper is from George S. N. Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Sevcenko: Polarity in the Literary Ukraine, 1798-1847* (Munich, 1971), p. 137.

<sup>16</sup> For an illuminating study of Shevchenko's symbolism as archetypal, see George S. N. Luckyj, "The Archetype of the Bastard in Sevcenko's Poetry," *Slavic and East European Journal*, 14 (1970): 277-83.

their work a translation into art not of universal experience, but of personal, private experience; therefore, Western Romantic writers became idiosyncratic and extreme with regard to the same aspects of style which cause Shevchenko to appear as a "Romantic realist" because of his faultless sensitivity to his own situation. In short, western-European Romantic literature can be thought of as personal experience universalized, while Shevchenko's poetry represents universal experience made personal, and thus made 'real'.

The most striking example of this personalization is the character of the *kobzar* himself, the blind folk-minstrel who is both an orphan, i.e., a social outcast, and a social necessity. Luckyj describes this dual function by pointing to a change brought about by Shevchenko's presentation: "What only a decade earlier was considered by Ukrainian intellectuals to be the prerogative of folk poetry in which the blind kobzar was the 'father of poetry', became in Shevchenko's poem a new form — the minstrel turned into an archetypal figure of wise man and teacher."<sup>17</sup> The figure of the blind wise man is at least as old as the blind Tiresias who spoke the truth to Oedipus, but Shevchenko's kobzar never approximates that incarnation of cold and absolute truth which must be regarded almost with the fear of the supernatural. Rather, the kobzar retains his human element throughout and is an integral part of everyday life; his songs and stories do not shock or paralyze, but instead merge subtly into the consciousness of his audience more like a Christian parable than a sudden revelation. It is, in fact, this constant communication with the people which removes the kobzar from the Romantic figure of "the poet" whose revelations are incomprehensible to the mob, and whose sensibility cannot bear the crudity and dullness of the social audience. This image of the artist emerges, I think, from the confusion between Romanticism as aesthetic theory and Romanticism as a philosophy of life, which results in a suspension of life somewhere above the real world, but below the artistic ideal. Thus, the Romantic poet has access to truths which are above the common ability to comprehend, and his social responsibility must be sacrificed in initiation to the suspended Romantic world.

The wandering poet is a more complicated version of this idea in Western Romanticism precisely because the wanderer does not sacrifice his social role, even though he feels uncomfortable in it. Hugo identifies Goethe's Torquato Tasso as the first modern reincarnation of this ancient literary type, describing him

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<sup>17</sup> Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Sevcenko*, p. 138.



as "the creative individual who finds himself a marked man. Genius is his, as well as the respect of his benefactors; and gladly they bestow the laurel crown upon his brow. But he feels an apartness from them that they cannot be expected to understand."<sup>18</sup> This "apartness" is unlike the proud superiority of the antisocial poet because it is a spiritual rather than an intellectual or ideological separation. In addition, there is a distance not only between the poet and his patrons or society, but also between the poet as social servant and as a private creative personality. The healing of this split in the poet's sense of self is, according to Hartman, one of the chief motivating forces in Romantic poetry, and it is in the search for 'unity of being' that the poet becomes a wanderer.<sup>19</sup> This split is also felt in the identification of the poetic 'I'. "In a lyric poem," writes Hartman,

it is not the first person that moves us, but rather the 'I' to which that 'I' reaches. The very confusion in modern literary theory concerning the fictive 'I' whether it represents the writer as person or as persona, may reflect a dialectic inherent in poetry between the relatively self-conscious self and that self within the self which resembles Blake's 'emanation' and Shelley's 'epipsyche'.<sup>20</sup>

The poem "Zaspiv," which fittingly begins Shevchenko's first collection, is an exploration of precisely these problems of identity and the relationship between identity and creativity. At the very outset the poet's voice is definitely not that of the Romantic poet; there is no musing on the experience of inspiration, no complaint about the fickle nature of insight. The attention is not entirely on the poet as potential creator, but instead the poetry is already written, almost self-created, and stands as a character in its own right, listening, as it were, to the poet's lament. There follows another distancing of the poetic "I" from his work, since it is not he, but *lykho* — misfortune or affliction — which gave his lines birth. The poet is simply their caretaker, the one who weeps over them. It would have been better, he says, if the poems had been destroyed, because then his sorrow would not be public, and no one could accuse him of annoying others with his own complaints. Despite the disarming simplicity of these lines, the situation which is developed in this first section is highly complex.

<sup>18</sup> Hugo, in Halsted, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> Geoffrey H. Hartman, "Romanticism and Anti-Self-Consciousness," in Harold Bloom, ed., *Romanticism and Consciousness* (New York, 1970), p. 49.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

The "I" of the poem has double feelings about the poems: they are children of misfortune, but they are also his own; he wishes they had been drowned by tears or swept away by the wind, but he also cared for and nurtured them with tears. He wants his anguish to be private, but this very plea on paper makes it public. The greatest effect of this ambivalence is to suggest to the reader that he is somehow an interloper and privy to the poet's secrets, even though his access to them is through the public medium of the printed page. Herein lies the poetic split: the poet who records this outpouring is clearly not the same as the "I" in the poem who does not want the record to exist, but, in the poetic result of the relationship between the two, the poet's dilemma is more powerfully expressed than in the standard Romantic literary form, where intimate emotions are simultaneously meant to be public because their expression is unmediated by any other persona.

This split continues through the following section of the poem, since the lines are at once the poet's own work, set down in the finished and ordered form facing the reader, and are also something separate and yet unformed, a collection of thoughts and memories about dark eyes, dark nights, the caresses of a young girl, a green cherry orchard, Cossack history, burial mounds, and the black eagle of Russia watching overhead — in short, a catalogue of what is to follow in the other poems of the collection. The poetic "I" of the poem, however, continues to stress his removal from the actual poetry by claiming that he can only weep, that he has no words for any other kind of expression of his sorrow, and, further on, that no one will notice or ridicule him if his thoughts take the form of birds. Finally, there is a kind of resolution in the division of "I's" in the sending of the poet's thoughts home to Ukraine, where they will be received not with mockery, but with love and tenderness. But even so, an element of separation still remains; the poems go alone, while the poet stays in exile, and their future may be fortunate, while he waits only to die.

In this poem, then, we encounter the double poet — the "I" which records, orders, and forms what the other "I" feels and experiences. The resolution to this split is offered in the contrasting images of the people who ridicule the poet and the homeland where his words are cherished. This is not just a statement about national loyalty and the loneliness of exile, but is also a hint to a theme which recurs frequently in the poems which follow: the ideal society is characterized by sympathy and love, and the ideal homeland is the place where one's sorrows do not serve to isolate or orphan, but rather to bind one more closely with others who are able to offer comfort. This homeland is the place where the poet becomes whole again, the place toward which the poetic

Wanderer is headed; his present "apartness" is necessitated in the process because there are words and truths which must be left unsaid.

The poem "Perebendia" presents the same split more narrowly: it is described by an outside narrator-poet who is not himself implicated in the double situation, but who structures the two visions of the *Perebendia* so that his social and private nature are clearly distinguished. His social responsibility is to entertain and to teach the past, and while he does this he is very specifically placed in the center of social activity — on the street, under a tree, at a banquet or bazaar — but even in these places, singing his familiar songs, he is not entirely at home. The question posed in the second line, "Khto ioho ne znaie?", is therefore not a simple way of describing his familiarity, but is rather a suggestion that, while everyone recognizes his function, no one knows the poetic experiences which permit the function to continue. In the center of the social world, where he is thanked for his role, he is nonetheless a homeless orphan. In addition to his historic folk songs, he also sings about Lazarus; this alludes to his loneliness and homelessness and also imbues his teaching with a prophetic quality. This does not mean that these references comprise a specifically Christian message, but only that his singing about the past is subtly identified with a sense of the new life and truth. These references also provide a link to the second section of the poem, in which the *Perebendia*, free from the confines of his social role, is free to communicate with the entire cosmos; only at this point in the poem does the reader realize how truly static and uneventful the initial section was, despite its crowds of people and multitude of songs. Shevchenko's mastery in effecting this change is evident not only in the longer, more free-flowing lines, and in the greater concentration of active verbs in the second section, but even more strikingly in the description of the wild setting — the boundless ocean of the steppe, with its infinite succession of burial mounds, and the kobzar sitting in its midst singing his solitary song — which has at once the real natural feeling of the Ukrainian landscape and also the otherworldly quality of total wilderness, where the mysteries of nature and God are no longer mysteries. Yet even here, the kobzar does not essentially change; he retains the dual attributes of laughter and tears, which symbolize the dual nature of human experience, and he sings on the steppe, not specifically because he has the unique prerogative of divine communication, but, again, because in isolation he can sing without fear of social intrusion. In this isolation, he does indeed become privy to nature's intimate secrets and he speaks with divine words; but at this point the poetic narrator, who seemed to be impersonal at the beginning,

intervenes and declares that our insensitivity is so complete that we would laugh even at this holy and liberated song. Thus again, we are reminded of the poet's ambivalent relationship to us: we recognize him only insofar as he lives among us and assumes a pleasing and comfortable role in our lives, while his other song we prefer not to hear.

The genius of this poem lies in the fact that the figure of the Perebendia is not shown to be definitively of one world or the other; his essence — and, indeed, the clue to his social role — is in his isolated, divinely inspired song and the strength he derives from singing it alone. It is precisely because Shevchenko has not fallen into the standard Romantic trap of configuring a poet who is entirely antisocial as a result of a unique vision, or is, like Walter Scott's *Last Minstrel*, a wanderer whose role is entirely bound to the relating of historical events, that the Perebendia is so profound an image. That he is archetypal is clear, but the structure of the poem points out that the significance of the archetype must not be narrowed by reflexive use or misunderstanding; the poet is both profound and simple, both inspired and mundane, both a known and an unknown quantity, and, even though the crowd cannot understand the totality of poetic creativity, the Perebendia will not abandon his social role and will continue to sing among the people.

In this regard it is useful to recall Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, who is, like the Perebendia, fated to an endless telling and retelling of a tale of his own experience of conversion. The differences between these two poems are a good indication of Shevchenko's freedom from Romantic literary traditions of structure. In the first place, the Mariner's fate is a direct expiation for his sin of cruel destruction. The Perebendia also has elements of sinfulness in his characterization which do not entirely depend on the folkloric background to his literary type. He is an orphan, and from the conclusion of "*Kateryna*" we know that illegitimacy is linked to the fate of becoming a kobzar. Also, in the light of the allusions to Christ-imagery, the kobzar's constant tears and sorrow carry a weight of universal sin; and the kobzar's dependence on begging for sustenance from this sinful world, which he serves with his songs, is like the Mariner's need for auditors to relieve his own burden. However, in the Romantic tradition simple expiation is not enough, nor is the simple consciousness of guilt within the social context. The Mariner's story depends for its effect on the unusual, on the intervention of the supernatural, and ultimately on the arresting of normal time and activity while the Mariner paralyzes the Wedding Guest in the midst of life with a tale of death. The social role of Shevchenko's Perebendia, in



contrast, is rooted completely within the expected context; his grief is a socially created one, and his activities do not interrupt life, but rather enrich it and preserve its continuity by constantly reminding society of its past history. The Perebendia's experience of the divine is certainly as full as that of the Mariner, but he is not relieved by it from his social nature or even his human nature. Instead, the fact that he retains his humanity and does not become a strange spectre or a grotesque testifies to the idea that his experience is not totally inaccessible to others.

We must, therefore, return again to the idea of resolution in Shevchenko's poetry and to the fact that this resolution is both social and poetic and so must take place within the world, but only between people, not through any blinding and life-suspending intervention of the superhuman. This is why the humanizing of Shevchenko's archetypal kobzar is of vital significance.

In this regard, it is instructive to examine Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which offers a typical western-European Romantic example of the image of the minstrel. The opening lines of Scott's work show a great similarity between the Western image and Shevchenko's:

The way was long, the wind was cold,  
The Minstrel was infirm and old;  
His withered cheek, and tresses gray,  
Seemed to have known a better day;  
The harp, his sole remaining joy,  
Was carried by an orphan boy.  
The last of all the bards was he,  
Who sung of Border chivalry;  
A wandering harper, scorned and poor,  
He begged his bread from door to door;  
And tuned, to please a peasant's ear,  
The harp a king had loved to hear.<sup>21</sup>

A little farther on, however, the differences begin to become apparent. Scott's Minstrel says that the experience of the past can only be had at night if one takes the solitary path leading to the old ruined buildings and gazes on them by moonlight; in other words, the historical events which the Minstrel is about to relate live on only in the dark, sepulchral, and mysterious world of dreams and spirits. In contrast, it is significant that Shevchenko's kobzar tells his tales by day in the most bustling and energetic

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<sup>21</sup> Walter Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (London, 1806), lines 1-12, p. 1.

situations, in which all aspects of present life are being carried on. There is nothing mysterious or unreal about the history the kobzar sings, so that history is, for him and his audience, an appropriate part of life. Like the kobzar, Scott's Minstrel is sad, but he is sad largely for himself and for the loss of his own past glory. In his present situation Scott's Minstrel is an unusual character, the last representative of the minstrels who frequented the courts of kings; the kobzar, again, contrasts with this because he represents a completely natural and familiar element in Ukrainian life. He has always been part of the scene and has not undergone the personal turn of fortune of Scott's character; he is a real social constant, while Scott's figure stands not only for the unusual and, therefore, for the "Romantic," but also for a kind of history which is time-bound, so that an episode from the past serves simply as an evening's entertainment for a noble lady.

Most telling of all, however, are Scott's introductory comments to the *Lay*, in which he discusses his intention to describe "scenery and manners" and the poetic medium which seemed most suited to this purpose. He ends by saying: "For these reasons, the Poem was put into the mouth of an ancient Minstrel, the last of his race, who, as he is supposed to have survived the Revolution, might have caught somewhat of the refinement of modern poetry without losing the simplicity of his original model."<sup>22</sup> Clearly, Scott's Minstrel is an artificial vehicle whose purpose is to justify certain formal and linguistic changes, and the length to which Scott goes to explain his work emphasizes the experimental nature of Romantic poetry. It is this very consciousness of the poetic craft, moreover, and the frequent reminders to the reader of its primary position in the mind of the poet, that often interfere with the intrinsic meaning of the poem itself, since it is difficult for the reader to forget that he has just been offered the technical reasoning behind the work. Nor is it enough to say that this need to explain was required by the new and unexplored poetic territory being revealed by Romanticism. Shevchenko's position was as radical and exploratory as that of his Western counterparts, but he never attempts in the *Kobzar* to mediate between his readers and his poems; the *Perebendia* stands without explanation or interpretation, and this greatly enhances both his symbolic and spontaneous value.

Further, this difference between Scott's Minstrel and Shevchenko's kobzar leads to a significant contrast in the kind of history they sing. It is well known that Scott was the most important

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, (no page number).



proponent of the idea, exemplified in his historic novels, that national history is a proper literary concern. Of course, European classicism had not neglected historical themes, but had presented history mythologized, great personalities and grand events made larger than life by the rubrics of the hyperbolic style. The main point of Scott's treatment of historic themes was not just the relating of historic events in a less stylized and freer form, but also a concern to recreate the total reality of past experience by careful attention to verisimilitude in details of local description, linguistic accuracy, and the depiction of ordinary behaviour and manners. While this range of elements is most successfully contained within the broad scope of the new prose-novel form, Scott's ideas also had repercussions in poetry; the historic sections of Byron's *Childe Harold*, for example, include long digressions concerned with such localizing, accurate, and specific detail. Scott's own *Lay* is itself almost a catalogue of these carefully arranged details; proper names of people and places, precise descriptions of ambience and action, are strung together on the thread of a connecting narrative so long and complex that one must, in the end, question the success of the device of the Minstrel and the noble Lady, who is his audience, as a narrative frame. The main justification has already been stated in Scott's preface, but it must be repeated that while a knowledge of poetic purpose may produce an intellectual, technically centered curiosity among his readers, it also functions as a barrier between the reader and the poetic work. The very spontaneity, simplicity, and laconic quality most readily associated with a Minstrel's lay is all but obliterated under the weight of such formal and contextual incongruities.

Finally, the fact that the Minstrel's audience is a noble Lady and her household indicates the focus of such historical writing: it is for the refined and the educated, for those who have the comfortable leisure to listen; in short, for those who are happily removed from everyday cares and direct social involvement. Also, judging from the Minstrel's lament about his present lot, in which he is humiliated by singing "to please a peasant's ear," his natural preference is for the courts of kings which used to be the theaters for his performances. Thus the history which he sings has little social import; its purpose is rather to entertain and perhaps to move some sensitive and privileged soul with recollections of past glories and disasters.

The two historical poems, "Tarasova nich" and "Ivan Pidkova," and "Do Osnov'ianenka" in the early *Kobzar* are radically different in every respect; the key to the difference can be seen as the direct translation of Scott's ideal and Herder's message into poetic action. In "Tarasova nich," for example, we see the kobzar

familiarly placed in a scene full of youth and energy. This, coupled with the detail that he is sitting at a crossroads, immediately gives the scene a dynamic quality which is more than just physical, since the age-old image of youth at a crossroads listening to the song of a wise old man cannot help but add its own tension to the reader's expectation of an imminent truth.<sup>23</sup> This is already in profound contrast to Scott's static tableau in the lady's castle, and the contrast is deepened when the kobzar actually performs his narration. Here the technique of short couplets, each alluding very generally to the events of the battle against the Poles, gives the impression that the audience is intimately familiar with these events and that no more than a hint is necessary to evoke the historic image. The poem goes on to describe not the battle specifically, but the spirit of the Cossacks fighting against oppression. In this description, also the connection with the audience is illustrated by the kind of code-word system derived from the folk-song form; the personification of Ukraine, the evocation of the sea, wind, and hills, the repetition of lines beginning with "Obizvavsia" to indicate the response of the heroes, and, finally, the burial mounds, green now from the spilled Cossack blood, frame the historic event in verbal structures that are intimately familiar and thus personally meaningful. In contrast to Scott's Minstrel, who says that history must be encountered in the mystery of night and ruins, the kobzar's song is immediately and vividly active in the life of the day. It is accessible and meaningful to anyone who passes the crossroads and is, in fact, meant for the "peasant's ear," which for Scott's figure is a symbol of degeneration.

"Ivan Pidkova" offers perhaps an even better example of this intimate connection with the audience. Because there is little historical evidence that Pidkova actually made the voyage to Constantinople, the event described in the poem becomes more purely symbolic of the spirit of the past, created as a permanent present through the medium of poetry.

Finally, in "Do Osnov'ianenka," Shevchenko appeals to his friend and contemporary Kvitka to take up his pen and write about Ukrainian history because he, Shevchenko, claims to be too

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<sup>23</sup> This example is just one — the most striking — among many that suggests that, in creating his kobzar-spokesman attended by a young disciple, Shevchenko was in part influenced by the Harper and Mignon in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*; Goethe's Harper is also set to wandering by former sin. This is a rather striking contrast to the Romantic examples from which Shevchenko differs. The Harper's songs are also all "this-wordly" and concerned with a "realistic" view of suffering, pain, and expiation.

helpless and too open to scorn in his position of exile to accomplish this task. Preceding this appeal, however, Shevchenko offers his own lament for the past, which is similar to "Ivan Pidkova" and "Tarasova nich" in its use of the standard imagery and vocabulary described above. In fact, this imagery is so constant, and so like a formula, that one feels the need here to ask for a Scott-like explanation, especially since the non-historical poems in the collection are, by contrast, free from this kind of set idiom. At the end of his own lament Shevchenko provides the answer in a few lines, which reveal that this kind of writing is iconic in nature, deriving its power from the immediate recognizability of its form and features. The functional pronoun here is not the poetic "ia", but the collective "my": "nasha дума, nasha pisnia / I chyï my dity." The historic song, therefore, is the expression of a communal consciousness, and because of this it is eternal. The final four lines characterize the song further as being unadorned and simple, yet as "truthful" as the word of God, but the significant detail is that the song is also "bez khytroï movy." The linguistic contrivance and striving for effect, which is connoted to be undesirable by Shevchenko's use of the adjective *khytra* in this most important of songs, is exactly what interests Scott and Wordsworth most in their theoretical writing. By rejecting this kind of intellectual concern, Shevchenko illustrates the primary lesson, taught by Herder, that the truth of a culture lies in the merging of its historical experience with the ordinary language of the people.

For this reason, then, the internal symbols in Shevchenko's poetry are left alone without any extrapoetic support. In the poem "Topolia," for instance, we encounter again the archetypal kobzar, this time illustrating a truth about love by telling the story of the folk symbol of the poplar tree standing alone in the field and saddening every passerby by its isolation. Once again, what is poetically presented as a simple folk tale turns out to be, in fact, a multilayered analysis of the distinction between rational social knowledge and inner spiritual knowledge. This dilemma is put first in terms of foreknowledge: the kobzar suggests that if the girl had known what would happen she would never have fallen in love. Then, however, the kobzar follows with the statement that it is best not to question fate, not because such questioning is in itself futile, but rather because the heart knows who to love no matter what else follows, so that it is better to do the heart's bidding than to avoid sorrow. Just as the girl's heart told her to love, so too it continued to "know" that grief would come even when the lovers were happiest.

After the inevitable separation, the girl stops singing and is "orphaned," even though she is still within her family. This idea

recurs again and again in Shevchenko's poetry and is closely linked with the vision of the ideal society discussed above: one is an orphan when one is removed from real love, and all too often the so-called love of family members for each other is no more than the rational relationship between members of society rather than a genuine spiritual affinity. Thus, it is emphasized that the girl's mother does not ask the reason for the girl's unhappiness, but rather "does what she *knows*," which is to plan another advantageous marriage for her daughter. In this sense the mother is "unnatural," and the witch to whom the girl goes for help becomes a more "natural" mother, who understands the grief because she has not forgotten her own experiences as a young girl. In this way, standard imagery is overturned by this poem, and the witch's solution cannot be interpreted as evil or destructive because it is motivated by real concern. Therefore, the potion given to the girl does not have the "normal" result of resolving the problem either by magic or by taking the girl out of herself, and thus out of her grief. Instead, the potion crystallizes the girl into the fullness of her experience, so that she becomes the symbol of tragic love, graceful, isolated, and at one with nature.

In this way, Shevchenko also overturns the standard device of pathetic fallacy, because in this case nature does not mirror the mood, but rather the mood becomes a part, a fact of nature. Romantic pathetic fallacy was ambiguous because of its complications in its attitude toward nature: on the one hand, it views nature as mightier and grander than man, reducing man to insignificance, but, on the other hand, nature seems to involve itself in the expression of individual temperaments and events. In Shevchenko's poem, nature is no longer a metaphor, but is a new incarnation of the human spirit in its most tragic situation, lost love.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The perfect unification in "Topolia" of the dialectically opposed hurt of lost love and the perfection of the poplar is the best possible example of Hegel's maxim, "The hand that inflicts the wound is also the hand that heals it," quoted by Hartman, p. 49. "Topolia" thus becomes the outstanding example of what Brobert is describing in "The Happy Prison" in Thorburn and G. Hartman, *Romanticism* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1973), pp. 62-79: "For in its larger mythic dimension, the carceral imagery implies the presence of a threshold, the possibility of a passage, and initiation — a passage from the inside to the beyond, from isolation to communion, from punishment and suffering to redemption, from sadness to... profound and mysterious joy... (p. 67). In the image of the *topolia*, Shevchenko has united all these opposites; the girl in the tree is not merely incarcerated, but is at the threshold of her redemption.



Most critics point out that Shevchenko's symbolism is largely folkloric, but in no way does Shevchenko rely on the folklore to do his work for him; instead, there is a constant restructuring and reclarification of each symbol by the situation in which it appears in various poetic contexts. "Topolia," for instance, illustrates how Shevchenko penetrates the symbol to create for it a meaningful and original ambience, so that its connotation is clarified without any dissection.<sup>25</sup> By this process, the symbols are demythologized and made "real," and each new use of a particular symbol continues the clarifying process.

It must be pointed out that Shevchenko's ideas about love are very different from the western-European Romantic norm. In the Western literature of the period, love is almost entirely between man and woman, rather than being familial or social, and frequently has sadistic, vengeful, or pathological results.<sup>26</sup> While there is little happy love in Shevchenko's poetry, except perhaps between mother and child, he always examines the subject within the bounds of its social ramifications and, therefore, cannot separate "romantic" love from other relationships which are supposed to be characterized by love. For instance, in "Topolia" and "Kateryna," the tragic conclusion is precipitated by the insensitivity of the heroine's family, rather than being a direct result of the tragic love affair. Kateryna's parents cause her to be an orphan because of their inability to deal with social censure, but they themselves are "orphaned" by casting her out; once a family is dismembered by lack of love, all its members suffer.

In western-European Romanticism, the idea of good and evil is usually presented in extreme terms to coincide with the extremes of emotion under which the characters operate; this, in turn, results either in Byronic shock literature, in which the primary characters have no room for more than one central feeling, or in allegorical or typological writing, like Wordsworth's Lucy poems and "Michael," and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, in which the characters exhibit standard sets of feelings according to their situation. Since Shevchenko's point was to examine the significance of elemental symbols in specific socially oriented situations, judgments about fault, guilt, and good and evil are for him more difficult to make than for these Western writers. In "Kateryna," for instance, the parents are not condemned outright or made to

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<sup>25</sup> Kotsiubynska contrasts Shevchenko with Kostomarov by saying that Kostomarov takes apart and explains his natural symbols (p. 81).

<sup>26</sup> The classical critical description of this phenomenon is in Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, *passim*.

appear "evil" for their harshness. The mother's speech when casting out her daughter is interspersed with tenderness and signs of love. But this intensifies the tragedy further; if a mother can subject herself and her daughter to such pain, it is not surprising that Kateryna's Russian lover should be capable of similar cruelty. In this way, Shevchenko refutes the Romantic assumption that the only love worthy of poetic or literary attention is an unhappy affair between men and women, and says instead that the truth of love is not in aberrational private relationships, but in the social structure as a whole, whose rules of what is acceptable or desirable serve to destroy the very relationships it is its business to support.

Another way in which Shevchenko calls into question the precepts of Romanticism, especially in its Russian form, is shown in "Kateryna" by his denial of the device of illustrating the anti-social nature of a character by placing him in the "exotic" setting of southern Russia. While, from the Russian point of view, Byronic types like Lermontov's Pechorin illustrate their particular kind of Romantic heroism by standing unmoved while the young native girls they have seduced suffer and are destroyed, in "Kateryna" the artificiality and, indeed, the immorality of this kind of fascination suddenly becomes apparent. The actions of the Russian soldier, stripped by Shevchenko of all Byronic psychological and emotional trappings, are shown to be nothing but cruel and abhorrent, emphasizing the leap from reality a Romantic reader must make before he can find such a character interesting or attractive.

One more point must be made with regard to "Kateryna," which will again emphasize the spontaneous quality of Shevchenko's work in contrast to the deliberate artificiality of his European counterparts. To make this point, it is most useful to consider Wordsworth as the poet in Europe most akin to Shevchenko, in his intentions at least. In the famous *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth writes: "the majority of the following poems are to be considered as experiments. They were written chiefly with a view to ascertain how far the language of conversation in the middle and lower classes of society is adapted to the purpose of poetic pleasure."<sup>27</sup> He goes on to say that in his opinion this common language may be even more expressive of emotions and passions than literary language, because the former is used by habit to relate emotional experiences and is unadulterated by the intervention of educated sensibility to form and vocabulary. So far,

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<sup>27</sup> William Wordsworth, *The Lyrical Ballads with a Few Other Poems* (Bristol, 1798), [repr. London, 1926].



Wordsworth and Shevchenko are in much the same position; both exhibit an interest in writing in ordinary language about ordinary life, and both are concerned in using an element of realism to illustrate the ignored beauty of the life of the common folk.

Even Wordsworth's *Preface*, however, did not seem to supply sufficient justification or explanation for the poems which followed; in addition to this essay, many of the poems have their own introduction, either in a short prose paragraph or in separate poetic stanzas. For example, "The Emigrant Mother" by its very title suggests a Shevchenko-like theme, and even its content — the song of a lonely French woman to a strange child about her own child from whom she has been separated — testifies to Wordsworth's genuine concern for depicting feelings and experiences more human and natural than those explored by Byronic verse. The impact of the poem, however, is entirely altered by the three introductory stanzas describing the intention of the poet having seen the woman actually visit a neighbor's child:

Once having seen her clasp with fond embrace  
This Child, I chanted to myself a lay,  
Endeavouring in our English tongue, to trace  
Such things as she unto the Babe might say ...

The emphasis here is on the poetic activity and not on the woman who is the central image of the poem. Guided by this emphasis, our reaction to the whole becomes a reaction to the experience of the poet rather than to his work, since the sensations described in the song are Wordsworth's and not the woman's. On the surface, it could be argued that Shevchenko's "Topolia" works in the same way; the poet, represented by the kobzar, tells his story of the poplar tree, or gives poetic meaning to the central symbol by making it the touchstone for his own imagined experience. But this analogy does not account for the most important elements of "Topolia."

In the first place, the distinction already described between the kobzar and the "intellectual" poet of western-European Romanticism indicates that the kobzar sings what is "real" rather than what is imagined. Thus, although the introductory lines of the kobzar in "Topolia" function as a statement of the emotional problem of love which will be dealt with in the poem, the problem is symbolized immediately at the outset by the natural image of the tree in a familiar landscape, and there is no sense in which the poet is felt to be manipulating the situation. Instead, he is simply recording what is there for all to see.

Secondly, Shevchenko's, or rather the kobzar's introduction fits formally and thematically into the rest of the text; the story

of the young girl follows naturally from the beginning and without a shift in point of view. Wordsworth's poem, in contrast, is not only alienated from its introduction by the emphasis on poetic craft, but also by a change in form: the poem proper is a song, an artificial form in which even the spontaneity of language is significantly curtailed.

Thirdly, there is nothing exotic about the young girl in "Topolia," nothing unnatural or intriguing in the "Romantic" sense about her experience. Even her encounter with the old witch, which approximates a favourite "Romantic" situation, is kept from becoming a venture into a genuine supernatural state by the inclusion of touchingly simple and human details. The lines

Pishla b Ia utopylas —  
Zhal dushu zhubyty.

provide an excellent example of this control. The poignancy of this girl's naive concern for her immortal soul is set into profound relief when compared with the near flippancy of the standard "Romantic" attitude to suicide and death. Wordsworth's character, on the other hand, must compensate for the lack of interest, perhaps feared by the poet, in the simplicity of the picture of a woman singing to someone else's child. She is not only French, but was "driven from France," and thus suggests the fascination of political intrigue. She lived in "a lonely hamlet," where the poet happened to meet her, and thus is doubly alienated because of this romantically evocative unfamiliar setting.

Despite these differences, it cannot be said that Shevchenko's poem is not "Romantic"; the interpretation of natural symbolism, the central theme of tragic love, the isolated main character, and the apparently "supernatural" conclusion all testify to Shevchenko's awareness of the literary power of such a combination. At the same time though, the details discussed above, which could be called "realistic," indicate that the poem does not depend on a "Romantic" formula. The poetic result is twofold: first, "Topolia" retains the natural, real, and simple quality which Wordsworth sacrifices — despite his better intentions — for the sake of "poetic pleasure," and second, Shevchenko's poem gains in immediacy and power by not presenting the formal and thematic explanations deemed necessary in "The Emigrant Mother." The experimental motivation, which becomes almost the primary factor in many of Wordsworth's poems, is apparent in Shevchenko's works only when the reader is aware of their historical position.

The two poems just discussed are not an isolated example of the vital difference between Shevchenko and Wordsworth. Another such pair can be found in Shevchenko's "Kateryna" and

Wordsworth's "The Mad Mother," in both of which a woman who has been rejected by her husband or lover wanders about talking to her child. As in the previous case, the Western writer feels that the basic situation alone is not enough to provide viable poetic material; Wordsworth cannot leave it alone, but goes on to introduce the element of madness to heighten the drama of the woman's plight:

Where art thou gone, my own dear child?  
 What wicked looks are those I see?  
 Alas! Alas! that look so wild,  
 It never, never came from me.

Thus, in both Shevchenko's and Wordsworth's poems, the "sins of the fathers are visited on the sons," but Wordsworth also appeals to the element of madness as part of the Romantic formula of interest in the unusual, the mysterious, and the unnatural. In his poem, madness has no social significance, but functions as a purely poetic device with a vast connotative scope, suggesting meanings ranging from genius or inspiration all the way to the shocking contrast with the normal serenity of motherhood. The hint in the lines quoted that the child inherits the mother's insanity coincides with the Western Romantic insistence on the eternal quality of aberrational elements in man, particularly since the woman in Wordsworth's poem is a kind of archetype herself, nameless, homeless, and without a developed character. Once again, Shevchenko's treatment of the same basic situation shows his independence from the Western Romantic model as well as his ability to use certain elements from it to advantage. Kateryna is never removed from the position of a social being; her "sin" is not peculiar or strange, nor is her response to the isolation which follows. Indeed, the power of her story lies in the fact that she constantly tries to reestablish some sort of social normalcy by her search for another family, that of her lover. Even her parents tell her, when they banish her, that she is to go and make a home with her mother-in-law. Her death, then, is not a result of her own inability to continue life because of emotional pain but, rather, the result of her inability to find that "home" (see the foregoing discussion of "Zaspiv") in which she would be accepted despite her social "sin."

As in "Topolia," the realism of Kateryna's pleas to her lover to take her in as a servant, or at least to take the child, are tremendously moving precisely because they are unmediated by the unusual, either thematically or linguistically, while, in contrast, the lines quoted above from Wordsworth's poem add to the effect of the woman's madness by their incantative rhythm and relative

verbal simplicity. Kateryna's pleas have no such technical support. Rather, they are the outpourings of her panic in the most "real" sense and, even before the conclusion, they signify with great power that the fight she has sustained so long through the strength of her love and trust is hopeless.

That her son becomes the companion of an aged kobzar underlines both the social nature of Kateryna's tragedy and also the ambiguous relationship between the kobzar and his community; society is such that, no more than Kateryna herself, can her child find a "home." He must remain an outcast and an orphan in all the senses which Shevchenko gives this word. At the same time, however, the child does share the social function of the poet, receives sustenance from the audience, and is the companion of the kobzar's internal sorrow. Thus, by filling a recognizably "Romantic" mold with realistically grounded detail, Shevchenko has revealed a truth about the way people deal with each other which cannot be denied by his readers. He has investigated the problem of human cruelty and suffering rather than just describing suffering for its emotive value.

In sum, Wordsworth's "Mad Mother" lies too far from our experience for us to have any but an intellectual reaction to the interest intrinsic in the idea of madness. Shevchenko's "Kateryna," on the other hand, describes such an undeniable reality that an intellectual reaction is nearly impossible. To the extent that Romanticism sought in an authentic way to penetrate the fundamental meaning of human emotions and spiritual experiences by analyzing the internal makeup of individuals, Shevchenko's poem successfully partook of the Romantic goal, but in no way did he compromise with Romanticism as a vogueish way to write. "Zaspiv," "Perebendia," "Topolia," and "Kateryna" take Romanticism at its word and deal with its concerns, so successfully in fact, that they reveal, by comparison, an important gap in western-European Romanticism between stated intention and final poetic product, a gap that Western writers only bridge by an artificiality which is substituted for honest revelation. The latter is the chief characteristic which we expect of the Romantic movement and is the most outstanding feature of the poems in the early *Kobzar*.



## ТРУДНІ ШЛЯХИ ЗРОСТАННЯ

Доля лірики в розвитку поезії нагадує того наймолодшого сина з народної казки, що, будучи довго останнім і непоміченим, домігся в час, коли надійшла його зрілість, королівського скіпетра й найвищої пошани. Ліричну поезію знала вже первісна людина; свої внутрішні пережиття вона виражала в гранично простих формах колискової пісні, робочого чи воєнного співу, похоронного голосіння. Але дозрівання лірики до ролі свідка про весь складний внутрішній досвід людини було пов'язане з довговіковими історичними умовами, довго спинюваним процесом виділення індивідуальності з-під виключної опіки нерухомих колективних норм. В західній Європі вільне й рухливе життя лицарства й міст вчасно навчило передових людей того часу снувати вільні роздуми про свою долю, виражати в дзвінкому співі свою радість з краси життя, з дарів природи й ідеальної любові, свій протест проти умовностей життя й неминучої смерті. В області східного християнства, до якої належала й Україна, процес уособлення людини в мистецтві дуже запізнився через історичні катастрофи, що довгими століттями абсорбували всі її творчі сили, гальмували природний розвиток суспільства, через довше перетривування виключного примату релігійної догми, через повільний розвиток сфери світських соціальних ідеалів. Ліричне швилювання, так щедро розсипане по сторінках загадкового "Слова о полку Ігоревім", не вийшло в свідомості інших творців нашої давньої літератури поза межі принагідної службової ролі.

Ренесансове самознайдення особистості, античний приклад щедрого жнива змислів, завершеного шляхетною учотою порядкуючої душі, пробудили в безпосередньому сусідстві України такого визначного лірика, яким був Ян Кохановський. Прямо по українській землі ходили люди, що завдяки овідіївській та теокритівській школі поновому заговорили про красу світу й принадність простої людини -- на жаль, тільки польською мовою. Наша ж тогочасна культура, що все ще не мала сили створити незалежні світські вогнища й визволитися від переваги релігійних авторитетів, не могла повністю сприйняти й домислити центральної ідеї ренесансу -- віри в історичну роль вільної особистості, незалежного творчого подвигу. Тому й віршова творчість, що появилася як своєрідна духовна гімнастика у наших школах, була ще довго тільки віршами, а не поезією, була тільки оздобною формою повідомлення про зверхні факти, полем риторичного вславлення й святочної декламації, а не свідченням про органічні внутрішні порухи людини, про її неспокій, радість і тугу, любов і віру. Навіть найцікавіше явище тогочасної книжної поезії -- версифікаторські експерименти Івана Величковського -- залишається своєю незапозиченою частиною поза межами поетичних свідчень про людську душу.

Виразним свідком художнього безсилля цієї традиції довелося стати літераторові загадкової, але напевне дуже цікавої долі, ієромонахові КЛИМЕНТІЄВІ ЗИНОВ'ЄВУ, що жив і творив десь на зламі ХVII та ХVIII століть на Лівобережжі. Своєю злиденною долею й жагучим інтересом до пізнання й осмислення життя в поезії він нагадує проклятого поета французького середньовіччя Франсуа Війона, але різниця людського й художнього профілю обох поетів надто велика, щоб назвати їх природними братами. Климентій -- не розпалене



сумління своєї епохи, а пильний, але присліпуватий реєстратор довільних фактів; його власне серце ніби мертве до великої драми його епохи, в його віршах порядкує клишавий розум, прибитий до землі фальшивим схоластичним розумінням духовного як "ученого", ближчого до успадкованих книжних правд, ніж до хвилювань власної душі.

Але в тогочасній українській культурі не все було підпорядковано важкій руці старіючої релігійної ідеології, не все було залежне від її негнучких засобів і шляхів поширення. Не знайшовши вступу в світ книги, душевний неспокій тогочасної людини виразив себе в творчості, що не мала високого соціального престижу, але формувала не менш сильно свідомість освічених мас. Це традиція популярної ліричної пісні, переважно анонімної (виняток становлять вірші з улюбленими тоді акростихами), що дійшла до нас у ряді рукописних збірок і дрібних друків XVII-XVIII століть, здебільшого тільки випадково збережених. Перші свідчення про її існування маємо вже з початку XVII століття; вже вони свідчать про значний художній рівень. Культура внутрішнього пережиття, перебрана разом з апаратом художніх форм з літературної поезії, поєднувалась у ній з животворною стихією щоденної розмовної мови. Авторами цих творів були переважно люди простих життєвих умов -- студенти, мандрівні дяки, дрібні священики, двірські співаки, іноді й дрібні шляхтичі й козаки. Але вони виражали в цій творчості свій ідеальний внутрішній світ, формований духовною атмосферою ренесансу й барокко. Головні теми цієї творчості: любовна туга, муки неподіленого кохання, гіркість розлуки, почуття духовного сирітства, скарги на моральні й побутові кривди, страх від фізичного ув'язання й неминучої смерті. Автори цих здебільшого анонімних пісень ще не мали відваги, потреби чи вміння виражати в них різко індивідуальні психічні змісти чи навіть зовнішні ситуації. Вони не вчилися знаходити в мистецтві нове; тому слабкою сторінкою їхніх творів є схематичність пережиття, повторність змістів і форм виразу, композиційна нестрункість і переобтяженість, пов'язана з перейманням готових схем. Але найкращі досягнення цієї забутої традиції може й перевищують творчість неодного з поетів XIX століття силою емоцій, багатством і добірністю образів, зрілістю віршової форми. Акцентуванням високих, несуетливих переживань, спротивом проти засилля обставин, що сковують людську волю до щастя, виразно виявленою вірою в природну рівність людей у справах щастя й любові ця творчість сильно вплинула на формування духовних ідеалів пізнішого часу. Її витончене розуміння любові, замислення над проминальністю щастя, схильність до роздумів над призначенням, "долею" людини проникли і в народну пісенну лірику, визначаючи один із напрямів її тогочасного розвитку. Ряд пісень цієї верстви був прямо сприйнятий народом; очистившись у зіткненні зі стилізаційними прийомами фольклору від лишніх умовних елементів, такі пісні стали перлинами народної лірики.

На подібній, анонімно-демократичній основі, на ґрунті подібних ідеалів терпимості й примирення з неспокійною дійсністю розгорнулася в XVII-XVIII століттях традиція популярного віршування на актуальні суспільні теми. Тут значне місце займають скарги на упадок віку, на воєнні спустошення, моральний розклад, супроти якого безборонна навіть Божя воля. Сильно розвинулися такі вірші на суспільно-моральні теми особливо на Закарпатті.

Між 1757 та 1785 роком на Україні появився перший справжній лірик-літератор, ім'я й життєва доля якого нам добре знайомі -- Григорій СКОВОРОДА. Його "Сад божественних пісней", складений з

тридцяти віршів-пісень різного формального характеру, завершує традицію лірики, спрямованої на основні питання людського буття. Об'єднуючим мотивом цієї лірики, що дає ніби полемічну відповідь барочному неспокою й болю, є ідея внутрішньої свободи, що її можна здобути, унезалежнившись від низьких приман світу, задовольнившись скромним і мудрим щастям чистого серця й світлого розуму. Велику роль у цьому визволенні грає природа -- учителька простоти й правдивості. Цю свою філософію Сковорода розгортає то в широких панорамних картинах, що потребували складних строфічних форм, то в дрібних настроєвих мініатюрах. Вірші Сковороди сильно впливали на свідомість наступних генерацій не лише своїми гуманістичними ідеалами, але й способом бачення дійсності; але штучність їхньої мови і невірноваженість віршування, силабічного в своїй основі, не дозволили їм стати живим прикладом для формування поетичної традиції. Тому вони скоріше замикають попередню, ніж відкривають нову епоху.

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Основоположником новочасної української лірики став на десятки років пізніше, коло 1819 року Іван КОТЛЯРЕВСЬКИЙ. Теми й мотиви деяких пісень, написаних ним для п'єси "Наталка Полтавка", перебрані з народних пісень і віршів Сковороди, але підняті на вищий ступінь літературної майстерності економною композицією ліричної ситуації, вмільм використанням експресивних деталей, паралелізмів, повторів, інверсій, загальним умузикальненням вірша на базі більш догідної силаботонічної версифікації. Ліризм Котляревського -- плавний і безпосередній; в замкнутому колі типово сентиментальних поглядів і переживань -- туги за милим, віри в незнищимість загроженої внутрішньої любові, незалежності вибору серця від матеріальних благ, примирення з "сліпою", несправедливою долею, мрії про "життя в покої" -- появляються і динамічні образи природи (дерева, що гнуться під вітром, розбурхані хвилі), намічаючи шлях до романтичної стилізації почуття.

Талановитий почин Котляревського народився в час, коли в небагатій українській поезії ще міцно панувала ним же утверджена бурлескна течія, що зовсім заглушувала розкриття почуттів своїм гіперболічним потягом до змислово-доторкального. Перетривування цього стилю, що мав свої психічні основи в ситому хуторянсько-садибному побуті, певний час гальмувало емансипацію літературної лірики, для якої існували в попередній традиції такі багаті основи. Те, що мало формально характер лірики в рамках бурлескного стилю (гумористичні похвальні оди), по суті суперечило внутрішньому принципу ліричності, бо не виражало світ істотних внутрішніх зворушень. Виняток становлять хіба сильно націоналізовані переспіви Горациєвих од, створені Петром ГУЛАКОМ-АРТЕМОВСЬКИМ, особливо перша ода "До Пархома" (1827), де за блискучим роєм приземних змислових образів скривається глибока правда про короткотривалість і примарність усіх земних благ, про потребу поміркованості й примирення з долею. Вплив бурлескної пристрасті до зверхньої колоритності, до нагромадження соковитих змислових образів відчутний ще в відомому романсі Степана ПИСАРЕВСЬКОГО "Де ти бродиш, моя доле", створеному до 1827 року; статичний перелік побутових характеристик схрещується тут на кінці вірша несподівано з романтичними образами природи, з сміливою інтимізацією космічних образів. В іншому романсі Писаревського -- "За Немань іду" вже

переважає романтична обстановка: любовне прощання поставлене в контекст воєнної пригоди, досить простодушним способом введено в текст мотиви зловістих ознак і фатального передчуття.

Цими тематично і формально неширокими досягненнями замикається баланс української літературної лірики до початку тридцятих років, коли в нашій літературі появилася течія, що ґрунтовно змінила обличчя української поезії -- романтизм. З погляду тем і художніх засобів доромантична лірика була ніби продовженням і вдосконаленням анонімної лірики ХVII-початку ХІХ століття, збагаченої досвідом російського літературного романсу й української народної пісні. В ній переважали зверхні чуттєві кульмінації, визнані вже попередніми століттями за типові -- прощання, туга за неприсутнім милим, жаль на неприхильну долю, -- все подане здебільшого від неособистих ліричних суб'єктів. Це була лірика формально суб'єктивна, але фактично насичена об'єктивними поглядами і чуттєвими настановами. Після Сковороди у ній зовсім не було філософської чи суспільно-критичної оди та медитації, описових віршів про природу, елегій, анакреонтики, тобто як творів з перевагою інтелектуально-риторичного елемента, так і тих, що засновувались на естетичній грі. Не було в ній всього того, що становило в ті часи головний зміст поезії в народів з повноцінно розвинутою літературою.

Романтизм, що появилася в нашій літературі коло 1830 року як вираз настроїв та ідеалів нової генерації, вихованої не в бурсах і дворянських садках, а в університетах, зв'язаної з міським побутом і світовою культурою, поставив зараз на початку питання про естетичну повноцінність українського слова. Появилася неодна спроба поширити вужко замкнуте коли жанрів і тем. Такі спроби робилися і на полі лірики. Але ж їх повному здійсненню перешкодила мала інтенсивність літературного руху, нестача публікаційних можливостей, ерудованої критики, зрілого читацького середовища, всього, що може допомогти літературі наздогнати історичне запізнення. Теоретична ерудованість, усвідомлення перспективних мет літературного розвитку, ініціативність у публікації творів не завжди поєднувались з талантом і практичним умінням. Маємо на увазі зокрема поетичну діяльність Миколи КОСТОМАРОВА, в якій він пішов на дуже сумнівний шлях опрацювання "високих" тем засобами, позиченими з народних пісень. Кращих результатів він домогся аж у шістдесятих роках ("Співець Митуса").

Центральною статтю дошевченківської романтичної лірики в східній Україні зараз вважаємо Левка БОРОВИКОВСЬКОГО, поета з сумною долею: за життя побачила світ тільки менша й менш важлива частина його творів, ряд віршів взагалі втрачений. Своїми перекладами й переспівами з Пушкіна й Міцкевича цей поет зламав при кінці двадцятих років закорінений погляд про нездійсненність української мови "передати почуття ніжні, благородні, піднесені". Вся дальша творчість Боровиковського, після блискучої спроби створити високий класичний стиль в ґрунтовно націоналізованому "Подражанні Горацію" -- образі щастя людини в гармонійному колобігу природи, є боротьбою за знайдення національних стильових ознак романтичної лірики. Обдарований доброю культурою слова й естетичним смаком, Боровиковський був поетом абсолютно неособистим, відверненим від власного життя, вкладаючим усі творчі зусилля в естетичне формування текстів. Стильове обличчя цієї поезії він склав із своїх іншорідних стихій, що в його творчості майже не схрещувались: з наслідувань народної пісні, передусім баладної, і з вдалих спроб перецепити на ґрунт української мови високу романтичну дикцію з



елементами темної мальовничості й трагічної чутливості. Основною струною його творчості є типово романтичні мотиви відчуженості (безрідності) та щасливої простоти “дітей природи”. Такі твори, як “Волох”, і особливо “Козак”, треба вважати значним досягненням української романтичної поезії: розгорненням елементів мальовничого опису й внутрішньої рефлексії, екзотизацією й філософським осмисленням “буденних” об’єктів поет відривається від попередньої вузької традиції літературного романсу та наївної ліроепіки на фольклорних основах. Від уміння Боровиковського насичувати епічні сюжети ліричною атмосферою з використанням образів природи веде одна з ниток до ранньої поезії Шевченка. Значний також його вклад у розвиток українського силаботонічного вірша різних розмірів.

В зовсім іншому напрямку пішов Амвросій МЕТЛИНСЬКИЙ, поет не дуже талановитий, але без сумніву оригінальний своїм світоглядом і формальними пошуками. В Боровиковського романтичний смуток має відтінок стилізації, творчість Метлинського опановує екзистенційний песимізм і резигнація. Вони йдуть від ментальності поета, але виражені майже виключно метафорою національного смутку”, жалю над утраченою славою й добробутом козацької України, плачем над мертвотною порожнечою сучасності. Ці почуття виражають себе часто поетичною фетишизацією матеріальних свідків славного часу. Скриваючи свою болісну індивідуальність за колективний суб’єкт, Метлинський не спирається, як його романтичні товариші, на народно-пісенну стилізацію й ритміку, чи на регулярний силаботонічний вірш. Він створює жанр ліричної медитації й вірша-опису скоріше на основі розмовної мови, часто міняючи віршовий розмір і пробуючи наслідувати нерегулярний тонічний вірш народних дум. Його “Старець” є першою спробою соціального портрету в українській ліриці.

З досі сказаного видно, що в східноукраїнській романтичній ліриці першого періоду, під впливом загального спрямування українського романтичного руху, рішуче переважали понадособисті стихії (фольклоризм, історизм) над самовиявом романтичної індивідуальності. Не появилася інтимна лірика, що виражала б прямо духовний світ свого творця. Досить простодушний любовний вірш Віктора ЗАБІЛИ “Соловей”, стилізований під фольклор, є одиничним і тільки частковим винятком з цього стану.

Історична роль виповнити цю прогалину припала галичанинові Маркіяну ШАШКЕВИЧЕВІ, що виступив на кілька років раніше, ніж Шевченко, і дуже скоро замовк. За своєю естетичною орієнтацією поезія Шашкевича подібна до творчості Боровиковського: в ній також стоять поряд себе впливи літературного романтизму (в цьому випадку польського й німецького) та сильне очарування народною піснею. Тільки ж Шашкевич кладе більший акцент на її новішу, суб’єктивну верству, репрезентовану передусім коломийкою. З цього джерела він виносить ряд повторних мотивів і образів (вітер-посланець, бажання літати соколом, спливання ріки), підбираючи їх відповідно до потреб романтичного колориту й підтримуючи типово фольклорними формами композиції (паралелізми, повтори, використання епічних сегментів та співзвучних образів природи). В цих назверх простих віршах Шашкевич виразно видвигає певні елементи свого внутрішнього світу -- емоціональну чутливість та беззахисність, дану абсолютною залежністю від джерел і предметів особистої любові. Ці пережиття мають, щоправда, ще досить неособистий вираз. Шашкевичеві вірші літературно-рефлексійного типу -- медитації про людську долю, аналізи станів обездоленої й самотньої душі, малюнки

темної романтичної природи -- засновані на протилежному принципі: широкі силабічні розміри дозволяють розгортати думку в широких градаціях та періодах. Шашкевич уперше в дошевченківській поезії заговорив про драму власної душі, вперше намагався виразити поетичним словом власну індивідуальність, що пробувала заперечити невилічиму житейське горе м'якістю серця й пориваннями в мрії, в "мисль піднебесну".

З галицьких сучасників Шашкевича певний творчий розмах виявив Микола УСТИЯНОВИЧ, поет енергійних, густих мазків, багатої, трохи риторичної описовості. Проти Шашкевичевих "недоокреслень", проти наївної простоти й певної розпливчастості більшості романтиків Устянович писав міцно компоновану, образно багату лірику природи та характеристичних портретів, поступово відходячи з позицій романтизму до ідеалів бідермеєра, світогляду добровільного примирення з життям і підкорення закону.

Сорокові роки видвинули в східній Україні нову групу романтичних поетів. Епізодичний гість на полі української лірики Євген ГРЕБІНКА, що жив у Петербурзі, створив декілька вдалих віршів, що нав'язують до традиції старого романсу з його міркуваннями про долю та мотивом благородного зречення. Але, наприклад, у "Човні" традиційний алегоричний мотив, що йде в українській поезії ще з XVIII століття, переоцінюється в дусі романтичного героїчного розпачу й обставляється багатою романтичною сценарією.

Також у творчості інших поетів того часу (крім Я. Щоголева, про якого буде мова далі) зовсім зникають програмно-ідеологічні настанови харківських романтиків тридцятих років, що виражали себе в поезії перевагою неособистого фольклоризму і історизму. Другорядні поети цього десятиліття, що працювали на Україні -- Віктор ЗАБІЛА, Олександр АФАНАСЬЄВ-ЧУЖБИНСЬКИЙ та Михайло ПЕТРЕНКО -- пишуть майже виключно інтимну лірику, що охоплює нешироке коло переживань. Її центральні мотиви: серце, що не зазнало любовних радощів (Забіла), погані жарты долі, проти яких немає оборони (Афанасьєв-Чужбинський), незадоволення світом, потяг до безконечності (Петренко). Лірику Забіли, а часті й Афанасьєва, характеризує малозмістовність і екстенсивність почуття, нескладність форми, спертої на фольклорні зразки; в перебільшеній увазі Забіли до зовнішності переживають навіть бурлескні традиції. Найцікавіший Петренко, що в своїх романах, елегіях та ліричних медитаціях оминав народно-пісенну стилістику, даючи добрі спроби індивідуалізованого опису природи та душевних станів.

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Праця для культури, що тільки обосновувала своє право на існування й шукала для цього аргументів у показі історично-етнографічної самотності, наклала на розвиток дошевченківської лірики негативний відбиток. Її творці, спираючись передусім на багатий естетичний досвід народної мови, досягли значної культури, стильового вияву, розвинули образну систему, яка діяла в українській поезії ще цілі десятиліття, виробили основи української версифікації як на фольклорній (коломийка, деякі архаїчні форми), так і на літературній (силаботонічний вірш) основі, пробували навіть оволодіти деякими канонічними формами європейського вірша (сонет, сестина). Але з другого боку дошевченківську поезію характеризує, в порівнянні з поезією сусідніх, історично щасливіших народів, певна вузькість горизонтів поетичної думки, що відбилася, зрозуміло, і в широті форм



стилізації. Слабо виявлені в українській романтичній ліриці до Шевченка аналіз почуттів, проникання в підсвідоме, туга за безконечним, інтерес до екзотики й уявного. Любов показана тільки у вибраних кульмінаціях, у моментах зовнішньої загрози; майже не розкрита справжня внутрішня драма любові, не розгорнута її мотивація, не виражені пристрасть і зрілий подив до жіночої краси. Ліриці більшості дошевченківських романтиків бракує індивідуалізації пережиття, повного розкриття драматичного і шукаючого в людині.

В такій обстановці в українську поезію вступає на кінці тридцятих років ШЕВЧЕНКО. Його творчі початки, навіяні настроями непереборної туги за рідним краєм, важкого душевного сирітства, мають усі риси геніального самоутця, спонтанної творчості, що трактує досвід попередників не як приклад і предмет наслідування, а як повністю абсорбовану, але й не визначальну частину власної свідомості. Спонтанність Шевченкових початків, їх походження з духовної конечності, виявили себе і в тому, що він не ставив собі питання про співзалежність поетичних жанрів і родів, про "чистоту" свого стилю. В його ранніх поемах, баладах, романсах та своєрідно знижених одах епічний та ліричний струмені зливаються в єдиний вираз елементарного пережиття. В ранній творчості Шевченка не можна не замітити впливів поетики, виробленої його попередниками на основі фольклорних, барочних та інтернаціонально-романтичних традицій (згадаймо символіку човна, вітру, моря, голубів, оспівання серця та благородних сліз). Його романси петербурзького періоду навіть тематично пов'язані з попередньою традицією. Але його зразу відділяє від попередників, за винятком хіба Шашкевича, абсолютно відкрита форма поетичного висловлення, оте безперервне струмування думки, що уникає константно окресленої форми (замкнутих строф) і замкнутого канону "високих" образних засобів, і тому залюбки звертається до т.зв. коломийкового розміру, відкриваючи в ньому логічні границі строфи, і, всупереч тогочасній виключній перевазі пісенної стилізації, до щоденної розмовної мови, збагаченої за потребою співзвучними елементами літературного словника й фразеології.

В першій фазі Шевченкового творчого розвитку, до 1842 року, лірика ще слабо виділяється в контексті цієї синкретичної, природної поетичності; інтерес до об'єктивної теми -- історичної, морально-побутової чи побутово-фантастичної ще відсуває на другий план прямі свідчення про особисте, хоч вони вже пробиваються зі стихійною силою в медитації "Думи мої", в ліричних відступах більших епічних творів, у дрібних віршах-присвятах. 1843 рік, перше повернення на Україну, приносить великий злам. Романтичні мотиви розладу з дійсністю, самотності, туги за порозумінням схрещуються нараз у фокусі ідейного прозріння. Вслід за вогнистими політичними віршами - інвективами появляється, все ще тільки принагідно, інтимна лірична медитація, визволена від умовностей попереднього періоду, від сентиментальної заплаканості й суцільного сердечного болю, появляється пристрасне й неповторне пережиття ліричної хвилини, завершене гострими пуантами. В "Давидових псалмах" народжуються перші зразки громадсько-мислительської лірики загальнолюдського звучання.

Але великим, глибоко своєрідним ліриком Шевченко став аж у роки заслання. Ліричний вірш виступив тоді на перше місце в його творчій практиці, став засобом щоденної сповіді про власне внутрішнє життя, про велику драму самотності, туги за рідним краєм, боротьби проти пониження людської гідності, ненависті до спричинників особистого й соціального лиха. Нарешті появляється в Шевченка поезія виключно осмисленої хвилини, внутрішнього самоаналізу, поезія критичних суджень про власну душу, добу й призначення людини. Другу вітку тогочасної лірики творять стилізації чуттєвих драм народних героїв, переважно жіночих, у яких способом самосвідчення, на рівні найвищого поетичного мистецтва відбито красу українського психічного типу. Ключем, що вперше відкрив таким способом цей світ у літературній поезії, було геніальне використання найцінніших формальних засобів української народної пісні.

Лірика останніх років має знову інший характер. З одного боку вона далі поглиблює документальну вірність пережиття хвилини аж до певної вривчастості та незакінченості, з другого боку, зокрема в біблійних парафразах, піднімається до висоти вогнистого пафосу, якого до того часу не знала українська поезія.

Шевченко сам по собі став епохою в розвитку української лірики, даючи в ній глибокі свідчення про людину, засновані на власному трагічному досвіді й винятковому дарі співчуття й співпереживання, самознайдіння в колективному. Високі етичні вартості його лірики — туга за гармонійним і ласкавим щастям, за “земним раєм”, що в нього вірив ще Сковорода, категоричне засудження всіх форм насилля над людиною й обмеження її свободи. Великі також її формальні досягнення: вільне оперування ритмічними засобами, насичення вірша елементами спонтанної евфонічності, відвага й самостійність у композиції поетичної думки, в поєднуванні елементів романтичного та реалістичного стилю, в використанні засобів різних мовних стихій. Шевченкова форма була таким вірним виразом його неповторної психіки, що не могла стати зразком для наслідування, а тільки поштовхом та вільною інспірацією. Але сталося трохи інакше.

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При кінці п'ятдесятих років східноукраїнська література вступила в нову ідеологічну обстановку. Сформувалася ідеологія просвітництва, культури, орієнтованої на службу народним масам. В поезії посилюлись суспільно-критичні, але також повчально-декларативні настанови; вимога доступності й суспільної корисності твору знову обмежила недавно пробуджений інтерес поетів до особистих мотивів і висунула на видне місце поетичну публіцистику, завіршовування відомих моральних і суспільно-політичних істин в риторично-декламаторському ключі. Нарікання на соціальний і національний утиск та безправність, заяви про готовість терпіти за народ, вирази віри в його краще майбутнє опанували свідомість багатьох поетів, також талановитих, таких, як П. Куліш, О. Кониський чи Б. Грінченко. Поетичні ідеї та образи, знайдені на початку шістдесятих років, перетривували в нашій поезії аж до кінця століття; досить порівняти “Заспів” П. Куліша з “Досвітніми вогнями” Лесі Українки.

Небезпекою цієї поезії, що мала служити народу, позбавленому інших засобів ідейного усвідомлення, була її резонансність, апіорна даність її змістів, що замикала поетам дорогу до відкриття нового й спрямовувала їх на шлях пустопорожньої риторики. Негативну роль відіграла в ті часи також сліпа пошана до Шевченкової спадщини, спроможна використати з її ідейної та художньої багатогранності тільки елементи козакофільської романтики й суспільної дидактики. Ця спадщина далі примітизувалась поверховим наслідуванням Шевченкового спонтанного виразу, що під перами епігонів перетворювався в пусту псевдонародну балакучість. Від дочасного впливу цього небезпечного культу не врятувалися навіть такі самобутні поети, як П. Куліш та Ю. Федькович. І тільки те, що залишилось поза сферою цих невірних використаних джерел, внесло істотний вклад у розвиток нашої лірики.

Аж до вісімдесятих років дозвучує в українській поезії романтизм, схрещуючись з усе сильнішою перевагою реалістичної стихії. На другий план відходить поезія безрадного серця, нерозгаданої особистої долі: тепер уже розкриваються її соціальні причини. Щораз частіше появляються об'єктивні, неприкрашені образки народного побуту, ліричні портрети простого героя. Але перетривує в новому, типізованому оформленні національно-козацька романтика: бездольний козак, що блукає по світі, стає центральним героєм поетів, згуртованих навколо журналу "Основа". В зрілішій формі елегійного потягу до краси, закоріненої в минулому, романтичний світогляд впливає на творчість ряду кращих поетів того часу.

Чисто романтичним ліриком є Леонід ГЛІБОВ, м'який елегіст утраченого, трохи неконкретного щастя, добрий стилізатор народних ліроепічних мотивів.

В течії романтизму плине також буковинський народний поет Юрій ФЕДЬКОВИЧ, талант дуже значний, але даремно розтрачений. Це поет магістральної теми -- співчуття з болем людського серця, протесту проти обмеження свободи, проти знищення природних основ людського життя. Найбільший вклад в українську поезію Федькович вніс уже своїми першими віршами на тему жовнярського горя й смерті. Даючи або лаконічні малюнки хвилини, або широко розгорнені настроєві панорами, поет кладе головний акцент на розкриття внутрішніх станів, не вдаючись у психологічну аналітичність і розкриваючи людську душу стислим зверхнім описом і музикальністю фрази. Ці психофізичні портрети стоять у смислі показу народної ментальності на рівні Шевченкової "жіночої лірики", хоч автор працює засобами звичайної розповіді про третю особу. В пізнішому розвитку Федькович, що завжди оминав сферу еротики, виразив своє прагнення до ідеалу стремлінням до уявної, фантастичної краси й експресивно-абревіатурного стилю. З тонким відчуттям міри використано в ліриці Федьковича ментальні, образні й ритмічні риси фольклору; вірш "У Вероні" показує, як органічно вони взаємопроникаються з елементами високої літературної стилізації.

Великі внутрішні суперечності, що роздирали душу Федьковича, залишилися здебільшого поза горизонтами його поезії. Інший визначний лірик 50-60-х років, подолянин Степан РУДАНСЬКИЙ, жертва інших життєвих ускладнень, був його протилежністю. Вірші



плинули йому легко з-під пера, ніби зовсім невідомий був йому опір форми, але поет не зумів вповні розгорнути свій дар. Без труднощів приєднував свій голос до різних поетичних течій епохи. Почавши з любовних романсів, що стоять на півдорозі між типізованістю й інтимним самовиявом, але досі зачаровують нас прозорою й музикальною формою, Руданський скоро піддався впливу суспільно-критичних ідей свого часу, вперше після принагідного Шевченкового натяку іронічно переоцінюючи любовну тему й створюючи натуралістичні образки злиденного побуту різночинців. Завершенням його лірики стали програмно-алегоричні вірші, що міцною, прозорою формою виражають ідеал моральної незалежності й стійкості, любові до праці, віри в перемогу добра. Використавши виразні образи патріархального селянського побуту, Руданський оминув у цій поезії небезпеку голого дидактизму й надав своїм віршам потрібної емоціональної виразності. Писав найчастіше прозорим трохеїчним віршем.

Романтик Руданський доглянув життєві тіні в побуті тих нових суспільних середовищ, для яких покинув своє улюблене село. В деяких інших поетів того часу розвіяння романтично-ідеалістичних уявлень про життя переноситься на селянський побут. Характерними з цього погляду є вірш Василя КУЛИКА "Захожий косар" та Василя МОВИ (Лиманського) -- "На степи".

Розвінчання уявлення про селянську ідилію є основним змістом формально простої і чистої лірики Івана МАНЖУРИ, автора цінних пейзажних віршів та суспільно-побутових портретів. Краса світу тут протиставляється горю людини; без усяких прикрас, на рівні свідомості простих героїв оспівуються трагедії наймитства, сирітства, заробітчанства, іноді думка поета з прихованим жалем звертається до спогадів про менш важке минуле.

Ще вимовнішого свідка "переміни віку" українська поезія знайшла в творчості довговічного й дуже плодovitого поета сорокових-дев'яностих років Якова ЩОГОЛЕВА. В своїх початках, обірваних жорстокою критикою Белінського, Щоголів єдиний, поряд з Шевченком, продовжив традицію козакофільської романтики. Романтиком, незалежним від ідейних пошуків і поглядів наступних десятиліть, він залишився і в час найбільшої активності, в сімдесятих-вісімдесятих роках. Всупереч гарячковій ідеологічності сучасників був поетом-збирачем вражень, ювеліром життя, що спокійно приглядається до різних явищ, оцінює їх з погляду краси, розглядає з точністю ботаніка й передає спокійними, розлогими образами. Щоголів ідеалізує старовину й відкидає побутові нововведення, нові моральні норми. Він дивиться на все з позицій здержаного й трохи скептичного гуманіста, що всупереч розчаруванням вірить у спроможність людини зберегти себе вірою в дійсність "вічних правд". Його поезія, зовсім чужа для більшості сучасників, абсолютно незалежна від фольклорного примітиву (хоч є в Щоголева і стилізації під фольклор) -- цінна своїм зрілим аналітизмом, вдумливою працею зі словом, але трохи холодна, позбавлена виразних смислових акцентів.

По лінії остаточного визволення від етнографізму, засвоєння найвищих реєстрів літературної стилізації, внесення нових інтелектуальних змістів пішли й інші видатніші поети сімдесятих-

вісімдесятих років. Найзамітніший з них у східній Україні -- Михайло СТАРИЦЬКИЙ. В його кріпкій, життєрадісній індивідуальності поєдналася програмно-суспільницька тема, розгорнена не без декламаторства, з виразними побутово-критичними образками й патетичною еротикою. Гуманність Старицького безконфліктно охопила елементи високої ідейності й зрілого епікурейства, любові до смислового багатства й дарів життя. Його ідеал "повної людини" не обходиться без естетичної чуткості й подиву до краси, межі якої, щоправда, досить традиційні. Його стиль характеризує розлога описовість, вичерпність, експлікативність, у ньому немає місця для чуттєвих півтонів, психічних тайн та недомовлень. Дуже значний його вклад у поширення засобів поетичної мови; при більшому поширенні й популярності його поезії ця праця мала значно глибший вплив на дальший розвиток, ніж подібні зусилля Щоголева.

Другим номінальним володарем тогочасного поетичного Олімпу був Пантелеймон КУЛІШ, що почав писати лірику в шістдесятих роках. Для нього, що вийшов із романтизму і був до кінця життя романтиком-індивідуалістом, лірика була передусім трибуною ідей, які він міняв неоднократно. Повчально-риторична поза, сухе моралізаторство обезцінюють більшість його ліричного доробку, порушеного спочатку ще просвітительською примітивізацією форми. Крім повторних розробок теми ролі поета тривале значення зберігають його пізні вірші, в яких він добірними образами оспівав красу української природи.

Естетизм та інтелектуальність, навіть тяжіння до філософської теми, характеризують іншого поета, що виступив у середині сімдесятих років -- Володимира САМІЙЛЕНКА. Вмінням легко й прозоро віршувати, хитанням між різними колами тем, суспільно-патріотичним нахилом він нагадує Руданського. Але його лірика значно менш особиста й тепла, зате більш ерудована завдяки впливам європейської поезії, з якої Самійленко залюбки запозичує складні, в українській поезії до того часу неживані строфічні форми (канцони, октави, олександрини). Оминаючи сферу інтимної та соціально-побутової лірики, він скеровує свою увагу на вічні теми цілі життя, призначення людини, споглядаючи їх з подвійних позицій скептика й епікурейця й розмовляючи про них логічним, образно строгим словом.

Інший дуже продуктивний поет перехідної генерації -- Микола ЧЕРНЯВСЬКИЙ нагадує своїм оптимізмом і щедрим сприйняттям смислової дійсності М. Старицького, але його ідейний спектр пересунений у бік естетизму. Багатим описовим словом, спокійним, класичним віршем він з рівною увагою пише про природу, минуле, кохання, любов до батьківщини. Новаторським внеском є його вірші про Донбас і шахтарську працю; але більш енергійно, намагаючись уникнути в переживанні робітника, виразив цю тему в своїх ранніх віршах Спиридон ЧЕРКАСЕНКО.

Ідейно активніше крило східноукраїнської лірики представляють у той час Борис ГРІНЧЕНКО та Павло ГРАБОВСЬКИЙ, перший -- народний демократ і просвітянець, другий -- марксист. В художньому трактуванні мотивів соціального горя, моральної стійкості, волі до боротьби Грабовський -- більш особистий, але й сильніше зв'язаний з традиційною народницькою стилізацією. Поетично найціннішими є ліричні свідчення Грабовського про особисте горе в'язня й заслання,



що терпить муки, але не схиляється перед злом. Грінченко спрямовує свої зусилля на показ вольової, героїчної індивідуальності, що є узагальненим образом справжньої людини.

\* \* \*

В той час на полі української поезії вже досить довго працював автор, що походив із області, яка від часів Федьковича не видала значнішого поетичного таланту -- західний українець Іван ФРАНКО. Його широко розгалужена поетична творчість є синтезом ідейних вартостей епохи, що видвинула на свій прапор віру в силу розуму й економічного прогресу. Свій виступ у половині сімдесятих років характеризував пізніше сам Франко як "першу спробу реальної, на живих фактах опертої поезії". На першому місці в нього завжди, але зокрема в ранньому періоді творчості, стояв прямий зміст, свідчення про важливу правду життя, свідчення категоричне й смислово однозначне. Але завдяки ненаситній цікавості до всього людського, великій спостережливості, сильному аналітичному інтелектові, пов'язаному з виразним образним мисленням, Франкова лірика охоплює не тільки широкі змістові горизонти життя, але й ті специфічні багатства, які дарує людині поезія. Всіми своїми засобами вона виражає повноту життя й внутрішнє багатство людини.

Скоро відштовхнувшись від історизуючих романтичних традицій, що панували в час його виступу в галицькій літературі, заперечивши традицію інертного фольклоризму й багатомовної риторики, Франко з повною свідомістю новості свого почину виробив для своєї лірики енергійну, прозору, економну дикцію. Замилування до створювання циклів документує його погляд на поезію як на цілеспрямоване опановування ширших комплексів життя, його систематичне вивчення засобами поезії. Перша збірка Франка "З вершин і низин", найвидатніша й найвпливовіша після Шевченкового "Кобзаря", саме й складена з такої мозаїки частин, що з різних точок розкривають правду епохи й моральне обличчя письменника: з віршів про природу, явища якої служать поясненням того, що діється в людині; з сумних нічних настроїв і співів революційного ентузіазму; з вславлення пісні й творчої праці; з образків любові, знищеної лихими обставинами; з суворих свідчень про побут у тюрмі та справжнє життя галицького села. В збірці ніби зведено докупи всі сили, що наперекір смуткові формували оптимістичну свідомість поета; його захоплена віра в живучість і моральну силу людини сприймається читачем сильніше, ніж абстрактність програмного змісту деяких віршів.

Другий етап ліричної творчості Франка пов'язаний з виниканням "ліричної драми" "Зів'яле листя" (1886-96). В ній поет ніби зовсім забуває про колективістичний пафос попередньої творчості, вглиблюючись болючим самоаналізом у драму катастрофічного кохання, показану без плоскої естетизації, у своїй психологічній наготі й жорстокій залежності від обставин. Безжалісне анатомізування власного горя дало самому поетові підставу твердити, що від часів Шевченка ці вірші -- найсуб'єктивніші і водночас найбільш об'єктивні. Дуже помітна багатогранна форма "Зів'ялого листя" з вдалим застосуванням прозаїзуючого верлібру та фольклорно-пісенних стилізацій.

Три пізніші збірки Франка, створені вже в час його часткового відходу від ідеалів молодості, висувають на перший план рефлектовано-мислительське обличчя вченого, що тверезо і з надихом мудрої резигнації оцінює житейські бурі та втихомирює їх дружбою з книгами й вічними вартостями рідної і світової культури. Вірші цих збірок виражають переборення життєвих смутків зрілим примиренням, спокійною вірою в порядкуючу силу вічних моральних законів. Значне місце займають в останній збірці історіософські вірші. Мінється й маніра письма: вповільнюється плин думки, загущується семантика.

Протягом тридцяти років Франко сильно впливав на розвиток української поезії широтою своїх зацікавлень, напруженістю й функціональністю мислення, стремління виразити в своїй творчості обличчя ідейно живучої, невідповідно шукаючої людини свого часу. Хоч свідомій праці над формою він приділяв невелику увагу, його вклад у засвоєння віршових, зокрема строфічних форм, у вироблення прозорого й динамічного ліричного стилю винятковий, в багатьох аспектах більший, ніж досягнення орієнтованих на форму представників молодшої, модерністичної генерації.

На десять років пізніше в українську лірику вступила Лариса Косач, відома під псевдонімом ЛЕСЯ УКРАЇНКА. Її генерація, що значно поширила ряди свідомої української інтелігенції, заперечила "громадську тугу" попередників як вияв дефетизму та інерції. Вийшовши з багатопланової поезії народницького складу, в якій любов до України, співчуття знедоленим, подив для краси природи виражали себе в пасивно-споглядальному ключі, вже в вірші "Contra spem spero" поетеса вдарила в зовсім нові струни бойового заклику. Протягом наступного десятиріччя, і зокрема в циклі "Невільничі пісні", завершився в її творчості істотний злам. Мотиви безрадної туги за щастям -- особистим і загальним -- переросли у вогнисте обвинувачення й заперечення "часів глухонімих". Дисонанс між бажанням і спроможністю вилився в екстатичну віру в подвиг, в осягальність неможливого, в оспівування безграничної мужності й жертви, в жадобу виключних чуттєвих знайдень і виключних вчинків.

Рационалістична поезія Франка -- багатопланова, вичерпна, орієнтована на оцінку всієї складності життя, всієї суми явищ. В Лесі Українці увага гостро спрямована на область психічного й морального, на крайні стани душі, на оспівування рішень, а не зверхніх подій чи об'єктивних правд. Відповідно до того її поетика концентрується навколо меншої кількості семантичних домінант; визначне місце в ній займає атмосфера ночі й виключні символи вогню, іскор, полум'я, крові, палаючого серця, безслізного плачу, образи з воєнної лексики. Природа перестає тут бути предметом розлогого, спокійного опису; її вибрані образи дискретно підмальовують психічну ситуацію. Взагалі все в цій поезії по-жіночому етеричне і водночас розпалене вогнем desperатської мужності. Все тут стає виразом категоричної душі, що прагне знайти своє щастя не в приємних позитивних ідеалах, а в високому горінні почуття й волі. Спрямування цієї поезії не на предметність, а на якість відбивається у великому значенні епітетів; тонка драматургія почуття -- в складних строфах та багатій музикальності мови.

В дев'яностих роках минулого століття в українській поезії появилася нова течія, що виступила з більш чи менш виразним запереченням ідеалу службової поезії, переваги громадських ідей, "горожанських котурнів" від імені нового мистецтва, що виражатиме передусім людську індивідуальність. Прямування до об'єктивної правди вона хотіла замінити жадобою краси. Проти принципу реєстрування фактів поставила суб'єктивне емоціональне начало, проти риторизму й публіцистичності, які справді шкодили літературній творчості в час переваги народницьких ідей -- індивідуально стилізований образ особистих вражень і переживань. Вона прокламувала мандрівку в заборонені для поезії сфери, узаконення тем, що до того часу сприймалися як низькі. На місце логічного порядку вона поставила інтуїцію й безпосереднє очарування змислів, що мало виразити себе збагаченням музикального фактора в стилі.

Перші провісники цієї переоцінки ще не вбачали в своїй творчості повного розриву з дотогочасною традицією. У них ніби самі від себе появилися настрої й мотиви, що їх вважають звичайно прикметою декадансу. Агатангел КРИМСЬКИЙ, поет стилістично досить безрадний і консервативний, звернувся до екзотичної теми, даючи імпресіоністичні малюнки східної природи й побуту. Опанований думкою про розлад між моральним ідеалом і справжнім обличчям сучасної людини вніс у свою лірику прийом прискіпливої реєстрації душевних порухів, розкривання дрібних признаков душевної патології, самобичування "нечестивим коханням". Приречений на передчасну смерть Олександр КОЗЛОВСЬКИЙ кидав ідкі визови й обвинувачення плиткій, недобрій дійсності, іронічно й ненависно поглянув в обличчя смерті. Осип МАКОВЕЙ вже від кінця вісімдесятих років снував роздуми про нетривалість щастя, про всемогутність смерті й недосконалість життя, виражав новим, енергійним почерком радість з елементарної енергії, що керує всупереч усім смуткам життям людини; з новою, несентиментальною, майже жорстокою відкритістю й критичністю поглянув на побут села.

Швидко по них з'явився і некоронований голова модерністичного напрямку в особі Миколи ВОРОНОГО. Це був рухливий літературний діяч, що легко сприйняв чужоземні зразки нової поезії і в досить спрощеному вигляді почав перещеплювати їх на український ґрунт, покликуючись на потребу європеїзації української поезії. Не будучи цілісною й глибокою натурою, він брався за різні теми -- куртуазійно стилізоване кохання, трагіку людини, спалюваної на жертвовнику почуттів і жадань, життя сучасного міста -- прямуючи завжди в світ прекрасних ілюзій, сповиваючи свої напівдійсні ліричні події серпанком вишуканої краси. Деякі вірші Вороного віддають всупереч його намірам порожнім пафосом і екзальтованістю, його прогульки в світ абстракцій не дуже переконують. Але ця філігранна, трохи холодна й неособиста поезія має свою приманливість, найбільше завдяки легкому, музикальному віршеві й великій винахідливості строфічної побудови.

Якщо Вороний захоплений бажанням створювати ерудовану, конструктивну поезію, в якій почуття диригуються з балетною



точністю, то інший найвидатніший східноукраїнський пресимволіст Олександр ОЛЕСЬ є типом спонтанного лірика, що завдячує свій голос не культурним впливам, а власному природному хистові. Він -- поет безпосередньої, стихійної радості, інколи переплетеної смутком, екстатичний звеличник існування, що вивершується сліпучим даром любові. Кохання для Олеса -- головна сила життя, виражена вже в біологічному розквіті природи. Ціле людське життя в його обіймах, в очаруванні його красою перетворюється в єдиний мент, який треба вичерпати до кінця. Еротика Олеса, заснована на такому віровизнанні, має зовсім неіндивідуальний характер, її здебільшого рослинним символам та алегоріям властива якась теплична замкнутість; екзальтоване захоплення красою перекидає поетові шлях до психологічних та ідейних знайдень. Це добре виявляється в його трохі плакатному, хоч дуже щирому захопленні революцією, яка сприймається передусім як великий, братолюбний чуттєвий вибух. Але настроєві і образності Олеса не бракує цілісності і емоціональної виразності, віршеві -- природної мелодичності, його фантазмагорії щасливого світу -- певного природного чару. Пізніші вірші Олеса проникнуті зовсім іншим настроєм болючого самоаналізу.

Іншими, менш виразними шляхами пішли галицькі модерністи, що згуртувалися 1906 року в групу "Молода муза". Їх пов'язує, по суті, тільки мотив незадоволення дійсністю, туги за ідеалом, віри в животворну силу краси. Василь ПАЧОВСЬКИЙ створює еротичу будуарну, оздоблену блискучою біжутерією вишуканих слів та хистких, перемінливих ритмів. Окремі вірші Сидора ТВЕРДОХЛІБА цікаві своєю сугестивною музикальністю й спробами виразити власне розуміння життя й людини. Богдан ЛЕПКИЙ утримує в своїй ліриці традиційний суспільний інстинкт, виражаючи його в символічно загострених образах селянської неволі; з другого боку, в його ліриці панує віра у всюдиприсутність поезії й краси. В інтелектуальних віршах Степана ЧАРНЕЦЬКОГО чергуються мотиви приреченості з сатиричною переоцінкою суспільних та еротичних святощів.

Найбільш виразний із молодомузців -- Петро КАРМАНСЬКИЙ, лірик крайнього песимізму, автоіронії та резигнації, за власним визначенням -- сліпець, що пізнає світ як поле блукань та даремного болю. Його дійсність безлюдна, її не заселяє повернена любов чи інша життєва мета, єдиним світлим променем є в ній мрія про далеку країну сонця -- Італію. Але й її заселяють тільки сумні рослини. Сила цієї поезії -- в її правдивості, в іноді виявленому соціальному співчутті, слабкість -- у монотонії авторового соліпсизму.

Коло 1905 року появилася, передусім на сході, друга хвиля модерністів, для яких характерна більша окресленість поетичного світогляду. Заперечуваний багатьма сучасниками Микола ФІЛЯНСЬКИЙ віддав своє серце самотничим роздумам та неясним інтимним спогадам в обіймах маєстатично спокійної природи. Стан між сном і дійсністю є для нього містичною брамою до невідомого щастя, в його урочистому спокої розпливається біль за втраченим і жаль на суєту життя. Музикально настроєне слово Філянського -- добірне, збагачене символічними підтекстами, але коло його поетичних переживань нешироке.

Більш виразний, "гасловий" тип символізму представляє в той час

галичанин Мелетій КІЧУРА, склонений над проблемою життя, боротьби людської волі з глухою детермінацією.

Іншу відповідь на це питання дає Грицько ЧУПРИНКА, перший представник української літературної богеми, поверхово-категоричний проповідник життя як нестримного руху, вільного поля вияву індивідуальної волі, відважного змагання з долею в ім'я вияву егоцентричного "я". В цій поезії значно більше поверхових емоцій, ніж справжнього вглиблення в проблему індивідуальності чи свідчень про складність власного внутрішнього світу. Цікавий у Чупринки дзвінкий, рухливий, хоч не дуже винахідливий вірш, чи спроби збагачувати свій словник прозаїзмами, абстрактними й складними словами.

Ціннішою треба вважати призабуту дореволюційну творчість першого українського футуриста Михайла СЕМЕНКА. В тодішньому українському літературному житті це було явище, яке мало хто міг зрозуміти й оцінити. Семенко зовсім по-новому заговорив про кохання, вставляючи його в обстановку прозаїчного будня, він став першим в українській літературі поетом міста. Він любив словесну епатацію, шокування словниковими знахідками, гострі удари між словами різних лексичних площ. Себе самого переживав у десятках перевтілень, у мріях про виняткові ситуації, що розкрили б до кінця "днів спілучість і безмірну загадковість" і наситили б його безпосередню, по-хлоп'ячому агресивну спрагу до нового.

В останні дореволюційні роки сильніші позиції здобуває в українській ліриці символізм. Центральне місце займає тут дуже культурна поезія Володимира КОБИЛЯНСЬКОГО, проникнута шляхетною меланхолією, органічно музична, багата різними строфічними формами та вмілим використанням ритмічних можливостей, найчастіше зглиблююча атмосфера замирання природи, повна примирливої любові до краси й проминальності життя.

Вже під час революції в Києві сформувалася група символістів, що далі розвинула мислення і поетичну техніку цього напрямку.

Буковинець Дмитро ЗАГУЛ заглибився в шукання сенсу буття. Його світогляд -- фаталістичний. Життя він стилізує як блукання, земне щастя для нього тільки "полохлива тінь", метою свідомої людини має бути переборення фатального зв'язку з землею, визволення в потусторонній світ, у царство нірвани, мрії, видюшого споглядання. Боротьба за цей ідеал є для Загула метою тисячолітніх змагань людства.

Менший емоціональний набій та змістовність мають вірші Володимира ЯРОШЕНКА, цікаві окремими символічними образами. До крайності доводить український символізм його короткотривалий поклонник Яків САВЧЕНКО, що заселяє свої вірші бутафорією страхітливих привидів -- чортів, сфінксів, драконів, стилізує дійсність як царство безмірного жаху, ночі й смерті. Найкращі ті його твори, що виражають символістично затемнене, знеособлене видіння революції.

\* \* \*

Останню ланку авторів, заступлених у цій книзі, складають імена, що їх звичайно наводять у контексті радянської літератури. Бажання дати повний образ розвитку української поезії до часу утвердження



радянського ладу на Україні (1919), після якого докорінно змінився характер літературного розвитку, створює konieczність включити ранні твори таких поетів також у дожовтневий літературний контекст, тим більше, що на них не міг не позначитися вплив літературної обстановки того часу.

З дореволюційних традицій символізму з його атмосферою неясних подій, фетишизованих предметів-символів та вибраних почуттів вийшли два поети, що стали пізніше, віддавши себе великій справі революції, піонерами нового розуміння літератури: Василь Чумак і Василь Еллан-Блакитний. ЧУМАК цілою половиною передчасно обірваної, але такої замітної творчості стоїть поза межами ангажованої поезії, виражаючи в ранніх віршах світло-наївну імпресивність душі, відкритої на красу природи й інтимних переживань. Але з того самого емоціонального ґрунту виростає в нього і захоплення великою весною революції, виражене то в символічних образах великого колективного зусилля, то в захоплених закличках, то в малюнках безіменної героїчної пожертви. В свіжому, смислово чуткому стилі Чумака вражає передусім еліптичність, сильне акцентування смислово важливого, інтенсивна мелодика вірша.

Інший випадок ЕЛЛАНА. В його розвитку різко відділені від себе символістичні початки й революційна творчість, що свідомо заперечує індивідуалістичну ніжність душі, хоче бути рупором боротьби й хронікою революційних подій. Стиль революційної поезії Еллана ударний, синтаксично зцементований, на відміну від Чумака повний прозаїзмів. Перевагу комунікативного начала стверджують і спроби користуватися верлібром.

Поряд з цими найвідданішими солдатами революційного зламу в останні роки до революції інтенсивно дозрівали два інші поети, що згодом стали окрасою радянської літератури.

Поява Павла ТИЧИНИ в українській поезії мала в собі щось із раптового заблиску метеора. Вийшовши з олесівської школи, він уже протягом останніх дореволюційних років створив неповторний власний стиль, що є найвищою після Шевченка, Франка й Лесі Українки вершиною української лірики, виражаючи в ній одну з крайніх меж національно специфічного. Він -- мрійник, очарований красою відбиття світу у власній душі, захоплений звеличник радісної гармонії буття, шукач її проявів у музично сприйнятій природі, в тонких зіткненнях з красою жіночої душі. М'який, акварельний колорит поєднується в його віршах з бистрим струмуванням поетичної дії, велика вразливість на хвилину -- з міцною композицією ліричного сюжету на принципі відважних асоціацій та їхнього контрапункту. Будучи гранично чутким до всього живого й захоплюючого, Тичина дуже скоро сприймає революцію й виражає її в неповторно чітких мініатюрах і в широких символічних узагальненнях.

Максим РИЛЬСЬКИЙ є протилежним типом поета. Світ раптових захоплень, пристрасті та швидкого руху йому органічно чужий. Спосіб його відчування, манера його поетичного письма -- вдержані й прозорі. Картина світу, яку він дає в своїй поезії -- проста й безпосередня, вільна від експресивної стилізації, спрямована до об'єктивних оцінок та вартостей. Ідеал життя Рильський знаходить у мудрому спокої, задовільненні основними дарами життя, в самотничому сприйманні

вічної краси природи, в тузі за романтичною долиною, в ожиданні хвилини непізнаного щастя. Рівновага є партнером і законом його душі. Відповідно до того його стиль -- гармонійно-прозорий, спрямований до охоплення повноти вражень в ясно виражених образах та бездоганно відшліфованому вірші. Саме цією спокійною культурою мислення й слова вже рання творчість Рильського стала другим гідним завершенням усього попереднього розвитку української лірики, його конструктивним синтезом.

Жовтнева революція й перемога радянської влади на Україні принесли українській поезії новий нечуваний розквіт. Двадцять років стали часом швидкого розвитку ліричних потенцій українського слова, великого поширення його тематичних і формальних обріїв. Бурхлива обстановка тогочасного літературного життя не завжди сприяла вірній оцінці спадщини попередників, але щодалі більше експонувалася історична цінність і художня живучість ідей та образів, створених у цій важкій школі. Процес підсумовування цих здобутків і досі не зовсім закінчений; він і не може ніколи закінчитися, поки ця традиція остається живою. Ми були б раді, якби й ця антологія стала скромним вкладом у цю справу.

*Частина передмови до „Антології української лірики”,  
яка появилася в друку 27 травня ц. р. старанням КІУС.*

Marco Carynnyk

## SERGO PARADZHANOV IN PRISON

*The 1977 Venice Biennale, which took place from 15 November to 15 December, was devoted to "il dissenso culturale" in Eastern Europe. The program included exhibitions of paintings, graphics, and samizdat literature, musical and poetic recitals, film screenings, and seminars on history, the visual arts, cinema, religion, literature, theatre, and scientific research.*

*The participants included artists, writers, scholars, and intellectuals whose work concerned these fields or who had emigrated from Eastern Europe. Among them were Leonid Pliushch, who discussed the Ukrainian renaissance of the 1960s and its annihilation, and the relations between religious and national dissent in the Soviet Union; Bohdan Bociurkiw, who presented a paper on religious dissent in Ukraine; Vasyl Markus, who reported on Catholics of the Eastern Rite in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania; and Marco Carynnyk, who spoke about Alexander Dovzhenko and Sergo Paradzhanov.*

*An important part of the Biennale was an International Seminar on the work of Paradzhanov. The chairman was Herbert Marshall, and the speakers included film critics, former Soviet filmmakers who had known Paradzhanov, and representatives of defense groups. The Biennale also held screenings of Paradzhanov's *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* and *Sayat Nova* and published a catalogue which included articles, testimonials, and stills from Paradzhanov's films.*

*The following remarks were delivered at the Paradzhanov seminar on 25 November.*

Since the mid-sixties several waves of arrests have washed over the Soviet Union, putting an emphatic end to the celebrated de-Stalinization campaign. Hundreds of dissidents from almost every section of Soviet society have been caught in the undertow. They have been tried in closed courts, convicted almost without exception, and shipped off to remote areas to serve their sentences.

A striking example of this unrest is the arrest and imprisonment of Sergo Paradzhanov, the prominent Kiev film director. On 8 January 1974, *Le Monde* carried a brief report that Paradzhanov had been arrested on 17 December 1973 on charges of homosexuality and trafficking in art objects. In response, a committee to defend Paradzhanov was set up in Turin, and a letter signed by twenty-two leading French and Italian filmmakers was dispatched to the Soviet authorities. The letter protested Paradzhanov's arrest, which "seems to coincide with the hesitation of the

Soviet authorities to permit foreign distribution of his latest film, the masterpiece *Sayat Nova*." The filmmakers also expressed their fear that Paradzhanov's disappearance was tantamount to a death sentence.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the strongly worded protest, Paradzhanov's whereabouts remained unclear for almost three months. Conflicting rumours circulated that he had been released after a brief detention or that he had never been arrested. The first real news came on 24 May, when *The Times* reported that Paradzhanov had been sent to labour camps for six years after having been convicted of homosexuality and "incitement to suicide." The former is a criminal offense in the Soviet Union. The latter charge was not explained by *The Times's* sources, but in a Moscow-dated story on 6 June *Variety* explained that Paradzhanov had been convicted of trying to commit suicide.

Sergo Paradzhanov (Paradzhanian) was born in 1924 of Armenian parents in Georgia. During the war years he studied voice at the Kiev Conservatory. In 1951 he graduated from the State Cinema Institute (VGIK) in Moscow, the main training ground for Soviet film professionals. Paradzhanov's teacher was the Ukrainian director Ihor Savchenko, and he was also tutored by the pioneer Russian director Lev Kuleshov, who has taught at VGIK since 1919. Paradzhanov's diploma project was *Moldavian Fairy Tale*, which he later called "the only one of my past works whose imperfections I am not ashamed of."

Graduating from the film school, Paradzhanov got a job at Kiev Studio, where he made Ukrainian-language shorts and musicals, including *Andriesh* (1954), *Dumka*, *Natalia Uzhvii*, and *Golden Hands* (shorts made in 1957), *The First Lad* (1958), *Ukrainian Rhapsody* (1961), *Flower on Stone* (1963), and *The Ballad* (1964). None of them won critical notice.

Paradzhanov's first recognition came in 1964 with *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, which he adapted from the classic novella by the Ukrainian prose writer Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky. The film garnered no less than sixteen prizes at international festivals from San Francisco to Rome, including the Prize for Best Direction at the Mar del Plata Festival in 1965 and the Prize of the British Film Academy in 1966.

The magazine *Art Direction* has called *Shadows*, not quite accurately, "a colossal achievement for a director's first film,"<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> *Le Monde*, 31 January 1974.

<sup>2</sup> *Art Direction: The Magazine of Visual Communication*, January 1967, p. 4.





Photograph of Sergo Paradzhanov by Heorhii Skachko

the New York Film Festival hailed it as "an avant-garde extravagant, sumptuous saga, in color, of a Romeo and Juliet of the Carpathians. Chants, folk songs, atonal music, all combined with fantastic camera work, make this a haunting work. However, apart from its cinematic value, it is also a moving and affecting work."<sup>3</sup>

Although the Soviet film press responded warmly to *Shadows* and the anticipated onslaught against the film's mild eroticism and "formalism" did not materialize, the film was not advertised and quickly dropped out of sight. But the reputation of Paradzhanov and his co-workers was now securely established. The chief performers — Ivan Mykolaichuk, Larisa Kadochnikova, Spartak Bagashvili, and Tatiana Bestaieva — started getting plenty of work. Paradzhanov's young cameraman on *Shadows*, Iurii Illienko, struck out on his own to direct several visually impressive feature films: *Saint John's Eve* (1969) was based on Gogol's fantastic stories; *White Bird with a Black Spot* (1971, again starring Mykolaichuk and Illienko's wife Kadochnikova) depicted the establishment of Soviet rule in Western Ukraine; *In Spite of Everything* (1972), filmed in coproduction with Yugoslavia, was inspired by the life of the eighteenth-century Montenegrin national hero Petar Negosh. Leonid Osyka, another newcomer, filmed *The Woman Who Walks into the Sea*, *The Stone Cross* (with a script by Ivan Drach based on Vasyl Stefanyk's sparse stories of peasant life), and *Zakhar Berkut* (based on Ivan Franko's historical novel). *Living Water* marked the striking debut of Tamar Shevchenko, the script writer, Hryhorii Kokhan, the director, and Oleksander Antypenko, the cameraman.

Like *Shadows*, all these films incorporated Ukrainian (specifically Western Ukrainian) folklore and local colour. Such successes from the previously moribund Kiev Studio led some critics to argue that the excellence of *Shadows* was due more to Iurii Iakutovich's art direction and Illienko's photography than to Paradzhanov's directing. Most critics, however, began to speak of a Ukrainian poetic school in the tradition of Alexander Dovzhenko, characterized by hyperbole, metaphor, and associative montage. Ivan Dziuba discussed Paradzhanov's influence on his younger contemporaries in the following terms: -

Ознаки справжнього зламу в післявоєнному українському кіно стали помітні десь у роки 1964-1966, коли на Київській кіностудії „сформувалася група свіжо мислячої і есте-

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<sup>3</sup> New York Film Festival Program, September 1967.

тично підготовленої, мистецько своєрідної молоді, у чималій своїй частині не байдужої до традицій національного мистецтва; коли було здійснено постановку „Тіней забутих предків”, що дістала світове визнання; коли з’явився непересічний фільм „Сон”, а слідом за цими двома творами було розпочато ряд інших новаторських спроб.

Справжнім тріумфом українського кіномистецтва став фільм „Тіні забутих предків”, поставлений за однойменною повістю М. Коцюбинського.

Фільм „Тіні забутих предків” своєю глибокою і, я б сказав, „інтенсивною” продуктивною, мужньою національністю протистоїть як псевдонаціональним маскарадним профанаціям, провінційній рутині і солодкавості замітково-сентиментальних хуторян, так і безстатевим позанаціонально-всеміщанським кінокрутам. В якостях національної психіки й естетики він розвиває корінні загальнолюдські мотиви, вічні питання життя і смерті.

Творчий подвиг колективу, що створив „Тіні забутих предків”, докорінно змінив усю атмосферу на Київській кіностудії і став великим стимулом для мистецької молоді.<sup>4</sup>

Professional envy and politics hampered the maturation of the Paradzhanov school. The hacks who had hounded Eisenstein, silenced Vertov, and exiled Dovzhenko from his beloved Ukraine now turned their attention to Paradzhanov. Rumours were spread about his homosexuality and currency deals. Projects were shelved, released films were canned, and filmmakers were scattered. In the eyes of the regime, Paradzhanov was a suitable target for such innuendoes. Like many other Soviet intellectuals, he had been roused to voice his unwillingness to continue as a passive witness to the political trials and to the omnipresent interference in the arts. In October 1965, Paradzhanov and six other prominent citizens of Kiév applied to the Ukrainian Party and government authorities for an explanation of the arrests of August-September 1965 in Moscow and Kiev and of the fate of the detainees.<sup>5</sup>

In April 1968, together with 138 citizens of Kiev from all walks of life, Paradzhanov signed another appeal. Addressed to Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgorny, the letter expressed alarm about violations of legal standards in recent political trials and appealed for “open judicial examination” and “wide and truthful press coverage.” “The political trials held in recent years are becoming

<sup>4</sup> *Druzhno vpered*, December 1967.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is discussed in the introduction to Michael Browne, ed., *Ferment in the Ukraine* (London, 1971; New York, 1973), p. 5.

a form of suppression of the civic activity and social criticism which is absolutely essential to the health of any society," the letter said. "In Ukraine, where violations of democracy are magnified and aggravated by distortions in the nationality question, the symptoms of Stalinism are manifested even more overtly and grossly."<sup>6</sup>

The letter, not unexpectedly, provoked repressive measures against the signatories, who were roundly condemned at government-sponsored public meetings. Many of the signatories were dismissed from their jobs or expelled from the Party, and several artists were ousted from their unions. To escape this persecution Paradzhanov took refuge in Armenia, where he may have felt protected by the enormous public admiration for his films. Here in 1968 he produced *Sayat Nova* (also known as *Colour of the Pomegranate*), a coproduction of the Armenian, Georgian, and Azerbaidzhanian studios.

Inspired by the poems of the eighteenth-century Armenian troubadour and monk, Aruthin Sayadin, who has become a national hero to both Armenians and Georgians for his resistance to Persian invaders, *Sayat Nova* is a still life in motion, a poem of objects, textures, architectural structures, and mysterious figures. The film is an extraordinary experiment in evoking the lyricism of the great Caucasian troubadour through all the senses that can be evoked by cinema. The juxtaposition of colours in itself causes an excitement new in film.

*Sayat Nova* was distributed in Armenia for two years and passed for distribution in the rest of the Soviet Union (after being reedited by Sergei Iutkevich against Paradzhanov's will), but it has never been given an export license. Other projects that Paradzhanov worked on before his arrest, including a television adaptation of Hans Christian Andersen's tales, have not seen the light of day. He devoted much time to writing and is the author or coauthor of several film scripts and of many short stories, some of which circulate as bootleg literature,

After completing *Sayat Nova*, Paradzhanov returned to Kiev to work on a film about the Saint Sophia Cathedral and Cave Monastery titled *Kievan Frescoes*. In 1971 Paradzhanov again signed a protest to Brezhnev against the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. *Kievan Frescoes* was immediately stopped and declared anti-Soviet.<sup>7</sup> In reply Paradzhanov declared that the KGB was no

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<sup>6</sup> "Appeal of the 139 to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny," *Ferment in the Ukraine*, pp. 191-96.

<sup>7</sup> According to *Index on Censorship* (Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 77-79), the film was completed, but the footage was not assembled.



better than the Nazis in its destruction of religious art. There was no work anywhere for Paradzhanov now. As repressions against opposition were intensified, Paradzhanov was arrested as he stepped off a train returnig to Kiev from the funeral of a friend.

"The cause of Paradzhanov's arrest," Jeanne Vronskaya has written, "seems to be directly related to his third major film *Kiev's Frescoes* (1971) which was not only banned but, according to some reports from the Dovzhenko studio, also destroyed. The film describes the destruction by the Soviet authorities of the famous frescoes in the Kievan cathedrals... dating back to the golden age of Kievan art in the tenth and twelfth centuries.... It is clear that this subject was extremely undesirable and dangerous and, even during the shooting, the project was declared 'anti-Soviet.' After this, some reports suggest that Paradzhanov made an unsuccessful suicide attempt."<sup>8</sup>

The charges against Paradzhanov have never been made public, and no Western observers were present at his trial. He has thus not received the open judicial examination and the truthful press coverage that he appealed for in 1965 and 1968. We can, however, be certain that homosexuality was only a pretext for arresting and convicting him. If the authorities were to prosecute all sexual crimes with equal vigour, many of the bureaucrats' offspring would be the first to go to jail. A criminal rather than a political charge has, from the regime's point of view, the advantage that it undermines some of the potential support for the victim. Solzhenitsyn reminds us that trumping up criminal charges to conceal a political repression is a tried and proven tactic. When prominent intellectuals were arrested in the 1930s, it was sometimes considered "cleverer to fabricate a case based on some conspicuously shameful violation (like pederasty; or, in the case of Professor Pletnev, the allegation that, left alone with a woman patient, he bit her breast)."<sup>9</sup>

I do not want to give the impression that Paradzhanov was convicted for being a political activist or, as someone here has accused me of arguing, a "standard-bearer for Ukrainian and Armenian nationalism."<sup>10</sup> Yet Paradzhanov did contribute to the

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<sup>8</sup> *The Times*, 20 June 1974.

<sup>9</sup> *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*, I-II (New York, 1973), p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> And yet according to reports by the Smolensk Information Service, oppositionists in Kiev believe that Paradzhanov was convicted precisely for his attempts to link the Ukrainian and Armenian opposition movements. *Ukrainske Slovo*, 2-9 January 1977.

artistic and social revival in Ukraine in the 1960s. With *Shadows* he demonstrated a stronger love and a more subtle awareness of Ukrainian culture than anything seen since the early films of Dovzhenko, and in *Sayat Nova* he made a profoundly Armenian film. Above all, Paradzhanov is an artist and an honest man. He bluntly criticized the state of filmmaking in the USSR; he bravely refused to testify against Valentyn Moroz, who had charged him with appropriating art work during the filming of *Shadows*;<sup>11</sup> he openly defended his friend Ivan Dziuba when he was attacked. In short, Paradzhanov supported decency, honesty, and justice. In the eyes of the regime, this crime, together with the impermissible erotic, religious, and national motifs in his films, far outweighed any criminal offenses he may have committed.

The reports from the camps about Paradzhanov's health are disturbing: he has been severely beaten and has spent many months sewing sacks, contracting an eye disease. If he serves his complete five years, the world may lose a brilliant artist. Paradzhanov has already received support from the International League for Human Rights, the Society of Filmmakers in France, International PEN, and Armenian and Ukrainian defense committees. A Paradzhanov Amnesty Campaign, headed by Herbert Marshall and Peter Broderick, has been working on his behalf. This concern, as well as the attention now being devoted to Paradzhanov by the Venice Biennale, raises the hope that he will be restored to his rightful place in world cinematography.

During the Paradzhanov Seminar, an appeal on his behalf was distributed among the participants and to the press.

## BIENNALE '77 "IL DISSENSO CULTURALE"

### Appeal for the Liberation of Sergo Paradzhanov

The cinematic artists and critics participating in the Cinema Convention "Nationalized Cinema: Its Successes and Problems," have drawn up the following appeal for the liberation of Sergo Paradzhanov:

The undersigned cineasts and critics urge the government of the USSR to free Sergo Paradzhanov on humanitarian grounds. This

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<sup>11</sup> "Chronicle of Resistance" in *Report from the Beria Reserve*, edited and translated by John Kolasky (Toronto, 1974), pp. 55-84.

measure would be welcomed with relief and would attest that the government of the USSR is aware of the talent of this great cinematic artist.

The undersigned trust that once he has been released his works, which occupy a prominent place in the history of contemporary cinema and bring honour to the country to which he belongs, will enjoy free circulation again.

Giovanni Grazzini

Ernesto G. Laura

Vittorio Giacci

Callisto Cosulich

Dario Zanelli

Marcel Martin

Pio Baldelli

Morando Morandini

Virgilio Tosi

Elio Maraone

Nelo Risi

Lino Miccicche

Sandro Anastasi

Bruno Torri

Guglielmo Biraghi

Paolo Lepri

Sandro Zambetti

Herbert Marshall

Guido Cingotti

Marco Carynnyk

Alberto Pesce

Vittorio Boarini

Camillo Bassotto

Venice, November 26, 1977.

*On January 4, 1978, less than three weeks after the Biennale concluded, Western news agencies reported that Sergo Paradzhanov had been released from labour camp in the last week of December. Since then rumours have circulated that Paradzhanov went to his family in Georgia and then returned to Kiev. On the other hand, Agence France Press reports that, according to the Paradzhanov Collective in Marseilles, Paradzhanov died in prison several months ago.<sup>12</sup> The news of his release, the Collective claims, was "staged" to create the impression that Paradzhanov died a free man.*

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<sup>12</sup> *Ukrainske Slovo*, 19 March 1978.

## POLAND AND UKRAINE: PAST AND PRESENT

On October 20-22, 1977, McMaster University in Hamilton hosted a conference on "Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present." Organized by the Interdepartmental Committee on Communist and East European Affairs of McMaster University and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, and sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Canada Council, and McMaster University, this conference brought together more than twenty-five scholars from Europe, the United States, and Canada for two days of public presentations and one day of round-table discussions open only to conference speakers and invited guests.

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in Ukrainian-Polish rapprochement. The Polish emigré monthly *Kultura* and its Ukrainian counterpart *Suchasnist* have printed a number of articles and letters dealing with Polish-Ukrainian relations, Ukrainian-Polish friendship societies have been formed in London, England and in Munich, Germany, and a standing seminar on Polish-Ukrainian relations has been established at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. In addition, scholars in Poland have published a number of excellent works in recent years dealing with various aspects of Ukrainian history, language, and culture. This conference, however, was the first major international scholarly forum for the discussion of Polish-Ukrainian relations and aimed at considerably raising the level of debate on this topic.

The conference dealt with several aspects of Polish-Ukrainian relations: the conference sessions attempted to survey both the past and the present in terms of historical legacy, cultural relations, economic ties and communications, political problems, and historiography, with, in most cases, emphasis on developments since World War II.

Only the first session was devoted fully to the past. In the opening presentation entitled "Was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a Stepmother For Ruthenians and Cossacks," Professor Andrzej Kaminski (Columbia University) called for a more sophisticated, structural investigation of the Polish and Ukrainian past, especially the period of the Commonwealth. In his view, relations between the Poles and Ukrainians following the Union of Lublin, 1569, must be analyzed within a framework which sees the battle of *libertas* and *majestas* as the central problem. Despite the patchwork of religious, linguistic, and legal entities



which comprised the Commonwealth, and the varying economic and political interests of its component social groups, the republican idea and the struggle against centralism and state power were important unifying bonds, and the role of the Ukrainian Cossacks and nobility must be seen in terms of how their actions affected these unifying bonds. Professor Kaminski underlined that, although it is difficult to break away from the historical "baggage" and traditions which are impressed upon us during our youth, one should not narrowly praise or condemn the actions of social groups during the period of the Commonwealth according to conceptions which were formulated by nationalist historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In a more wide-ranging presentation on "Polish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burden of History," Professor Ivan L. Rudnytsky (University of Alberta) contended that the Polish-Ukrainian relationship has largely determined the historical destinies of both peoples. Failure to establish their relations on a firm and satisfactory foundation ensued in conflicts which have had tragic results for both Poles and Ukrainians. The Poles bear much of the blame for this situation for, since the late Middle Ages, Poland has generally been stronger and more advanced than Ukraine, and the Poles have exploited this relative advantage with limited foresight and a lack of diplomacy. Professor Rudnytsky illustrated his thesis with a number of examples from the long history of Polish-Ukrainian relations, and ended by emphasizing that, despite strong control by the Soviet Union, Poland still remains in a more advantageous position than Ukraine. It is thus important for Poles to keep the lessons of the past in mind, for the security and autonomy of their country will to a large extent depend on the future of Ukraine.

Professor Frank Sysyn (Harvard University) spoke about "The National Factor as a Cause of the Khmelnytsky Revolt: Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century." He questioned the utility of an overly legalistic approach to discussing the Commonwealth, and speculated about the extent to which regional sentiment and a sense of ethno-cultural distinctiveness might have explained the behaviour of the Polish and Ukrainian elites and populace at that time. One major problem in discussing the Commonwealth lies in the fact that Poles view their history in terms of historical legitimism, whereas Ukrainians are oriented more towards an ethno-linguistic view of nationhood.

The discussion which followed dealt largely with differing conceptions of the Commonwealth. The Poles understandably take great pride in the formation, under their leadership, of the Commonwealth, which occupied a leading position in the Europe of that time. Nonetheless, Professor Rudnytsky and others warned

against idealizing the Commonwealth. Exploitation of the Ukrainian borderlands by Polish fortune hunters during this period and the lack of resistance to this shown by the Ukrainian aristocracy, which readily assimilated into the Polish nobility, soon led to unrest and resistance among the Cossacks, with whom the Polish aristocracy had difficulty coming to an agreement. The denial of greater autonomy to Ukraine within the Commonwealth then resulted in a series of debilitating wars which prompted Cossack leaders to ally themselves with Moscow and greatly weakened the Commonwealth. Whatever one's interpretation of these events, the historical memory of these wars, and of the popular uprisings against the Polish nobility in Right-Bank Ukraine throughout the eighteenth century, strongly reinforced Polish views of Ukrainians as undisciplined and rebellious peasants and Ukrainian views of Poles as overbearing *pany*, which continued to plague mutual relations. Two scholars from the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, Professors Zbigniew Wojcik and Andrzej Walicki, who were in Canada at the time of the conference and were able to attend as observers, also took part in the discussion.

Two papers in the following session on cultural relations also presented broad historical surveys, dealing, in this case, with Polish-Ukrainian literary relations. According to Professor George Grabowicz (Harvard University), despite the complexity of attempting to survey five centuries of Polish-Ukrainian literary relations, an adequate understanding of this topic can come only from considering its entire history, whereas most scholarship in this field to date has concentrated on accumulation of data, comparisons of individual writers, or specialized studies of narrow topics. After describing four basic periods or phases which characterize Polish-Ukrainian literary relations, he concluded that the political and social balance of power between Ukraine and Poland has had a strong effect on the nature of the mutual influences of the two literatures. Polish literature has contributed to Ukrainian literature largely in a formal fashion by providing it with numerous and varied literary forms, norms, and conventions, while Ukrainian culture has supplied Polish literature with a great deal of raw material in the form of folklore, legends, and with the model of a different, intriguing way of life, which has appealed to the imagination of many Polish writers. Jozef Lobodowski of Madrid, a well-known Polish poet and a regular contributor to *Kultura* on the topic of Polish-Ukrainian relations, followed with a somewhat journalistic account of his views on Polish-Ukrainian literary influences. Interspersed with anecdotal references, it was in marked contrast to the detailed, scholarly analysis of Professor Grabowicz.

In a fitting end to the first day of the conference, the British dean of East European historians, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson (University of London, England), presented "Some Reflections of a Candid Friend." Attempting to place Polish-Ukrainian relations within the general framework of East European history, he stressed that the Ukrainian-Russian-Polish triangle was and continues to be one of the major problem areas of the world.

The remainder of the conference was devoted almost exclusively to the post-World War II period, and included sessions dealing with economic ties and communications, political problems, and historiography. During these sessions considerably more attention was devoted to Ukrainians in Poland and to the stereotyping of Ukrainians by Poles than vice-versa. Although this may have been due partly to the underrepresentation of Polish scholars at the conference, the major contributing factor here is simply a lack of information about the situation of Poles in Ukraine, whereas much more information is available about the Ukrainian minority in Poland. However, we do know that the Polish minority in Ukraine does not possess an organizational network similar to that of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society in Poland, and that this minority has been provided with practically no cultural and educational facilities. The Ukrainian minority in Poland is comparatively much better off. In his presentation, Dr. Borys Lewytskyj (Munich) expressed his dismay at the poor treatment of Poles in Ukraine, but stressed that this was largely a result of Moscow's calculated nationalities policy.

Ukrainian-Polish relations in the immediate post-World War II period continued to bear the scars of intensifying mutual animosity in Western Ukraine during the interwar period, of internecine skirmishing during the war, of massive transfers of Poles and Ukrainians across the new Polish-Soviet border established in 1945, and of the brutal deportation of those Ukrainians inhabiting Polish territory bordering on Ukraine and Slovakia to western Poland in 1947. Although, in his presentation entitled "In Search of Understanding: the Polish-Ukrainian Underground, 1945-47," Mr. Yevhen Shtendera (National Library of Canada) gave some interesting examples of limited cooperation between the Ukrainian resistance movement — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and its Polish counterpart — the organization "Freedom and Independence," this cooperation was purely local in character, and no formal agreement was ever reached between the two movements. Many Poles and Ukrainians still have extremely bitter memories of the war and the immediate postwar period.

As Dr. John Basarab (Maryland-Heidelberg) pointed out in his paper "Post-War Research in Poland on Polish-Ukrainian

Relations, 1945-75," after the deportations of 1947 the Ukrainians in Poland existed in a state of "limbo," and it was not until 1956 that they were authorized by the government to form a country-wide organization, the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society. Previous to this time Polish publications and the media had ignored the Ukrainian minority dispersed throughout the country, or had limited their attention to oversimplified treatments of Ukrainian nationalist "gangs" and their fight against Poles, Poland, and socialism during and immediately after the war. Dr. Basarab's paper was complemented by Professor Jozef Lewandowski's paper on "World War II and the Polish-Ukrainian Conflict."

Since 1956 the Ukrainian community in Poland has made some progress. Nonetheless, in spite of official government declarations denying discrimination and boasting that all minorities are supported in their efforts to develop and flourish, the administrative machinery, especially at the local level, aims at the rapid Polonization, albeit without the use of force, of all minorities. This is reflected, for example, in the administration's continuing refusal to allow the Lemkos to return to their ancestral homeland after their deportation in 1947. In addition, as Professor Vasyl Markus (Loyola University) indicated in his talk on "The Religious Situation of Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine," the Ukrainian presence in the Polish Orthodox Church, where it forms a plurality, has been strongly de-emphasized, while the position of the Ukrainian Catholics (Uniates) is highly ambiguous. Although their church has a semilegal status, and a few Polish bishops and priests seem to be sympathetic towards their eastern-rite coreligionists, more chauvinistic elements within the Roman Catholic church ignore the needs of Ukrainian Catholics and occasionally discriminate actively against them. Roman Catholic Poles in Ukraine, however, also face severe difficulties, although in their case this is due primarily to the strong suppression by the state of almost all religious activity. They have only a rudimentary organizational framework and are serviced by a small and decreasing number of priests.

Some postwar Polish publications continue to reinforce a negative stereotype of Ukrainians. Professor Roman Szporluk (University of Michigan) pointed out in his paper, "The Press of Poland and Ukraine: Its Role in Polish-Ukrainian Relations," that the postwar Polish media have waged a systematic campaign to portray the Ukrainians during World War II as worse than the Nazis, and make frequent unsupported charges that Ukrainians engaged in numerous one-sided anti-Polish excesses. In addition, popular literature dealing with the Polish and Soviet campaign against Ukrainian nationalists in postwar Poland has relied heavily



on crude melodrama and stereotypes which, although directed against "bad" Ukrainians, have brought disrepute to all things Ukrainian.

It is of course impossible to gauge the extent to which these negative stereotypes prevail. They are definitely stronger in some areas of Poland than in others, and are more prevalent among older and less sophisticated Poles. Their effect on intellectuals and Polish youth is probably limited. Thus, as part of his presentation on "Polish-Ukrainian Relations After 1945: Between Culture and Politics," Professor Georges Mond (Paris) described the results of an interesting survey conducted among relatively young Polish intellectuals who have lived in Poland after World War II (most of those questioned were Poles travelling abroad who have returned to their country). All were in favour of good relations with the Ukrainians and Ukraine, and they were also opposed to the forced assimilation of Ukrainians in Poland. Their knowledge of Ukrainian history and culture and Polish-Ukrainian relations in general, however, was extremely limited. This points to another significant problem in contemporary Polish-Ukrainian relations — the very restricted nature of contacts between Poland and the Ukrainian S.S.R. Although, as Dr. Borys Lewytzkyj demonstrated in his talk on "Political and Cultural Ties Between Soviet Ukraine and People's Poland in the Seventies," ties today are more extensive than they were immediately after the war, when the Soviet regime discouraged all Polish-Ukrainian contacts, the regime still hinders the desire, especially on the part of Ukrainian intellectuals, for freer communications and better relations with Poland. Cultural relations are confined largely to superficial official exchanges, and personal contacts among members of the two peoples are carefully controlled.

Economic relations between Poland and the Ukrainian S.S.R. are also strongly constrained. In his incisive discussion of "Economic Relations Between Ukraine and Poland in the Context of CMEA Bloc Integration," Professor Volodymyr Bandera (Temple University) pointed out that, while there is significant economic interaction between Ukraine and Poland, the distribution of costs and benefits from this interaction depends heavily on the systemic biases characteristic of the structure of unequal exchange dominated by Moscow. This has led to considerable anomalies and disadvantages. For example, Ukraine possesses huge export balances with Poland. Normally self-correcting, this situation will remain as long as Moscow continues to impose its preferences on both countries in the present artificial manner.

Both Professor Adam Bromke (McMaster University), who looked at the situation of "Ukraine and Poland in the New Emer-

ging Europe," and Professor Jaroslaw Pelenski (University of Iowa), who spoke on "Ukraine and Poland from the Imperial Russian and Soviet Russian Perspectives," attempted to draw some scenarios for the future, taking into account the all-important Russian factor.

After giving a brief outline of the contemporary situation in Poland and the Ukrainian S.S.R., Professor Bromke examined four possible scenarios (originally posited by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski) for developments in Poland in the last quarter of the twentieth century: maintenance of the status quo; absorption by the Soviet Union; complete independence; and "relative independence," which would see Poland becoming more closely related to other East European countries and less dependent on the Soviet Union. The last scenario would require gradual evolutionary changes in the U.S.S.R. toward a more democratic and pluralistic order, which would radically alter the context in which Poland finds itself.

The same scenarios were proposed for Ukraine, although for Ukraine the second alternative would signify the curtailment of whatever limited autonomy it now possesses and merging with the Russian people.

In the case of both Poland and Ukraine, Professor Bromke rejected the possibility of maintaining the status quo, since pressure for change continues to intensify in Poland and Ukraine. Thus, the second alternative was also dismissed, since, in addition to facing the stiff resistance of Poles and Ukrainians, it would also posit the emergence of a more nationalistic and militaristic Soviet regime, and this would arrest East-West détente and would increase the danger of Soviet-American conflict. Complete independence for Poland or Ukraine was discounted. It could occur only following the collapse of the Soviet Union, possible only after some major and possibly devastating conflict which would not leave Poland and Ukraine unscathed. The Poles, for example, still fear the possibility of a reunited Germany, which might come about if a major "shakeup" occurs in Eastern Europe.

According to Professor Bromke, the fourth scenario is the most feasible one. It is in line with the current trend towards the interdependence of political units, rather than their absolute sovereignty, and would be in accordance with a continuation of détente and gradual expansion of contacts between the Soviet Union and the West. Not only would both Polish and Ukrainian ambitions be accommodated within this framework, but they would also coincide with the objectives of those Russians supporting the democratic evolution of their own society.

Professor Pelenski, however, was less optimistic about the possibility of the "interdependent" scenario. In his opinion, a survey of the expansionist history of imperial Russia and of the continuation of imperial policies by the Soviet regime does not bode well for the future. Despite the contemporary irrelevance of territorial imperialism and imperial ideologies, Soviet Russia continues to cling to outdated notions of territorial expansionism and physical control of populations. Although Professor Pelenski agreed with Professor Bromke that the incorporation of Poland into the Soviet Union and the abolition of the Ukrainian S.S.R. were unlikely, and thought that the achievement of genuine independence by Poland and Ukraine would be extremely difficult, he disagreed with Professor Bromke about the desirability of such independence; in his opinion, the dangers often seen in a realignment of forces in Eastern Europe tend to be highly exaggerated. Nonetheless, he concluded that the most likely alternative, at least in the present international situation, was continuation of the political status quo with some minor adjustments. This is the most desirable objective from the Soviet point of view and corresponds to the goals of the political establishments in the West, which see the Soviet leadership as a stabilizing, conservative force in the world. Although Professor Pelenski viewed the creation of an interdependent framework with room for genuine coexistence and tolerance as being highly desirable, he questioned whether, at least in the short run, the Russian political elite could show the wisdom, courage, and diplomacy necessary for a truly historical compromise with Poland and Ukraine.

Nonetheless, notwithstanding the justified grievances which Poles and Ukrainians have against Russia, Professor Pelenski appealed to Poles and Ukrainians at home and in the diaspora to intensify their study of the Russian problem, to enter into a positive and meaningful dialogue with open-minded Russians, and to resist the temptation to turn away from or oversimplify the question of the nature of future relations with Russia.

On the whole, the conference can be considered to have been a success, and there is little substantive criticism to be raised as far as the actual organization or conduct of the sessions is concerned. The very fact that such a conference could be held is testimony to the solid groundwork of a small number of individuals who have consistently promoted improved Polish-Ukrainian relations over the years, and much of the credit for the smooth conduct of the conference must go to its organizer, Professor Peter J. Potichnyj (McMaster University), who expended a great deal of time and effort in planning the conference. The level of presentations was almost uniformly high, although, as is true in the case of most

conferences, some speakers had difficulty summarizing the contents of what were often long and impressive papers. Even though some conference participants could not resist indulging in some "grandstanding," this was fortunately kept to a minimum. Sessions were well attended, and the conference received positive coverage in both the Ukrainian and Polish press. The numerous informal contacts and discussions among conference participants and observers were doubtlessly also of great significance.

The program was, however, somewhat crowded, and it may be that future conferences on similar topics will have to adopt more of a seminar-type format. This would allow for more probing discussions and would provide for a more scholarly atmosphere. In addition, participants might feel less reluctant to voice controversial opinions in a smaller circle. There was, with a few exceptions, a noticeable lack of substantive controversy during the conference, and although there was no attempt to stifle debate, often the speakers themselves seemed overly anxious to be polite and diplomatic. Changing the format of such conferences, however, must also be considered against the drawback of considerably reducing public participation.

One expectation voiced by a number of observers was that as a result of the conference certain priorities would be established for work remaining to be done in the field of Polish-Ukrainian relations. In addition, it was hoped that some mechanism would be created whereby contacts among scholars interested in Polish-Ukrainian affairs could be maintained. The ordinary conference observer, however, was left somewhat in the dark about any general conclusions reached at the conference, and a general panel discussion to evaluate the conference and to offer proposals for future cooperation would have been beneficial.

The "round-table" sessions on the last day of the conference could have served as a forum for the discussion of such cooperation; however, they did not fulfill expectations, and a number of participants were disappointed in the lack of concrete proposals emanating from these sessions. Although some contacts among conference participants will probably be maintained on an informal basis, this is definitely an unsatisfactory solution, and using an "old-boy" network will inhibit the involvement of younger scholars in the field of Polish-Ukrainian relations. It is extremely important to encourage young academics to enter this area, and it was unfortunate that few young Polish scholars attended the conference as participants or observers.

Much research on Polish-Ukrainian relations remains to be done. Little of significance on this topic has been published in



Soviet Ukraine in recent years, and whatever is published is usually of poor quality. Although Doctors Basarab, Mond, and Lewytzkyj mentioned a number of interesting and high-quality monographs and articles on various aspects of Polish-Ukrainian relations which appeared in Poland, mostly in the 1960s and 1970s, some topics are still considered "inappropriate" for research in Poland, and it is rumoured that several controversial publications were heavily censored or, in some cases, withdrawn from circulation soon after being published.

A number of speakers stressed the need for further research, and Professor Szporluk made a strong appeal for the wider use of hitherto practically unutilized sources of information — the Polish and Ukrainian press. A systematic evaluation of the inter-war Polish mass circulation press, for example, could yield invaluable information on the formation of stereotype images of Ukrainians; likewise, a study of the regular and underground or emigré Ukrainian press of this period might yield important information on Ukrainian stereotyping of "the Pole." Although the period of enforced isolation between Poland and Ukraine since World War II has had a beneficial effect in "cooling off" deep-seated mutual Polish-Ukrainian antagonism, research of this kind can contribute a great deal toward pointing out the mistakes of the past and help to prevent their repetition in the future.

Despite the large amount of work yet to be done, the conference on "Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present" has already widened considerably the scope of academic debate on Polish-Ukrainian relations. The forthcoming publication of the conference proceedings will be awaited with impatience.

## UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE IN CANADA: THE BIG PUT-DOWN \*

The topic "Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: The Big Put-Down" is best approached through three main questions: What is folklore? How does folklore operate? What good is it and who needs it? Folklore can be defined best in terms of traditions. Ukrainian folklore in Canada, then, consists of the Ukrainian traditions in Canada. For most, folklore denotes folksongs, dances, costumes, Easter eggs, and so on. Ukrainian Canadians, along with other ethnic groups, have relied on folk festivals, concerts, and cultural displays, which have attracted wide and appreciative audiences in all parts of the country for over half a century, as a means of holding on to a sense of identity in the face of rapid acculturation and assimilation. In the competition for recognition on national and international levels, this folkloric tradition has been presented in a sophisticated, rather stylized form, suitable for stage presentation but seldom a faithful reflection of actual traditional lore. In recent years, efforts have been made by spokesmen in the Ukrainian community and by the politicians who listen to them to disparage this kind of Ukrainian folkloric activity in Canada. They have complained that, although acceptable, such activity is not the sole dimension of Ukrainian culture. They illustrate one aspect of the big put-down and they are correct in part. Folklore is but one aspect of Ukrainian culture in Canada. Equally important, however, is the fact that few have fully explored Ukrainian folklore in Canada.

What, then, is Ukrainian folklore in Canada really? In contrast to the conscious type of promotion of Ukrainian folk tradition is a rich abundance of raw folklore materials which have failed to attract adequate attention. Several barriers have stood in the way of serious investigation. First, the language barrier has undoubtedly discouraged any program on the part of Canada's small nucleus of established folklorists who, not being Ukrainian, were naturally attracted to French, Anglo-Saxon, and native Indian folklore. It is not surprising that, according to Marius Barbeau, the late dean of Canadian folklore, "the influx and random assimilation

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\* This is the text of the Twelfth Annual Shevchenko Lecture delivered on March 23, 1977 at the University of Alberta. The lecture was arranged by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and sponsored by the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club of Edmonton.

of the motley crowds of European immigrants" after World War I seemed disturbing to those folklorists who viewed the field of European folklore on this continent as being composed of three neatly compartmentalized geographic spheres, namely British, French, and Spanish. The Ukrainians and East Europeans arriving prior to World War I seemed to disturb the division.

Another barrier was the lack of a productive Ukrainian cultural elite before World War II which could evaluate the Ukrainian-Canadian experience with some sense of detachment. At that time, the Ukrainian element in Canada was essentially a semi-literate peasant society which, for the most part, had come to settle in the vast western prairies and had continued its traditional old country way of life. During the early stages of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, Ukrainian community leaders were concerned with the social and economic plight of the Ukrainian immigrant whose traditional folkways and folklore often seemed to frustrate their efforts on his behalf. In our time, however, confronted with the threat of assimilation, folklore has become an important means of retarding this process. In 1957, for example, Metropolitan Ilarion, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, described the pre-Christian pagan beliefs in a notable publication. These would not have been well received by any Church in 1918.

Nonetheless, it would be erroneous to state that Ukrainian folklore in Canada went completely unnoticed before World War II. Florence Livesay, for example, reflected her enthusiasm for the folklore of her Ukrainian friends, including that of her Ukrainian maid, by publishing in 1916 in Canada the first collection of Ukrainian folk song texts ever to appear in English translation. Of greater significance, however, is a little-known article published in 1902 by the eminent Ukrainian folklorist Volodymyr Hnatiuk, the first to investigate the Ukrainian experience as reflected in Ukrainian folk songs. The songs emanating from the massive immigration constituted, in his opinion, an important new cycle of songs, the content of which was comparable to the large corpus of Cossack songs from the eighteenth century, the age sometimes referred to as the golden era of Ukrainian folklore.

Aside from the efforts of Livesay in Canada and Hnatiuk in Western Ukraine, little was done to draw attention to Ukrainian folklore in Canada before World War II. Because of this gap in research and field collecting, one must rely on immigrant publications, almanacs, newspapers, and songbooks as research instruments. Almanacs, for example, abound with folkloristic materials in the form of nostalgic memoirs and appeals from the clergy to abandon certain pagan customs. The interpolation of folk song

texts add to their value as subjective folklore documents. Here, too, are the letters from Uncle Shteef Tabashnook, the most popular of several fictitious immigrant folk heroes, whose experiences as an immigrant in Canada mirrored those of his readers. The hilarious adventures of Shteef, in the form of letters, cartoons, and episodic personal narratives, were supplemented by the Ukrainian immigrant community with anecdotes and legends, and absorbed into its oral tradition. The most widely circulated song book was a collection of folk-song texts compiled by Tato Babyk and published for the first time in 1908 under the title of *Songs About Canada and Austria*. Attesting to its phenomenal popularity is the fact that the collection was published in six editions, a total of 50,000 copies. The songs were in effect versified accounts of the exodus to Canada and its subsequent hardships in a foreign land. The collection serves as an important document for the study of the Ukrainian-Canadian folk-song cycle during its most productive stage. Of special interest are the popular books of divinations and charms which reflect the transplantation of magical superstitious beliefs that have survived to this day. The attempt of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches in Canada to regulate traditional beliefs and customs is also well documented.

The Ukrainian-Canadian community provides an excellent laboratory of research into this particular phase of development of Ukrainian folklore, a problem which is still ignored by Soviet folklorists. The first attempts to collect and publish Ukrainian folklore materials in their Canadian setting were made soon after World War II. In 1946 Volodymyr Plawiuk, an amateur collector and folklorist, published in Edmonton his collection of approximately 6,000 Ukrainian proverbs and sayings. Ten years later Jaroslav Rudnyckyj, a European-trained specialist in Slavic philology, published the first volume of his Ukrainian-Canadian folklore and dialectological texts. Another important collector was Tetiana Koshetz, wife of the late Oleksander Koshetz, himself a prominent conductor, arranger, and musicologist. Mrs. Koshetz, an authority on traditional Ukrainian folklore, undertook a speaking tour in 1950 on behalf of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg, of which she was curator. During the tour she collected about 200 folk songs, including musical transcriptions, without the aid of any mechanical recording device such as a tape recorder. A large part of her collection is still in manuscript form in Ottawa and in Winnipeg.

The number of scholarly studies on Ukrainian-Canadian folklore is small. Besides Hnatiuk's article in 1902, only two have



aimed at some sort of synthesis. Dr. Rudnyckyj has approached the problem of textual analysis with a general scheme for the classification of verbal materials based on the lexical features of a given text. A second article was authored by Petro Krawchuk from Toronto, whose "progressive" and closed inclinations are reflected in several of his writings which were published in Soviet Ukraine. His article on early Ukrainian revolutionary songs is tendentious: it ignores several collections and leaves the reader with the impression that Canada's Ukrainian immigrant communities at that time consisted of pro-Soviet agitators spouting revolutionary songs. It is regrettable that folklorists, musicologists, and folklore enthusiasts who arrived in Canada after World War II made little or no effort to investigate the field of Ukrainian folklore in Canada. Instead, they expended their efforts, for the most part, within the framework of traditional old-country folklore. It would be unfair, however, to underestimate the contributions made to the study of Ukrainian folklore in its traditional academic aspects by such authorities as Kylymnyk, Koshetz, Leonid Biletsky, Jaroslav Pasternak, Rudnyckyj, Ilarion, and many others. Soviet Ukrainian folklorists, in general, have made little mention of Ukrainian folklore in Canada. It is interesting to note, however, that songs in Ukrainian about Canada have reappeared in their publications, attesting to the fact that not only did the early immigration to Canada have an impact on the folklore in Canada, but also that the experiences of the Ukrainian immigrants had a definite effect on traditions back in Ukraine.

Investigation into the publication of Ukrainian-Canadian folklore texts is made somewhat complicated by the inability of various compilers, critics, and commentators to distinguish sharply between sophisticated literature, subliterate genres, and folkloristic materials. An attempt has been made, for example, to assess Ukrainian literature in Canada according to norms of standard sophisticated literary criticism without reference to folkloristic style and content, a characteristic feature of most works published before World War II. The application of purely literary criteria by the late Watson Kirkconnell led him to describe the bulk of what, in effect, is but folk poetry in print as "the saddest sort of dogma." On the other hand, some Ukrainian commentators tend to overstate the literary merits of Ukrainian literature in Canada and at times appear loathe to discuss its obvious ties with oral literature. Similar confusion exists in other areas and fields of folklore. Folk songs arranged for mixed choral groups are commonly mistaken for the raw product itself, and the Ukrainian folk dance has been equated with the dances choreographed by Avramenko for almost half a century.

This equation of two different but related levels of creativity has its roots in the rise of national consciousness in nineteenth-century Ukraine. The national soul found in the folklore of the people served as the source of inspiration for national literature, a national school of music, and many other things. Implicit in this effort to catch up to the older sophisticated cultures of western Europe is the fact that, in comparison with these seemingly advanced cultures, the peasantry of Ukraine was more conservative, and the archaic features of its folklore were in a better state of preservation. When viewed from this perspective, there can be little doubt that Ukrainian folklore in Canada was a rich and accessible field of investigation for those engaged in comparative European folklore research on this continent. Traditional Ukrainian folk art, in the form of Easter egg painting, folk costumes, and embroidery, has inspired a number of expert articles and monographs. Ukrainian folk architecture, numerous manifestations of which may be found in the Prairies, is only beginning to attract scientific ethnographic investigation. Except for the publication of verbal texts, most other aspects of Ukrainian folklore in Canada have not been studied properly. Among these are the early immigrant theatre and its relation to traditional folk drama and theatre; Ukrainian folk music and traditional musical instruments in Canada — the *tsymbaly* tradition in western Canada; the role of the church cantor — the *diak* — as a carrier of the folk song tradition; and contemporary arts and crafts.

The next question is: How does Ukrainian folklore in Canada operate? The Ukrainian folkloric complex in Canada operates in terms of three interrelated yet fairly distinct segments or layers of materials — traditional, transitional, and innovational. Individually and collectively they bring into focus those contrastive trends and processes which in actual practise have combined with one another in a continual state of dynamic interaction. The traditional layer marks the most conservative stratum in the living folklore heritage, easily linked to traditional, old-country antecedents. Examples of this traditional layer are the *shchedrivky*, *vesnianky*, *plachi*, and old country *baiky*. The second, transitional layer of materials, distinguished by a string of antithetical features whose combined threat of dissolution is expressed in terms of verbal lore, has begun to absorb and generate new features. It reinforces, heightens, and crystallizes certain traditional elements as others fade away. This layer is exemplified by the Ukrainian ethnic-joke cycle. The third layer — the innovational — has tried to reconstruct the tradition. Selected retentions merge with new phenomena to produce a streamlined modern-day version of the folkloric legacy.

The implications of the resulting construct and its relationship to the old traditional stratum are most crucial for the understanding of the overall direction of change, of the various shifts and adjustments that are made in terms of foreign content, function, and carriers, and of vehicles and occasions for the transmission of folkloric materials. Undoubtedly the most important single factor to have influenced the development of Ukrainian folklore in western Canada (and in Canada generally) has been the loss of the mother tongue as a viable means of communication among the Canadian-born. In general, traditional Ukrainian folklore has failed to leap the language wall, limiting circulation to an ever-shrinking chain of old-timers. The younger members of the Ukrainian community are left facing their heritage with no new verbal form or genre except a derisive riddling cycle of ethnic jokes expressed in English.

This is another kind of put-down which should be examined. The jokes, as seen from the following list, always start with an introductory riddling question (The answers will not be given): How do you drive a Ukrainian crazy? How do you get a Ukrainian out of your back yard? How does a Ukrainian take a shower? How do you keep the flies away from the bride at a Ukrainian wedding? How do you keep a Ukrainian busy? Why does a Ukrainian only have two pallbearers? How do you get a Ukrainian out of your swimming pool? What do Ukrainians use as bait to catch fish? Did you hear about the Ukrainian who went ice fishing? Do you know why the Ukrainians are postmarked? How can you tell which woman on the beach is Ukrainian? Why do Ukrainians have round shoulders and flat heads? How do you get 25 Ukrainians into a Volkswagen? And so the list continues. Taken as a whole, this Ukrainian ethnic joke cycle can be seen as an attempt to present a comprehensive definition of a Ukrainian in terms of specific distinguishing features and qualities. But in raising the question, the ethnic joke fails to provide a satisfactory answer. Instead it offers a distorting formulation which, to a large extent, serves as an outlet for the expression of inter-ethnic tensions within the community at large. But even as a verbalized form of ethnic prejudice, the ethnic joke gives tacit recognition to the problem of cultural continuity in the new world by heightening the ethnic sensitivity of all groups. It ignores and discards seemingly irrelevant dichotomies reflected in the old uni-cultural folklore complex and replaces them with one which focuses all attention on the multicultural nature of Canada's population today.

Another similar phenomenon is the manner in which the traditional folk song repertoire, once the common property of all

within the ethnic group, has taken on the stature of a lost art maintained almost exclusively by a small but amazingly productive group of semiprofessional commercial Ukrainian folk and country music vocalists. In the sixties it was Mickey and Bunny of Winnipeg. In the seventies it is Nestor Pister and Metro from Regina, Saskatchewan. The commercial recording of both Nestor and Metro include songs, dialect jokes, and anecdotes that poke fun at lingering old-world folkways in a New World setting, yet simultaneously underscore the spurious nature of a seemingly superior sociocultural system that traps, but never quite devours, the days the innocent ethnic or immigrant treaded the tightrope of survival in America. In effect, much of this party-record material represents an overdone Bohunk backlash of folkloric conformation as described in Michael Novak's *The Unmeltable Ethnics*. There is essentially a vicious and devastating, and not merely devastatingly funny, form of veiled protest against the mores of the North American mainstream, its pressures to conform, its self-righteousness, and materialistic bias. Instead of chestnuts, Metro sings of roasting *chasnyk* (garlic) by the fireplace in his rendition of the all-time American favorite, "White Christmas." His compatriot Nestor transforms the American hero-figure, the freedom-loving frontier cowboy, into a lowly country bumpkin, old-world peasant, and immigrant ploughboy in his hit-song "Rhinestone Ploughboy," the parody of Glen Campbell's hit-song, "Rhinestone Cowboy."

It is interesting to note, as well, how folklore is generated to act in this degenerative process. When collecting materials in Vegreville in 1965, I recorded a story from a teacher of Ukrainian who used it to demonstrate to the children in her Ukrainian class why it was important to pronounce Ukrainian properly. According to the story, when God created people he gave them screws in the jaw which were used to tighten the jaws as required per language. If one was to speak well in Ukrainian one should loosen the screws. The teacher used folklore as a means of combatting a specific situation in her class. Though interesting in themselves, stories and efforts such as this are generally isolated. They hardly compensate for the loss of the rich verbal core of the traditional Ukrainian folklore complex which, under the catalytic impact of acculturation, has begun instead to stress the remaining non-verbal elements in order to balance off, as it were, the resultant vacuum.

The folklore heritage thus becomes disseminated more or less solely in sensory terms. If the text is taken away, one is left with acoustic, optical, and tactile manifestations devoted, for instance, to the sound of Ukrainian folk music, the art of traditional craft,



such as embroidery and Easter egg ornamentation, and the taste of old-country foods. These residual yet streamlined components of the old folklore complex exist only on a part-time, unrelated, and informal basis in a highly condensed, hyperbolic form. They are a kind of packaged instant folklore that suddenly springs into view from time to time. On occasion, however, these same disconnected components are brought into play in a novel relationship and in a new context as reflected, for example, in the popularity of Ukrainian and other ethnic folk festivals in Canada and the United States. The festival in Vegreville, the older one in Dauphin, and the big Ukrainian Easter egg outside of Vegreville are all novelties.

Diachronically, and in terms of the acculturative process, the evolution of the immigrant complex usually proceeds along a rather conventional route, marked by the sequence of three stages: resistance to change, followed by breakdown due to change, and finally reconstitution or adjustment to change. In Ukrainian folklore, the initial stage of resistance is best exemplified by an effort to retain and amplify that segment of the old-country narrative corpus which serves to promote and maintain a tight and cohesive framework for group continuity in the new and ostensibly hostile social and natural environment. For example, when collecting Ukrainian stories in western Canada, it seemed that the most popular type of story was the story of a confrontation between the poor and the rich brother. This kind of story has always played a moralistic role within a community. The second stage in this process — that of breakdown — signals the crucial attempt on the part of certain segments of the community to scrutinize and evaluate their traditions and to detach themselves from what appear to be meaningless and disfunctional attempts at survival, while, at the same time, asserting the need for continuity of the folklore heritage in some form or another. An example is the ethnic joke. The third stage — that of reconstitution — resolves the ongoing tensions between the old and the new by meeting the challenge of acculturation on its own terms. It reformulates a folklore legacy according to the demands and the pressures of a modern and materialistic civilization.

This tripartite sequence of stages does not mean, however, that both the old and the new are unable to coexist as constituent elements of a single complex, even though the two layers, old and new, frequently represent two highly polarized and contrasting sets of features. Several selected traits or features underscore this particular type of contrast. The orientation of the old immigrant folklore that came from Ukraine was agrarian, rurally based, and tied to a seasonal or religious calendar. The new folklore is urban-

ized and no longer tied to the old calendar and the old cycles. The old folklore was circulated within closed isolated in-group settings. Today it is unrestricted. Ukrainian folklore in Canada today is not exclusive to Ukrainians. Knowledge of the Ukrainian language is no longer a prerequisite to enjoy certain aspects of the Ukrainian folklore heritage. In the old days, the people who carried Ukrainian folklore were peasants. The various forms of traditional folklore creativity were divided according to sex. Women sang songs, men told dirty stories and played *tsymbaly*. Today folklore can be enjoyed and practiced by nonpeasants — even by university graduates, regardless of sex. There is, though, a deeper and wider gap between the active individual performer and the passive spectator or audience. In the old days everyone sang. Today there is a division between performers and listeners: the performers are on stage and the listeners in the audience. The general structure of the old folklore was highly subjective; it had a high level of internal variation, diversity, and was conditioned by traditional old-country lines of parochial distribution. The content, form, and context were inextricably integrated with one another, and the entire folklore complex permeated the whole culture of everyday life. Today this holistic type of folkloric life no longer exists. Folklore can be had as desired. It can be purchased and objectified. It has been accompanied by a consolidation effort. One is always on the lookout for symbols carried over from Europe. Although, for example, the national Ukrainian folk instrument is the bandura, most Ukrainians came to Canada with the *tsymbaly*, not the bandura. The search for a national Ukrainian costume calls for a symbol, so the *poltavskyi strii* is worn although very few people who settled in Canada came from Poltava.

The relationship between Ukrainian folklore in Canada and folklore in the homeland should be examined. Those who emigrated to Canada retained almost intact a lot of their folklore, especially if they settled in rural areas. The post-World War II generation has forgotten the specifics of the old folklore. Thus, they have become unknown or blurred. One has to consult a handbook today. Savella Stechishin, for example, has published a book on Ukrainian cooking. The previous generation did not need a Ukrainian cookbook. To learn to dance, one takes lessons in Ukrainian dancing, whereas pioneers never did. Today music lessons are taken to play the bandura. The pioneers played their *tsymbaly*; it was part of their lives. Folklore in the old days permeated everything everyone did. Today folklore entertains and promotes ethnic identity.

The manner of transmission of folklore has also changed. Folklore was once transmitted from person to person. The grand-

mother would teach the grandchildren a song; she would tell them a story. The transmission was oral, face to face. Today, this direct word-of-mouth form of transmission has been minimized and supplanted by indirect, nonpersonal, and mechanical vehicles of transmission. Ukrainian folk songs can be bought on a record. Even when working in the Northwest Territories, the Ukrainian folk-song tradition can be carried in a box and, with the aid of a record player or tape recorder, one can play all the Ukrainian music one desires. Forty live Ukrainians are no longer required. This is quite a marked difference.

From the syntonic point of view, as suggested by this ideal comparison of new and old ways, the contemporary Ukrainian folklore complex in Canada forms a unique conglomerate composed of in-going, on-going, and out-going features. Despite the differences between the old and new, it is important to note that the latter is always at least partially related to the older, more traditional elements of a folklore complex, which provide the indispensable material for the formulation and construction of new Ukrainian folklore in Canada. The final product — the extract, whether it is acoustic, optical, ceremonial, or verbal — is combined with other features which are borne by the surrounding mainstream culture. The resultant blend in the Ukrainian experience may be seen on various levels as illustrated by its macro-onic characteristics, such as the use of half-English, half-Ukrainian in folk-song texts, Ukrainian country music, ethnic-folk festivals, Ukrainian ethnic jokes, commercial long-playing albums, and so forth. These new folklore manifestations depart from a traditional old-country folklore not only by virtue of their highly acculturative forms, style, context, and content, but also, and perhaps even more fundamentally, by replacing the old multifunctional diversity, which characterizes the old complex, with a single basic function devoted almost exclusively to the expression and transmission of ethnic distinctiveness. In general, the Ukrainian folklore complex in Canada is in a dynamic state of flux, replete with biased tensions, seeming contradictions, and embitterments that reflect the impact of the acculturative process in the New World. When compared with the specifics of traditional, old-country manifestations of folklore, signs of seeming degeneration and the emergence of radical departures from the immigrant folklore heritage actually mark a kind of autogenesis that serves to demonstrate the ability of the old folklore heritage to identify, respond to, and exploit the various opportunities for meaningful continuity afforded by experimentation.

All these changes largely correspond to the gradual transformation of our old immigrant community into an integrated segment

of the Canadian population as a whole. In the course of this process, many of the old folkways are abandoned without any massive resistance. They just fade away. Others linger on; still others are reexamined, revamped, and reactivated in an effort to depict values and perpetuate the community sense of ethnic loyalty and identity. To a large extent, this latter phenomenon is part of a contemporary search for effective antidotes to the homogenizing pressures of modern civilization to adopt and maintain uniform attitudes, habits, and rights. As such, the resultant reformulation of the old folklore can and does serve to provide some measure of relief from the humdrum existence of everyday urban conformity and uniformity. At the same time, however, it is the dominant mainstream culture itself which dictates and furnishes the appropriate escape mechanisms and makes available the various generative tools and productive vehicles with which to reshape and refine our old Ukrainian folklore. The reconstructed folklore, in effect, allows its assorted carriers and enthusiasts to indulge in a fantasy of ethnic separateness and individuality without transgressing the limits and patterns prescribed and sanctioned by the surrounding English-speaking culture.

The third and last question is: What good is Ukrainian folklore and who needs it? Ukrainian folklore, traditions, and heritage can and does reveal a lot about Ukrainians, their experiences, and their problems. When this question is posed, however, there is a tendency to think in terms of the market place. There is a pressure to think in terms of commodities. How much can it be sold for? Now that there is so much of it, how can all of this folklore be turned into a commercial success? It is difficult to answer these questions adequately. Perhaps this is because Ukrainian folklore and Ukrainian traditions belong to that sphere of intangibles that defy marketing techniques and computer programming. The two worlds are miles apart and were not made for each other. To help understand this better, it would be fitting, in conclusion, to draw attention to the folkloric interests of the man whom this series of annual lectures commemorates, Taras Shevchenko. About a hundred and thirty years ago, Taras Shevchenko decided to compile a set of his paintings, drawings, and sketches in order to publish them eventually as an album devoted to the people, the folklore, and the traditions of Ukraine. Unlike William Kurelek, however, Shevchenko's project was not successful. However, it is interesting to note that Ukrainian traditions and folklore were something Shevchenko felt compelled to record and study. His justification for his project proposal included the following deep personal commitment:



The history of Ukraine, its glorious feats, and half-legendary heroes is a very moving story. The people are amazingly unique, the land is gorgeous, and yet no one has presented all this before our educated circles. Having forgotten their traditions, I really don't know what they've had to hold on to. It seems to me, even if my country were the poorest, the most bedraggled place on earth, even then it would still seem more beautiful to me than Switzerland or all of Italy. Those who have seen our country say that they would love to live and to die on its most beautiful fields. In view of all this, what should we pass on to the children of our country? I think that one should live and be proud of one's own most wonderful mother. I, as a member of her big family, will endeavour to serve her, if not to meet some pressing important need, then at least to glorify her name — Ukraina.

## РУСИФІКАЦІЯ ЧИ МАЛОРОСІЯНІЗАЦІЯ?

Хочу висловити кілька завважень на маргінесі „Тез про русифікацію” бл. п. Всеволода Голубничого, надрукованих у *Журналі* (ч. 3, осінь 1977). Трохи ніяково полемізувати з покійним Автором, який сам уже не може відповісти... Але питання, порушене Голубничим, надзвичайно важливе і з теоретичного і з практично-політичного погляду. Воно заслуговує на те, щоб стати предметом ширшого прилюдного обговорення.

Голубничий, згідно з його власним твердженням, під русифікацією „схильний розуміти головним чином і переважно лише *мовне питання*, тобто перехід певної, ще далеко не переважаючої частини українців з української на російську мову вжитку”. В такому поставленні проблеми чути відгомін народницького світогляду XIX століття, який ототожнював націю з етносом та його найбільш помітною прикметою — мовою, „рідним словом”. А тим часом етнос, „народ”, і нація це дві різні, хоч і пов’язані, суспільні категорії, що їх не слід змішувати. Нація — це самосвідома політична й культурна спільнота, що добровільно диференціює себе від інших подібних спільнот-націй та що має волю незалежно, тобто суверенно, формувати своє збірне життя. Іншими словами, нормальною й нормативною формою існування нації є окрема національна держава, а де її нема — змагання до неї. (Тут ідеться не про „абсолютну” суверенність, яка в реальному світі не існує, але про відносну суверенність, що не перечить різним взаємозалежностям). Мінімальна передумова того, щоб можна було говорити про наявність нації — свідомість колективної підметності, воля народу „бути господарем у власній хаті”, що іноді можливе й без окремої держави, але в рамках ширших державних з’єднань федеративного типу. (Тут на думку приходять Квебек.) У протилежності до нації, що є феноменом свідомості й волі, етнос відзначається сукупністю об’єктивних прикмет, таких як своєрідні звичаї, побут і, зокрема, мова. Ці прикмети передаються з покоління в покоління майже автоматично, без свідомого зусилля, порядком суспільної (не біологічної!) спадковості та психологічної осмози. Таким чином, етнос-народ є субстратом, або матеріалом, з якого може (але не мусить!) постати нація. Існування менш-більш гомогенної етнічної маси сприяє формуванню нації. Але маємо приклади народів, які не встигли стати націями: провансальці. Знову ж на одному етнічному субстраті

можуть вирости різні нації. Напр., частина нижньо-німецьких племен увійшла до складу німецької нації, тоді як друга частина оформилася в відрубну голландську націю. Щодо мови, треба відрізнати „народну мову”, яка живе в щоденному, родинному побуті (як колись казали у старій Росії, „для домашнього вжитку”) та „високу мову”, що заспокоює різноманітні і складні суспільно-культурні потреби розвиненої нації.

Заки перейти до докладнішого розгляду проблеми русифікації й українсько-російських стосунків взагалі, хочу наперед зупинитися на деяких історичних інтерпретаціях В. Голубничого, які викликають застереження. І так він особливо наголошує, що „жоден народ у цілому світі ніколи не зникав *добровільно*, в спосіб якоїсь природної еволюції, якоїсь органічної асиміляції, чи якогось іншого нормального процесу.... Іншими словами, зникнення народів в історії було завжди наслідком *геноциду*”. Але не можна в такий спосіб відривати один від одного добровільність і примус, які в дійсному історичному процесі переплітаються діалектично. Методами геноциду можна якийсь народ, або націю, фізично вигубити, але не можна його асимілювати. Бо асиміляція це не те, що робить завойовник, але те, що діється у збірній свідомості завойованих. На факт завоювання, поневолення, можливі різні реакції, — від збільшення опору до відмови від власної тотожності та злиття з завойовником. Отже, якщо завойований народ вибирає альтернативу асиміляції, то це вже його власне рішення. В перспективі історії немає значення, що цей вибір не був цілком добровільний, але „примусово-добровільний”. Випадки такої „примусово-добровільної” асиміляції у світовій історії зовсім не такі рідкісні, як гадає Голубничий. Згадати б хоч Римську імперію, що в ній нащадки завойованих галлів, іберійців, іллірійців та ін. після двох-трьох поколінь перебрали римську політичну й культурну свідомість, включно з латинською мовою, поробилися патріотами імперії, що її вони визнали своєю. Або якщо сьогодні на велетенських просторах від Перської затоки до Атлантийського океану панує арабська мова й культура, то це результат не тільки блискучих воєнних перемог і територіальної експансії халіфату, але в першу чергу теж масових добровільних навернень на іслам.

Голубничий помиляється, коли він „зникання народів” пояснює „політикою сегрегації, дискримінації, насильницької асиміляції”. Поняття сегрегації й дискримінації походять з арсеналу сучасної американської політичної термінології й риторики. Якщо ці поняття мають негативні обертони, то то-

му, що сегрегація й дискримінація перешкоджає інтеграції і добровільній асиміляції етнічних та, зокрема, расових меншин у США. Це, очевидно, не значить, що я похваляю сегрегацію й дискримінацію. З точки погляду особи, що є жертвою такої політики, вона завжди сприймається як кривда й несправедливість. Але з точки погляду збереження окремішності й самобутності народу підкореного під чужу владу часто найбільшою небезпекою, — і найтяжчою пробою життєздатності, — є не сегрегація й дискримінація, але, навпаки, „лібералізм” завойовника, відсутність етнічної виключності. Романізація галлів та інших була наслідком щедроти, з якою Рим наділював завойовані народи правом римського громадянства, у сполучі з велетенським престижем римської культури і стилю життя. Аналогічні приклади можна знайти теж в українській історії. Полонізація старої української аристократії пояснюється тим, що після Люблинської Унії на неї поширено благодаті „золотої свободи” польського шляхетства.

Говорячи про генезу ленінської концепції майбутнього „злиття націй” за комунізму, Голубничий пояснює її тим, що Ленін, мовляв, не знав добре німецької мови й тому неправильно переклав стосовне гасло, яке в оригінальному тексті Маркса й Енгельса значить не „злиття”, але „зближення”, зникання міжнаціональних конфліктів. Отже ніби виходить, що коли б Ленін був краще вивчив німецьку мову, то політика його і його наслідників супроти України була б іншою й інакшим було б сучасне становище української нації в СРСР. Дійсно зворушлива віра в магічну силу марксівського „священного писання”!

Ключа до проблеми русифікації в сучасній Україні знайдемо не в творах „клясиків” марксизму-ленінізму. Маркс і Енгельс, як відомо, взагалі не мали теорії нації; національному чинникові вони приділяли мало уваги, вважаючи його за відносно скоропроминливе явище, притаманне капіталістичній добі. Теж Ленін не мав наукової теорії нації. Зате він виробив щодо національного питання політичну стратегію: як використати національно-визвольні рухи в боротьбі проти існуючих „імперіялістичних” держав і як ці рухи паралізувати й неутралізувати під централізованою „диктатурою пролетаріату”. Надійний ключ до розуміння проблеми русифікації дає історичний досвід українсько-російських стосунків і російської імперської політики супроти України. В українській популярній історичній літературі й публіцистиці залюбки лають „московський імперіялізм і колоніялізм”, але



такі загальникові визначення з емоційним забарвленням мають обмежену пізнавальну вартість.

Суть політики царської Росії щодо України полягає в тому, щоб відмовляти їй у статусі нації, трактуючи її як племінний, „малоросійський” різновид єдиної російської нації. Росія послідовно придушувала й винищувала всі прояви „українського сепаратизму”, особливо в царинах політичної думки й „високої” культури. Іншими словами, Росія безоглядно поборювала все, що сприяло перетворенню українського етносу в націю. Отже асиміляція, до якої прямувала російська політика, була передусім асиміляцією на державній, або імперській площині. Зате не вважалося небезпечним, що українське селянство продовжувало балакати своєю мовою („малоросійським наріччям”) та зберігало різні риси традиційного народного побуту, — як довго це не виходило за межі фолклорної етнічності. Царському урядові залежало на тому, щоб русифікувалося все, що соціально й культурно підіймалося понад народну масу. При чому слід підкреслити один дуже важливий факт: лояльні малороси не зазнавали в імперії ніякої дискримінації. Чиновник або офіцер-малорос користувався зовсім не гіршими шансами у своїй службовій кар’єрі ніж його товариш, що був етнічним росіянином („великоросом”). І навіть ніхто не брав малоросові за зле, коли він іноді, напр., за чаркою в веселому товаристві, співав українських пісень, закидував українським слівцем, розказував „малоросійські анекдоти”.

Не тяжко узріти, що теперішня радянська політика щодо України становить модернізований варіант старої царської політики. Очевидно, між ними існують теж чималі різниці, про що свідчить м. ін. наявність Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки. Але основна тенденція та деякі характеристичні прийоми російської політики залишилися незмінні. Слово „малорос” вийшло з ужитку, але імперська політична концепція, що криється за цим словом, є надалі чинною. Нема сумніву, що УРСР є своєрідною нео-Малоросією. Москва наполегливо прямує до того, щоб українському народові накинати спільну з Росією політично-державну свідомість та спільну „високу” культуру. Це й єсть реальний зміст концепції „злиття націй”, „єдиного радянського народу”. Іншими словами, Україна не повинна ніколи стати нацією в повному значенні слова; вона мусить назавжди залишитися пів-нацією, регіональним різновидом єдиного імперського комплексу. Для цього зовсім не потрібно ліквідації українського народу як етнічної одиниці. Цю етнічність толерують, а в певних випадках її навіть плекають, у формі

офіційних фольклорних спектаклів. І, подібно як за царських часів, українець, що є добрим патріотом „єдиної батьківщини”, не страждає від сегрегації чи дискримінації. Він може стати партійним і державним вельможею всесоюзного масштабу, маршалом Радянського Союзу, академіком або орденоносним літератором (навіть пишучи українською мовою!), космонавтом... Хтось міг би сказати, що поки існує український етнос, так довго будуть у ньому спонтанно виникати тенденції до оформлення в повноцінну націю. Це правда. Але Москва про це, очевидно, добре пам'ятає. Саме тому вона так старанно раз-у-раз систематично зрізує всі парості самостійної української політичної думки (навіть у комуністичних формах) та української „високої” культури. Ідеться про те, щоб Україна назавжди залишилася в стані народу, який, згідно з клясичною формулою В'ячеслава Липинського, вічно національно „відроджується”, але ніколи не може народитися.

Вважаю, що українські еміграційні дослідники й публіцисти, що займаються радянською проблематикою, часто роблять одну засадничу помилку. Вони перецінюють небезпеку русифікації, в розумінні зникнення українського народу як етносу. Зате вони недоцінюють небезпеку „малоросіянізації”, в розумінні асиміляції українства до всеросійської, радянської імперської системи. Всі знаємо, що український народ зазнав за роки радянської влади велетенських втрат у своїй етнічній субстанції. Проте сам Сталін, — дуже авторитетний свідок! — заявив, що „всіх українців виселити не можна”. Народ, який перетривав сторіччя татарського лихоліття, продовжуватиме у своїй основній масі жити на предківській землі. Інше діло з політикою „малоросіянізації”. За неї говорить, у певному сенсі, досвід історії. Мусимо визнати, що царському режимові у великій мірі пощастило державно й культурно асимілювати провідні шари населення України, а народні маси консервувати в стані національної пасивності та аморфності. Сучасні комуністичні вожді Росії, очевидно, покладаються на цей історичний досвід і вони переконані, що їм удасться розв'язати дошкульне „українське питання” при допомозі модернізованого варіанту цієї випробуваної політичної стратегії.

Незабутній Всеволод Голубничий належав до найкращих у нас дослідників і знавців радянської дійсності. Я не є професійним советологом і в цьому відношенні не можу себе рівняти з Pokійним. Проте думаю, що у своєму трактуванні проблеми русифікації Голубничий не остерігся вищезгаданої помилки. В першу чергу не погоджуюся з редукцією цієї

проблеми до мовного питання. Справа мови це тільки один аспект проблеми й то не найважливіший. Те, що центральне й основне, це справа політичної підметности, що робить з народу націю. Мовна русифікація важлива тим, що вона являє собою симптом і символ провінційного, національно неоправданого й неповноцінного стану сучасної України. Голубничий потішає нас тим, що українська мова не загине та що навіть радянська влада не зважиться цілком скасувати, не зважаючи на всі обмеження, українськомовної школи і преси. З цим можна погодитися. Але що з цього? Тут слід звернути увагу на питання соціальної функції мови. Чи в українській мові формуватиметься теж незалежна українська політична думка? Чи українська мова служитиме засобом не тільки народної, але теж „високої” культури, чи вона здобуде півне становище в державній адміністрації, економіці, наукових і вищих навчальних закладах, міському побуті? Поки цього не станеться й поки основною соціальною функцією української мови буде функція „колгоспної мови” — до того часу Україна залишиться Малоросією.

Врешті останнє завваження. Голубничий вимагає, щоб „ми всі весь час пам’ятали, що русифікація України є наслідком завоювання, наслідком насильства і є політикою геноциду”. Це самозрозуміла правда, але не ціла правда. (Не говорю тут про питання практичного порядку, про яке згадує в цьому контексті Голубничий: як найдоцільніше й найбільш педагогічно дану проблему показати західній науковій громадськості.) Ясно, якби в 1917-21 рр. закріпилася самостійна українська держава, то Україна не була б сьогодні об’єктом русифікації. Але тут можна запитатися: Якби українці зуміли проявити більше енергії та політичної зрілості в боротьбі за свою державність, чи Україна була б завойованою? Або інші питання: Чому деякі інші нації, що теж були завойовані, напр., Грузія й Вірменія, більше відпорні на русифікацію ніж Україна? Чому українські селяни, що попадають у міське й індустріальне середовище, так легко переходять на російську мову, замість того, щоб у це середовище вносити свою українську мову? На всі ці й подібні питання можна знайти об’єктивні історично-соціологічні пояснення. Тут не може бути мови про те, щоб „виправдувати” жорстокого й підступного ворога, який стільки незмірного зла завдав нашому народові, як і низці інших народів. Але суть справи в чомусь зовсім іншому. Якщо ворогові було суджено бути переможцем, а нам переможеними, то це сталося в великій мірі через те, що цей ворог і в минулому виявляв і в сучасному виявляє надзвичайну вмільсть у тому, щоб вишукувати слабкі місця в нашій

структурі — і в них з цілою силою вдаряти. Ланцюг, яким Україна запряжена до імперської колісниці, сковано з ланок наших власних слабостей і помилок. Тому не можемо дозволити собі на те, щоб закривати очі на ці слабості й помилки, скидаючи відповідальність за нашу національну трагедію виключно на зовнішні сили та несприятливі обставини. Свобода особи й нації утверджується у свідомій, творчій конфронтації з об'єктивними обставинами, а не в капітуляції перед ними. Я певен, що бл. п. В. Гобулничий погодився б з цим останнім твердженням.

Іван Лисяк-Рудницький



## Hearing with the Eyes, Seeing with the Ears: The Sublunar Life of Bohdan Ihor Antonych \*

### 1

Freud didn't invent the subconscious. It was always with us, like the center of the atom. We perceived it in the world, where it gave us back the recognizable reflections of our dreams. It was the domain of Priests and Initiates who attempted to harness its power with "Miracle, Mystery, and Authority" as they officiated over scenarios in which gods and demigods, in marvelous cartoon disguises, enthralled us with their dramas as they elucidated our own. But it was the Poet, through his stubborn umbilical attachment to the subconscious, who composed these scenarios from a vantage point somewhere between Priest and Sibyl.

The Poet was less of a theorist than a vehicle. Visions might be visited upon him in the most unbecoming ways. He might experience the currents as a seizure of love, like Sappho, or in an apocalyptic moment, like Ezekiel or Blake, appear to be an epileptic. No matter. It was clear that the Poet was plugged into the divine generator because his circuits, through no fault of his own, were extraordinary.

The dream of Orpheus started sweetly enough. In it the poet sang with such a quickening intelligence that stones danced to hear his tune. But then something went awry. Eurydice went underground and Orpheus was forced to pursue his muse by also descending into the netherworld. Here the dream lost its innocence. Orpheus woke up. His relationship to his muse was never the same again.

This progression of Orpheus from bucolic naif to Pilgrim of the underworld is nothing less than a paradigm of the psychological evolution of the race. At the beginning of this century, standing for an idea whose time had come, Freud wore Orphic robes as he emerged from the *sanctum sanctorum*, bathed in sublunar light, with a new message.

No, Freud didn't invent the subconscious. It had always been there, and we might learn to hear it from where it sat, like Eurydice, captive, enthroned. It was Eurydice, and we should never possess her as Orpheus had in his dream. Nor would Orpheus himself awaken now. But she was, after all, continually whispering in our ear. Her language was at once coded and intimate, and it came from a region that we all contain, much as we contain our spleen or kidneys.

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\* A Ukrainian-language version of this comment will appear in the June 1978 issue of *Suchasnist*. — Ed.

Bohdan Rubchak, in his thoughtful introduction to the selected poems of Bohdan Ihor Antonych,\*\* invokes the lineage of Orpheus. He draws Antonych into the circle of poets like Novalis, Hoelderlin, Nerval, Rilke, and Yeats. As far as it goes, Antonych is certainly at home in their company, one of them, although *sui generis*. But what makes him remarkable to me is what distinguishes him from these pre-Freudian Orphics and propels him on the wings of an uncanny intuition into the modern world. Whereas Rilke, for example, wrapped in the dream of Orpheus, proceeds from his nostalgia to rhapsodize his Eurydice, to pull her up from Hades whole for our direct apprehension, the post-Freudian Orphics tuned their ears and ours for what Vallejo called "what we are without knowing it."

With his ear to the wall of the Carpathians, Antonych heard the psychological terrain heave as it opened and sighed like some paleolithic creature. He heard it as clearly as Rimbaud had through a green matrix of absinth, or as Vallejo did in a steamy cell through the Andean jungle. For all of them it was trapped in the interpenetrating flow of images that traveled between mind and matter, between what we see and what we don't see. Eurydice could be heard, felt, and described through the elision of senses, the seeming instability of time and space.

Antonych listens and writes down what he hears in poems that are closer to *A Season in Hell* or *Trilce* than to *Sonnets to Orpheus*. He is closer to the moonstruck Lorca than the cold-eyed Yeats and, like the Andalusian, saturates his landscapes with sublunar light like an x-ray. Antonych knows that Eurydice is "an eternal truth/ we can't grasp, like the blue essence of benzene."

In a poem entitled "The End Of The World," Antonych writes:

The moon raises her blue hands  
like a prophet  
to curse the city  
for the treachery, cupidity and crime,  
that fester in its lairs.

Because the moon's light is reflective rather than incandescent, like Eurydice whispering from her secret chamber, it is also mantic and portends judgement. It isn't so important that she is veiled but that she shows us the veiled truth. Surfaces which appear solid by day she turns diaphanous at night. Under her penetrating rays we see that grass isn't green simply because of a divine order or a random mixing of chemicals on the cel-

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\*\* Bohdan Antonych, *Square of Angels: Selected Poems*, translated by Mark Rudman and Paul Nemser with Bohdan Boychuk (Ann Arbor, 1977). Reviewed in the fall 1977 issue of this journal by Oleh Illytskyj, pp. 125-30. — Ed.

lular palette, but that green is the expression of forces that are interior. And just as the essence of grass can be distinguished from "green" by her light, so the Poet's similarly veiled essence can be found beneath the lunar incantation of his language.

Rimbaud called it "alchemy" and thought it was poetically obtained by storming the bastions of the interior with a conscious derangement of the senses. He thereby became the inventor of the colour of vowels. Antonych felt it was more like "taking dictation." Both poets could "hear" their images, but where Rimbaud ran off in pursuit of his *dereglement de tous les sens*, Antonych sat at his window like the monitor of men's dreams:

Stars fall on the heads of burghers like leaves.  
Doubled over with bellyaches, the glutton mob drifts off to sleep.

Or, elsewhere, tenderly:

Again we dream the dream of history.  
Days perch on huts, spread wings of wind.  
And cradles creak: Sleep, my son...

Antonych, the poet, is still. He is the alembic in which words are distilled in the moon's light to make quicksilver: "I hewed a poem from silver."

If moonlight is silver, so is the mirror in which we see reflections. And if the poem is a mirror giving us back the reflected images of our dreams, it is also the matrix through which we penetrate those reflections. Transparency is silver.

In the alchemical marriage of surface and transparency, the poem has become that mysterious system where power is founded on the Word at the heart of creation, a logos. Antonych says:

Night falls like a cloak from Christ's shoulders.  
Light pours from heaven's pierced side.

The word distilled in silver. Silver is Jesusblood. The word becomes witness to what men can't see behind the controls of their logic. The injunction to love thine enemy is evident only in this bloodlight. It is one of those subcutaneous revelations that compose what Joyce called "the uncreated conscience of the race."

Hammered to the cross of earth, heaven sighs;  
stigmata of light shine on my palm.

Here Antonych is a literary St. Francis, palms turned up; light flows between the heavenly stigmata and the moons on his open hands. It is the stream of intelligence beneath surfaces flowing through time and worlds that are simultaneous, consubstantial.

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I understand you, plants and animals,  
I hear the noise of comets and the growth of grass.  
Antonych is a curly sad animal too.

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In the title poem of the collection, "Square of Angels," Antonych describes a situation that might stand as the key signature to his music.

There's a marble statue of a tenor in a theater square. This statue has been singing soundless arias to the stars for over two hundred years. Its vibrato has undulated in the romantic fantasies of generations of shop girls on their way home from work.

The city's host, the lion who guards the arsenal,  
stretches and pads through the desert of squares.  
The heroes sleep. Songs swell in whorehouses,  
and the rain rings out freedom on the prison roof.

On the square of copper angels,  
when twilight spills red ink,  
the historian, anchored to a pedestal,  
dips his quill into the inkwell.

Hidden meanings are sleeping heroes, like sounds in objects. Anchored to his twilight perceptions, the historian will understand none of this but will become himself a part of this mummers' parade, probably bringing up the rear behind the stone lion. Antonych gives us the whole show, provides us with a shot of the square like a time exposure of a flower blooming. He synchronizes the lunar light of the world with his reflective subconscious until we can't help but hear his persona: the statue of the marble tenor.

When Keats spoke of "unheard music," dimly perceiving it in his greatest sonnets, he questioned the figures on a Grecian urn, who answered him with a non sequitur about "beauty" and "truth" as the poet yearned for powers surpassing those of the nightingale. Antonych the poet stands like his alter ego, the stone statue, under the stars attending the unheard music of objects and events around him. It is secreted in whorehouses, sundered by rain on prison roofs. He plays these back at us in his own song until we also hear the unheard. He makes us hear his images!

This kind of synaesthesia is Antonych's specialty. Although Rimbaud sought it in his attempt to make the poem "accessible to all the senses," no one does it quite as effortlessly as this Ukrainian poet. Antonych can give us the vowel in the colour so that, hardly knowing it, we are looking at grass and hearing whole fields of green. He gives us shapes, the laws that govern physical properties, like notes and timbres. He is capable of



making us hear a lost penny on the pavement scream along the amplified silence of our nerves.

There are moments when his music is almost improvisational, almost jazz worthy of Coltrane, who spoke in terms of "sheets of sound."

In the poem "Concert From Mercury," for example, Antonych plays us almonds blossoming, "a weed patch of roofs with singing herbs, copper bush of antennae," "lovers twining their limbs like hopvines," "a star in his wallet," "a redhead in bed, wet roses," a "dusty feather quilt," a soul gone bad "silvered with mould."

What ears he has. They're enormous. Larger and more sensitive than Vladimir Horowitz's! Antonych with his incredible ears sits in front of the Radio of Creation as the Nocturnal Broadcaster spins a "disk of moon on the gramophone of night." He can even hear "silverfish grinding at the books." His own, no doubt, among them.

## 2

In early September at MacDowell Colony, a retreat for artists in New Hampshire, the Ukrainian painter-engraver Jacques Hnizdovsky handed me this thin volume of Antonych's poetry. As I read in the privacy of my studio, I was stunned by the poet's psychological magnitude, his metaphysical intimacy, and wondered why I hadn't read him before.

Certainly the works of those who write in any of the Slavic languages are slower coming into English than those of Western Europe and Latin America. But slowly they are coming. Stanley Kunitz has made us privy to Anna Akhmatova. Mandelshtam drips into the American idiom like water from a leaky faucet. As far back as 1962, Anselm Hollo, in his fine anthology *Red Cats*, gave us a sampling of Kirsanov, Voznesensky, and Yevtushenko. We've all heard of Pasternak. Yet, why does the poetic intelligence of Eastern Europe remain largely undisclosed when it contains such poets as Antonych?

But now we have *Square of Angels* and can savour him. This is the important thing, and makes the few comments I'd like to make on the present translation somewhat carping.

There is a style in contemporary poetry, a poetic, that derives from the increased activity in translating modern writing. The style I'm referring to is one in which images are placed on the page at the expense of the sinuous quality of language itself. While the language in the present translation doesn't suffer from this in the extreme, there may be a tendency to elevate the image above the music of the language.

The images in *Square of Angels* are sharply drawn and maintain a keen architectural tension. There is a certain stiffness in the lines, but the cost of translation can run much higher than it does here. I feel that, while effective attention was paid to forging an authentic superstructure,

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other things were overlooked. There are times when an economy of words might have sped the flow, an ear for the colloquial spiced it.

In the title poem, for example, the article "the" might have been removed before the nouns "heroes" and "rain" in the third and fourth lines of the third quatrain to read: "Heroes sleep" and "rain rings down." Mary's palm is easier on my ear than "the palm of Mary"; dawn's burdock leaf more evocative than "the burdock leaf of dawn." Perhaps it's just my penchant for the spoken language that makes me prefer the synaesthetic effect of the telephone as a sound-flower than a "flower of sound." But I don't think so. It's stronger that way.

But these are, as I said, carping comments, and I do not mean to draw attention from the fact that Rudman, Nemser, and Boychuk have captured the exquisite, complicated idiom of Bohdan Ihor Antonych to the extent that I was able to hear with his eyes, to see with his ears. Like Degas before the work of Mary Cassat, I was able to whisper, "Ah, at last, someone who feels as I do."

And this, I believe, is the heart of the matter.

Paul Pines

## THESES AND DISSERTATIONS ON UKRAINIAN CANADIANS: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

*The following bibliography includes all known Ph.D. dissertations, Masters' theses, and degree-required essays at the Bachelor level written on Ukrainian-Canadian topics at Canadian, American, and European universities. With minor exceptions, all Canadian Masters' and Ph.D. theses have been confirmed in the annual publication, Canadian Theses (to 1971), or in the monthly Canadiana after 1970. The former list is complete except for approximately forty titles still to be checked for possible relevance to Ukrainian Canadians. As Canadiana publishes thesis titles only as they are microfilmed for the National Library (and a substantial backlog exists), some theses written in this decade might be omitted. A few theses have been verified in Dissertation Abstracts International by the author or by the university of origin. The remaining titles, primarily Ph.D. dissertations from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and B.A. essays, were extracted from two sources: a private card catalogue by Alexander Gregorovich made available to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; and three checklists by Alexander Malycky, "University Research on Ukrainian-Canadians," in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin (Vol. 1, No. 1, 1969; Vol. 2, No. 1, 1970; and Vol. 5, Nos. 1-2, 1973). I have not been able to verify these latter titles for completion, relevance, or, in the case of B.A. essays, existence as proper "mini-theses" and not ordinary term papers. Sources for all titles not appearing in Canadian Theses or Canadiana have been cited.*

*The bibliography is divided into two sections: (1) humanities and social sciences, and (2) language, literature, and linguistics. Within each, theses are arranged alphabetically by author, followed by title (with translation where necessary), degree, university, year, and number of pages, etc. A brief description of the thesis, an author's purpose, summary of findings, and relevance to Ukrainian Canadians follows. Evaluation is kept to a minimum. While most of the theses were read at one time or another, some are unavailable through interlibrary loan. Where possible, I have relied on their respective abstracts for their contents and conclusions. Please allow for any inadequacies. A final section lists a handful of theses that have appeared in earlier bibliographies but, on checking, were found to be irrelevant or to have never been completed or accepted.*

*As those titles pulled for possible relevance are checked, new theses completed, or others brought to light (particularly at the B.A. level, as they are little known outside the department of origin and do not appear in published sources), this bibliography will be updated. The Institute would appreciate the cooperation of its associates and Journal readers in bringing to our attention additional titles with only marginal relevance*

*to Ukrainian Canadians, B.A. essays, theses written outside Canada, and theses in progress. Bibliographies such as this not only indicate the scope and evolution of university research on Ukrainian Canadians, but also keep those interested abreast of current directions and activity.*

## Social Sciences and Humanities

ANDERSON, Alan Betts. "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan: A Comparative Study of Identity Change among Seven Ethno-Religious Groups in a Canadian Prairie Region." Ph.D., Saskatchewan, 1977, XVIII + 395 pp., tables, maps.

Anderson examined assimilation among French, German Catholic, Mennonite, Hutterite, Ukrainian-Polish, Doukhobor, and Scandinavian groups in eighteen identifiable bloc settlements in Saskatchewan. For the Ukrainian-Polish settlements, he compared the responses of Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox, and Polish Catholic subgroups regarding identity preservation, retention and use of mother tongue, regular church attendance, and practice of unique customs. For each subgroup, age, generation, occupation, and education were equated with attitudes toward group preservation.

AVERY, Donald H. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective." Ph.D., Western Ontario, 1973, [no data available].

[Unavailable for comment]

BASSA, Philip. "Ukrainian Musical Culture in Canada." M.A., Montreal, 1955, [no data available].

Traditional Ukrainian folksongs introduced by the first immigrants, their inspiration to later composers, the appearance of rudimentary choirs, the arrival and output of artists, musicians, and conductors after both world wars, and the emergence of vocalists and musicians of note among Ukrainian Canadians themselves received attention. The overriding contention was that their work not only enriched and revived Ukrainian music in Canada, but also contributed significantly to Canadian culture in general.

BAYLEY, Charles M. "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-37." M.A., McGill, 1939, V + 292 pp., tables, maps, appendices.

Relying on extensive interviewing and attendance at ethnic events for his information on the social structure of the Ukrainian community in Montreal, Bayley examined residential settlements, patterns, and changes; the family unit; neighborhood and institutional life; and entertainment patterns. He concluded that immigrants arriving haphazardly had converged to fashion an identifiable community life, visible and satisfying, that would, nevertheless, inevitably undergo structural change.



BEAUJOT, Roderic Paul. "Ethnic Fertility Differentials in Edmonton." Ph.D., Alberta, 1975, XV + 271 pp., tables, appendices.

From data contained in a Growth of Alberta Families Study conducted among 1045 women between November 1973 and February 1974, Beaujot sought to determine the existence and scope of fertility differentials among British, German, French, Irish, other West European, Ukrainian, other East European, and other females in Edmonton. He found ethnic fertility differentials to exist, to resist assimilative processes, and to persist despite background and economic variables (which influenced all groups equally). There is considerable specific and comparative information on the Ukrainian sample.

BELANGER, Louis-Eugene. "Le status canonique des ukrainiens catholiques du rit ruthene au Canada." Ph.D., Laval, 1945, [no data available]. (Source: Malycky, 1969, p. 74.)

Responding to papal directives for studying the Eastern rite in Canada, Belanger focused on canonical and everyday problems of Latin priests in administering to Ukrainian Catholics in their parishes. He also discussed the Ukrainian rite and history in some detail.

BERCUSON, Leonard. "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada." M.A., McGill, 1941, V + 270 pp., maps, illus.

Bercuson analyzed the history, location, and characteristics of the different ethnic blocs in Western Canada, their role in the bilingual schools controversy, the pedagogical and psychological aspects of bilingualism, and the psychology of assimilation as a prelude to examining the role of education in achieving a "new Canadian mentality" among the foreign-born. Although having personal acquaintance with only the Ukrainian colony at Vegreville, Bercuson contended that, while rates might vary, assimilation would triumph in all the ethnic blocs.

BILASH, Borislaw Nicholas. "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916." M.Ed., Manitoba, 1960, V + 130 pp., tables, maps, appendices.

Bilash investigated the role of French, German, Polish, and Ukrainian bilingual public schools in the education of non-English children in Manitoba from the close of the nineteenth century to their abolition in 1916. His discussion included the historical background to the establishment of the bilingual schools, Department reactions to those operated by different ethnic groups, the Ruthenian Training School, the politics of their abolition, and his own quite sympathetic evaluation of the system.

BINNS, Margaret Alice. "Cultural Pluralism in Canada: An Exploratory Study of the Italians and Ukrainians in London, Ontario." M.A., Western Ontario, 1971, XI + 106 pp., illus., tables, appendices.

From a case study of Italians and Ukrainians in London, Ontario, Binns proposed to test the assumption that ethnic groups exist and to determine the characteristics of those inclined to retain their culture. She concluded that both Italians and Ukrainians formed viable ethnic groups, the former being more "kin" and the latter more "kind" oriented. Her hypothesis that "the lower the socio-economic status the higher the ethnicity" was not borne out.

BOROWYK, Mykhailo. "Ukrainska presa v skhidnii Kanadi." ("Ukrainian Press in Eastern Canada.") M.A., Ottawa, 1960, V + 179 pp., English summary.

Borowyk examined the influence, characteristics, and ideological orientation of Ukrainian publications in eastern Canada from 1915 to 1960, including also a section on the beginnings of the Ukrainian press in western Canada. He saw the value of the Ukrainian-Canadian press in its recording of Ukrainian thought, preservation of Ukrainian culture, encouragement of participation in Canadian life, and furthering of cultural and economic goals.

BOROWYK, Mykhailo. "Ukrainci Kanady ta ikhnia presa." ("Ukrainian Canadians and Their Press.") Ph.D., Ukrainian Free University, 1969. 540 pp. (Source: Malycky, 1970, p. 193.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

BOUDREAU, Joseph Amedee. "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-21." Ph.D., California, Los Angeles, 1965, V + 213 pp., illus. (Source: *Dissertation Abstracts International*.)

Boudreau examined the interrelationship of World War I, Canadian federal and provincial politics, public opinion, and enemy aliens from the German and Austrian Empires, focusing on the Germans and Ukrainians as the two peoples most affected by hostilities. Although there is less direct reference to the Ukrainian case, the thesis is important for its study of Liberal and Conservative attitudes and actions regarding major Canadian issues (internment camps, war-time franchise, conscription, Union Government) as they took the enemy alien into consideration.

BRYANS, David Garth. "Education and Acculturation: The School in a Multicultural Setting." Ph.D., Alberta, 1971, XII + 257 pp., tables, appendices.

From administering Kluckhohn's interview schedule regarding value orientations to secondary students and parents in the Lac la Biche School Division, Alberta, Bryans sought to determine if cultural differences existed among adults of French, Ukrainian, Lebanese, Metis, and Treaty Cree backgrounds, and between parents and students in each group. Numerically dominant, the French and Ukrainians were considered the norm for the area and revealed few differences in their value orientations. Bryans found sufficient differences among other adult groups, and between adults and students of

the French, Lebanese, and Treaty Cree groups to indicate cultural distinctiveness.

BYERS, Judith Nancy. "Ethnic Stratification and Mobility in Canada." M.A., York, 1972, XIV + 268 pp., tables, appendices.

Byers utilized various published and unpublished census data "to determine how various factors conditioned the influence of ethnic origin on proportional representation in broad economic strata, defined in terms of occupational status and earned income in 1961." Her findings suggested that occupational status and social mobility in Canada depend as much on knowledge of English, religious affiliation, place of residence, and education as on ethnicity alone. There is considerable data on the Ukrainians.

BYRNE, Timothy C. "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta." M.A., Alberta, 1937, 100 pp.

Convinced of the necessity of assimilating Ukrainians, particularly in light of their nationalism, Byrne emphasized the urgency of the issue by stressing "non-Canadian" forces he saw operating in the Ukrainian bloc east of Edmonton. Although focusing on the religious and national-political divisions in this colony and their dominance in different centers, Byrne also examined its geographical limits, settlement, agricultural development, and composition by province (Galicia or Bukovina) of origin.

CIPYWNYK, Sonia Violet. "Educational Implications of Ukrainian-English Childhood Bilingualism in Saskatchewan." M.Ed., Saskatchewan, 1967, VI + 402 pp., tables.

Cipywnyk undertook to describe the Ukrainian-English bilingual situation in Saskatchewan, emphasizing factors affecting educational policy and practice and assessing its advantages and disadvantages. She also evaluated existing literature for guidelines to determining the needs of Ukrainian-speaking students in Saskatchewan and proposed research projects to furnish data for concrete proposals regarding attitudes, policies, and procedures.

CLARKE, E. M. L. "Ethnicity in Recreation-Geography." M.A., research paper, York, 1974, [no data available]. (Source: Gregorovich.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

COTE, Alphonse-Marie. "Transplantation humaine; une enquete sociologique sur une agglomeration polono-ukrainienne dans un secteur de la ville de Montreal en 1947-1948." M.A., Montreal, 1948, [no data available.]

[Thesis missing, University of Montreal Library.]

DEVERELL, Jessie Marion. "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation." M.A., Toronto, 1941, 114 pp., illus., maps, tables.

Deverell examined the positive and negative effects of Ukrainian teachers on the assimilation of Alberta Ukrainians. She noted that

they retarded the learning of standard English and were less able than Anglo-Saxon teachers to imbue their students with Canadian ideals. On the other hand, they had closer ties with adult Ukrainians, were more successful in persuading their people to adopt new ways, preserved harmless elements of Ukrainian culture, acted as mediators with the outside world, and elevated the status of their group when working in non-Ukrainian districts.

DOIRON, Brother Aloysius. "The Byzantine-Slavonic Rite in Canada." M.A., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1957, 69 pp. (Source: Malycky, 1973, p. 271.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

EMANUEL, Lydia. "Attitudes Towards Identity in a Ukrainian Orthodox Parish." M.A., Alberta, 1975, IX + 181 pp., tables, appendices.

Emanuel examined both qualitative and quantitative aspects of Ukrainian-Canadian identity exhibited among three generations (post-1945 immigrants, their children and Canadian-born adults, and the latter's children) involved in Saturday school in a Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Edmonton. She concluded that assimilation was not imminent in that particular parish. The key to survival lay with the third generation, where conscious efforts were being made to teach them Ukrainian.

EMERY, George N. "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914: Dynamics of an Institution in a New Environment." Ph.D., British Columbia, 1970, V + 449 pp.

The expansion of Canadian Methodism into the prairies during the period of their greatest immigration and settlement, its characteristics and mentality, the changes it underwent, and its limited success constituted the focal points of Emery's thesis. Within this framework, Methodist missions established to convert European immigrants, notably the Ukrainians, and their small impact were discussed.

FOSTER, Matthew James. "Ethnic Settlement in the Barton Street Region of Hamilton, 1921 to 1961." M.A., McMaster, 1965, XIII + 236 pp., maps, diagrams, tables, plates, appendices.

Utilizing data from the census returns of 1921, 1941, and 1961, Foster examined the Barton Street region of Hamilton, Ontario, the most ethnically diverse section of the city. For each census year he analyzed residential distribution for individual ethnic groups, the number and types of their services and institutions, and their visible impact on the landscape. The area was also divided into regions and subregions of ethnicity and examined for changes. There is considerable information on the Ukrainian community for the periods and regions discussed.

FROMSON, Ronald David. "Acculturation or Assimilation: A Geographical Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups:



Metropolitan Winnipeg, 1951-61." M.A., Manitoba, 1962, XIII + 168 pp., tables, maps, appendices. (Source: University of Manitoba.)

Fromson focused on the Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish, German, and British communities in metropolitan Winnipeg to determine the existence and degree of residential segregation, and changes in their respective distributions between 1951 and 1961. He concluded that, if residential segregation (which existed and showed remarkable stability) indicated the degree of assimilation of ethnic groups, assimilation in Winnipeg had not equalled acculturation. His findings on the Ukrainians pointed to high residential segregation in the North End and no change in the general pattern over the ten years.

HARASYM, Caroline Rose. "Cultural Orientation of Rural Ukrainian High School Students." M.Ed., Calgary, 1969, IX + 128 pp., tables, figures, appendices.

Harasym's study "examined semantic space, cultural orientation and attitudinal dimensions among rural Ukrainian high school students by means of factor analysis." She found the semantic differential scales to favour evaluative space over dynamism and activity, Canadian orientation more dominant than Ukrainian, and greater bias and social concern among students with non-Ukrainian fathers than with Ukrainian fathers.

HIRITSCH, Basil. "The Development of Ukrainian Theatre and its Role in Canada." (Text in Ukrainian.) M.A., Montreal, 1962, [no data available].

Recognizing theatre's special significance for stateless or enslaved peoples and for immigrants, Hiritsch examined the evolution of Ukrainian theatre in both the homeland and Canada. He sought to cover a neglected area in attempting to synthesize its historical development.

HOLYK, P. "Invasion Succession in the Alexandra Park-Kensington District of Toronto." B.A., York, 1968, [no data available]. (Source: Gregorovich.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

HOPKINSON, Michael Francis. "An Investigation into the Reasons for and Characteristics of Population Change in the Area South of Riding Mountain Between 1941-61." M.A., Manitoba, 1969, VI + 100 pp., maps, tables, photos, figures, appendices.

Hopkinson's study took into account correlations between population increase or decrease and soil type, farm size, urban centers, employment, place of residence, period of settlement, and ethnic groups. Even on poorer land, East Europeans (largely Ukrainians) revealed greater staying power than did British groups. Hopkinson foresaw continued out-migration from the area with, however, a levelling-off once a man-resource balance was achieved.

HRYSMAK-WYNNYCKY, N. A. "Les églises ukrainiennes a Montreal." (Text in Ukrainian). M.A., Montreal, 1964, [no data available].

Hrymak-Wynnycky discussed Ukrainian religious history in Montreal from its beginnings to 1963, focusing on the development of the dominant Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches, but also noting the existence of small numbers of United, Baptist, and Pentecostal adherents.

ISIDORE, Brother. (F.S.C.) "The Ukrainian Catholic Press in Canada: Its Beginnings, Aims, Contributions, Problems, and Role." M.A., Ottawa, 1959, VII + 126 pp.

Emphasizing the cultural and religious aspects of its development rather than the technical and historical, Isidore's discussion of the Ukrainian Catholic press in Canada demonstrated well the significance of the ethnic press to an immigrant group. In addition to examining the origins, aims, and fate of individual publications, he noted the informational/educational role and ideological influence of the press, as well as the problems facing its survival.

JARMUS, Stepan. "The Problem of Pastoral Calling: A Study of Religious Attitudes and Vocational Responses." S.T.M., St. Andrew's College, Manitoba, 1977, [no data available]. (Source: St. Andrew's College.)

This internal study from a Ukrainian Orthodox theological college looked at the nature and problems of pastoral calling, factors influencing the decision to adopt or reject a religious life, one's preparations, doubts, and temptations, and the actual ordained ministry.

JAWORSKY, Stephen Jaroslav. "Newspapers and Periodicals of Slavic Groups in Canada during the Period of 1965-69: An Annotated Bibliography." M.A., Ottawa, 1971, IX + 123 pp., appendices.

For each Slavic group, a general description of its newspapers and periodicals (published in Canada or abroad) was accompanied by a discussion of the ideological stance and other particulars of specific publications, an attempt to evaluate the more significant ones, and considerable statistical data. Jaworsky also reviewed the role, problems, "ideological mission," and future of the Slavic press in Canada.

KAZYMYRA, Bohdan. "Die Anfaenge der Katholischen Ukrainischen Hierarchie in Kanada." Ph.D., Vienna, 1954, [no data available]. (Source: Malycky, 1969, p. 74.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

KELEBAY, Yarema Gregory. "The Ukrainian Community in Montreal." M.A., Concordia, 1975, III + 109 pp., maps, illus.

Kelebay applied Louis Hertz's "theory of colonial history" to the Ukrainian community in Montreal. Interaction among the various Ukrainian groups coming to Montreal between 1904 and 1967 and their different European "intellectual baggage" have characterized community development: Kelebay focused on those institutions distinguishing its post-1947 growth.

KING, Mona S. "Aspects of Post-War Migration to Edmonton, Alberta." M.A., Alberta, 1971, VIII + 169 pp., tables, figures, appendices.

King's study to identify patterns of postwar migration to Edmonton and resultant distinctive socioeconomic groups focused primarily on distinctions between Canadian migrants and foreign immigrants. Differentials analyzed were place of birth, sex, marital status, age, residence, education, occupation, and family size. While only infrequently referring directly to Ukrainians, and in spite of the small numbers of Ukrainians involved, King's findings are useful if the general characteristics attributed to post-1945 immigrants to Edmonton are also true in the Ukrainian case.

KLYMASZ, Robert B. "Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition." Ph.D., Indiana, 1971, IV + 324 pp., illus., maps.

Klymasz examined changes undergone in the Ukrainian folklore brought to Canada (initial resistance, breakdown, and final adjustment), describing the attendant processes, trends, and mechanisms, and analyzed signs of adaptation and continuity. He noted a decline in the oral tradition, a corresponding increase in non-verbal elements, and transition to an ethnic folklore complex equipped for the modern world.

LESTER, Geoffrey A. "The Distribution of Religious Groups in Alberta." M.A., Alberta, 1966, XI + 150 pp., maps, graphs.

Lester's geographical study of religious areal patterns in Alberta indicated the location and strength of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox faiths, as well as providing some historical context for them.

LISHCHYNSKY, Andrew. "Preosviashchenyi Kyr Nykyta Budka i ukrainska emigratsiia v Kanadi, 1912-1929." ("Bishop Nicetas Budka and the Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada 1912-1929.") M.A., Ottawa, 1955, VIII + 113 pp., tables, appendices, abstract in English.

This sympathetic examination of Ukrainian Catholic organizational and cultural developments in Canada under Bishop Budka also dealt with Ukrainian immigration, early missionary endeavours, relationships with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and Budka's biography and character. It focused on the bishop's achievements, made in spite of obstacles erected by "heretics and schismatics."

MACKIE, Marlene Marie. "The Accuracy of Folk Knowledge Concerning Alberta Indians, Hutterites, and Ukrainians: An Available Data Stereotype Validation Technique." Ph.D., Alberta, 1971, XVIII + 493 pp., illus.

To measure the accuracy of Alberta Indian, Hutterite, and Ukrainian stereotypes, Mackie administered a modified semantic differential and open-ended questionnaire to a random group, comparing the results with information in public records and available studies. She

found most stereotype traits to be accurate, a positive relationship to exist between education and stereotyping, and extreme views not to increase with distance from an ethnic group.

MAMCHUR, Stephen W. "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada with Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal." M.A., McGill, 1934, XIX + 302 pp., tables, maps, appendices.

Through a case study of Ukrainians in Montreal, Mamchur tested the hypothesis that the degree of adjustment and participation of an immigrant group in Canadian life was determined by its occupational and spatial segregation. He analyzed the degree and type of segregation of Montreal Ukrainians as well as successive stages in their areal and occupational distribution.

MANNERS, E. "The Impact of Ukrainian Settlement in Sudbury: A Case Study." B.A., Laurentian, 1971, [no data available]. (Source: Malycky, 1973, p. 272.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

MCALLISTER, John W. "The Rural School as a Community Centre: A Discussion Dealing with the Problem of the Assimilation of New Canadians in Western Canada." M.Sc., Alberta, 1925, III + 70 pp., illus., diagram.

McAllister's thesis was his personal record of how he, as a teacher, transformed the multiethnic Angle Lake School in north-eastern Alberta into the center of educational, social, and recreational activities for the entire community. Although there is little reference to specific groups, Ukrainians constituted one-half of the district population, and the school straddled the border between the Ukrainian colony to the west and English settlement to the east.

MCVICAR, Rosemary Anne. "Children's Concepts of Ethnic Groups." M.Ed., Alberta, 1973, XVII + 214 pp., figures, appendices.

Administering an open questionnaire and semantic differential of twelve sets of adjective pairs to a sample group of children in grades IV to VIII, McVicar found that children do hold specific concepts of ethnic groups and that these vary with grade. Concepts of Ukrainians underwent the greatest changes with grade level, moving towards more negative traits.

MELEG, Milan S. "Italian and Ukrainian University Students' Views of Occupations in Canada: A Study of the Relationship between Ethnicity and Occupational Prestige." M.A., Windsor, 1968, 66 pp., tables, appendices.

This case study to determine if a relationship existed between ethnicity and occupational ranking found no significant differences in ranking between the Italian and Ukrainian groups. Meleg concluded that, while class and age did, ethnicity did not influence occupational ranking.



MELNYK, John Alexander. "A Typology of Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore." (Text partially in Ukrainian). M.A., Manitoba, 1972, VI + 428 pp.

In contrast to studies which have grouped Ukrainian-Canadian folklore according to date and place of origin, Melnyk attempted a classification by content, hoping that this approach would make Ukrainian-Canadian folklore more useful as primary source material.

MIGUS, Paul Michael. "Ukrainian-Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada." M.A., Ottawa, 1975, XVIII + 302 pp. (Source: University of Ottawa.)

Noting the dominant influence of Ukrainian nationalism on the development of Ukrainian-Canadian youth organizations, Migus examined their history from the rudimentary associations prior to 1918, through the Ukrainian roots and Canadian evolution of organizations emerging in the interwar years, to further differentiation after 1945, with a new immigrant wave, and gradual cooperation through national coordinating bodies.

MILNOR, Andrew Johnson. "Agrarian Protest in Saskatchewan, 1929-48: A Study in Ethnic Politics." Ph.D., Duke, 1962, IX + 241 pp., tables, appendices. (Source: *Dissertation Abstracts International*.)

From a demographic breakdown of constituencies and the examination of voting patterns in five Saskatchewan provincial elections, keeping the economic factor constant, Milnor found that ethnicity and religion influenced support for the CCF and Social Credit parties. Those groups traditionally discriminated against especially favoured the two protest parties. It is possible to determine voting behaviour in heavily Ukrainian constituencies, although Milnor tended to view East Europeans collectively.

MOTT, Morris Kenneth. "The Foreign Peril: Nativism in Winnipeg 1916-23." M.A., Manitoba, 1970, V + 125 pp., tables, appendices.

Although Ukrainians are mentioned and characterized, Mott made little direct reference to any one specific ethnic group. The thesis is significant, however, for its discussion of the attitudes, actions, and programs of the dominant Anglo-Saxon community in Winnipeg with respect to "foreigners," of whom the Ukrainians formed a large number.

OLENDER, Vivian. "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation." M.A., Institute of Christian Thought, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1976, II + 146 pp. (Source: Institute of Christian Thought.)

From the knowledge that Ukrainian contact with British Canada created cultural and religious conflict, Olender examined the negative response of the Anglo-Saxon community to the Ukrainians and the

"sanction of the general popular prejudice" by the Methodist Church. Its equation of evangelical Protestantism with the superiority of British-Canadian culture fostered a network of rural home missions from which to assimilate and evangelize Ukrainians in the interests of Canada.

PALMER, Howard. "Responses to Foreign Immigration, Nativism, and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta, 1880-1920." M.A., Alberta, 1971, [VII] + 291 pp. + [XV] pp.

Palmer examined the evolution, directions, and forms of nativist sentiment in Alberta from its beginnings in the 1880s, through intensification with the arrival of large numbers of southern and eastern European peasants after 1896, to the great anti-German and anti-Ukrainian prejudice of World War I and intolerance of all "foreigners" immediately after. The several minority groups are treated individually; Ukrainians are among those discussed.

PANCHUK, Gordon R. B. "Canadian Ukrainians in Seven Decades of Canadian History." M.A., Montreal, 1959, [no data available].

Panchuk attempted to give a panoramic overview of Ukrainian-Canadian development within the scope of general Canadian history.

PELENSKY, Nadia. "Residential Mobility of Ukrainian Immigrants." B.A., York, 1976, [no data available]. (Source: Gregorovich.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

PENNY, Nancy L. "Marriage Patterns in an Ethnic Community in Rural Manitoba, 1896-1970." M.A., Manitoba, 1972, III + 105 pp., maps, tables, appendix.

Through analysis of the variables of religion, premarital residence, ethnicity, and age at marriage, Penny examined first marriage patterns between 1896 and 1970 among Poles and Ukrainians in the Tolstoi area of Manitoba. She found that patterns changed considerably, only religious endogamy persisting throughout. By 1970 most marriages were ethnically and geographically exogamous, and age at marriage approached Canada's average.

PINIUTA, Harry. "Cultural Adjustment of the Ukrainians in Manitoba." B.Ed., Manitoba, 1956, II + 75 pp. (Source: the author.)

Within the Manitoban framework and using the Ukrainian example, Piniuta examined the cultural accommodation of immigrants to Canadian society. He looked at Ukrainian culture in its native setting, immigration to Canada, areas of conflict (religion, economics, education, World War I), and gradual economic, political, and social integration, aided by population mobility, intermarriage, and the mass media.

PINIUTA, Harry. "The Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians with Special Reference to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee." M.A., Ottawa, 1952, XXX + 137 pp., tables, appendices.

The central portion of Piniuta's thesis examined the component organizations, and the origins, objectives, structure, and achievements (with respect to both Ukrainians and Canadian society) of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. His approach was more skeletal-narrative than analytical.

PINIUTA, Harry. "Sotsialno-ekonomichniy rozvytok ukraintsiv Kanady, 1891-1971." ("Socioeconomic Development of Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1971." Ph.D., Ukrainian Free University, 1971, VIII + 517 pp. (Source: the author.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

PORTER, Richard P. R. "Vancouver: The Role of Ethnic Origin in Population Distribution." B.A., British Columbia, 1965, 40 pp., illus. (Source: Malycky, 1970, p. 194.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

PUE, Wes. "The Effects of Ethnic Bloc Settlement on Cultural-Areal Patterns in Western Canada: A Case Study." M.A., Regent's Park College, Oxford, 1977, 89 pp., appendices. (Source: the author.)

Through a case study of the County of Lamont #30 east of Edmonton, Pue examined the cultural assimilation of its Ukrainian residents to the dominant western Canadian society. Testing the theory that urbanization and forms of communication foster assimilation, he looked at the influence of local towns, the railways, and Edmonton's recent rapid growth on the Ukrainian bloc; he also sought features distinguishing a Ukrainian culture area.

RADCHUK, Serge. "Ethnic Minorities in Canada and the New Canadian Constitution." Ph.D., Ukrainian Free University, 1975, [no data available]. (Source: *Ukrainske slovo*, December 19, 1976.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

REID, Ernest Harvey. "A Comparative Study of Secondary and Higher Education Interests among the Different Racial Groups of Manitoba." M.Ed., Manitoba, 1938, VIII + 146 pp., tables, appendices.

Taking into consideration unequal opportunities for higher education due to economic and social factors, Reid compared the interest in higher educational institutions shown by Manitoba's various "races." He believed that a group's educational tendencies and aspirations determined its potential activity and influence on the larger society. Ukrainians had the greatest difficulty in developing interest in higher education, plagued as they were historically by "illiteracy, ignorance, and oppression."

SARUK, Alec. "Academic Performance of Students of Ukrainian Descent and the Cultural Orientation of Their Parents." M.Ed., Alberta, 1966, IX + 107 pp., figures, tables, appendices.

Saruk initially postulated that the academic performance of Ukrainian students with parents having an English or bicultural orientation would exceed that of students from Ukrainian-oriented or apathetic

backgrounds. However, on analyzing the results of Alberta grade IX departmental examinations and using data provided by students about their parents, he found no significant differences in academic performance among the students.

SHEWCIW, R. N. "Ukrainians in Northeastern Ontario." B.A., Laurentian, 1972, [no data available]. (Source: Malycky, 1973, p. 273.)  
[Unavailable for comment.]

SKOCZYLAS, Roma. "The Formation of Community in a Migration Situation: A Case Study of Ukrainians in Winnipeg." B.A., Philadelphia, 1966 [?], [no data available]. (Source: Gregorovich.)  
[Unavailable for comment.]

SKWAROK, John. "The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools with Reference to Government, French-Canadian, and Ukrainian Missionary Influences, 1891-1921." M.Ed., Alberta, 1958, XI + 180 pp., appendix.

In his highly sympathetic account, Skwarok focuses on the educational work of the Ukrainian Basilian fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, French Catholic missionaries (directly and supportively), and the Ukrainian teachers among the Ukrainian pioneers. He also looked at the teacher-training schools, the language question, and individual Ukrainian Catholic private educational institutions established in western Canada.

STEFANOW, Marlene. "A Study of Inter-marriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan." M.A., Saskatchewan, 1962, IX + 112 pp., tables, graphs, appendices.

Stefanow's study attempted to determine the degree of assimilation of Saskatchewan Ukrainians by investigating intermarriages between 1951 and 1961. She also examined the choice of marriage partners according to religion, occupation, and area of residence. She concluded that, since exogamy increased in the eleven-year period, Ukrainians in Saskatchewan were losing their group identity and being assimilated to the broader society.

STIBBE, Hugo L. P. "The Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Alberta according to the 1961 Census." M.Sc., Alberta, 1967, IX + 134 pp., maps, tables, appendix.

Through dot maps and Indices of Concentration and Areal Segregation, Stibbe gave numerical expression to an ethnic group's concentration or dispersion in the province and to the comparative clustering of each group. Ukrainians were one group discussed: their distribution pattern and integration as shown by their areal segregation were determined.

SWYRIPA, Frances Ann. "Anglo-Saxon Concepts of the Character and Background of the Ukrainian in Canada." B.A. Honors, Alberta, 1973, 79 pp. (Source: Department of History, University of Alberta.)



Through a survey of contemporary literature written by Anglo-Saxons on the newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants, Swyripa determined the dominant public concepts of the national characteristics and cultural, social, economic, and political background of the Ukrainians now residing in Canada. Viewed collectively, the works progressed from initial superficial definitions, through group traits, traditions, and ways of life, to interest in Ukrainian history proper.

SWYRIPA, Frances Ann. "Ukrainian-Canadian Historiography in the English Language: A Survey." M.A., Alberta, 1976, VII + 221 pp., appendix.

Swyripa's survey was a chronological discussion of individual works, stressing dominant themes, changing emphases, areas of concentration, and an author's point of view or thesis. She found that the literature tended to view the Ukrainians according to the contemporary concept of the role and status of the non-British and non-French elements in Canadian society — Anglo-conformity, assimilation versus the mosaic, multiculturalism.

TROSKY, Odarka S. "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and Its Role in the Field of Education." M.Ed., Manitoba, 1965, VI + 207 pp., appendix.

Against the background of the origins, establishment, internal problems, and eventual stabilization of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, Trosky examined its educational achievements. The Orthodox institutes in Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Toronto; programs and objectives of the various lay organizations, church newspapers, and vernacular schools; and the role of St. Andrew's College were included.

UDOD, Hryhory. "Julian Stechishin: His Life and Work." M.A., Saskatchewan, 1974, VI + 195 pp., appendices. (Source: University of Saskatchewan.)

The first Ukrainian-Canadian biographical thesis, Udod's work was an uncritical panegyric of the Orthodox leader and community activist, making no attempt to analyze the man's intellectual development, philosophy, goals, or activities. Somewhat compromising the definitions of the two latter terms, Udod discussed Stechishin as an organizer, publicist, Ukrainian, Canadian, scholar, and educator.

ULIANA, John. "The East End: A Study in Ethnic Residential Concentration." B.A., Lakehead, 1971, VIII + 106 pp. (Source: Malycky, 1973, p. 273.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

VERYHA, Wasyl. "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Origin and War Activity." M.A., Ottawa, 1967, XXI + 160 pp.

A factual narrative of the steps (hindered by religious and political factionalism) leading to the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, its composition, and activities during World War II,

Veryha's thesis also embraced the concept of the "Third Element" and the Ukrainians' role in it.

VOSSSEN, W. "Ethnological Factors in the Voting of a Saskatchewan Constituency." M.A., Saskatchewan, 1965, III + 179 pp., tables, figures, maps, appendices.

Vossen examined voting patterns in the federal Humboldt-Melfort-Tisdale constituency (economically homogeneous, ethnically and religiously diverse) to discover that ethnicity and religion influenced voting behaviour. He discussed poll results from the 1953, 1957, 1958, 1962, and 1963 general elections according to ethnic and religious dominance in the poll, and compared the voting of ethnic and religious groups to determine their overall preferences and preference changes in successive elections. There is considerable data on Ukrainian (also Orthodox and Greek Catholic) voting patterns.

WALLACE, J. B. "Ethnic Groups in Manitoba: A Study of the Relative Migration Mobility of the Different Ethnic Areas in Manitoba." B.A., Brandon, 1968, 13 pp., map. (Source: Malycky, 1973, p. 273.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

WENSTOB, Murray. "The Work of the Methodist Church among Settlers in Alberta up to 1914 with Special Reference to the Formation of Congregations and Work among the Ukrainian People." B.D., Alberta, 1959, VI + 130 pp. (Source: University of Alberta.)

Favorably disposed toward Methodist Ukrainian mission work in Alberta, Wenstob described the accomplishments of missionaries, medical personnel, and WMS workers at the rural missions of Pakan, Wahstao, and Kolokreeka, in Lamont and Edmonton, and in the mining community at Blairmore. Although considering no outside or independent opinion, Wenstob did evaluate the successes and failures of Methodist activity among Alberta Ukrainians from within his own framework.

WYNNYCKYJ, Iroida Lebid. "Ukrainian Canadian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942." M.A., Waterloo, 1976, X + 145 pp., appendices. (Source: University of Waterloo.)

Wynnyckyj attempted to systematize the over one hundred Ukrainian plays written in Canada to 1942, examining their authorship, genre, setting, and function; annotating their texts; and noting characteristic features. She felt Ukrainian-Canadian drama to be a "potent mirror of the attitudes, social concerns, and spiritual values of the community."

YUZYK, Paul. "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada." M.A., Saskatchewan, 1948, VI + 250 pp., appendices.

The first serious and documented study of the growth of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, Yuzyk's thesis was

basically a factual, chronological narration of its development, structure, consolidation, and activities in the Canadian environment. He also discussed the Church's European background and problems facing its survival in Canada.

YUZYK, Paul. "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-51)." Ph.D., Minnesota, 1958, VIII + 334 pp. (Source: *Dissertation Abstracts International*.)

Also a pioneer work on the rise of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada under the emerging nationalistic petty intelligentsia, its problems in obtaining recognition from the Orthodox world, internal dissension, and eventual stabilization, this thesis too was largely a factual and chronological account. Considerable attention was paid to Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Europe and to the influence of European and American events on Canadian developments.

ZBOROWSKY, Walter I. "Ukrainian Culture: A Study of Ukrainian Cultural Patterns and Their Implications in the Social Casework Process." M.S.W., Ottawa, 1955, 69 pp. (Some confusion exists — the thesis is not listed in *Canadian Theses* and the University of Ottawa, 1977, denied its existence; however, it was borrowed from that university by the compiler in 1974/75.)

Zborowsky argued that a knowledge of Ukrainian cultural patterns, because one's cultural training limited the ways at one's disposal to solve problems, would aid the social case worker. He utilized three case studies to demonstrate the validity of his argument.

ZUK, Michael. "The Ukrainian Protestant Missions in Canada." S.T.M., McGill, 1957, V + 89 pp.

Generally superficial and skeletal, Zuk's thesis was limited to Presbyterian activity among the Ukrainians — the Independent Greek Church, medical missions, and the Insinger experiment — carrying his discussion into the United Church era at time of writing. While noting the besetting problems and overall failure of the Presbyterian missions, Zuk was sympathetic to their efforts.

## Language, Literature, and Linguistics

BILASH, Borislaw Nicholas. "Kanadyzmy ta ikh stylistychni funktsii v movi ukrainsko-kanadskykh pysmennykiv." ("Canadianisms and Their Stylistic Functions in the Language of Ukrainian-Canadian Writers.") Ph.D., Ukrainian Free University, 1965, [no data available]. Source: Malycky, 1969, p. 74.)

[Unavailable for comment.]

KLYMASZ, Robert B. "Canadianization of Slavic Surnames: A Study in Language Contact." M.A., Manitoba, 1960, XI + 160 pp., appendices.

Extracting two thousand official Slavic surname changes from the *Manitoba Gazette*, Klymasz examined them for linguistic trends and the retention of Ukrainian elements and provided a typological classification. He found that the vast majority of surname changes were made to conform to either English pronunciation or spelling or both and not to hide Slavic origin.

KOSHELANYK, Andrew. "Colloquial Canadianisms of Manitoba Ukrainians." M.A., Manitoba, 1973, XVI + 831 pp., illus., maps.

The major portion of Koshelanyk's thesis was a 664-page dictionary (alphabetical transliteration, gender, English and Ukrainian meanings, context in which recorded, English translation of context, source, and semantic classification) of Canadianisms found in spoken Ukrainian in Manitoba. The text outlined the evolution of Canadianisms and reasons for their incorporation into the Ukrainian language.

KUBRAKOVICH, Benjamin. "Place of Residence, Lingual Contact and Parental Education as Factors Affecting the Learning of Ukrainian in Grades IX and X in Manitoba Schools." M. Ed., Manitoba, 1974, VII + 136 pp., tables, graphs, appendices.

Kubrakovich found that neither urban or rural residence nor level of parental education made any significant difference on student motivation or attitudes toward learning Ukrainian. However, students with greater lingual contact exhibited more positive attitudes and greater ease in learning Ukrainian.

LEWYCKYJ, Jurij-Myroslav. "Les Canadianismes lexicaux dans la langue des ukrainiens de Montreal." (Text in Ukrainian.) Ph.D., Montreal, 1961, XXVI + 203 pp., tables, French summary.

Discussing the influence of English (and to a much lesser degree French) morphology, syntax, and orthography on Montreal Ukrainian, Lewyckyj examined the types, frequency, and forms of loanwords and derivatives. He included a 652-word dictionary of words he found incorporated into Montreal Ukrainian.

PELEGE, Michael Nicholas. "A Comparative Study of the Teaching of Russian in the United States of America and Ukrainian in Canada." Ph.D., Ukrainian Free University, 1972, VIII + 265 pp. (Source: *Dissertation Abstracts International*.)

Pelege examined both theory and practice in the teaching of Russian in the United States and Ukrainian in Canada, noting changing trends in methodology, comparing problems inherent in different methodologies, and suggesting ways for adapting American practices to teaching Ukrainian in Canada. His information on the Canadian situation came from a study he conducted in 1970.

ROBINSON, Claude Hill. "A Study of the Written Language Errors of 1238 Pupils of Ukrainian Origin." B.Ed., Alberta, 1934, V + 58 pp., tables.



Robinson proposed to ascertain the most frequently recurring types of error in the written English of Ukrainian students and hence provide their teachers with an indication of the points of construction to emphasize. His study was noticeably amateurish and based on no stated or tested standards.

ROYICK, Alexander. "Lexical Borrowings in Alberta Ukrainian." M.A., Alberta, 1965, VII + 118 pp.

Royick focused on English loanwords, both terms imported directly and hybrid derivatives (especially verb forms and diminutive nouns), in the language of immigrant Ukrainians, as well as examining dialectal borrowings from Polish, Russian, Romanian, and Czech — languages encountered in Europe. He also located geographically the various Ukrainian dialects in Alberta.

SHTENDERA, Yevhen. "Roman Ulasa Samchuka *Na tverdii zemli*: krytychnyi rozhliad." ("Ulas Samchuk's novel *Na tverdii zemli*: A Critical Appraisal.") M.A., Alberta, 1973, X + 116 pp., abstract in English.

Shtendera's criticism of Samchuk's first novel set in Canada examined innovative stylistic elements, characterization and artistic structure, plot construction, and the author's theoretical framework. Shtendera also compared *Na tverdii zemli* with Samchuk's other novels.

SKUBA, Michael. "An Analysis of English Errors and Difficulties among Grade Ten Students in the Smoky Lake School Division." M.Ed., Alberta, 1955, VII + 106 pp., tables, [1 fold], appendices.

Through the administration of a standard American English examination, Skuba attempted to determine those aspects of the English language most difficult for Ukrainian students. He concluded that sixty to eighty percent of the Grade X students of Ukrainian origin in the Smoky Lake School Division in Alberta were below the norms for their grade.

SULLIVAN, David Malcolm. "An Investigation of the English Disabilities of Ukrainian and Polish Students in Grades IX, X, XI, and XII of Alberta." M.Ed., Alberta, 1946, 104 pp.

Concerned by their high failure rate in Grade XII English, Sullivan analyzed Grades IX and XII English departmental examinations written by Ukrainian students in Alberta, as well as provincial Vocabulary, Comprehension and Rate Tests for Grades X and XI. He classified those errors peculiar to Ukrainians, concluding that these students entered and left high school handicapped by language, and proposed English specialists for the bloc settlements as a solution.

WOOLLATT, Lorne Hedley. "A Study to Discover any Characteristic Differences in Sentence Structure in the Written English of Saskatchewan Elementary School Pupils Belonging to Different National Groups." M.Ed., Saskatchewan, 1944, VI + 89 pp.

Woollatt examined the types, frequency, and origin of errors in English sentence structure of pupils from English, German, Ukrainian, and French backgrounds. He found that each group made characteristic errors and suggested the adoption of separate approaches in teaching them the English language to remedy the problem.

ZMURKEVYCH, Stephanie. "Ukrainska kanadiiska poeziia: sprobha okhoplennia zmistu." ("Ukrainian-Canadian Poetry: An Attempt to Define Its Content.") Ph.D., Ottawa, 1952, IX + 203 pp.  
[Unavailable for comment.]

### Incompleted Theses

DUBINSKI, Walter. "History of Ukrainians in the Sudbury Basin." M.A., Western Ontario. (See Malycky, 1969, p. 74.)

KUPCHENKO, Volodymyr. "Progress of the Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta in Their First Sixty Years." Ph.D., Ottawa, (See *ibid.*, p. 74.)

STEVENS, R. C. "Western Canadian Immigration in Sir Clifford Sifton's Time." M.A., Western Ontario. (See M. R. Lupul, "Selected Bibliography: The 'School Question' and Canadianization in Western Canada with a Special Section on the Ukrainians, 1870-1970," p. 55, unpublished bibliography, University of Alberta Reference Library.)

WANGENHEIM, Elizabeth. "The Problem of Succession in the Ukrainian Community in Metropolitan Toronto." Ph.D., Toronto, (See Malycky, 1969, p. 75.)

### Theses Relevant to Ukrainian Canadians

FRASER, Arnold W. "Displaced Persons in Canada: A Problem in Re-Education." M.A., McGill, 1950. (See Lupul, p. 50.)

HROMADKA, Vaclav. "Meeting the Needs of Newcomers: A Study of the Feelings of Central European Newcomers to Vancouver Concerning Their Adjustment Problems and Resources." M.S.W., British Columbia, 1954. (See *ibid.*, p. 52.)

LAWLESS, David Joseph. "The Attitudes of Leaders of Ethnic Minority Groups in Vancouver towards the Integration of Their People in Canada." M.A., British Columbia, 1959. (See *ibid.*, p. 53.)

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## REVIEWS

*UKRAINIANS IN AMERICAN AND CANADIAN SOCIETY:  
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF ETHNIC GROUPS.*

Edited by Wsevolod W. Isajiw. Jersey City, N.J.: M. P. Kots Publishing, 1976. 360 pp.

The recent appearance of *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society* breaks new ground in two ways. This book is the first published collection of sociological essays on Ukrainians in North America. Secondly, it marks the reemergence of Ukrainian sociology in the diaspora after a lapse of forty years. Published under the auspices of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the recently created Ukrainian Center for Social Research, the book's appearance is doubly significant when one bears in mind that there are relatively few social scientists writing about Ukrainian ethnic minorities, and that this field is left untouched by sociologists from the Ukrainian S.S.R. For these reasons, the editor is to be complimented for reawakening the sociology of Ukrainian minorities and exposing it to the critical, but life-giving air of current scholarship.

*Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society* consists of sixteen articles — nine in Ukrainian and seven in English. Alternative language resumes are provided at the end of the book. Six articles are devoted to the discussion of Ukrainians in Canada, and four discuss Ukrainians in the United States. There are six articles devoted to the general discussion of Ukrainian sociology and ethnic groups theory. The articles are divided into two basic categories: (1) materials and methods; (2) theories and interpretations.

Wsevolod W. Isajiw introduces the collection with his article, "The Sociological Study of Ukrainian Immigration in the United States and Canada," in which he deals with the methodological and theoretical problems associated with the study of Ukrainian minorities. With respect to the former, Isajiw points to the problems of sample base, the usefulness of replicate studies, and the semantic differences resulting from the use of different language questionnaires. With respect to "substantive" work, Isajiw stresses the need, and offers research guidelines, for compiling descriptive data. Regarding theory, Isajiw expresses the view that the central questions are covered by the following three analytical areas: (1) assimilation, mobility, and the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity; (2) ethnic community structure; and (3) personality and behaviour typologies.

These analytical areas may satisfy the needs of functional analysis; however, they do not exhaust the subject matter. The economy of ethnic groups, ethnic political interests and conflicts (local and international), the role of ideology, and similar questions equally reveal processes which

provide the dynamic of ethnic groups, and they do so without reducing social processes to psychological personality theories.

In "Some Demographic Observations on Ukrainians in Canada," Iwan Tesla presents a descriptive study of marriages, births, and deaths of Ukrainian Canadians from 1925 to 1968. During this period there were 41,587 Ukrainian Catholic and 46,024 Greek Orthodox endogamous marriages. Tesla observes an increase in the rate of intermarriage with the following religious groups (in priority): Roman Catholic, United Church, Ukrainian Orthodox or Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran. Since 1932, there has been a steady increase of births in mixed marriages, an important element contributing to the assimilation of traditional Ukrainian religions.

In "Ukrainians in the United States, a Summary of 1970 U.S. Census Data," Roman A. Cybriwsky examines the mother tongue statistics for Ukrainian Americans. Cybriwsky's study shows that in 1970 there were 249,351 Ukrainian mother-tongue users in the United States, 80 percent of whom live in eight northeastern American states. Persons with Ukrainian mother tongue were most numerous in New York State (52,069), Pennsylvania (49,398), and New Jersey (33,117).

In his article "Data Sources and Problems of Analysis of Ethnic Origin Data," Warren E. Kalbach discusses the concept of "ethnicity" which he considers complex, multidimensional, and open to critical re-evaluation. Kalbach also urges the use of unpublished as well as published census data, but cautions about the problems of comparability because of varying sample size from census to census. Discussing assimilation studies, Kalbach examines the use of language retention, intermarriage, and residential data. In conclusion, Kalbach lists eleven possible research projects using statistics from the 1971 Canadian census.

Wasy Halich attempts to give readers a short history of the experiences of the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants to the United States in his article "The Ukrainian Americans: Early Struggles, Personal and Institutional, 1865-1918." Halich uses an "ideal type" method to give us the typical experience of Ukrainian emigrants as they left Ukraine for a life in the slum sections of American mining towns. Of those experiences, he focuses on the social conflict of the period, much of which revolved around the establishment of ethnic churches. Halich provides current statistics about the Ukrainian, Carpatho-Ruthenian, Russian, and Latin-rite churches which arose from these original disputes. The unavailability of basic research on Ukrainians in the United States predisposes Halich to apply the proverbial middle class "American immigrant success story" to this original Ukrainian population. In the absence of research, a more cautious conclusion to his article may have been more appropriate.

Alan B. Anderson's article "Ukrainian Identity Change in Rural Saskatchewan" is one of the more original contributions in Isajiw's



collection. It is a study of rural bloc settlements in north-central Saskatchewan, focusing on mother tongue, frequency of attendance at ethnic churches, the continued practice of ethnic customs, participation in voluntary ethnic organizations, and attitudes held about intermarriage. Anderson reports the findings of a two-percent sample, representing a population of 12,600 studied during 1968-72. Some of his more important findings are: Over eighty percent of the Eastern-rite Catholic and Orthodox respondents were strongly or generally in favour of preserving their ethnic identity. This figure is very high when compared to the responses of French, German Catholic, Mennonite, Scandinavian, or Doukhobor populations in the prairie bloc settlement. The further away the period of immigration and the younger the generation, the lower is the probability of Ukrainian respondents emphasizing their ethnic identity. However, the majority of the third generation still favoured the maintenance of their identity. Both religion and language maintenance have progressively declined as significant factors for Ukrainian identity. Religious intermarriage continues to be resisted more than ethnic intermarriage, although this too is becoming less significant to the third generation. That Ukrainian identity still has varying degrees of tenacity is evident by the fact that 92.2 percent of Ukrainian Catholic and 86.5 percent of Ukrainian Orthodox respondents continue to frequently make and eat traditional foods, and to produce, wear, or use Ukrainian crafts. In an era of professionally marketed "soul food" and "ethnic art," this would lead one to suggest that, at this level at least, Ukrainian ethnicity is not something which will soon disappear. Anderson includes his questionnaire in his article, thereby making it available for follow-up research.

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw's article "Ethnic Identification and Attitudes of University Students of Ukrainian Background: Findings of a Survey at the University of Alberta" documents the responses of 734 University of Alberta students of Ukrainian origin to a wide range of questions testing seventeen hypotheses. Some of the results indicate that, although 57.8 percent of respondents identified Ukrainian as their mother tongue, in 1967 only 10.3 percent spoke Ukrainian at home. Birthplace was a major element in determining identity. Of respondents born in Canada, 55.6 percent identified themselves as "Canadian," 41.1 percent as "Ukrainian Canadian," while only 3.2 percent considered themselves "Ukrainian." Of those born abroad, only 9.1 percent identified themselves as "Canadian," 75 percent as "Ukrainian Canadian," and 15.9 percent as "Ukrainian." A further result showed that females, as opposed to males, showed a higher degree of identification with the Ukrainian language, culture, and religion. Bociurkiw's study remains the only major sociological study of attitudes of Ukrainian-Canadian university students in western Canada. Replication of this study in other Canadian regions would be useful in determining the universality of Bociurkiw's findings.

Halyna Duda examines the declining student enrollment in Ukrainian schools in the United States during the past ten years in her article "Toward an Assessment of Ethnic Schools 'Ridni Shkoly'." Available data, compiled from a variety of sources, shows that the schools supervised by the Educational Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America are experiencing a severe drop in enrollment. Duda calls for a continuing self-evaluation procedure to recognize the complex problems involved. This procedure would include collection of accurate data on school attendance, social analyses of teaching staff, evaluation of the quality of instruction, appreciation of the changing character of the Ukrainian-American population, and so on. Duda presents three tables enumerating the enrollment in known Ukrainian schools.

Robert B. Klymasz's article "The Ethnic Folk Festival in North America Today" is one of the few anthropological contributions. Klymasz presents a typology of folk festivals: (1) the closed in-group festival; (2) the ethnic folk festival devoted to a single culture but organized for the public at large; and (3) the public festival presenting traditions of more than one ethnic group. In a colourful style, Klymasz examines the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of Canada's National Ukrainian Festival, held annually in Dauphin, Manitoba, as an example of the second type of festival. He gives examples of the anomalies and contradictions which give the Dauphin festival its unique character.

Isajiw begins the section on theories and interpretations with the article "Ethnic Status, the Process of Assimilation, and Ethnic Identification of Ukrainians in North America." Ethnic status is seen by him as a combination of the ethnic group's occupational distribution in relation to other ethnic groups, the group's entrance status, the propagation of ethnic stereotypes in society, the rate of social mobility, and so on. Isajiw compares the urban experience of Ukrainians in the United States with the rural experience of Ukrainians in Canada and uses this to explain many of the differences between Ukrainians in both countries. Isajiw posits a three-step model of social mobility: (1) movement out of agricultural occupations to unskilled industrial occupations; (2) entry into skilled work in commercial and white collar occupations; and (3) a decrease in unskilled occupations and influx into professional occupations, leading finally to an occupational distribution which mirrors society as a whole. Step one is seen as representing the process of acculturation; step two is achieving economic equality; step three is attaining the political rights and influences of the "establishment." Assuming this highly contentious model to be true, Isajiw maintains that Ukrainians in Canada and the United States are now at stage two, that is, in the process of achieving middle-class status. Structural and cultural assimilation are correlated to, although not necessarily determined by, social mobility.

Isajiw leaves the realm of sociology in his concluding remarks, where he sees nationalism wholly in terms of psychological identity (i.e. psy-

*khichne pochuttia* / "psychic sentiments"). Consequently, he perceives the change from nationalism to ethnicity as deviancy (i.e. *nemov by zahublenoiu chastynoiu suspilstva* / "as though it were a lost part of the society."). What is required here, rather than this psychological explanation, is a scientific distinction between "ethnicity" and "nationalism" rooted in social structure and social processes. Such an analysis would present the process of creating an ethnic or a national identity as a correlate of actual social experiences rather than an act of will. Then Isajiw's very insightful remarks about the English language being an instrumental language used solely for communication, rather than a symbolic language marking ethnic allegiance in the Ukrainian case, could be better understood as part of a social context which is a mixture of both ethnic and national realities.

Ihor V. Zielyk's article "Two Types of Ethnic Communities" presents the useful distinction between two ideal types: a "folk community," which is centered around the family, church and mutual aid associations; and the "nationality community," which is marked by formal organizations, more abstract allegiances, and purposeful ideological motivation. This distinction is very useful in contrasting the first and third wave of immigrants to North America. Zielyk contrasts these two waves of immigrants with respect to their internal community structures and the relationship of the community to the society at large. Zielyk asserts that, of the two social formations, the "nationality community" has the greater potential for survival because of its common ideology. This is an interesting hypothesis which ought to be tested historically across rural, preindustrial and urban-industrial societies. The Ukrainians in North America would provide an excellent case study for empirically testing this hypothesis.

In "American Immigrant Groups: Ethnic Identification and the Problem of Generations," the authors Vladimir C. Nahirny and Joshua Fishman reappraise Hansen's hypothesis, which states: "What the son wishes to forget-the grandson wishes to remember." Nahirny and Fishman question the assumption that ethnic identification is qualitatively the same between generations, and that one may measure this identification on a continuous scale. They point out that contemporary definitions of ethnic identity (i.e. a person's use of racial, national, or religious terms to identify himself and, thereby, to relate himself to others) fail to appreciate that pre-World War I immigrants to North America with no awareness of their nationality very often used tangible village geography and local linguistic dialects as the elements of their identity — elements now forgotten by their sons and grandsons, who have a very different conception of their own ethnicity which has been adapted to their own needs and circumstances.

Vasyl Markus, in his article "Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group Within American Society: Problems and Observations," points out that "Ukrai-

nians" are only one of several ethnic groups formed by immigrants who came from Ukraine to the United States — the others are "Russians," of whom sixty to seventy percent are ethnic Ukrainians, Carpatho-Ruthenians, and Lemkos. Markus evaluates the contributions of Ukrainians to American life (which he sees as minimal) and to European-Ukrainian events (which were financially significant). Markus characterizes four ideologies held by Ukrainians in the United States about themselves: (1) Ukrainians in a foreign land; (2) two homelands; (3) Americans of Ukrainian descent; and (4) preservation of Ukrainian ethnicity. In a further discussion, Markus gives a clear explanation of several issues and the social base which allow for the present international cooperation in the Ukrainian diaspora. He stresses the importance of the collective experiences which occurred in the post-World War II Displaced Persons camps. In what is a commentary, rather than an academic article, Markus touches on a broad range of questions which contribute to the understanding of the contemporary Ukrainian community in the United States.

Manoly R. Lupul, in his article "Ukrainian Canadians: Their Precarious Situation Today," examines the response of Ukrainian Canadians to the reemergence of the French-English political debate in Canada during the 1960s. Lupul maintains that the political, social, and cultural influence of Ukrainians as a group is diminishing. He describes the reaction of third generation Ukrainian Canadians when confronted with having to learn French as a second language at a time when many resisted learning their own ethnic language. Rather than relegating ethnic languages to "third" language status, after English and French, Lupul calls for "regional bilingualism" (multiculturalism with a broad linguistic dimension). He argues that improving the climate of support for bilingualism generally, through the creation of various bilingual combinations (e.g. English-Ukrainian), will enhance, rather than hinder, the success of English-French bilingualism outside of Quebec. Consistent with his position, Lupul calls for the establishment of Ukrainian-language kindergartens and the use of Ukrainian as a language of instruction for fifty percent of the school day.

Lupul's article is somewhat dated: the conception of official bilingual districts, which he discusses at length, is obsolete, and the proposal for Ukrainian instruction in the public school system was realized in 1974. Nevertheless, his article contributes to Isajiw's collection in its discussion of contemporary social and political problems of Ukrainians in Canada.

The final two articles are grouped under the title "Review Studies," or, more precisely in Ukrainian, *Ohliad suspilnykh doslidiv na emigratsii* ("Review of Social Research in the Emigration"). Stephan Ripeckyj discusses the development of Ukrainian sociology prior to World War II in his article "The Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Vienna and Ukrainian Institute of Social Studies in Prague." Ripeckyj reviews the history of the participation of Ukrainians in the discipline of sociology. He traces



this lineage from M. Drahomanov (1841-95), the work of the Socio-economic Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1909-12), the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Vienna (1920-24) founded by M. Hrushevsky, and, finally, to the Ukrainian Institute of Social Studies in Prague (1924-32) headed by M. Shapoval. Ripeckyj reminds the readers of the monographs published by both Institutes and of the first Ukrainian sociological journal, *Suspilstvo*, published in Prague from 1925 to 1927.

Illia Vytanovych's article "Ukrainian Sociological and Related Studies Outside Ukraine" is a preliminary survey of the work done by sociologists in the diaspora (Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia) since World War II on Soviet Ukraine and Ukrainian minorities. It shows that the majority of work has been done on questions concerning Soviet Ukraine and that the study of Ukrainian minorities remains a highly underdeveloped area.

In his preface to *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society*, Isajiw states that: "The essays that follow attempt to do both, to study the Ukrainian ethnic group in the United States and Canada in terms of features which make it unique, and to analyze it in terms of theoretical approaches and critical perspectives." In conclusion, it may be said that this publication, which is seen as the beginning of a series, is a commendable first step toward meeting these objectives. In the future publications of this series, one hopes to see the publication of articles with a broader range of methodologies applied to the issues affecting Ukrainian minorities. In particular, there is a need for the examination of topics in political sociology. For example, studies analyzing Ukrainian-American responses to the Black movements of the 1960s and Ukrainian-Canadian responses to Quebecois nationalism of the 1970s would be most timely. Few sociologists have examined the reasons why Ukrainians are so politically apathetic to their own ethnic assimilation, and even fewer deal with the question of Ukrainian participation in the labour movement. Little is known of current discrimination against Ukrainians. There is a need to research Ukrainian values and how they are being adapted to North American life. Only by using different methodological approaches will future students of Ukrainian minorities perceive the wide range of questions which still remain to be asked. Isajiw's book demonstrates that these questions can, and must, be posed.

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NO GOLD FOR BABA'S CHILDREN: HELEN POTREBENKO,  
MYRNA KOSTASH, AND THE CRISIS OF  
UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

That two major histories about Ukrainians in western Canada should be published almost simultaneously, that they should be written by women who are strongly aware of their identity, and that they should be similar in tone, is more than coincidence. It is a sign of the times. Helen Potrebenco<sup>1</sup> and Myrna Kostash<sup>2</sup> have applied the analyses by which they had reexamined critically their own roles in society to the history of their immigrant ancestors. Understandably enough, the result is a pair of highly personal accounts which definitively repudiate the conventional Ukrainian-Canadian histories written to date. We cannot be satisfied with the sanitized, idealized *apologiae* of a Paul Yuzyk.

One should not, however, ascribe to this new perspective on Ukrainian-Canadian history values which it does not possess. Neither book is good history. Their main contribution is the public exhumation of the all too numerous skeletons in the Ukrainian-Canadian closet. In recognition of the primitive stage of development of Ukrainian-Canadian scholarship, one cannot realistically expect such authors to be academically consistent. Their valient efforts should be viewed for what they are — the first step in a long process.

At first glance, *No Streets of Gold* seems to reiterate the Ukrainian Communists' standard view of Ukrainian-Canadian history: that Ukrainians organized as an oppressed class in Canada to defend themselves from an incredibly hostile society dominated economically, politically, and socially by Anglo-Canadian capitalists. But Ms. Potrebenco's purpose in writing is not to eulogize her forefathers, but rather to "understand their lives, for they are our history" (p. 302). *No Streets of Gold* is essentially a descriptive, not a polemical piece (although elements of the latter are clearly visible). It portrays an environment hostile to the economic and social interests of Ukrainian immigrants, then draws some of the consequences of its latent social tensions to their logical conclusion — focusing upon the difficulties and injustices it caused and the various forms of protest it invoked.

The early chapters of *No Streets of Gold* offer an invaluable illustration of the tribulations involved in homesteading, childrearing, coping with ignorance and superstition. They reflect a deep understanding of both the character and circumstances of the first pioneers, their mores,

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<sup>1</sup> Helen Potrebenco, *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977. 311 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children*. Edmonton: Hurting Publishers, 1977. 414 pp.

and the tasks they faced. Ms. Potrebenko's observations, that the main problem in Canada "was that it wasn't really a new society," that "the people were not allowed to become part of Canadian society because of racism and isolation," and that the Ukrainians formed "a disintegrating peasant society — neither able to remake the old society, nor allowed to become part of the new" (p. 52), are especially penetrating and are echoed in Myrna Kostash's *All of Baba's Children*.

Beyond this point, *No Streets of Gold* becomes a chronicle of Ukrainian dissent in Canada. By necessity, Ms. Potrebenko excludes large segments of Ukrainian-Canadian life in order to concentrate upon the role Ukrainians played in the development of the Canadian working-class and farmer movements, portraying events in Alberta as if they were typical for all of Canada. But even within this narrowed framework, *No Streets of Gold* fails to realize its possibilities. The Ukrainians' role is shown as being little more than simple participation in the Canadian left. Ms. Potrebenko could very well have expanded upon two important topics — the formation, structure, and activities of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, and the personalities within the Ukrainian leftist leadership. She virtually bypasses these aspects in the following fashion:

The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association... grew out of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, which was riven with factionalism, and banned. The organization provided community, a meeting place, education, and an opportunity to sing and dance which everybody loves to do. But the leadership of the Ukrainian left did not consider such an organization to be worthy in itself and showed a certain contempt for the membership. (p. 161)

Ms. Potrebenko makes other important statements without supporting them. In dealing with the attitude of the "progressive" One Big Union's British-born leadership to the largely "alien" rank and file, she claims that "instead of defending their members, they ignored their problems or apologized for them" (p. 156). She states that "many of the factional disputes later arising in Canada had their roots in the situation in Ukraine during the war" (p. 112), citing neither examples nor sources to back this contention. What is particularly distressing is that this lack of depth is found throughout *No Streets of Gold*. Ms. Potrebenko brings forth many interesting and revealing documents but is unable to synthesize them coherently. She concludes her book having said much, but in an unclear and undirected manner.

*All of Baba's Children* is a microcosm of the Ukrainian-Canadian experience, a case study of Ukrainians in the vicinity of Two Hills, Alberta. It focuses upon the crossroads of their existence in the New World, specifically the lot of the first native-born generation of Ukrainian Canadi-

ans who, "balanced on the contradiction between a desire to pay respect to the roots of their ancestors and the need to endorse their own Canadian experience" (p. 30), found themselves in a social and cultural limbo.

Immigrants from Western Ukraine settled this new land intent on having their children do well and benefit from the opportunities which fate had denied them. Canadian society demanded cultural conformity to British norms as an integral part of the price for social mobility: the children of the "foreign-born" accepted this only too willingly and became estranged from their forefathers. But they were not accepted as equals by Canadian society and were forced to remain amongst their own kind for another generation. Their children, in turn, were completely at home in Canada and "making it," but not always without realizing that something had gone wrong.

Ms. Kostash's analysis is itself not novel; it is in keeping with sociological and anthropological theories about the generational experiences involved in the immigration process or about convergence of highly traditional and highly technological societies (and their conflicting spiritual and material value systems).<sup>3</sup> However, her's is the first attempt to place the whole of Ukrainian-Canadian history within such a comprehensive framework. Ms. Kostash successfully repudiates the modest, self-effacing litany which other writers of Ukrainian-Canadian history have preserved up to now — "we worked hard, we suffered hard, and we overcame" — by showing that the Ukrainian Canadians' struggle for self-dignity did not pass with the frontier and the pioneer generation. This is a major breakthrough in Ukrainian-Canadian historiography.

Despite its strong presentation, *All of Baba's Children* is a fundamentally flawed work. The techniques of New Journalism which Ms. Kostash uses are impressionistic by nature and are best applied when writing about contemporary phenomena, not about history. The odd juxtapositions of *All of Baba's Children* testify to this. Chapter three, entitled "Racism," draws random examples from a period of forty-four years (1899 — 1943) to prove that racism towards Ukrainians was practiced by Canadian society. But it fails to convey that these separate and unrelated incidents each arose out of a particular set of circumstances. The racism of the Ku Klux Klan in the late 1920s was markedly different from that of the *Calgary Herald* at the turn of the century or that of J. S. Woodsworth's proselytizing. To not distinguish between them and to not explain the circumstances out of which each example arose is not only simplistic, but also confusing. It soothes, but does not explain.

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<sup>3</sup> See George Foster, *Traditional Societies and Technological Change*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1973), pp. 64-75; and Marcus Lee Hansen, "The Third Generation," in Oscar Handlin, ed., *Children of the Uprooted* (New York, 1966), pp. 255-73.



The task of the student of Ukrainian-Canadian history is obvious — to undertake solid academic research into Ukrainian-Canadian themes and to explain the Ukrainians' existence in Canada as an experience in itself, yet neither wholly divorced from old-country influences nor insulated from Canadian influences. The critical study of Ukrainian-Canadian history has been ignored: analytical works are almost nonexistent. This situation has developed to the point that the writing of Ukrainian-Canadian history is too important to leave to scholars of limited vision or understanding. The work of a journalist like Ms. Kostash or a working woman like Ms. Potrebenko, from well outside the realm of academe, can best be understood as a response to the shortcomings of Ukrainian-Canadian historiography. Their books represent only the beginnings of an orientation towards viewing it as disciplined field of study and recognizing the legitimacy of its existence. Ukrainian-Canadian history, like other ethnic histories, is of interest and value not only in itself, but also because it forms an essential component of twentieth-century Canadian history.

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#### OUR MISTAKE

The editors apologize to Bohdan Nahaylo for the errors in his article "Dziuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* Revisited..." in Volume 2, Number 2 of the *Journal*.

Page 47, line 3 from the bottom, should read: "police, and procuracy remained unitary and centralized."

Page 50, line 13, should read: "one step back, two steps forward..."

## CONFERENCE PLANNED ON SOCIAL TRENDS AMONG UKRAINIAN CANADIANS

Proposals are invited for papers to the second of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies annual conferences in the series on Ukrainians in Canada, with special emphasis on developments since World War I, to be held September 15-16, 1978 at the University of Ottawa. Entitled "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians," the conference will provide an interdisciplinary forum for interpretations of the statistical information compiled in the recently completed four-volume manuscript: William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, "A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1977," Ottawa, 1977. (Mimeographed)

The "Compendium" is a basic and comprehensive reference work of statistics on Ukrainians in Canada. Statistics from decennial and quinquennial censuses of Canada are compiled into eighteen topical areas: ethnicity and ethnic origins; population by subprovincial areas; rural-urban population and age distribution; religious denominations; language knowledge and use; education and training; political participation; labour force by occupation and industry; farms and farm operators; income levels and distributions; immigration to Canada; period of immigration; citizenship and birthplace; vital and morbidity statistics; marital and family status; ethnic press; and crime.

Proposals for papers are invited from researchers and scholars in demography, sociology, history, economy, political science, and geography. Topics of particular interest may include: economic mobility of Ukrainians in Canada; ethnic, linguistic, and religious assimilation; socialization and the Ukrainian-Canadian family; and demographic trends among Ukrainian Canadians.

Oral presentations will be limited to twenty minutes; conference papers will be published and may include the details of any statistical analyses. The Institute will consider covering research costs for scholars presenting papers who require access to original data tapes. Contributors to the conference will be provided with an advance copy of the "Compendium" for research purposes.

Interested contributors are asked to submit a title and brief description of the proposed paper to:

Mr. W. R. Petryshyn  
The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies  
335 Athabasca Hall  
The University of Alberta  
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E8

Telephone enquiries: (403) 432-2674

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Mykola Zerov, *Lectures on the History of Ukrainian Literature (1798-1870)*.

271 pp. \$9.95 hardcover, \$3.95 paper.

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### JUST PUBLISHED

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In general, articles should not exceed 25 double-spaced pages, except where especially justified by extensive documentation, tables, or charts. For purposes of style and footnoting, the *MLA Style Sheet* should be consulted. Authors should send a short academic biography with their submissions. Manuscripts will not be returned unless specifically requested and postage provided. The policy of the *Journal* is not to consider articles that have been published or are being considered for publication elsewhere. The editors reserve the right to edit all submissions.

### A TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

(Modified Library of Congress)

а — a	ї — i	ф — f
б — b	й — i	х — kh
в — v	к — k	ц — ts
г — h	л — l	ч — ch
г — g	м — m	ш — sh
д — d	н — n	щ — shch
е — e	о — o	ю — iu
є — 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

