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IN WORKING ORDER:

Essays presented to G. S. N. Luckyj

Edited by

E. N. Burstynsky and R. Lindheim

ЖУРНАЛ
УКРАЇНОЗНАВЧИХ СТУДІЙ

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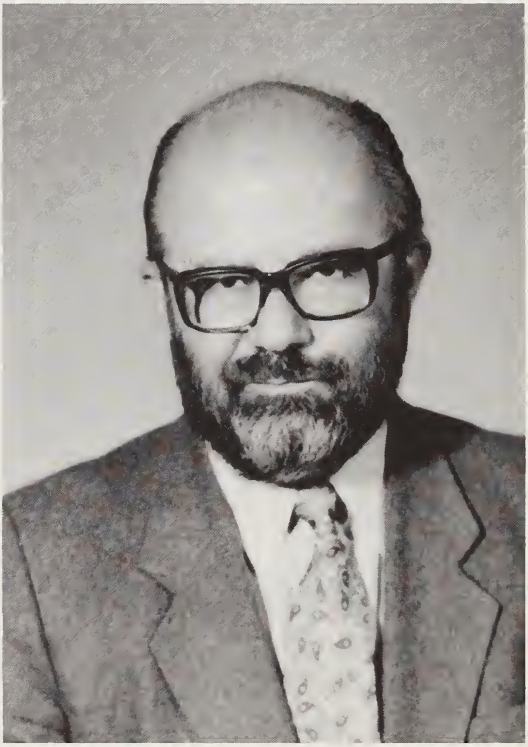

PREFACE

Because the living can easily contradict those who eulogize their achievements, it is a pleasure as well as a relief to single out an educator, scholar, and critic whose future work will uphold the high standards he established in the past. In celebrating George Luckyj, all the contributors to this volume honour a man who, after retirement, is continuing both a productive career devoted to the study of Ukrainian and Russian literatures and an even more active life dedicated to preserving and disseminating among Ukrainians, particularly vulnerable and susceptible to the loss of their heritage, knowledge of the life, history, and culture of their people.

George Luckyj's life, much to his surprise and, perhaps, annoyance, has been full and exciting. He was born in Ukraine in 1919, and his parents contributed greatly to his development by providing unfailing and unfading models of integrity, disciplined labour, cultured sensitivity, and commitment. His education began at home and continued both in the excellent local gymnasium with its formal classical curriculum and outside school where George received a quick and rough introduction to nationalistic issues and problems that have intrigued and plagued him to this day. He began university in Germany but, because of the threat of World War II, soon transferred to England, where he received both a B.A. (with first class honours) and an M.A. in English literature at the University of Birmingham. He then joined the British army and served four years in Germany and in England, where, as an interpreter, he witnessed the negotiations between the British and the Russians that resulted in the shameful forced repatriation of former Soviet citizens who had fled their homelands together with the return of those taken unwillingly from their countries as prisoners of war or slave labourers. But exuberance and vitality are the experience of youth even in wartime, and in 1944 George married Moira McShane, a fellow student at Birmingham whom he had met in Helen Gardner's seminar. Their marriage turned out to be a happy, long, fruitful union, and in Moira George found not only a loving companion but also an intelligent editor, a diligent proofreader, and, on many projects, a reliable and able collaborator.

In 1947 he and Moira, together with infant twin daughters–a third daughter was born later in Toronto–emigrated to Canada, where George began his teaching career in the English Department at the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon. Two years later he left Saskatchewan and English to enroll in Columbia University in New York City, where he was admitted both to the doctoral programme of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and to the diploma programme at the Russian Institute. But graduate study could not absorb all his prodigious energy, some of which was devoted to the launching of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. and of the Annals of the Academy..., *a journal which he created, edited for its first few years, and proudly followed for the more than thirty years it flourished. Upon completion of all*

academic requirements, including the writing of a doctoral dissertation for the doyen of American Slavists, Ernest J. Simmons, George returned to Canada in 1952 to take up a position as Lecturer at the University of Toronto.

At first George taught in what was called the Department of Slavic Studies, though very few of the courses offered were not in Russian. But soon after he became Chairman in 1954, an office he retained until 1960, he lobbied effectively among the administrators of the University to create a Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, and he built support for his Department's widening activities among provincial and federal politicians and other community leaders. Under George's leadership, offerings in Ukrainian dramatically increased, courses in Polish language and literature were introduced, and the foundation for a programme in Serbo-Croatian was laid. Along with those who succeeded him as Chairman he worked to initiate a programme in Czech and Slovak studies. Besides attending to the growth of his own department, George joined colleagues in the social sciences to create at the University of Toronto the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, where for the first time in Canada scholars and students from many disciplines could pool their talents to study the Slavic world, its past as well as present, its peoples and institutions, its borrowings from and its impact on the West.

During the same period George also fostered the growth and the development of Slavic scholarship throughout Canada. In the mid-fifties he helped found the Canadian Association of Slavists and became the first editor of Canadian Slavonic Papers, *for years the only professional Canadian journal dedicated to the study of all facets of Slavic life, history, and culture. His basic commitment was and still is, of course, to Ukrainian studies. Though he did not initiate such studies in Canada, no one has done more, first, to build a strong foundation for them and, later, to facilitate their expansion; the quality and influence of his teaching, his public lectures, and his publications established the respectability and legitimacy of Ukrainian Studies. It was not suprising therefore that George eventually was one of a handful of Canadian scholars to found the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, which he served as Associate Director, seeing its first major publications on literature and the arts into print and identifying for the Institute immediate research needs as well as the most desirable goals for the future. His major contribution to the CIUS was the founding of the* Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies *to publish, and thus encourage, the research of young graduate students. This periodical he served as faculty advisor through the first years of publication.*

In retirement George relinquished many administrative duties but, evidently unhappy without some regular chores, he agreed to serve as the literary editor of Suchasnist'. *And he continues to influence students and scholars by means of a number of significant publishing projects. Indeed, the unending stream of research proposals from his restless and fertile brain amazes, stimulates, and, at times, exhausts younger, less hardy friends and colleagues. The bibliography of his writings, included in this volume, patently demonstrates the range and scope of George's interests: he has written scholarly essays and books on a variety of authors, themes, and topics; he has published, both in translation and in the original, literary works and documents of cultural significance; he has participated in a number of encyclopedia projects and has*

headed two important projects to translate into English abridged versions of the Ukrainian encyclopedia edited by W. Kubijovyč What the bibliography does not display, though it certainly must suggest it, is the breadth of his contacts with Ukrainian scholarly, artistic, and cultural activity all over the world. Constantly in touch with other writers, critics, artists, and educators, he keeps abreast of the trends and tremors, the movers and the jostled, the frequent scandals and the occasional triumphs, whether cultural or political, in Ukraine and in all major émigré centres.

As a teacher George is remembered for his endearing eccentricities: he was early rather than late for class, generally the first to arrive: he lectured to his classes, pacing the room while referring to small prompt cards that contained a few basic facts and generalizations; he rarely kept his students once he had finished his lecture, preferring to let them out early if they had no questions rather than force discussion until the end of the allotted period; and he always ended his courses just before Good Friday, no matter how early or late it fell during the Canadian academic year. More memorable even than his rituals and routines was the substance of his lectures and classes. Many a young Ukrainian student was first introduced by George to the glories and complexities of his or her own language, literature, and culture. Their preconceptions, formed by religious school classes, were soon undermined, firmly but gently, by new light shed on familiar material and by new perspectives on old ideas. The narrow stereotypes favoured by conservatives in the ethnic community were tested in George's classroom and often were shown to be, if not false, too weak a response to the ambiguities and complexities of Ukrainian life and history. And the simplicities of left-wing "thought" were as quickly demolished. More advanced students, with interests in history and political science, also came to George's classes on modern Russian and Ukrainian literature to learn about Soviet views on the relationship of literature and politics and about the question of nationalities and nationalism. Not all walked away from these classes sharing their instructor's views, but they did bring away a respect for the clarity of George's presentation and for the depth and integrity of his thought on vital issues. Graduate students in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures were even more grateful for his seminars, where he demonstrated the intensity as well as the results of his own research, for his concerned but liberal guidance of their Ph.D. dissertations, for his continued, generous patronage that helped them find employment and promotion in schools, libraries, institutions, and institutes throughout North America.

More a friend even than a colleague, George was always ready to help those he worked with and to ask help of them. Reviews, articles, books were submitted to him for a thorough and sympathetic critique, and he showed his respect for others by asking their opinions of his own work. And it is probable that the opinions he offered were less severe and more encouraging than those he received. Yet even more important was the gentle but firm pressure he placed on others to follow his example. Few could withstand, if not the energy he manifested, then his gentle prodding whenever he felt it necessary to inspire a colleague to work, to think, and to write. If prodding failed, then he saw to it that some piece of writing was commissioned from his unwitting protégé. With his retirement, therefore, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto lost a considerate associate concerned about the intellectual health and vitality of the discipline and of the school he represented so proudly, so

honourably, so ably.

To summarize George's past work is difficult because of its quantity, yet its distinctive qualities are readily apparent. The range of his interests and the depth of their exploration impress his readers, but no less than the clarity, straightforwardness, and accessibility of his words. As a student, teacher, and scholar he has watched the parade of passing fads and fancies; he has listened to the blaring of manifestos and to the raucous, competing claims of pitchmen masquerading as teachers, theorists, and critics, and he has followed the twists and turns in Party lines and political fashions. Though he continues to read voraciously and to watch all that passes indulgently, George remains loyal to basic principles and premises–no matter how anachronistic they may appear–unaffected though not unamused by the whims-o'-the-wisp that have infected and crazed others. His conversation, his teaching, and his life blood, his writing, remain as informed now as they have even been by a restless curiosity, by a basic simplicity and modesty af approach, by an unmannered directness and brevity of expression, and by an old-fashioned common sense that admits the limitations of rational inquiry and discourse without transgressing them.

To honour George Luckyj, the contributors to this volume offer this collection of essays, a modest, mixed bouquet of short and long pieces reflecting his variegated concerns and interests. With these tokens of their admiration and esteem his students, colleagues, and friends thank him for what he has already shared with them and look forward to his many productive years to come.

E.N.B., R.L.

Note on Transliteration

There are, alas, three transliteration schemes employed in this collection. For the articles on linguistics and for the essay by Professor George Shevelov, which features a extensive discussion of linguistic matters, the editors have decided to use System A, favoured by specialists. The essays on Russian literature use System B and those on Ukrainian literature use System C.

Cyrillic	System A	System B	System C
а	a	a	a
б	b	b	b
в	v	v	v
г	h	g	h
ґ	g	-	g
д	d	d	d
е	e	e/ye	e
ё	ë	ë	-
є	je	-	ye
ж	ž	zh	zh
з	z	z	z
и	i	i	y
і	i	-	i
ї	ji	-	yi
й	j	y	y
к	k	k	k
л	l	l	l
м	m	m	m

Cyrillic	System A	System B	System C
н	n	n	n
о	o	o	o
п	p	p	p
р	r	r	r
с	s	s	s
т	t	t	t
у	u	u	u
ф	f	f	f
х	x	kh	kh
ц	c	ts	ts
ч	č	ch	ch
ш	š	sh	sh
щ	šč	shch	shch
ъ	"	"	-
ы	y	y	y
ь	’	’	’
э	e	e	-
ю	ju	yu	yu
я	ja	ya	ya

Note that in System B e is transliterated ye in initial position and when it follows a vowel, ъ or ь. Also, in B and C established English spellings of proper nouns (e.g., Alexander, Gogol, Dostoevsky, Moscow, Kiev, Lviv) are usually retained, and “y” is used for “–ий” and “-ый” at the end of names (e.g., Mayakovsky and Bely rather than Mayakovskiy and Belyy).

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ЯК СКЛО:
ON AND AROUND A SIMILE IN ŠEVČENKO'S POETRY

George Y. Shevelov

Poetry of many styles begins and lives with semantic shifts. The reader who attempts to penetrate other levels of poetry such as its symbolism, world outlook, ideology and what not while ignoring the rather elementary levels of semantics, as a rule, fails. To a very high degree this applies to the poetry of Ševčenko.

Even those students who are prone to disregard the semantic level in Ševčenko's poetry can not but notice that, say, *pravda* sometimes is closer to the meaning of 'truth,' in other cases to that of 'justice,' and there are many more nuances in the many particular usages of the word. Those to whom *volja* is always 'liberty,' *slava* 'glory,' *svjatyj* 'holy,' *kozak* 'Cossack,' and *nimec'* 'German,' to take a few better known examples, understand little in the poems they read or analyze. The first scholars who kept a close eye on the stable instability of word meanings in Ševčenko's poems were D. Dudar and F. Samonenko, 1924. But they had few successors. Most studies of the poet's work were shaped by the ideological fashions and/or the fashionable ideologies of the day. In most cases, the good will of the poet's students cannot be denied, but the results of their studies have little bearing on our knowledge and understanding of Ševčenko as a poet.

One does expect to find semantic characterizations of Ševčenko's vocabulary in the dictionary of his language edited by V. Vaščenko, but more often than not these expectations are not fulfilled. The issue is nearly totally disregarded in this publication (where, admittedly, it cannot be easily treated); words are listed and examples are given, but interpretation is often absent. Moreover, only some of the examples are quoted in context. Many are just listed; a breakdown by meaning is given only in the most obvious cases and, as a rule, as it appears in general dictionaries. Little attention is paid to what should be the true object of study: Ševčenko's poetic language and his poetic use of language. Such is, for example, the entry *zemlja*. One finds six basic meanings for the word (planet; world inhabited by people; upper layer of the earth's crust; land or country; property; dry land), each with a couple of examples, and then scores of semantically unidentified examples without their contexts and without reference even to these six crude meanings. At best, the

dictionary may be used as a word and word-forms index. A student who wants to penetrate into the "secrets of Ševčenko's poetic work" will find little or no help here. He will not even be assisted in an attempt merely to understand properly this or that particular poem.

Contrary to widepread conviction and to its popularity even with the little educated, Ševčenko's poetry is not easily understandable. In addition to semantic convolutions the poet typically used compositional "shortcuts," omitting the intermediate links between the events depicted and concentrating on summit situations, a technique rooted in Byronic narrative poems but applied also to the most intimate lyric pieces. In fact, under close reading many a small poem by Ševčenko turns out to be quite enigmatic, admitting several interpretations and not entirely affirming or endorsing any one, even though the first impression was one of complete simplicity and lucidity.

In this essay I shall limit myself to one example, a short poem written in 1847, probably between April 17 and May 30 (Ivakin, 9), in order to concentrate in a little more detail on a simile found there. The purpose of these considerations is not to offer a definitive solution—this would require the projection of the poem onto the whole *Kobzar* and other writings of Ševčenko and a great amount of outside reference—but just to raise some problems.

To make it easier for the reader to follow my remarks here is the complete text of the poem:

1. За байраком байрак.
2. А там степ та могила.
3. Із могили козак
4. Встає сивий, похилий,
5. Встає сам уночі,
6. Іде в степ, а йдучи
7. Співа, сумно співає
8. "Наносили землі
9. Та й додому пішли,
10. І ніхто не згадає
11. Нас тут триста, як скло,
12. Товариства лягло!
13. І земля не приймає.
14. Як запродав гетьман
15. У ярмо християн,
16. Нас послав поганяти.
17. По своїй по землі
18. Свою кров розлили
19. І зарізали брата.
20. Крови брата впились
21. І отут полягли
22. У могилі заклятій".
23. Та й замовк, зажурився
24. І на спис похилився,
25. Став на самій могилі.
26. На Дніпро позирав,
27. Тяжко плакав, ридав,
28. Сині хвилі голосили.
29. З-за Дніпра із села
30. Руна гаєм гула,
31. Треті півні співали.
32. Провалився козак,
33. Стрепенувся байрак,
34. А могила застогнала.

The poem's commentators from Simovyč (220) to L. Bilec'kyj (520) to Ivakin (10-12) concentrated on the identity of the Hetman referred to in the

poem. Petro Dorošenko, Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj, and, reluctantly, Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj were suggested, and yet none of them, the commentators concluded, could be selected definitively. These three Hetmans were named because they used the Tatars as their allies. All the commentators were convinced that in lines 14-16 Ševčenko had the Tatars in mind. But must this have been they? Without intending an exhaustive interpretation of the poem let us bring to light some of its peculiarities.

The poem clearly consists of three parts. The introductory seven lines delineate place by providing certain details of the landscape: *bajraky*, *step*, *mohyla*; the time of the action: night; and the protagonist: the old Cossack. Metonymically, this is Ukraine, although not explicitly named. Nothing here is apparently in need of explication.

The third section (lines 23-34) takes us back to the location landscape, but with two new details: *haj* and *Dnipro*. Temporally it marks the end of the night and the transition to the morning (*treti pivni*). As for the protagonist, the poet shows the culmination of his sadness (*sumno*, in the first section), the materialization of this mood into *plač*, *rydannja*, and, metonymically transferred from the Cossack to the waves of the Dnieper, *holosinnja*, and then his exit-disappearance. The new image of *Dnipro* does not necessarily mean the localization of the scene at the river bank. In Ševčenko's poetry *Dnipro* easily and often is shifted semantically to mean (again metonymically) the entire Ukraine, and here it is synonymous with what in the middle section of the poem (line 17) is called *svoja zemlja*. Another new image, that of *selo*, is important in that it stands as the pole of reality and contemporaneity, as opposed to the pole of history and the past represented by the *mohyla* (repeated twice) and by the Cossack (and his 299 companions) in the middle part of the poem. Whether the line *strepenuvsja bajrak* has any general symbolic meaning (perhaps, the reaction of the present to the past) must remain an open question as long as we do not go into the entire corpus of the poet's imagery in those years. The function of parts one and three, thus, is auxiliary, offering a geographical (Ukraine), temporal (the nineteenth century, night), and historiosophical (the contrast and lack of continuity between past and present) setting.

The central part of the poem is the Cossack's song, lines 8–22. The longest of the three sections, it is so far from being immediately understandable in all its details that it sorely needs a commentary. As if compiled for the initiated only, without any concessions to an outside reader—after all, the Cossack has no listeners and sings for himself—the song contains several "undisclosed" passages whose degree of opaqueness varies from unnoticeable to barely marked to glaringly disturbing and enigmatic. The easiest to deal with are opacities based on a mere failure to mention something, most often, the subject. Such is the very beginning of the song, lines 8-10: "Nanosyly zemli / Ta j dodomu pišly, / I nixto ne zhadaje." The reader's first guess would be that the

Cossack sings of himself and his comrades, a "we"-sentence. This possibility is denied by the use of *nas* in line 11 which refers to those buried in the mound, who could not therefore have been the buriers. The reader has now to shift the two actions in time: although "nanosyly zemli" comes first in the song, he has to place it second in time since the death of the Cossacks is naturally anterior to their burial. Who the perpetrators of the burial were remains undisclosed. They are never named in the poem, but the mystery is solved by the reference in the third section to the village, *selo*. Now the reader realizes that he is facing the contrast of Cossacks vs. villagers, i.e., peasants, who in the context of the entire corpus of Ševčenko's poetry are also labelled "braty nezrjači, hrečkosiji" ("Poslanije" 1845), etc.

Another "undisclosure," if such a term may be coined, is generated by a contradiction between the statement that "zemlja ne pryjmaje" the slaughtered Cossacks (line 13) and the fact that they *are* in the earth, in the burial mound. The resolution comes in line 22 which states that the grave is *zakljata*. Simovyč 220 appropriately comments: "It is told everywhere in our country concerning the cursed graves (*zakljati mohyly*) that those who lie there at a certain moment will rise." *Zemlja ne pryjmaje* in this folkloric tradition means that those buried in the mound of the poem are incapable of being reduced to dust, of returning to the earth. They are not alive and buried, but they are not really dead. Their identities are not dissolved, as is usually the case, in death. Silenced during the daytime, when the present reigns supreme, they are capable and even forced to act like those alive and to mourn their doom in the darkness of night, when they are the past itself permanently *redivivus*. On a different level, one faces again the contrast of the day-light Village world and the night-dark Cossack world. The knowledge of the properties of the *zakljata mohyla* comes to the reader's mind from sources external to Ševčenko's poetry. But the deferment of the information about the nature of the burial mound to the last line of the song ("mohyla zastohnala") is a poetic device. It is, technically, akin to the postponement (to line 29) of the mention of the village in the case of the first "undisclosure." In both instances an omission (a failure to mention) at an expected or anticipated place occurs.

A minor case of "undisclosure" is the question why, if all the three hundred buried are damned to be "undead," to roam in the darkness of night, only one Cossack actually appears. This contradiction is not resolved by the poem but by the romantic literary tradition in general as well as by the metonymic bent of Ševčenko's poetry (*pars pro toto*). And, doubtless, the impression of solitude and isolation, which suits the past-not-dead in the world of the living, would most certainly be gone had Ševčenko brought on top of the mound a crowd of three hundred.

Most mysterious and most significant is the fourth "undisclosure" of the poem: how did the three hundred Cossacks perish? Lines 14-15 seem to allude

to a Hetman who sold some Ukrainians into slavery to the Tatars: "Zaprodav het'man / U jarmo xrystyjan." Usually the Tatars, while enslaving the Ukrainian population, did not need any Cossack escorts; they drove their captives without any outside help. But the situation could have been different if the Ukrainian authorities ("het'man") sent groups of their subjects into slavery, either selling them to the Tatars or presenting them as a gift. *Istorija Rusov* should offer some help in unravelling this mystery. It was published in 1846 and should have been still fresh in Ševčenko's memory in 1847. *Istorija Rusov* mentions that Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj sent Poles taken prisoners of war to the Khan of the Crimea (108) and that Dorošenko presented Russian captives as a gift to the Tatars (163). These cases are, however, different since the prospective slaves are foreigners, not Ukrainians. The only instance that involves Ukrainians, again ascribed to Dorošenko, is his gift of "several thousand Ukrainian boys... to the Turkish Sultan" (176). They probably were driven by Cossacks, but, again according to *Istorija Rusov*, there were no armed conflicts between the boys and their escort, who peacefully delivered them to Istanbul. *Istorija Rusov*, therefore, contains nothing reminiscent of the allusions in Ševčenko's poem.

Neither is there in the poem any indication of the direction in which the Cossacks drove the captives. The Crimea is not named, nor are the Turks. And most enigmatic are the reasons for the events related in lines 17-22, and their sequence. How did the massacre or the battle actually begin? Who started it? Was there a revolt of the captives (villagers?) and was the ensuing skirmish, or even battle, fought by them against the Cossacks (whose number was three hundred, if all died, or more, if part escaped)? Or did the Cossacks attack the captives? If so, why? In the sequence of events depicted by Ševčenko the reader is placed vis-à-vis the very fact of bloodshed ("svoju krov rozlyly"—line 16, and "zarizaly brata"—line 19). Not a negligible fact in the obscurity of the sequence of events is the absence of the subject ("they"—the captives? or "we"—the Cossacks?). Furthermore, the meaning of the pronoun *svoju* is also unclear. Is it the blood of the Cossacks? Or the blood of the captives, who are also Ukrainians? Or the blood of both? (Note the above considerations on the reference of "nanosyly zemli" in line 8). The reader only knows the result of the past events: three hundred Cossacks are buried in the mound ("I otut poljahly / U mohyli zakljatij"—lines 21-22). But who killed them? What happened to the corpses of the murdered captives? Where were they buried? Or were they also Cossacks and buried in the same grave?

Ševčenko fails to mention so much, chooses not to mention so much, that it is completely impossible to restore a "realistic" picture of the causes, course, and aftermath of the battle, if there was one. Romantic poetics may be invoked here to explain the obscuring of reality. But one thing becomes obvious from all these omissions (or suppressions?), and that is the fact that all these

historical paraphernalia, the interplay of particular causes and effects, were of no interest to Ševčenko. He was only interested in a synthetic image of fratricidal war "po svojij po zemli" involving four powers: the Hetman, the Cossacks, the captives (probably villagers), and—as so far assumed—the Tatars. Thus it becomes clear why the Hetman was not named (and, consequently, why the commentators' attempts to identify him were doomed to fail). The poet wanted to reach the highest possible degree of generalization. By applying the technique of failures to mention or disclose certain information Ševčenko successfully achieves his goal of a synthetic presentation of history.

If this is correct, there seems to be one puzzling detail: the Tatars, a too obviously identified partner in the square of the conflicting powers. At this juncture one has to ask if they are really in the picture. To begin with, the word "Tatar" never appears in the poem. The optical illusion which affected all the commentators and probably all the readers and which was taken for granted until this point in our considerations, this illusion has been created in the lines 14-15: "Zaprodav Het'man / U jarmo xrystyjan." The last phrase certainly evokes the conflict between the Christians and the Moslems, a conflict that is read in the context of Ukrainian history as between the Ukrainians and Tatars (and Turks).[1] Here, from the problem of a deliberately fragmented composition presenting "summit events" only, a composition grounded on a series of omissions (as discussed above), we come to the second cornerstone of Ševčenko's poetic technique, semantic shifts.

While *xrystyjany*, usually 'Christians,' metonymically means 'Ukrainians,' it may be shifted semantically to mean 'villagers, peasants.' One example of this from Ševčenko is: "Hromada hluxo prysjahaje. / Zaprysjahla. Pytaje sud: / Teper skažite, xrystyjany, / Xto otrujiv joho" ("Petrus'", 1850). If we accept that meaning for this poem, "Za bajrakom bajrak," it becomes clear why *seljany*, the usual term for villagers, is not used to mark one of the conflicting sides of the square. The villagers here are named *xrystyjany*. And if the word semantically is not 'Christians,' *sensu stricto*, and not even 'the Ukrainians,' but means, in a double metonymy, '(Ukrainian) peasants,' the traditional implication of the Moslems proves to be false. Tatars are not only not named in the poem, they as such are not even meant. Or, to be more precise, they are invoked here with the same degree of specificity as other invaders or oppressors who lorded over Ukraine and used Ukrainians (Ukrainian peasants) as captives or slaves ("u jarmi") and Ukrainian Cossacks as their drivers, be it in wars with the Turks in the case of the Poles, in the construction of St. Petersburg and in the conquest of the Caucasus in the case of the Russians, or in the slave markets of Kafa or Kozlov in the case of the Tatars. In other words, the Cossack's song in "Za bajrakom bajrak" is a synthetic image of the history of Ukraine, which is seen by Ševčenko as a conflict (to rephrase the above formula) among four powers: the Hetman or the Ukrainian ruling class, the Cossacks, the peasants,

and the foreign masters. The Tatars as a historically and ethnically specific force do not fill the generalized, synthetic picture that Ševčenko wanted and needed, an historical vision freed of facts that the poet arrived at in his bitter meditations and dreams in a St. Petersburg prison (*v kazemati*, as he significantly marked it in his manuscript). Elements of romantic poetics and semantic shifts admirably served this purpose.

The poem has one, and only one, simile, on line 11: "Nas tut trysta, jak sklo, / Tovarystva ljahlo." These two lines appear in all Ševčenko's manuscripts. The "Mala knyžka" (28) has it precisely as published, except for the commas. The "Bil'ša knyžka" (66) differs only by an exclamation mark after *sklo*, which, no doubt, shows the emphasis which Ševčenko laid on this comparison. Why "jak sklo" ('like glass')? And to what does it refer? "(trysta) tovarystva"—*jak sklo* or "ljahlo"—*jak sklo*?

Grabowicz translates it "pure as glass" (108) and comments that to Ševčenko "despite their sin and the apparent [? *G.S.*] consequent curse" the Cossacks "still are called 'pure as glass'" (117). This comment may be correct or may not. What matters here is that it is based on the adjective *pure*, which is pure Grabowicz and not Ševčenko. Grabowicz, however, is not the first to understand the simile in this way. In fact, he follows (or coincides with) *SUM* 9, 284, which cites Ševčenko's simile as the illustration of the meaning 'morally irreproachable' alongside another example, from Kvitka, "Bulo pje nič, huljaje z parubkamy, burlakuje, a uden' jak sklo pered xazjajinom," which, however, probably refers more to the appearance of the character than to his morality. In 11, 331, s.v. *čystyj*, *SUM* deals again with the various comparisons concerning purity and adduces an example from Hrinčenko: "I znov ja teper stoju pered hromadoju čystyj, jak sklo." This time the comment runs: "extraordinarily transparent (of materials, matter, fluids)," although the example definitely refers to moral purity.

The phraseologically fixed simile "čystyj, jak sklo" does, of course, exist in Ukrainian and is current. We find it, for example, in Bilec'kyj-Nosenko's dictionary of 1843, 330: "čystaja, mov sklo,"[2] translated into Russian as "prozračna kak steklo." This translation brings us to the meaning of 'being transparent' and not to that of moral purity; but this is a minor point because metaphorically the two meanings are compatible.[3] In Dudar's survey of Ševčenko's similes, the most comprehensive yet offered, the simile in "Za bajrakom bajrak" is not mentioned at all. A guess may be ventured that it was considered too traditional to deserve discussion, which also implies that Dudar, like *SUM* and Grabowicz, understood it as a reference to moral purity.

But the important point is that Ševčenko, as stated, does not have the adjective *čystyj* in the text of the poem. This could be one more instance of "failure to mention" or lack of disclosure, this time in the imagery of the poem rather than in its general composition or story line. Yet glass possesses some

other typical features which may serve as the *tertium comparationis*. Something could be breakable like glass, and in the context of the poem the Cossacks were, after all, "broken."[4] Glass can also be flat, evoking the possible and rather macabre image of three hundred corpses lying flat,[5] and perhaps something else. And surely the notion of moral purity cannot apply to this poem with its three hundred cursed Cossacks whose unforgivable sin, which makes even the earth reject them without the slightest possibility of redemption, is fratricide ("I zarizaly brata. / Krovy brata vpylys'").

Thus the insertion of *čystyj* seems arbitrary and dubious, and once it falls, then all the broad ideological generalizations built on it should fall as well. The case may be similar to the semantic shift in *xrystyjany*. Nurtured on folkloric traditions, the reader is inclined to tack on the Moslem opposition, from whence springs the notion of the Tatar-Ukrainian conflicts; but Ševčenko, while using elements of the folkloric style, breaks their traditional frame and endows them with the meaning he wants them to have. Can this not refer to the simile "jak sklo"?[6]

In looking for other possible interpretations of the simile, the possibility of the blending of the word *sklo*, Old Ukrainian *stьklo*, with the past tense *steklo*, Old Ukrainian *steklo*, of the verb *stekty* may be examined. One of the meanings of this verb is, according to Hrinčenko, "sdelat'sja toščim, zaxiret' (o rastenii)?," and he gives an example from P. Myrnyj: "Pšenycja...stekla: skazano, zerno jak mačyna" (716, s.v. *stikaty*). *SUM* 9, 712 as one of the meanings of *stikaty* gives "znyknuty, ne staty." Now similes identifying plants with human beings are very usual in Ševčenko and especially numerous in 1847-48: "jak bylynon'ka v poli"—"Oj odna ja, odna"; "mov rjast vesnoju unoči"—"Knjažna"; "mov jabločko u sadočku"—ib.; "mov topolja"—ib.; "jak kvitočky"—"Moskaleva krynycja"; "jak horox"—"Miž skalamy"; "jak kvitočky za vodoju"—"Zakuvala zozulen'ka". And especially worthy of attention are those similes in which the "botanic" element combines with the motif of perishing: "Mov ta bylyna zasyxala" ("Tytarivna"); and "Ponykly holovy kozači, / Nenače stoptana trava" ("Šče jak buly my kozakamy", a 1847 poem close to "Za bajrakom bajrak" in subject and mood).

Associations between *s(t)klo* and *steklo*, past tense of *stekty*, are older than Ševčenko's poem. As early as 1806-1814 Linde, commenting on Russian *steklo*, derived it etymologically from the verb *stekat'*, *steč'* (284, s.v. *śkło*). This is, of course, a folk etymology. *Stьklo* by origin has nothing to do with the verb (Old Ukrainian *sъteklo—sъteči*), the noun being a loan word taken from Germanic (Gothic *stikls*) while the verb is of Common Slavic stock. But Linde's etymology is an unambiguous testimony to the secondary associations between the two words.

Thus the idea that *sklo* in "Za bajrakom bajrak" originally did not mean 'glass' but 'fall into decay,' 'fade away,' is tempting and has some support in

the poem and in the broader context of Ševčenko's poetry in the years 1847-48. Yet it meets grave difficulties of linguistic order. In Ševčenko's time, so it seems, the verbal form never appeared without *e* in the root, while the noun did not have that *e* (which reflects the original difference of the sequences *-tek-* in the verb and *-tьk-* in the noun).

Historically, the verb did have forms with *ь*, and these forms are attested: in Old Church Slavonic, *тьсѣтъ* (Supr 319, 23 [p. 26]; EuchSin 98a6 [p. 306]); in later Church Slavonic of Serbian redaction, *сътьсѣтьсе, тьсі, тьсѣтъ, тьсѣте* (Miklosich 989, 959); in Old Russian *сътьсѣмь сѧ* – 1097 (Sreznevskij 843), 1156-1163 (Miklosich 989); and in Old Ukrainian, e.g., *тьсѣте* (Sreznevskij 956—cited from *Besědy papy Grigorija*, 12th cent.) and *тьсі, тьсѣтъ , тьсѣте* (late 12th cent. Uspenskij sb. 716). But all these forms were probably South Slavic only and were limited to the imperative where they developed at the time of the disintegration of Common Slavic as a by-product of the third palatalization of velars (*PoS* 356f). Only exceptionally did forms with a secondary *ь* in the verb (but not in *tešti ~teči*) penetrate into the present tense, and almost never to the infinitive-perfect-past-tense forms (cf. *tišti* in EuchSin 81b,5—p. 249, if this is not a misspelling). There never was a past tense form **сътьklo* which would yield *sklo* (unless we consider as the reflex of such the name of the river *Sklo*, a tributary of the Sjan which flows across the town of Javoriv (*oblast'* Lviv), with its parallel form Stklo (Cilujko 507, Vasmer 274).

Contrary to this, the phonetic development of the noun *stьklo* allows for the form *steklo* homonymous with the past tense neuter form of the verb, but hardly for the mid-nineteenth century when Ševčenko lived and wrote. In principle, originally disyllabic words of the type *stьklo*, after the loss of their weak *jer*, admitted restitution of the root vowel as *e* or *o* (as in *tešča*, *potja*—*HPUL* 249). It is possible that the forms of the *Hypathian Chronicle*, *steklęnyi* (Ipat. 277, entry of 1114) and *stekly* (*ibid.* 843, entry of 1259), have such a restituted *e*.[7] But the forms with *ь* lost, with the subsequent loss of *t*, i.e. *sklo*, are well attested in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: *sklo*—O obrazěx, o krstě, mid-sixteenth cent., Slavynec'kyj 1642, both cited in *HPUL* 489; *stklęnyca* : *skljanka*—Berynda 1627, 121; *stljanyca*—Korec'kyj-Slavynec'kyj 1649, p.251 and more). My files of examples show that in the nineteenth century the form *steklo* was virtually unknown, and only rarely are some *e*-forms found in trisyllabic derivatives. One finds *stekel'ce* in Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, 340 (1843) and *stekol'cja* - Gläser in *Želexivs'kyj 918 (1886)*.

It follows from the above that if the homonymity of *sklo* 'glass' and *steklo* 'flow', past tense, ever existed, it could have been a reality in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries only and could have hardly influenced Ševčenko. Perhaps folklore was preserving, if not the phonetic shape of *sklo* as *steklo*, at least some semantic ties between the noun and the verb. On this point it would be interesting to hear from students of Ukrainian folklore. But for now one can

only say that the simile *jak sklo* in "Za bajrakom bajrak" does not necessarily convey the idea of moral purity; that such an idea is not in harmony with the poem as a whole; and that other interpretations are welcome and should be examined. The more Ševčenko's poetry is studied, the greater appears the number of passages with hidden meanings. The simile in question is one of them.

NOTES

1. Such is the use of the two words in "Nenače cvjašok v serce vbytyj" (1848): "Nexaj xmara na tatary, / A sonečko na xrystyjany."

2. For Russian, Dal' cites: "Čist, kak stklo, ispraven, prav" (4, 525) and dial. "kak sklo..., čisto, oprjatno, svetlo, jasno" (191).

3. Cf. for Old Czech: "Nebo gakožto slunečný paprslek skrzie stklo prochazie, nic stkla neuráziegie, takež náš spasitel gegie svatý žiwot" (1379; cited in Jungmann 107).

4. Cf. for Russian, as quoted in Dal' 525: "Žena ne stklo, možno pobit'" and "Steklo da devku beregi do iz"janu."

5. For Polish, cf.: "Niby po szkle równina zewsząd się otwiera" (A. Tołoczko, 1776; cited in Linde 5, 284. Linde comments: "gładko, jak po mydle, jak po stole.").

6. One should not be deaf, either, to a dissonant accumulation of consonants. The cutting, shrill *kskl* (*jaK SKLo*) can be an additional argument against the idea of purity, innocence, and forgiveness, allegedly conveyed by the simile. Ševčenko was very sensitive to the sound organization of his verse, and the repeated t - st - sk in these two lines ("NaS Tut TrySTa, jak SKlo / TovarySTva ljahlo") is hardly accidental. It is, moreover, untypical of his "forgiving" poems, cf., e.g., his famous "nenače LjaLja v L'oLi biLij" ("U Boha za dvermy" 1848).

7. The forms with the restituted (or preserved) vowel prevailed in Russian (*steklo*) and South Slavic (Slovene *steklo*, Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian *staklo*, Bulgarian *stəklo*), although in dialects zero-vowel forms are by no means exceptional.

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TARAS SHEVCHENKO AS AN ÉMIGRÉ POET

Bohdan Rubchak

1.

Faithful to my two prevailing interests, the poetry of Taras Shevchenko and the psychological motivations and sociological implications of émigré writing, I propose to reread some of the poet's works against certain features of émigré literature. The juxtaposition of these two areas of inquiry should add something to each of them, and, perhaps more important, something new should emerge from the very act of their juxtaposition.[1]

I will address a more or less specific and structured set of questions to my approximation of Shevchenko's *oeuvre*. The pair most relevant to the specificity of émigré literature bears on the writer's attitude toward his homeland and toward his host country (the latter term, designating the country in which the émigré presently resides, comes from the discourse of the sociology of emigration; in Shevchenko's case, for obvious reasons, it becomes particularly ironical). These two questions will be made to imply more general ones dealing with the writer's attitudes toward time and space. I will then go on to suggest that such considerations do much to establish the view that the writer has on his own self as that self is presented in his texts. Such considerations will also help me to define the writer's self-image *as a writer* and to examine his view on his actual and implied readers, on the languages of his homeland and his host country (and consequently on the language in which he writes), and ultimately on the role of his literary production in society and history and on the function of literature as such, as these views are embodied in his texts.

I should establish, before going on to Shevchenko's texts, that he was in fact an émigré, in order to avoid the misunderstanding that I consider him an "internal émigré" or some other kind of symbolic émigré. Most important, I should briefly show that in life Shevchenko's views on his homeland, his host country, his writings, and even his own self occasionally diverged from those embodied in his poems.

2.

As an adolescent serf, Shevchenko became a lackey (*kozachok*) in the household of his owner, Paul Engelhardt. In the autumn of 1828, the fifteen-year-old boy left his homeland to travel with his young master to Vilnius and then to Warsaw. In the beginning of 1831, he joined the Engelhardt household

in Petersburg, to which the landowner had fled somewhat earlier from the impending Polish revolution; it is in Petersburg that Shevchenko was to spend most of his life.

In 1843, Shevchenko, then a free man and a promising artist and poet, decided to visit his homeland. That decision was charged with doubts and hesitations.[2] Ten months later he returned to Petersburg, having realized that the actual conditions in Ukraine justified his misgivings. Deeply disappointed, the poet returned to his friends, to his studies at the Academy of Art, to the business of arranging for the publications of his poetry. He, as it were, returned home from a marred holiday to take up his normal life. And yet, in letters to friends, he continued to call Russia a foreign land and cursed Petersburg as a heartless, alien city.[3]

Such seemingly paradoxical attitudes toward the homeland and the host country are not strange to émigrés. An individual, after dreaming about his homeland for many years, finally risks a visit, and becomes hopelessly disappointed with what he encounters. Among other interesting ramifications of such situations is the sudden confrontation of dream by actuality—a clash which, in its various specific conformations, becomes central in the psychology of the émigré.

Shevchenko, characteristically, refused to be victimized by the psychological trauma of his first visit. Two years later, he traveled to Ukraine again, as if to check his initial impressions; it is not out of the question that the poet wanted to stay in Kiev for a longer period. Be that as it may, Shevchenko was arrested in 1847 and transported as a political prisoner back to Petersburg, where he was tried and condemned to banishment. Thus began his deeper exile in the Kirghiz steppes—away not only from his beloved Ukraine but also his near-native Petersburg.

It was about Petersburg that Shevchenko dreamed when, toward the termination of his banishment in 1856-1857, he was shuttled from one Russian city to another. "What will I do without my Academy," he wrote in his diary upon receiving the news that after his release he would be forbidden to reside in Petersburg, "about which I dreamed so sweetly and so long?"[4] When that ban was finally lifted in 1858, he greeted the Russian capital like a native son, happy to see again its Academy of Art, its museums and galleries, its theatres and restaurants.[5]

But soon after settling in Petersburg, Shevchenko was again making plans to visit his "dear Ukraine."[6] A year after his release, he received official permission for such a visit. He had hopes of marrying a Ukrainian woman, building a house on the Dnipro, and planting a fruit orchard.[7] However, after a few months in his homeland, Shevchenko was "advised" by the authorities to return to Petersburg. He spent the last three years of his life in his near-native city, ever more intensely longing to settle in Ukraine. A few days before his

death he told a friend that he must "go home" to get well, because only the pure, uncontaminated air of his homeland could cure him.

It is easy to trace in these biographical facts not only several stages but even several kinds of emigration. The journeys of the adolescent serf can be regarded as enforced economic emigration, determined by the boy's social status as a serf and by his specific duties as a lackey. The years after Shevchenko's liberation from serfdom in 1838 can be considered, at least to some degree, as voluntary cultural emigration. There is no doubt that his incredible rise from serf to professor at the Academy of Art would have been impossible in the then provincialized Kiev. For more political reasons, it would have been more difficult for him—paradoxical as this may sound—to become a celebrated Ukrainian poet if he had resided permanently in Ukraine. And his banishment to the Kirghiz steppes is obviously political imprisonment, the implications of which become diametrically opposed to those of his previous states of exile.[8] Finally, the poet's life in Ukraine itself, initially as a socially alienated serf child and later as an emotionally alienated visitor, can be viewed as a kind of exile within his homeland, a state of "internal emigration." It is only in this instance that I would call Shevchenko an "internal émigré."

This reading of the biographical data might be threatened by the obvious fact that, except for a brief trip to Western Europe in his youth, Shevchenko resided within the borders of the Russian empire. Some of his Russian friends considered him not a foreigner but a native of one of the exotic provinces of their vast country. As we shall see later, that attitude in itself imbues Shevchenko's sentiments toward his host country with a rather unusual hue. Should it be more accurate, then, to call Shevchenko a dissenter within the empire, thus finally resigning oneself to the concept of "internal émigré"?

Such a question might be seriously entertained in the case of some of Shevchenko's Ukrainian contemporaries who at certain periods of their lives resided in Petersburg—Kostomarov, Antonovych, even Kulish, and certainly Gogol/Hohol', who experienced the psychologically grounded alternative between Ukraine and the empire especially acutely. Although most of them were quite explicit on the differences between the two nationalities (*dve narodnosti*), they hardly considered their residence in Petersburg as emigration, let alone exile. What finally decides the question of whether or not Shevchenko considered his residence in Petersburg as emigration is the text of his poems. My reading of it should show that not only did Shevchenko regard himself as an actual émigré in Petersburg, but that he pushed that attitude, that psychological self-positioning, to its very limits. It should also show that Shevchenko exhibits surprisingly many negative, inhibiting, even potentially paralyzing, trends inherent in the specificity of émigré literature, and that he succeeds in turning those very weaknesses into tremendous strengths.

3.

Among the most manifest dangers to which the émigré, and particularly the émigré writer, is susceptible is a distorted view of his host country. This may be caused by either too enthusiastic an admiration of the host country, growing out of gratitude and unexamined loyalty, or, more frequently, by a hypertrophied sensitivity to its negative aspects. This latter attitude is often the result of a complex and deeply submerged feeling of resentment, stemming from the fact that one is forced to remain on the periphery of what for one's actual neighbours, co-workers, and personal friends is so conspicuously, even flauntingly, the center. Paradoxically enough, these two contrary sentiments occasionally commingle in a completely irrational, almost ineffable, emotional tangle.

Although in occasional passages of his diary and personal correspondence Shevchenko may be suspected of approximating such a paradoxical emotional complex, in his poetic texts the structure of the émigré's relationship with his host country is far subtler and more interesting. He often ridicules émigré loyalty to the host country, as for example in the early poem "Son" ("The Dream") where we encounter a caricature of an "economic émigré"—a graft-grabbing *zemlyachok* ("country-man"), an ink-stained nonentity who brags in broken Russian about his influence at the imperial court. But it is by no means only the lowly economic émigré, the stupidly insolent clerk, who is the subject of Shevchenko's sarcasm. The Ukrainian political and intellectual leadership, including the Ukrainians attached to the imperial court, also receive their due. Here, of course, Shevchenko generalizes the issue far beyond the émigré status, approximating central definitions of the distribution of power within an empire, although there is no doubt that such privileged Ukrainians resided in Russia for extended periods (often owning townhouses in Petersburg) and acquired its foreign ways. But I think that something more profound than moral censure of prodigal sons is at stake here. The émigré Shevchenko is anxious that the obnoxious ways of his host country will invade and sully not only his own soul but the soul of his homeland: the spirit of the émigré as a flunkey in the host country will become the rule in the homeland as well, and thus the crucial line of demarcation between the host country and the homeland, which should always remain in sharp focus, will slowly be dimmed.

In the dramatic poem "Velykyy l'okh" ("The Great Mound"), the Ukrainian crow—an evil spirit of the Ukrainian nation—brags to her Russian and Polish sisters that among Ukrainians she:

> ... дворянства страшну силу
> У мундирах розплодила,
> Як тих вошей розвела:
> Все ж вельможній байстрята![9]

(...spawned awful crowds of courtiers in uniforms, hatched them like lice. They are princely little bastards, one and all.)

In a much later poem "Vo Iudeyi vo dni ony" ("In Judea, in days long past"), by the use of the pronoun "we," Shevchenko seems to include a much vaster group of Ukrainians in this estate of utter flunkeyism:

Ми серцем голі догола!
Раби з кокардою на лобі,
Лакеї в золотій оздобі...
Онуча, сміття з помела
Його величества. Та й годі.

(We are utterly naked of heart, slaves with cockades on our pates, lackeys in golden ornaments... Foot wrappings, sweepings from under the broom of His majesty. And that is all.)

We notice, incidentally, that in these two quotations from different periods of Shevchenko's career images of clothing and adornments predominate—uniforms, cockades, golden embellishments which in the second quotation contrast with the dirty rags that a beggar would wear to keep his feet warm. More important, all this is contrasted, again in the second quotation, with the naked poverty of the heart. Here, as in numerous other instances where Shevchenko sneers directly at the cultural values of his host country, power is not only represented by, but actually contained in, gaudy wrappings, made gaudy to mask emptiness. In the specific case of Ukrainians, the deception is still more complicated: the empty trappings of power—the illusion of power—are meant to co-opt the Ukrainian periphery, to lure it with baubles from the center, in order to beggar and trash it much more thoroughly by depriving it of its culture and history. To be a bedraggled exile, an invisible Other, thus resisting co-optation, becomes the only possible moral choice, and the outcast's ragged foot wrappings become the only dignified adornment.

Shevchenko's innate dignity, combined with the fear that he too may be co-opted, forces him to choose the posture of an invisible outcast. Anxiety about preserving the integrity of his identity forces him to pretend that he has none. In such a peripheral situation it is out of the question even to consider any temptations that the host country may offer him. Again paradoxically, he frequently regrets his lack of choice, but although he often admits the powerful temptation that the glitter of fame offers, he quickly reminds himself of its exorbitant spiritual cost.

Shevchenko particularly resents that the host country holds out such promises exclusively on its own terms. This, incidentally, can again be interpreted as an attitude characteristic of the émigré intellectual. In the

introduction to his poem "Haydamaky" ("The Haydamaks") Shevchenko treats this complaint with particularly ascerbic irony:

> Теплий кожух, тілько шкода,
> Не на мене шитий,
> А розумне ваше слово
> Брехнею підбите.
>
> (The sheepskin coat is warm, too bad that it was not cut for me. And your wise words are lined with lies.)

The sheepskin coat—that "peasant" word—by itself flagrantly challenges the goldbraided uniforms, silken cockades, and highfalutin words of the center, even while it ridicules the gibes of the gold-braided ones against Shevchenko himself as a peripheral poet.

Shevchenko's uncanny ability to identify the crass intentions behind the apparently kind attempts of the host country to seduce him, and his categorical, or perhaps downright rude, gesture of rejection of these attempts, lead the poet to open counterattack against its culture, from literature to architecture. Such sallies begin in the earliest phase of his career and end with his very last poem. As I have attempted to show elsewhere, not only the thematic motifs of "canonical" Russian poetry but, what is more interesting, its imagery, style, and language fall prey to the poet's recouping sarcasm.[10]

The very enclave of language frequently becomes the field of such battles. The short, almost cubistically composed poem "Nu, shcho b, zdavalosya, slova?" ("And what, one may ask, are words?"), for example, begins with the supposition that words, together with the voice speaking them, seem to be of little value. But the poet immediately negates this desperate suspicion:

> А серце б'ється, ожива,
> Як їх почує!... Знать, од Бога
> І голос той, і ті слова
> Ідуть між люди!...
>
> (But the heart beats faster, comes alive, when it hears them!... Certainly, it's from God that this voice and these words go among the people!...)

This patently romantic generalization is made more particular by the fact that, as it turns out, those words and that voice come from the homeland. These lines are followed by powerful images of two texts—one implying the host country and the other the homeland—which are meant to oppose each other. One is a sad, moving, but decidedly "unpoetical" folk song, partially quoted and partially alluded to in a masterful montage of text within text; the poet hears a sailor sing it and then remembers it from his childhood in the homeland. The

song, incidentally, echoes Shevchenko's state as a peripheral outcast—a state now become actual, since the poem was written in the second year of his imprisonment:

І жаль мені малому стало
Того сірому-сироту,
Що він 'утомився,
На тин похилився,—
Люди кажуть і говорять:
Мабуть він упився'.

(And I, as a little boy, felt sorry for that ne'er-do-well orphan, that he 'got tired and leaned on a fence, and people said: He probably got drunk.')

The other text, completely submerged and signalled by the single word "Diana," is a parody of the written "canonical" poetry of the host country, a parody of its heedless and haphazard classical allusions together with its fondness of clumsily coquettish periphrases:

...Із туману
Як кажуть, стала виглядать
Червонолицяя Діяна...
А я вже думав спать лягать,
Та й став, щоб трохи подивиться
На круголицю молодицю,
Чи теє—дівчину!...

(Out of the fog, as they say, began to peek the red-faced Diana... Although I already had thought of going to bed, I stopped to take a look at that roundfaced peasant wife or—pardon me—girl!...)

As we notice even in this short quotation, the text of the poem, with its colloquial, chatty tone, mercilessly undercuts the pretentiously literary periphrasis of the moon as Diana, underlining its mediated literariness by the interjection "as they say." The context further compromises the allusion by the manifestly crude wisecrack about Diana's doubtful, albeit widely proclaimed, virginity. Finally, it "demotes" Diana to the ambiance of the Ukrainian village with the single peasant word *molodytsya*. More important, the text of the entire poem stylistically supports its own overtly avowed sympathy with the folksong from the homeland by aligning its style and tone with those of the song. It is the demonstratively "unpoetical" words of both the song and the text—the words that in themselves unrelentingly undermine the high culture of the host country—which solely have the power to awaken the heart.

In the profoundly perplexing poem "Moskaleva krynytsya" ("The Well of

the Muscovite Soldier"), which, among other things, embodies on both the thematic and the stylistic levels the opposition between the authenticity and dependability of the spoken as against the artificiality and unreliability of the written language, Shevchenko directly identifies the literary canon of the host country as an instrument of power, abused for the oppression of even its own people (in this case, the suppression of the Pugachëv rebellion):[11]

> Піїти в одах вихваляли
> Войну й царицю...
>
> (The poetasters, in their odes, praised war and the Empress...)

These lines are obviously antiquated, incidentally providing the author with the opportunity to pun on the word *piyity* which originally had meant "poets" but was subsequently caricatured to mean "poetasters." What is more important, such stylization directly opposes its context—the narrative of an old Ukrainian villager (in the second version of the poem, a haydamak veteran) spoken in plain folk language. This is but a fleeting example of Shevchenko's numerous and lengthier parodies of the "high style" prescribed by Lomonosov for serious Russian poetry, particularly odes, which Shevchenko regards as eminently suitable for sneering at the abuse of power.[12]

In "Moskaleva krynytsya" Shevchenko, going a step further, seems to accuse writing as such of being a subtle instrument of co-optation. For learning to read and write in the Russian army, the hero, a Ukrainian peasant, must make himself ridiculous by wearing a wig—an unnatural, "cultured" adornment, not unlike those of the Ukrainian gentry, here demoted by the peasant word *kosa* ("braid"):

> Бо таки й письма, спасибі,
> Москалі навчили.
> І в косі був, бо й москалі
> Тоді, бач, носили
> Сиві коси з кучерями
> Усі до одного,
> І борошном посипали,
> Бог їх зна для чого!...
>
> (Because the Russians, bless them, taught him to read and write. And he wore a braid, because, you know, Russians [Russian soldiers] at that time, one and all, wore grey braids with locks. And they sprinkled them with flour, God knows for what reason!...)

I should again remind the reader at this point of the obvious fact that Russia played a dual role in Shevchenko's life and work—that of the host country and

that of a ruthless oppressor of his homeland. All his sarcasm, as an émigré, against his host country is immediately taken up and legitimized by Russia's other role in his life. This is particularly true of those instances where Russia appears as the imperialistically co-optative "civilizing Other," depriving its slave nations of their history and substituting for it a makeshift, diluted version of its own culture or a kind of "supranational" (or, more precisely, "infranational") kitsch. An interesting paradox develops here. The evidently negative forces, which usually distort the émigré's vision and often altogether paralyze him, are compelled by Shevchenko to make his vision sharper and more lucid. He, as it were, forces the two images of Russia to reflect upon each other. If Russia were not his host country, his vision of it as the oppressor would be diminished; I believe that a dissenter in the homeland, an inner émigré, would not be able to give his verdicts that added and ultimately ineffable dimension that we find in Shevchenko's poetry.

This by no means excludes Shevchenko's covertly ambiguous attitudes—born of secret envy, perhaps admiration—and, most important, the constant awareness that success is within reach—and the immediate reaction of shame for such feelings. It is precisely this double attitude, with the aspect of destruction stated and the aspect of temptation implied, that strengthens Shevchenko's views on the two faces of Russia. Needless to say, these attitudes cancel each other out when Shevchenko becomes a political prisoner.

In this poetry Shevchenko, as it were, *forced* upon Russia the role of a radically foreign country—an inhospitable, hostile host country—in which he would act out the part of a peripheral alien. He radicalized the differences between Ukraine and Russia to the point of no return. That gesture of severance was so powerful and so convincing not only because Shevchenko justified it by irrefutable historical, political, and cultural arguments but also, and surely more important, because of his irrational, profoundly revolutionary self-nomination as the Other, which radicalized beyond bounds his actual marginal status as ex-peasant, ex-serf, Ukrainian poet, émigré in Petersburg. Going much further down the road of exile in his poetry than in his life, Shevchenko donned masks and assumed postures of a vagrant, a quasi-derelict, an outcast in the fullest meaning of that word—an invisible, transparent underground man.[13] By literally forcing his host country to despise him, and also provoking the displeasure of his actual native readers, he turned himself into a rather special kind of émigré. His posture here is reminiscent of the view on exiles in ancient and, particularly, medieval societies. Because the exile is severed from both the native and the host communities, he is like a member severed from a human body, unable to go on fully living without its center; he is dissociated from the center of the good life, and hence must exist literally beyond the pale, much like a madman or a criminal.[14]

One can go on to say that Shevchenko imposed the fate that he had

constructed for his early lyrical hero, as well as for the heroes of his early dramatic and epic poems, on his own daily existence. Thus he forced life to imitate art, but surely not in the esthetic sense of an Oscar Wilde. An important example of Shevchenko's imposition of the primacy of literature upon life—within the constantly revolving cycle of imagination and experience which is his *oeuvre*—is his goading of the authorities, in his poems and hence by them, into "granting" him the status of a banished political prisoner. A fairly recent comment on a Spanish émigré writer may readily be applied to Shevchenko: a fictional character, together with his author, actually "*wills* imprisonment. It aids self-definition, it helps to clarify choices and commitments, it engenders revolt."[15]

4.

Shevchenko's embodiment of his homeland in the language of his poetry is even more decisively predicated upon his peripheral situation as an émigré than are his attitudes toward his host country. Here we again perceive a duality of vision, both aspects of which reinforce each other.

Shevchenko's relationship to his homeland was shaped by circumstances quite different from those of Ukrainian émigré writers today. To begin with, Ukraine was a part of the empire; moreover, it was potentially accessible to Shevchenko, except for the ten-year period of punitive banishment plus a few episodic bans against his residing in Ukraine. Also, except for ten years of banishment, Shevchenko was not completely cut off from his native readers. And surely most important of all, he did not suffer a complete severance from the native sources of his inspiration, which all too frequently causes the émigré writer's talent to wither.[16] To the contrary, although Shevchenko's knowledge of his native sources was obtained not so much with his mother's milk as by assiduous study, the center of his creative energy is particularly close to the wellsprings of his native culture. And yet, finally, Shevchenko deprived himself (as the Spanish émigré writer José Ramón Marra-López put it about his own situation) of "the direct paralinguistic immersion into the day-to-day signs and nuances of the nation's public life."[17]

Much more atypical is the fact that Shevchenko seems to have deliberately preserved, and even symbolically increased, the distance between himself and Ukraine, while at the same time declaring his closeness to the homeland. A significant example of such distancing is Shevchenko's frequent practice of abstracting Ukraine as a land and a people by means of powerfully dramatic personifications—abstracting the country through the extravagant concretization of it as a person. True, when we consider Shevchenko's most familiar personification of Ukraine as mother, we should keep in mind that such allegorization in itself is so ancient and so widely used that it has become a de-

personified, neutralized platitude, as the English-language "mother country" shows. But when we gather together his numerous images of Ukraine as a mother, we soon see that the allegorical figure is so opulently molded, so fully articulated, so worked or, if you will, so carefully manipulated that it *almost* loses its intended nature of allegory and *almost* becomes a figure in and for itself. As such, it joins the elaborate structure of prominent female figures in Shevchenko's poetry—the poet's actual mother, numerous embodiments of his lovers, his Muse, and, finally, the Virgin Mary. The homeland is distanced by becoming the crowning metaphor of another emotionally powerful paradigm, the Eternal Feminine, responding to the poet's emotional (perhaps even unconscious) needs much more immediately than to his vision of the political reality of the homeland.

Along with such personifications Shevchenko seems to distance the homeland by means of excessively idealistic symbolization, thus shifting it to yet another emotionally charged paradigm. Here is the well-known opening of the early poem "Rozryta mohyla" ("The Excavated Well"):

> Світе тихий, краю милий,
> Моя Україно!
> За що тебе сплюндровано,
> За що, мамо, гинеш?
>
> (O quiet world [light], o beloved land, my Ukraine! Why have they plundered you, why are you dying, mother?)

More interesting than the personification of Ukraine as mother is the pun implied in the words "svite tykhyy." Although the most obvious meaning here is that Ukraine is "a quiet world," which is reinforced by "krayu mylyy," the older definition of the word *svit* as "light" hints at a more significant, and a more provocative, design. The phrase repeats the beginning of a liturgical song, where it serves as an apostrophe to Christ. My guess that Shevchenko intended this pun is supported by the opening of his much later poem "Svite yasnyy! Svite tykhyy!" ("O bright light! O quiet light!"), addressed directly to Christ, criticizing the quietude of His light and calling upon Him to clean out, in the gesture of a haydamak, the imperialistic Russian Orthodox Church. What interests me in the earlier poem is that the counterposition of the powerful symbol "Christ" and "beloved land" goes far in the direction of abstracting that "beloved land" by elevating it to the metaphysical height of the divine symbol. The extraordinary degree of symbolization, and hence abstraction, of the homeland is, according to Paul Ilie, an important characteristic of émigré literature.[18]

The controlling psychological effect of personification, symbolization, and other devices, too numerous to mention, of the distancing of the homeland

is finally paradoxical: actuality is kept at bay, so as to retain a *certain* Ukraine—a certain profile of Ukraine—intimately close and unsullied. This effect is enhanced by a pretense at actuality, a playing with actuality, such as dedicating poems to actual persons and addressing such persons directly, casual mentioning of daily details, etc. Although we readily see parallels between the events pertaining to the homeland which are alluded to in the poetry and those which are more fully developed in the correspondence and the diary, such events in the poetry are radically distanced by a sort of mythical atmosphere, a dreamlike aura, which invariably surrounds them.[19]

The unclouded profile of the homeland that Shevchenko frequently advances in his early, and occasionally later, poetry is the homeland of personal and collective memory, overdetermined or valorized by imagination. Hence, two disparate temporal planes go to comprise the past as it is oneirically remembered: the historical, collective past of the Cossacks—already romanticized by the historians whom Shevchenko read or with whom he corresponded and conversed—and the poet's personal past embodied in overdetermined visions of a childhood spent in the homeland. Occasionally these two planes meet almost imperceptibly in a single metaphorical continuity. A rather superficial but nevertheless vivid example of such blending of historical and psychological time can be found in the epilogue to the poem "Haydamaky," where Shevchenko proudly declares that as a young boy he walked with bare feet the same paths that the haydamaks once had trod. Most often, however, such fusion takes place on deeper and less obvious levels, as in the case of the understated and yet pervasive self-identification of the narrator with the poem's hero Yarema Halayda. It is accomplished on the compositional level by frequent autobiographical intrusions into particularly dramatically heightened, particularly intense historical narratives.

The émigré writer's past life in the homeland, especially if it is distanced by time, somehow becomes predicated upon the past glory of his people; *both* of those times were happy times, and they were happy *together*. Even more characteristic are instances where the energies moving both of these temporal planes become fuelled (overdetermined or valorized) by his imagination. Such investment in itself can be very productive, and it is by no means restricted to émigré poetry.[20] Sometimes, however, it is so deeply interiorized that it causes debilitating frustration, which, in turn, paralyzes the subject's ability to differentiate not only between fiction and actuality but also between good and bad art, which, in the end, becomes one and the same. In his émigré situation of perceptual and experiential deprivation, together with an intense disenchantment caused by a sense of hopelessness, such a writer—frequently in spite of his own wishes—turns his writing into a desperate affirmation of the oneiric visions of his own past, changed as they are by his desire. This, in turn, founds his "unrealistic" visions of the future in which everything will be

overturned as if by magic. Such stubborn affirmation deprives the writer of the playful distance, and even irony, which would again "enchant" the language of his art.

As an extreme example of the overdetermination of memory by desire, Shevchenko repeatedly refers to the homeland of his childhood as paradise and, almost in the same breath, to the time of the Cossacks as a mythical time of childlike play (as if actually imagined by a young boy), which somehow went together with superhuman heroism and an almost Olympian majesty.[21] The dark profile of actuality, overshadowed by heart-rending disappointment, is frequently suppressed, so that its unclouded, childlike profile be fully illuminated. That dark profile, nevertheless, almost like the shadowed products of the unconscious, begins to be felt and eventually intrudes, particularly after Shevchenko's first trip to Ukraine. The shock of disappointment that the youthful poet experienced at that time may have been, at least in part, the result of his former, powerfully interiorized, metaphorical distancing of the homeland; homecoming may have seemed to him to be a deeper and a more dangerous exile because actual events there threatened to rob him of his vision of Ukraine. Notice that in the following two excerpts from "Son," which deal with the theme of leaving the homeland *again*, the images of "paradise" and "mother" predominate. Also notice the secondary images having to do with clothing—the horrible divestment of the vanquished for the purpose of horribly investing the conqueror's progeny:

Он глянь: у тім раї, що ти покидаєш,
Латану свитину з каліки знімають,
З шкурою знімають,—бо нічим обуть
Княжат недорослих.
.....
Тяжко матір покидати
У безверхій хаті,
А ще гірше дивитися
На сльози, на лати.

(Oh, look. In this paradise that you are now leaving, they tear a tattered coat off a cripple's back; they tear it off together with the skin to make boots for unripe princelings.
.....
It is hard to leave one's mother in a roofless hut, but it is harder still to look at her tears and her tatters.)

These examples and the large number of other poems which deal with the theme of leaving the homeland suggest how emotionally draining and excruciating such leave-taking must have been. Shevchenko's threats of never returning to the homeland—probably the most desperate decision that any

émigré can make—are directed, in the following quotation from "Son," not only against the enemies but also the circumspect "unenemies" (a play on the Polish word *nieprzyjaciel*, literally "unfriend"), his wealthy countrymen who let their country be ravaged and raped even as they lavishly entertain him:

І вороги й не-вороги
Прощайте! В гості не приїду!
Упивайтесь, бенкетуйте!
Я вже не почую—
Один собі на вік-віки
В снігу заночую...

(Farewell, my enemies and my unenemies! I will never return as your guest. Get drunk, make merry, I will never hear you now—all by myself, forever, I will go to sleep in the snow...)

And in the following quotation from "Try lita" ("Three Years") Shevchenko's threat never to return to his homeland is predicated upon the passing of his youth and the death of his happy dream of Ukraine after his visit—a dream that in the past used to be embodied in the happy words of his youthful song:

Чи голосно зневажайте,
Чи нишком хваліте
Мої думи,—однаково
Не вернуться знову
Літа мої молодії,
Веселеє слово
Не вернеться!... І я серцем
До вас не вернуся,
І не знаю, де дінуся,
Де я пригорнуся,
І з ким буду розмовляти,
Кого розважати,
І перед ким мої думи
Буду сповідати.

(Insult my poems loudly or praise them in whispers—whatever you do, my young years will never return, and neither will my happy word. And I will never return to you in my heart. And I do not know what I will do with myself now, where I will turn, find shelter, with whom I will converse, whom I will entertain, and to whom confess my poems.)

It is as if the banished Shevchenko banishes the actuality of his homeland from his presence.

The spiritual cost of this "reverse banishment" can be heavy. One such

sacrifice involves the émigré's inability to live his time which, rather than distance, becomes his worst enemy, although ultimately time and distance are predicated upon each other. The years spent in the host country fly by much too quickly because they are now empty of significance (since all meaning has been relegated not only to another place but to another time), while boring days and especially nights, unrelieved by luminous moments of celebration, crawl along at an excruciatingly slow pace. After his ill-fated visit, as after the death of someone near, Shevchenko learns to experience émigré time for what it is: borrowed time, empty time. He particularly suffers from this temporal void because in Petersburg the aurora borealis makes even the distinction between night and day smudged and somewhat dubious:

І день—не день, і йде—не йде,
А літа стрілою
Пролітають, забирають
Все добре з собою.

(The day is a day and not a day, it passes and does not pass, while the years fly by like arrows, taking with them all that was good.)

To die and to be buried in a foreign land is perhaps the émigré's most terrifying nightmare. And Shevchenko frequently expresses his acute anxiety about being buried in the distant wasteland of snows and sands, the land of the dead in Ukrainian mythology, which for him is a constant symbol of Russia. The thought of even a sumptuous funeral in the host country, as he states in "Moskaleva krynytsya," becomes intolerable:

Чи чув ти, що кажуть: легше умирати
Хоч на пожарині в своїй стороні,
Ніж в чужій—в палатах...[22]

(Have you heard what they say? It is easier to die in one's native parts, even if it be among smoldering ashes, than in palaces in a foreign land...)

The imagined site of death and burial in the native land is almost invariably not a desolate, fire-ravaged ruin, but the paradise of a dream-like, heavily overdetermined landscape. Another "Son"—a much later work than the longer and more famous poem with the same title discussed above—consists, in the main, of manifestly mythicized Ukrainian landscapes, the romantic visions of which visit the poet in a dream:

Дивлюсь—аж он передо мною
Неначе дива виринають,
Із хмари тихо виступають:
Обрив високий, гай, байрак.

(I look—and suddenly before me emerge seeming marvels, quietly stepping out of a cloud: a steep precipice, a grove, a green valley.)

It is in such a setting that an old Cossack is ending his life in seemingly serene dignity. He thanks the Lord for permitting him to die on the "holy hills" near the river Dnipro.

A very important change, however, occurs in the poem when the hills, first called "holy" ("Na si svyati hory"), are eventually seen as "despoiled" ("Na tykh horakh okradenykh"). This change is supported by the broader context, for the lyrical descriptions of the oneiric landscape are brutally interrupted by dissonant, dark notes. In a "Gothic," early-Gogolian image an old Cossack church, conversing with the Dnipro river, looks out upon the world with its moldy panes, as a corpse would stare out of its coffin with green, dead eyes. Addressing the chapel, the poet asks:

Може, чаєш оновлення?
Не жди тії слави!
Твої люди окрадені,
А панам лукавим
Нащо здалась козацькая
Великая слава?!

(Perhaps you are awaiting renewal? Do not expect such glory! The backs of your people are broken, and what need have the evil lords of the great Cossack glory?)

The old Cossack then expresses embittered opinions on Ukrainian history and the role of Cossack leaders in it. He blames the hetmanate for having ruined "God's paradise" ("Zanapastyly Bozhyy ray"), and finally questions the success of Christ's attempts to change "God's people" ("Lyudey Bozhykh").

The quality of the valorized descriptions of the Ukrainian landscape is now altered by these sober historical considerations. Such subtle changes in value-bestowing are precipitated by the emergent opposition between the outer-directed vision of the eyes which, paradoxically, continue to valorize the immediately perceived (paradoxically, because the immediately perceived is really seen in a dream, removed from the present by valorized memory) and the inner-directed vision of the heart which refuses such valorization. Here we have an interesting reversal of the familiar Platonic-romantic model of the relationship between outer and inner vision, to which Shevchenko occasionally turns even as early as "Dumy moi..." ("My thoughts..."). Such a reversal, in itself also romantic, is necessary in this poem because nature, initially estheticized by poetic dreaming, now becomes ethicized by historical considerations:

І все те, все те радує очі,
А серце плаче, глянуть не хоче.

(And all of it, all of it, gladdens the eye, but the heart weeps and does not want to look.)

We see such ethicization of nature, to its detriment as a prelapsarian paradise, everywhere in Shevchenko. More interesting, the opposition between the oneirically valorized and the historically wakeful views are embodied in two distinctly separate orders of poetic discourse which constantly threaten to annihilate each other.

The two subtly conflicting moods in the poem are but one of the many embodiments of a rift in Shevchenko's view on the past of his homeland. Even as he constructs valorized images of his past and the nation's past—together with equally valorized visions of the future predicated upon such visions of the past—he opposes to them passages of condemnation of the historical past, both of the nation and of his personal life. Even more interesting are passages of ironical criticism of his own childishly enthusiastic glorification, which immediately follow, and undercut, a moment of celebration. Now the past is not enthusiastically learned and re-imagined from romantically coloured history books, but existentially experienced *through* the present. It follows that in the language of such critical views of the past, declamatory ebullience and general "poeticity" are exchanged for sardonically sparse and concrete diction, based on specific detail, the latter frequently challenging and undoing the former. Such a double view on the past of the homeland begins in the works written after Shevchenko's first visit to Ukraine—which seems to be symbolized as a kind of "falling into sin"—and continues into his late poetry. As early as "I mertvym i zhyvym..." ("To the Dead and the Living..."), the phillipic against the bad faith of young Ukrainian intellectuals, we observe the practice of setting up and immediately undercutting the romantic image of the Sich Cossacks as carefree adolescents, capable of Homeric heroic feats. The majesty of the hetmanate receives similar treatment when it is linked with, and sometimes made directly responsible for, the landowners, both foreign and native, who ruthlessly exploit the Ukrainian people. Such angry passages do not replace those in which the Cossack past is unequivocally glorified; the two contradictory attitudes continue side by side, constantly reflecting on and interrogating each other.

An almost analogous, but perhaps even more dramatic, movement proceeds on the temporal plane of the poet's personal past because, as I have already pointed out, the two planes seem to depend upon each other. In the powerful poem "Yakby vy znaly, panychi" ("If you only knew, lordings")—which, incidentally, is also a literary polemic against the poetry of the center

and of Ukrainian folkloristic sentimentalism, and, at the same time, a bitterly sarcastic instance of metaphysical rebellion against the highest center of the Divine—Shevchenko's cherished image of his childhood as paradise is mercilessly pierced and torn asunder by the image of that childhood as hell on earth:

Якби ви знали, паничі,
Де люди плачуть, живучи,
То ви б елегій не творили
Та марне Бога б не хвалили,
На наші сльози сміючись.
За що, не знаю, називають
Хатину в гаї тихим раєм?
Я в хаті мучився колись,
Мої там сльози пролились...
.....
У тій хатині, у раю,
Я бачив пекло...

(If you only knew, lordlings, the place where people live by weeping, you would stop composing your elegies, and you would not praise God in vain, laughing at our tears. I have no idea why they call a hut in a grove a quiet paradise. I suffered grief in such a house long ago, and my tears flowed there... In that hut, that paradise, I saw hell.)

Notice the impersonal "nazyvayut'" ("they call") within its immediate context: it is as if on this ethical level of his poetic discourse Shevchenko is forced to abdicate the responsibility of himself having called a peasant hut "paradise" a few poems before, assigning that image, which has now become an instance of bad faith, exclusively to the lordling poets.

Shevchenko's investigation of his own oscillation between the two extreme views on the role of the homeland in the émigré's life seems to turn, in the poem "Buvaye v nevoli" ("It happens that in captivity"), into a feverish search for identity. This search involves not only his personal past but also the historical past of his nation. Here, in fact, it is quite difficult to differentiate between the two temporal planes, as his "ancient past" imperceptibly blends with images of the Cossacks:

Буває, в неволі іноді згадаю
Своє стародавнє; шукаю-шукаю,
Щоб чим похвалитись, що й я таки жив,
Що й я таки Бога колись то хвалив!
Шукаю, шукаю...

(It happens that in captivity I sometimes remember my ancient past. I search, search for something that would give me reason to boast that I too once lived, praising God! I search and I search...)

We have seen that Shevchenko's passionately out-spoken examination of the historical past of his homeland goes hand in hand with his unabashed romantization of that past. This oscillation can be interpreted as the difference between received tradition, so zealously protected by the émigré, together with the ensuring need to turn historical facts into mummified quasi-myths for "safer" preservation, and pathbreaking visions, perceived from the geographically and spiritually distant perspective of exile. Such an inconsistent, wavering stance is precisely what protects Shevchenko from the dangers that threaten the émigré when he faces his homeland. Two potentially dangerous views on the homeland—glorification of its past and heedless deprecation of its now alien-bound present—are counterposed in Shevchenko's poetry in such a way that they save the poet, not by blocking out but by intensifying his émigré status. And the constant oscillation between plus and minus, with its adhering interillumination, offers an excellent example of the romantic text opposing and undermining itself by means of romantic irony. It is irony, in short, that saves the émigré from the dangers of his status in Shevchenko's text.

Such salvaging of the émigré's view on his homeland through the two intersecting temporal planes of the personal and the historical past, and the two contradictory attitudes attending each of these planes, does not occur within the boundaries of any single temporal plane or any single attitude, or in the supplanting of such planes and attitudes with each other. It occurs somewhere "in-between," somewhere within the very energy that courses between the lines of the personal and historical past, the individual and collective present. It occurs in the energy of that quest, that *shukayu*, which is so characteristic of Shevchenko.

5.

Another danger that threatens the émigré writer is a warped perception of his identity. It directly ensues from the émigré state of petrified temporality. Basing himself on Bergson, John G. Gunnell writes:

> Man first existed in space but he first became aware of himself in time, for it is only in terms of time that thought becomes conscious of itself. The discovery of the self and the experience of temporality occurred simultaneously since it is the self that posits, separates and mediates the dimensions of past and future.[23]

The émigré's mythologization of the historical past of his nation, and especially of his personal past, almost always implies the corresponding mythologization of his self. The émigré obsessively concentrates on his self, aggrandizing it beyond belief so as not to lose his memories, which comprise his self, in the daily onslaught of the tides of the alien sea. Glauco Cambon, writing about Dante, speaks of the émigré poet's "vindication of the self as a center of experience."[24] It is, paradoxically, precisely this overprotective attitude that threatens the self in much more serious ways that the intentional casting of it into the stream of daily activity, because such inauthentic conservation and hypertrophy of the self, as it is fed with memories of the past, is already a kind of death.

Shevchenko's hypertrophic concentration on the self and the urgent immediacy of the language in which that self is often embodied can be viewed in the light of the proposition that the émigré is cut off from living dialogue because, being isolated from community, he is isolated from communion.[25] As early as the Middle Ages the émigré was regarded as "a creature without dialogue."[26] In the poem appropriately entitled "Zarosly shlyakhy ternamy" ("My roads are overgrown with weeds") Shevchenko writes:

> Мабуть, мені не вернутись
> Ніколи додому;
> Мабуть, мені доведеться
> Читати самому
> Оці думи!... Боже милий!
> Тяжко мені жити!
> Маю серце широкеє—
> Ні з ким поділити!
>
> (I will probably never return home; I will probably have to read these poems all by myself. O, dear God! My life is so heavy! I have a wide heart, and nobody to share it with!)

The émigré needs to speak, even if it be to himself, as if his voice, given the drastic decrement of efficacious intentional acts, were the only proof of his identity and hence of his existence. What is exceptionally interesting in Shevchenko, however, is that in the midst of even his most abject monologues he almost imperceptibly establishes a dialogical relationship with the reader. Within his images of lived speech, he actualizes and even dramatizes the implication that his poems are, in fact, written and one day will be read. From his first published poem to the last Shevchenko speaks with others, even when they are obviously absent, do not exist, or are not human. He frequently speaks not only to himself but also with himself, addressing himself in the second person singular. The obviously dialogical nature of such self-address is

emphasized by the tone, frequently bantering and ironical, whose function is to check the immediately preceding attitude cast in a contrasting mood. In the poem with the telling first lines "Khiba samomu napysat'/ Taky poslaniye do sebe" ("Perhaps I should write an epistle to nobody but myself"), we find an exceptionally heart-rending passage, written in the first person, bemoaning the fact that the poet is forced to write for himself alone, without a ray of hope for present or future readers. Suddenly, however, the poet turns to himself in the second person with an immediately effective image of jocular, highly idiomatic direct speech, constructed of abbreviated syntactical structures and generously larded with folksy expressions and vivid "linguistic gestures":

Нічого, друже! Не журися!
В дулевину себе закуй,
Гарненько Богу помолися,
А на громаду хоч наплюй—
Вона капуста головата!
Автім—як знаєш, пане-брате:
Не дурень—сам собі міркуй!

(Forget it, friend! And do not worry! Enchain yourself in irons, say a decent prayer to God, and you might as well spit on the community—it is nothing but a cabbage head. But then, after all, do as you see fit, sir confrere: you are not a fool—use your own head!)

The poet establishes a dialogue with himself, in order to tell himself not to hope for dialogues. What is more, he interrupts this informal chat with himself in midstream, in a move worthy of an experimental novelist circa 1989, to tell himself that, after all, he does not need his own advice because he is bright enough to know what to do.

Another example of dialogical division of the self occurs in the poem "Nu shcho b, zdavalosya, slova?" when the poet, after copiously weeping over his lost youth, stems the flow of self-pity with a sudden ironical thrust against his own maudlin mood. Again, the two edges of the irony are in full evidence, inasmuch as the reason for the poet's despair—his captivity—is by no means trivialized but, on the contrary, stands out in sharp relief:

Чого ж тепер заплакав ти?
Чого тепер тобі старому
У цій неволі стало жаль?
.....
Що ось як жити довелося?
Чи так, лебедику?—Еге!...

(Why are you weeping now? What are you so sorry for now, old man, in this captivity?... That you have to live in this way? Isn't it so, ducky?—Yes, sir!)

More conventionally, Shevchenko addresses dozens of individuals—friends, fellow writers and intellectuals, actual or would-be lovers, parents, historical personages long dead. He constantly turns to readers, both actual and imagined, whose existence he at the same time doubts. As a romantic, he apostrophizes his homeland, natural objects and entire landscapes, the moon, the stars, his Muse, and, more frequently than most, God Himself. He is particularly fond of speaking directly to his fictional characters, suddenly projecting them onto the plane of actuality. Moreover, he posits—and this is surely unusual for his time—an interlocutor who is absolutely transparent, an absence as a minus-device or a sign of absence which is turned into a presence solely by the manner in which the poet directs his voice. Thus Shevchenko overcomes the curse of non-dialogue to which he as an émigré was condemned. His victory is so pronounced that it overcompensates for lack of speech; his lines, more so than those of most poets, ring with various and diversified voices, teem with voices, become almost oversaturated with voices. And while these voices oppose themselves to silence, they include silence in their very transcendence of it, as the early poem "Osyka" ("The Aspen") indicates:

Молюся, знову уповаю,
І знову сльози виливаю,
І думу тяжкую мою
Німим стінам передаю.
Озовітеся ж , заплачте,
Німії, зо мною
Над неправдою людською,
Долею лихою...

(I pray and again hope, and again pour out tears, and I pass my heavy thought to the silent walls. Speak, weep with me, you silent walls, over human injustice and over evil misfortune.)

Within the highly charged field between the two points of the dialogical bifurcation of the poet's self, in which that self lives and heals itself, it tirelessly converses with itself, interrogating itself about exile and its attendant contradictory emotions, especially about guilt and doubt, the most baffling of all the emotions experienced by an émigré, particularly by one with Shevchenko's heartening view on the world.

Shevchenko frequently expresses feelings of guilt about having left his homeland. Abandonment of one's home becomes self-abandonment, and an utterly immoral act. The magnificent early poem "Kateryna," for instance, can be read as a narrative of exile, reminiscent of Shevchenko's own attempts to find happiness in the "sands and snows" of Russia and his guilty conscience about such efforts. Another example of this thematic strain is the strong poem "Ne kyday materi" ("Do not abandon your mother"), written in 1847 during

Shevchenko's initial imprisonment in Petersburg. The body of the poem implies that the heroine's homeland suffers by her disloyal departure. And its closure openly hints at young Shevchenko's own situation in Petersburg and the anxiety that it must have caused him:

> Віщує серце, що в палатах
> Ти розкошуєш, і не жаль
> Тобі покинутої хати...
> Благаю Бога, щоб печаль
> Тебе до віку не збудила,
> Щоб у палатах не найшла;
> Щоб Бога ти не осудила,
> І матері не прокляла!
>
> (My heart divines that you luxuriate in palaces and do not sorrow after your abandoned house... I pray to God that grief never wake you for the rest of your life, that it never find you in the palaces—that you never condemn God or curse your mother!)

In a number of *Ich-Gedichte* the poet fears that by leaving home and participating, no matter how marginally, in the alien culture of the unfriendly host country, he broke solidarity with his downtrodden countrymen. Here the feeling of guilt fades into the more corrosive emotion of doubt. In some of his most desperate lyrical poems, Shevchenko blames himself not only for having abandoned the homeland, but for further alienating himself from the people by having become a poet and therefore a "homeless" member of the intelligentsia, which pushed him into an even deeper exile of punitive banishment. In 1847, during the intial term of his imprisonment in Petersburg, Shevchenko writes:

> Дурний свій розум проклинаю,
> Що дався людям одурить,
> В калюжі волю утопить.
>
> (I curse my stupid brain for having let myself be duped by fools, and having drowned my freedom in a mud puddle.)

Shevchenko's subtexts, gleaned from various poems, seem to bring together several meanings of "erring," which also obtain in Ukrainian, such as "wandering," "deviating from the moral code," "being mistaken." There is something morally not quite right in the émigré's straying; he must have committed an error, perhaps even a sin, by having left his homeland. His wandering is not the result of sin, as it is in the case of Cain and his numerous literary progeny; it is wandering itself that constitutes a sin. It is fitting, therefore, that such a life of "erring" be punished by a lonely death in a sandy, snowy landscape, itself the land of "svit za ochi" ("God knows where"—

literally, "beyond the reach of the eyes"), the wasteland of Moroka, Marena, death.

Besides his fear of a miserable death, a fear which Shevchenko expresses from "Dumy moi" to his very last poem, he also longs for a speedy death which would terminate his unbearable life in exile or, perhaps, punish him for his erring ways. "Zasny, moye sertse, naviky zasny, / Nevkryte, rozbyte..." ("Sleep, my heart, go to sleep forever, uncovered and ruined..."), he writes in a brief, painfully despondent poem "Choho meni tyazhko?..." ("Why is my heart so heavy?"). And thoughts of death occasionally focus on thoughts of suicide. In a poem dedicated to his friend, the actor Mykhaylo Shchepkin, Shevchenko's voice borders on hysteria:

> Стань же братом, хоч одури!
> Скажи, що робити:
> Чи молитись, чи журитись,
> Чи тім'я розбити?!
>
> (Become my brother, or at least pretend. Tell me what to do. Should I pray, should I sorrow, or should I smash my skull?)

Tortured by thoughts of injustice and of his own diminished life, the émigré often turns his fury upon the entire universe. The destructive emotions against the self and against the universe run parallel to each other or, as frequently happens in Shevchenko's poems, gestures of suicidal despair extend outward, turning into gestures of metaphysical rebellion. As early as the poem "Chyhyryn" and, particularly, the first "Son"—both written when the poet had decided to commit his gift to social concerns—we hear grim notes of some impending universal holocaust, a new Judgement Day:

> Нехай же вітер все розносить
> На неокраєнім крилі!
> .....
> Нехай чорніє, червоніє,
> Полум'ям повіє,
> Нехай знову рига змії,
> Трупом землю криє.
>
> (Let the wind smash everything and carry everything away on its boundless wing!... Let it grow black, let it glow red, let the flames blow on everything, let it again vomit dragons and cover the earth with corpses.)

Shevchenko's angry voice frequently reaches up to the Almighty Himself, who either symbolizes the source and essence of the power of earthly autocracy, its "divine right," and then He must be put to sleep, or else He is *deus otiosus*,

indifferent, removed, purblind, and then He must be wakened.[27]

Unlike many émigré writers, Shevchenko refuses to let the emotions of sorrow, guilt, doubt, and blind fury against the universe usurp and rule over the domain of his poetic language. Like much else in Shevchenko's world, the language of such emotions, from the earliest of his poems to the last, moves side by side with the language of joy and reconciliation. No matter how hard some critics try to prove some neat evolution and resolution in Shevchenko's thought and work, the poet's growth from strength to strength is based not only on his love of life and other people but on that which it opposes but by no means erases—on his dark, destructive, even suicidal impulses. In the very last poem of Shevchenko's *oeuvre*, when illness forces the poet to face the urgent demand of death, we come upon lines of gentle protest in the context of a typically jocular, familiar apostrophe to the Muse:

Ой не йдімо, не ходімо,
Рано, друже, рано;
Походимо, посидимо—
На сей світ поглянем...
Поглянемо, моя доле...
Бач, який широкий,
І широкий та веселий,
Ясний та глибокий...

(Oh, let us not go, let us not go yet; it is early, friend, it is early. Let us stroll awhile and sit together. Let us look at this world... See how wide it is, how wide and happy, how bright and deep.)

This passage follows, and contradicts, lines in which the poet ironically accepts the dreadful sign of his mortality:

Втомилися і підтоптались,
І розуму таки набрались,—
То й буде з нас!—Ходімо спать,
Ходімо в хату спочивать.

(We are tired and we are growing old, but we have learned an awful lot. Now we have had enough! Let us go to sleep, let us go into our house to rest.)

To complicate such oppositions, Shevchenko occasionally insists that his hopes are really hopeless self-delusions:

Минають літа молодії;
Минула доля, а надія
В неволі знову за своє,
Зо мною знову лихо діє

І серцю жалю завдає.

(Years of youth are passing; good fortune has passed, and yet hope again repeats its promise in my captivity. It bedevils me again, pouring regret into my heart.)

No matter how excruciating his hoping against hope, the poet is condemned to endure it. Hope is the curse of memory, or of the overdetermined images of desire, closing the past and the future in a charmed ring. The central object of that desire is for Shevchenko the hope of freedom—a hope that in itself already constitutes freedom, as the poem "Chernets'" ("The Monk") suggests:

Не вернеться сподіване,
Не вернеться... А я, брате,
Таки буду сподіватись,
Таки буду виглядати,
Жалю серцю задавати.

(The hoped-for will never return. It will never return... And yet, brother, I will persist in hoping, I will persist in expecting, thus pouring sorrow into my heart.)

Vacillation between the extreme points of hope and despair is an integral component of the émigré psyche.[28] Shevchenko usually, although by no means always, avoids the dangers that this implies, because in his texts one emotion undercuts the other in an almost constant movement of irony, or even outright play. Thus Shevchenko prevents his language from becoming an uninterrupted shout, be it a battle cry or a cry of woe, petrified in the dead air of exile. In his work the alternation between hope and despair, too often the curse of the émigré, becomes a means of constant self-renewal, and therefore it also constantly renews his poetic language.

6.

Everything, of course, depends on a poet's language; everything that can be said about Shevchenko as a poet is predicated upon his tremendous energy of writing. Except for a single, relatively short, "dry" period, Shevchenko's creative energy did not abate until the very last days of his life. It flowed abundantly even during his darkest moments, perhaps especially then. For the émigré writer the ability to create is crucial; for him to speak is to write, and words in his native language become his only viable means of support in the alien sea that surrouds him. More than other writers, the émigré writer is the twin of Scheherazade.

But Shevchenko's energy of writing, tremendous as it is, is fraught with

constant hesitation, constant doubts about its viability, constant oscillation between the poles of vivid speech and dead silence. His scruples and worries about writing, so characteristic of émigré writers, find their way into many letters and poems.[29] In a short lyric, written when Shevchenko was still in banishment, the poet turns his sarcasm against his own passion for writing:

На батька бісового трачу
І дні, і пера і папір!
А іноді то ще й заплачу,
Таки аж надто...

(Why, in the name of the devil's daddy, do I waste my days and pens and paper! And sometimes I even weep a little. And that is really too much...)

As we have seen, in the depths of his despair Shevchenko blames his writing for his personal misfortunes. We may suspect it to be just a romantic gesture, but when, in "Chy to nedolya chy nevolya" ("Is it misfortune or captivity"), he blames his misfortunes on those older intellectuals who severed him from the anonymous community of peasants by teaching him to write "bad poetry," all possible romantic poses are annihilated by sheer personal grief and its actual causes:

Бо ви мене з святого неба
Взяли між себе і писать
Погані вірші научили!
Ви тяжкий камінь положили
Посеред шляху... і розбили
О його—Бога боячись!—
Моє малеє та убоге
Те серце, праведне колись!

(You dragged me down from holy heaven and took me among you and taught me to write bad verses! You put a heavy stone across my path...and, fearing God, you broke against it my small, poor heart, once so virtuous!)

If, within this sarcastically desperate emotional frame (particularly during Shevchenko's punitive banishment), writing poetry is of any use at all, it may help "an old fool to fool himself" or may entertain his lonely soul in feverish self-dialogue. In the late lyric "Ne narikayu ya na Boha" ("I do not complain against God") he writes:

Я сам себе, дурний, дурю,
Та ще й співаючи...

(I, foolish man, fool myself, and singing at that...)

But the writing of poetry has more serious, existential functions than mere amusement, no matter how desperate such amusement may be. The process of writing itself is the vehicle by which hope is sustained and nourished. The poet, immediately after the lines just quoted, juxtaposes the poles of hope and despair within the context of the work of writing, which is compared to agricultural labour. Although it is indeed difficult to establish if it is hope or despair which finally triumphs, we are certain that the labour of writing must go on:

. . . . . Орю
Свій переліг—убогу ниву!—
Та сію слово. Добрі жнива
Колись то будуть. І дурю!
Себе таки, себе самого,
А більше, бачиться, нікого?

(I plough my fallow ground—my poor field—and I sow my word. Someday there will be a good harvest. And do I ever delude! Nobody but myself, myself alone, and, does it seem, nobody else?)

This time the poet does not stop here. He proceeds to answer his timorous question in a powerful passage in which he expresses his unequivocal conviction that his labour of writing will lead to the liberation of his people. The metaphor of agricultural labour acquires Biblical, almost metaphysical overtones. At the end of the poem, nevertheless, he again undercuts that conviction, but with an important difference: sowing his poetic word, which turns out to be both capricious and good at the same time, is an ethical activity, the authenticity of which can never be doubted no matter whether the harvest will be successful or not. In an existential paradox, the labour of writing turns even self-deception into an act of authenticity:

Чи не дурю себе я знову
Своїм химерним добрим словом?
Дурю! Бо лучче одурить
Себе таки, себе самого,
Ніж з ворогом по правді жить
І всує нарікать на Бога!

(Am I not fooling myself yet again with my capricious good word? Yes, I am! Because it is better to fool oneself and nobody else—oneself alone—than live with one's enemy on faith and vainly complain against God!)

The Kierkegaardian leap must be taken, because it is the only authentic resolution of the inauthentic existence in the studios and salons of the capital. Although writing in captivity may prove hopeless, it alone authenticates one's

existence.

As Shevchenko externalizes the splitting of the émigré self in numerous self-dialogues, in order to keep that self intact, so he creates a split between himself as a poet writing and his written products. In his early texts, the poet sends his poems-children to Ukraine, while he himself must remain in exile: they are emissaries to his happy self of long ago. In the works from his middle and late periods, the poems-children are instructed to reverse the direction of their flight; they are to fly from Ukraine to the place of the poet's exile. The self that has remained in the past—that is, in the homeland—now seems to be the source of creativity. In the poem "Na dlya lyudey, tiyeyi slavy" ("Not for people, nor for fame"), we encounter an exceptionally concrete image of the poet's "migrating" words:

З-за Дніпра мов далекого
Слова прилітають
І стеляться на папері,
Плачучи, сміючись,
Мов ті діти, і радують
Одиноку душу,
Убогую.

(It seems that the words fly here from the distant Dnipro and arrange themselves on the sheet of paper, laughing and weeping like children, to cheer my lonely, poor soul.)

The important reason that the split between the self and its creations is not harmful but healing is that these two poles are never petrified in permanent forms. Shevchenko's words, flying back and forth between the homeland and the host country, are indeed movement, energy, *act*. Such migrating poems-thoughts are obviously not *already written*, but image the process, even the physical gestures, of writing. They are the energy that links the past self in the homeland and the present self in exile into a self that transcends them both—the self of the poet as a self writing, writing almost literally between the homeland and the host country.[30]

Next to the preservation of the self and intimately linked with it, writing fills the empty time of the émigré with articulated meaning. It is no wonder, therefore, that in most of what I call Shevchenko's "new-year" poems—preludes to the given year's yield which might have been meant as opening pieces for the various phases of *Kobzar*—melancholy meditations on the empty passing of slow days and speeding years are immediately counterbalanced by strong passages about the process of writing. Writing is expected to anchor the self in the flux of time, as the opening and closure of a "new-year" poem for 1850 suggest:

Лічу в неволі дні і ночі—
І лік забуваю!
О, Господи! Як то тяжко
Тії дні минають!
А літа пливуть за ними,
Пливуть собі стиха,
Забирають за собою
І добро і лихо...
Забирають—не вертають
Ніколи, нічого...
.....
Нехай гнилими болотами
Течуть собі між бурянами
Літа невольничі! А я...
(Такая заповідь моя!)
Посижу трошки, погуляю,
На степ, на море подивлюсь,
Згадаю дещо, заспіваю,
Та й знов мережать захожусь
Дрібненько книжечку... Рушаю!

(I count the days and nights in captivity and forget their number. O God! How heavily those days are passing! And the years flow after them, they flow quietly, taking with them both good and evil. They take and do not return—never, nothing!... Let my years in captivity flow through rotting morasses, among weeds! And as for myself? Such is my resolve: I will sit around a little, walk around a while, look at the steppe and at the sea, I will recall a thing or two, sing a tune, and then I will again embroider my little books with tiny writing...I am setting out!)

In the slow, almost putrid flow of time, in the context of meaningless, incidental activities of boring daily life, there is a single, strong resolve to set out (*rushaty*), to move, to write, as the only authentic movement into the future.

Committed writing—and recall how burdensome that commitment in itself can occasionally be for Shevchenko—structures the creating self, causing it to transcend the poet's mundane existence. It does so by articulating the void counters of émigré temporality, thus giving them meaning. But it can do much more than that. The writing of poetry, in and through its metaphorical language, can structure the futurity of the homeland. Hence from a bothersome curse or from an amusing game, the poetic word evolves into a tool of magic and, finally, into the world-creating Logos. A poem, quoted here on several occasions, begins with the lines:

Ну, що б, здавалося слова?!
Слова та голос—більш нічого!...

А серце б'ється, ожива,
Як їх почує!... Знать, од Бога
І голос той, і ті слова
Ідуть між люди!...

(And what, one may ask, are words? Simply words and voice, nothing more! And yet, when the heart hears them, it beats more quickly, it comes alive. No doubt it is from God that this voice and these words go among the people...)

In a romantic gesture, writing annuls the divine right of the Tsar by the much more viable "divine right" of the poet—the lonely, abandoned, alienated, totally peripheral émigré poet. It challenges, moreover, the source from which all divine right is reputed to emanate. In this thematic phase, it is not some metaphysical region, and not even fecund, innocent nature, but the poetic word itself which is paradise:

Слово моє, сльози мої,
Раю ти мій, раю,

(My word, my tears, oh my paradise, my paradise.)

What saves Shevchenko from the typically romantic "fallacy" of logocentrism (and what may be regarded as a partial result of his existential situation) is once again the energy that alternates between two extreme poles, rather than the poles themselves. Shevchenko's view, on the one hand, of the poetic word as a paltry thing, a toy which "makes nothing happen," and, on the other, his view that the poetic word is a world-creating power do not cancel each other out; one view is never permitted to hold sway over the other for very long, let alone permanently replace it. One may again visualize these two views, these two poles, as extending in lines that run parallel to each other, constantly checking, questioning, challenging, even undercutting, but never obliterating each other. One is indeed tempted to go so far as to say that Shevchenko seems to intuit the shifting, sliding nature of language itself, especially when he writes about language, which he does so frequently. In such passages about the Janus-like nature of poetic language, we again see how in Shevchenko the marginality and "insecurity" of the émigré writer become a lifesaving force.

7.

I have attempted to show in this essay the movement in Shevchenko's texts of a thematic structure of an émigré creating self, of an émigré self creating itself. Let me now briefly sum up my claims.

Many unhealthy elements of the émigré mentality find their way, at one time or another, into Shevchenko's texts. They do not vanish and are never

vanquished; in fact, the poet searches out such potentially dangerous elements in order to exploit them as points of stress in his difficult work of attaining authentic freedom. I have discussed at length Shevchenko's multivoiced style. It is predicated upon the poet's much wider state of motion, which is almost like dancing. Indeed, the most obvious way Shevchenko overcomes the lethal petrification that threatens the émigré writer is his constant dynamism (involving a constant readjustment of his point of view), which embraces everything, including Ukraine and even God. Such a perpetually moving field creates the impression of "émigré" incompleteness, provisionality; *Kobzar* certainly creates this impression. The reader is called upon to work—to complete the *oeuvre* or even the single texts within it, to finish writing them. The reader's work, of course, is not totally free. It is directed at every step by the energetic underground stream of the poet's prepersonal self embodied in the unique sound of his voice, disseminated in, and uniting, his multiple voices.[31] It is in this, although not exclusively in this, that Shevchenko is so reminiscent of a postmodern poet. His *Kobzar* is an "open structure," militating against, let us say, the authoritative finality of a sonnet, a realistic novel, or a "well-made" play.

Shevchenko's poetic thought is lived thought, thought actively thinking and re-thinking itself, always in the process of becoming; his texts become a single text, a text without borders unfurling itself by its variation of constant thematic and stylistic motifs,[32] by its variegation of voices above the voice of the prepersonal self, and by its dynamic contradictions. Shevchenko, therefore, directly opposes himself to any monumentality. It is only in this constant search for new perspectives, in constant motion, in the refusal to be finished—in this state of freedom—that authentic commitment is possible. In the poem "Try lita," written immediately after his first visit to Ukraine, Shevchenko states:

> І я прозрівати
> Став потроху...
>
> (And I slowly began to regain my sight...)

He continues to cherish this lucidity until the end of his life—this merciless gaze from which no deception, particularly self-deception, can escape for long. Under, or perhaps because of, his countless moments of self-indulgence, the poet ultimately searches out and banishes all traces of it. It is only thus that authentic commitment can become viable.

Being denied, or refusing, a native culture, in the slow stream of which he could be at home from day to day, the émigré writer seems to have a choice of either fabricating a surrogate of his native culture by slavishly adhering to petrified tradition, while everything around him is changing, or freely interpreting or "reading" the text of his native culture, producing his own "version" of it, in

which he could authentically live. Not many have sufficient strength to take the hazardous leap into that authentically creative alternative—a leap vitalized by the ultimate faith in one's own self. Shevchenko was obviously sufficiently strong not only to take that risk but to see and poetically define all its alarming implications. He was strong enough to create a world of language, a metaphorical world with its own light and darkness, joy and grief, desire and frustration, life and death. We all know the result: although most of Shevchenko's world has remained in the text of his poetry, much of it has imperceptibly seeped out into the open work of actuality, helping to write the text of the modern Ukrainian consciousness. And yet, Shevchenko's world (not unlike that of the Bible) is strong enough to resist depletion by such seepages into history. It forever remains new as a text and it continues to offer promises and suggest possibilities, as if it were being written at this very moment, even as I write this sentence.

Can all émigré writers create such a world of their desire, parallel to (but never slavishly imitative of) the actual world of their homeland? Of course not. But all of us are condemned to attempt it. To hazard such attempts means to write. To write authentically. To write by the skin of our teeth. To write so as to save our lives. To write so as to make everything, including the homeland, possible.

NOTES

1. A reading version of this paper was delivered in Edmonton as the Twenty-Second Shevchenko Lecture (and subsequently in Saskatoon and Winnipeg) in March, 1987. Also, this paper should be considered a pendant to my "Images of Center and Periphery in the Poetry of Taras Shevchenko," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences: Studies in Ukrainian Literature*, Vol. 16, No. 41-42 (New York: Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), pp. 81-118. As should become obvious from the two papers taken together, I consider the question of Shevchenko as an émigré poet to lie within the context of his peripheral situation.

2. Immediately before his visit to Ukraine, he wrote to Yakiv Kukharenko: "I have no hope for Ukraine... there are no people there, the devil take it, but merely accursed foreigners [Germans] and nobody else... I have decided not to go to Ukraine, curse it, because there I would hear nothing but weeping." *Povne vydannya tvoriv Tarasa Shevchenka*, 14 vols. (Chicago: Mykola Denysyuk, 1961; based on the edition: Warsaw-Lviv: Ukrains'kyy Naukovyy Instytut, 1930-39), X, 26.

3. Ibid., X, 20.

4. Ibid., IX, 163.

5. Ibid., IX, 221 *et passim.* He wrote Vasyl' Tarnovs'ky, Jr. on October 9, 1859: "Here I am in Petersburg, as if I were in my own living room" (X, 232). In November of 1859, however, he wrote to Varfolomey Shevchenko: "I cannot stay in Petersburg; it will choke me to death. God preserve any christened and unchristened soul from such boredom" (Ibid., X, 234-235).

6. Ibid., IX, 32.

7. From Petersburg, he instructed Mykhaylo and Mariya Maksymovych to find him a suitable bride in Ukraine (Ibid., X, 221). He put a similar request to Yaryna Shevchenko (Ibid., X, 235). On May 25, 1859, he wrote to Marko Vovchok: "Should I hang myself? No, I will not hang myself, I will run away to Ukraine, marry there, and then return, as if washed clean, to the capital [Petersburg]" (Ibid., X, 228).

8. Some scholars of émigré literature call for more refined distinctions. Glauco Cambon points out that "it is unfair to equate the conditions of freely chosen expatriation with exile under duress" ("Ugo Foscolo and the Poetry of Exile," *Mosaic*, 9, No. 1 [Fall, 1975], 126). And Mary McCarthy warns: "There is little in common between the exile and the political prisoner. The latter is not merely set apart as a dangerous undesirable; he is marked for destruction" (quoted in Rosette C. Lamont, "Literature, the Exile's Agent of Survival," *Mosaic*, 9, No. 1 [Fall, 1975], 2). For my purposes, I need a more general definition, although I must differentiate between the exile and the political prisoner.

9. *Povne vydannya tvoriv Tarasa Shevchenka.* All quotations of Shevchenko's poetry are taken from the first four volumes of this edition, but the translations are mine.

10. See my "Images of Center and Periphery...", pp. 110-111.

11. Leonid Pliushch's intriguing and important cycle of essays *Ekzod Tarasa Shevchenka: Navkolo "Moskalevoyi Krynytsi"* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987) reached me too late to be of benefit for this article.

12. That he, indeed, intended such parodies we see in the first draft of the prologue to the poem "Tsari" ("The Kings") which he subsequently discarded:

> А я трохи згодом
> Захожуся коло царів
> Та 'штилем високим'
> Розмалюю помазаних
> І спереду, й збоку.
>
> (And somewhat later, I will take care of the tsars, painting the anointed ones in the 'high style,' both in face and in profile.)

Anybody familiar with that bitterly sarcastic poem knows what kind of portraits

of the "anointed ones" Shevchenko finally produced.

13. See my "Images of Center and Periphery...," *passim.*

14. See David Williams, "The Exile as Uncreator," *Mosaic*, 8, No. 3 (Spring, 1975), 8-9.

15. W. D. Redfern, "Exile and Exaggeration: George Darien's *Biribi*," *Mosaic*, 8, No. 3 (Spring, 1975), 169.

16. The exiled Spanish writer José Marra-López is especially eloquent on this danger. See Paul Ilie, *Literature and Exile: Authoritarian Spain, 1939-1975* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1980), p. 90.

17. Ibid, p. 22.

18. Ibid, p. 56.

19. Russian formalists have shown how in poetry mundane details, surrounded as they are by "poeticalness," can in themselves become devices of distancing.

20. See Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie: Childhood, Language, and the Cosmos*, trans. Daniel Russel (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 108-109, 117, 124 *et passim.*

21. Specifically referring to the topos of the homeland as paradise and offering numerous examples from Spanish émigré literature, Paul Ilie speaks of "immobile idealism" or "infantilist constructions" which pretend to reinforce reality while, in fact, evading it. See Ilie, p. 84.

22. The word *kazhut'* indirectly suggests the fact that these lines are based on a folk song:

> Ой я в чужім краю
> Як на пожарині,
> Ніхто мене не пригорне
> При лихій годині.
>
> (Oh, I live in a foreign land as in the midst of smouldering ashes, and nobody will embrace me in this evil hour.)

It is interesting that Shevchenko reverses the location of the fire-ravaged wasteland.

23. John G. Gunnell, *Political Philosophy and Time* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), p. 11.

24. Cambon, p. 125.

25. The "I" dominates in Shevchenko's texts. The numerous subtle distinctions of the self in his poetry need not concern us here. I discuss them, together with the various half-masks and full masks which that self employs, in "Shevchenko's Profiles and Masks: Ironic Roles of the Self in *Kobzar*," *Shevchenko and the Critics 1861-1980*, ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 398-427.

26. Williams, pp. 3-4 *et passim.*

27. Shevchenko's widely discussed instances of metaphysical rebellion do not require further elucidation or illustration here. Suffice it to say that they too are characteristic of émigré literature, particularly in the romantic period. Other examples of the motif of metaphysical rebellion are found in the works of the quintessential émigré poet Adam Mickiewicz and in Juliusz Słowacki. It seems that the émigré considers himself to be exiled not only from his homeland but also from God, or, more precisely, he considers himself to be exiled from God because he is exiled from his homeland, which itself suffers from political and social injustice. We are again reminded of medieval views on the émigré.

28. "The two sets of alternatives, despair or hope, death or survival, cleave to the common moral foundation of all exiles" (Ilie, p. 87).

29. In 1859, for example, he writes to Varfolomey Shevchenko: "If it were not for my work, I should have gone mad long ago. Meanwhile, I myself do not know for whom I work so hard. Fame is not doing me any good, and it seems to me that if I do not build my own nest [the letter is about buying real estate in Ukraine], my work will once again lead me to the devil "(*Povne vydannya tvoriv*, X, 235).

30. The danger facing the émigré poet in the act of writing is that, as Paul Ilie explains, "the truth, the true self, is elsewhere, distanced from the circumstantial, time-bound self of the poem, and easily traceable to its native soil" (Ilie, p. 45).

31. The notion of the prepersonal self in Shevchenko, which I base on Maurice Merleau-Ponty's theory of perception and José Ortega y Gasset's theory of personality, is developed in my "Shevchenko's Profiles and Masks: Ironic Roles of the Self in *Kobzar*," pp. 399-400.

32. Especially the numerous minimal units, which elsewhere I have called "monads." See Ibid.

J. J. ROUSEAU'S *ÉMILE* AND P. KULISH'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

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Little has been written about Panteleymon Kulish as an educator.[1] The past official Soviet view of him as a liberal bourgeois nationalist prevented any extensive research or publication of his writings.[2] And his works on education were either ignored or, in the case of *Lysty z khutora* (*Letters from the Homestead*), were briefly and negatively mentioned.[3] Yet Kulish was not only a teacher, an author of textbooks, and an activist in the field of education, but a theorist as well. Familiar with Rousseau's *Émile*, he was inspired by Rousseau's ideas on human nature and education and used them as a foundation upon which he developed a personal view of education which was inextricably bound to his unique theory of *khutoryanstvo* (the *khutir* [homestead] way of life).

The educational system in Ukraine in the nineteenth century was singularly dismal. In contrast to the eighteenth century when parochial schools were numerous and widespread, when teaching was in Ukrainian, when schools were open to all classes, and when, as a result, many peasant men and women were literate, by the middle of the nineteenth century, after the Hetman state had been abolished in 1764 and serfdom introduced in 1783, the situation changed dramatically. The educational system became centrally controlled, pupils were segregated according to economic and social class, and teaching was conducted solely in Russian. As a result, the number of parochial schools decreased, and illiteracy increased.[4] In an attempt to remedy this situation Sunday schools were established, first in Kiev in 1859 and then in all the large cities, largely by the *Hromada* (community) societies dedicated to the revival of Ukrainian culture. There were some one hundred such schools in Ukraine from 1859 to 1862, where youth and adults learned to read Ukrainian.[5] These schools came abruptly to an end, however, when in 1863 the Valuev circular, named after the Minister of the Interior, ordered the closing of these Ukrainian Sunday schools and prohibited the publication of religious and educational books in the Ukrainian language.

Kulish's pedagogical experience began very early when he, at age seventeen, became a tutor. Then in the 1840s he worked as a teacher in Luts'k in Volynya, in Kiev, and in St. Petersburg. He also wrote textbooks such as *Povest ob ukrainskom narode* (*A Story about the Ukrainian People*), a history of Ukraine for children which was published in 1846 in *Zvezdochka* (*Starlet*), a St. Petersburg children's magazine. For adults he printed *Hramatka* (*Primer*) on

his own press in St. Petersburg, first in 1857 and again in 1861; this work was a reader consisting of religious selections, such as prayers, psalms, and the story of Genesis, and patriotic selections, such as a thousand year survey of Ukrainian history. He was also actively involved in two associations whose interests included educational concerns. The first of these was the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius of Kiev, which existed from 1846 until the arrest of the members and associates of this secret society in 1847. The Brotherhood, in addition to such aims as the autonomy of Ukraine, the establishment of a Slavic federation, and the abolition of serfdom, advocated the general education of the peasantry.[6] Most of the "Brothers," after their arrest and subsequent exile, were reunited in St. Petersburg where they put out the first journal in the Ukrainian language, *Osnova* (*The Foundation* 1861-62), devoted largely, if not exclusively, to matters of education and cultural enlightenment. Mykhaylo Bernshteyn has pointed out that the participants of the journal not only wrote about educational issues, such as the need for instruction in the Ukrainian language, for lay teachers, and for textbooks, but were also instrumental in setting up Ukrainian Sunday schools and conducted fund campaigns for these schools and for the publication of textbooks in Ukrainian.[7] And *Osnova*'s "*spiritus movens* and main contributor"[8] was Kulish.

Kulish's theoretical writings on education include *Lysty z khutora*, "Rokovyny po Shevchenkovi" ("On the Anniversary of Shevchenko's Death"), later subtitled "Nauka remesla i pratsya narodna po selakh" ("The Teaching of Trades and National Work in the Villages"),[9] "Ustnya mova z nauky" ("Learning the Ukrainian Spoken Language through Teaching"), all of which were published in *Osnova*, and "Vykokhuvannya ditey" ("The Rearing of Children") and "Vykokhuvannya ditey za pidmohoyu shkoly" ("The Rearing of Children with the Help of School"), published in 1869 in *Pravda* (*Truth*), a literary and political journal published by Ukrainian populists in Lviv from 1867 to 1896. All of Kulish's works on education reveal the unmistakable imprint of Rousseau.

Kulish's familiarity with Rousseau's ideas is in itself not unusual since Rousseau's influence on political and educational development in Europe, America, and the Russian empire was profound.[10] In one of his letters to Nadiya Bilozers'ka in December 1847, Kulish wrote, "We [i.e., Kulish and his wife] are reading the writers who have had a decisive influence on France and Europe; for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau."[11] And in his autobiographical novel in verse begun that same year, *Evgeny Onegin nashego vremeni* (*Eugene Onegin of Our Time*), Kulish wrote in chapter four "My poet loved Jean Jacques" and "Jean Jacques Rousseau was a friend of nature, of the good, and of moral freedom."[12] While he was in exile in Tula, *Émile* was one of the European works read by Kulish in the original.[13] Even later, in 1854, Vera Aksakov noted that Rousseau, whom Kulish had called "his best friend in

exile," continued to influence him strongly at the time of his visit to the Aksakov estate.[14]

Émile, a program of education from infancy to adulthood published in 1762, "remains one of the key books of modern times. It has inspired Pestalozzi, Montessori, John Dewey, and other great leaders in educational theory during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[15] Jean Piaget acknowledges that modern educational and behavioural psychology, though modifying Rousseau's ideas somewhat, is inspired by *Émile*,[16] and others assert that today *Émile* is still "the child's charter of freedom and the most influental guide to democratic education."[17] Its well-known main premise is that man is originally good before society corrupts him; the opening sentence reads, "God makes all things good; man meddles with them and they become evil."[18] In order that the original state of goodness be preserved or restored man must rediscover his authentic inner self by discarding all the artificial accretions of modern society and must get as close to primitive nature as possible. Thus the tutor takes the child Émile away from the city to the country, for the best life is, Rousseau writes, "the patriarchal, rural life, the earliest life of man, the most peaceful, the most natural, and the most attractive to the uncorrupted heart" (*É*. p. 438).

Both Kulish's *khutoryanstvo* and his educational philosophy are based on the same premise of the inherent goodness of human nature. And like Rousseau Kulish uses the image of "the heart" to describe the inner and true self as opposed to the false exterior.[19] "The heart," Kulish states, is best preserved in the country, specifically, on the *khutir*, far from the city and its institutions.

In the first two *Letters* Kulish sharply criticizes cities:

> The gentleman glitters with gold, drives in a carriage, but he breathes polluted air!... Are these the luxuries you speak about? Or perhaps they consist of the roaring, the clamour, the hubbub, clangour, and whistling? Are these not the allurements of wretched civilization with which you tempt us from our peaceful melodious homesteads?[20]

Not only are the luxuries of the city illusory, so too are the arts of the city. Moreover, they are immoral, for they are acquired through exploitation and serve only the egoism and self-interest of a limited number:

> We do not envy either these great marvels of the city, or the comforts of the city, for what are these worth, since only about a hundred people live in this comfort and enjoy these various marvels, while thousands of other people are being destroyed like fish by ice.[21]

Kulish condemns the "practical wisdom," the material advantages of urban life, which are enjoyed by only half the population:

> ... half of you are immersed in gold while the other half is sinking into the stench-filled mire and wasting away from infernal labour and dying of starvation... May you civilizers be damned! All you have on your minds is *Sale* and *Consumption*.[22] If the whole world would become involved in business, then you would forsake even God's paradise.[23]

To the falseness, corruption, exploitation, and immorality of cities is opposed the purity, simplicity, wisdom, and morality of the *khutir* and its inhabitants. In the country and in country people renewal is to be found, Kulish states, for they are "healthy like green oaks" and "pure in soul and strong in body".[24] "Are our simple peasant people not worthy of being emulated! There is no education that will give us a more pure *heart* than that of our good peasant and homesteader," writes Kulish.[25] In his speech on the anniversary of Shevchenko's death Kulish again insists, "It is in the country people, in their yet unspoiled nature, that we must seek all our strength for future times."[26] Like Rousseau's Émile, who is reared in the country, so too Kulish's model homesteader and fictional author of *Letters from the Homestead*, Pavlo Beleben', is reared in the country, specifically, on the *khutir*.

In contrast to the more than four hundred pages of *Émile*, Kulish describes his views on education without elaborate detail. Unlike Rousseau who limits his educational plan to the wealthy, assigning one teacher to each pupil, and who plans to shield the child from society until he reaches the age of twenty, Kulish defends the schools advocated by Rousseau's disciples, Pestalozzi and Froebel, and strongly supports education for the peasantry. Yet, despite these differences and others that will be discussed later, the fundamental principles and basic goals of both of these writers are similar, and in many instances are almost identical.

For both Rousseau and Kulish the primary purpose of education is moral education and not the acquiring of knowledge. In *Émile* Rousseau writes:

> It matters little to me whether my pupil is intended for the army, the church, or the law. Before his parents chose a calling for him, nature called him to be a man. Life is the trade I would teach him. When he leaves me, I grant you, he will be neither a magistrate, a soldier, nor a priest; he will be a man. (*É*, p. 9)

Yet since, according to Rousseau, goodness precedes morality, for morality comes at a later stage with the development of reason,[27] education must begin at birth and must consist of the preservation of the child's innate and natural and hence good impulses, so that the moral purpose of education be accomplished:

> We begin to learn when we begin to live... (*É*, p. 9)

> Would you keep him [the pupil] as nature made him? Watch over him from his birth. Take possession of him as soon as he comes into the world and keep him till he is a man; you will never succeed otherwise. (*É*, p. 16)

Consequently he advocates, among other things, the necessity of fresh country air and breast feeding by the natural mother, and condemns such customs as rocking the infant, scheduled rather than demand feedings, and swaddling, stating that the infant "was freer and less constrained in the womb" (*É*, p. 11). Kulish expresses his agreement with Rousseau's views in his articles devoted to early childhood education, "The Rearing of Children," and "The Rearing of Children with the Help of School." Just as for Rousseau, so too for Kulish the primary purpose of education is moral. "Literacy," writes Kulish, "is only a tool for family and household living, and the main thing is still the actual living."[28] Although he was never a parent, he offers some remarkable insights. Here he writes, "Whoever wants ultimately to derive joy from his children, let him teach them home religion [i.e., moral behaviour] right from birth, let him teach them when they are still infants."[29] He also condemns swaddling for it limits "the freedom which God granted every creature; that is, to move when it pleases and to sleep when it pleases."[30] However he disagrees with Rousseau on the matter of regular feedings and considers them good. Could it be because he himself was so "well organized, punctual and tidy"?[31]

In the earliest years and for as long as possible, according to Rousseau, negative education should prevail; that is, education should consist "not in teaching virtue or truth, but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error" (*É*, p. 57). Formal study should be delayed until the age of twelve and reading until the age of fifteen, at which time Émile is to be limited to one book only, *Robinson Crusoe*. The education of Kulish's homesteader Pavlo Beleben' is outlined in Letter V and follows roughly the model proposed by Rousseau: as a child Pavlo is reared on the country *khutir* by his parents; later he travels with the *chumaky* (itinerant salt-vendors); and only afterwards is he exposed to formal study, for Kulish, too, places the acquisition of formal knowledge in a position subordinate to the development of moral behaviour.

The emotions are of prime importance in the rearing of a child since he has not yet developed his reason and experiences the world in terms of his natural sensations and feelings. According to Rousseau's *Émile*, the development of reason does not occur until adolescence or youth, which Rousseau places at ages fifteen to twenty. Only then is Émile capable of having ideas rather than sensations. For the child, however, "sense experiences are the raw material of thought..." (*É*, p. 31), and thus teaching must be carried out through actual acts and experiences and cannot be communicated by abstract thought. This is certainly the type of education that Pavlo Beleben' received:

> I was then only a little boy and uneducated. I didn't yet know about poetry or about the beauties of painting or about musical harmony. Yet it was the *chumaky* who first began to teach me about these things. My soul experienced that feeling which occurs during that intuitive moment when it appears as if the whole of God's universe is communicating with one's soul.[32]

The homesteader Beleben' is speaking now in retrospect; as a little boy, he did not realize that what he had experienced was poetic insight. The thought comes later, after the experience. On this subject Rousseau writes:

> Let us transform our sensations into ideas, but do not let us jump all at once from the objects of sense to objects of thought. The latter are attained by means of the former. Let the senses be the only guide for the first workings of reason. No book but the world, no teaching but that of fact. The child who reads ceases to think; he only reads. (*É*, p. 131)

Rousseau continues to develop the idea that the phenomena of nature are the immediate steps by which the child progresses from experience to thought, for he is so overwhelmed by his experiences that he begins to question them. This is the exact process of the education of Pavlo Beleben'.

Since Rousseau considers education primarily an emotional experience, he thinks it absurd to take the child away from the natural unit of society, the family, where the child first experiences those feelings of love and security that are necessary for moral growth:

> The real nurse is the mother and the real teacher is the father. Let them agree in the ordering of their duties as well as in their method; let the child pass from one to the other... If the mother is too delicate to nurse the child, the father will be too busy to teach him. Their children, scattered about in schools, convents, and colleges, will find the home of their affections elsewhere, or rather they will form the habit of caring for nothing. Brothers and sisters will scarcely know each other; when they are together in company they will behave as strangers. When there is no confidence between relations, when the family society ceases to give savour to life, its place is soon usurped by vice. Is there any man so stupid that he cannot see how all this hangs together? (*É*, pp. 16–17)

Kulish, too, insists that any education that ignores the family will fail:

> We have grown accustomed to seek instruction only in schools, but the home is our first school and our first place of instruction... The home must be the first school and the first church for man. Only those who have come from good homes will effectively profit from the teaching of the school and of the church.[33]

And it is precisely the *khutir* that is "the demesne of a family."[34]

If the child cannot be cared for and educated by the natural parents, which is the case in *Émile* for Émile is an orphan, then Rousseau grants him a foster-mother, who will nurse the child in his early months, and an intelligent, young tutor, who will be not only the child's inseparable guide and teacher for some twenty years but virtually a foster parent, invested with the duties and rights of a parent. Because "true education consists less in precept than in practice" (*É*, p. 9), Rousseau insists that the tutor always set a good example: "Remember you must be a man yourself before you try to train a man; you yourself must set the pattern he shall copy" (*É*, p. 59). Kulish makes similar points about the models children imitate and about the overlapping roles of parent and teacher. Addressing parents, he advises them how to teach through example:

> not merely by words but in deed. If you wish to be a temple in the eyes of your children, let them be a temple to you. Do not defile their eyes or ears with a bad deed or word. Let your children become accustomed to seeing in you not only power, but also justice and kindness.[35]

The teacher, like the parent, must communicate his love and offer a worthy example to be followed; he does not merely convey knowledge. He must respect the domestic lives of his pupils and demonstrate this respect by making his school an extension of their homes. The teacher must, in effect, take the place of the parent.

Discipline, however, cannot be postponed for it plays an important role in the moral training of the child. Lest the child become a tyrant and miserable, writes Rousseau, "Give willingly, refuse unwillingly, but let your refusal be irrevocable" (*É*, p. 55). Kulish essentially repeats this advice in much the same form:

> When the child asks for something he should have, then give this immediately; if it is something unnecessary, then do not give in even once. Then the child will obey a single nod of your head when you say "no" and he will grow, respecting his own and others' rights.[36]

Punishment is essential but only if children fail to respect the rights of others, only if they fail to heed the law of contract upon which society is grounded. They should never, according to Rousseau, be punished arbitrarily, for their punishment must "always come as the natural consequence of their fault" (*É*, p. 65). Kulish in Letter V mentions that Pavlo Beleben', when a child, had never experienced either "beating" or "shouting."[37] But then when he was older he was sent away from home to spend a summer with the *chumaky* in the care of his father's friend, Kyrylo Porokhnya, so that the child might learn of his responsibilities to others. On the trip he was assigned to keep watch on the last

wagon, but fell asleep, fell off the wagon, and was left behind. When Porokhnya found the youth, he lashed him with a whip for breach of contract, but upon their return to camp Porokhnya did not allow others to humiliate Pavlo by laughing at him.

Both writers also agree upon the practical knowledge students are to acquire. Rousseau recommends that Émile, in addition to farming, learn a useful trade such as carpentry. Kulish supports the trades by stressing the need for local trade schools in peasant villages in Ukraine, since tradesmen like carpenters and blacksmiths are scarce, and since the peasant does not want to send his child to serve as an apprentice in the city, where country trades such as "shoe-making, tailoring, harness-making, the furrier's trade, weaving, the blacksmith's trade"[38] are denigrated and where "the master tradesman will turn the child into a townsman... and will make the child different from the peasants in all his customs."[39]

Finally, after both moral and formal education, after physical and vocational training, Rousseau recommends travel for his student, not only in order that he will learn about the social nature of human beings and about the social contract, a summary of which the author provides in *Émile*, but so that, after learning about various countries and governments, he will be able to choose a place to live with his future wife Sophy.[40] Yet travel, warns Rousseau, can be useful only if it follows solid moral preparation at home:

> In the course of their travels, young people, ill-educated and ill-behaved, pick up all the vices of the nations among which they have sojourned, and none of the virtues with which these vices are associated; but those who, happily for themselves, are well-born, those whose good disposition has been well cultivated, those who travel with a real desire to learn, all such return better and wiser than they went. (*É*, p. 419)

In the *Letters* Pavlo speaks of his early travels with the *chumaky*, to whom his father sent him so that he could learn of his obligations to others outside of his immediate family, as well as of his later visits to many foreign lands. But he, like Émile, eventually chooses to live in the country: "...I have remained a simple homesteader, despite the fact that I was fortunate enough to travel to many countries and to speak to many people and to read many books."[41] Both Émile and Pavlo Beleben' desire a simple way of life, to live freely, bound only by the necessities of their natural condition as men. To Émile's declaration, "Give me Sophy and my land, and I shall be rich," the tutor responds, "Yes, my dear friend, that is all a wise man requires, a wife and land of his own" (*É*, p. 420). Although Kulish does not comment on the desirability of marriage, his model homesteader is married and has sons and daughters, all of whom share his simple country life on the *khutir*.[42]

While travelling, Rousseau points out, a person discovers that no perfect government exists anywhere, but that one can be morally free no matter where one lives, as long as one is morally responsible and respects the natural laws:

> Rich or poor, I shall be free. I shall be free not merely in this country or that; I shall be free in any part of the world. All the chains of prejudice are broken; as far as I am concerned, I know only the bonds of necessity. I have been trained to endure them from my childhood, and I shall endure them until death, for I am a man; ... In vain do we seek freedom under the power of the laws... Liberty is not to be found in any form of government, she is in the heart of the free man, he bears her with him everywhere. (*É*, pp. 436–37)

The only reason why his tutor exhorts Émile to live among his countrymen is because they protected him in childhood. He owes them a debt of gratitude, which he should repay in the future by serving as an example and model for others. Kulish's position is somewhat similar. Pavlo Beleben's last sentence in the *Letters* is: "I must stay at home."[43] Since no perfect political system exists—on this, too, Kulish agrees with Rousseau—an individual must return to the natural state of the *khutir* to be free. There he can preserve his inner moral self and can be spiritually, if not politically, free.

But in returning to the country and to the *khutir* the individual preserves not only his natural moral state and all his natural and good impulses, but his nationality as well. It is precisely on this point that Kulish diverges from Rousseau, for the *khutir* is both the place where the inner moral self or the "heart" of the individual is best preserved and, simultaneously, the location where the "heart" or soul of the nation is most clearly sensed and assimilated. Kulish's apolitical theory of *kul'turnist'* ("culturalism," literally, but best translated "cultural nationalism"), formulated in the 1850s and affirmed for the rest of his life, seems to be derived at least partly from Romantic ideology with its belief in a mysterious group soul.[44] And, according to Kulish, the soul, the true inner essence, of the Ukrainian nation is to be found on the *khutir*. Like Shevchenko, Kulish feels that it is in the country people—the "narid"—and, especially, in the language of the country people that the soul of the nation can be rediscovered. Hence his high praise for Shevchenko:

> Shevchenko took his wondrous speech, not from the great cities, not from the self-glorified academies, not from the brilliant and powerful in society; he bypassed all of them, ignored them, and abandoned them. Only the language of the homestead and the village was suitable for his purpose. For his poems, he sought amidst the villages and among simple peasant homes for people great in spirit, pure in heart, dignified and noble.[45]

Yet, although Kulish was immersed in Romantic ideology, for the environment of his student years was saturated with it,[46] he, unlike his

contemporary Shevchenko, seems not to have converted totally to Romanticism. His theory of *kul'turnist'* stresses not so much the mysterious and irrational nature of the national soul as its moral essence. Kulish's dichotomy of the interior and exterior is not the Romantic dichotomy of the subconscious irrational as opposed to the conscious reason; rather, it is based on Rousseau's, as well as Skovoroda's, opposition of the inner moral essence and the false immoral exterior, a dichotomy derived from the static world view of the Enlightenment with its belief in eternal, universal laws, a universal human nature, and a Divine order of the universe. Hence the method of discovering the national soul, or essence, is in fact analogous to the process of discovering the inner authentic essence of the individual; it involves the rejection of all that does not express the national essence. The process of discovery is similar to the work of "the farmer, the pioneer with a heavy axe, who only clears from his native land the rubbish which covers it, uprooting thorns, ploughing fallow ground, who by his toil only helps to awaken that which is asleep and who does not create anything new."[47] According to the *Letters*, the "rubbish" and "thorns" of Ukrainian culture are the land's foreign cities with their foreign customs, their foreign system of education, and their foreign language. These cities in Ukraine, Letter II states, "appeared suspiciously and brought no good, only enslaving the people's minds and forbidding them to live in their own way."[48] Addressing the "panove horodyane" ("city gentlemen") Kulish reminds them that "your educated, rich, and powerful ancestors abused our brothers by forcing them into serfdom."[49] Country people had been exploited from the time of the Varangians,[50] during Lithuanian and later Polish rule,[51] and through the Russian tyranny of his own day. Because of censorship Kulish cannot specify the contemporary exploiters, but the "city gentlemen" speak Russian,[52] and right at the beginning of the *Letters* he mentions "stone Moscow."[53] He blames the city gentlemen openly for the illiteracy of the Ukrainian peasantry. The urban cliques build schools only in the cities and do not give permission for village schools. Thus, village children are forced to attend foreign city schools, which most peasants cannot even afford:

> the child in order to be educated has to be uprooted from the family and sent to complete strangers. You do not know who these people are and you do not know what they will do to your child. Now again the cost of this city education is so high that perhaps only one out of a thousand farmers can afford it. In the end the child, having studied with the city children, will grow unaccustomed to the simple peasant's overcoat and simple customs and will grow unaccustomed to his native speech.[54]

In another article Kulish criticizes the centralization so characteristic of the educational system in Ukraine:

> The schools to this day remain...in the hands of the so-called *pravopravyashchoyi chy prederzhashchoyi vlasty* ("law enforcing authorities of the powers that be"). The central school system is controlled by the ministry, and the central school system by means of its representatives sets regulations even for those schools that arise independently and freely, and it even sets regulations for education in the home outside the school.[55]

There will be no respect for the child, the family, or the home, continues Kulish, until the *vseuchylyshche* ("the central school system") is in the hands of the local village community.

What truly enrages Kulish is how foreign the entire system is. To teach Ukrainian peasant children the central administrators employ either foreign instructors or, even worse, native teachers who, having acquired foreign learning, consider everything native as bad. Moreover, the central authorities insist that all teach in a foreign language, Russian. Referring to these teachers, Kulish sarcastically calls them "priests" and asks rhetorically, "Who stands in this temple by the sacrificial altar? Who are the priests that ridicule these childrens' homes and their parents and consider the home of their students as some sort of den of evil which they are supposed to uproot?"[56] In his *Letters* Kulish describes the results of this system of education with sarcasm, vivid images, and powerful rhetoric:

> Thank you for those "highly educated" Cossack or peasant children who can no longer talk to our brothers! Thank you also for those smart people who, when they leave the cities to visit us in crowds, cause mothers to worry about their simple, still naive, and sincere daughters until they manage to rid their homesteads or households of these young fops! Thank you for those withered suitors who with their money lure the dearest flowers from the homesteads and the country! We don't want any of the blessings of civilization if as a result of these blessings our children will be unable to talk to us when we are old or if as a result of their high education we will not be able to understand one another! Keep forever and don't let near us your painted dandies, who play with a girl's mind and heart as with a flower, rejecting her after only one day of play! May those scraps of civilization, who like vampires rise from their tombs to suck fresh blood, rot away in your cities! We prefer to walk around in patched peasant's clothing rather than measure human tears in quarts!
>
> This is our answer to you civilized city people, to your invitation for cooperation with you in education, that practical wisdom from which half of you is bathing in gold while the other half sinks into foul-smelling mud, wasting away from infernal work and dying from hunger.[57]

Inevitably this imposed, foreign educational system, which uproots the children and makes them live in the city away from their families in a foreign cultural and linguistic environment, causes widespread alienation, moral and

social decadence, and denationalization. Kulish argues that this is so because the foreign city system does not respect nature and the natural laws which require that children be reared within the family, the natural unit of society and the source of the children's moral development, and in the country where the person's most natural and hence moral state is preserved. Moreover, Kulish argues that morality can only be taught in the native language and customs of the people, for both morality and nationality originate in the same source, in the heart. And the heart or soul of the Ukrainian people, states Kulish, is to be found on the *khutir*.

Yet Kulish is by no means opposed to progress and civilization, nor is he advocating provincialism. The cities themselves are not evil, only the principles of exploitation and injustice upon which they are built:

> We do not state that it is a sin for good people to convoke in large gatherings, to gather for large fairs, to construct huge buildings and co-operatively to devise various technological innovations, to build fortresses on borders, to erect fleets, to establish academies, to preserve books and manuscripts from past generations in hidden strongholds. We only write letters against those cities which, as in Ukraine, appeared suspiciously and brought no good, only enslaving the people's minds and forbidding them to live in their own way.[58]

Naturally, if cities change and become organized according to moral principles, they will lose their existing negative features. Addressing his fellow homesteaders in Letter II, Pavlo Beleben' tells them, "Perhaps you will build your own cities and you will establish in them new customs; but these customs will not be the present city customs, which take root like weeds in the steppe."[59] The model to be emulated is, of course, the *khutir* and its institutions, those institutions set up to protect and administer justice that have survived and continued to operate efficiently and fairly. In Letter IV entitled "Pro zlodiya u seli Hakivnytsi" ("About the Thief in the Village of Hakivnytsya") Kulish writes, "The origin and the root of the cities have been preserved in the homestead. Thus, it seems that it is here that one must look for the foundations of all city organization. It is here also that one must search for the real principles which actually underlie the city institutions."[60] In this same letter Kulish gives an example of how a simple natural institution, the village public assembly called the *hromada*, dispenses justice. But, according to Kulish, this basically good institution committed to the preservation of law and order has become corrupt in the city and unjust: "For thousands of years now, you [the city] have been holding trials in Ukraine, but your city police officials, who travel into the provinces to hold trials, do not represent justice any more than the first Varangian who left the city to extract tribute from the country people."[61]

Nor is Kulish opposed to his countrymen obtaining foreign learning, as

long as they do not abandon their own language and customs and their simple, moral homestead way of life:

> There are on the homesteads many people who have been all over the world and who can talk about Shakespeare as if he were a close relative. Yet they will not admit into their homesteads lawless luxury and arrogance. If you like a foreign book, read it and find out what is happening in the world. If a foreigner visits you, speak with him and ask questions. If you should happen to visit distant lands, listen with both ears and observe well what is happening, but don't bring worthless fashions to the homestead, respect your freedom, and do not jump into city misery. Even if you should all become literate and, as they say, "enlightened," even if you should read German books like the Germans themselves,[62] regardless of this, preserve with a *pure heart* your native language and native customs.[63]

Thus, the *khutir*, though it represents the source of nationality, is no narrow nationalist or populist concept. While stressing the preservation of the native, Kulish's view, tolerant and capacious, does not exclude other cultures. His tolerance results from his placement of the national component within a larger universal and spiritual framework. The "heart" of the individual and the "heart" of the nation, that is, the *khutir*, are repositories not only of the national essence but also of the good nature of mankind. And for Kulish as well as for Rousseau, this authentic good nature is in turn a part of nature as a whole, which is derived from God and from divine, universal laws.[64] In the just cited quotation Kulish does not advise his readers merely to preserve their native language and native customs, but to preserve them with 'with a *pure heart*.' Here too Kulish is in agreement with Rousseau, for whom "nature involves far more than man's existence, for it is a cosmic principle of divine origins."[65]

Kulish's views on religion and religious education are also similar to Rousseau's. For both writers the moral teachings of religion are central, not its ritual and dogma, and they recognize that, if people respect moral principles, there is no need for elaborate religious institutions. Rousseau does not teach his student about religion until the age of twenty and does not favour any particular religious sect. In the section of *Émile*, entitled "The Creed of a Savoyard Priest," he advocates deism, the belief in God grounded on nature, conscience, and reason rather than on biblical scripture and the church. There are indications that Kulish shares these views on natural religion. Having particularly criticized the Jesuits and Catholic priests of the past in Letter I, he continues in the second letter to contrast the corrupt city and its religious institutions to the purity of the pagan religion of the early Slavs. The latter, he claims, possessed morality simply as a result of their existence close to the uncorrupted, primitive, natural state:

> For thousands of years now, you [the city] have been preaching love and peace within your expensive towers, but do you really have more love and peace than those simple Slavs who in the woods and in the grain fields paid homage to a yet uninvestigated but kind and generous God?[66]

And in Letter IV Kulish illustrates in his story about the thief how moral impulses stem from conscience. He argues that not the church but the *hromada*, which preceded the church, has preserved morality and justice throughout the ages:

> We homesteaders do not care about the church... Well, if you really want to know, the people on our farmsteads pray with sincere hearts on the dew covered fields, under the starry sky, or early before the sun rises. There are even those fathers here, who are capable of teaching their children better than a priest... I am of the opinion that the *hromada* is everywhere a great Body. It was a great Body even way back when our ancestors first used to pray to God in the grain fields, along the river beds, and in the oak groves. It was also a great Body when they began to pray according to the Byzantine ritual and it will remain great when these people will bow to God with the spirit of justice alone, forsaking Jerusalem.[67]

Just as Rousseau considers Jesus the founder of natural religion and regards the Gospels as an expression of the principal qualities of natural religion,[68] so too Kulish, tolerant of all religions, recognizes the dominance of Christ among religious teachers ("I turn here to Christ for no other reason than more people know this great teacher than any other; and there were many of them on earth... "[69]). But, unlike his predecessor, Kulish assigns a dominant role in the teaching of morality to the Gospels and to Christ. Whereas Rousseau selects *Robinson Crusoe* as the first book for his student, Kulish selects the *Bible*, specifically, the *New Testament*, as the single most important book, and there are numerous references to Christ and the *Bible* throughout the *Letters*.

Kulish contrasts the eternal moral verities of the *New Testament*, which "teaches people how to save their souls and not how to stuff their pockets,"[70] with the corrupt values of the modern cities:

> We have, gentlemen, our knowledge which is a thousand years old. It has taught us to listen more to the righteous words of God than to the hypocritical teachings of the nobility. If you would teach us as Christ taught us, then we would heed your words immediately; but you teach us not to serve God, but Mammon. You bow your heads to the golden idol and you think you have progressed beyond the teachings of the Gospel.[71]

Moreover, the teachings of Christ are constant, unlike the changing fashions of the city people. His knowledge is taught for its own sake and not for other motives, and His apostles are recognized by their methods, for they do not urge the people to leave their homes but, instead, go peacefully to the people they hope to serve. Kulish, the first to translate the *Bible* into the Ukrainian vernacular—a labour of love for the last thirty years of his life—considers that its knowledge and moral vision are more accessible to its readers because they are conveyed through feeling and intuition rather than reason:

> Thus, if it is necessary that there be men in the world who can understand bookish knowledge, then it must be necessary too that men read only one book, the great Testament of the great universal teacher, and that they perceive the world more with their hearts than their heads.[72]

Christianity and the *Bible* occupy an important place in Kulish's views on education, in his conception of the *khutir*, and in his outlook in general. Dmytro Chyzhevs'ky rightfully asserts that Christian beliefs were at the core of Kulish's thought throughout his life,[73] and George Luckyj points out that Kulish's ideas were based "on the static eternal values of a spiritual world view" and perceptively described the *khutir* as a "Christian retreat."[74]

The *khutir* philosophy is simultaneously a spiritual and a national programme. The promise of the *Letters* and of Kulish's educational theory is that if one recovers one's natural state, one will also regain one's morality and nationality. Therefore, national consciousness is but another product of the moral education developing the inner being, the "heart," that can be accomplished only on the *khutir*. And although Kulish first discovered the idea of the Ukrainian nation organized on the basis of homesteads in the *Litopys' Samovydtsa* (*The Eyewitness Chronicle*), a manuscript copy of which he himself found while doing ethnographical and historical research, it should be stressed that it is not the social and political organization of this society of homesteaders that interests him; it is the moral and spiritual basis upon which this society is built.[75] Like Rousseau, Kulish is preoccupied with moral rather than political awareness and awakening, for he is convinced, together with his predecessor, that "In vain do we seek freedom under the powers of the laws... Liberty is not to be found in any form of government, she is in the heart of the free man, he bears her with him everywhere" (*É*, pp. 436-37).[76]

Since freedom stems from the nation's moral condition and not its political organization, the solution of the central problem of Ukrainian history, the freedom of the Ukrainian nation, lies paradoxically not in political change but in the cultivation of Christian morality and in the cultivation of cultural identity through the preservation of the Ukrainian language and customs. It is the spirit preserved in the "heart," or on the *khutir* that is, Kulish is convinced, the

stronger force in the long run. Thus, through his homesteader Beleben', he tells his countrymen that, if they preserve their morality, their language, and their customs, they will be "a great people" and "a respected community," to which "no beast will stretch out its paw."[77]

Like Rousseau, who in his *Émile* provides not just a manual on education but a "philosophical treatise on the nature of man,"[78] Kulish in his *Letters* and other essays presents his views on education in a philosophical framework which addresses such issues as the nature of man, ethics, and freedom. It is precisely this philosophical framework, in addition to his extensive knowledge and use of Western European primary sources,[79] that makes him so unique among his Ukrainian contemporaries.[80]

Kulish's views on the goodness of human nature and nature in general and his views on the "heart" and the dichotomy between the "heart," that is, authentic inner goodness, and the false exterior, although reinforced by Skovoroda and even Romantics such as, to some extent, Schelling, are largely derived from Rousseau. Rousseau's ideas are in turn ultimately grounded in the Enlightenment view of an ordered, static universe that, according to Rousseau, is ultimately good and derived from God. As Carl Becker has shown, the Enlightenment interpretation of the universe does not contradict the Christian one.[81] Kulish therefore had no difficulty reconciling the Christian point of view he had inherited from the days of his involvement with the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius with Rousseau's view.

Kulish's innovation lies in his addition of the national dimension to education and, specifically, in his application of Rousseau's view on human nature to the nation. Kulish follows Rousseau in stripping away artificial accretions from human nature but he extends this process from the individual to the nation. In so doing, he provides a new insight into the problem of Ukrainian education, culture, and society: namely, the conflict between the foreign cities of Ukraine and the native Ukrainian countryside.[82]

The main significance of Kulish's views on education, however, is that he places the national within an even larger universal framework, in the spirit of the Gospel and in the spirit of the Enlightenment with its dedication to the ideals of tolerance and the rejection of fanaticism. And it is his philosophical breadth, his erudition, and his deeply analytical approach, together with the moderation of his thought, that still attracts and continues to stimulate modern readers.

NOTES

1. A notable recent exception is George S. N. Luckyj, *Panteleimon Kulish: A Sketch of His Life and Times*, East European Monographs, No. CXXVII (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). See especially the

section, "The Pedagogue," pp. 116-118.

2. *Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky: bio-bibliohrafichnyy slovnyk*, ed. Ye. Kyrylyuk, II (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oyi literatury, 1963), p. 610 states, "A substantial portion of his work contains liberal bourgeois and nationalist tendencies." Kulish is just as unpopular with Ukrainian nationalists because of his anti-separatist and anti-statist views and because of his critical views of the Cossacks. A partial rehabilitation of Kulish's works, however, has occured with the publication of *Panteleymon Kulish: Vybrani tvory*, ed. Mykhaylo Bernshteyn (Kiev: Dnipro, 1969) and *Panteleymon Kulish: Poeziyi* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1970). At the present time, since *glasnost*, there is renewed interest in P. Kulish and a seven volume collection of his works is being edited by Oleksa Myshanych of the T. H. Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. In 1989, two scholarly articles appeared: O. V. Bily, "Ponyattya prosvitnytstva v estetytsi pizn'oho P. Kulisha," *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, No. 8 (August, 1989), pp. 32-37; Ye. K. Nakhlik, "Prosvitytel's'ki ideyi v khudozhn'o-istoriosofs'kiy kontseptsiyi P. Kulish," *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, No. 8 (August, 1989), pp. 37-44. Also in August, 1989, an exhibit of P. Kulish's works took place in Kiev in the Derzhavnyy muzey literatury U.R.S.R.

3. See *Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR*, II, ed. F. Korolov (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1976), p. 382; M. D. Bernshteyn, *Zhurnal "Osnova" i ukrayins'kyy literaturnyy protses kintsya 50-60-kh rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959) p. 200; M. D. Bernshteyn, *Ukrayins'ka literaturna krytyka 50-70-kh rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev: Akademiya nauk URSR, 1959), p. 73; *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, III (Kiev: Akademiya nauk URSR, 1968), p. 66.

4. See *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, II, ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovyč (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 311, and *Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR*, II, p. 375.

5. Roman Serbyn, "In Defense of an Independent Ukrainian Socialist Movement: Three Letters from Serhii Podolynsky to Valerian Smirnov," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 7, No. 2 (Fall 1982), p. 23.

6. P. A. Zayonchkovsky, *Kirilo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo 1846-1847* (Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1959), p. 88. See also V. Miyakovs'ky "Z novykh materialiv do istoriyi Kyrylo-Metodiyivs'koho bratstva," *Ukrayina*, 1924, No. 1-2, where the author points out that Bilozers'ky, one of the "Brothers," proposed the establishment of a school for peasant children.

7. Bernshteyn, *Zhurnal "Osnova" i ukrayins'kyy literaturnyy protses kintsya 50-60-kh rokiv XIX st.*, pp. 56-59.

8. Luckyj, p. 103.

9. This was the title given to this speech in the Lviv 1908-1910 edition of Kulish's works.

10. For Rosseau's influence on the writers in the Russian Empire see Izrail Vertsman, *Zhan-Zhak Russo*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1976) and M. M. Shtrange, "Zh. Zh. Russo i ego russkie sovremenniki" in *Mezdunarodnyye svyazi Rossii v 17-18 vv.*, ed. I. Bezkrovny (Moscow: Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1966).

11. Oleksander Doroshkevych, "Kulish na zaslanni" in *Panteleymon Kulish*, Ukrayins'ka akademiya nauk, Zbirnyk istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu, No. 53, ed. S. Yefremov and O. Doroshkevych (Kiev: Ukrayins'ka akademiya nauk, 1927), p. 40.

12. Panteleymon Kulish, "Evgeny Onegin nashego vremeni" in *Panteleymon Kulish*, p. 187.

13. Doroshkevych, p. 40.

14. Viktor Petrov, *Panteleymon Kulish u pyadesyati roky*, Vseukrayins'ka akademiya nauk, Zbirnyk istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu, No. 88 (Kiev: Vseukrayins'ka akademiya nauk, 1929), p. 91. Other than brief references by Viktor Petrov, *Panteleymon Kulish u pyadesyati roky*, p. 187 and by I. I. Pil'huk in his introduction to *Panteleymon Kulish: Vybrani tvory*, ed. Mykhaylo Bernshteyn, p. 9, nothing has been written on the influence of Rousseau on Kulish. It should also be noted that several Russian educators and contemporaries of Kulish such as Vissarion Belinsky, Konstantin Ushinsky, and Lev Tolstoy were all influenced by Rousseau's ideas on education. Cf. Nicholas Hans, *The Russian Tradition in Education* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1963).

15. George R. Havens, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), p. 97.

16. Jean Piaget, *Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child*, trans. Derek Cottman (New York: Orion Press, 1970), p. 141.

17. Mabel and William Sahakian, *Rousseau as Educator* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), p. 106. Joseph Featherstone, in "Rousseau and Modernity," *Daedalus*, 107, No. 3 (Summer, 1978), p. 167, writes that in *Émile*, "Rousseau's great Enlightenment treatise on human nature and education... Rousseau set the terms of a long conversation on families, education, politics, and modernity that is still going on." This whole issue of *Daedalus* is devoted to the relevance of Rousseau's ideas on contemporary life. Another article in this same issue that deals specifically with education is by Allan Bloom, "The Education of Democratic Man: *Émile*," pp. 135–152.

18. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1966), p. 5. All subsequent quotations from *Émile* are from this edition, and the page numbers are given in the text. It is ironical that Rousseau placed all five of his children in a foundling hospital right after birth, a common practice at that time. He came to regret abandoning them and seems to have written *Émile* as a result. See William H. Blanchard, *Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt: A Psychological Study* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

Press, 1967), p. 147. See also William Kessen, "Rousseau's Children," *Daedalus*, 107, No. 3 (Summer, 1978), pp. 155–167.

19. A good discussion of Rousseau's view of the inner self is found in Ronald Grimsley, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1983), chapter 2. The eighteenth century Ukrainian philosopher Skovoroda also used the heart image to contrast the true inner being with the external mask and, like Rousseau, stressed the Delphic adage "Know thyself." See Dmytro Chyzhevs'ky, *Narysy z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukrayini* (Prague: Ukrayins'kyy hromads'kyy vydavnychyy fond, 1931), pp. 53-59.

The moral dichotomy described by Rousseau and Skovoroda was reinforced in Kulish's time by Schelling's Romantic psychology which separated the subconscious, mysterious, and inner part of man from the conscious, exterior, and rational part. Schelling's Romantic psychology was taught by Petro Avsenev (later Archimandrite Teofan) who lectured at the Kiev Academy and at Kiev University, and was a close acquaintance of the members and associates of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius. See Chyzhevs'ky, *Narysy z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukrayini*, p. 79 and p. 110, and also D. Tschizewskij, "P. O. Kulish, ein ukrainischer Philosoph des Herzens," *Orient und Occident*, 14 (1933).

20. Panteleymon Kulish (pseud. Khutoryanyn), "Lyst I," *Lysty z khutora. Osnova*, No. 1 (January 1861), p. 311. The translations from Kulish are mine.

21. Kulish (pseud. Khutoryanyn), "Lyst II" *Osnova*, No. 2 (February 1861), p. 230.

22. In the original these words appear in Russian, *sbyt* and *potrebleniye*.

23. Kulish, "Lyst I," p. 314.

24. Ibid., p. 316.

25. Kulish (pseud. Kozak Beleben'), "Lyst V," *Osnova*, Nos. 11-12 (November-December 1861), p. 127. The emphasis is mine.

26. Kulish, "Rokovyny po Shevchenkovi," *Osnova*, No. 3 (March 1862), p. 24.

27. Godelieve Mercken-Spaas, basing her study on the works of E. Durkheim and C. Lévi-Strauss, compares the transition of a child from childhood to adulthood with the transition of mankind historically from a state of nature to a state of culture, i.e., from a presocial to a social state. The transcendence from one stage to the other occurs through the development of reason as well as sensitivity and brings with it moral responsiblility. See "The Social Anthropology of Rousseau's *Émile*," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 132 (1975), pp. 137-181.

28. Kulish (pseud. Opanas Prach), "Vykokhuvannya ditey za pidmohoyu shkoly," *Pravda*, No. 23 (June 22, 1869), p. 199.

29. Kulish, "Vykokhuvannya ditey," *Pravda*, No. 11 (March 22, 1869), p. 101.

30. Ibid., p. 100.

31. Kulish's regular habits and his need for a routine are discussed in Luckyj, *Panteleimon Kulish*, p. 19.

32. Kulish, "Lyst V," p. 125.

33. Kulish, "Vykokhuvannya ditey," pp. 100-101.

34. Luckyj, *Panteleimon Kulish*, p. 114.

35. Kulish, "Vykokhuvannya ditey," p. 101.

36. Ibid., p. 100.

37. Kulish, "Lyst V," p. 126.

38. Kulish, "Lyst I," p. 311.

39. Kulish, "Rokovyny po Shevchenkovi," p. 22.

40. Using Sophy as a model, Rousseau devotes a separate section in *Émile* to the education of women, which differs substantially from the education of men, for whereas men must be active and strong, according to Rousseau, women must be passive and domesticated. Rousseau's sexist views on the education of women are discussed by the following: Pierre Burgelin, "L'Education de Sophie," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 35 (1959-1962), pp. 113-137; Ron Christenson, "Political Theory of Male Chauvinism: Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Paradigm," *Midwest Quarterly*, 13, No. 3 (Spring, 1972), pp. 291-299; Victor G. Wexler, "Made for Man's Delight: Rousseau as Antifeminist," *American Historical Review*, 81, No. 1 (1976), pp. 266-291; Nannerl O. Keohane, "But for Her Sex...: The Domestication of Sophie," *Trent Rousseau Papers*, ed. J. MacAdam, M. Neumann, and G. LaFrance (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), pp. 135-145; Lynda Lange, "Women and the General Will," *Trent Rousseau Papers*, ed. J. MacAdam, M. Neumann, and G. LaFrance (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), pp. 147-157.

Kulish does not write separately about women; his comments on education encompass both sexes. In his autobiography *Zhyzn' Kulisha*, published in the Galician *Pravda* in 1868, he notes that the members of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius stressed the importance of education for Ukrainian women since they would be the mothers and sisters of the activists of the future.

41. Kulish, "Lyst V," p. 127.

42. Kulish anticipated this conclusion in an earlier work, the historical novel *The Black Council*. The resolution of the novel's action finds the protagonist Petro living peacefully with his wife Lesya on their *khutir*, far from the political turmoil. See Romana Bahrij Pikulyk, "The Individual and History in the Historical Novel: P. Kulish's *The Black Council*," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 24, No. 2 (June 1982), 152-160.

43. Kulish, "Lyst V," p. 128.

44. The German Romantics believed that each nation, like each individual, has an exterior, rational side and an inner, mysterious soul. *Kultur* is what

Herder called the inner soul of a nation, formed by its history, language, literature, law, folk traditions, and customs. See Frank Fadner, *Seventy Years of Pan-Slavism in Russia: Karazin to Danilevskii: 1800-1870* (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1962), p. 2.

45. Kulish (pseud. Khutoryanyn), "Lyst III," *Osnova*, No. 3 (March 1861), p. 130.

46. Chyzevs'ky, *Narysy z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukrayini*, p. 110.

47. Ibid., p. 123.

48. Kulish, "Lyst II," p. 229.

49. Kulish, "Lyst I," p. 314.

50. Ibid., p. 529 and "Lyst II," p. 227.

51. Kulish, "Lyst I," p. 311.

52. Ibid., p. 315.

53. Ibid., p. 310.

54. Ibid., p. 312.

55. Kulish, "Vykokhuvannya ditey za pidmohoyu shkoly," p. 198. Kulish uses the archaic "*pravopravyashchoyi chy prederzhashchoyi vlasti*" to indicate the foreign nature and conservatism of this institution.

56. Loc. cit.

57. Kulish, "Lyst I," p. 313.

58. Kulish, "Lyst II," pp. 228-29.

59. Loc. cit.

60. Kulish (pseud. Khutoryanyn), "Lyst IV," *Osnova*, No. 4 (April 1961), p. 143.

61. Kulish, "Lyst II," p. 228.

62. German here refers to all that is foreign, not just that which is German.

63. Kulish, "Lyst II," pp. 231-32. The emphasis is mine.

64. Chyzhevs'ky, *Narysy z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukrayini*, p. 121, states that for Kulish the inner core of the "heart" is divine, that God dwells in it and communicates through it. Among the numerous examples is a letter Kulish wrote to his wife (12, 1, 57), noting that "One must be pleasing only to God, and God speaks to us through our heart. Whoever cleanses his heart from all defilement will make it the temple of God... "

65. Grimsley, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, p. 47. See also Ronald Grimsley, *Rousseau and the Religious Quest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

66. Kulish, "Lyst II," p. 228.

67. Kulish, "Lyst IV," p. 144.

68. Grimsley, *Rousseau and the Religious Quest*, pp. 71-73.

69. Kulish, "Vykokhuvannya ditey za pidmohoyo shkoly," p. 199. Kulish in his later years was particularly interested in Islam.

70. Kulish, "Lyst I," p. 315.

71. Ibid., p. 317.

72. Ibid., p. 316. This does not mean Kulish is opposed to reason. The "heart" (or feelings), for Kulish as for Rousseau, is not opposed to reason as such. *Sensibilité*, as S. Taylor points out, involved no attack on the spirit of the Enlightenment. See Samuel S. B. Taylor, "Rousseau's romanticism," *Reappraisals of Rousseau: Studies in Honour of R. A. Leigh*, ed. Simon Harvey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 7. Or in the words of another recent study: "Émile represents the possiblity of a reconciliation, in a higher synthesis of self and other, history and nature, freedom and happiness, reason and passion..." and "his [Rousseau's] condemnation of the rationality of domination and his defence of instinct were in reality the highest praise possible of reason itself. For reason in Rousseau's eyes is not, in the final analysis, equated with repression and domination." Asher Horowitz, *Rousseau, Nature and History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 251-2.

73. Chyzhevs'ky, *Narysy z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukrayini*, p. 79 and pp. 107–112.

74. Luckyj, *Panteleimon Kulish*, p. 170.

75. M. Hrushevs'ky incorrectly characterizes *khutoryanstvo* as an attempt made by Kulish to set up an actual political order based on the social class of the kozak gentry. See M. Hrushevs'ky, "Sotsialno-tradytsiyni pidosnovy Kulishevoyi tvorchosty," *Ukrayina*, ed. M. Hrushevs'ky, Books 1-2, 1927, p. 13. Viktor Petrov, in *Pantelymon Kulish u pyadesyati roky*, p. 374, also assesses *khutoryanstvo* incorrectly as a social programme. He says it is essentially identical to Herzen's political programme of socialism based on the *obshchina*, the Russian peasant village commune.

76. This stress on moral rather than political development is also the one feature common to both the Slavophiles and Kulish. But unlike the Slavophiles who limit their criticism to Western civilization, Kulish includes Russian cities together with the cities of the West and, particularly, the foreign cities in Ukraine in the condemnation. Also, he is not totally critical of the West, praising, for example, American civilization. There are other major differences between Slavophilism and *khutoryanstvo*. The Slavophiles emphasize Russian Orthodoxy and idealize the peasant commune which, according to them, embodies the vital principle of *sobornost'*–spiritual organic togetherness (See Zenkovsky, *A History of Russian Philosophy*, trans. by C. L. Kline, ed. by E. J. Simmons [New York: Columbia University Press, 1953]). Kulish's religious preference, on the other hand, is evangelical since he refers directly to Christ and the Bible rather than to Orthodoxy or the Church. An equally significant difference is that the *khutir* is the home of an independent farm family, not a commune.

77. Kulish, "Lyst II," p. 232.

78. Grimsley, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, p. 47.

79. See Dmytro Chyzhevs'ky, *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury* (New

York: Ukrayins'ka akademiya nauk v SShA, 1956), p. 444.

80. Kulish's contemporaries who tackled the problem of Ukrainian education included: Konstantin Ushinsky, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Leonid Hlibov, Taras Shevchenko, Marko Vovchok, Anatoliy Svydnyts'ky, and Ivan Nechuy-Levyts'ky.

81. Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

82. The accuracy of Kulish's analysis is attested to by the fact that in the twentieth century many Ukrainian intellectuals continue to discuss basically the same problem. Consider "Do teoriyi borot'by dvokh kultur" ("On the Theory of the Conflict of Two Cultures"), written in 1926 by Mykola Skrypnyk, the People's Commissar of Education in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and the book *Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsiya?* (*Internationalism or Russification?*), written in 1965 by Ivan Dzyuba.

IVAN FRANKO AND *MOLODA MUZA*

Marta Horban-Carynnyk

Moloda muza was a handful of writers, mainly of modernist tendencies, who flourished in Lviv as a group roughly from 1906 to 1909. In this time, the members of the group published a number of books and edited thirteen of the thirty-seven issues of the short-lived magazine *S'vit*. Less tangibly but just as importantly, the *molodomuztsi* helped to transport new literary trends, especially in the realm of poetry, from Western Europe and Poland to Eastern Ukraine. The *molodomuztsi* had a valuable ally in this in the person of Mykola Vorony, dubbed the "godfather" of the group.[1] The influences that he carried from Lviv and points west into Eastern Ukraine can be traced, for example, in the writing of Pavlo Tychyna.[2] But while it does not take a scholar to recognize Tychyna's name, how many Ukrainian readers can enumerate the *molodomuztsi*?

The question seems to imply a parallel, but it would not be appropriate to place any of the *Moloda muza* writers on an equal footing with Tychyna, whose works are certainly a high point of Ukrainian poetry. Still, proper credit must be given to Tychyna's predecessors. After all, it is not the writing of Tychyna that represents the first reaction against the populism that had dominated Ukrainian poetry until the beginning of this century. Nor, for that matter, is it the writing of the better-known poets of the pre-war years—of Lesya Ukrayinka, say, or Oleksander Oles'[3]—that constitutes this reaction. It is, rather, in the works of the *molodomuztsi* that Ukrainian literature saw its first notable foray into the "pure" art that had thrived for some time in Western Europe.

The present-day reader can find members of *Moloda muza* mentioned in passing in literary histories, overshadowed by the major figures, the Frankos and Hrinchenkos, of the time, and superseded by the poets of the next decade in Kiev, who are also given a large dose of attention.[4] The *molodomuztsi* do appear in anthologies, but there too they are overshadowed by their more conventional peers, and superseded by their younger Eastern-Ukrainian relations. Is their presence in these histories and anthologies representative, and is their treatment fair? Perhaps it is not in the nature of things for *Moloda muza* to be more conspicuous. The group represents just a first, and, in terms of its product, a minor stage in the development of modern Ukrainian poetry. At the same time, though, the fact of its chronological priority should accord it greater prominence. How did *Moloda muza* end up in the position in which we now find it?

Generally speaking, what we choose to read is determined by what readers

before us deem worthy and draw to our attention. Those in a position to do so speak out for certain works, or see to it that they are widely published. The process is repeated from one generation to another.[5] Thus, in order to see why *Moloda muza* or any other literary entity occupies the place in our awareness that it does, we are well advised to consult its earlier readers. It is particularly instructive for us to examine the role of a contemporary reader, and preferably a professional one—that is, a critic. In the case of *Moloda muza*, it is the responses of Ivan Franko that can shed light on the status of this group in our literary canon.

Moloda muza came to be known mainly through the books that it published under the "Moloda muza" imprint. Individual members had already brought out volumes, the earliest being Petro Karmans'ky's *Z teky samovbyytsi* (*From the Portfolio of a Suicide*) in 1899,[6] but it was the inauguration of the imprint in 1906 that confirmed the existence of the group. The first volumes in the series included prose and poems by Vasyl' Pachovs'ky; poems by Karmans'ky, Stepan Charnets'ky, and Sydir Tverdokhlib; stories by Volodymyr Birchak and Mykhaylo Yatskiv; and a small collective volume on the occasion of Birchak's marriage.[7] The group also published poems by Bohdan Lepky[8] and planned to bring out works by Eastern Ukrainian writers.

In 1906 the *molodomuztsi* had also launched what was supposed to be their own magazine, *S'vit*.[9] In fact, it was only briefly theirs. The publisher was the pragmatic Vyacheslav Budzynovsky [sic], while its first editors, Birchak, Karmans'ky, Yatskiv, and Ostap Luts'ky set out—in their own words—on the path of Goodness and Beauty (1: 1). The publisher and editors soon came into conflict. Only nine issues appeared before Luts'ky resigned as editor; after that only two, double, summer issues appeared, and then Budzynovsky took over as editor. His preferences were soon apparent: in the closing issues for 1906 he expounded on his interest in popular literature and his intentions to raise the publication standards for such literature (1: 253-56, 270-72, 284-88, 318-19), and in the last issue of the year he announced that in 1907 one quarter of the magazine would consist of illustrations (1: 320). By 1907 the magazine was dominated by items on historical subjects, and as for poetry, Budzynovsky published a curious notice in the second issue of the year to the effect that the journal was not interested in poems of pessimism or despair (2: 32). *S'vit* finally folded in 1908, with the last issue for 1907, for lack of reader support. Sadly, in thinking that the public might be more interested in history than in art, Budzynovsky had dealt a cripping blow to the hopes and opportunities of *Moloda muza*.

S'vit may have failed, but the spirit and direction of the early issues, those edited by the *molodomuztsi*, would reappear in Kiev in *Ukrayins'ka khata*. And while this ceased publication with the outbreak of World War I, its spirit was perpetuated in turn in the literary and intellectual journals published in

Kiev in the 1920s. *S'vit* was published in Lviv at a time when in Kiev the October Manifesto had just begun to ease the restrictions of the Ems Ukase of 1876, making it possible for Ukrainians in Kiev to publish in their own language. *S'vit* did not follow the *Literaturno-Naukovyy Visnyk* in its move to Kiev, but its early issues had provided the useful example of an alternative to the *Visnyk*.

As for Ostap Luts'ky, his departure from *S'vit*, explained in the magazine by his departure from Lviv (1: 145), did not signal a break with *Moloda muza*. The published explanation was more an excuse than a reason. During his absence from Lviv, in fact, Luts'ky remained sufficiently involved with the group that towards the end of 1907 he published an article about it in *Dilo*.[10] Titled "Moloda Muza," it could be expected simply to contain information about the group. Indeed, Luts'ky defines the organization, explains its origins, lists some of its accomplishments—omitting, incidentally, any mention of *S'vit*—and outlines its aspirations. In closing, as if to illustrate the congenial spirit of the group, Luts'ky declares the admissibility of disagreement within the cénacle, by citing an instance of one member criticizing the work of another.

But Luts'ky gives the reader more than his title would suggest. In the longer, initial, portion of his article Luts'ky approaches the emergence of *Moloda muza* from a general perspective. He begins with a discussion of the malaise that was felt in Europe near the end of the nineteenth century and the central role of Nietzsche, and particularly his Zarathustra, in disseminating it. This wave of malaise marked much of the literature of the time and, according to Luts'ky, was introduced into Ukrainian letters by Ol'ha Kobylyans'ka. At the time, the dominant mode in Ukrainian writing was the realism of Nechuy-Levyts'ky, Myrny, Franko, and Karpenko-Kary, which was based on truthful representation and intended to combat various social woes. While giving the masters of the genre their due, Luts'ky points out that in less competent hands this type of realism degenerated into artistically worthless tendentious utilitarianism. In reaction, a new generation of readers and writers began to demand freedom of form and content. This new atmosphere gave rise to Kobylyans'ka, Stefanyk, Kotsyubyns'ky, Lesya Ukrayinka (as represented by her "Oderzhyma" ["Possessed"]), Lepky, Shchurat, and a number of other writers, and ultimately "Moloda Muza," which Luts'ky defines as the first organization of its kind of Ukrainian writers and creators who could not come to terms with the old order but decided to follow their own path. Only here does Luts'ky get down to his factual account of *Moloda muza*.

Ivan Franko read Luts'ky's article as a manifesto and responded with his own, rather vicious, "Manifest 'Molodoyi Muzy [sic].'"[11] The exchange would be a turning point. It was not solely responsible for the decline of the new group, but it did have a dampening effect, because of the issues that Franko raised, the tone in which he raised them, and the authority that he brought to his statement.

Franko begins with a humble announcement of his intention to share with his readers some thoughts that occurred to him as he read Luts'ky's article. He gives an account of the early development of *Moloda muza*, which he sees as a group of young litterateurs, united by one ideal, who have undertaken to establish a new literary school. In an ever so slightly patronizing tone, Franko claims to find that "The appearance... is as endearing as any impulse of the human spirit to independent flight" ("Poyava... sympatychna, yak sympatychnyy usyakyy poryv lyuds'koho dukhu... do samostiynoho letu") (410). He then identifies the beginning of this movement as the publication of Pachovs'ky's *Rozsypani perly* (*Scattered Pearls*), in 1901.[12] He recalls that he reviewed the volume and that while he had found it mostly commendable, he had nonetheless had certain reservations.[13] Still, he had not felt authorized to speak out as a mentor, and felt that time would take care of the inadequacies. Franko does not say whether this happened, and thus seems to imply that it did not. In any case, Franko is not writing the ensuing history of the movement, only noting its newest phase, the establishment of a formal organization, and its guiding concepts. In this opening passage Franko pretends to put all his cards on the table and to propose a set of ground rules for his parry at what he calls Luts'ky's "onslaught" ("hremiyal'nyy vystup") (411). In fact, it is he who attacks first.

Franko assaults the first paragraph of Luts'ky's article; it merely gives background information, if somewhat exuberantly, but Franko calls it a tirade. He first quotes more than half of the paragraph and then devotes five paragraphs of his own to a hair-splitting challenge of every statement, it seems, that Luts'ky makes. The following paragraph, which constitutes his response to Luts'ky's statement that one dogma after another had fallen, is characteristic:

> 'Догма за догмою падала,'—категорично твердить пан Луцький. Цікаво б було знати, котра то хоч одна-однісінька догма упала в часі тої кризи? Оснований на догмах католицизм і не думав хитатися, але навпаки, в остатніх роках панування папи Льва XIII виріс до нечуваної сили і ще й тепер не спиняється в своїм зрості. Які ж інші догми попадали? Чи ліберальні, чи соціал-демократичні, чи навіть аристократичні? Ніякісінька не впала! Хіба що д. Луцький хоче під 'догмами' розуміти деякі естетичні формулки. Ну, та се мухи-однодневниці.... (412)
>
> ('Dogma fell after dogma,' affirms Mr. Luts'ky categorically. It would be interesting to know: what single solitary dogma fell in the time of that crisis? Catholicism, which is based on dogmas, did not so much as think of wavering. On the contrary, in the last years of the reign of Pope Leo XIII it grew to unheard of strength and even now has not yet slowed in its growth. What other dogmas have fallen? Liberal ones, or social-democratic ones, or even aristocratic ones? Not a one has fallen! Unless Mr. Luts'ky wants to consider as 'dogmas' certain aesthetic

formulae. Why, these are mayflies...)

Franko argues as if he believed that Luts'ky had used "dogma" in its strictest sense, but the culmination of his guesses at the meaning of the term with the patronizing "aesthetic formulae" shows that he knew full well what Luts'ky meant. His howls of disapproval are directed at Luts'ky's style rather than his ideas. Similarly, he later accuses Luts'ky of tautology in writing "freedom and liberty in content and form," because there is no difference between freedom and liberty (415-16). In his stubbornness, he does not see a legitimate rhetorical usage that produces the parallel pairs of "freedom and liberty" and "content and form."

And yet, Franko deploys a rhetorical arsenal of his own even while crying "Foul!" at Luts'ky's. In contrast to Luts'ky's hyperbole, Franko practices an ironic self-effacement, admitting that perhaps there is a meaning to Luts'ky's words even though it is beyond his grasp. As the "dogma" passage illustrates, Franko finds it appropriate to hurl one question after another at Luts'ky—there are close to thirty in the article—and he couches his attack in exaggerated repetitions of "Mister Luts'ky" that are a travesty of politeness.

Franko attacks Luts'ky's ideas as well as his style. Luts'ky writes that art cannot be locked up in a tight materialistic-positivistic cage, and that "the stuff of journalistic didactism" ("materiyal hazetyars'kykh mentorstv") must be separated from poetry and all art (57). Franko, on the other hand, invokes his own understanding of the didactic function of art in requiring that the members of *Moloda muza* be held accountable to the community they are addressing for whatever influence they may have on the young people of that community (413).

Franko's disagreements with Luts'ky are not, however, always to the point. His response to Luts'ky's passage on the decline of realism provides an illustration. Franko sees his own doctrine of the utilitarian function of art under attack and in his indignation fails to read closely, thus missing an important detail. Luts'ky did not dismiss all realist writers at one stroke, as Franko would have it. He simply pointed out that realism had inspired great works in the hands of talented writers, but like any other movement it had degenerated into a set of formulas in the hands of inept epigones and was now spent. Franko adds insult to injury by concluding his response with the contention that Luts'ky does not seem to distinguish between fair criticism and slander.

The inattentiveness with which Franko reads results in another kind of injustice, in which Franko misquotes Luts'ky and then quibbles not only with what Luts'ky did write, but also with what he did not. Thus, where Luts'ky writes first about "sincerity" and then about "nuances of human feelings" ("*shchyrist'* i teplo serdechne i zrozuminnya vsikh *nizhnostey v pochuvannyakh lyuds'kykh*" [57; emphasis added]), Franko writes about "sincerity of human feelings" in addition to nuances thereof ("shchyrist' v pochuvannyakh lyuds'kykh" and "nizhnostey v pochuvannyakh lyuds'kykh" [416]). Regardless

of the merits of Luts'ky's argument, the inaccuracies in the phrases that Franko quotes do not testify to cool-headedness on his part. Regrettably, such is Franko's authority that even today, in the fifty-volume edition of his works, the editors do not appear to have seen fit to check Franko's quotations, but have reproduced this error, just as it had originally appeared in *Dilo*, and without comment (416, 644).

Franko's piece ends with a cruel parody of Luts'ky's conclusion. Out of a factual account of *Moloda muza's* activities and the concluding statement of a somewhat promotional nature, Franko manages to produce a speech worthy only of a carnival barker. What is worse, the passage is irresponsibly presented as no less of a quotation than the legitimate ones in the article, and any reader of limited sophistication who had not happened to read the article to which Franko is responding could mistakenly take this for an actual quotation. Luts'ky deserved a fairer reading, particularly from such an influential reader.

Franko had been prominent on the literary and intellectual scene for a good twenty-five years by the early 1900s and was clearly the senior man of letters in Lviv at the time. In spite of his socialist and anti-clerical views, which sometimes made him unpopular, he wielded great influence, if only through the sheer volume of his writing. Yet the volume was sustained by strong credentials. He had earned a doctorate in literature in Vienna in 1893 and as a poet had already produced several collections. With *Zivyale lystya* (*Withered Leaves*), published in 1896, he had briefly ventured into personal lyricism.[14] By the *Moloda muza* years, though, he was back in the utilitarian camp, writing *Semper tiro* (*Ever a Novice*) and *Moysey* (*Moses*).[15]

In 1900 Franko had written a letter—in verse—to Vorony, expounding his understanding of the utilitarian function of art. The letter was printed together with Vorony's response, written in a similar style but opposing Franko's view, in *Z-nad khmar i z dolyn* (*From above the Clouds and from the Valleys*), the *al' manakh* that Vorony had conceived as a tribute to modernism, but that was quite eclectic by the time it was published.[16] The sentiments that Franko voiced were typical of his critical and theoretical writings. Thus, Franko was sufficiently familiar with and interested in pure lyric that early individual publications by the poets who would become *molodomuztsi* had found him favourably disposed. He had, for example, responded well to Pachovs'ky's *Rozsypani perly*. But it must have been the cohesion of their individual tendencies in a group, however informally organized, that provoked Franko and led him, as Karmans'ky points out in his memoir of *Moloda muza, Ukrayins'ka Bohema* (*Ukrainian Bohemia*), to find the group's modernistic ideals inexcusable (14).

Moloda muza enjoyed only a brief period of prominence in the literary activities of its era. In this short time it made significant contributions to Ukrainian literature through its books and magazine. No sooner was its identity

established, though, than the group began to drift apart. To some extent this was predictable. Intent on serving art, *Moloda muza* could not have survived long in any case in the Lviv of the early 1900s. As Karmans'ky puts it in his memoir, the poets of the time found themselves exiled, since all that people needed were a few stock phrases from Shevchenko that they could remember on festive occasions and use as a sort of cultural and patriotic status symbol; furthermore, the public found unacceptable the relatively bohemian manners and mores of many of the *molodomuztsi*, who did not value material comfort and security (110-11). This attitude, shared by the pragmatic publisher Budzynovsky, may help explain the end of *Moloda muza's* collaboration with *S'vit*.

Still, the inevitable came more quickly with the help of Ivan Franko. His response to Luts'ky was not the sole factor in the fate of *Moloda muza*, but it had its effect. Granted, Franko had in the past been censured by the community, but by the time in question his persistence and productivity had earned him respect. And the style of his charge at Luts'ky was typically intemperate. As Bohdan Rubchak has written, any attempt to introduce modernism into Ukrainian literature had to reckon with both Franko's enormous authority and his merciless wit.[17] The extent of his authority is clear, if only from the fact that he was portrayed before anyone else, and in the role of mentor, in *Ukrayins'ka Bohema* (13-20, esp. 14). It was also a *molodomuzets'*, Pachovs'ky, who noted Franko's inordinately destructive style and placed him at the fore of critics who discourage writers by belabouring the negative aspects of their works.[18]

Franko's response to Luts'ky's article is a good example of this tendency and its effect on writers. The exchange interests us for more, though, than its immediate discouragement of the poets it touched. This immediate effect was only one instance of the process by which respected authorities grant or withhold "sanctions"—to use Luts'ky's own term—that commend some works to posterity but not others, and not always by literary or artistic criteria. The 1976 Soviet edition of Franko's collected works provides a telling example. In the annotations to volume 37, which contains Franko's critical writings for the years 1906-1908, *Moloda muza* is repeatedly identified as a grouping of decadent modernist writers, even though by comparison with some European writers of a slightly earlier period, *Moloda muza*'s decadence is timid indeed.[19] What is more, on the face of it, this edition is meticulously edited. For example, the index lists even an item like the populist magazine *Meta*, published in Lviv from 1863 through 1865, although it is mentioned only twice and only in the notes (624, 629). *Moloda muza*, however, despite the many references to it and especially with regard to the 1907 "Manifest..." article, does not figure in the index.

For all the brevity of its existence, *Moloda muza* can be credited with fostering innovations in Ukrainian literature. The body of poetry that it nurtured helped to break the ground for the poetry of the twenties. For example,

Myron Stepnyak profferred in 1933 his view that Pavlo Tychyna was a direct heir of the *molodomuzets'* Pachovs'ky.[20] This view has since been endorsed by Vasyl' Barka, in a 1967 article included in a recently published volume of Pachovs'ky's collected works.[21] Given the importance of the *molodomuztsi* as couriers to Eastern Ukraine of Western European literary currents, and as proselytizers for poetry in their own community, they may well have been given short shrift.[22]

NOTES

1. Petro Karmans'ky, *Ukrayins'ka Bohema: Z nahody trydtsyat' littya molodoyi muzy* [sic] (L'viv: R. Kul'chyts'ky, 1936), p. 68. Subsequent references will consist of page numbers in parentheses.

2. See p. 103, and nn. 20 and 21 below.

3. Lesya Ukrayinka [pseudonym of Larysa Kosach (1871-1913)] was described by Victor Swoboda—in *The Penguin Companion to European Literature*, ed. Anthony Thorlby (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p.781—as "one of the greatest representatives of Ukrainian modernism," even though the listing of her "chief themes" begins with "the poet's duty in society" and includes the pursuit of "personal, social and national freedom."

Oleksander Oles' [pseudonym of Oleksander Kandyba (1878-1944)] was described by Swoboda in the same source as "the chief exponent of Ukrainian neo-romanticism" (p. 582). And Mykola Plevako ranks Oles' as the most outstanding Ukrainian poet of the early years of this century (p. 613): see his introduction to *Khrestomatiya novoyi ukrayins'koyi literatury*, 1923, rpt. in *Statti, rozvidky i bio-bibliohrafichni materiyaly*, ed. H. O. Kostyuk (New York, Paris: UVAN, 1961), pp. 608-15.

4. Borys Hrinchenko (1863-1910) was grouped by Swoboda (see preceding note) with the noted realist prose writers Nechuy [-Levyts'ky] (1838-1918), Myrny [pseudonym of P. Rudchenko] (1849-1920), and Franko (p. 780).

5. For useful discussions of canon formation, see Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Contingencies of Value," and Charles Altieri, "An Idea and Ideal of a Literary Canon," *Critical Inquiry*, 10 (1983), pp. 1-36 and pp. 37-60, respectively, rpt. in Robert Von Hallberg, ed., *Canons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 5-39 and pp. 41-64.

6. Petro Karmans'ky, *Z teky samovbyytsi* ([L'viv]: 1899).

7. Vasyl' Pachovs'ky, *Zhertva shtuky* (1906) and *Na stotsi hir* (1907); Petro Karmans'ky, *Bludni ohni* (1907), Stepan Charnets'ky, *V hodyni sumerku* (1908), and Sydir Tverdokhlib, *V svichadi plesa* (1908); Volodymyr Birchak, *Pid sontsem pivdnya* (1907) and Mykhaylo Yatskiv, *Kazka pro persten'*

(1907); *Pryvezeno zillya z trokh* [sic] *hir na vesillya: Na den' 30 lypnya 1907. Volodymyrovi i Mariytsi Birchakam* (1907).

8. Bohdan Lepky, *Poeziye, rozrado odynoka* (1908).

9. *S'vit*: Literaturno-naukova chasopys', 1906; *S'vit*: Ilyustrovana chasopys' dlya ruskikh rodyn, 1907. Subsequent references will consist of volume and page numbers in parentheses, thus: "(1: 1)" for volume 1, page 1.

10. Ostap Luts'ky, "Moloda Muza," *Dilo*, Nov. 18, 1907, pp. 1-2, rpt. in Yuriy Luts'ky (G. S. N. Luckyj), comp. *Ostap Luts'ky—Molodomuzets'* (New York: Slovo, 1968), pp. 55-59. Subsequent references will reproduce the style of the reprint and will give page numbers of the reprint in parentheses.

11. Ivan Franko, "Manifest 'Molodoyi Muzy,'" *Dilo*, Dec. 6, 1907, pp. 1-2, rpt. in *Zibrannya tvoriv u pyatdesyaty tomakh* (50 vols. to date; Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1976-1986), 37, pp. 410-17. Subsequent references will reproduce the style of the reprint and will give page numbers of the reprint in parentheses.

12. Vasyl' Pachovs'ky, *Rozsypani perly* ([Lviv]: [privately printed], 1901), rpt. in *Zibrani tvory* (2 vols. to date; Philadephia: Slovo, 1984-), 1, pp. 27–155.

13. Ivan Franko, "Nasha poeziya v 1901 rotsi" ("'Rozsypani perly' V. Pachovs'koho"), *Literaturno-Naukovyy Visnyk*, 17 (1902), pp. 33-48, rpt. in *Zibrannya tvoriv*, 33, pp. 172-88.

14. Ivan Franko, *Zivyale lystya: Lirychna drama* (L'viv: [privately printed], 1896), rpt. in *Zibrannya tvoriv*, 2, pp. 119-75.

15. Ivan Franko, *Moysey* (Lviv: [privately printed], 1905) and *Semper tiro* (Literaturno-naukova biblioteka 135-36, Lviv: Ukrayin-rus'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1906), rpt. in *Zibrannya tvoriv*, 5, pp. 201-64 and 3, pp. 101-82, respectively.

16. Ivan Franko, "Mykoli Voronomu (poslanye)" and Mykola Vorony, "Ivanovi Frankovi (vidpovid' na yoho poslanye)," in Mykola Vorony, ed. *Z-nad khmar i z dolyn* (Odessa: A. Sokolovs'ky, 1903), pp. 1-3 and 4-6, respectively.

17. Bohdan Rubchak, "Probnyy let," in Yuriy Luts'ky, *Ostap Luts'ky—Molodomuzets'*, p. 28.

18. Vasyl' Pachovs'ky, "Moya spovid'," *Dzvony*, 4 (1934), pp. 154-61, pp. 234-39, rpt. in *Zibrani tvory*, 2, p. 30.

19. Ivan Franko, *Zibrannya tvoriv*, 37, p. 597, p. 598, p. 631, p. 643.

20. Myron Stepnyak, "Poety 'Molodoyi muzy,'" *Chervonyy Shlyakh*, 11.1 (1933), p. 182.

21. Vasyl' Barka, "Liryk—Myslytel'," *Ukrayins'ki Visti*, Apr. 9, 1967, rpt. in Pachovs'ky, *Zibrani tvory*, 2, pp. 13-14.

22. The experience of *Moloda muza* is by no means unique. In recent times, the New York Group had a similar shaky start as far as public acceptance

was concerned. Now, recognized by such authorities as Yuriy Lavrinenko and Hryhoriy Kostyuk [Yuriy Lavrinenko, *Zrub i parosty: Literaturno-krytychni statti, eseyi, refleksiyi* (Munich: Suchasnist', 1971), p. 5 and pp. 253-307; Hryhoriy Kostyuk, "Z litopysu literaturnoho zhyttya v diaspori," *Suchasnist'*, 129 (1971), pp. 37-63; 130 (1971), pp. 63-82], the Group still finds its detractors. Valentyn Moroz protested in September 1985 that a University of Ottawa conference called *Beyond Tradition*, planned for the following month, would be monopolized by the New York Group; he did not name the Group but characterized it as being made up of good friends who ran about without pants in the 1960s, when hippies were in vogue [Valentyn Moroz, Address, Commemorative Evening in Honour of Vasyl' Stus (St. Vladimir's Cathedral, Toronto, Sept. 22, 1985)]. In Moroz's view, such admission to the club of canonical poets, on grounds of acquaintance—connections as it were—signals the death of poetry. He went on, however, to object to the poetry of the New York Group on the grounds that it did not serve as a weapon. If the works of certain poets did serve the cause of defense, perhaps Moroz would be less sensitive to nepotism in literary selection.

As for the conference to which Moroz referred, the consecration of an entire conference to what is implied to be 'beyond tradition' allows for either a passive examination of what constitutes the canon and the reasons for it, or an active attempt to reconstitute it. Either way, the fact of such a conference implies a responsible stance towards the canon and one's role in perpetuating it. With regard to Vasyl' Stus, for example, Leonid Pliushch responded thus to a comparison of the honours paid to the memory of Stus with the cult that developed around Shevchenko: Heaven forbid, he said, that Stus be made a civic poet, for in his work he could not be farther from one [Leonid Pliushch, personal conversation, May 29, 1986].

Pliushch's words are a reminder that literature should be judged first and foremost for itself. The process by which works of literature are sanctioned and the canon determined cannot be avoided, but it must be acknowledged, by those who receive the canon and those who shape it. We will be told that a work is good, or that it is bad, but we must stop and think why, and on whose word we have it.

IRONY IN THE WORKS OF MYKOLA KHVYL'OVY

Myroslav Shkandrij

> "Well, he's mad—that he is—and it's the kind of madness that generally mistakes one thing for another, and thinks white black and black white, as was clear when he said that the windmills were giants and the friar's mules dromedaries, and the flock of sheep hostile armies, and many other things to this tune. So it won't be very difficult to make him believe that the first peasant girl I run across about here is the Lady Dulcinea."
>
> *The Adventures of Don Quixote*

Mykola Khvyl'ovy, the greatest Ukrainian prose writer of the immediate post-Revolutionary years, was acutely aware of one trait of the modern ego, its self-consciousness. Almost all his central figures—the narrator in "Ya," Anarkh in "Povist' pro sanatoriynu zonu," Dmytro Karamazov in "Val'dshnepy"—typify the modern ego's uncertainty, its fear of being wrong, of appearing ridiculous, of discovering the truth about itself. It is as though these heroes were searching for their identity in the figures of Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and Miguel de Cervantes—more precisely, as though they were not sure which of the three they most closely resembled.

The structure of Khvyl'ovy's stories—indeed, of most of his works—seems to shuttle elaborately between the noble illusions of a Don Quixote, the earthy realism of a Sancho Panza, and the humour of a Cervantes. Often the chief interest lies in the struggle of these attitudes within the mind of the hero or heroine. Such an organizing principle is also evident in the selection of characters: an idealistic dreamer, usually a young person, represents the beautiful illusion (Andryusha in "Ya," Khlonya in "Povist' pro sanatoriynu zonu"); a strong-willed cynic, who knows the weakness of the flesh and has an instinct for survival, represents the point of view of the *mishchanyn* or Philistine (Dr. Tahabat in "Ya," "Karno" in "Povist' pro sanatoriynu zonu," Aglaya in "Val'dshnepy"); and the impotent intellectual, who sides with the ideal but is overpowered by the real, serves as the central character in whose mind the story's conflicts are played out (the narrator in "Ya," Anarkh in "Povist' pro sanatoriynu zonu," Dmytro Karamazov in "Val'dshnepy"). One might also add to the list of recurring characters: the simple soul, usually a quiet, unassuming, and self-sacrificing woman (Maria in "Ya," Sestra Katrya in "Povist'...," Hanna Karamazov in "Val'dshnepy"); the fool (Degenerat in "Ya," Duren' in

"Povist'...," T'otya Klava's husband in "Val'dshnepy"); and the provocateur, usually a sexually attractive woman who has lost her noble illusions and has a compulsive need to destroy the illusions of others (Maya in "Povist'...," T'otya Klava in "Val'dshnepy"). All these character types point to the author's desire to structure the story around the juxtaposition of poet and Philistine, illusion and reality, innocent joy and malicious experience, love and hate. And all these motifs focus attention on the central dilemma of the hero: the debilitating self-consciousness of the potentially active and creative individual.

Yet the author's own self-awareness blocks him from merely portraying the modern ego. His corrosive self-consciousness compels him to intervene continually in his works in order to debunk, demystify, deflate, remind the readers constantly that all perceptions and all desires have to be distrusted. Finally, he cannot resist demonstrating that the work of fiction too is an illusion, nothing but an intellectual game.

All these attitudes, besides being very cental in the development of twentieth-century Modernism, were also typical of Romantic irony. Therefore it would not be amiss to take a brief retrospective glance at Romantic irony, not only because it is an attitude that is at the core of Khvyl'ovy's work, but also because it sheds some light on the terms "Romantic Vitaism" and "Active Romanticism" which the author used to describe both his work and that of the twenties as a whole.

Socratic irony has often been spoken of as a method of dissimulation, the purpose of which is to expose ignorance by pretending to seek information. It has been admired as a device for drawing out the full implications of a commonly held opinion, thereby revealing its contradictions and shortcomings. As a didactic tool its purpose was to teach that established codes of religion, morality, justice, and art were often based on faulty premises and had to be rethought. Since it was nobler for an individual to reach an understanding of a question through reflection rather than to adopt conventional notions automatically, irony was the tool by which beliefs were analyzed and false views exposed, by which the social collective's claim to be correct was often shown to be wrong.

Romantic irony, in the opinion of the critic Friedrich Schlegel, was also a splendid weapon against philistinism, false rationalism, untrammelled emotionalism, and fossilized thinking. For the Romantics, however, irony was not only a negative power; it was also a revelation of a positive capability: the writer's ability to step outside the world of necessity and to summon up divine powers as creator and poet. The exercise of irony, they thought, offered the most unlimited expression of freedom, the widest prospects for creative endeavour. Through it intelligence became completely self-conscious and gained a glimpse of its infinite possibilities. Control over irony would thus liberate the individual and bring a clearer understanding of the truth.

A striking feature of Romantic irony was its need to remind the reader that the story was a fictional account constructed by an author. By stepping outside the narrative, the Romantics seemed to be demonstrating an aspiration to situate the artist, the supreme creator, at a point outside the world. Such a calculated mental act was the manifestation of a detached and ambivalent attitude to the paradoxical essence of the world—"transcendental buffoonery," in Schlegel's words.

The Romantics felt they had discovered something essentially new, non-Greek, in the concept of irony: the reflective, critical attitude toward the work of art and the artist himself, which could illuminate the working of the mind during the act of creation. One immediate consequence of such an attitude was the idea of literature as play. It became the fashion for the writer ironically to rethink various literary forms, to treat literature as an intellectual game, to enter his work and comment on his literary devices, and to make the production and compositon of the literary work the subject of literature. This was, of course, connected to the idea that the human mind was not a passive reflector of the surrounding world but an active creator working according to its own internal laws—a basic tenet of Romanticism.

A second major consequence for literature in adopting the ironic stance was the development of the concept of doubt. Since Kant had shown the limitations of knowledge, the futility of attempting to construct a comprehensive metaphysical system that could reduce everything to a single basic principle, the Romantics had to accept the impossibility of complete knowledge and of total communicaton, while, paradoxically, recognizing the necessity of striving for both. This kind of ironic attitude had much in common with scepticism in philosophy, with agnosticism in questions of religious belief, and with tolerant relativism in matters political and moral. Towards ultimate mysteries and eternal questions a certain degree of non-commitment and equivocation was to be assumed, toward socio-political complexities a stance of disinterest. But in aesthetic matters, in Schlegel's estimation, irony would liberate more than it would restrain, freeing the artist to hover playfully over the surface of his work, to savour all the paradoxes of his craft, to rejoice in the powers of the intellect and the imagination, and to delight in the artist's ability to poeticize the world.

How closely acquainted Khvyl'ovy was with Schlegel's theory of Romantic irony we do not know. It may have been a second-hand acquaintanceship obtained through the writings of the Russian Modernists, the translations of German authors, and reports of the newest publications and theatrical productions: Ludwig Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater* was produced in Berlin in 1921 and Luigi Pirandello's *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore*, a work that did more than any other to popularize the devices of Romantic irony in the modern theatre, was published in 1921. It may also have been derived in part from the Ukrainian Modernists, in particular, M. Kotsyubyns'ky. Nevertheless, it is

clear from his work and from his polemical writings that Khvyl'ovy was profoundly influenced by Romantic theory. He both considered himself a "Romantic Vitaist" or "Active Romantic" and was strongly attracted to the ironic mode. Furthermore, an argument can be made for the progressive development of this mode as the path taken by Khvyl'ovy's genuis.

Friedrich Schlegel saw irony as a counterbalance to the unrestrained feeling of the Storm and Stress period: it cooled the poet's fervour, supplemented it with clarity of vision, presence of mind, and calmness of judgment. A marriage of emotion and intellect was considered important if the world was not to make of the poet a naive fool or a helpless slave. A similar motivation appeared to have prompted Khvyl'ovy to reject his youthful, naively enthusiastic verse of the Revolutionary period, in which the poet wore his heart upon his sleeve, and to search for a more sophisticated form of expression. In the following years he was to mock caustically those writers who remained cast in such an artless mold, perhaps seeing in their earnest, innocent, and self-contented lyrics a reflection of his own literary persona of the Revolutionary years. In fact the famous "Literary Discussion" in Ukraine during the years 1925-1928 was initiated by Mykola Khvyl'ovy with an attack upon a third-rate short-sighted writer who could see in the story "Ya" nothing but an offensive slander of the noble revolutionary activist and a delving into morbid psychology. Khvyl'ovy's critique of hollow rhetoric, sentimentalism, and technical incompetence, with which he opened his attack in 1925, was to be a leitmotif of the entire "Literary Discussion."

The ironist who emerged in 1923-1924 with the publication of *Syni Etyudy* and *Osin'* was already an artist in control of his material, not one controlled by it (Schlegel's distinction between Romanticism and Classicism). Khvyl'ovy the artist had set himself different goals from the politician, for, in the words of another Romantic, "A commitment to an idea, no matter how beautiful, means a chance of getting stuck in some kind of servitude to the sublime.... If you are lacking in irony, that divine freedom of spirit, then you cannot do justice to the sublime."[1] In his work Mykola Khvyl'ovy uses irony in the self-conscious manner admired by the Romantics: as detached authorial manipulation of material, as self-mirroring, as self-restraint, and as a symbolic imitation of the infinite play of the universe.[2]

In the stories of this period Khvyl'ovy continually intervenes in order to show that literature is a kind of intellectual game being played with the reader. He loves to take the reader into his confidence, asks for advice as to how the plot ought to develop, gives instruction on how unfolding events should be viewed, and shares his artistic secrets. Some chapters are non-existent, others full of clues that lead nowhere. The author delights in exposing the conventions of the literary form, of drawing the reader into his laboratory and displaying to him the very creative process itself.

But running alongside the theme of literature as play is the second major theme of his work: literature as doubt, as a systematic questioning of all human perceptions and desires. This begins with the manipulation of narrative devices in order to advance the story on several levels at once. The straightforward, "realist" narrative is shunned: the point of view constantly shifts; fragments of letters, diaries, and posters appear frequently; and dream sequences, ghostly visions of past Cossack glory, and idyllic fantasies about the future Republic of Communes unexpectedly glide in and out. All this becomes too much for some characters, who at certain points can no longer distinguish between reality and illusion:

> Anarkh looked at Sister Katria and suddenly jumped: Is she a phantom too?—Ugh, how stupid!...
>
> —Listen,—he turned to her, rubbing his eyes—what do you think: am I dreaming, or is this...
>
> —Is this what?—Sister Katria rejoined.
>
> —Oh, God! I'm asking you: is it a dream that I'm talking to you, or is it reality?[3]

Or, like Sister Katria, they begin to philosophize:

> —Just think...perhaps when I'm somewhere beyond Lake Baikal or North of Lake Baikal, Hegel will appear in a completely different light. And this will be quite understandable, because you cannot in fact say what I am exactly: reality or a phantom. Even if you take hold of my hand and feel my flesh under your thumb, even then you do not have the right to say that at this moment I exist. Perhaps this is just your dream, because you could feel exactly the same thing in a dream... Everything is relative![4]

Khvyl'ovy's most characteristic device is anticlimax. He almost always mocks his own lyrical flights. He will paint a character or describe an incident and quite deliberately puncture the illusion with an admission that no such person existed or that nothing of the sort occurred; we have simply been taken for a joyful ride. Sometimes, as in the conclusion to "Iz Varynoyi biohrafiyi," he even proposes more than one ending to a story: a bitter, tragic conclusion, and a happy, successful one. The reader is left wondering which is the more appropriate: is life a terrible nightmare or a euphoric dream?

Another interesting device in Khvyl'ovy for heightening the sense of self-consciousness and doubt is the search for "Platonic forms": the author and the characters are looking beyond the immediate and the individual for eternal and ideal types. Khvyl'ovy makes this explicit in the endings to some of his stories.

For example, in "Kit u chobotyakh" and "Val'dshnepy" we are told that the importance of analyzing the chief characters lies in their representative nature; the hero of the second represents the typical Ukrainian Party intellectual of the twenties, trapped between Communist loyalties and national sympathies. It is precisely because of this almost obsessive search for "Platonic forms" that all Khvyl'ovy's work teems with literary allusions.

Almost every character, every scene, and every conflict recall some other literary work. The author himself constantly compares his characters to fictional ones and wonders whether they are Don Quixotes, Prometheuses, Dmitri Karamazovs, Fausts, Ostap or Andriy Bul'bas, etc. Sometimes he seems unsure about which persona his character will assume next, hesitates in developing the plot, appears to stand back and to observe developments with detached curiosity. Khvyl'ovy's characters often have allegorical names which encourage comparisons and contrasts, or remind the reader of other characters in history or fiction: in "Povist'...," for instance, Anarkh, the former Makhnovite, is pitted against Karno, the crude, earthy, Party realist. Individuals also have a protean quality, drifting into and out of one literary personage after another. Their characters seem to be perpetually in flux, ephemeral. In the same story Anarkh is associated with Savonarola, Don Quixote, Makhno, Lenin, and even the Fool, who in this story wanders the grounds of the sanatorium occasionally piercing the stillness with a mad cry. In his struggle for self-awareness, for an understanding of his own character and role in life, Anarkh, as it were, tries on these various personae. When he is unable to reach the desired self-awareness, his mental illness progresses rapidly, leading to his suicide. Not only are the Platonic ideal types here an aid to self-characterization for Anarkh, the author's use of them—in particular of Anarkh's continual shuttling from one to another—seems to imply that conventional realist methods of characterization are suspect.

The business of "getting to know" some character, of reducing him to a recognizable dimension, is made more complicated by the fact that he is continually posing, playing roles, hiding behind masks:

> Karamazov looked at his friend and suddenly burst into laughter. "Oh, how odd you are! Didn't you notice that I was just playing the fool? Obviously I wouldn't make such a bad actor."[5]

All this tends to produce a kind of "hall of mirrors" effect in which the reader and each character watch the players without being sure whether the image observed is really there. The importance of the image, however, is crucial; in fact, it is usually the image that creates the reality.

Khvyl'ovy's characters are themselves constantly reading other authors, and readily discuss the world of other fictional characters or famed philosophers,

which often seems more real to them than their own. We hear echoes from Plato, Cervantes, Swift, Voltaire, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, and a host of others. Each thread is picked up only to be dropped as soon as another association occurs. And yet all these streams seem to flow into one prolonged search for the answer to recurring questions: What is reality? What is the individual? What is history? What is illusion? What is art? And in this world of fiction, the world's great writers and the eternal creations of fiction seem to be looking over the characters' shoulders and participating in the action.

This device of Romantic irony, so reminiscent of Tieck and Pirandello, goes hand in hand with another device that is central to Khvyl'ovy and which is often at the base of his plot structure, especially in his later stories: the destruction of the mass illusion or the popular myth. In a world reminiscent of Gogol, Khvyl'ovy's characters are often the product of a mass psychosis, of how others see them. They are beneficiaries or victims of popular misconceptions. The inspector in "Revizor" is a product of the popular fear of bureaucratic institutions. The pusillanimous Ivan Ivanovych or Stepan Trokhymovych in their eponymous stories are familiar to the reader, but not to their subordinates who consider them wise, dignified leaders. The pompous, giftless, and vulgar Party official Ivan Ivanovych is, for example, keenly aware of the power of the general impression his circle has of him:

> "Well, Galaktochka... Ah... what are they saying about me, in general?"
>
> "Where do you mean?"
>
> "Well... in general. In Party circles, so to speak, and... whenever the subject arises."
>
> Comrade Galaktochka looks at Comrade Zhan in a motherly way and says: "What can they say?... They say that you are a very fine worker and an exemplary Party man."
>
> Ivan Ivanovych rubs his hands, goes to the radio loudspeaker and tenderly strokes it with his palm: he is quite pleased by this information. The main thing is to avoid any kind of misunderstanding.[6]

Eventually, of course, the facade collapses, and the delusory nature of the fears and ambitions it has fostered are exposed. The characters emerge chastened, but less gullible and more critical of the world's vanity. Ivan Ivanovych, the conceited Party dignitary is purged and tumbles from his high post into obscurity; Stepan Trokhymovych discovers that the Party authorities are just as incompetent as he is; the Revizor turns out to be a frightened, obsequious, and pathetic careerist. Romantic irony is very much in evidence in the overt manipulation of characters and events and in the ambiguous attitude of the author to his literary progeny. Towards them intimacy alternates with aloofness,

the tenderest affection with mockery, and sympathy with criticism. This again is an attitude that Schlegel praised and one which he detected in the greatest artists: Cervantes, Shakespeare, Goethe.

It was in the years of the great "Literary Discussion," 1925-1928, that Khvyl'ovy's prose began to undergo a change. The dominance of essentially poetic devices—which gave his prose a lyrical, fragmentary quality—began to give way to structural devices more usually associated with prose narrative: a well constructed plot, character development, psychological interest, socio-political contrasts, etc. The use of irony, however, did not diminish, but increased. Whereas in the earlier stories it had often assumed a playful, witty, and flippant tone, and tended to reveal an easy acceptance of human folly in general, now it became more sombre in colouration and all-pervasive, and began to focus on specific targets, to expose and castigate specific vices.

A strong satirical streak emerged in Khvyl'ovy's writings. Bureaucratic snobbery, obsequiousness and servility, hypocrisy, petty ambition, selfishness, and the ubiquitous "poshlist" of Soviet life became the objects of ridicule in stories such as "Ivan Ivanovych," "Revizor," and "Opovidannya pro Stepana Trokhymovycha," published in the years 1929-1931. Some standard techniques of satire are employed: affectation is unmasked; the base character with an inflated opinion of himself is overtaken by bedlam, confusion, or chaos; the mechanical response to situations by the brain-washed, self-demeaning cog is ridiculed; the blindness and hypocrisy of the snob is exposed. And yet the technique is a subtle one which relies on ironic distancing for its effect. Here again clues are dropped as to the author's intentions: "Ivan Ivanovych" begins with references to Jonathan Swift, Voltaire, and anti-utopian literature; the heroine in "Revizor" wonders whether she is a Ukrainian Madame Bovary; Stepan Trokhymovych's philistine happiness echoes Gogol's old-world landowners.

But behind the social satire lies a parody of the representation of these conventions in literature. Khvyl'ovy took pains to explode the naive epistemological assumption on which the "heroic" or "monumental" realism of the official Soviet literature (later "Socialist Realism") was founded. While part of the satirist's attack was aimed at manners and attitudes which were the norm in Soviet life, another part travestied the literary norms. In the works of this period Khvyl'ovy was in fact ridiculing the official VUSPP school of writing—in particular, works such as Ivan Mykytenko's *Braty* (1927), Petro Panch's *Povist' nashykh dniv* (1928), and Ivan Le's *Roman mizhirrya* (1929), which were soon to be granted canonical status—by laying bare the devices and the illusions the school tried to foster.

Take, for example, Ivan Ivanovych in Khvyl'ovy's story of the same name. He is none other than a Party Candide. We are immediately informed that he was expelled from the Faculty of Law for "Voltairianism" and today lives on

Thomas More Street (in the contemporary *Utopia*, of course). In his heart vibrate exclusively "major chords" of "monumental realism," while all "minor chords" and rebellious attitudes are considered by him to be expressions of a "petty-bourgeois impressionism." Just like Voltaire's Candide, he continually repeats to himself that we live in the best of all possible worlds until, that is, he is thrown out of the Party and his career is ruined. This is a very obvious travesty of the VUSPP fiction of the day, of its dominant mood and of its positive hero. Moreover, the typical plot of the VUSPP story has the hero making some scientific discovery and thereby raising the material level of the masses. In a transparent parody of this fomula Ivan Ivanovych spends the entire winter in study until he invents an electric fly-swatter, which only works, however, when the fly obligingly decides to sit in a designated spot—something, we are told, that does not often happen.

Khvyl'ovy's purpose seems to have been the education of the public to a more critical reading and to a more profound self-awareness through the revelation of the limits of fiction. Hence the parodistic game played with other texts, other worlds, with the whole idea of fiction as a "reflection of reality." In fact, Khvyl'ovy's ultimate purpose is an attack on the mimetic myth. Through the use of irony, satire, and parody he criticizes the naive views of the representation of nature in art. A naive reader like Don Quixote (a recurring symbol in Khvyl'ovy) takes the fictional world of chivalry to be true, just as Khvyl'ovy's heroes and heroines accept their images of lovers, Party leaders, historical events, the common people, or the artist to be the truth—with disastrous results. Byanka's image of her lover turns out to be completely false in "Sentymental'na istoriya"; Stepan Trokhymovych's impression that a wise leadership is guiding the Party eventually is deflated; Ivan Ivanovych's picture of historical events proves to be totally false since he believed that "they cannot purge members of the Central Committee... that's only for the people... the masses!"[7]

Khvyl'ovy's irony argues for a more sophisticated and complex presentation of the world, for a more self-conscious use of the art of fiction, and, perhaps, for a more ironic, detached, and tolerant approach to life in the face of an increasingly dogmatic official posture in all matters intellectual: politics, philosophy, morality, and art.

Finally, Khvyl'ovy's purpose may have been to illustrate the idea that all literature is essentially deceptive and therefore morally questionable. One of his characters, commenting upon the reflection of life in the local factory newspaper, expresses this doubt in the power of the written word to convey the truth without distortion:

> But scepticism kept eating away at me... I took an active part in the women's organization, in meetings of delegates, in editing the town's wall-newspapers, but I constantly thought that our wall-newspaper [*stinhazeta*] was not called

> wall-gas [*stinhaz*] for nothing. That's all it was—gas, smoke. A lot of damp straw burning. And the people sit by this illusory bonfire and think: "there's no smoke without fire."[8]

Khvyl'ovy seems to be telling the reader that the simplistic Engelsian and Leninist "refection theory," which served as the epistemological foundation for the crude productions of "heroic" or "Socialist Realism" in the late twenties and early thirties, was far too primitive an instrument to comprehend a changing world. Everything in the later stories ("Ivan Ivanovych," "Revizor," "Zlochyn," "Myslyvs'ki opovidannya dobrodiya Stepchuka," "Z Lyaboratoriyi," and "Opovidannya pro Stepana Trokhymovycha") is built on a contrast between illusion and reality, seeming and being. Nothing is what it appears to be. Khvyl'ovy begins to reiterate the words "son, mara, omana" (dream, phantom, delusion) as though trying to convince us that human reason alone is unable to grasp the whimsical dialectic of life.

In the following passage, which occurs towards the end of "Z Lyaboratoriyi," Spridonova philosophizes on the inscrutable logic of events:

> And so here you are at my place!... And, you know, it happened quite accidentally somehow... Well, tell me, did you think you would find yourself at my place? Of course not. Everything in life turns out in a funny sort of way. Not because the principle of causation is broken at every step—as some provincial would say. But because these same causes, which bring us to a place we never expected—these same causes are acted out before our eyes in a hidden manner, and only afterwards do we find them.[9]

Or take the following quotations, all gathered from the "Opovidannya pro Stepana Trokhymovycha," and all pointing toward the limitations of human reason:

> Of course we could build the commune without directives, but the point is the nature of our people. Darkest ignorance, I tell you, and you cannot presume that they will think their way through by themselves.
>
> And here Stepan Trokhymovych had a sudden thought: 'Life's like that—you fear it and it is not terrible at all.'
>
> The point is that life is like that: you get ready to go somewhere; you take off; you arrive at the place; and then it turns out that what you were looking for isn't there; it turns out that you didn't ask the right questions, or the right people.
>
> Stepan Trokhymovych tried to wrap his brain around the problem, Stepan Trokhymovych pondered intensely. But all the same Stepan Trokhymovych could not make head or tails of it.[10]

In his awareness of the process of creation and of the dangers of a simplistic fictional portrayal, Khvyl'ovy was very much a twentieth-century writer. For Joyce, Proust, Gide, Kafka, Mann—artists who defined the direction of twentieth-century prose—sense perception was to be doubted, for what appeared to be true was not; and at the same time illusions, one's images of the world, could be as tangible as perceptions of external reality. The impossibility of knowing anything for certain—of even knowing other people well—haunts these authors. Perhaps Proust put it best:

> But then, even in the most insignificant details of our daily life, none of us can be said to constitute a material whole, which is identical for everyone, and need only be turned up like a page in an account book or the record of a will; our social personality is a creation of the thoughts of other people.[11]

All these artists mistrust art, are aware of its conventionality, its "literariness," its moral ambivalence. Disturbed by this knowledge, they feel the need for a self-reflective manner; unsure of where they stand, they are concerned with constructing a multi-layered, multi-faceted narrative that would approximate the irreducible complexity of human consciousness. This concern perhaps explains the popularity during Khvyl'ovy's lifetime of the genre of self-parody: the portrait of the artist, the novel within a novel, the text within a text.

One of Khvyl'ovy's last works, "Z Lyaboratoriyi" (1931), is a discussion with the readers concerning a novel in progress. The author decides to write a novel, discusses each chapter with us as it emerges, explains which elements of the work he likes and dislikes, and finally breaks off after only three chapters have been produced. Once it becomes clear to both author and readers that his fiction is no longer acceptable to the regime, the writer then leaves for the Donbas to gather material for a projected new work about the "new" heroes of his day, which is to be written in the "new," "realist" style:

> The writer decided to write a novel with living people, that is, with ordinary workers, with collectivists, the labouring intelligentsia, that is to say, a realist novel, which would be read by workers, collectivists, the labouring intelligentsia—all those who under the leadership of the Communist Party were creating the new life and who were looked down upon by our home-grown Marcel Prousts, let us say.[12]

This was, of course, the final irony: the "new" literature was neither "new" nor "realistic," nor contained "living people," nor would be welcomed by workers, collectivists, or the intelligentsia. In fact, Khvyl'ovy would never write his novel because he was incapable of destroying his ironic, critical intelligence. To have done so would have been to crush his social conscience, self-awareness, and sense of self-worth, all of which were intimately connected

with the very meaning and function of literature.

There are dark notes in Khvyl'ovy's last stories. He seems to have premonitions of some great horror and he turns from irony as play to irony as anguished doubt. The "road to consciousness" traversed by his characters is full of disillusionment: conscious ideas are subverted by the unconscious will; visual images do not correspond to reality; the reasons given for actions differ from their deeper motivation; the individual cannot find a vantage-point from which to survey the maelstrom of history.

This sense of unsureness, of bewilderment even, among many writers led to a reaffirmation of the ironic attitude in the twenties. In a decade that witnessed the rising tide of fanaticism, a growing commitment to totalitarian ideologies, and the punishment of dissent with persecution, such a reminder of the limits of human understanding in the ironic prose of T. Mann, Kafka, Proust—in fact, in many of the greatest writers of the century—was not out of place. Playful and yet capable of expressing anguished doubt, tolerant of ambiguity, full of contradiction, complexity, incoherence, and eccentricity—the irony that flourished in the twenties could not, however, be tolerated a decade later by the triumphant mentality that rejected doubt, dualism, and detachment.

NOTES

1. Adam Muller, *Kritische, asthetische und philosophische Schriften* (Neuwied-Berlin: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1967), I, p. 234-5.

2. For an English-language introduction to Schlegel see: Friedrich Schlegel, *Dialogue on Poetry and Literary Aphorism*, translated, annotated, and introduced by E. Behler and R. Struc (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968); or *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and the Fragments*, translated with an introduction by Peter Firchow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971). For essays in English on Schlegel as a critic see: Hans Eichner, "Friedrich Schlegel's Theory of Romantic Poetry," *PMLA*, 71 (Fall 1955), 289-305; Rene Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism, 1750–1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

3. Mykola Khvyl'ovy, *Tvory v pyat' okh tomakh* (New York, Baltimore, Toronto: Smoloskyp, 1978), II, p. 222.

4. Ibid., p. 158.

5. Ibid., p. 320.

6. Ibid., III, p. 28.

7. Ibid., III, p. 69.

8. Ibid., II, p. 222.

9. Ibid., III, p. 181.

10. Ibid., pp. 197, 256, 258, 261.

11. M. Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past* (New York: Random House, 1981), I, p. 20.

12. Khvyl'ovy, III, p. 184.

YURIY YANOVS'KY'S *FOUR SABRES*: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF FAUSTIAN MAN

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In 1925 Mykola Khvyl'ovy, one of the most influential figures of the Ukrainian literary renaissance of the 1920s, initiated a debate—known as the "Literary Discussion" (1925-28)—over the directions that Soviet Ukrainian literature should follow. In a well-known series of articles[1] he attacked the cultural provincialism that was dominant in Ukrainian literature and urged Ukrainian writers to turn away from Moscow, whose lengthy cultural and political dominance he believed responsible for the lack of development of Ukrainian literature. In order to produce works of high literary value and create an independent Ukrainian literature of world stature, he reasoned, Ukrainian culture must partake of the literary and spiritual heritage of Europe; it must absorb and give new life to that greatest achievement of European history, the culture of the ever-striving heroic individual. Similar ideas were simultaneously espoused in Western Ukraine by Dmytro Dontsov, the nationalist leader of what was to become the *Visnyk* group[2] of Ukrainian writers. Dontsov was more open about the Nietzschean origins of his ideas, and his arguments were presented in a more unabashedly nationalistic terminology, but Dontsov, Khvyl'ovy, the Neoclassicists, and their supporters "all, more or less, started from the same point: the crisis of Ukrainian literature. They all met at the same source: the treasury of Spengler's *Faustian man.* Finally, they arrived at the same *finale*: the Ukrainian messianism of the coming strong-willed Ukrainian."[3] Indeed, Faustian man, the Nietzschean superman in the popular Spenglerian garb of the day,[4] symbol of excellence, achievement, the heroic life, was what the literary polemics on both sides of the Dnieper were really about.

When the "Literary Discussion," which brought the concept of Faustian man to the fore, began, Yuriy Yanovs'ky (1902-54) was already a promising young prose writer. Making his literary debut in the early 1920s, first as a poet and subsequently as a short story writer, Yanovs'ky rose to prominence in 1925 with the appearance of his first collection of stories *Mamutovi byvni* (*A Mammoth's Tusks*). In that same year he joined VAPLITE (Vil'na Akademiya Proletars'koyi Literatury—the Free Academy of Proletarian Literature, 1925-28), the literary organization headed by Khvyl'ovy. During the turbulent years of the "Literary Discussion," he published a second collection of stories *Krov zemli* (*Blood of the Earth*, 1927), a book of poems *Prekrasna Ut* (*Beautiful Ut*,[5] 1928), and his first novel *Mayster korablya* (*Master of the Ship*, 1928).

The year in which *Master of the Ship* appeared was the year of the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan and of the Party's drive to make literature serve the needs of socialist construction. Even more persistent and strident became the demands that Soviet literature depict the heroic efforts and tremendous achievements in the factory and on the collective farm. In Ukraine this was accompanied by an intensified campaign against nationalism. Khvyl'ovy's ideas were condemned as a "bourgeois-nationalist" deviation, and his novel, *Val' dshnepy* (*The Woodsnipes*, 1927), which seemed to repudiate Bolshevism in favour of nationalism and the cultivation of a generation of strong-willed Ukrainians,[6] was attacked as a nationalist piece of the most insidious kind.[7] In this same year VAPLITE was forced to disband. The relatively free exchange of ideas between Eastern and Western Ukraine was halted, and a campaign against Dontsov and the Western Ukrainian nationalists, who were blamed for pushing Soviet Ukrainian literature in the direction of "bourgeois-nationalism" and "fascism," was launched.[8] Yet, in the period from 1927 to 1930 when controls over literature were progressively tightened, the years in which Yanovs'ky undoubtedly conceived his novel *Four Sabres*, a degree of freedom still existed in the literary arena. Khvyl'ovy and his supporters regrouped and continued their efforts on behalf of an independent Ukrainian literature, and in Ukraine, as in Russia, the best literary works showed "no more than a partial response to the pressures that were exerted on them."[9] By 1930, however, this relative freedom had all but disappeared as the "literature of social command" with its writers' brigades, literary shock workers, and "socialist competition" in literature and sketch-writing came into its own, and the drive to unite writers into one literary organization approached its successful conclusion.

It was at this time and in this atmosphere that Yanovs'ky's *Four Sabres*, which depicts the changes in the lives of four partisan leaders from the time of the Revolution to the era of the First Five-Year Plan, appeared. The criticism that greeted it was severe, so severe that Yanovs'ky was driven into silence for several years.[10] Unanimously condemned[11] for its "abstract romanticism," for its failure to depict the role of the masses and the Party, and for the pessimistic tone of the final chapters, *Four Sabres* was dismissed as an artistic and ideological failure. This view has prevailed in Soviet criticism to the present.[12] *Four Sabres* was excluded from the 1959 edition of Yanovs'ky's works[13] and to this day is not regarded as a worthy predecessor to his third and much lauded novel *Vershnyky* (*The Cavalrymen*, 1935). Representing in essence a reworking of the themes and of the subject matter of *Four Sabres* with all the "errors" removed, the third novel marks the beginning of the period in Yanovs'ky's career held in high esteem by current Soviet criticism.

Somewhat surprisingly, *Four Sabres* has come to be regarded as an ideological failure in the West as well. In one of the few comments[14] it has

elicited outside the Soviet Union this novel is criticized for its final three chapters, which are seen as representing Yanovs'ky's capitulation to official pressure. *Four Sabres* is thus reduced to "the first four sections [which express]... a thought about the ability of the heroic spirit to maintain its independence and freedom even when the enemy has attacked from all four sides of the globe."[15] *Four Sabres* is, of course, about heroism and heroes. But it is also much more than this. In this novel Yanovs'ky presents not a glorification but a critique of the Ukrainian partisans and their Cossack ancestors[16] and thus explores the meaning of heroism, re-examining the concept of Faustian man in light of the changing realities of the late 1920s, the realities outlined above.

Commenting upon his novel shortly after its publication, Yanovs'ky characterized the book as "a chronicle of the highest points of creative thought—a chronicle of heroic deeds."[17] The nature of the heroism portrayed in the first four chapters, or "songs" as Yanovs'ky calls them, is obvious: it is the heroism evinced in battle, the heroism synonymous with military greatness. In peacetime the heroes of the novel—Shakhay, Ostyuk, Halat, and Marchenko—are ordinary men, well-to-do Ukrainian peasants with strong ties to their Cossack past. They rise to greatness only after they become involved in the Revolution and the Civil War. Then these once ordinary men reveal themselves able to organize and lead partisan armies to victory after victory against seemingly insurmountable odds. Symbolic representations of the rebirth of the Cossack spirit in the partisan era,[18] the four main protagonists are portrayed as equal to both their Cossack ancestors and to all the great warriors of history.[19] Fearless and invincible, Shakhay and his commanders possess the strength of will, the superhuman power, to inspire men gladly to die for them and for the new Ukrainian state. They are examples of the ever-striving Faustian man, the strong-willed Ukrainian who was the ideal of Ukrainian writers on both sides of the border. Like Aglaya, the heroine of Khvyl'ovy's *The Woodsnipes*, they are called "to impassioned action"; they "wish to create life... as it has been created by the brave for thousands of years."[20] They are the kind of men she toasts:

> I drank to the brave and resolute, my friends. Do you hear? I drank to the madness of the daring!... I drank to the madness that knows no blind alleys and burns with the eternal flame of striving for unknown shores. I drank to the madness of the conquistadors.[21]

They also resemble the strong-willed individual Dontsov admired and believed ought to be celebrated in Ukrainian fiction. In Dontsov's view, as one scholar has observed, a work of art

> has to depict strong men, individuals obeying only the call of their irrational will to act, uncompromising in their strivings even at the price of getting into conflict with their own community; the heroes of such works would be realists who accepted the world for what it is; they would have intense loves and hates, and would die calmly without any sorrow and without revealing their feelings and sufferings to others. Such personages would be worthy replicas of the old Ukrainian types represented by the Cossacks of the Zaporozhe.[22]

This description fits the heroes of *Four Sabres*. Indeed, Yanovs'ky's heroes are akin to supermen, the "powerful natures" like Caesar and Napoleon whom Nietzsche greatly admired.[23] It is to them that the victories belong. Without them the people are nothing: the masses do not truly comprehend the goal they are striving to attain and hence they are both short on courage and easy prey for competing movements such as anarchism. The leaders, the "powerful natures" like Shakhay, Ostyuk, Halat, and Marchenko, are the ones who galvanize the masses into an invincible military force. They are the ones who make the Revolution and successfully defend it against its many enemies. They are the ones to whom Soviet Ukraine owes its existence.

But the era of the hero is short-lived. The Revolution and Civil War are soon over. By the end of the fourth song the partisan frigate[24] is sinking. "The element that came from the seas has again returned to them."[25] While the first four chapters portray the heroism and greatness to which ordinary men may rise in war, the remainder of the novel depicts the effects of peaceful times on the men who had once been heroes. As the Soviet critic M. Parkhomenko has observed:

> heroism does not vanish with the triumphant conclusion of the Revolution and the Civil War but... is present in the feats of "everyday existence" of the new constructive period. Only now it is not so evident... But it is there and it represents a continuation of the heroism of the earlier period.[26]

In its new form this heroism is intellectual and psychological, consisting of moments of "creative thought" in which the four great partisan leaders come to terms with life in peacetime. The fifth song is devoted to Ostyuk who is found in Paris in his capacity as a diplomatic courier. A physical and mental cripple, he aimlessly wanders the street, thinking of his days as a heroic partisan commander and repeatedly visiting both a real morgue and the morgue of history—the wax museum. In the latter he finds immortalized in wax the kind of heroic life without which he cannot live; in the former, a concrete manifestation of his inner psychological state. Unable to cope with the kind of movement and change life has brought, Ostyuk chooses to live in the past, rejecting life in favour of a kind of living death. But on one of his numerous visits to the morgue he discovers a living body among the corpses. And the

monk whose life he saves reveals to Ostyuk the implication of Ostyuk's, the partisans', and their heroic forefathers' view of life, explaining that they all knew how to die but not how to live, how to destroy but not how to build. As one critic has observed, the monk is Ostyuk's double, his positive self,[27] and as such symbolizes his nascent awareness of the underlying implications and negative consequences of his longing for the heroic era of the past. This awareness grows progressively, culminating in the dream Ostyuk has at the end of the chapter. As the dream begins, Shakhay, Halat, Marchenko, and Ostyuk are attempting to capture Khortytsya, the future capital of a powerful Ukrainian nation, which symbolizes the potential the Ukrainian people have for life, for positive heroism, and for building. But suddenly in the midst of the fighting Ostyuk realizes that Marchenko is dead, that he has resurrected both his dead friend and his dead past. That Ostyuk was fighting to ensure the existence of Khortytsya, i.e., of life, positive heroism, and building, is revealed to be false when Khortytsya turns out to be Paris,[28] the city of death. Ostyuk is fighting not for the ideal future, "not for life, but for death,"[29] and consequently for the sake of fighting *per se*. Like their heroic forefathers, partisan leaders like Ostyuk have failed to adapt to life in peacetime. Once the period of strife is over, they become superfluous men. They lose the self-mastery they once possessed and become very much like the men who Nietzsche regarded as among the "weakest" and least consequential, men who would eagerly go to war for their fatherland in order thus to avoid their task of self-mastery, men for whom "war offers... a detour to suicide, but a detour with a good conscience."[30]

No less "a detour to suicide" is the life that Marchenko and, to a lesser extent, Ostyuk lead in Siberia, where they both turn up in the sixth song. Marchenko lives a violent frontier life, devoting his time and energy to a search for gold. He is very much like the wolves who stalk him and his companion as they make their way home through the frozen wastelands of Siberia after finding gold. Life for him is a continuous battle with nature and his fellow man.[31] As Ostyuk, who is in Siberia to scout out good areas for future settlement, later observes, life for both of them, but especially for Marchenko, remains "a large field of battle" (200). In fact, Marchenko represents Yanovs'ky's argument carried to its logical conclusion, and here again his analysis is reminiscent of Nietzsche. Marchenko fits Nietzsche's conception of "the weak" in many respects. Like them he is wild, arbitrary, fantastic, and disordered, a man with a plenitude of life force, of animal passions (symbolized by the wolf imagery linked with him), but unable to sublimate them through positive creative activity. Like them, too, he seeks a substitute for genuine inner power; he seeks power over others, a power he believes gold will give him. After the period of strife is over, Yanovs'ky suggests, he and indeed all the heroes of Ukrainian history, who, like him, have known only how to destroy and longed for the return of the era that would again allow them to do so, are

in the final analysis simply "blond beasts."[32]

Having thus attacked the one-sided, negative, and destructive nature of the heroes of Ukrainian history, Yanovs'ky them presents a critique of life in peacetime. In the seventh and final song the four partisan leaders are all finally engaged in the construction of their country. But they do not find joy and harmony in their new roles as workers in a steel mill. In fact, industrialized urban life is revealed to be dehumanizing, degrading, and destructive. The individual is submerged in a mechanized sea which saps his strength and destroys his potential. Life degenerates to a monotonous, unchallenging routine. There is no place for mystery; there is no place for the soaring romantic spirit. As Starynkevych has aptly observed, here "life" is juxtaposed to the "legend" of the first part of the novel.[33] But the partisan leaders, Yanovs'ky clearly suggests, must resign themselves to this new reality.[34] If Soviet Ukraine is to avoid the fate of its Cossack predecessor, it must build; if the superman is to avoid becoming a living relic and to continue to contribute to his nation after the period of strife has ended, he must participate in the building, returning again to the ordinary life from which he emerged. While Nietzsche would have states destroyed so that the superman might continue to exist, Yanovs'ky ends by reversing this proposition. The submersion of the great man in the sea of mediocrity is not the result of the desire of the mediocre to assume the power that rightfully belongs to the great. It is rather a choice that is freely made by the great who value the survival of their nation more than their own power and greatness. "The fate of prophets," Shakhay says to his friends as they sit together one day, "is always the same—fire or the cross!" (213). Like the prophets of whom he speaks, Shakhay and his three companions also become martyrs[35] for their faith, for Khortytsya, the Jerusalem of the Ukrainian steppes, willingly accepting the mediocrity and degradation imposed by the era of construction—an era which for them, as for Khvyl'ovy's Veronika in "Syluety" ("Silhouettes"), is not one of "heroic construction but of heroic suffering."[36]

Four Sabres polemicizes against the then popular concept of Faustian man, both in its original Nietzschean form and in its Spenglerian variant. Yanovs'ky portrays Faustian man as a warrior whose greatness reveals itself during times of strife. He admires the strong-willed individual for the contribution he makes to humanity but argues that he becomes superfluous in peacetime. The polemic he offers in his novel can thus be read as an attack against the ideas espoused by both Dontsov and Khvyl'ovy, as a disavowal of the kind of "bourgeois nationalism" and "fascism" that Khvyl'ovy and the Western Ukrainian nationalists had been accused of fostering and, perhaps also, of the nationalism that was at the time seen as informing his first novel *Master of the Ship*. Moreover, by interpreting the heroes' longing for the past as a death-wish, Yanovs'ky is clearly taking a stand against the nostalgia for the past that permeated much of the literature of the NEP period, against the "superfluous"

men and women who populated the works of writers like Khvyl'ovy, and against the pessimistic tone of such prose, all of which had been officially condemned as inappropriate for the new era of construction. It can indeed be argued, as Western critics have done, that in *Four Sabres* Yanovs'ky did succumb to pressure from above. In fact, he did more than that. He entered the polemical fray on the Party's side, joining in the official campaign against Dontsov, Khvyl'ovy, and the very ideas upon which the literary renaissance of the 1920s was founded. Moreover, the thrust of his novel, which proceeds relentlessly toward the conclusion that the superman must take his place in the factory and participate in the building of his country, suggests that *Four Sabres* was designed primarily as an endorsement of the First Five-Year Plan and the Party's newly enunciated policy that literature serve the needs of socialist construction.

Yet, *Four Sabres* is not simply one of the many trivial propaganda pieces that were then beginning to be churned out with a fury. For one thing, there is the pessimistic tone of the concluding chapter. That the strong must participate in the construction of their country is a conclusion that the heroes of the novel and Yanovs'ky as well, one suspects, come to reluctantly after much agonizing soul-searching. Not to do so would be to fail to learn from history and once again to let any chance of building a strong Ukrainian nation, a Ukraine with a mighty capital city like the Khortytsya envisioned by Ostyuk and his friend, slip. Such is the harsh truth that must be faced, a truth that the parallel with the Cossack era suggests Yanovs'ky gleaned at least in part from Panteleymon Kulish.[37] Secondly, it is not merely a nonnational socialist utopia that Yanovs'ky offers as his vision of the future. By making Khortytsya, the island upon which the Cossack Sich had been located, the site of the capital city of the economically powerful Ukraine he foresees, Yanovs'ky implies that cultural and national independence will follow in the wake of economic power and prosperity. *Four Sabres* is thus at one and the same time an attack against and a defense of the ideas that informed the literary renaissance of the 1920s. And this may explain why the novel has been unanimously rejected as an ideological failure both in Soviet Ukraine and in the West. However, in seeming to champion the Party line while at the same time defending Ukrainian national aspirations, Yanovs'ky was simply adopting a strategy commonly employed by the opposition in the 1920s—attacking ideas condemned by the Party and recanting without ever surrendering fundamental beliefs, fondest hopes.[38]

When all is said and done, Faustian man and all he symbolized remains Yanovs'ky's ideal. Only his role and function have been altered to suit the changing realities of the late 1920s. He ceases to be a warrior and becomes a martyr, sacrificing his own potential for his country. The mediocrity and degradation he must endure during the era of construction is his "cross," the "cross" Shakhay speaks of in the final pages of the novel. To accept this cross

takes more courage, more heroism, more self-mastery than was ever required of him in his role as warrior. So, in a sense, rather than being debunked, Faustian man gains in strength and validity.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of Khvyl'ovy's ideas and role in the literary processes of the 1920s, see George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956).

2. For a discussion of this group see Roman Olynyk, "Literary and Ideological Trends in the Literature of Western Ukraine, 1919-1939," Ph.D. Thesis, Montreal, 1962.

3. Ibid., p. 10.

4. Spengler's first book *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918) stimulated a great deal of interest in the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. The first volume of this work as well as a collection of Spengler's shorter pieces were available in Russian translation. See O. Han, *Trahediya Mykoly Khvyl'ovoho* (n.p.: Prometey, 1947), pp. 53-54.

5. *Ut* is an abbreviation of *Ukrayina trudyashchykh* (*Workers' Ukraine*).

6. Only the first part of this novel is extant. The second part was kept off the shelves by the censor and the third Khvyl'ovy, who was in Germany at the time his novel came under attack, destroyed in order to ensure that he be allowed to return home.

7. See Andriy Khvylya, *Vid ukhylu—v prirvu* (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrayiny, 1928).

8. Olynyk, pp. 105-6.

9. Rufus W. Matherson, Jr., *The Positive Hero in Russian Literature* (2d ed.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 218. Mykola Kulish's best plays were written during this period; Valeryan Pidmohyl'ny's novels *Misto* (*The City*) and *Nevelychka drama* (*A Little Touch of Drama*) appeared in 1928 and 1930, respectively; and so on. For a survey of the "intractable literature" see Luckyj, pp. 112-36.

10. Yuriy Smolych, *Rozpovid' pro nespokiy tryvaye*, II (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1969), p. 100.

11. See L. Starynkevych, Review of *Four Sabres*, *Chervonyy shlyakh*, No. 11-12 (1930), pp. 221-24 and I. Tkachenko, "Tvorcha put' Yuriya Yanovs'koho," *Krytyka*, No.3 (1931), pp. 68-86. In his "Vysoke poklykannya" O. Kylymnyk discusses a number of other condemnatory reactions. See O. Kylymnyk, comp., *Literatura i suchasnist': Literaturno-krytychni statti*, VIII (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1975), p. 169.

12. See O. Kylymnyk, *Yuriy Yanovs'ky: Zhyttya i tvorcha diyal'nist'*

(Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhnoyi literatury, 1957); A. Trostyanets'ky, *Kryla romantyky: Zhyttya i tvorchist' Yuriya Yanovs'koho* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1962); Serhiy Plachynda, *Maysternist' Yuriya Yanovs'koho: Literaturno-krytychnyy narys* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1969); and the authoritative Akademiya Nauk Ukrayins'koyi R.S.R. Instytut Literatury im. T.H. Shevchenka, *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, Vol. VI: *Literatura periodu borot'by za peremohu sotsializmu, (1917-1932)* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1970), pp. 251-53. In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was an attempt to rehabilitate *Four Sabres*, particularly by M. Parkhomenko in his *Obnovleniye traditsiy (Traditsii i novatorstvo sotsialisticheskogo realizma v ukrainskoy proze)* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1970). But the influential scholar O. Kylymnyk put a stop to this process by re-affirming the earlier view in 1975 in his "Vysoke poklykannya."

13. Yuriy Yanovs'ky, *Tvory* (5 vols.; Kiev: Derzhavlitvydav Ukrayiny, 1959).

14. Yuriy Lavrinenko, *Rozstrilyane vidrodzhennya: Antolohiya, 1917-1933* (Paris: Instytut literacki, 1955), pp. 261-64. There is also E. S., Review of Jurij Janowskyj, *Vier Sabel*, tr. Hermann Pecznik and Roman Rosdolskij (Vienna, 1931), *Osteuropa*, VIII (Königsberg, 1933), p. 312. E. S. speaks of the forced optimism that characterizes the final chapter and offers an assessment of Yanovs'ky's novel that is in general very similar to that of Lavrinenko.

15. Lavrinenko, p. 261.

16. Tkachenko, p. 78.

17. Yanovs'ky, V, p. 370.

18. The parallel between the partisans and the Zaporozhian Cossacks which informs *Four Sabres* is regarded as particularly objectionable by Soviet criticism and seems to be considered one of the main constituents of its "national romanticism." See Trostyanets'ky, p. 51; and Parkhomenko, p. 315.

19. It is this comparison of the partisan leaders to other great warriors of history that prompts one of Yanovs'ky's early critics to label him a "fascist." See Tkachenko, p. 80.

20. Mykola Khvyl'ovy, *Val' dshnepy: Roman* (Salzburg: Novi dni, 1946), p. 82.

21. Ibid., p. 81.

22. Olynyk, pp. 75-6.

23. For a discussion of Nietzsche's philosophy and his concept of the "superman" see Walter Kaufmann's authoritative *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (4th ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

24. Yanovs'ky's comparison of Shakhay's army to a frigate is noted by Lavrinenko, p. 564.

25. Yuriy Yanovs'ky, *Chotyry shabli: Roman* (n.p.: Ukrayinski visti,

1954), p. 139. All subsequent references to the text of this novel will be to this edition. They will be marked in the main body of the essay by the page number alone.

26. Parkhomenko, p. 311.

27. Tkachenko, p. 82.

28. Tkachenko, pp. 81-82, interprets this as a symbolic expression of Ostyuk's hatred of city life. That there is indeed a hostility between all the main protagonists and the city is clearly demonstrated in the final chapter. Here, however, Ostyuk feels suffocated by Paris not because it is a city but because it is the city of death.

29. Starynkevych, p. 222.

30. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, tr. with commentary by Walter Kaufmann (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 270.

31. Starynkevych, pp. 222-23.

32. For a discussion of Nietzsche's concept of the "blond beast," see Kaufmann, pp. 224-25.

33. Ibid., p. 223.

34. Ibid.

35. Tkachenko, p. 85.

36. Mykola Khvyl'ovy, *Tvory*, Vol. I; *Etyudy* (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrayiny, 1927), p. 136. The phrase, "Не героїчні будні, а героїчне терпіння," is freely rather than literally translated so as to capture the meaning better.

37. Kulish was held in high esteem by the intellectuals and writers of the 1920s, taking Shevchenko's place as the symbol of the best traditions of Ukrainian literature, of the European, erudite, and highly literary stream of Ukrainian culture. Since Yanovs'ky shared with his fellow Vaplitians Kulish's respect for culture, it is not surprising that he should also have come to share Kulish's view of the Zaporozhian Cossacks as a dark, destructive, and anti-cultural force.

38. Luckyj, p. 156.

YEVHEN HUTSALO'S *POZYCHENYY CHOLOVIK*: THE WHIMSICAL IN THE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN NOVEL

Marko Pavlyshyn

Seldom does a literary kind come into being simultaneously with a critical term adequate to denote it. The Ukrainian "khymernyy roman" ("whimsical novel") is one of these rare cases. When the first of the new species, Oleksandr Il'chenko's *Kozats'komu rodu nema perevodu abo zh Mamay i chuzha molodytsya* (*There' s No End to the Cossack Clan, or Mamay and the Strange Woman*), was published in 1958, the term was part of the subtitle: "Ukrayins'kyy khymernyy roman z narodnykh ust" ("A Ukrainian Whimsical Novel from the Oral Folk Tradition"). The attribute "khymernyy," which we have translated as "whimsical," but which also means "chimerical," "fantastic," and "strange," proved appropriate not only to Il'chenko's book, but to several successors. Numerous whimsical novels appeared in the 1970s, including Ivan Senchenko's *Savka* (1970), Vasyl' Zemlyak's *Lebedyna zhraya* (*Flight of Swans*, 1971) and *Zeleni mlyny* (*Green Windmills*, 1976), and Pavlo Zahrebel'ny's *Levyne sertse* (*The Lion-Hearted*, 1977).

Soviet Ukrainian critics embraced the term, and Anatoliy Pohribny made the "whimsical genre" the subject of a useful critical essay. He identified as its salient characteristics an "unfetteredness of style and imagination that, in general, includes as its elements the fantastic, laughter, and the free but deliberate deformation of spatio-temporal relationships."[1] By focussing on technical features, Pohribny's definition recognized that the whimsical novel, whose origin lay in the post-Stalin thaw, challenged the formal conservatism of the mainline Soviet novel. It dispensed with the "master plot"[2] and the traditional concept of the positive hero, and practitioners of whimsical writing, especially the more recent ones, such as Zahrebel'ny, have utilized formal approaches that before 1954 would have been regarded as formalist.

On the other hand, the whimsical novel has been careful not to burn its bridges to ideological and aesthetic orthodoxy. Il'chenko's novel devoted much space to underpinning the notion of the historical friendship between Ukraine and Russia, and its successors have continued explicitly to reiterate aspects of party policy. Whimsical novels have maintained their link to official aesthetic precepts by cultivating in high measure the Socialist Realist attitude of "narodnist'"—"people-mindedness." Indeed, Pohribny discerned their

"overall task" as a "striving to reveal national character and [to present] an image of the life and thought of the people."[3]

The whimsical novel is further defined by the traditions within which it stands. In the Soviet literary context the whimsical is regarded as a preeminently Ukrainian phenomenon with roots in Kotlyarevs'ky's *Eneyida* (*The Aeneid*) and an especially vibrant manifestation in Gogol's *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki* (*Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*). At the same time, the connection to the European tradition of the comic novel is apparent; it is acknowledged by Pohribny, who recognizes a generic relationship to Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.[4] He might well have also made reference to Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Kater Murr*.

The tradition of the comic novel is especially illuminating for a discussion of the work which concerns us here: Yevhen Hutsalo's *Pozychenyy cholovik. Pryvatne zhyttya fenomena* (*The Borrowed Husband. The Private Life of a Phenomenon*). For *Pozychenyy cholovik*, at least at first sight, resembles the comic novels which we have enumerated in several respects: it features a whimsical plot, entertains whimsical notions, introduces comically eccentric characters, exercises itself in satire, addresses (or purports to address) questions more serious than its surface levity suggests, and impresses its reader with an unmistakable, highly individual, ironic style.

Hutsalo's novel was published in book form in 1982, having first appeared in the journal *Vitchyzna* during 1980 and 1981. Hutsalo, born in 1937 near Vinnytsya, was, like Volodymyr Drozd, Valeriy Shevchuk, and Hryhir Tyutyunnyk, a member of the new generation of prose writers who made their literary debut around 1961, and were recognized in East and West as having contributed a new tone and quality to Ukrainian letters.[5] Hutsalo has now an established reputation, based mainly on numerous collections of novellas and stories. But his *Pozychenyy cholovik* was perceived as a new departure in his creative career; though approved neither unanimously not unreservedly by Soviet critics, it stimulated considerable debate.[6]

Even if, as we shall have cause to demonstrate, the novel is less than a satisfactory representative of the European comic tradition, it has stylistic panache and is ambitious in design and intentions, and for these reasons deserves critical attention in its own right. It is, furthermore, a fully elaborated exemplar of the whimsical novel, and an examination of it may deepen our insight into the nature and cultural function, as well as the problems, of that eccentric genre. The following discussion, accordingly, proposes a description and evaluation of *Pozychenyy cholovik* as evidence for the thesis that the novel's failure is principally a (perhaps inevitable) failure to reconcile the intellectually subversive comic tradition with a panegyrical intention to reinforce officially prescribed points of view.

Pozychenyy cholovik and *Pryvatne zhyttya fenomena* are two parts of what Hutsalo in his subtitle calls a "roman-dylohiya" ("dilogy"). These parts differ from each other in narrative perspective. The first is narrated in the first person by Khoma Khomovych Pryshchepa, a collective-farm worker and resident of the village of Yablunivka in the Ukrainian mid-West; in the second part, the author's persona is an unnamed professional writer. Pryshchepa figures as a naive narrator untutored in the ways of "high" literature, but buoyed by folk wisdom which permeates the very language spoken in his country milieu. His professional counterpart, on the other hand, is culturally sophisticated and well-informed, even to the point of familiarity with Freud and Sartre, but envies Pryshchepa his natural genius.

In both parts, the plot follows a similar pattern: with few chronological complications but with many digressions, the story tells of the hero's departure from, and return to, familiar conditions of life. In each narrative, the perturbation of normality takes the action into the domain of the fantastic or highly improbable; the disparity between the rules that apply in this artificial world and the rules governing the familiar reality of the reader's experience often generates the effect of humour.

In the first "novel" of the dilogy, Pryshchepa is lent by his wife, Martokha, to another woman in the collective, the market speculator Odarka Darmohrayikha, for a period of six months in exchange for a thoroughbred calf. The motivation for this whimsical exchange is Darmohrayikha's need to explain her growing prosperity, the result of illicit commercial operations, as the outcome of a husband's industry. Episodes which deal with some aspect of the loan and explore its comic possibilities are interspersed with other anecdotes. Some, like the fantastic story of Khoma's ark, are narrated without interruption; others, like Khoma's attempts to establish special rights over a bastard child named in his honour, are spread over several non-consecutive chapters. A good many dialogues and monologues—vehicles for whimsical notions—are interpolated. The principle governing the narrative is the chronological succession of often unrelated events and encounters, a fact to which the narrator draws the reader's attention:

> Авжеж, ніхто без пригоди не проживе, а що вже тоді казати про Хому Прищепу, на якого завжди пригоди самі сиплються, мов град на дурного голову! (156)[7]
>
> (Naturally, nobody can live without adventures, least of all Khoma Pryshchepa. Adventures are always raining down on him of their own accord, like hailstones onto a fool's head.)

The hailstorm of "adventures," and the first part of the dilogy, is terminated not by any psychological or dramatic cause, but by Khoma's return to Martokha at

the end of the contractual period.

The plot of *Pryvatne zhyttya fenomena* is only slightly more complex. The new narrator (we shall call him the Writer) travels to Yablunivka from Kiev in order to meet Pryshchepa, now famous as the author of *Pozychenyy cholovik*. Motivated by a desire to sympathise at first hand with the victims of capitalist repression, Pryshchepa leaves for the United States. The Writer discovers that his sensory powers are mysteriously enhanced by toothaches, which allow him telepathically to witness Pryshchepa's American adventures. Their narration, alternating chapter by chapter with accounts of events in Yablunivka, provides the occasion for satirical treatment of Western culture, expecially the culture of the United States. A number of the episodes depend on the technique of the explained supernatural and narrate the Writer's encounters with figures from the more and less distant past: Tatars, Cossacks, a Nazi officer, and a mysteriously enticing woman. These are revealed at the end as part of a re-enactment of Yablunivka's history by a dramatic troupe striving for maxium mimetic illusion. The end of the novel is brought about by Pryshchepa's return and the Writer's departure from Yablunivka, convinced that Khoma's genius surpasses imitation.

This plot, though whimsical in the sense that it advances through a series of improbabilities, does not contribute to the whimsical temper of the novel. In contrast to its counterparts in the comic tradition, Hutsalo's plot is simple rather than complex. It dispenses with the elaborate manipulation of tension, the arousal and frustration of readers' expectations, the convolution of time levels, the interpolated narratives and structural ironies which help determine the whimsical character of, say, *Kater Murr* or *Tristram Shandy*. Hutsalo's abstention from complexity of plot reduces the potential for playfulness in his management of the relationship between audience and authorial persona; indeed, large stretches of the novel make dull reading.

Pozychenyy cholovik is linked to the comic tradition, if not by plot, then through familiar thematic elements (birth and death, family relationship, procreation and impotence, food and drink and their excessive consumption), through familiar topics for theoretical discussion (language, the relationship between art and life, the nature of genius, virtue and vice), through a familiar tone (mock seriousness and a combination of affected prudishness with sexual innuendo), and, above all, a comic style. Like Cervantes, Rabelais, Sterne, and Hoffmann, Hutsalo amuses the reader with such devices as irony, hyperbole, amplification, the set-piece rhetorical speech, and the parody of specialized styles of discourse (e.g., those of international relations, botany, medicine, and animal husbandry). Such features contribute to the novel's air of stylistic excess, which one critic has equated with a "baroque" manner.[8] But the most striking ingredient of Hutsalo's style, and one which strongly influences the character of the book as a whole, is the saturation of the text with Ukrainian folk

riddles, proverbs, fixed metaphors and similes, and other standard locutions, not only in Pryshchepa's narrative, but in that of the Writer as well.

By identifying his style with the folk idiom, Hutsalo departs from the Western comic tradition, which had preferred to affect a humorous learnedness and bookishness, and turns instead to the tradition of Ukrainian ethnographic humour that is linked with Ivan Kotlyarevs'ky. We shall endeavour to interpret this evocation of pre-romantic ethnographism at a later stage; here it suffices to remark that, if Kotlyarevs'ky's *Eneyida* was regarded as an encyclopaedia of Ukrainian ethnography, then Hutsalo's *Pozychenyy cholovik* is a folkloric thesaurus.[9] Whole dialogues are composed as exchanges of folkloric commonplaces. Ryabchuk's statement that folk sayings account for more than half of the novel is a hyperbole,[10] but it is true that in many cases a single idea or object is elucidated or illustrated by a cluster of folk expressions. The following passage from Khoma Pryshchepa's reflections upon learning that he has been lent to Odarka Darmohrayikha may serve as an example:

> Одарка Дармограїха набралася всяких медичних довідок, як собака бліх. Сама здорова, як хрін, та довідки доказували, що начебто не таке вона вже й червоне яблучко, що всередині там черв'ячок... як начитатись отих довідок—можна подумати: на неї собаки вже давно часник товчуть, тобто помре скоро, тобто, як мовиться, скоро з печі на лавку переберється. Ті довідки казали, що поможуть Одарці хіба що чотири дошки і васильків трошки. (52)

> (Odarka Darmohrayikha collected medical references as a dog collects fleas. She was healthy as horseradish, but her references proved that she was not such a red apple after all, that there was a worm within... If you read enough of those references, you might begin to think that the dogs had long been grinding garlic for her, that is to say, that she would soon be dead, or, as they say, that she soon would be moving from the top of the stove to the bench. Those references said that only four boards and a few basil flowers would cure Odarka.)

The domination of the style by the folk idiom, while it imparts to the novel its unmistakable flavour, contributes to Hutsalo's problems in developing credible intellectual content, and in characterization. By signalling its participation in the tradition of the comic novel, *Pozychenyy cholovik* arouses certain expectations. Sterne's novel had also been a discussion of Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*;[11] the Schlegel brothers and other German romantic critics and philosophers regarded *Don Quixote* as a prototype of their own aesthetic theories;[12] the adventures of Hoffmann's Tomcat Murr are, at one level, an exploration of the political alternatives of post-Napoleonic Europe and of the Romantic religion of art.[13] In addition, internal indications in Hutsalo's book suggest that it lays claim to a similar philosophical dimension.

In the first place, as we have already pointed out, the novel echoes themes which the tradition has treated with whimsical seriousness. Second, each of the two narrators at intervals adopts a philosophising attitude, most commonly that of an apostrophe addressed to the reader. Third, one of the unifying factors in this outwardly disjointed text is a "serious" issue: that of death and immortality in a secular society. This question is the common denominator of such aspects of the novel as the theme of sexual impotence, the motif of Khoma's quest for a son, Khoma's description of his own book as a surrogate child, the Writer's wish to stand on Khoma's pedestal, expressions of nostalgia for a period when the Soul was still an approved concept, and even the gravedigger's proposals to install radio receivers in all new graves.[14] Hutsalo's treatment of this potentially central issue is typical of the novel's philosophical endeavours. Although the phenomena enumerated above *signpost* the issue of secular immortality, they do not add up to a discussion of it. When the novel does present the reader with ways of thinking about the problem, they are not products of its own argumentation, but familiar and often platitudinous commonplaces, like the following:

> Та найбільший жаль жалить серце тому, що—надбавши землі, худоби, грошей, машин, одягу, харчів—з плином життя свого плавкого, мов вода, людина десь на схилі віку має все втратити... (328)
>
> (But what stings the heart most painfully is the fact that, having acquired land, cattle, money, machines, clothes, and food, man must, in the course of his life, which is fluid, like water, lose all of this somewhere on the downward slope of his years...)

Or again, when Khoma addresses himself to the same question, he enunciates the ideologically correct materialist account of the relationship between an individual and eternity:

> Та коли відчуваєш свою належність до люду, який нині в колгоспі трудиться, який завтра свою снагу до життя з любов'ю віддасть цій самій землі,—тоді твоє існування геть-чисто позбавляється шкурницького, власницького смислу, тоді воно належить народові і, належачи народові, саме по смерті набуває своє безсмертя. (322)
>
> (But when you sense that you are one of the people who labour in the collective farm today, and who tomorrow will lovingly sacrifice their life's vigour to this very soil—then your existence will completely lose its selfishness and possessiveness; it will belong to the people and will thus achieve its immortality after death.)

For all his aspirations, the philosophical temper escapes Hutsalo. The impression created by the novel's pedestrian reflections is reinforced by the folk idiom. It is in the nature of proverbs, riddles, and standard comparisons that they should apply models of thought already available in language to life and its situations; they are the very embodiment of conventional thinking. But even the conventional wisdom enclosed in folkloric commonplaces are deactivated by Hutsalo's penchant for accumulations of such expressions. The individual proverb is valued not as a carrier of meaning, but as part of a stylistic effect. Furthermore, because riddles and proverbs relate experience to material objects, most often to things encountered in the agricultural society where they have their origin (animals, plants, implements),[15] Hutsalo's novel also represents the world in terms of images drawn from this sphere. In consequence, its discussion of complex issues, denied any dimension beyond the purely material, is often so banal as to seem parodic:

> Або інша загадка.
>
> Стоять два стовпи, на стовпах діжа, коло діжі ручка, на діжі макітра, на макітрі ліс, а у лісі є кувіка, що кусає чоловіка.
>
> За всіма цими маскуваннями першої і другої загадки криється дуже проста розгадка. Йдеться про людину... (177)

> (Or take another riddle.
>
> There are two posts, on the posts a barrel, at the side of the barrel a handle, on the barrel a mortar, on the mortar a forest, and in the forest there lives a creature [?], which bites.
>
> Behind the masks of the first and second riddle there is a very simple solution. The riddle is about a human being...)

Even the structure of the folkloric material itself is at odds with the novel's philosophical aspications. Proverbs are generally aphoristic observations[16] ("shchob spekty yayeshnytsyu, to treba rozbyty krashanku"—"you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs," 39); riddles are in most cases metaphorical in structure and call for the recognition of a similarity between non-identical objects[17] ("za bilymy berezamy soloveyko svyshche"—"behind white birches a nightingale is singing" [teeth and tongue], 11); and many other fixed locutions also consist of comparisons ("ne hasay po selu po obiystyakh, yak pereyzhdzha svakha, ne shybaysya po khlivakh, mov chort po peklu..."—"don't race around the village and the outbuildings, like an itinerant matchmaker, and don't sneak around the cow-sheds, like the devil through hell...," 83). From such figures of thought there emerges a model of the world in which phenomena are related by similarity and in which truth is encapsulated in short, familiar phrases. In Hutsalo's novel, discourse follows this pattern even where it does not quote the text of riddles or proverbs. Thinking cosists of the discovery of analogies,

expressed either as metaphors ("Lyuds'ka dusha—tse temna komora, v yakiy svitlo zapalyuyet'sya zridka..."—"The human soul is a dark storeroom, in which the lights are seldom lit...," 425), or as similes ("slovo—to nache lastivka, yaka vylitaye i harnu pohody obitisyaye, a to nache kibchyk—ptychka nevelychka, ta pazurchyk hostryy, a to nache synytsya, yaka pyshchyt' i zymu vishchyt'"—"a word is like a swallow, which flies out and promises a fine day, or like a sparrow-hawk, a small bird but with sharp claws, or like a tomtit, which screeches to predict winter," 429).

In working with such notions, the novel harks back to a pre-modern model of thought; it comes to share the archaic mind reflected in proverb and riddle without transcending it. For the similitude, as Foucault points out in his critique of pre-enlightenment methods for comprehending the world, is the basis of knowledge which is "plethoric yet poverty-stricken":

> each resemblance has value only from the accumulation of all the others, and the whole world must be explored if even the slightest of analogies is to be justified and finally take on the appearance of certainty. It is therefore a knowledge that can, and must, proceed by the infinite accumulation of confirmations all dependent on one another. And for this reason, from its very foundations, this knowledge will be a thing of sand. The only possible form of link between the elements of this knowledge is addition.[18]

The modern reader is not accustomed to Hutsalo's "plethoric" accumulation of similtudes; for such a reader, a world view, whether laid out in abstract propostions or implicit in a work of art, is a developed model. It consists of a hierarchy of insights which link the simple to the complex, the particular to the general. The modern reader is familiar with novels which either construct such models, or deny their possibility; but a novel like Hutsalo's, in which a kind of wisdom is diffusely scattered without subordination to any order, causes bafflement and unease. The critic Mykhaylo Strel'byts'ky has given voice to such discomfort: "Reading *Pozychenyy cholovik*... one truly has the impression of being in the embrace of a sea. You wade into it—and it's only up to your knees."[19]

But the weakness of the intellectual content in Hutsalo's novel does not, ultimately, result from its archaic quality. It is conceivable that a novel should be written as an idyll of pre-rational (indeed, folk-based) "naturalness" of thought. What deprives the novel of credibility, and makes of it an anachronism, is its failure to perceive itself as archaic. It is this naivete which lays the book open to accusations of provincialism and philistinism.[20]

If style has a determining influence on the intellectual temper of *Pozychenyy cholovik*, it also has an impact on characterization. Memorable characters from the tradition of the comic novel, such as Don Quixote or Toby Shandy, achieve the quality of memorableness through a combination of eccentricity and

psychologically persuasive portraiture. This is not the case with Khoma, Odarka, or Martokha. The novel's style inhibits the author in developing their psychological individuality: these characters speak more than they act, but their speech is uniformly "ethnographic," and does little to differentiate them from each other. Nor does the content of their discourse resolve itself into individual "opinions": they share equally in the diffuseness of thought that characterizes the novel as a whole. Since the characters make no claim to psychological verisimilitude, the reader may seek to interpret them in some other way. Their attributes and names appear to call for symbolic interpretation, but more often than not such readings lead up blind alleys. The hero is a case in point. His first name, Khoma (one of the forms of "Thomas"), is related to the novel's concerns. When *Pozychenyy cholovik* first appeared in *Vitchyzna*, the novel bore a subtitle: "abo zh Khoma nevirnyy i lukavyy" ("or Doubting and Crafty Thomas"). The reference to the sceptical Apostle is apt: as we have seen, Khoma is the mouthpiece of a discourse in which the formulation of certainty is impossible. But his surname, "Pryshchepa," meaning "graft" in the botanical sense, is far from a metaphorical summary of the hero's role in the novel. The image of an exotic branch grafted artificially onto a host plant does not transfer to Khoma. On the contrary, he is the embodiment of organic integration into the community and its guiding ideals. Equally free of signification is Khoma Pryshchepa's leitmotivic self-definition, based on the words of a riddle, as a butter-mushroom, which has come through the earth and found a red cap ("kriz' zemlyu proyshov, chervonu shapochku znayshov"). This frequently reiterated, erotically suggestive image actually contradicts Khoma's poor sexual performance.

Perhaps because of the lack of psychological nuance in Hutsalo's characters, some critics have compared them to marionettes or to carnival masks.[21] But this comparison does not hold true for the main characters, who lack the sharp typification and grotesque exaggeration of puppet or mask as much as they lack subtlety of portraiture. It is the minor characters who are represented as caricatures, the embodiments of a single humour: the picaresque "military comrade," the biotechnician Nevecherya, the comically philosophizing gravedigger (member of a tradition at least at old as *Hamlet*), and the bearded artist with his *idée fixe*, the new aesthetics of "mobile art."

One of the characterizing qualities of the genre to which *Pozychenyy cholovik* belongs is, of course, humour. Hutsalo uses only some of the humorous devices availabe to the novelist—his plot abstains from comical convolutions and intrigues, and he does not combine this folksy style with verbal wit. He does, however, utilize the humourous possibilities of incongruity, eroticism, and irony.

In the first part of the dilogy, a conceptual incongruity is the basis of the plot: the adherence by all the characters to a strict code of propriety on lending

and borrowing stands in comic contrast to the equally universal abandonment of social mores concerning marriage. This paradox gives rise to a series of comic situations: Martokha insists that Khoma be respectably dressed when he goes to live with Odarka, so that the villagers should not think ill of him; Khoma passionately disputes with Martokha, whether propriety requires that he or the calf should first be delivered to their respective borrowers. But situations which exploit incongruity for humour in this way are rare in *Pryvatne zhyttya fenomena*, and in *Pozychenyy cholovik* they predominate only in the first chapters, where Hutsalo explores the comic possibilities of the notion of a borrowed spouse. It is impossible to avoid the impression that Hutsalo exhausts these by Chapter IX and then moves on to other anecdotal material.

In his comic treatment of the erotic, Hutsalo displays ingenuity and, indeed, originality. The comic tradition is familiar both with the uproarious Rabelaisian approval of sex, and with the combination of feigned authorial prudishness with sexual innuendo. Hutsalo does not adopt either of these alternatives. In overtly sexual situations, a voyeuristic attitude is accompanied by sentimentally ornate style:

> А груди... Що я можу сказати про груди, коли мої очі паслись і по грудях, але могли тільки запримітити, як вони здіймаються й опадають під вишиванкою, відтак пишні вишиті квітки наче ворушаться, наче хвилюються неспокійні. А про самі груди можна було лише здогадуватись, що, може, схожі вони на два книші чи на дві паляниці. (36)
>
> (And her breasts... What can I say about her breasts, when my eyes pastured on them, but were able to discern only their rising and falling beneath her embroidered blouse, and the luxuriant embroidered flowers seemed to be moving, fluttering with agitation. One could only speculate that the breasts beneath were themselves, perhaps, like two loaves or two bread rolls.)

Even by contemporary Soviet standards, this is fastidiously chaste, although there is a hint of innuendo in the comparison of sexual attributes to items of folk cuisine.

With the same mock innocence, the author alludes to animals in the roles of sexual surrogates. Parodying the myth of Leda, Hutsalo has Martokha lavish affection on a wounded swan. Humour is derived from the incongruity between the consequences of Leda's rape (the birth of the Dioscuri) and those which village rumour foresees for Martokha: namely, that she will give birth to cygnets (489).

More suggestive is the role of the pedigree calf. Martokha creates an analogy between the possession of the calf and the "possession" of a person through marriage. She asserts that, after his six months' loan to Odarka,

ти матимеш телицю й Мартоху, а я матиму Хому й телицю. А ота пройда Одарка Дармограїха не матиме ні телиці, ні Хоми, втямив? (31)

(you will have the calf and Martokha, and I shall have Khoma and the calf. And that sneak Odarka Darmohrayikha shall have neither the calf nor Khoma—understand?)

The author delays giving his reader any signal that his innuendo is intentional until the second part of the dilogy, when it is revealed that a Western literary scholar has discovered in *Pozychenyy cholovik* not merely the eternal lovers' triangle, but a lovers' quadrangle: Khoma, Martokha, Odarka, and the calf (334). The device serves a double purpose: on the one hand, it assures the reader that the author's innuendo is intentional; on the other, it takes its place in Hutsalo's indignant criticism of Western society's perversity.

A self-irony whose signals are well concealed is an important feature of Hutsalo's prose.[22] In representing Soviet society, the narrators often make straightforward statements, apparently without satirical markers, that are in keeping with state propaganda, but absurdly at odds with reality. When Martokha raises doubts about whether Khoma will be permitted to travel to the USA, he responds, "Choho tse mene mayut' puskaty chy ne puskaty? Zakhotiv—idu, zakhotiv—ne idu" ("Why should I be permitted or not permitted to go? If I want to, I'll go, if not, I won't"—446). Similarly, Hutsalo makes a leitmotiv of the lists of international newspapers that can be bought at the Yablunivka market—the *Messagero*, *Le Figaro*, the *New York Times*, and the *Daily Telegraph* (403, 513, 519)—and that are avidly read by the collective farm's milkmaids. Such jokes are from the genre of the tall story: their humour depends on the narrator's maintaining his seriousness throughout.

Even Hutsalo's earnest anti-American satire is not without occasional relativizing signs. One of the more strident ideological tirades, for example, is delivered by a robot, and the Writer's visions of Khoma's frightening American adventures are framed as psychic phenomena related to toothaches. The paraphrase of Khoma Pryshchepa's letter condemning conventionally decried, Western political crime is punctuated by cliches from the idiom of Soviet propaganda; their parodic function is underscored by anaphoric repetition:

В своєму листі грибок маслючок гнівно викривав і нещадно таврував, палко засуджував і справедливо бичував, показував перед усім світом і натхненно закливав.

Гнівно викривав убоге життя бідноти в країнах капіталу...

Грибок маслючок нещадно таврував мілітаристську політику імперіалізму...

Грибок маслючок гнівно засуджував політику расової дискримі нації й політику геносиду, до якої вдаються

верховоди США та Ізраїлю, ПАР і Намібії, Чілі і Парагваю. (650)

(In his letter the butter-mushroom angrily unmasked and mercilessly denounced, passionately condemned and justifiably castigated, exposed before the whole world and appealed with inspiration.

He angrily exposed the miserable life of the poor in capitalist countries...

The butter-mushroom mercilessly denounced the militarist policies of imperialism...

The butter-mushroom angrily condemned the policies of racial discrimination and genocide pursued by the leaders of the USA and Israel, South Africa and Namibia, Chile and Paraguay.)

However, ironic framing does not negate the loyalist political message. The satirical passages are so long and loud, and the ironic markers so subtle, that even a between-the-lines reader would be hard put to interpret the satire in *Pozychenyy cholovik* as self-subverting. Hutsalo's book is ideologically mainstream. At most, its irony concedes that it is possible to become ridiculous by overstating orthodox views. But over fourteen chapters Hutsalo industriously and elaborately castigates the culture and society of the United States. He constructs systems of grotesque symbols to convey to his reader a sense of the enormity of the adversary system: a city inhabited only by sentient motor vehicles, with filling stations and garages as bars and restaurants; a modern mechanized piggery becomes a detailed Orwellian allegory of American society. Phenomena which Hutsalo finds disturbing, such as health care for domestic pets and trade in transplantable human organs, are presented as representative of the culture as a whole. In the end, despite Hutsalo's moderating hints at self-irony, his America becomes an object of aggressive mythologization, inhuman and incomprehensible.

In endeavouring to place *Pozychenyy cholovik* in its generic context, we have repeatedly confronted the book with its predecessors in the tradition of the comic novel, and have concluded on several counts that the novel falls rather short of the standards of the tradition. As a narrative, as an exercise in humorous philosophising, as a medium for memorable characters, the book arouses expectations which it does not meet. It is reasonable to ask of such a work, what messages it intends to address to its audience in the culture of which it is part, and what messages it involuntarily conveys through the lack of congruence between its intention and achievement.

It is not difficult to distinguish a number of predictable intentional "arguments." Not unlike other books closer to the formal mainstream of Socialist Realism, the book sets out to apportion praise and blame: Western culture, as we have seen, is the object of its direct criticism; Soviet culture, indirectly but unmistakably, is treated panegyrically and apologetically. The strongest apologetic argument is the form itself. A whimsical structure, playful

and wanton, is a demonstration that the Soviet artist has a new freedom of action, and is no longer bound by the immutable formulas that governed novel production in the past. Hutsalo's novel argues that in Soviet literature there is now room for enjoyment and individual self-expression. Furthermore, by its very critique of the West, the novel points out that it is aware of the West, and in some detail, too: fashionable names, be they of pop groups or intellectuals, are not unknown to the sophisticated Soviet writer and his audience. (There is, of course, an involuntary counter-argument here as well: in its anxiety to demonstrate that it is "not behind" Western culture, the book furnishes yet another proof of its provincialism.)

Symbolical of the whimsical novel's ostentatious revision of the rules of the Soviet novel is Hutsalo's critique of Socialist Realism itself. In Yablunivka the Writer encounters the bearded artist who has invented "mobile art" ("rukhomyy zhyvopys"). The artist's objective is to paint so realistically that the cows and tractors in his frescoes can descend from their walls and participate in the productive process:

> —Мрію про час, коли оця корова, намальована на стіні, доїтиметься!... Я мрію про той час і про таку силу мистецтва, себто свого рухомого живопису, коли намальована череда даватиме молоко й масло, сир і сметану. (396)
>
> (I will dream of the day when this cow, painted on the wall here, will yield milk!... I dream of a time and of such an omnipotence of art—my own mobile art, that is to say—when this painted herd will yield milk and butter, cheese and cream.)

The butt of Hutsalo's satire here is the "partiinist'" ("party-mindedness") of Socialist Realist art: its subordination to party-defined objectives, especially those of enhanced production. Hutsalo derives much humour from lampooning this idea. The bearded artist must later submit to criticism by the collective farm and its chairman, because the cow as painted by him is not proof against mastitis, and the wheatfield in his fresco would yield less grain per hectare than Yablunivka already produces.

The novel's folkloricity, which embraces its style, thematic concerns, and characterization—everything that is unified in the symbol of Yablunivka—is also, by intention, an argument. For if the myth of the United States is associated with that which is sinister, mechanical, and dehumanized, then Yablunivka is supposed to be the opposite: it is the domain of the natural, humorous, and human. Hutsalo's ethnographism strives to emulate that of Kotlyarevs'ky by seeking to create an attractive, colourful, and interesting literary world whose variety and liveliness has appeal for the reader. In creating the contrast between the USA and Yablunivka, Hutsalo aims to associate the former with

dehumanizing brutality, the latter with simple humanity.

But the emulation of Kotlyarevs'ky has always been a dangerous business. Kotlyarevs'ky's *Eneyida* had an important argument to offer its late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century readers: in the face of the progressive loss of ethnic identity by the Ukrainian elite, it discovered the culture of the common people as the only available value which Ukrainians of all social classes could call their own, and on whose basis a more differentiated and sophisticated national culture could develop. Hutsalo's novel has no such function to perform in the 1980s. By revelling in the rural roots of the culture for no better reason than the expectation that this will automatically provide entertainment, *Pozychenyy cholovik* lays itself open to much the same criticism that Kotlyarevs'ky's epigones faced: namely, that ethnographism without redeeming intellectual and aesthetic content is reduced to vulgarity and provincialism. In the light of the foregoing description, it must be said that Hutsalo's ethnographism remains largely unredeemed. To put it bluntly, the novel's characters are rarely more than mouthpieces for platitudes; its humour is at its best when it alludes to bestiality; its sophistication consists of the demonstration of familiarity with another culture; and its philosophy seldom rises above proverb-bound cliché.

The fault is not entirely Hutsalo's. That he has imagination, a talent for grotesque situations, and an outstanding command of the language, is evident from the book. The problem, it would seem, lies in the kind of book which *Pozychenyy cholovik* tries to be: an ideologically orthodox apologia *and* a comic novel in the received sense. At the basis of the tradition of Cervantes and Sterne lies the right to the intellectual experiment, a readiness to question and ridicule prevailing models for explaining the world. Hutsalo tries to conscript this essentially sceptical tradition for his own cause: to impart a devil-may-care attitude of bold individualism, with all its modernity and attractiveness, to a work that remains, at bottom, a Byzantine panegyric. His novel is an extraordinary endeavour to argue the legitimacy of a closed cultural system by misrepresenting it as open. The key argument in the apologia is the novel itself: it is intended as evidence that the aesthetic possiblities of Soviet literature, and, by extension, of Soviet life, are unlimited. But the evidence refuses to support the case.

NOTES

1. Anatoliy Pohribny, "Moda? Novatsiya? Zakonomernost'? O 'khimernom' zhanre v ukrainskoi proze," *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 2 (1980), 24-28, here p. 25.

2. Katerina Clark has demonstrated that practically all novels of the

Stalinist period, whether historical or biographical, whether on production or war, followed a single "master" plot: the difficult but triumphant overcoming of difficulties by a hero with a progressive vision. *The Soviet Novel. History as Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 159 ff.

3. *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 2 (1980), 25. See also Pohribny's article, "Suchasnyy styl': vdumlyvist' poshuku i pidstupnist' mody," *Vitchyzna*, No. 12 (1984), 145-52, here p. 150.

4. Pohribny, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 2 (1980), 24-25.

5. In *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, Vol. VIII (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1971), Hutsalo is discussed and praised for his subtle rendering of landscape and emotion (p. 425); Mykhaylo Strel'byts'ky, writing in 1980, describes Hutsalo as a "prose writer, who from his first publications onward has a deserved reputation for seriousness. He distances himself from attempts to be original through mannerism" ("Tsykl 'pisen" Yevhena Hutsala," *Zhovten'*, No. 7 (1980), 134-42, here p. 134). It is not surprising, therefore, that Mykhaylo Nayenko should regard *Pozychenyy cholovik* as an "experiment preceding the next phase of [Hutsalo's] qualitative maturation" ("Na bystryni chasu [Z romannoho potoku – 1982], *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, No. 2 (1983), 28-36, here p. 35). In the West, Hutsalo's early prose was favourably noted by Ivan Koshelivets', who included three of Hutsalo's stories in *Panorama naynovishoyi literatury v URSR*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Suchasnist', 1974). Koshelivets' listed Hutsalo as one of the writers who displayed a "desire to modernize our literature" and rescue it from its "hopeless, 'narodnist''-induced countrification" (p. 14).

6. Cf. Mykola Ryabchuk, "Osyayannya i syayvo prozy," *Zhovten'*, No. 6 (1981), 131-37. Like Nayenko, Mykhaylo Strel'byts'ky dedicates considerable space to the novel in his survey article, "Vysokosnyy rik romanu," *Zhovten'*, No. 1 (1982), 105-13.

7. Yevhen Hutsalo, *Pozychenyy cholovik. Pryvatne zhyttya fenomena. Roman-dylohiya* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1982). Page references in the text refer to this edition.

8. Ryabchuk, *Zhovten'*, No. 6 (1981), 135.

9. Hutsalo's folkloric erudition is, perhaps, less remarkable than Kotlyarevs'ky's was in his time, since Hutsalo had access to such compendia as *Ukrayins'ki narodni pryslivya ta prykazky. Dozhovtnevyy period* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav, 1963) and *Zahadky*, ed. I. P. Berezovs'ky (Kiev: AN USSR, 1962). The latter source, which groups riddles thematically and lists together those with the same answer, may well have had an influence on Hutsalo's riddle-clusters. It is certainly the case that the riddles used by Hutsalo as a rule exactly follow the texts in *Zahadky*.

10. Ryabchuk, *Zhovten'*, No. 6 (1981), 135.

11. Helene Moglen, *The Philosophical Irony of Laurence Sterne*

(Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1970), pp. 9-30.

12. Anthony Close, *The Romantic Approach to 'Don Quixote.' A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in Quixote Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1978), pp. 29-67.

13. See, e.g., Herbert Singer, "Hoffman, *Kater Murr*," in *Der deutsche Roman von Barock bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Benno von Wiese (Düsseldorf: Bagel, 1963), I, pp. 301-28, and Michael T. Jones, "Hoffman and the Problem of Social Reality: A Study of *Kater Murr*," *Monatshefte*, 69 (1977), 45-57.

14. It is symptomatic of the non-philosophical temper of the novel that this component of its structure has been overlooked in all of the critical responses that were consulted.

15. *Ukrayins'ka narodno-poetychna tvorchist'*, ed. M. S. Hrytsay (Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1983), p. 66.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 65. See also Filyaret Kolessa, *Ukrayins'ka usna slovesnist'* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1983), p. 147.

18. Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses*, trans. as *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 30.

19. Strel'byts'ky, *Zhovten'*, No. 1 (1982), 112.

20. Criticism of the folkloric base is not open to Soviet critics because of the *a priori* validity and authority of folk creativity, which, according to a standard Soviet reference work, "reveals the genius of the creators of all material and spiritual values—the workers" ("Narodna tvorchist'" in *Slovnyk literaturoznavchykh terminiv*, 3rd ed. [Kiev: Radyans'ka shkola, 1971], p. 262). The folkloric style is viewed as one of the strengths of the book by Ryabchuk (*Zhovten'*, No. 6 [1981], 135). Even Strel'byts'ky, sensitive though he is to the novel's lack of profundity, does not see this flaw as connected to the fact that the novel "strings together verbal pearls—fixed locutions—as an end in itself;" this he finds to be "not such a great sin" (*Zhovten'*, No. 1 [1982], 112).

21. See Ryabchuk, *Zhovten'*, No. 6 (1981), 137, and Strel'byts'ky, *Zhovten'*, No. 1 (1982), 111.

22. The role of irony in Hutsalo's novel has escaped critical comment, except for a brief remark by Vasyl' Marko in his "Osnova tvorchykh shukan'. Khudozhnya kontseptsiya lyudyny i styl'ovi poshuky v suchasniy prozi," *Zhovten'*, No. 6 (1984), 107-13, here p. 110.

THE RETURN OF A SYMBOL: SHEVCHENKO'S KATERYNA IN CONTEMPORARY SOVIET UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

Jaroslav Rozumnyj

For Shevchenko's heroines the name Kateryna is used most consistently and enduringly.[1] But the name resonates even more vibrantly when one realizes how many of his female characters with other names resemble in some essential way those called Kateryna and how the works in which the others appear seem to play variations upon the thematic material of the works in which Kateryna prominently figures. Eventually, therefore, the name Kateryna, reflecting so many different characters and embracing as well as crystallizing their thematic concerns, acquires weight and stature, attains such force and vitality that it becomes a stable, constant symbol in a world of change and variability. The aim of this essay is to analyze the origins and the variants of Shevchenko's heroine Kateryna and to draw the parallels or diagonals along which the characters bearing this name move, both in Shevchenko's works and in later Ukrainian literature, particularly in the poetry of the 1960s.

According to its Greek etymology, Kateryna signifies "the good, immaculate, pure, undefiled bride." The name's origins are certainly respected in the Christian tradition, as witnessed by the martyred St. Catherine of Alexandria[2] and St. Catherine of Siena.[3] Like the names Maria, Mary, Mara, Annemore, Lada, and others, Kateryna is also a variant of the name Cinderella, the fabled beauty and heroine of folk literatures. Whether Shevchenko in fashioning the personality of his heroine was consciously influenced by these sources is not known, but all of the essential features of those with whom her name links her are somewhere reflected in the image created by the poet. Interestingly enough, Ukrainian folk literature seems to play a very minor role here. The heroines of Ukrainian folk songs are, as a rule, called Marusya, a name which together with Oksana and Halya entered classical Ukrainian literature. But whereas in the sixty variants of a folk song about a girl's betrayal studied by M. Dray-Khmara[4] only the name Marusya appears, the Shevchenko ballad, "U tiyeyi Kateryny," built upon this folk song shuns the traditional name of the heroine. Yet Kateryna is not a name totally unknown to the folk tradition. In P. Chubynsky's collection of folklore are found five versions of a song about Kateryna (Katya, Kasya), who ran away from her mother with the Poles.[5] There is also recorded in the Kharkiv district a song about a Kateryna

seduced and abandoned by a Russian officer.[6] Other songs exist which record the same name and have seduction and abandonment as motifs. To these materials Shevchenko certainly had access, and perhaps it was from these sources that the heroine's name, soon to be fixed as a poetic symbol of Ukraine, first took root in his mind.

Shevchenko's Kateryna appears, either as central or supporting figure, in works which offer two contrasting views of her: one profile is displayed in the Russian-language tragedy *Nikita Gayday* (1841),[7] in the drama *Nazar Stodolya* (1843),[8] in the poems "Naymychka" ("The Servant Girl," 1845), "Bula sobi Kateryna" ("Once There Was a Kateryna," 1847),[9] and the young Kateryna in the Russian-language novel *Naymichka* (*The Servant Girl*, 1852-53); a radically different profile is presented in the poem "Kateryna" (1838),[10] in the first and second version of the poem "Moskaleva krynytsya" ("The Muscovite Soldier's Well," 1847 and 1857), in the ballad "At Kateryna's" (1848), and in the guise of "dyuzhaya Katria" in the novel *The Servant Girl*.

Perhaps the characters that best fill out the first profile are the widows in the drama *Nazar Stodolya* and in the tragedy *Nikita Gayday*. Reflecting the creative political and social forces at play in the upper and middle classes of Ukrainian Cossack society of the seventeenth century, they exemplify the traditional, dignified Ukrainian mother and defender of the hearth, the good spirit and the priestess-guardian of national and religious traditions. Katrya's household in *Nazar Stodolya* is steeped in poetical conviviality, in goodness and serenity. It is the place where the young gather for soirees (*vechernytsi*), of which she is a participant as well as the hostess. In this play *khazyayka* Katrya is the embodiment of concord, of motherly wisdom and kindness, and of the collective national *Geist*.

Other characters comprising the first profile of Kateryna are the young maiden in the poem "Once There Was a Kateryna" and the young wife of the servant girl Hanna's son Marko in the poem "The Servant Girl." The first expresses pure love, soaring hopes and aspirations, and dedicated allegiance to her country; the second, living in an idyllic environment, personifies the ideal of true femininity and maternity by means of the unlimited self-sacrificial love that lies at the core of so many folk songs and folk rituals. The latter also completes the pattern of an ideal, harmonious family unit—father-mother-daughter-son—that is not often found in Shevchenko's works. The last character in the ensemble is the young Kateryna in the novel *The Servant Girl*. Though most of the girls comprising the first profile of Kateryna appear in works dealing with the Cossack period in the history of Ukraine, the latter Kateryna emerges in a work reflecting the historical and political condition of the nineteenth century and represents Shevchenko's hope for a healthy, younger generation arising from the ashes of Ukrainian life.

The most impressive quality of the first profile of Kateryna, sketched

above, is its luminosity. The personalities and lives of these characters reflect the dynamism and grandeur of the epoch and state in which they or their ancestors thrived. Under the conditions of personal freedom and political independence enjoyed in seventeenth century Ukraine are bred self-esteem and the motivation to protect that self-esteem. Idealism flourishes, and dedicated service to the higher interests of the state overrides personal considerations and traumas. In such an environment the figure of Kateryna, like the ancient Guardian (*Berehynya*), watches over the spiritual treasures of the past and stands for the traditional ideals of femininity and maternity.

It was not only through the prism of romantic idealization and not only because of the nostalgia of a Ukrainian exile in Petersburg that Shevchenko drew this profile of his heroine; philosophical notions of a moral and political nature were also influential. The spirit of Romanticism helped him create the idealized past of his people; his nostalgia sought and found psychic support in the bright positives of that past; and Shevchenko the intellectual posited that personal and national freedom contributed to the formation of healthy personalities and facilitated the flow of profound spiritual currents.

The various characters filling out the second profile of Kateryna reflect, however, different political, social, cultural, and psychological realities. They witness and suffer the downfall of a woman whose status is reduced from free householder to serf and whose dignity is crushed in the clash between two different political, cultural, and ethical systems. Concretely, Ukraine is swallowed by the "dark kingdom" of Catherine II and Nicholas I, and the bleak political reality triggers a set of equally bleak social and psychological repercussions. Moreover, the conquered populace, in Shevchenko's depiction of merciless clarity, accepts the grim reality of occupation; instead of resisting, they remain blind to the real intentions of their oppressors ("Kateryna," 1838). Some collapse psychologically and morally ("The Muscovite Soldier's Well," 1847), others lose all sense of national pride and dignity and slavishly obey and serve the oppressors ("The Muscovite Soldier's Well," 1857), and a small number even betray perfidiously their own people ("At Kateryna's," 1848).

Shevchenko's first attempt to trace the second profile of his heroine Kateryna, as the embodiment of a nation that is not free, is so perfect that it soon became the classic model of the type. The poem itself, "Kateryna," treats a young girl dishonoured and abandoned by a Russian officer, and her journey towards death. Shevchenko views his heroine on two levels. On the purely emotional level, the poet sympathizes with the unwed mother (*pokrytka*) and accompanies her on her wanderings through Muscovy. But, on the intellectual level, he accuses her, the keeper of the eternal principles of the nation, of treason. He condemns Kateryna for her naive trustfulness, which permitted the flattering foreigner to violate her purity and dignity; for her frivolous disregard of the code of her community and for her readiness to replace this code with a

hostile, alien one; but, most of all, for her sinful disregard of the teachings and admonitions of her mother. Betraying her kin she betrayed herself, and it is for this reason that the poet places the words of judgment—the poem's most dramatic moment—on the lips of the mother:

> Donyu moya, donyu moya,
> Dytya moye lyube!
> Idy od nas.[11]
>
> (My daughter, my daughter,
> My beloved child!
> Go from us.)

Later portraits of Kateryna, following Shevchenko's trip to Ukraine in 1843-45, are more severe. Whereas the image of the unwed mother that he had fashioned in Petersburg in 1838 stood somewhere on the border between Romanticism and Realism, the following variants of this character are drawn in the hues of dark realism. In the poem "The Muscovite Soldier's Well" Kateryna symbolizes the total moral downfall of Ukrainian society. She ventures further than her predecessor for, after her house burns down, she leaves her husband Maksym and, of her own free will, follows the Muscovites. Later, after she has been lead "shorn" and "shameless" through the streets of Uman, she drowns somewhere, and a song is composed about her. Kateryna, however, is not treated at any length. She appears and quickly fades, though in that short time a full picture of her spiritual prostitution is given. It is her husband Maksym who is depicted in great detail for he is a *tableau vivant* of the epoch's dominant social and moral attitudes, and in his character is rooted the motivation for his downfall as well as his wife's. As the representative of the second generation, whose mentality has been affected by its serflike status, he has lost all sight of higher, more idealistic values and has turned inward. For him the height of happiness consists in the ceremonial donning of a "silver cross," which he brought back from the war in lieu of his leg, in wearing powdered tresses in the Franco-Russian manner, in attending church services as frequently as possible. On church-free days he digs a well by the roadside, so that passers-by could drink and pray for his sins. Everything contents him, for everything comes from God—good and evil. But what delights him most is peace and quiet. Kateryna's mother has died, and her lancer brother guards the southern borders of the Russian empire. Things are happening at our neighbours, he remarks, "while we sit quietly, thank God." True to his desire, total, deathly stillness prevails. In "Kateryna" (1838) Kateryna's personal desires collide with the national ethos, and her sin is punished; when Kateryna in "The Muscovite Soldier's Well" is dishonoured by the Muscovite rake, no conflict between her and her society ensues, and no punishment follows.

In *The Servant Girl* (1852-53), written in Russian and fictitiously backdated to 1844, the "hefty Katrya" appears when the seducer of the servant girl attempts to deceive his victim a second time. Bribed by the officer, the "hefty Katrya" agrees to help him "break" the "stubborn *khokhlachka*," and is depicted as the embodiment of unscrupulousness and venality. Close in spirit to the bribed Katrya are the rich *kozak* Yakym Hyrlo and the unwed mother and servant girl Lukiya. Yakym comes to condone evil and thus to represent weakness and instability, passivity and self-satisfaction. Though honest by nature, he loses, because of the importunate schemes of the Russian officer, his directness and his capacity to oppose evil as well as to ward off its temptation. Eventually, the conflict between him and the Russian, a conflict inspired by Hyrlo's intial rejection of all things Muscovian, is obliterated as a result of the soldier's shameless ruses, and Hyrlo amicably accepts all he had once rejected. He swings from one extreme to the other and, with the lightning shift from total negation to total acceptance, demonstrates an extremism characteristic of a servile mentality. The real servant in the work, Lukiya, represents complaisance, doomed suffering or, better, the subconscious desire to suffer taken to a pathological extreme. Aware of the wickedness of her deceiver, she nevertheless surrenders to his insincere advances and finds herself on the threshold of a new tragedy. Both of the weak Ukrainian characters, master and servant, carry within themselves the inexorable bacillus of self-destruction, and thus it is the Russian officer, revealing not a shred of decency or nobility in the course of the entire novel, who emerges victorious.

The Kateryna of the second version of "The Muscovite Soldier's Well" is propelled toward death by fear. As in the poem's first version, her behaviour is motivated by her husband's passivity and his lack of personal and national dignity. In this version the community helps Maksym to dig his well, which becomes the source of self-contentment and peace. For his blind service to power and for his passive acceptance of its standards of good and evil, Maksym the "Muscovite" is eventually destroyed, drowned in his own well by the *varnak* (convict). The Kateryna in the ballad "At Kateryna's" demonstrates faithless treachery, for which she perishes at the hands of a betrayed *zaporozhets'*. In this ballad no other character reflects her traits, attitudes, and values, and there is, therefore, only the simple opposition between the principles of betrayal and honest dedication leading to the death of the faithless girl.

All of the Katerynas of the second profile as well as the supporting characters are complexly conceived and portrayed; some are drawn with the most refined irony, some with searing sarcasm, and others are touched by the grotesque. So much more subtle is Shevchenko's treatment of and attitude towards his heroine that even some modern readers and critics are unable to decipher the poet's fine discriminations.[12] To Shevchenko Kateryna's love is both her doom and her redemption. On the one hand, love invariably clouds her

judgment and leads her onto the path ending in her death; on the other hand, her devoted love for her son (who represents the contemporary generation which shall avenge his mother's suffering) purges her of sin. So firmly rooted is her goodness and her ability to love that Kateryna is incapable of comprehending evil and resisting it. Yet from her first encounter with evil her love is powerful enough to transmute it into good, though she herself is fated to perish unless she finds the strength to resist evil or, if unsuccessful in this, at least to endure it. The goodness of the character, therefore, softens the poet's criticism. which even at its most intense is tempered by sympathy. In the novel *The Servant Girl* Shevchenko scorns his *pokrytky* for their consistent incorrigibility: "Novelty is your damned idol, novelty; before it you place everything, often your own dignity, and later your ill-fated life... No bloody drama can teach you." However, as in other expressions of disdain, in the depths of his contempt lay the poet's love and painful anxiety about the fate of his heroine.

II.

On the preceding pages are discussed ten variants of the Kateryna figure that present two antithetical profiles of the heroine, which in turn image two major stages in Ukrainian history. Both profiles, the luminous figure suggesting the times of independence and the dark lady somehow reflecting the eras of political bondage, have haunted the imagination of Ukrainian writers for over a hundred and fifty years. And the number of twentieth century writers who continue to employ Shevchenko's heroine and to develop the motifs associated with her points impressively both to the obsessions of the artists and to the suggestive depths of what they explore.

Modernist prose sets the tone and indicates the direction of the future by way of a slight detour and homage to the past. In Mykola Khvyl'ovy's etude "Zhyttya" ("Life") Oksana, whose fate is compared to Shevchenko's heroine, is seduced and abandoned by the Communist, Myshko. The motif of the sinful birth of a Muscovite bastard and the mother's redemption through love for the child is found in Vasyl Stefanyk's short story, "Hrikh" ("The Sin"), but redemption is absent from his story "Maty" ("The Mother"), in which Kateryna betrays her husband with a Russian officer and brings dishonour to the whole community. In the first story the heroine leaves her legitimate daughter, Kateryna, with her husband and goes off with her bastard child to atone for her sin; in the second work Kateryna, pressured by her mother, commits suicide.

Two poem-ballads and a long dramatic poem by Sava Holovanivs'ky are dedicated to the Kateryna theme. The background of the dramatic poem *Kateryna*, (1957)[13] is the first stage of collectivization in a Ukrainian village at the end of the 1920s, with some hints dropped about the artificially created famine in Ukraine in 1932-33. Abandoned by a husband who commits suicide because he lacks determination to cope with the social paradoxes of the period,

Holovanivs'ky's Kateryna discovers in herself the strength needed to defend the village community from the grain requisition imposed by the government. Like Shevchenko's heroine, her son Ivan proves to be the source of her hope and support. The ballad "Kateryna" (1943)[14] deals with World War II, during which the heroine, given supernatural powers and other attributes of a fairy-tale hero or of the *bohatyr* in the ancient *byliny*, appears unexpectedly as a young bride bringing hope in moments of despair or as an avenger dispensing punishment and justice. In the third work, "Balada pro Katerynu" ("A Ballad about Kateryna," 1948),[15] the heroine destroys the enemy but perishes in the struggle. Thus Holovanivs'ky, in displaying Kateryna as the reborn heroine, the bearer of hope and protection, and the symbol of self-sacrifice, emphasizes the symbolic features of the character created by Shevchenko.

In Oleksandr Dovzhenko's *Poema pro more* (*The Poem About the Sea*, 1955-56)[16] Kateryna is deceived by a modern-day seducer, Valeriy Holyk, an engineer by profession but a man of "unclear character" and frivolous behaviour—"a looker with the brain of an engineer and the conscience of a bed-bug." Because Valeriy is strictly the product of his environment, it is society that inspires and tacitly aids in the criminal assault of "bestial passion" against the ethical standards represented by Kateryna. The heroine, forsaken and lonely, is defenseless against assault and its inevitable consequences.

In Soviet Ukrainian poetry of the 1960s the number of works dedicated to Shevchenko's Kateryna increase significantly. Inspired and modeled upon Dovzhenko's *The Poem About the Sea*, Mykola Vinhranovs'ky's poem "Zoloti vorota" ("The Golden Gates")[17] is a dramatic monologue in which the lyric hero confronts Kateryna, who also appears in other allegorical guises as the image of Ukraine, of Anxiety, of Conscience. All of these variants eventually merge within the lyric hero. In him they germinate and come to fruition, the concrete realization of the metatemporal: "Ty—tse zemlya, tse Vitchyzna tvoya," ("You—are the land, this is your Homeland") says the hero's Conscience. The central theme of the poem is the renewal of Kateryna, representing in this work a quiescent and pastoral Ukraine, whom the hero attempts to win over to his vision of the "golden gates" of a new moral society in which are realized the ideals of communism and socialism. She, however, responds to all his appeals and pleas with silence, agitation, and alarm, and her virtues of aloofness, passive honesty, and goodness are treated by the hero as valueless:

> Malo, Kateryno, buty chesnym.
> Malo, Kateryno, buty dobrym.
> Treba, Kateryno, shche tvoryt'
> I dobro, i chesnist', Kateryno.
>
> (It's not enough, Kateryna, to be honest.
> It's not enough, Kateryna, to be good.

One also, Kateryna, must create
The honest and the good, Kateryna.)

When he sees with how much pain she reacts to his reproaches, the hero avows a love, which, evidently, is soon requited. Thus his monologue veers sharply from side to side, from one pole to the other, from one feeling to another: an expression of polarized emotions that progressively alters its form from angry indictment to confession to prayer to ode.

In the course of this polyphonic monologue, in which Kateryna's responses are not given but clearly felt, the poet repeatedly makes oblique references to the fate of Shevchenko's Kateryna, particularly when the hero confesses his fidelity and readiness to defend the values of the Homeland. Of special interest are the passages in which he anticipates the perils that await him, for it is here that he alludes to his predecessor's heroine:

Ne zhuby moyu molodist', Ukrayino,
I sumlinnya moye ne zhan'by.
Dozvol' ne poviryty v shchastya nayivno,
Dozvol' ne lezhaty v nohakh doby.

(Do not waste my youth, Ukraine,
And my conscience do not disgrace.
Let me not trust naively in happiness,
Let me not lie passive in our age.)

In his encounter with Conscience, the hero asks her for the strength to conquer his Faustian pride that stands ever in the way of service to others, to one's country. He believes that in some future time the complexes and flaws of all societies will vanish, and only "passion, love, and suffering" will remain. A final moral-ethical victory is predicted, and in the epilogue of the poem the lyric hero shows Kateryna his future and hers—"the golden gates" and the new days that are rising into view like "horsemen" from below the horizon of the steppe.

"The Golden Gates" is a cine-poem. It consists of twelve logically unconnected parts which are, however, united thematically and stylistically. Vinhranovs'ky, as a writer and film director, combines in this poem the forms of literature and film by blending the color of words and images with the dynamics of a cinematographic structure. It is a thoroughly symbolic work in which so many of its formal and ideational elements give witness to the poet's faith—a faith close to that of Shevchenko and even of Skovoroda—in the possibility of spiritual retreat from the often horrific realities of everyday life.

Vasyl' Holoborod'ko's poem "Kateryna"[18] is constructed fugally, with its thematic development adhering to a certain tonal and rythmic plan. The work, introducing an urbanized Kateryna, is written as a recitative and depends almost exclusively on the use of allegory, symbolism, and oneiric imagery. The

subject theme of Holoborod'ko's fugue is announced by the first voice in a seven line exposition:

Pomizh stil'tsiv, rozkydanykh na ploshchi
pomizh yabluk, rozsypanykh na snihu
pomizh porozhnikh avtobusiv na vulytsyakh,
ide Kateryna
i niyak ne vyberet'sya z ts'oho lyabiryntu.
Na plechakh chorni ptytsi,
chorni ptytsi pechali.

(Among stools scattered over the square,
among apples scattered over the snow,
among empty buses on the street
Kateryna walks,
trapped in this labyrinth.
On her shoulders are black birds,
black birds of grief.)

In this surrealistic opening scene, the symbolically charged and logically discordant objects reproduce the black and terminal reality in which the heroine is found. Then, her drama unfolds in four related but independent voices or parts, each marking another milestone of the road taken and her reaction to it: Kateryna as the sister of the hero; as an unwed mother; as a young girl; and as the hero's betrothed.

In the first part Kateryna is the hero's caring sister and tutor, who first brings him to school. She is of a joyful nature, but one day he notices "black birds of grief" on her shoulders, and these lead to her suicide:

ty stoyala pid yabluneyu,
a potim pishla,
ale holova ostalasya,
yak odne-odnisin'ke yabluko
na potukhlomu osinn'omu derevi.

(You were standing under an apple tree,
and later you went away,
but your head remained,
like a single apple
on a burned-out autumn tree.)

The whole scene is saturated with a symbolism that portends Kateryna's tragedy. The tree—a symbol of the synthesis of the life-giving elements of sky, earth, and water; a symbol of nourishment, support, and shelter, all the attributes of the Great Mother Goddess; and, ultimately, the symbol of the

principle of femininity—has died, and there remains only a "single, solitary apple," suggesting temptation, deceit, and indulgence in the frivolous pleasures of the earth. As an eternal momento of the fall, the apple hangs on the dead tree through each season of the natural cycle of life.

In the second part of the poem Kateryna, the unwed mother, walks with her bastard child in her arms and meets only human suffering, victims of greed and futile toil. And in the poet's meditations on the highest and lowest points of his life he turns to his eternal feminine, cast in the garb of an outcast, and asks the inevitable and yet unanswerable question, "Navishcho ya?" (Why am I?)

Kateryna's third appearance takes the form of the first spring flower to survive the harsh winter and to waken from sleep, all suggesting the renewal of the heroine. A great love between the hero and the young girl is born. His face grows into hers, so that they may be forever joined as "one face." She is again joyful, as she was before when she was his sister, but "the black birds of grief" never leave her shoulders.

The fourth and final scene is the most dramatic: the wedding of the hero and his betrothed "from the spring sun." Each element of this scene, taken from the surreal dreamscapes of nightmare, is chameleonic and grotesque to the point of the macabre transformation of human faces into their non-human opposites and the stripping from reality of all human appearances. Tragic madness rules this scene, in which the wedding of hero to Kateryna cannot be consummated.

Following each appearance of Kateryna—as sister, unwed mother, young girl, and betrothed—as well as each of the poet's meditations is heard the leitmotif refrain, which orders the poem-fugue's structure and tone:

> Chorni ptytsi zvely svoyi hnizda v moyikh ochakh
> chorni ptytsi shchebechut' v moyikh ochakh
> chorni ptytsi zastyat' svit svoyimy krylamy.
>
> (Black birds nest in my eyes
> black birds sing in my eyes
> black birds hide the world with their wings.)

In the conclusion of the poem all four feminine personae blend into one image. Kateryna's human attributes vanish, and she appears to the poet as an allegorical figure of omnipresent Grief. She comes to stir him to act, to take from him his power to help the helpless, and to summon him "to climb the heights." The poem ends with an ominous coda:

> Zabiliyut' snihy,
> i v snihu,
> v travyanomu hnizdi
> vylupyt'sya ptashenya.

Nevzhe chornoyi ptytsi,
chornoyi ptytsi pechali,
yaka vichno sydyt' na tvoyikh chornykh plechakh?!

(The snow will whiten,
and in the snow,
in a nest of grass
a fledgling will hatch.
Could it be from the black bird,
the black bird of grief,
which sits on your black shoulders?!)

Kateryna also appears in Holoborod'ko's poem, "Ukrayina na stseni" ("Ukraine on Stage"),[19] a dramatic parody that could be divided into two acts. Although she is not the leading character, she is employed, as in Shevchenko, to lay bare the central theme—the bastardization of contemporary Ukraine. In the first act Ukraine is represented by doll- or puppet-like dancing Cossacks who sweep the stage with their "wide trousers," leaping and screaming with their "grammophone voices." Above these Cossacks, "who never had mothers or brothers," hangs a sinister cloud of black crows. In the second act Kateryna comes on stage like a "blue rivulet" with her blue hands holding her bastard child, whom she wants to drown even though she fears that the seas may dry up. The paper cranberry tree above her falls upon her shoulders like a pair of wings, creating an image of a fallen angel. She looks at the audience, but sees instead of people only "yawning spectators" with "stomachs full of thoughts," whose applause falls from their hands like copper coins. Frail, perplexed, and helpless, Kateryna disappears into a night of "black-lit" chandeliers. The whole work creates, therefore, an impression of somnolence, profanation, and artificiality. Everything is made for the stage; everything is hollow, without a hint of sincerity or commitment. All of reality seems a hypocritical vaudeville, whose climax, Kateryna's seduction, desecrates all of life.

The central motif of Leonid Kysel'ov's poem "Kateryna"[20] is the collective sin of indifference. Like a shadow of death, Kateryna wanders through snow-swept fields, carrying her son to her people, but there is no one to help her. The god of lethargy and exhaustion holds sway over all. At the moment when "Shevchenko's Madonna" is about to disappear into a "snowy oblivion," poets "moan" about "virginal purity," and "the cranberry tree." Kysel'ov's heroine is purified, almost beatified, so that she brings to mind the grieving mother in a Pietà or Tychyna's "Sorrowing Mother" ("Skorbna Maty"). Yet, like Holoborod'ko's "audience," unmoved by the horrific appearance of the delicate, dishonoured Kateryna, who has no place to hide and no place to atone for her sin through suffering, Kysel'ov's audience remains an equally indifferent group for whom great and sacred values have become the properties of playacting dolls.

The thematic conflict in Ivan Drach's poem, "Shevchenkova Kateryna" ("Shevchenko's Kateryna")[21] is similar to that found in Holoborod'ko and Kysel'ov—commitment and zeal opposed to indifference. Drach, however, does not set the action of his work in any specific time, and there are other important differences in his stance towards Kateryna and her plight. Rejecting the value of sorrowful and soothing words, Drach insists on a "fiery heart" to infuse Kateryna with life and to protect her from further calamities, from more "evil and treachery," from "spiritual mutilation." And, of course, his heroine differs in fundamental ways from those created by other poets. Drach cleanses Kateryna of her guilt through the innocent smile of her child and through the child's love for the mother. Evidently he expands and develops the implications of a short phrase addressed to the heroine in Shevchenko's *The Servant Girl*: "you are by a beautiful angel, by your son, redeemed." In the final stanza Drach elevates Kateryna to the dignified status of a Muse and equates her with Dante's Beatrice. Certainly both women are comparable. Dante's heroine becomes the embodiment of divine knowledge, Shevchenko's heroine the embodiment of great suffering. The first represents the world of the intellect, the other that of the heart. Both are truly loved and loving, and though, or perhaps because, their fates are tragic, both serve as the inspiriting muse of the writers who glorify them.

In conclusion, it is striking that all of the Kateryna figures in Shevchenko's works together with the characters she inspired in contemporary Soviet Ukrainian literature may be divided into two groups. Each has its specific profile: one luminous, one dark. The tradition established by Shevchenko over a hundred years ago is continued by the modern writers; the luminous profile of Kateryna reflects a society that is healthy, creative, and free, while the dark lady suggests a diseased, degraded and slavish society. But the modern figure of Kateryna has also grown in stature and function. She has acquired new traits of a supratemporal and mythical nature: Conscience, Grief, and Anxiety; Muse, Ukrainian Beatrice, and a Madonna-Pietà. She now possesses all the prerequisites for becoming the Ukrainian modern version of the ancient goddess *Berehynya* (Guardian)—she is poor, suffering, caring, young, and iconically beautiful; she is real and she is abstract. She now embodies all the qualities with which a believer can identify and worship. More than just an allegorical and symbolic figure, Kateryna has become in our century a mythical force.

NOTES

1. Shevchenko's favourite name for his male characters is Ivan, the name of Kateryna's son.

2. St. Catherine of Alexandria is the patron saint of philosophers and schools of learning. Her chief attribute, a spiked wheel, was what Maximin II

used in torturing her when she refused to become his wife. See Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore, and Symbols* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1962).

3. St. Catherine of Siena is the greatest saint of the Dominican Order and is usually depicted bearing the stigmata on her hands.

4. M. Dray-Khmara, "Heneza Shevchenkovoyi poeziyi 'U tiyeyi Kateryny,'" zbirnyk *Shevchenko* (richnyk druhyy, Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrayiny, 1930).

5 *Trudy etnograficheskо-statisticheskoy ekspeditsii v Zapadnorusskiy kray. Materiyaly i issledovaniya, sobrannyye d. chl. P. P. Chubinskim*, t. V. (St. Petersburg: V. Kirshbaum, 1874).

6. *Zhizn' i tvorchestvo krest'yan Khar'kovskoy gubernii*, t. I. Ed. V. V. Ivanov (Kharkov: Izd. Khar'kovskogo gubernskogo statisticheskogo komiteta, p. 695; Cf. O. I. Honchar, *Ukrayins'ka literatura pered-Shevchenkivs'koho periodu i fol'klor* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1982), p. 131. The heroines in Mykola Kostomarov's tragedy *Sava Chaly* (1838) and in Mykola Hohol''s *Strashna pomsta* (*A Dire Revenge*) bear the same name.

7. Only the third scene of the tragedy *Nikita Gayday* was published in the journal *Mayak*, 9, (1842), and in the journal *Kievskaya starina*, Vol. 10 (1887).

8. Complete work (3 acts) preserved in Ukrainian (translated by Shevchenko); Russian version preserved without the second act.

9. Shevchenko's second version of the poem (1858) omits the name Kateryna and changes the title to "Khustyna" ("The Kerchief").

10. There are brief references to Kateryna in Shevchenko's poems "Maryana-chernytsya" ("Mariana the Nun," 1841) and "Try lita" ("The Three Years," 1845), and in his Russian-language novels *Bliznetsy* (*The Twins*, 1855) and *Muzykant* (*The Musician*, 1855).

11. The practice of banning children in such circumstances is uncommon in Ukraine. But when Shevchenko was asked during a discussion with N. O. Popov whether this scene in "Kateryna" were factual, the poet responded that there had been such an incident.

12. Cf. Taras Shevchenko, *Kobzar*, Redaktsiya, statti i poyasnennya by Leonid Bilets'ky (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1952-54; *Shevchenkivs'kyy slovnyk v dvokh tomakh* (Kiev: AN USSR, 1976); and Yu. Ivakin does not even include the poem in his *Komentar do "Kobzarya" Shevchenka* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1968).

13. Sava Holovanivs'ky, "Kateryna: Dramatychna poema," *Dramy* (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oyi literatury, 1958), pp. 336-455.

14. Sava Holovanivs'ky, "Kateryna," *Blyz'ke i daleke. Poeziyi* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1948), pp. 15-16.

15. Sava Holovanivs'ky, "Balada pro Katerynu" (an excerpt from the poem "Podvyh nad krucheyu"), *Tvory v tr'okh tomakh* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy

pys'mennyk, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 174-76.

16. Oleksandr Dovzhenko, *Tvory v pyaty tomakh* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1964), Vol. III, pp. 329-429.

17. Mykola Vinhranovs'ky, *Atomni prelyudy* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1962), pp. 107-15. Note also his poem "Ya, Katre, zhyv z toboyu u seli," in *Literaturna hazeta*, 28 (1961).

18. Vasyl' Holoborod'ko, *Letyuche vikontse* (Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1970, pp. 15-18. An English translation by Bohdan Boychuk has appeared in *Pequod. A Journal of Contemporary Literature and Criticism*, 16-17 (1984), pp. 201-04.

19. Ibid., p. 105.

20. Leonid Kysel'ov, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, 4 October 1968; and in *Poslednyaya pesnya. Ostannya pisnya* (Kiev: Molod', 1979).

21. Ivan Drach, *Shablya i khustyna* (Kiev: Radyans'kyy pys'mennyk, 1980), p. 72.

THE CHANGING IMAGE OF UKRAINIANS IN ENGLISH-CANADIAN FICTION

Bohdan Budurowycz

In her book on the depiction of Ukrainians in English-Canadian literature, Frances Swyripa has made an attempt to analyze fiction and non-fiction works relevant to the history of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada and to examine "developing perspectives that characterize this literature."[1] Unfortunately, this endeavour has proved to be only partly successful, chiefly due to the fact that the author included in her survey a number of books written in English by Ukrainian-Canadians, whose approach to the subject under discussion often lacked the necessary detachment and objectivity. At the same time, she neglected to take into consideration—with only one notable exception—works of fiction produced by English-Canadian authors, which, taken together, present a somewhat fragmentary but nevertheless meaningful, even fascinating, picture of changing views, opinions, and attitudes of other Canadians toward their fellow citizens of Ukrainian origin.[2] To be sure, these changes have occurred slowly and gradually. They are subtle—sometimes hardly perceptible—but they certainly merit a thorough analysis by any serious student of ethnicity and multiculturalism in Canada, and in any case they deserve more attention than self-congratulatory accounts by those Ukrainian-Canadian writers who "simply glorified the achievements of the community without acknowledging the serious problems it faced."[3] A chronological survey of several selected works will illustrate the growing sophistication of this literature as it progresses from initially superficial and simplistic descriptions of Ukrainian pioneers to more perceptive, insightful, and artistically mature novels by contemporary authors.

Since it was on the prairies that the first wave of Slavic immigrants to Canada found new homes and encountered the hardships of frontier life, it is not surprising that the first type of literature in which newcomers from Eastern Europe appear as characters and which shows their impact on Canadian society is the western regional novel. The dramatic story of the conquering of the "last, best West" and the incessant struggle of hardy settlers against a harsh and inhospitable environment are the main themes of these novels, which often resemble each other in their stern tone and sombre mood.

The first English-Canadian writer to depict Slavic immigrants in a work of fiction was Charles William Gordon (1860-1937), better known under his pen name of Ralph Connor. A Presbyterian minister educated at the universities of Toronto and Edinburgh, he published in 1909 a controversial novel entitled *The*

Foreigner.[4] It lacks any artistic merit, but contains many lurid and sensational elements and abounds in acts of violence and even savagery in which East European immigrants play a prominent part.[5] The plot of the novel develops in Winnipeg, which Gordon calls "the most cosmopolitan capital of the last of the Anglo-Saxon empires."[6] He describes rather vividly the coming into that city of foreign immigrants and the formation of ethnic ghettos, dwelling especially on one such colony—a Slavic shantytown on the wrong side of the tracks, on the northern outskirts of Winnipeg, populated by "Slavs of all varieties from all provinces and speaking all dialects,"[7] but predominantly of Ruthenian descent, commonly referred to as Galicians.[8] Gordon goes on to describe their miserable existence: they live in a cluster of little black shacks made of boards and tar paper and are satisfied with the most ordinary type of food—usually scraps of meat from the local stockyards. During the summer they usually work in the colonies of their kinsfolk somewhere on the prairies, or join railway construction gangs, but with the approach of winter they crowd back into their grim, unsanitary shacks in the city. As a Canadian doctor puts it,

> these fellows are a bit rough, but they have never had a chance, not even half a chance. A beastly tyrannical government at home has put the fear of death on them for this world, and an ignorant and superstitious Church has kept them in fear of purgatory and hell fire for the next. They have never had a chance in their own land, and so far, they have got no better chance here, except that they do not live in fear of Siberia.[9]

However, most other Canadians do not share this understanding attitude: the daily press points out the danger to which Western Canada is exposed by the presence of these "semibarbarous" people, and some influential representatives of Anglo-Saxon society are opposed even to the idea of teaching Galician children English and domestic science:

> Teaching a score of dirty little Galicians? The chances are you'll spoil them. They are good workers as they are... They are easy to handle. You go and give them some of our Canadian ideas of living and all that, and before you know they are striking for higher wages and giving no end of trouble.... If you educate these fellows, they'll run your country, by Jove!, in half a dozen years, and you wouldn't like that much.[10]

And yet Gordon believed that, in spite of everything, salvation was possible for the newcomers who were only too glad "to exchange their steady, uncomplaining toil for the uncertain, spasmodic labour of their English-speaking rivals":[11] it had to come through the twin vehicles of Canadianization and education.[12] To demonstrate how this objective could be achieved, the author shows his readers an East European immigrant, who leaves his ethnic

ghetto physically and at the same time liberates himself psychologically from its influence: "he rapidly sloughed off with his foreign clothes his foreign speech and manner of life, and his foreign ideals as well."[13] Similarly, the hero of the novel, Kalman Kalmar, himself of Russian descent though brought up by a Galician woman, becomes "a Canadian among Canadians."[14] Not surprisingly, he wins the hand of a Scottish-Canadian girl, who refers to him as "my Canadian foreigner." As these examples show, while Gordon criticizes in no uncertain terms the moral and cultural standards of East European immigrants, he ascribes them to historical circumstances rather than to any basic flaws in the Slavic character.[15] Thus, in spite of their wretched past and of their seemingly inauspicious present, these hapless newcomers—or at least their children—can be "redeemed" by Protestant values and ideas that are intrinsic to the Anglo-Saxon culture.

Another prairie novel of some social significance is *Fruits of the Earth* by Frederick Philip Grove, completed by 1929 but not published until 1933.[16] It is perhaps understandable that, being of non-British but nevertheless West European (most likely German) origin,[17] Grove shares Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward Slavic settlers, who appear in his novels as shallow, superficial, unconvincing—in short, two-dimensional characters. Although they play a certain subsidiary role in the plots of his novels, they seem to lead a rather marginal, peripheral kind of existence, always remaining on the borderline of life, being somewhat less than full-fledged human beings. *Fruits of the Earth* is rather typical in this respect. It is the story of Abe Spalding, an Ontario farmer, who in the early 1900s sells out and journeys west to settle in the Red River valley south of Winnipeg. Even before the first Slavic immigrants appear on the scene, one of the novel's characters makes a disparaging remark about them: "They've shipped in two carloads of forriners, Ukarainians [sic], dodgast them. I was thinking of asking for a job my own self. But the white man don't stand a chancet in this country any longer."[18] Abe is not too friendly disposed towards them either, but living alone in the area, he is quite anxious to have some company: "I'd like to have men of my own colour about. But rather than stay alone, let niggers and Chinamen come."[19] His desire for a neighbour is finally fulfilled when a Ukrainian moves into the area and builds a log-shack for himself and his family, but somehow the newcomers never develop into flesh-and-blood characters and continue to lead a shadowy existence until the end of the novel. The new immigrant, Shilloe, "proved an exceedingly shy but accommodating neighbour... He had a large family, but nobody ever saw anything of the children except their backs, when they were running away. His wife seemed to have the gift of making herself invisible."[20] They are followed by several more Ukrainian families. Abe and his neighbours use these people as workers: as one of them puts it, "I always advertise for Ukrainian families new to the country. I keep an Englishman or two besides.

For the routine work I prefer the foreigners; they are willing and reliable."[21] One of them, Horanski, proves especially adaptable and indefatigable. Eventually, Abe limits his farming activities to inspecting crops on his enormous fields: "the work he left more and more to the broad, obsequious Ukrainian and his wife."[22]

By the end of World War I these Slavic immigrants had, in a modest way, become prosperous, and Horanski was rumoured to be making money, but they faced a problem which they had in common with their Anglo-Saxon neighbours: what to do with and for their adolescent children. However, while Grove dwells on the precarious relationship between Abe Spalding and his family, he has little to say about the children of Slavic immigrants, except that they went to work in the city and in construction camps and they, like their parents, never become part and parcel of the mainstream of events. Thus, though the author is not really negative in his attitude toward East European newcomers and their progeny, his portrayal of them is obviously far from adequate: these "broad, squarely-built"[23] men and women, with a smile on their "unmistakably Slavic"[24] countenances, are only simplified and standardized images, faceless stereotypes without any individual traits.

The next in this chronological sequence of novels, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (published in 1935),[25] differs from *The Foreigner* and *Fruits of the Earth* in two respects: it was written by an Easterner—Morley Callaghan, a native of Toronto—and it makes an attempt, albeit less than successful, to sketch a Ukrainian working class family, and—within that family—to delineate the character of a Ukrainian woman. The plot of this novel with a biblical title taken from the Sermon on the Mount is quite simple: Michael Aikenhead, a graduate engineer, becomes responsible for his stepbrother's drowning, but allows the suspicion of murder to fall upon his father. Finally, overwhelmed by a feeling of remorse, Michael finds a cure for his anguish in the love of a Ukrainian girl, Anna Prychoda, and thanks to her redeeming influence becomes reconciled with his father. Most of the events take place in an unnamed city, which is obviously Toronto, whose Ukrainian population was at that time about 3,000. It should be noted that the novel was published at the height of the Great Depression and, as we shall see, it raises some of the social problems of the day.

The title of the novel refers to Anna Prychoda. When she is first introduced to the reader, she is described as "a fair girl with big candid blue eyes and thick yellow hair in a long bob and a round high-cheek-boned face."[26] When she smiled, Michael's father thought "it was the warmest and friendliest smile he had ever seen";[27] Michael, too, concludes that she possesses all the virtues in which he is sadly lacking:

> If to be poor in spirit meant to be without false pride, to be humble enough to forget oneself, then she was poor in spirit, for she gave herself to everything

> that touched her, she let herself be, she lost herself in the fullness of the world, and in losing herself she found the world, and she possessed her own soul. People like her could have everything. They could inherit the earth.[28]

Anna's cheerful brightness saves Michael from self-destruction, although, as a critic has pointed out, her own past is tarnished by some indiscretions which are not consistent with her "angelic image."[29]

It is of special interest to us how Callaghan handles Anna's Slavic heritage. We are told that she was born in Detroit, where her parents still live. Her father lost his job and has become very bitter. He is described as a "short, powerful working man, smoking a pipe.... His face was wide and inscrutable, except that there was the same fierceness in his eyes that came to Anna's eyes when she was angry."[30] "I am different than you," the old Prychoda tells Mike. "I know how you feel, but you cannot understand how I feel."[31] A leftist, with obvious pro-Communist leanings, he resents the fact that Mike has no clear political affiliation since he would like his daughter to marry someone with strong class ideas. Yet eventually he becomes reconciled with Anna's choice: "You are an engineer. That's good. You're not a lawyer, or a broker man, or something like that. We will need engineers."[32] "Remember, I am not against you," Mike tries to reassure him, to which the old man replies, "You must be with us, son."[33]

Obviously, the fact that Anna is of Slavic origin has no special significance in the story, nor is the author sufficiently familiar with Ukrainian history and culture to make any meaningful references to her background, yet his attempt to abandon old, worn-out stereotypes is in itself refreshing and deserving of attention. In addition, Callaghan occasionally exposes Anglo-Saxon Canadians' ignorance of the Slavs and East Europeans in general, which is reflected, for example, in the following conversation between Mike and Anna:

> ...'You little Russian...' 'I'm not a Russian'—'You little Litvak, then.'—'You are ignorant. I'm not a Litvak.'—'You little round-cheeked Pole.'—'Yah, in my father's country they hated the Poles. Listen, Mr. Mike. This is my country just as much as it is yours.'[34]

Of even greater interest is the portrayal of Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants in more recent Canadian fiction, especially in novels published after World War II, whose authors have definitely broken with the traditions established by their predecessors and have begun to treat the stranger—the foreigner—as a full-fledged human being. Instead of stereotypes, they present their readers with more rounded characters, playing an important part in illustrating a vision of man in general, and thus the writers display not only a higher degree of technical proficiency and intellectual sophistication, but also considerable insight, perception, and compassion.

A good example is the novel *Who Has Seen the Wind* by W. O. Mitchell, published in 1947.[35] It features a Ukrainian, Peter Svarich, who practices medicine in a Saskatchewan town—and the very fact that he is a physician rather than a farmer or a labourer shows a noticeable departure from the stereotyped Ukrainian. The author describes vividly the so-called German Town, the East European ghetto with its tar-papered shacks, lacking plumbing and other elementary sanitary facilities. Its inhabitants are unmistakably foreign:

> Fierce-mustached men lived there, men with black-burning roll-your-own cigarettes permanently in the corner of the mouth, necessary men—the labourers on the C.P.R., on highway maintenance, and on sewer work for the town: Polish, Austrian, Bohemian, Ruthenian, Hungarian, Galician, not-yet-Canadian.... Peter's people.[36]

We see this alien world through the eyes of Ruth Thompson, a schoolteacher and the fiancée of Peter Svarich:

> She looked at the woman bent over a washtub in one of the backyards, and her mental picture of Peter's mother was renewed—a nut-brown woman with an unbelievably lined face, a dark kerchief over her head, a dark skirt blooming from her full middle.... Mrs. Svarich had been silent in the presence of Peter's father, a man whose face suggested a Notre Dame imp, ever so slightly aristocratic, ever so slightly goatish.... She knew now what she could not have expected to know earlier—that Peter was ashamed of his foreign birth.[37]

Dr. Svarich himself is described by the author as "brittle": although he is competent and successful in his profession, he is unable to adapt, and his manner of speech is abrupt and curt, at times even abrasive, though he is basically a fine, sensitive person. As a result, the course of his love affair with Ruth is not smooth; there is "too much of emotion, of irritation growing into sarcasm calling out recrimination, and that in turn bringing flaming anger."[38] Their engagement is broken, then things are temporarily patched up again. Peter objects to Ruth's caring for Chinese children, suffering from malnutrition and discriminated against by practically everybody else in town, because they are not her children. Ruth replies: "They are Chinese, and they are my children... They would be mine... if they were Ukrainian," and Svarich softly responds, "I believe they would—and they might have been."[39] Finally, however, he puts an end to their affair by simply saying: "Ruth, I don't think you would have liked a Ukrainian wedding."[40]

Mitchell's novel has been made into a movie, in which, like in the book, Svarich plays only an episodic part. Nevertheless, it is significant that the author is not content with producing another two-dimensional character but attempts to analyze the complex psychological makeup of a second-generation

Canadian of Slavic origin, who, though generally liked and respected, is still suffering from a basic feeling of inadequacy and insecurity. He is indeed, as the author put it, "brittle," apt to break or snap easily: hence his curtness and his tendency to overreact to various situations because he is still carrying a chip on his shoulder. In any case, Mitchell's portrait of Peter Svarich is very convincing and sound from both the artistic and the psychological point of view.

Who Has Seen the Wind can be juxtaposed with another novel dealing with the frustrated hopes of a middle-aged woman, *A Jest of God* by Margaret Laurence, which won the Governor-General's award for 1966, the year of its publication, and was the basis for the film *Rachel, Rachel*.[41] It is especially interesting since the author, born in 1926 in Neepawa, a small town in Manitoba, was a representative of the generation that grew up with the children of Slavic immigrants and was, at least on the surface, more knowledgeable about their background. The narrator of the novel, Rachel Cameron, is, like Ruth Thompson, a spinster schoolteacher, living with her mother in the imaginary town of Manawaka, Manitoba. Desperately craving for some kind of emotional fulfillment, she meets Nick Kazlik, a former schoolmate who is now a high-school teacher in Winnipeg, and falls in love with him. Nick is of Ukrainian origin, as are many Manawakans:

> Half of the town is Scots descent and the other half is Ukrainian. Oil, as they say, and water. Both came for the same reasons, because they had nothing where they were before.... The Ukrainians knew how to be better grain farmers, but the Scots knew how to be almightier than anyone but God.[42]

There was no love lost between the two groups, with Scottish parents discouraging their children from associating with "Bohunks" and with Ukrainian "rawbone kids whose scorn was almost tangible" filled with resentment toward their Anglo-Saxon peers.[43] Surprisingly, as a child, Rachel envied Ukrainians: their children "always seemed more resistant... and more free.... Not so boxed-in, maybe. More outspoken. More able to speak out."[44] And yet Nick fits rather neatly the Slavic stereotype: "Prominent cheekbones, slightly slanted eyes,... black straight hair... a hidden Caucasian face, one of the hawkish and long-ago riders of the Steppes."[45] Rachel learns from Nick about the complexity of his personal problems, connected with his Ukrainian background, but she is unable to comprehend him, and, seeing him through her eyes, the reader fails to fathom the full meaning of his thoughts, motives, and emotions.[46] Even so, we get, in a nutshell, the story of political and ideological divisions among Ukrainian immigrants during the interwar period and of Nick's gradual alienation from his ethnic group. His uncle believed that it was a good thing for Ukraine to be part of the Soviet Union, while his father held the opposing view, maintaining

that Ukraine should be an independent nation:

> The two of them didn't just argue—they engaged in a vehement verbal battle, storming away at each other like a couple of mastodons.... It used to irk me... because it was so pointless. Once I remember telling my dad I couldn't care less what the Ukraine did—it didn't mean a damn thing to me. That was true. But I shouldn't have said it. Actually, I wish now that I hadn't.... It was something he couldn't accept, in the same way he couldn't ever accept the fact that I never learned to speak Ukrainian. My mom was born in this country and she spoke English to us. My dad tried for quite a while, but finally he gave up and spoke English, too, and this put him at a great disadvantage with us, although he never admitted it, maybe not even to himself.[47]

In Manawaka, where he has again to come face-to-face with his past and to relive in memory the countless episodes of his humiliation as a child, Nick, like Peter Svarich, is ashamed of his foreign origin. Eventually, he leaves Rachel and returns to the anonymity of the big city, and she does not hear from him again. His ethnic origin has no special significance in the story, and, in any case, I am concerned here with the novel only as a social document, reflecting its author's attitudes and showing her insight into an alien world, coexisting with her own yet separated from it by some invisible barrier that seems to defy any outsider's understanding.[48] Nick, who seems to be fully assimilated to Canadian society and forms—at least on the surface—an integral part of it, is, in spite of the rather prominent role he plays in the novel, a shadowy creature, coming from darkness and disappearing back into the same darkness.

An even more interesting analogy can be traced between *Who Has Seen the Wind* and *Sawbones Memorial*, a widely acclaimed short novel by Sinclair Ross.[49] The theme of a Ukrainian doctor in a Saskatchewan town, treated only episodically by W. O. Mitchell, recurs here, though in a different form. Published in 1974, the novel takes place within the chronological limits of a single day—April 20, 1948. This unity of time is combined with that of place, since the action unfolds in a new hospital in Upward, Saskatchewan, where the townspeople have gathered to honour Dr. Hunter, who is retiring at the end of a distinguished medical career of over four decades. As a critic has observed, the scene is particularly well designed for reminiscence, with the doctor's friends and acquaintances mingling and recalling the past; at the same time, however, as conversations turn to the new building and even more to the person of Dr. Hunter's successor, it is equally well designed for contemplating the future. Thus, in a sense, "time stands still as past and future come together in the present moment."[50] As the old doctor is preparing to leave the scene, his natural son and protégé, Nick Miller, is waiting in the wings to take over, returning to the town of his birth which he had left eighteen years ago. Nick Miller is the new doctor: yet, since he grew up in Upward, no one can think of

him without recalling the past. As we are informed, Miller is "his own name, just short of a few Ukrainian z's and s's";[51] his mother was "Big Anna," a Doukhobor cleaning woman, and his legal father was a Ukrainian shoemaker. As a schoolboy, Nick was victimized by his classmates; inevitably, they would ask him insulting questions and gang up to beat and humiliate him whenever possible. As a result of this abusive treatment, he became self-sufficient, strong, and tough, both physically and intellectually, for, in the words of one of his former teachers, "having to survive in two languages no doubt develops some potential that would otherwise lie dormant."[52] After attending the local high school, he left for Winnipeg to study medicine. Now that he is returning, it is obvious that Upward still remembers him as "Big Anna's boy" and that many of its citizens resent his reappearance in the prestigious role of the town doctor. As the wife of one of his chief tormentors in childhood tells Dr. Hunter:

> This is not a hunky town.... You don't mind the people you have for friends... but some of us in Upward are more particular. We have a hospital now that's a credit to the town and we want a doctor who's a credit to the hospital. Not Big Anna's boy.[53]

Nick's former schoolmates are especially apprehensive. They remember certain things and they are sure he has not forgotten them either and is "coming back to get even,"[54] though in fact he is returning to Upward to lay the ghosts, to heal all the little pricks, stings, and wounds of the past. In Dr. Hunter's words, "Maybe the best way to get it out of your system is to come back—see it's not worth hating."[55]

The fact that Nick, who is the central point of most of the conversations, does not appear in person to attend the ceremonies and that, as a result, the reader can see him only through the eyes of others, considerably lowers the novel's dramatic tension. Yet the author does succeed in presenting a vivid and perceptive picture of the rock-hard bigotry and racial prejudice of a small Canadian prairie town—attitudes that are shared by most members of the local "elite," with the exception of only a few more tolerant individuals. The reader therefore is led to believe that Nick—once shunned by Upward's inhabitants because of his origin, now an object of their jealousy—will forever remain an outsider: "Once a hunky always a hunky.... Nick the Hunky—it's going to be awfully hard for people to forget."[56]

Racial prejudice and intolerance, so prominently displayed in *Sawbones Memorial*, are also apparent—though in a much more subdued form—in Margaret Atwood's novel *Life before Man*,[57] which introduces among its protagonists the product of a mixed marriage. Lesje Green, the daughter of a Ukrainian mother and a Jewish father, was in her childhood the object of a tug-of-war between her two grandmothers, who fought for her allegiance and

affection. As a result, she does not really belong to either of the two ethnic groups:

> She hadn't been sent to Ukrainian summer camp or to Jewish summer camp. She hadn't been allowed to go either to the golden church with its fairy-tale onion dome or to synagogue. Her parents would have been happy to send her to both, but the grandmothers wouldn't allow it.[58]

Atwood focuses on Lesje's Ukrainian name: "She told her teachers at school that her name was Alice. Lesje meant Alice, her mother said, and it was a perfectly good name, the name of a famous Ukrainian poet. Whose poems Lesje would never be able to read."[59] Her friends find her name intriguing, though a little funny: "Why should you worry? Ethnic is big these days. Change your last name and you'll get a Multiculturalism grant."[60] This teasing is, of course, a far cry from what Lesje experienced in school, where other girls, mostly of Irish origin, used to gather around her when she walked across the schoolyard and call her a "dirty foreigner": "Pe-ew, they said, holding their noses, while Lesje smiled weakly, appeasingly. Wipe that smirk off your face or we'll wipe it for you."[61] However, even now Lesje's Anglo-Saxon boyfriend, William, who is proud of her not only "as a trophy" but also "as a testimony to his own widemindedness," regards her as "impossibly exotic."[62] She encounters no overt discrimination, only "polite" racism—so subtle that it is hardly perceptible, for her friends and colleagues are "too haute Wasp" to stoop to any crudity:

> 'It will be so good for the children,' Elizabeth said, 'to learn to relate to someone with unusual interests.' Lesje thinks she intended something more complicated, less neutral. Something like *foreigner*.... More like *outlandish*, someone from out of the land. Interesting, mind you; as if she'll play the violin and do charming ethnic dances, like something from *Fiddler on the Roof*. To amuse the children.[63]

Lesje's partly Ukrainian origin is, of course, quite incidental to the story, as is her somewhat unusual occupation: she is a paleontologist working for the Royal Ontario Museum. Yet the feeling of alienation, of not really belonging, of being unable to relate to the present, to real life, is an essential feature of her character. Timid, she lives largely in her work, retreating in fantasy to prehistory and preferring "her" dinosaurs to most people. Rather revealing in this respect is Atwood's description of Lesje's visit to the Caravan Festival in Toronto:

> She's not sure why she went, that time; perhaps she was hoping to find her roots. She'd eaten food she remembered only vaguely from her grandmother's

> house... and watched tall boys and auburn-braided girls in red boots leap about on a stage decorated with paper sunflowers, singing songs she couldn't sing, dancing dances she'd never been taught.... At the end... they sang a song from Ukrainian summer camp: 'I'm not Russian, I'm not Polish, / I am not Rumanian, / Kiss me once, kiss me twice, / Kiss me, I'm Ukrainian.' Lesje admired the bright costumes, the agility, the music; but she was an outsider looking in. She felt as excluded as if she'd been surrounded by a crowd of her own cousins. On both sides. *Kiss me, I'm multicultural.*[64]

As we have seen from this progression of novels written during the last seven decades, the image in English-Canadian fiction of Slavic immigrants and their descendants has undergone certain perceptible changes, some of which have occurred as a result of a deeper understanding of the problems of newcomers within Canadian society. But these works of fiction also reflect, in a way, the official policies of successive Canadian governments toward the related problems of immigration and integration as well as the attitudes of the Canadian host society toward the newcomers and their children. While in the earliest novels, such as *The Foreigner* and *Fruits of the Earth*, we can feel the impact of Clifford Sifton's policies, aimed at bringing into Canada "farmers—and lots of them,"[65] in the latest one, *Life before Man*, we can already hear quite distinctly the rumblings of the policy of multiculturalism instituted, for better or worse, by the Liberal government of Pierre E. Trudeau. Similarly we can observe a shift in the perceptions of the writers themselves in the slow and gradual transition of their Ukrainian characters from acculturation to assimilation. While in the early novels we saw a more or less voluntary adaptation to the norms and values of Canadian society without a corresponding loss of ethnic values or traditions (as it is apparent, for example, in the case of Kalman, the hero of *The Foreigner*, who, in spite of becoming a model Canadian citizen, never forgot "to own and honour the Slav blood that flowed in his veins and to labour for the advancement of his people"),[66] the more recent works of fiction seem to suggest that a process of total absorption of people of Slavic origin is making great strides and that, as a critic has noted, "Ukrainians and, by extension, other Canadian minorities are headed for assimilation and the loss of their cultural inheritance."[67] The so-called ethnicity—the amorphous hodgepodge of irrelevant customs, traditions, and other cultural survivals cherished by the immigrants—is becoming increasingly meaningless and burdensome to many members of the second and third generations. At the same time, however, even those individuals who have seemingly abandoned their ethnic norms and values (or grew up without being exposed to them) still find it difficult to discover their true identity.[68] Thus, they are likely to be plagued by insecurity, combined with (or caused by) a deep-seated inferiority complex, and are inherently unable to "lay the ghosts"[69] or to contend successfully with

those "demons and webs"[70] that make their existence miserable and empty. They find it hard, if not impossible, to relate to, or even communicate with, other individuals, and, as a result, their human relationships are precarious—indeed, doomed from the very beginning (Peter Svarich and Ruth Thompson in *Who Has Seen the Wind*, Nick Kazlik and Rachel Cameron in *A Jest of God*). Even Lesje Green in *Life before Man*, although she was brought up without partaking of any ethnic heritage, is overwhelmed by a feeling of rootlessness and is, in a way, also a victim of that dichotomy which seems to be the curse of ethnicity. Indeed, like Nick Kazlik, all these characters could quote the astonishingly appropriate words of the prophet Jeremiah: "I have forsaken my house—I have left my heritage—mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest—it crieth out against me—therefore have I hated it."[71] It is perhaps this seemingly insoluble dilemma that accounts for the popularity of the widespread phenomenon of "root searching"—a determined effort to acquire at least some knowledge and appreciation of one's heritage as a way of discovering one's identity.

NOTES

1. *Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of their Portrayal in English-Language Works* (Edmonton: Published for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies by the University of Alberta Press, 1978), p. ix.

2. For a general discussion of these works see Peter Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Image in Canadian Literature," in *Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century* (Winnipeg: Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, 1966), pp. 28-42, and Natalia Aponiuk, "The Problem of Identity: The Depiction of Ukrainians in Canadian Literature," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XIV, No. 1 (1982), 50-61.

3. Swyripa, pp. 99-100.

4. *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (Toronto: Westminster Co. Ltd.).

5. See Les Wawrow, "Nativism in English Canada: Attitudes of Anglo-Saxons to the Influx of 1896-1914 Immigration," in Benedykt Heydenkorn (ed.), *From Prairies to Cities: Papers on the Poles in Canada at the VIII World Congress of Sociology* (Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute, 1975), pp. 74-76.

6. *The Foreigner*, p. 11.

7. Ibid., p. 14.

8. Gordon's characters speak a "Galician" language, but he himself seems to be somewhat unsure of their ethnic identity, as is shown by this brief exchange: "'He does not understand Russian,' said Paulina. 'Speak in Galician.'...

'Good,' replied the father in Galician. 'Listen then. Never forget you are a Russian'" (ibid., p. 77).

9. Ibid., pp. 97-98.

10. Ibid., pp. 255-56.

11. Ibid., p. 14.

12. It should be noted that in 1901 Gordon was a member of a delegation of Presbyterian leaders who urged Premier Roblin of Manitoba to improve the system of education "among the foreigners living in the Province—especially the illiterate Galicians"; he also played an important role in organizing the so-called Greek Independent Church, most of whose members were Ukrainian immigrants. For details see Keith Wilson, *Charles William Gordon* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publications, 1981), pp. 19-20.

13. *The Foreigner*, p. 157. This liberating influence of Canadianization can be at times almost breath-taking: thus, e.g., Gordon describes how "a timid, stupid, ill-dressed Galician girl" was suddenly transformed "into a being of grace and loveliness" (ibid., pp. 163-64).

14. Ibid., p. 373.

15. In this connection see Swyripa, p. 14.

16. See Margaret R. Stobie, *Frederick Philip Grove* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973), p. 128.

17. See Douglas O. Spettigue, "The Grove Enigma Resolved," *Queen's Quarterly*, LXXIX, No. 1 (April, 1972), 1-2.

18. *Fruits of the Earth* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 33.

19. Ibid., p. 37.

20. Ibid., p. 55.

21. Ibid., p. 89.

22. Ibid., p. 91.

23. Ibid., p. 90.

24. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

25. Morley Callaghan, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (New York: Random House, 1935).

26. Ibid., p. 6.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 320.

29. Brandon Conron, *Morley Callaghan* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966), pp. 95-96.

30. *They Shall Inherit the Earth*, p. 208.

31. Ibid., p. 210.

32. Ibid., p. 212.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., p. 192.

35. Boston: Little Brown and Co.

36. *Who Has Seen the Wind*, p. 134.
37. Ibid., pp. 134-35.
38. Ibid., p. 144.
39. Ibid., p. 143.
40. Ibid., p. 282.
41. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
42. *A Jest of God*, p. 65.
43. Ibid., p. 79.
44. Ibid., pp. 87-88.
45. Ibid., pp. 85-86.
46. As Clara Thomas notes in *The Manawaka World of Margaret Laurence* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), "no more than a superficial feeling of Nick can penetrate Rachel's self-absorption.... Finally, we do not understand Nick either" (pp. 90-91).
47. *A Jest of God*, pp. 88-89.
48. In this connection see Kenneth James Hughes, "Politics and *A Jest of God*," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XIII, No. 3 (Fall, 1978), 40-54.
49. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
50. Lorraine McMullen, Introduction to *Sawbones Memorial*, New Canadian Library ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 5.
51. *Sawbones Memorial* (1974 ed.), p. 21.
52. Ibid., p. 138.
53. Ibid., p. 83. In the words of another character, "His mother... used to wash for my mother.... She couldn't even speak English; she just used to grunt. How do you think the women of this town are going to feel about discussing things with her son—intimate things?" (p. 50).
54. Ibid., p. 83.
55. Ibid., p. 99.
56. Ibid., p. 33.
57. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.
58. *Life before Man*, p. 93.
59. Ibid., p. 91.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 211.
62. Ibid., p. 29.
63. Ibid., p. 211.
64. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
65. *The Foreigner*, p. 38.
66. Ibid., pp. 373-74.
67. Patricia Morley, *Margaret Laurence* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1981), p. 97. See also Hughes, "Politics and *A Jest of God*," p. 50.

68. As Margaret Atwood observes in her *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi, 1972), even if the immigrant decides to renounce his ethnic origin and repudiate his traditions, he will be merely confronted "by a nebulosity, a blank" rather than by a ready-made "Canadian" identity: thus, "though he has sacrificed his past and tried for success, he is much more likely to find only failure" (p. 150).

69. *Sawbones Memorial*, p. 139.

70. *A Jest of God*, p. 189.

71. Ibid., p. 110.

DUAL FORMS IN LITERARY UKRAINIAN AND DIALECTS

N. Pavliuc

In the opinion of many scholars, dual forms existed in all Slavic languages in the early period of their development, but through the process of evolution dual forms were lost in the majority of Slavic languages. However, Slovenian, Kashubian, Upper and Lower Lusatian still retain the dual forms [See L. P. Jakubinskij, 11, 171].

As a specific grammatical category dual forms were lost in the Old Rusian language* of the Kievan period in the verbal, pronominal, and adjectival systems, but they were retained to some degree in noun declensions, a few of which were subsequently inherited by contemporary East-Slavic languages—Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian.

The loss of dual forms and the progressive development of the opposition between singular and plural was the result of the evolution of human thought from concrete plurality to the abstract. The category of dual forms appeared a long time ago when the abstract concept of plurality was not yet finally formed. Similar objects forming a complementary pair, and then more generally two unrelated objects were perceived as a concrete plurality. Later on, when the concept of plural grew to embrace all groups of things containing more than one object, dual forms became a relic phenomenon. In the Old Rusian language dual forms also came to be a relic phenomenon [A. A. Šaxmatov, 25, 208].

The aim of this paper is to show to what extent dual forms were kept in the Old Rusian language, that is, in the language of Kievan Rus', and later in the Old Ukrainian language, especially in Ukrainian documents of the XIV-XV centuries as well as in written monuments of the XVI-XVII centuries. We will also discuss the use of relic dual forms in modern Ukrainian literature, particularly in the works of Western Ukrainian authors. And finally, we will study the preservation of the dual forms of several nouns as relics of an older time in contemporary Ukrainian and in some of its dialects.

Dual forms were used in the Old Rusian language in two circumstances:

* The term "Old Rusian" (with one *s*) refers to the Kievan-Rus' period and is not to be confused with "Old Russian."

1) in the combination of a noun with the numeral дъва/дъвѣ (or оба/обѣ) 'two', 'both' when referring to two objects—persons or things. For example:

дъва сы̀ны 'two sons', *дъва стола* 'two tables'
дъвѣ/обѣ сестрѣ 'two/both sisters',
дъвѣ селѣ 'two villages';

2) in nouns denoting complementary pairs, that is, in objects composed of two parts or two halves. For example:

рога́ 'horns', *роуцѣ* 'hands', *о́чи* 'eyes', *у́ши* 'ears',
плéчи 'shoulders', *колéни* 'knees', *са́ни* 'sleigh',
гру́ди 'chest',

and so on.

In Old Rusian, dual forms had only three distinct endings for the entire paradigm: one common form appeared in the nominative/accusative and vocative cases; a second in the genitive and locative; and the third in the dative and instrumental. Thus, homonymous flections (the same endings) appear two or three times in the whole paradigm.

Below is a chart of a paradigm, showing the declension of nouns in Old Rusian, in the singular, plural, and dual forms. Here we can clearly see these homonymous common forms in the declension.

OLD RUSIAN NOUN DECLENSIONS (XI-XIII CENTURIES)

		-ā, -jā stems		-ŏ, -jŏ stems					-ŭ (-ъ) stem	-ĭ (ь) stem	consonantal stems	
		Feminine		Masculine			Neuter		Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Neuter
SINGULAR	N	жєн-а	зємл- ıа	вълк-ъ	кон-ь	кра-и	сєл-о	пол-є	сын-ъ	ноч-ь	-дьн-ь	им-ıа
	G	-ы	-ѣ	-а	-ıа	-ıа	-а	-ıа	-оу	-и	-є	-єн-є (-и)
	D	-ѣ	-и	-оу	-ю	-ю	-оу	-ю	-ови	-и	-и	-и
	A	-оу	-ю	-ъ (-а)	-ь (-ıа)	-и	-о	-є	-ъ	-ь	-ь	им-ıа
	I	-ою	-єю	-ъмь (-омь)	-ьмь (-ємь)	-ьмь (-ıємь)	-ъмь (-омь)	-ьмь (-ємь)	-ъмь	-ью (-ию)	-ьмь	-єн-ьмь
	L	-ѣ	-и	ц-ѣ	-и	-и	-ѣ	-и	-оу	-и	-є	-є (-и)
	V	-о	-є	ч-є	-ю	-ю	-о	-є	-оу	-и	-ь	им-ıа
PLURAL	N	жєн-ы	зємл-ѣ	вълц-и	кон-и	-кра-и	сєл-а	пол-ıа	сын-овє	ноч-и	дьн-є (-иıє)	им-єн-а
	G	-ъ	-ь	к-ъ	-ь	-и	-ъ	-ь	-овъ	-ьи (-ии)	-ъ (-ии)	-ъ
	D	-амъ	-ıамъ	к-омъ	-ємъ	-ıємъ	-омъ	-ємъ	-ъмъ	-ьмъ	-ьмъ	-ьмъ
	A	-ы	-ѣ	к-ы	-ѣ	-ѣ	-а	-ıа	-ы	-и	-и	-а
	I	-ами	- ıами	к-ы	-и	-и	-ы	-и	-ъми	-ьми	-ьми	-ы
	L	-ахъ	- ıахъ	ц-ѣхъ	-ихъ	-ихъ	-ѣхъ	-ихъ	-ъхъ	-ьхъ	-ьхъ	-ьхъ
	V	-ы	-ѣ	ц-и	-и	-и	-а	-ıа	-овє	-и		
DUAL	NAV	жєн-ѣ	зємл-и	вълк-а	-кон-ıа	-кра-ıа	сєл-ѣ	пол-и	сын-ы	ноч-и	дьн-и	им-єн -и (-ѣ)
	GL	-оу	-ю	-оу	-ю	-ю	-оу	-ю	-овоу	-ью (-ию)	-оу (-ию)	-оу
	DI	-ама	-ıама	-ома	-єма	- ıєма	-ома	-єма	-ъма	-ьма	-ьма	-ьма

From the chart given above it can be observed that nouns of each class had in the nominative/accusative and vocative cases homonymous dual endings, and that almost every class of nouns had its own specific endings [-ѣ, -и, -а, -ꙗ, -ы]. This difference in flection depended not only on the gender and the noun group (hard or soft), but also on the particular class of nouns. In the genitive and locative almost all classes of nouns had the same dual endings - -у (or -ю), except ŭ (-ъ) stem nouns. In the dative and instrumental cases a common ending appeared, but with various vowels in the stem: (-а)ма, (–ꙗ)ма, (-о)ма, (-ѥ)ма, (-ъ)ма, (-ь)ма.

The following are a few examples of dual form usage in early Old Rusian monuments, given in the nominative/accusative, genitive/locative and dative/ instrumental cases, representing nouns of all classes:

тии бо два храбрыѧ Свѧтослaвича 'these two brave Sviatoslavichs' (Слово) [N. - A.]
по двѣ зимѣ 'two winters each' (Поуч. В. Мон.) ([N.] - A.),
по дву лѣту 'up to two years' (Ипат. лет.) (G. - L.),
о дву коню 'concerning two horses' (Поуч. В. Мон.) (G. - L.),
двѣма озєрома '(with) two lakes' (Лавр. лет.) (D. - I.).

In some instances dual forms could appear without a numeral:

ту сѧ брата розлучиста 'here the brothers parted' (Слово) (N. - A.),
на своєю нетрудную крилцю 'on its light wing' (Слово) ([G.] - L.),
рукама своима 'with (one's) own hands' (Пов. В. Мон.), (D. - I.),
лось рогома болъ 'the elk butted with his antlers' (Поуч. В. Мон.) (D. - I.).

As was mentioned previously, dual forms as a separate grammatical category were lost in the Old Rusian language. In the opinion of some scholars [Šaxmatov, 24, 35, 62] the loss of dual forms in nouns and their modifiers in Old Rusian can be dated from the XII - XIII centuries. At first, plural forms were gradually substituted for dual forms in constructions with nouns without the numeral **дъва/дъвѣ** 'two' and later in constructions with the numeral **дъва/дъвѣ** 'two'. For example:

помози **рабомъ своимъ** Ивану и Олексию написавшема книги си 'help your servants Ivan and Olexa who have written these books' (Жит. Ниф., 1219).

In this sentence, **рабомъ своимъ** is in the dative plural instead of the dual dative '**рабома своима**...';

двѣ жєны 'two women' (Ипат. лет.) in the nominative/accusative plural instead of the dual form 'двѣ женѣ';

на свои рукы 'on his/her hands' (Дух. грам. Клим. Новгород. XIII ст.) is in the accusative plural instead of the accusative dual 'на свои руцѣ'.

It is considered that the loss of dual forms in nouns occurred first of all in the oblique cases, because in these cases there appeared homonymous endings; that is, the genitive coincided with the locative and the dative with the instrumental. The tendency to differentiate these cases brought the plural forms into use, because in the plural the genitive and locative as well as dative and instrumental did not coincide in any type of nominal declension.

As for the nominative/accusative and vocative dual forms, a gradual replacement by the corresponding plural forms took place. Nevertheless, nouns denoting pairs and some noun constructions with the numeral **два** 'two' have retained the old dual forms, and are found in many Ukrainian dialects up to the present day.

In the opinion of many scholars the complete loss of dual forms dates from the later period—XIV-XV centuries [A. A. Šaxmatov, 25, 208], or even the XVI century [P. J. Černyx, 7, 147]. However, in these centuries the process of replacing dual forms with the plural forms was not entirely completed [I. M. Kernyc'kyj, 13, 80-82, 100-102]. Written monuments offer examples of dual forms even in succeeding periods.

Traces of dual forms were still quite evident in Ukrainian documents of the XIV-XV centuries. In these documents dual forms in the nominative/accusative cases are most frequent, and less common are those in the dative/instrumental cases, which essentially were the same as those in the monuments of Kievan Rus'. For example:

двѣ полѧнє (Грам. 1424) 'two glades' (N. - A.),
Сєньковича два (Грам. 1378) 'two Senkoviches' (N. - A.),
двѣ сєли (Грам. 1429) 'two villages' (N. - A.),
со двѣма сн̃ма (Грам. 1378) 'with two sons' ([D.] - I.),
прєдо очима (Грам. 1421) 'before your very eyes' ([D]. - I.).

Ukrainian documents of the XIV-XV centuries preserved even less of the dual forms in the genitive and locative cases. These relics of dual forms owed their existence to the authors who used the archaic form of the Old Ukrainian language:

дву копу (Грам. 1400) 'measures of sixty...',
съ обою сторону (Грам. 1532) 'from both sides'.

However, it is necessary to point out that the dual forms given above did not reflect colloquial Ukrainian speech in the oblique cases, but were maintained, as previously mentioned, only by the conservative traditions of bookish language [See O. P. Bezpal'ko et al., 1, 239].

In Ukrainian documents of the XVI-XVII centuries dual forms were used inconsistently. Alongside such dual forms as:

двѣ жєнѣ (Остр. бібл. 1581) 'two women' (N. - A.),
дъвѣ нєвѣстѣ (з творів Галят.) 'two daughters-in-law' (N. - A.),
взѧвши дъва пѣнѧза(Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'having taken two pfennigs' (N. - A.),
двѣ словѣ (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'two words' (N. - A.),
и поднесли очи свои (Учит. єв.XVI ст.) 'and raised their eyes' (N. - A.),
под дъвѣма особама (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'under two people' ([D] - I.),
по ногама єго (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'on his feet' ([D] - I. dual).

We also find constructions in which only the numeral appears in the dual, while the noun is in the plural:

рукама своима (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'with one's own hands' ([D] - I. dual),
двѣ лѣта преби^{л} (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'spent two years' ([A. dual] - [A. pl.]),
двѣ слн̃ца видели (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) '[they] saw two suns' ([A. dual] - [A. pl.]),
двѣма рыбами (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) '[with] two fish' (D. - I. dual) - (I. pl.).

The dual forms in the above examples in the nominative/accusative and instrumental cases appear primarily in the Transcarpathian teachers' gospels of the XVI century [See I. M. Kernyc'kyj, 13, 101].

Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that in documents of the XVI-XVII centuries, plural forms predominate in constructions with the numeral **два/дві** 'two', **три** 'three', **чотири** 'four' in all the cases. Here are several examples in the nominative/accusative and genitive/locative cases:

два кораблѣ (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) 'two ships' (N. - A. pl),
здоровыє ока (І. Виш.) 'big eyes' (N. - A. pl.),
двѣ слова (І. Галят.) 'two words' ([N. - A. dual] - [N. - A. pl.]),
двѣ имена (І. Галят.) 'two names' ([N. - A. dual] - [N. - A. pl.]).

приходит **до оу**х **наши**х, **слоу**х **оушїй свои**х (Учит. єв. XVI ст.) '[it] has come to our ears, our hearing' (G. - L. pl.),
въ оушех **вашихъ** (Пересоп. єв. XVI ст.) 'in your ears' (G. - L. pl.).

In the opinion of S. P. Samijlenko, "in the monuments of the XVI-XVII centuries dual forms are replaced by plural forms more consistently than in the monuments of the XIV-XV centuries. In constructions with numerals there were many incidents of a mix-up in the use of dual and plural forms of nouns and numerals" [S. P. Samijlenko, 23, 172].

However, although it is considered "that by the XVI century the process of the disappearance of dual forms as a separate grammatical category was completed" [S. P. Samijlenko, 23, 172], the remains of dual forms continue to exist in literary Ukrainian [See Sučasna..., 29, 112-113, 122] as well as in various Ukrainian dialects, but not to the same degree in all instances [See Appendix].

It is thought that the genitive and locative cases of dual forms were the first to become obsolete. This is already evident in Old Rusian documents, where the genitive and locative cases are rarely found. The genitive and locative of the dual were seldom used in Old Ukrainian documents, and are almost unknown in contemporary Ukrainian with the exception of some adverbial constructions such as *в ушу* (lit. у вухах) 'in the ears', *ввічу* (lit. перед очима) 'before one's very eyes' [See L. A. Bulaxovs'kyj, 5, 95].

However, contemporary Ukrainian preserves the remains of the former dative and instrumental cases of the dual in the form of the plural instrumental ending **-има**. Nonetheless, this flection is used for only a few nouns, mostly neuter, which denote pairs. In addition to the ending **-има**, a parallel ordinary plural ending **-(а) ми** can occur in some nouns:

очи́ма (dual) 'with the eyes',
уши́ма (dual) and *вуха́ми* (pl.) 'with the ears',
плечи́ма (dual) and *пліч*ми́ (pl.) 'with the shoulders',

and also in some 'pluralia tantum' nouns as:

двери́ма (dual) and *двермй* (pl.) 'with the door',
гроші́ма (dual) and *грîшми* (pl.) 'with money' [See Sučasna..., 29, 122].

Generally, in nouns having parallel endings in the instrumental plural the ending **-(а́) ми** predominates.

In Ukrainian dialects, mostly in South-Western and in some South-Eastern ones, the instrumental case is used with the former dual ending **-има**, especially in nouns denoting pairs and in 'pluralia tantum' nouns (See Appendix, Instrumental case).

Relic dual forms of the nominative/accusative cases of feminine nouns can also be seen in Ukrainian literature of the late XIX and early XX centuries. These dual forms can be found in the works of such Ukrainian authors as:

T. Ševčenko (*дві моги́лі* 'two graves'),
L. Hlibov (*три вербі* 'three willows'),
M. Šaškevyč (сперлися *обі сторонї*, мов би ліс валився 'both sides were leaning as if the forest were falling down'),
Ja. Holovac'kyj (*дві дїві* 'two girls'),
I. Franko (Пісня і праця - великі *дві си́лі*! 'Song and work - two great forces!'),
V. Stefanyk (*дві невістці* з дітьми 'two daughters-in-law with [their] children'),
I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj (*Дві руцї* тягли воли за роги 'two hands pulled the oxen by [its] horns'),
O. Kobyljans'ka (*чоти́ри дївці* 'four girls'),
Ju. Fed'kovyč (*дві зїронці* 'two stars'),
B. Lepkyj (*дві жїнці* 'two women').

The literary language of the aforementioned period took these dual forms from various dialects (where they are preserved to this day).

In modern literary Ukrainian, only a limited number of masculine nouns have dual forms of the nominative/accusative cases (derived from previous -ŏ, -jŏ stems); these are used (with the meaning of plural) side by side with plural forms. For example:

рукава́ (dual) and *рукави́* (pl.) 'sleeves',
ву́са (dual) and *ву́си* (pl.) 'moustache',
ву́ха (dual) and *у́ші* (pl.) 'ears',
повода́ (dual) and *поводи́* (pl.) 'reins'.

Both forms are known in Ukrainian dialects as well [See Appendix].

Dual forms can often be heard in Canada as well, especially in the colloquial speech of people originating from Bukovyna, Kolomyja region, Halyčyna, a part of Transcarpathia, and other dialectal territories of the Ukrainian language where even today dual forms are used:

дві ха́ті 'two houses',
навколо нього були *тру́нві* 'around him there were coffins' (instead of the plural form *дві ха́ти, ... тру́нви* [Examples collected from students]).

Thus, dual forms are a dialectal characteristic which is not easy to

eliminate.

Ukrainian orthography of 1929 admitted dual forms as a standard. In the *Правописний словник* by G. Holoskevyč [10] [considered one of the best dictionaries in the diaspora], one can find some nouns combined with the numerals **два/дві** 'two', **три** 'three' and **чотири** 'four' using parallel forms—plural and dual—for the plural of the nominative/accusative cases. For example:

дві стіни́ (pl.) and *дві стінї́* (dual) 'two walls' (p.91),
дві кни́ги (pl.) and *дві кни́зі* (dual) 'two books' (p.91),
три руки́ (pl.) and *три руцї́* (dual) 'three hands' (p.401),
три вербы́ (pl.) and *три вербї́* (dual) 'three willows' (p.401),
три ха́ти (pl.) and *три ха́ті* (dual) 'three houses' (p.401),
чоти́ри но́ри (pl.) and *чоти́ри норї́* (dual) 'four lairs' (p.437),
чоти́ри я́блука (pl.) and *чоти́ри я́блуці* (dual) 'four apples' (p.437),
два вікна́ (pl.) and *дві вікнї́* (dual) 'two windows' (p.59), *дво́є вїко́н* (coll. pl.),
два слова́ (pl.) and *дві сло́ві* (dual) 'two words' (p.327), *дво́є слів* (coll. pl.).

In practice, however, modern literary Ukrainian did not legitimize the above-mentioned dual forms as a literary norm. Generally, contemporary literary Ukrainian replaced the dual forms with appropriate plural forms. Nevertheless, in certain circumstances, when an author wishes to depict a mode of life, to give his work a specific native colour, or to endow a literary personage with local peculiarities of speech, he can resort to different stylistic means among which are the use of various archaisms and dialectal forms, including dual forms.

Modern literary Ukrainian uses plural forms instead of the former dual forms, with the exception of a few dual forms for nouns referring to two objects or objects denoting pairs, plurality ('pluralia tantum') or collective nouns. But these relic dual forms (which are perceived as plural) have parallel regular plural forms in the nominative/accusative (as was mentioned before) and instrumental cases, such as:

рукава́ (N. - A. dual) and *рукави́* (N. - A. pl.) 'sleeves',
ву́са (dual) and *ву́си* (N. - A. pl.) 'moustache', as well as
уши́ма (I. dual) and *вуха́ми* (I. pl.) 'with ears',
двери́ма (I. dual) and *дверми́* (I. pl.) 'with doors',
гроши́ма (I. dual) and *гро́шми* (I. pl.) 'with money' etc.

Relic dual forms are used considerably more in dialects than in the literary

language. They are widespread in the South-Western dialects and to a lesser degree in the South-Eastern and Northern dialects of the Ukrainian language in the nominative/accusative and instrumental cases, mainly for feminine and neuter nouns. However, the most widespread usage is in the nominative and accusative cases of feminine and neuter nouns with the ending -i.

In the combination of noun + numeral in the vast majority of instances the stress falls on the flection of the nouns:

дві руцí 'two hands', *дві ноз'í* 'two legs',
дві сестрí 'two sisters', *дві відрí* 'two pails'.

However, the stress can also fall on the root, depending upon the number of syllables, the character of the final consonant of the stem, and other factors:

дві книжці 'two books', *дві кімнáті* 'two rooms', *дві óчі* 'two eyes', *дві яблуці* 'two apples', *дві слóві* 'two words'.

[For a more detailed presentation on stress in former dual forms of the type '**рукá**' see V. H. Skljarenko, 28, 137, 143]

In Modern Ukrainian in construction of nouns + numerals using **два/дві**, **три** and **чотúри** the stress, usually, is that of the genitive singular, which coincides with the old dual stress:

два сúни (pl. *синú*) 'two sons', *два дýби* (pl. *дубú*) 'two oaks',
два гóлоси (pl. *голосú*) 'two voices',
чотири брáти (pl. *братú*) 'four brothers';

дві рукú (pl. *рýки*) 'two hands', *дві ногú* (pl. *нóги*) 'two legs', *дві сестрú* (pl. *сéстри*) 'two sisters', *дві книжкú* (pl. *книжкú*) 'two books',

два відрá (pl. *вîдра*) 'two pails', *два вікнá* (pl. *вîкна*) 'two windows'.

[For more details on stress in such kind of constructions see George Y. Shevelov, 26, 234-236]

But, according to Shevelov's investigations, in contemporary Ukrainian there is a pronounced tendency to use the plural stress in constructions of nouns preceded by the numerals **два/дві**, **три**, **чотири** especially in masculine substantives, and rarely in the feminine:

"*Два синй в гостях у діда, з'їхались додому*"
(Two sons, visiting their grandfather, arrived home together. Nexoda).

"*Два дубй* шумлять над нею, Вітер над землею"
(Two oak trees rustle over her, the wind over the earth. Malyško)

"*Дві кóси* хвилясті спадали"
(Onto her white hands, like snakes, fell two wavy braids. Staryc'kyj).

[See Shevelov, 26, 235]

In conclusion we can state:

1. Dual forms were known in all Slavic languages in the early period of their development, but in the process of evolution dual forms were lost in the majority of Slavic languages.

2. As a specific grammatical category dual forms were lost in the Old Rusian language of the Kievan period in the verbal, pronominal, and adjectival systems, but they were retained to some degree in the system of noun declensions from which they were inherited by the contemporary Ukrainian and other East-Slavic languages, Russian and Belorussian.

3. The loss of dual forms in nouns and their replacement by plural forms can be observed in written monuments beginning with the XIII century.

4. Ukrainian documents of the XIV-XV centuries kept dual forms mostly in constructions with the numerals **два/дві** 'two', **три** 'three', **чотири** 'four' and in nouns denoting pairs. These dual forms can be observed in written monuments of the Old Ukrainian language as well as in materials of the XVII-XVIII centuries.

5. Relic dual forms can also be seen in Ukrainian literature of the late XIX and early XX centuries. Dual forms were used to depict a mode of life (customs and manners). They were also used in the speech of characters. These dual forms can be found in the works of many Ukrainian authors, especially those from the western part of Ukraine.

6. With the exception of a few dual forms for nouns denoting pairs, plurality, or collective nouns, which have parallel forms in the nominative/accusative and instrumental cases, modern literary Ukrainian in all other instances uses only the plural forms instead of the previous dual forms.

7. As far as stress is concerned, in Modern Ukrainian in constructions of nouns + numerals **два/дві, три , чотири** the stress is generally that of the genitive singular, but there is also a tendency to use the plural stress.

Appendix

The remains of former dual forms in the nominative/accusative as well as in the dative/instrumental cases are the most widespread in South-Western Ukrainian dialects.

The research of M. Onyškevyč shows that the archaic dual form дв'і (руц'і, д'іўці, жінц'і) is used in a rather large dialectal territory: "in upper Dnister dialects north of the river [Dnister], in southern Volynian, Pokutian, Hutsul and Bukovynian dialects" [M. M. Onyškevyč, 19, 253]. Nevertheless, dual forms in the nominative/accusative cases appear sporadically in Northern dialects as relics of older times. According to the findings of I. H. Matvijas, in Northern dialects relic forms of the dual, such as **дві руці, дві нозі, дві хаті** are most widespread in middle Polisian dialects and completely absent in the majority of eastern Polisian dialects [See I. H. Matvijas, 16, 117]. However, a common characteristic of all Ukrainian dialects is the loss of the meaning of duality, but at the present time these forms appear only with the meaning of plural. It is necessary to point out that the nominative/accusative cases of feminine and neuter nouns are used, as was mentioned at the beginning of this article, mainly in combination with the numerals **два/дві** 'two', **три** 'three', **чоти́ри** 'four', while the dative/instrumental cases of all three genders with the basic ending **-има** (in some dialect variants **-ема, -ома** [**-ьома**] and **-ма**) appear only with the meaning of instrumental plural.

Examples of former dual forms will be given below for the nominative/accusative and then for the instrumental plural for each dialect area separately.

Northern Dialects

Nominative/accusative cases:

дв'і ха́ті, осталось три коро́в'і *(східнополіські говірки)* [M. B. Braxnov, 4, 33]; дві жінц'і; дв'і сло́в'і; дв'і вікн'ї; дві відр'ї *(середньополіські говірки)* [F. T. Žylko, 33, 40]; дві копи́ці, три дуро́зі, штири халу́пі *(західнополіські говірки)* [V. Šimanovskij, 27, 86].

South-Eastern Dialects

1. Nominative/accusative cases:

дві сестр'ї, дві руц'ї, дві ху́с'ц'і, три дити́н'і, чоти́рі брига́д'і *(середньо-наддніпрянські говірки)* [K. Mixal'čuk, 18, 579]; дві руці, три корові, дві кімнаті, три ца́рині *(полтавські говірки)* [K. Mixal'čuk, 18, 579]; дві руці, три дорозі, три коли́бі [K. Mixal'čuk, 18, 573]; дв'і ба́б'і, дв'і ха́т'і, дв'і л'ітр'і *(слобожанські говірки Харківщини)* [L. A. Lisičenko, 14, 9]; три ха́т'і, три гарб'ї, дв'і пла́т'і *(степові говірки Одещини)* [V. P. Lohvyn, 15, 39].

2. Instrumental case:

плечи́ма, грошѝма, двери́ма *(полтавські говірки)* [V. S. Vaščenko, 31, 144, 446-447]; не хвалúс'а грошѝма свойі́ма; очи́ма, ушѝма *(говірки Київщини)* [B. M. Braxnov, 3, 55]; мишѝма, грошѝма *(говірки Одещини)* [O. S. Mel'nyčuk, 17, 65].

South-Western Dialects

1. Nominative/accusative cases:

дв'і хат'і, три вирб'ї, шти́ри машѝн'і [L. P. Bova (Koval'čuk), 2, 110]; дві руц'і, дві хат'і, три коро́в'і *(волинські говірки)* [M. Mixal'čuk, 18, 542, 556]; дві вербї, дві ябц'і, дві ш'е́пц'і, дві гру́ш'ц'і, три стодо́л'і, шти́ри ноз'і, три годи́н'і [I. Verxrats'kyj, 32, 45, 48]; дв'і д"іўц"і, ж'ін'ц"і, руц"ї, хáт'і *(наддністрянські говірки)* [P. I. Prystupa, 21, 44]; дві гу́сц'і, дунц'ї, руц'і, три вуро́н'і, штыры сістрî *(надсянські говірки)* [O. S. Mel'nyčuk, 17, 65]; dv'i ny^{e}d'íly, dv'i rucý, dv'i pútny, dv'i vivcý, dv'i skrýny, dv'i kišény, dv'i ky^{e}rnýcy, dv'i mołodýcy, dv'i hłýcy, dv'i kłány, try sp'idnýcy *(тернопільські говірки)* [K. Dejna, 8, 85]; дв'і жі́нц'і, маў три коро́в'і, дв'і доро́з'і, дв'і сестрî, дв'і донц'ї, шт^{i}е́ри л'у́пц'і, дв'і г'і́ўц'і, дв'і ноз'ї, дв'і хáті; дв'і в'ікн'і, дв'і бо́ц'ц'і пи^{e}ва, три со́ц'ц'і *(гуцульсько-буковинські говірки Сучавщини*—Румунія) [From my notes recorded during the period 1957-1968].

2. Instrumental case:

бровѝма, косѝма [F. T. Žylko, 34, 85]; двириѝма (and двирмѝ), плич и́ма (and пличмѝ) *(говірки північно-західної Львівщини)* [P. I. Prystupa, 21, 45]; во́ч'и́ма, пле^{и}ч'и́ма *(закарпатські говірки)* [V. I. Doboš, 9, 8]; palyc'ý^{e}ma, kudel'ý^{e}ma, postel'ý^{e}ma, dyn'íma, fasol'ý^{i}ma, swýn'ima *(наддністрянські говірки)* [J. Janów, 12, 71]; віўц'е́ма, доло́н'ема, спідни́ц'ема, йаблун'е́ма, тупул'е́ма *(говірки Тернопільщини і Волині)* [H. F. Šylo, 30, 130-131]; плечи́ма, грошѝма, две^{и}рима *(закарпатські говірки—Мараморощина, Банат)*; л'удѝма, гостѝма, кон'и́ма, плечи́ма, грошѝма *(гуцульслка говірка—Сучавщина*: с. Арджел); с пличи́ма (and пличмѝ) *(степові говірки—Добруджа)*; с плечі́ма, с плич і́ма *(закарпатські говірки—Мараморощина* : села По́ляни, Вишня Рівна) [From my notes recorded during the period 1957-1968]; pias'c' z pal'c'óma, dn'óma, dvóma dn'óma predže, l'ivaróma, tovaryšóma, kral'óma, bohačóma; verh zádnymy láboma, muchoma; bur'oma, ružoma, dьín'oma; tíłoma, iaróma; pol'óma, nasín'oma *(закарпатські говірки)* [I. Pan'kevyč, 20, 207 -208; 220, 226; 237, 242]; отец' з сино́ма, з вутц'о́ма [I. H. Čerednyčenko, 6, 56]; брато́ма, сынома, зубома [V. I. Doboš, 9, 8]; išlý chašcóma *(закарпатські говірки)* [I. Pan'kevyč, 20, 208, 226]; дубо́ма, кушчо́ма (and сина́ма) *(гуцульська*

говірка - Сучавщина : с. Арджел) [Examples collected from students' work in 1969].

List of abbreviations

Грам. - Грамота.
Дух. грам. Клим. Новгород. XIII ст. - Духовна грамота Климентія Новгородського XIII ст.
Жит. Ниф., 1219 - Житиє Нифонта, 1219 р.
з творів Галят. - І. Галятовський.
Ипат. лет. - Іпатіївський літопис XV ст.
І. Виш. - І. Вишенський.
І. Галят. - І. Галятовський.
Лавр. лет. - Лаврентіївський літопис 1377 р.
Остр. бібл. 1581 - Острозька біблія 1581 р.
Пересоп. єв. XVI ст. - Пересопницьке євангеліє XVI ст.
Поуч. В. Мон. - Поученіє Володимира Мономаха.
Слово - Слово о полку Ігоревім.
Учит. єв. XVI ст. - Учительні євангелія XVI ст.

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ВУЛИЧНИЦЬКІ АРҐОТИЗМИ В ТВОРАХ І. МИКИТЕНКА Й Л. ПЕРВОМАЙСЬКОГО

ОЛЕКСА ГОРБАЧ

Зацікавлення міcько-'пролетарською' тематикою в українській підсовєтській літературі післяреволюційної доби привело й до лексичного ілюстрування "суржикового" українсько-російського мововжитку того середовища арґотизмами. Перше місце зайняла при тому проблема безпритульних, чиє вуличницько-правопорушницьке арґо вирішно вплинуло на міський школярський сленґ. Громадянська бо війна, пошесті й голод стали причиною небувалого розросту по осередньо—й східньоукраїнських містах маси безпритульних (їх число оцінювано в СРСР на 1922 р. на 7 000 000),[1] що поповнили лави малолітніх правопорушників, скріплювані в Одесі, Ростові й на Кавказі щозими наплилими з Москви й Ленінграду співтоваришами недолі. Для безпритульних дітей створено тоді ж і в УРСР "колектори": справа набрала гостроти в педагогіці як їхньої ресоціялізації. Фольклористів зацікавило їхнє арґо та пісенний фольклор, що їх у нас записували В. Петров[2] та В. Білецька[3]—перший у 1925-26 рр. в окружних колекторах (таборах праці зі шкільно-навчальною програмою) Житомирському, Запорізькому, Київському й Черкаському, друга в 1923 р. в Харкові. Подібно під 90 арґотизмів (лиш у російському фонетичному оформленні) з інтернатів для безпритульних на Полтавщині 1920-26 рр. і в Куряжі під Харковом 1926-32 рр. приводить А. С. Макаренко у свойому описі-спогаді ресоціялізаційних намагань (*Педагогическая поэма, 1933-35*, Москва, 1952).[4] Арго безпритульних не різниться надто від правопорушницько-вуличницького,[5] а тісно пов'язане воно й зі школярсько-студентським.[6]

Арґотичні системи характеристичні для всяких замкнених у собі суспільно-професійних ґруп, головно—мандрівних; арґо там це засіб мовного взаєморозпізнавання ґрупової співприналежности поза місцем постійного перебування, напр. у мандрівних крамарів і ремісників, а то й "цехової" співприналежности у прошаків і лірників у нас у минулому. Через свою ж незрозумілість (для неспівприналежних) у правопорушників воно ніби засіб таємного порозуміння в присутності невтаємничених чи наміченої жертви крадіжу (тому то в загалу витворилося враження,

мовляв, це й є первісна й єдина функція арґо: ним тому зацікавилися найперше поліційні урядники).

Такі знані на Україні арґотичні системи це: семінарсько-школярське арго,[7] арґо подільських лірників і кобзарів,[8] підхарківських сліпців ("невлів"),[9] чернігівських прошаків,[10] західноволинських кожухарів,[11] південно-лемківських горшколатів (пряшівських "дрітарів").[12] Із сусідсько-мовних термінів відомі записи таких дальших ремісничо-крамарських ґруп, що на мандрах заходили й на Україну (а отже заносили сюди й свої вирази): білоруських прошаків, капелюшників ("шаповалів") і шерстобитів (тріпачів вовни),[13] польських торговців образами святців ("охвесьників")[14] чи таки найбільше російських крамарів ("офень").[15] Усі такі ремісницько-крамарські арґотичні системи заникли в 2-гій половині 19-го та в 20-ому віці—з розростом промислу й залізничного транспорту. Окремі ж арґотизми взаємопроникали з системи в систему, назви для зв'язаних із даною професією предметів чи понять залишалися різними. Місцями такого взаємопроникання ставали нічлігарні, тюрми й місця заслань. В тих останніх—зокрема по тюрмах і в Сибіру—вони посилено проникали і в мову політв'язнів та засланців, а звідти після 1917 р. ставали мовною признакою неодного мовця, його "геройського минулого", а що ним він хизувався (при тому не важне, чи він у тюрмах і побував!). Що численніша й суспільно-вагоміша "арґомовна" якась група, тим триваліші й поширеніші і в позаарґотичнім середовищі її арґотизми. До таких належать: матроське й вояцьке арго від часу створення численніших постійних армій,[16] проступницько-вуличницьке,[17] бурсацько-школярське й студентське.[18] Скупчення їх мовців-носіїв по великих містах (у нас: Одеса, Київ, Харків, Львів) дало підставу витворенню міського сленґу, який став розрізнювати назверх у мові (велико)-міських "досвідчених бувальців" від неознайомлених із ним "селюхів."

У часах, коли виникали названі арґотичні системи, наші землі перебували в складі різних держав, то ж відповідно до того ті арґотичні системи, що посиленіше розвивалися в 19-20 вв. (проступницько-вуличницькі, школярські та міський сленґ), різняться поміж собою й пов'язані з арґо мов тих державних організмів, куди тоді політично належали. Так постали осередньосхідні арґотично-сленґові системи Києва-Одеси-Харкова, пов'язані з арґо-сленґом Петербурга-Москви-Ростова, західні Львова—пов'язане з арго-сленґом Кракова-Варшави, Черновець—з елементами румунського, а Закарпаття—з мадярськими (і в меншій мірі—чеським). Але й довкільні наші говірки насичували цей сленґ

своїми вульгаризмами та метафорно й метонімно переосмисленими виразами.

Тоді як "професійні" (ремісницькі, крамарські, лірницькі) арґотичні системи користувалися різними "засекречувальними" засобами з безліччю слововаріянтів (напр. аферезою/деформацією словоназвуку, інфіксами, спеціяльними чи зміненими суфіксами й інтерполяційними складами, метонімними переосмислюваннями, позичаннями з новогрецької, циганської, румунської, мадярської, тюркських мов чи й з німецького арґо "ротвельшу" почерез арґо їддішу), то засоби й джерела нового східньо-українського вуличницько-проступницького арґо інші. Це, найперше, метафорні переосмислення, емоційні відвигукові утворення, іншосуфіксні перекручення (кожночасно з якоюсь гумористичною асоціяцією до іншого слова з такими наростком), а серед позичень—тут головно тюркізми й їддішизми.[19]

До письменників, що використовували вуличницько-проступницькі арґотизми (головно Одеси й Харкова) для мовної характеристики своїх персонажів належали головно Іван Микитенко (1897-1937), Гордій Брасюк[20] та Леонід Первомайський (1908-73); цей останній в "Інтермедійних" сценах драми *Ваграмова ніч* (1933), де їх понад 30.[21] Її дія відбувається "в одному південному місті": йдеться про момент вибуху большевицького повстання проти денікінців зсинхронізовано з наступом недалеких фронтових частин Червоної армії. Як не враховувати здеморалізованих добрармійських офіцерів, що закидають сленґізмами, то арґомовними постатями є два безпритульні в жанрових сценах. Типових вуличницьких арґотизмів небагато: зекс! 'небезпека!' (мабуть, циган, дзет 'масло' як калька нім. арґот. Butter '(вартовий) салдат,' адідеоване до нім. sechs 'шість', з чого нове сх.-укр. арґ шестая! 'небезпека!'),[22] марафет 'кокаїна' (араб.-осман. márifet 'сприт, штука; засіб; знання, звідки й степове марафе́ти' 'розкрашені взори на надвірній стіні хати'), підстрелити 'випрошакувати', фраєр 'мужчина, неблатний' (нім. арг. Freier 'жертва злодія; клієнт проститутки'). Частково це русизми: гроб 'домовина', мамаша 'мати', папаша 'батько', фонаришко 'ліхтарик', вульґаризми: гади 'поганці'; салдати 'жандармерії', гади богові 'офіцери', жерти 'їсти', надути 'обманути', накласти повні штани 'перелякатися', заливати 'балакати мило', перепеличка 'повія', розводити теревені 'балакати', турнуть 'зіштовхнути', фіялка з калюжі 'горілка, самогон', стеровий діялектизм: роба 'сукенка' (італ. roba 'сукня'), підпільницько-арґ. хвіст 'шпик (що слідкує за жертвою)', поширені за громадянської війни сленґізми: вивести в розход / поставити

до стінки / розміняти / шльопнути 'розстріляти', колокольчики 'банкноти Добрармії (від зображення московського "Царя-колокола" на них). Цікава поява емоційного "сленгового" суфіксу -уха: братуха 'брат', голодуха 'голод', житуха 'життя' (пор. нинішнє: показуха 'ніби-досягнення, липа, туфта').

Куди насиченішою вуличницькими арґотизмами виявляється проза І. Микитенка: в опов. "Вуркагани" (1927)[23] та повість *Ранок* (1933);[24] в оповіданні їх понад 90, в повісті понад 320, при чому спільних в обидвох творах всього 30, інакших же в "Вуркаганах" понад 60, себто разом у Микитенка понад 380 вуличницько-проступницьких арґотизмів.

Обставини, процес поставання й особливості Микитенкової прози обговорює (на підставі архівів письменника) Микола Д. Родько,[25] в тому створення "Вуркаганів" і *Ранку*,—виправляючи при тому твердження Арсена Іщука,[26] мовляв, над *Ранком* письменник став працювати безпосередньо після "Вуркаганів" (1928 р.), с. 185. З безпритульними письменник зустрівся двічі: 1922-26 рр. в Одесі та в 1933 р., в трудовій колонії у с. Ладин бл. Прилук.

І. Микитенко (6.IX.1897-4.X.1937) народився в селянській сім'ї в с. Рівнім на Кіровоградщині, в 1910-14 рр. відвідував фельчерську військову школу в Херсоні, після чого служив на півн.-зах. й півдзах. фронтах, у 1922-26 рр. став студіювати медицину в Одесі (закінчав студії 1928 р. в Харкові) й тут поринув 1924 р. в літературне життя (як член "Гарту"), переїхав 1926 р. до Харкова, де друкує оповідання й п'єси на сільські й маломістечкові теми з революційної романтики. Головокружна письменницька карієра винесла його в секретарі ВУСПП у (1927), відбув поїздку закордон (1928 на 1-ий з'їзд пролетар. письменників Німеччини), 1931-37 член уряду УССР (ВУЦВиконКому), 1934 р. голова 1-го Всесоюзного з'їзду письменників у Москві, з 1935 р. брав участь у міжнародних антифашистських конґресах захисту культури в Парижі та 1937 р. в Мадріді. Причини й обставини ліквідації письменника не відомі: мабуть, був розстріляний, як поголовно й інші керівні підсовєтські учасники Інтернаціональної бриґади, евакуйованої до СССР після перемоги франкістів восени 1937 р. (за критику Сталінової політики!). Микитенко ж брав ще влітку 1937 р. участь в "антифашистському конґресі" (враз із керівними комуністичними письменниками Німеччини, Мадярщини, Данії, Франції) в Мадріді, Барцельоні й Валенсії, виступаючи й перед бійцями (див. примітка ч. 22, с. 15).

Оповідання "Вуркагани" з побуту одеських безпритульних початку 1920-их рр. це історія дружби юного скульптора Альоші

й Матроса, де виведено цілу галерію вуличницьких типів, щедро характеризованих з мовного погляду арґотизмами. Його продовженням—темою ресоціялізації малолітніх проступників, частково з тотожніми персонажами—й є повість Ранок, що появилася за рік скоріше до спогадів А. Макаренка; опублікована вперше в журналі *Радянська література*, чч. 4-7, 1933 р. (с. 189),[27] звалася первісно *Над розбитим гніздом* (згодом це підтитул, що в дальшому був випущений) й передруковувалася кількакратно в 1933-37 рр., в тому й у перекладах на мови рос., нім. і їддіш (с. 189-90).[28] За М. Родьком (с. 186),[29] Микитенко—згідно зі спогадами самого письменника—на заохоту А. Хвилі з лютого 1933 р. опрацювати тему ресоціялізації неповнолітніх правопорушників—їздив декілька разів у трудову комуну ҐПУ в с. Ладин (у повісті: Ладош) бл. Прилук, засновану 1929 р. й приміщену в кол. манастирі, вивчаючи побут ресоціялізованих, обговорюючи тему повісти з керівниками; готував її до 5-тих роковин заснування кольонії. Мотив 1-шої частини—ліквідації манастиря як "контрреволюційного білогвардійсько-петлюрівського гнізда"— розробив іще в антинаціональній пропаґандивній драмі *Бастілія Божої Матери* (1933). Літературно-моральних вартостей цеї п'єси (совєтсько-пропаґандивної "криміналки") ні паралельної змістом і характером 1-шої частини *Ранку* тут не заторкуватимемо. В 2-гій частині Микитенко вивів цілі групи постатей вуркаганів у процесі їх ресоціялізування на тлі співпраці з сільським комсомолом. У Ладош привів і обидві центральні постаті "Вуркаганів" Марка Леваду й скульптора Альошу. Про заплянований совпатріотичний 2-гий том *Ранку* з Біломорканалом розповідає М. Родько на підставі накреслень автора (с. 191-2).[30] Отже *Ранок* постав не безпосередньо після "Вуркаганів".[31]

Арґотизми вживаються в *Ранку* і в відавторській розповіді,[32] але таки головно в мові персонажів (теж у їх внутрішніх монологах). В 5-х випадках автор розкрив у примітках значення вжитих арґотизмів.[33] Скрізь інде їх залишено догадливості читача. М. Родько[34] (с. 183) налічує їх усього "біля 70-ти" (за нашим підрахунком—понад 320), рахуючи, мабуть, лиш блатняцькі "термінологізми" (ми взяли тут до уваги ширший, сленґовий мововжиток повісти).

Для кращої значеннєвої пов'язаности вирази в дальшому подаються за ґрупами: I: тіло/функції; II: їжа/напитки; III: одяг/взуття; IV: розвага/гри; V: окремі предмети/місця/гроші; VI: прикмети; VII: сім'я/суспільство/звання; VIII: суперечка/бійка/вбивство/зброя; IX: злодії/крадіж/обман; X: полі-

ція/арешт/присуд/тюрма.

За основу взято вирази *Ранку* (1969); вирази з "Вуркаганів" (1956) позначені зіркою (перед сторінкою).

I. вареник 'ніс' 241; горб 'плечі' 237; карточка 'обличчя' *68, *93; кумпол 'голова' 285; морда 'пика' *95; сапатка 'ніс' 284; рило 100 / харя 'пика' 278; храпи 'ніс' *71; юшка 'кров' 235.

ботати 187 / мурчати *147 / тріпа́тися 174 'говорити'; на-тріпа́ти 'наговорити' 326; держати стойку 'стояти' 195; дохнуть 177 / кима́ть[35] *83, *90 'спати'; дряпать 173 / мотать 95 / линяти 170 / змитися 170 'тікати'; рванути кігті 277 / сплітувати[36] 174, 182 / сприснути 169, 277 / чухнути 181, чухати 88 'втекти' одколювати (дотепи) 'розказувати' 108; перти 217 / чапати 306 / топати 170 'йти'; вдаритися 169 / мотнутися 198, 86 'піти'; при-тирити 'принести'[37] 175; двигай 190 / мотнись 86 / валяй 277 'йди вперед'; поганяй 'їдь, від'їжджай!' 174; вуйді *91 / здрючуйся *103 / котись 86 / одскоч 213, *90 'йди геть! відчепися!'; ходу! 'тікай!' 182.

II. рубати 188 / по-, шамать 99, 184 'по-, їсти'[38]; шамовка 'їжа' 88; буханити 'п'яничити' 213; бухануть 88 / зарядитися 89 / нажертися 211 'напитися (горілки)'; бухой в дошку 'зовсім п'яний' 229; під градусом 'напідпитку' 169; півпосудини 'півлітра (горілки)' 88; пропадюка 'погана горілка' 89.

III. балахон 'черенеча ряса' 191; балетки 'туфлі' 172; барахло 'одягові речі' 94; бобка 97 / бабочка *85 / маніжка 195 'сорочка'; майка 'підсорочка-матроска' 97; бока́ 'кишеневий годинник' 99; кальоса 'черевики' 207, *85; кліфт 'піджак'[39] 90, *85; роба 'одяг' *85; чепа 'картуз' *85; шкари 'штани'[40] 97, *85; шкари-кльош 'матроські штани' 99; скула 'бокова кишеня' 90, 91.

IV. амори й коники 'викрутаси в танці' 299; атанде! 'стій (при грі в карти)'[41] 240; болільник 'приглядач, кібіц (при грі)' 239; бура 'рід азартної гри в карти' 168; (строїти) ворота 'мічено загнути ріг карти' 240; достірати 'дообігравати' 173; дути (в буру) 'грати в карти' 236; замазка 'пастка при грі в карти' 240; куш 'ставка при грі в карти'[42] 139; ліверувати (стірки) 'мішати / роздавати карти'[43] 172; лоб 'вершок талії карт' 241; обжулювати 'обігравати' 242; різатися (у стіри) 'грати в карти' 207; сонники 'скинена частина талії' 240; спускати 'обманом непомітно скинути й другу карту при грі' 241; стіри 'карти' 168; стірка 'гра в карти' 168; стос 'рід азартної гри в карти' 108; убитися 'програтися в партії карт' 239; шпилить 'грати в карти'[44] 177.

V. висячка 'колодка-замок' 183; витерки 'квитки на поїзд' 184; вузляк 'вузлик, клунок' 72; гроб 'фотоапарат' 187; дрин 'дрючок' 178; кожа 'портмоне, бумажник'; партабашниця 'циґарниця' 286;

печатати 'фотографувати' 187; піска 'бритва' 91; скрипуха 'корзина' 86; сукнянка 'ковдра' 203; уголок 'чемодан';

бан 'вокзал'[45] 177, *89 (на баню́); благбаз 'Благовіщенський базар у Харкові' 168; боржом 91 / боржомка 175 'нічлігарня безпритульних / блатних, (під баржами)'; жовтий дім 'божевільня' 116; клюка 'церква'[46] 87; магазуха 'магазин' 95; майдан 'поїзд' 279; парадуха 'передній/парадний вхід' 168; хавира 'хата, дім'[47] 83; хазуха 'хата, квартира'[48];

дріб'яки 'дрібні гроші' 182; катеринки 'царські банкноти' 243; копійка 'гроші' 239; лімон 'карбованець' 86; лімони 'гроші'[49] 88; свист 182 / свистон 184 'карбованець'; хруст 'карбованець'[50] 95; черв'яки 'гроші (червінці)' 99.

VI. адью 'пращай!'[51] 88; баба 'коханка' 91; бабуля 'гарна дівчина' 192; бабуха 'дівчина' 227; баланда 'задавацтво' 177; 'розгардіяш' 185; барахло 'нікудишник' *85; барахольний 'нікидишній' 94; барбос 'ланець' [52] 316; блат 'протекція'[53] 206; (діло) блин 'погано, пропаща справа' 90; буза 'дрібниця, єрунда' 74; 'базіканина'[54] 255; в дошку 'прекрасно' 326; в натурі 'очевидно (натурально)' 85; (діло) в шляпі 'поладнане' 136; (діло) вакса 'погано' 145; ваших нєт 'ми зникли' 183; викачатися 'виздоровіти, вилизатися (з ран)' *150; гава 'роззява' 85; гад *81 /гадюка 170 'поганець'; грубо́й, -бо́ 'прекрасний, -сно' 85, 195; гурконути 216 / жарити 218 / рубанути 267 'прочитати (вголос)'; гудіти 'кричати' 95; дешевка 'повія' 176; дрейфить 'боятися'[55] 86; здрефонити 'злякатися' *80; жиганути 'хвацько повести себе' 214; жигун 'відважних' *90; житуха 'життя 85; загнати 'продати' 99; зазноба 'поганець, -нка' 192; закартоженно 'завзято' 178; закручувати 'наладнувати, організувати' 254; заливати 'оповідати' 224; зануда 'поганець' *112; запускати 'оповідати (неправду)' 177; запускати баланду 'агітувати' 210; зараза 'поганець' *88; зекс 'парняга' 177; зекс на зекс 'прекрасний, -сно 85, 195; зелений 'недосвідчений (злодій)' 86; каїн 'скуповувач краденого'[56] 89; клеїти (дурня) 'вдавати (дурного)' 221; котяра 'сутенер проститутки' 97; ламати фасон 'нестися з-горда' 208; лапати місце 'займати (для спання)' 171; лахва́ 'чудово!'[57] 202; лащитися 'підлещуватися' *71; макуха 'м'якохарактерна людина' *93; малахольний 'божевільний' 171; 'нікидишній' '79; малина 'прекрасна справа' 97; маруха 'коханка' 181; мої п'ять 'згода! даю руку' 222; мура 'єрунда'[58] 183; на ура́ 'зухвало, пробоєм' 170; навар 'прекрасна справа' 192; наводити зекс 'важничати' 198; наводити скєс 'бути незадоволеним, відказувати'[59] 188; наводити фасон 'прибратися' 275; наводити фасон на рант 'поставитися гонорово' 323; нахрапом 'ґвалтом' 240; наше вам! 'здорові були' 174; не той

табак 'інша справа' *135; обратно 'знову ж' *133; підкачати 'підвести' 189; підлататись 'поправити своє положення, одяг' 215; піднімати шухер 'зчиняти крик'[60] 225; показати зекс 'виявитися спритним' 86; показувати принцип 'гороїжитися' 201; покалічити 'поруйнувати' 199; пошухерити 'погаласувати трішки' 224; пропадуха 'гибіль, погане життя' 99; психувати 'лютувати' 209, 'втрачати надію' 260, 'дурніти' 181; 'вередувати' 243; (відкабовувати) пташки 'відмічувати прізвища на лісті' 275; рисак 'очайдух' 201; розвратниця 'повія' 93; рукатий 'спритний на руки (злодій)'; рюхнутись 'догадатися' 228; саганий 'довгоногий' *151; смишльоний 'дотепний' 86; спорчена 'зґвалтована' 170; справа на зекс 'прекрасне діло' 170; сука 'поганець' 174; той 'прекрасний' 208; тріпач 'базікало' 222; турчити 'сердитися' 93; туфтовий 'нікудишній'[61] 254; фертом 'елеґантно' 169; фути-нути 'що аж гей! чудово' 86; хай галас' 91; шкондра молдаванська 'поганець'[62] *88; шлюха (копійчана) 'повія' 284; шухер 'галас' 87.

VII. братушка 'брат'; пахан 'батько' 85; паханша 'мати' 85; сеструха 'сестра' 97; хатній 'малоліток-вуличник, що живе при батьках' 84; жлоб 'селянин'[63] 89; жлобиха 'селянка' 188; попиха 'черниця' 191; фраєр 'чолов'яга' 91; шнир 'нічний сторож'[64] 182; штимп 'чолов'яга'[65] 90.

VIII. вичитувати (кому) 286 / жучити 294 / крити 227 / одчитувать (по блатному) 253 / припечатати по блатному 255 'ви-, лаяти'; мура 'суперечка; бійка; єрунда' 169; 183; по-,шухерити 224 / шуміти 'по-,галасувати'; шелест 316 / шухер 87 'крик';

амба 'кінець, смерть'[66] 135; віддубасити 'попобити' 100; влетіти кому 'бути побитим' *71; да(ва)ти в вухо / глаз 194 / здачі 253 / форсу[67] 195 / двигати 190 / дзвизнути 139 / дризнути 68 / колупнути 68 / лупити 100 / навішати пачок 191 / дати пачку 207 / привісити пачку 264 / почепити лямбу 95 / стукнути 176 / тяпнути (по губах) 295 'набити, вдарити (по лиці); пачка 'удар по лиці'[68] 207; розквасити (ніс) 'розбити до крови' 241; завалити 213 / рішити *87 / укокошити 230 'вбити'; цокнути 'застрелити' 169;

машина / пушка 'револьвер' 169; перо 201 / фінка / фіняк 169 'ніж'.

IX. барахольщик 'дрібний злодюжка' 291; блат: по блату (дати / бити) 'по-щирому; по-злодійськи' 196, 207; блатний 'злодійсько-босяцький; злодій із демі-монду' 89, 207; блатня 'вуличники' 228; босяк 'вуличник' 100; бражка 'члени шайки'; брати на арапа 272 / на понт[69] 243 'обманювати'; (спати) валетом 'тісно колінами до себе, а головами від себе' 85; взяти (хавиру) 'обікрасти' 168; відтирити 'відштовхнути' 100; влипнути 'попастися' *146; воздушник 'що з

возів селянських краде' 86; воспитувать / -тати 'на-, вчити злодійського ремесла' 84; вуркаган / урган 'безпритульний малоліток'[70] *114, 175; гоп со смиком 'провідник шайки' 238; з-/по-, горіти 'попастися при крадіжу' 88, 90; горловий, -вик 'грабіжник-убивник' 84, 91; діло 'крадіжка' 179; в долі 'у спілці' 91; домашній 'свій' 169; жиган 'досвідчений босяк' 194; жиганути 'забосячити' 214; загнати 'продати' 99; закон 'прийняті злодійські правила чести' 93; закручувати 'організувати діло' 254; засипати 'зрадити, заденунціювати'[71] 84; засипатися (в дризг) 'попастися (безнадійно)' *104, 179; зафармазонити 'привласнити собі' *152; збондити [72] 238 / зняти (в поїзді) 183 'вкрасти'; зирити 'спостерігати' 92; зсучитися 'відійти від блатних' 193; каїн 'скуповувач краденого' 89; качати правилки 'судити злодійським самосудом' 89; клюкач 'обкрадач церков' 86; клюнути (-нуло) 'пощастити при крадіжі' 93; корень 84 корінний 80 / кореш 89 / корішок *68 'спільник при крадінні'; корешування 'спільництво' 279; корішувати 'красти в спілці' *144; котяра 'утриманець проститутки' 97; лазити 'ходити красти' 83; лазити по откритках 'красти з квартир уранці, як повідчинювані вікна' 182; лапати місце 'займати' 171; ліверовщик 'помічник кишеньковця' 83; ліверувати 'роздавати карти' 172; майданщик 'злодій валізок; поїздовий злодій' 86; малина 'прекрасна річ' 97; маліна 'злодійський приют'[73] 89; по-/об-мити, обмивати, 'обкрадати сонних, п'яних' 86, 175, 219; мойщик 'обкрадач сонних, п'яних' 84; мокре діло 'вбивство' 168; по мокрому ділу (ходити) 'грабувати (і з убивством)' 86; мокріст 'грабіжник-убивник' 86; наколоти 'остерегти жертву', 'запримітити / пізнати злодія при крадіжі' 91-2; наколотий 'запримічений' 93; нальотчик 'грабіжник' 86; натягти 'накрасти' 211; отаман 'вожака шайки' *90; по откритках 'обкрадання квартир над ранком крізь відкрите вікно' 182; отряха 'вуличник' *154, 319; пацан 'хлопчак' 73; перетирювать 'передавати спільникові вкрадене кишеньковцем' 86; підвести під манастир 'обманути (надію)' 316; підгадити 109 / підкачати 189 / підсаджувати 95 'підвести', 'засипатися через незручність' 95; позичати 'вкрасти' 182; покалічити 'згвалтувати' 223; приймати (кожу) 'красти (бумажник), перебирати крадене від спільника-кишенковця' 91; прийняти 'вкрасти' 99; при-, тарабанити 'принести' 325; притирювати 'піддати вкрадене кишеньковцеві' 84, 90; притир! 'витягни з кишені!' 90; притирка 'викрадення з кишені; маскувальне спільникове улегшення кишеневого крадіжу' 87, 91; притирщик 'спільник кишеньковця' 95; ракленята 'вуличники' [74] *137; робота 'крадіж' 93; розбити (кожух) 'ніби ненароком розстібнути проходячи наміченій жертві (кожух)' 92; розписати

'розрізати бритвою' 91; скокар 'нічний вломник' [75] 86; стирити 'вкрасти' 74; стопорщик 'грабіжник' 86; сявка (зелена) 83 / сявло 91 'дрібний злодюжка'; тирити 'нести' 175; на тиху 'тихцем удень крізь відчинене вікно красти з квартири' 86; тихушник 'злодій, що вдень крізь відчинене вікно обкрадає квартири' 86; на ура 'ґвалтом' 170; халамидник 'вуличник' [76] *97; хапати 'красти' *106; на хапок 'красти вириваючи з рук' 84; на цинку 'на варті (стати)' [77] 95; цинкувати 'сторожити, слідкувати' 172; цинковщик 'вартовий спільник' 178; чиркнути 'відрізати' 99; чистий 'незапримічений ніким при краджі' 92; шалман 'корчма блатних; бордель' [78] 208; на шармака (перти) 'йти на риск' [79] 217; ширма 'крадіж із кишень' [80] 89; ширмач 'кишеньковець' 85; шкет 'хлопчак' [81] 77; шпана 'хлопчаки, шайка їх' [82] *79; шухер! шестая! 'небезпека!' 174.

Х. гепеушник 'чекіст' 174; грати на піяніно 'робити дактилоскопічні відтиски' 94; гроза́ 'облава' 89; губа 'гавптвахта' 213; ду(ну)ти 89, 213 / на-, капати 89 / зашухерити 174 'виказати, заденунціювати'; жаба / лягавка 'донощик' 100; забарабати 211 / забарабити 215 'арештувати' [83], здрючити 'зловити, арештувати' 84; зелений картуз 'міліціонер; чекіст' *105; крючок 'міліціонер; каравульник' 306; мільтон 'міліціонер' 92; лягавий 'міліціонер' 192; мент 'міліціонер' [84] 84; поразіть 'напасти, зловити' *89; привод 'арешт у міліції' 177; ромбон 'ромб (як петлична відзнака чекіста)' 225;

бупр 'тюрма' [85] 102; вільна 'присуд на полярний концтабір' 199; допра 'слідча тюрма' [86] *156; іспрадом 'виправно-трудова тюрма' 182; кіча 176 / кічман *89 'тюрма' [87]; колектор 'замкнений виправний табір для малолітків' 170; реформатор(ій) 85, 90 / фарматорій 'виховний заклад для безпритульних'; сєвер 'полярні концтабори' 199; чулан 'тюрма' [88] *139.

Як порівняти повищий список із часово близькими записами В. Петрова [89] чи В. Білецької, [90] то можна сказати, що Микитенко вірно відтворив лексичний склад вуличницького арґо Одеси; що найвище частіше україщив його фонетику. У відрізненні від раніших записів [91] Микитенків арґотичний словник виявляє глибокі зміни щодо появи етранжизмів: дуже обмежено виступають новогрецизми (клюка), циганізми (ракленята), тюркізми (шалман), румунізми (шкондра), мадяризми (хазуха), польонізми (жлоб), куди раніше ґерманізми (бан, штимп, фраєр, шпилити) — в тому й нім. ротвельш почерез арго їддішу (хавира, маліна, кліфт, шухер, зекс). Зате дуже зросло число русизмів: фонетичних (кальоса, смишльоний, стіри, шеста́я), морфологічних (бухо́й, грубо́й), словотвірних (зі суфіксом -чик / щик: мойщик, ліверовщик,

притирщик) і лексичних (воспитувать, розвратниця, в-уйді, ваших нєт, в шляпі); цікаві при тому й кальки: лягавий (первісно 'рід ловецького собаки'), з чого лягавка 'денунціянт', адідеоване до рос. лягу́шка 'жаба', і звідти укр. калька-переклад жаба 'денунціянт, міліціонер'. Названі русизми це вислід ще не перетравленого укр. мовою стихією міського рос.-укр. мовного ‹‹суржика›› Одеси й інших міст України (Харкова, Києва, Дніпропетровська), а виниклого зі схрещувань укр. і рос. кольонізації нашого Півдня упродовж 19-20 вв.

Помітно зросло число сленґово-емоційних утворень із суфіксом -уха (магазуха, парадуха, сеструха, пропадуха), а з етранжизмів типу раціон, авкціон виділився ‹‹суфікс›› -он (свистон, ромбон), а що ним у 1940-50-ті роки почато утворювати нові сленґізми-кольоквіялізми (випив-о́н, закус-о́н, перепихон-чик 'coitio'). Як не рахувати відвигукових та відвульґаризмових утворів, то на основне ядро тут складаються метафори й метонімії-синекдохи. Серед первісно-термінологізмів—часті картярські (в тому й французькі етранжизми: понт, куш, атанде!).

ПРИМІТКИ

1. Безпризорность. *Большая Советская Энциклопедия*, т. 5, Москва 1927, с. 786; Дитяча безпритульність. *Енциклопедія Українознавства*, ч. II, с. 516, Париж-Ню-Йорк 1955.

2. Петров, Віктор: З фольклору правопорушників. *Етнографічний Вісник*, ч. 2, с. 44-60, Київ 1926: акалєчіть 'вкрасти', балябáс 'сало', бан 'вокзал', блатнóй 'свій; купець крадених речей', бопка 'сорочка', бочкú 'годинник', бузá ''ніщо', буцóй 'п'яний', вúдра 'витрих-ключ', волúніть 'нарікати', волинка 'нарікання', гарбáч 'грабіжник', гóпца-смúком / гоп со смиком 'кличка злодія', грач 'ґава, роззява', грубó / грубúй 'гарно / гарний', на декóхті (сидіти) 'без грошей; голодний', дрефýн 'боягуз', дрін 'кий, ціпок', жлоб 'мужик; дурний', захóдить в бутилку 'сердитися', закнацать 'спостерегти', заваліться 'попастися при краджі', загонять 'продавати', засипаться 'зрадитися, бути виданим, застопорíть 'затримати, спинити', зашухерувáтися 'попастися', зблатовать 'вкрасти', звонок 'собака', кальнýть 'вкрасти', карáти 'самоцвіти', кúча / кічмáн 'тюрма', дать клáду 'попобити', кокарда 'дамський револьвер', колектор 'дитячий виправно-виховний табір праці', корєшóк 'приятель, товариш', косáя 'тисяча карбованців', куш 'наддаток, лихва', легавий / лягавий міліціонер, аґент карного

розшуку', ляга́ва 'станиця міліції; карний розшук', майда́н 'поїзд', малохо́льний 'дурнуватий', мали́на 'хата, (злодійська) квартира', маліна 'нічлігарня', машіна 'револьвер', мільто́н / мільто́шка 'міліціонер', мирошка 'суддя' (первісно: 'мировий с.'), на широку ногу 'розкішно, чудово', павлушка 'двірник' пацан, 'хлопець, хлопчак', по-/калєчіть 'по-/бити', покоцати 'порозстрілювати', пріпаять 'присудити', риже 'золото', свічка 'рушниця', сидір 'мішок', сідор 'клунок з речами', скаме́йка 'кінь', скрипу́ха 'корзина, кошіль, слабо́ / слабительно 'не під силу', спу́лить 'вкрасти', стіркі 'карти (для гри)', сто со смиком 'доволі', сухо́й 'без грошей', на тіху́ю 'крадіж уночі', то́пать 'йти (помалу)', ту́ча 'базар', уко́цать 'убити', у́рка / уркан / уркаган 'злодій, злодюжка', фарматорія 'тюрма', фарто́вий 'відчайний', фарто́вець 'очайдух', фінскоє пєро 'фінський ніж', фомка 'лом', фонар 'синяк (під оком),' форменно 'добре, як слід', фра́єр 'не злодій, людина', хавіра 'квартира, кімната', ха́за 'дім, квартира', халатно 'недбало', чепа 'картуз', чмель 'гаманець', ша́ляр 'інструмент відчиняти замки', ша́мать 'їсти', шамовка 'їжа', ши́рма 'кишеня', ширма́ч 'злодій-кишеньковець', шкет 'хлопчак; парібчак', шнир '(нічний) сторож', шпа́лєр / шпа́лір / шпаєр 'револьвер', шпана́ 'братія, друзі', штимп 'чолов'яга; окрадений', шухір (на бану́) 'тривога; бережися!'

3. Білецька, В: З студій над сучасними піснями. (До історії походження й розвитку однієї пісні р. 1923-го). *Етнографічний Вісник*, ч. 2, с. 38-43, Київ 1926: батя 'священик', бура 'рід газардової гри', губтуча 'базар у Полтаві, чорна біржа', дікофт 'гроші' (сидіти на дікофті 'бути без грошей'), загнать 'продати', кича 'тюрма', коренний 'ватажок злодійської шайки; товариш крадіжу', кумпол 'баня', лапа 'хабар', мент 'міліціонер', плітовать 'іти (слідом)', сплітовать 'втекти', роба 'одяг', стос 'газардова гра в карти на зразок гарби', прометать 'програти (гроші)', благбаз 'Благовіщенський базар у Харкові'.

4. Макаренко, Антон С.: *Педагогическая поэма*, Москва 1952: аврал 'крик', алла 'багацько', (там вшей—алла!), барахло '(крадені) одягові речі', башка́ 'голова', блатнячка 'вуличниця', брать за жабры 'за морду', буза́ 'бунт', бузовый 'ненадійний', влопаться 'попасти(ся)', водолаз 'священик', волынить 'затягати справу', выбить бубну 'побити', вытя́жки 'рід чобіт', глот 'заправило-визискувач малолітніх', гляде́лки 'очі', грак 'селянин, селюх', грубая баба 'прекрасна жінка', дать по шапке 'побити', дачка 'койка', двигать в ухо / двинуть в рыло 'вдарити по лиці', двустволка заряженна приблизительно на мамонта 'ніби, буцімто', дрейфить 'злякатися', завинтить 'заініціювати', закрывать трубу

'кінчати розмову', засыпаться 'попастися', испариться 'непомітно спрятатися', исусик 'пришелепуватий', кагор 'вино; горілка', каин 'скуповувач краденого', карандаш 'хлопчак', клифт 'одяг', коза 'старий станок', колотить по башкам 'бити', комса́ 'комсомолець', кондёр 'суп, їжа', корешо́к 'товариш', крыть 'бити (в дискусії)', кумпол 'голова', лататься 'вдавати порядного', ломаться 'задаватися', лопать 'їсти', малина 'злодійська квартира', мироед 'куркуль', мокрый 'п'яний', (мокрое дело 'справа пов'язана з убивством'), мурлякать 'говорити', наливаться 'запиватися', насобачиться 'впертися, завзятися', отдуваться 'оборонятися від закидів', отчубучить (сапоги) 'справити', париться 'лютувати', пацан 'хлопчак', первак 'самогон (високопроцентний)', пижон 'коханець заміжньої', плыви́ в исходное положение 'завертай, звідки прийшов!', подкачать 'підвести', попасть в трудный переплёт 'знайтися в трудному положенні', подоконник 'влом', подорвать 'втекти', получить расписку 'бути порізаним ножем', приклепать (секретарем) 'обрати', приспи́чить 'притиснути', психический 'несповна розуму', разва́лка 'широка хода похитуючися', разукраси́ть 'побити кого', ско́карь 'вломник', собачка 'визискуваний старшими хлопчак для роздобування грошей', сорваться 'не витримати, втекти', спереть 'вкрасти', старика́шка 'старичок', стопорщик 'грабіжник', сявка 'дрібний злодій; погань', съездить 'побити', тальма́ 'безрукавий плащ', (твоё дело) сторона 'тобі тут нічого робити, 'у́рка / уркаган 'вуличник', финка 'ніж', хламида 'плащ', хле́бний то́карь 'дармоїд', чепа 'шапка, картуз', ша́мать 'їсти', шамовка 'харч', шкет 'хлопчак', шпана 'негідники', шу́херы 'галас'.

5. Пор. наші статті: Правопорушницькі східньо-українські арґотизми в дотичних словниках і в літературі перед І-ою світовою війною. *Науковий збірник УВУ*, т. 8, с. 14-28, Мюнхен-Н.Йорк-Париж-Вінніпеґ 1974; Львівські проступницько-тюремницько арґотизми (до 1930-их років). *НЗб УВУ*, т. 10, с. 296-326, Мюнхен 1983; про рос. арґо: Русские арготические системы. *Hamburger Beiträge für Russischlehrer*, Bd. 28 (Russische Sprache und Literatur der Gegenwart in Unterricht und Forschung. Materialen des Internationalen MAPRJAL-Symposiums, Mainz, 5.-8.X.1981), Hamburg 1982, s. 63-82.—Теж новіше перевидання: Козловский, Владимир: *Собрание русских воровских словарей в 4-х томах*, New York 1983.

6. Пор. Горбач, О.: Арґо українських школярів і студентів, *Наукові записки УВУ*, ч. 8, с. 174-224, Мюнхен 1966, — там і огляд раніших матеріялів.

7. Дзендзелівський, Йосип О.: Український бурсацько-

семінарський жаргон середини XIX ст. *Studia Slavica*, v. 25, pp. 97-104, Budapest 1979,—про *Любораць*ких А. Свидницького.

8. Пор. Горбач, О.: Арґо українських лірників, *і записки УВУ*, в. I, с. 7-44, Мюнхен 1957,- там і раніші матеріяли.

9. Пор. Горбач, О.: Арґо слобожанських сліпців ("невлів"), *Науковий збірний УВУ*, т. 7, с. 136-48, Мюнхен 1971.

10. Тиханов, П.: Черниговские старцы / псалки и криптоглоссон. *Труды Черниговской Губернской Архивной Комиссии за 1899-1900 гг.*, в 2, с. 65-118, Чернигов 1900.- Мовну аналізу цього матеріялу подає наша стаття: Арґо чернігівських прошаків. *Збірник на пошану Я. Рудницького* (в друку).

11. Дзендзелівський, Йосип О.: Арґо нововижвівських кожухарів на Волині. *Studia Slavica*, v. 23, pp. 289-333, Budapest 1977,—(м. Нова Вижва—між Ковелем і Ратним).

12. Дзендзелівський, Йосип О.: Про арґо спиських дротарів, ж. *Дукля*, 1975, ч. 5, с. 71-73 (Пряшів). - З уваги на недоступність цеї публікації передруковуємо поданих там бл. 30 арґотизмів з Орябини: бапка 'причіпок, лежанка ', булета 'scrotum, orchea', булька́ти 'спати', вымкну́ти 'утекти, залишити роботу', (йти з) гадва́бом 'на дротарку', госпо́да 'найнята квартира на дротарці', по-,дупчи́ти, 'coire', здеп(ак), 'скупар', зуброва́ти 'їсти', зуброва́ня 'їда', кырма́ґа 'рука; нога', кытняк 'низький ростом учень дротаря', ку́рка 'грошова одиниця' (корона, динар, пенґ, лей), курятина́, нка 'дівчина, молода жінка', ку́тень 'живіт', люля́ти 'спати', ма́нґа 'жіноча грудь', нітка 'дріт', обши́ти 'обманути', плайвас 'penis', поло́тно 'бляха', торба 'скринька з інструментами дротаря', ха́йда 'vulva', цвірна 'дріт', ціди́ло 'скринька з інструментами', фітю́лік 'чарочка; неслухняний учень дротаря', футровати 'їсти', фушерме́йстер 'партач'.

13. Микуцький, С. П.: Областные слова белорусских старцев. *Материалы для сравнительного и обьяснительного словаря и грамматики*, изд. II-го отделения АН, СПб 1854. с. 400, (65 арґ.); Сцепуро, Ф.: Русско-нищенский словарь, составленный из разговора нищих Слукого уезда, Минской губернии, местечка Семежова. *Записки АН*, т. 37, с. 188-97, СПб 1881, і: *Сборник ОРЯС*, т. 21, с. XXIII-XXXIV, СПб 1881 (ок. 735 арґ.); Романов, Е. Р.: Очерк быта нищих Могилевской губернии и их условный язык (любецкий лемент). *Этнографическое обозрение*, Москва 1890, ч. 2, с. 118-45; Катрушницкий лемезень (Условный язык шерстобитов м. Дрибина) *Живая старина*, СПб 1890, т. 1, с. 9-16; Катрушницкий лемезень, условный язык Дрибинских шаповалов. *Сборник ОРЯС*, т. 71, 3, СПб 1901, с. 1-44 (ок. 750 арґ.).

14. Budziszewska, Wanda: *Żargon ochwesnicki*. Łódzkie T—wo Naukowe, Wydział I, nr. 26, Łódz 1957.—Огляд поль. арготичного матеріялу див. Horbatsch; O.: Deutsches Lehngut in polnischen Sondersprachen (Gauner–, Pennaler-, Studenten- und Soldatensprache). *Deutsch-polnische Sprachkontakte*, Böhlau-Verlag, Köln 1987, S. 57-87.

15. Бондалетов, В. Д.: *Условные языки русских ремесленников и торговцев, в. 1. Условные языки как особый тип социальных диалектов*, Рязань 1974.- Бібліографічні дані див. теж наші примітки, ч. 5 й 9.

16. Горбач, О.: Арґо українських вояків. *Наукові записки УВУ*, в. 7, с. 138-73, Мюнхен 1963.

17. Див. прим. 5.

18. Див. прим. 6.

19. Horbatsch, O.: Lexikale und Wortbildungselemente des ukrainischen Argots. *Opera Slavica*, Bd. IV: Slawistische Studien zum V. Internationalen Slawistenkongress in Sofia 1963, s. 261-80, Göttingen 1963.

20. Про нього див. гасло Брасюк Гордій, *Енциклопедія українознавства, Словникова частина*, Париж-Н. Йорк 1955, с. 173: зб. опов. "Безпутні", 1927, "В потомках", 1929, роман *Донна Анна*, 1929, арештований у 1930-их рр.- В оп. "Безпутні", передрукованому у зб. *По той бік греблі*, Львів 1943, з життя безпритульних, знайдеться під два десятки арґотизмів: барахло 'одягові речі', бичок 'окурок', блатан, блаток, блатной 'буличник-проступник', дрефити 'побоятися', загнати 'продати', коцати, коцнути 'вбивати, вбити', маліна 'криївка', масóл 'дурень', махра 'махорка', накласти кому 'набити', пацан 'хлопчина', поюдити 'зрадити', робити темну кому 'бити', з-, робити шурум-бурум 'продати, проміняти', скрипуха 'корзина', слабó вам а дзуськи!', стибрить, стібрить 'вкрасти', толкучка 'базар', ушийсь 'йди геть!', шамовка 'їжа', шпалер 'револьвер', шпана 'нечлени шайки', шухер на бану 'тривога'.

21. Користуємося виданням Первомайський, Л.: *Твори в 3-х томах*, Київ 1958-59, т. 3, с. 85-149: *Ваграмова ніч. Сцени з трагедії*, (1933).

22. Німецькі арґотизми цитуємо за історичним словником "ротвельшу" Wolf, Siegmund A.: *Wörterbuch des Rotwelschen. Deutsche Gaunersprache*. Mannheim 1956 (за числами лексем).

23. Користуємося виданням Микитенка, І.: *Повісті про дітей*, Київ 1956, "Вуркагани", с. 66-157.

24. Користуємося виданням Микитенка, І.: *Ранок*, Київ 1969.

25. Родько, Микола Д.: *Проза Івана Микитенка*, Київ 1960.

26. Іщук, Арсен: Іван Микитенко. В кн. Микитенко, І.: *Вибрані*

твори в 2-х томах, т. I (П'єси), Київ 1957, с. 12.

27. Див. прим. 25.

28. Див. прим. 25.

29. Див. прим. 25.

30. Див. прим. 25.

31. Див. наша примітка, ч. 22, с. 168: "... Потому Саша відчув, як у його ліричне серце тихо ввійшло бажання згуляти в стіри ['заграти в карти']... Так міркував Саша Інтелігент, перший картяр з-поміж усіх стопорщиків і ширмачів, майданщиків і скокарів, тихушників і мойщиків ['грабіжників і кишеньковців, злодіїв по поїздах і вломників, обкрадувачів квартир і непритомних п'яниць']..." Подібно в "Вуркаганах", с. 85: "...матимеш шкари, бобочку, кліфт, кальоса й чепу ['штани, сорочку, піджак, черевики й картуз']"; с. 89. "на бану ['на вокзалі']"; с. 90, "кімати ['спати']", див. наша примітка ч. 21.

32. Див. прим. 26.

33. Див. наша примітка ч. 22, с. 90: "...один штимп у чорному кліфті виймає на квиток і кладе кожу в скулу ['пристойно одягнена людина в чорному піджаці виймає гроші на квиток і кладе бумажник у бокову кишеню'],"; с. 91: "піску ['бритву']", "розписав скулу ['розрізав кишеню']", "почав приймати кожу ['тягти бумажник']". Пояснення арґотизмів лиш приблизні, бо скула 'внутрішня кишеня піджака', а піска звичайно 'лезо для голильного апарату, жилетка'.

34. Див. прим. 25.

35. кімáть 'спати' з новогр. *kimúme, kimóme* 'сплю'.

36. плітувáть 'тікати' з нім. арґ. *Ple(i)te* жвтечаж 4248.

37. тúрити 'нести' з циган. *te styrdés* 'вкрасти'.

38. шáмати 'їсти' з тюрк. (осм. *aš* 'їжа; пілав; суп').

39. кліфт 'піджак' з нім. арґ. *Kluft* 'костюм, одяг' 2736.

40. шкáри 'штани' з циган. *te Čxaré* одягатися'.

41. атáнде 'стій' з франц. *attendez* 'підождіть'.

42. куш 'ставка пти грі' з франц. *couche* 'тс'.

43. ліверувáти 'роздавати карти' з франц. *livrer* 'віддавати в руки'.

44. шпилити 'грати (в карти)' з нім. *spielen* 'тс'.

45. бан 'вокзал' з нім. *Bahnhof* 'тс' *Bahn* 'залізниця'.

46. клюкá 'церква' з осман. новогр. *ekklisjá* 'тс'.

47. хавúра 'криївка' з нім. арґ. *Chawure, Kewer* 'гріб, яма, печера, сховок' 2589.

48. хазýха 'хата' з мадяр. *ház* 'дім'.

49. лімóни 'гроші', мабуть, метатезне мільйони.

50. хруст 'карбованець' з чесь. арг. *hrst* '100 гульденів', первісно 'пригорща'.

51. адью́ 'пращай' з франц. *adieu* 'тс, з Богом'.

52. барбо́с 'ланець' з франц. *barbichon* малий пудель'.

53. блат(ни́й) 'свій' з нім. арг. *platt* 'надійний', з-між злодіїв' 4232.

54. буза́ 'єрунда' з тюрк. *buza* 'рід викислого напитку з проса'.

55. дрейфити 'злякатися' (моряць, дрейфувати 'зійти човном з наміченого курсу, бувши гнаним водною течією' з голл. *drijven* 'гнати'.

56. ка́їн 'скуповувач краденого' з нім. арг. *Chaim, Kaim* 'жид' 824.

57. лахва́ 'прекрасно' з осман. араб. *ulûfe, alafa* 'жолд, плата на футраж для коня'.

58. мура́ 'єрунда', мабуть, з шу́ри-му́ри 'любовна історійка' з нім. арг. (1600 п.) *Schory-Mory* 'розпуста' (F. Kluge: *Rotwelsches Quellenbuch*, I., Strassburg 1901, S. 129).

59. скєс, пор. одеське шкєт 'хлопчак', що з нім. арг. *Schekez* 'тс' 4837.

60. шу́хер 'небезпека' з нім. арг. *Schucker* 'поліцист' 5175.

61. туфта́ 'обман', первісно 'пачечка з папером, назовні опакована як банкноти', що з тюрк. (осман.-перс. *tahta* 'дошка, дошечка').

62. шко́ндра (лайка), мабуть, румун. *scândura* 'дошка', себто тут 'худощавець'?

63. жлоб 'селянин' з поль. арг. *żłob* 'несимпатична людина' (первісно 'жоліб').

64. шнир 'сторож', може з нім. арг. *Schnurre, Schnörre* 'рило, писок' 5102?

65. штимп 'жертва злодія' з нім. *Stümper* 'нездара'.

66. а́мба 'кінець' з італ. *ambe* 'обидві,—а: в малій льотереї попад у два номери з п'ятьох,—отже: 'кінець гри'.

67. форс 'сила' з франц. *force* 'тс'.

68. па́чка 'поличник' пор. львів. арг. фа́цка 'побої' з чесь. *facka* (з італ. *faccia* "лице") 'щока'.

69. понт 'обман' (первісно 'ставка на карту' з франц. *point, pointer*).

70. вуркага́н, у́рка́(н) 'вуличник', мабуть з тюрк. (пор. ногайкаракалпацьке уры, урлыкши, урлакай 'злодій').

71. заси́пати(ся) 'зрадити; зрадитися, попастися' як калька-переклад нім. арг. *Verschütt gehen* 'бути арештованим' *Verschütt* 'ув'язнення' 6090.

72. збо́ндити 'вкрасти', мабуть з італ. *sbandire* 'фантувати когось'.

73. мали́на 'криївка' з нім. арґ. *Maline, Molun* 'приют' 3667.

74. ракло́ 'вуличник' з циган. *rakló* 'парубко-нециган'.

75. ско́кар 'обкрадач квартир' з нім. арґ. *Skoker* 'злодій, що вкрадається в приміщення, краде, що там трапиться, і має готову вимівку, якщо його там зустрінуть' 5363.

76. халами́дник 'вуличник, обірванець' до новогр. *chlamyda* 'плащ; верхній одяг'.

77. цинк '(остережний) знак' з нім. арґ. *Zinken* 'печатка; знак' 6368.

78. шалма́н 'корчма блатних' з тюрк. (пор. казан.-татар. *salma* 'будинок').

79. на шармака́ 'з риском' (пор. рос. на шеромы́жку 'по-блатному', шеромыга 'обманець, бродяга', М. Фасмер: *Этимологический словарь русского языка.* Перевод О. Н. Трубачева, т. IV, с. 411, Москва 1973).

80. ши́рма 'крадіж із кишені' з нім. арґ. *Schere (machen)* 'встромлені кишеньковцем у кишеню жертві вказівний і середущий пальці, якими витягається намічений для крадіжу предмет' (дослівно: 'ножиці') 4876.

81. шкет 'хлопчак' з нім. арґ. *Schekez, Scheeks* 'парубок' 4837.

82. шпана́ 'шайка хлопчаків', мабуть, за шпа́нка 'отара еспанської раси овець'.

83. за-бара́бати 'арештувати', мабуть, від бара́ба 'бродяга, бурлак' (за євангельським розбійником Вараввою, лат. *Barabbas*)

84. мент 'міліціонер' мабуть, від мадяр. *mente* 'рід кожуха; вояцький плащ'.

85. бупр 'тюрма' скорочення: Будинок примусових робіт.

86. допра 'тюрма' рос. скорочення: Дом принудительных работ, -або: Дом предварительного заключения.

87. кі́ча 'тюрма' з нім. арґ. *Kittchen* 'тс' 2640.

88. чула́н 'тюрма', первісно 'спіжарня, комірчина' (з тюрк. *čulan* 'кошара', тат. *čölån* 'спіжарня'.

89. Див. прим. 2.

90. Див. прим. 3.

91. Див. прим. 5.

THE CONCEPT OF LOVE IN UKRAINIAN
Some Notes in Applied Linguistics

Bohdan Medwidsky

According to a popular song "love makes the world go round." This expression may be disputed by physicists or rephrased by social scientists or psychologists, but teachers of language (especially of second languages) must be aware not only of the requirements of scientific terminology, but also of those of the human imagination, of the emotions, or the feelings. This paper deals with three attempts at translating the concept of love (loving or liking) into Ukrainian. It illustrates the encounters of applied linguistics with the difficulties of non-native speakers in beginning to learn a target language.

Among the entries commonly available in bilingual English-Ukrainian dictionaries the semantic sphere of certain words is often sketchy. In some instances, semantic connotations may be puritanically shielded; in other cases, the English semantic sphere of certain notions does not coincide with the Ukrainian sphere. To overcome these difficulties additional research involving analogical utterances, specific thematic texts, idiomatic expressions, and a variety of linguistic and cultural facts must be pursued.

There are probably no teachers of a second language (or native speakers) who have not had occasion to be somewhat amused by unsuccessful attempts of non-native speakers or foreigners to express themselves in the target language. One example that readily comes to mind is:

> I am teaching kindergarten and I want to prepare my kids for Valentine's Day. We are making Valentine cards, and I'd like to know whether it is all right to say "*ljubov*" (love) followed by the child's name on them.

Another instance dealing with the same word, yet expressing adolescent interest and dealing with a different connotation, is the query whether "*ja xoču robyty ljubov do tebe*" is correct Ukrainian for "I want to make love to you." A third case involving a synonym of the notion "love," which I remember from the summer camp of my youth, was an elderly person's question: "*Jak vy ljubyte tut?*" ("How do you like [sic] here?") In all three instances we are dealing with a semantic aspect of the notion of love as expressed by the root morpheme *–ljub–*. However, each quotation is also a less than successful effort to translate an English expression into Ukrainian. In the first two cases it can

be demonstrated that simply referring the learner or student to an English-Ukrainian dictionary will not be very satisfactory. The problem arises because the meaning of these words, i.e., some connotations of "love," are shaped by their context, just like other verbal utterances, and these meanings can also become influenced and changed across cultures.

Five years ago Henrik Birnbaum wrote that the concept of love was complex not only in Slavic but in all human language, that this notion was variously expressed by different lexemes, and that a thorough study of the topic would result in a multi-volume publication.[1] Birnbaum's contentions seem at least partially validated by the fact that his twenty-four page article was limited to three grammatical categories (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) in four modern Slavic languages (Russian, Polish, Czech, and Serbo-Croatian)[2] and in Old Church Slavic. In the same article an allusion was made to the particulars of this concept in Ukrainian.[3]

Let us however turn to the concept of love as interpreted in commonly available English-Ukrainian dictionaries. The *English-Ukrainian Dictionary* compiled by Podvez'ko and Balla (1974) has the following entry for the noun "love":

> love... 1. n 1) *ljubóv, koxánnja* (of, for, to, towards); there's no l. lost between them *vony nedoljúbljujut' odyn ódnoho*; 2) *zakóxanist'*; to be in l. with *búty zakóxanym u*; to fall in l. with *zakoxátysja u*; to fall out of l. with smb. *rozljubyty kohós'*; to make l. to smb. *zalycjátysja do kóhos*; 3)*ljubóvna intryha*; 4) *predmét koxánnja*; *ljúbyj*; *ljúba*; *koxányj*; *koxána* **(osobl. u zvertanni** my l.); 5) **mif.** *amúr*, *kupidón*; 6) *ščos' prynádne*; a regular l. of a kitten čarivné košenjátko; 7) **sport.** *nul'*; won by four goals to l. *vyhrano z raxúnkom 4:0*; l. all *0:0*; l. game "*suxá*"; **fraz. zvor.**: for the l. of *zarády*, *v imjá*; not for l. or money, not for the l. of Mike *ni za ščo, ni za jáki hróši*; to give (to send) one's l. to smb. *peredaváty* (*posyláty*) *pryvít komús'*; for l. of the game *z ljubóvi do správy*; to play for l. *hráty ne na hróši*; . . .[4]

None of the above notions are quite satisfactory for translating any of the three expressions mentioned at the beginning of this paper. This can be shown by determining the scope of the seven above notions by retranslating each of these terms back into English. A Ukrainian-English dictionary compiled by the same Podvez'ko who co-edited the *English-Ukrainian Dictionary* cited above seems to be adequate for this undertaking. Using this procedure we find that *ljubov* is translated as "love, affection, fondness, amour," and "love-affair" (*koxannja*).[5] *Koxannja*, like *ljubov*, is also translated as "love, affection, fondness, amour" and "love-affair."[6] "Amourousness, being in love" and "infatuation" are the translations given for *zakoxanist'*.[7] *Ljubovna intryha* is "a

(secret) love-affair, intrigue, entanglement" and "amour."[8] *Predmet koxannja*,[9] i.e., the object of love, is represented by the masculine and feminine forms *ljubyj* and *ljuba* as well as *koxanyj* and *koxana*. (The forms *ljubyj* and *ljuba* functioning as nouns are translated as "sweetheart" and "love" [*ljuba*, *koxana*]; both masculine and feminine terms have the following meanings in conversational speech: "ducky, honey, dearest, sweet one" and "my precious."[10] The masculine form *koxanyj* (and its feminine counterpart *koxana*) is translated as "beloved, lover" and "sweetheart.")[11] Both *amur* and *kupidon* are translated as terms signifying the mythological Cupid. In conversational speech *amur* also has the figurative meaning of "amour" and "love-affair."[12] In addition, the latter term is labeled poetic as well as mythological.[13] The translation of *ščos' prynadne* is "something attractive; taking, winning; winsome, loveable, allowing" and "inviting,"[14] and that of *nul'*, in the sport terminology to which it refers, is "love; goose-egg; blob (*u hri kryket*); nil (*ničoho*); 0:0 (*nul-nul'*)" or "love all".[15]

Even the illustrations are not helpful. In the case of "there is no love lost between them"[16] the term "love" is presented with a negative connotation. In the four illustrations for *zakoxanist'*, the phrases "to be in love with" and "to fall in and out of love with somebody" are useful in indicating to non-native speakers that the noun form given by the dictionary is not used in everyday speech. Even finding the expression "to make love to somebody" will be an illusory triumph for the non-native speaker when he reads on and translates the Ukrainian *zalycjatysja do kohos'*.[17] *Zalycjatysja*, according to Podvez'ko, means "to court, to woo, to make love (to), to pay one's addresses (to), to pay (to make) court," and "to pursue with attentions (*do žinky*), i.e. towards a woman.[18] The expression "my love" again refers to an opening salutation rather than to a complementary close of a letter or to the affection expressed by a child to its parents in Valentine greetings. The phrase "a regular love of a kitten" also does not have a direct relation to any of the connotations of love being sought in this paper. And, of course, the tennis phraseology does not deal with the type of scoring intended by the non-native speaker. Among the additional expressions, the only useful one for our purposes seems to be "to give (to send) one's love to somebody," but, alas, here again the Ukrainian translation *pryvit* seems to be much more on the formal rather than on the familiar side with its meanings of "regards; welcome, compliments; greetings;" and "love."[19]

But let us take a look at the situation with the verbs. Podvez'ko and Balla offer for the verb "to love"; "1) *ljubyty*, *koxaty*; 2) *xotity*, *bažaty*" and also give the illustration: "I'd l. to go *ja b pišov z zadovolennjam*."[20]

The reverse procedure (followed with the noun entries above) produces the following connotations. *Ljubyty* is presented as "to love, be fond of, to care for," and "to like (*podobaty*);"[21] and *koxaty* is translated almost identically as "to love, to be fond of," as well as "to care for."[22] The translation of *xotity* is "to

wish, to want," and "to desire;"[23] and that of *bažaty* "to wish, to desire, to want," and, in addition, "to be willing" and "to be anxious (to, for, about)."[24]

As was the case with the nouns, the dictionary information about the verbs is not immediately helpful either. The reason why difficulties exist in expressing a child's Valentine message to its parents is that the celebration of this day is not a traditional Ukrainian custom. Any search in Ukrainian reference publications for verbal texts of utterances dealing with this custom, therefore, will be in vain. The translation of the token message of love must be sought elsewhere, and the most logical place is the complementary close of a letter. The following are a number of such endings culled from the correspondence of Lesja Ukrajinka and of Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj. In her letters to her mother Ukrajinka uses: "*Ciluju tebe!*"[25] ("I kiss/embrace you!" [my translation]); "*Ciluju tebe micno!*"[26] ("I embrace you closely!"); "*Ciluju tebe duže micno!*"[27] ("I embrace you very much!"); "*Ciluju tebe duže, duže micno!*"[28] ("I embrace you very, very much!"); "*Micno, micno ciluju tebe.*"[29] ("Closely, tightly I embrace you"). A closing with some humour added is: "*Ciluju micno tebe i vsix husiv!*"[30] ("I embrace you closely and all the geese!"). In another letter addressed to her father, Ukrajinka makes a distinction between her immediate family, possibly close friends, and simple acquaintances when she closes: "*Micno ciluju tebe, mamu i ljudon'kiv. Znakomym pryvit*"[31] ("I closely embrace you, mother, and close friends [?]. Greetings to [our] acquaintances").

Kocjubyn'skyj also provides a variety of letter endings. He is very intimate when he ends his love letters to his fiancée and later wife. A few examples are: "*Ciluju tebe palko i bez kincja*"[32] ("I embrace you very closely and endlessly"); "*Ciluju tebe, moje koxannja, bez liku*"[33] ("I kiss you my love countlessly"). As a married man he concludes, "*Ciluju vsix, a tebe najbil'še*"[34] ("I embrace everyone, but you most of all"). A transition from the formal to the more familiar letter ending can be noted in Kocjubyns'kyj's correspondence to the ethnographer V. Hnatiuk. He starts with "*Z pravdyvym považannjam...*"[35] ("With true regards...") or "*Z vysokym považannjam...*"[36] ("With high regards...") through "*Serdečne obnijmaju Vas ta bažaju us'oho najkraščoho*"[37] ("I embrace you heartily and wish you all the best") to "*Ciluju Vas serdečno*"[38] ("I embrace you heartily"), and finally to "*Ditočok vašyx ciluju. A najbil'še i najmicniše ciluju Vas, dorohyj pane Volodymyre*"[39] ("I embrace your children. And most of all and very closely I embrace you, Mr. Volodymyr").

The above endings provide some choices that can be made in a Valentine message. When the kindergarten situation is considered, either "*ciluju vas duže*" or "*ciluju vas micno*" are probably the best ways to translate the elliptic English message "love." Yet another aspect (connected with this message or token) not readily noticed by non-native speakers of Ukrainian is the grammatical function of the elliptic form "love." Is it a noun or a verb? Although some people might think of this utterance of affection in the functioning of a noun,

it seems more likely to stand for a verb in the intended expression "I love you." An understanding of the functions of verbal utterances by speakers of one's native language will therefore play a role in the choice of a corresponding word or expression in the target language.

Let us now turn to a solution of the second expression. A study of a text dealing, at least partially, with the topic of making love should shed some light on the resolution for translating this second expression. The text consists of passages from the ballad "Kateryna" written by Taras Ševčenko and translated by John Weir. The Ukrainian words of the original are supplied opposite to their corresponding translations and the latter are in bold print:

O lovely maidens, **fall in love**, (*Koxajtesja*)
But not with Muscovites,
For Muscovites are foreign folk,
They do not treat you right.
A Muscovite **will love** for sport, (*ljubyt'*)
And laughing go away;
He'll go back to his Moscow land
And leave the maid a prey
To grief and shame…[40]

****
Young Katerina did not heed
Her parent's warning words,
She fell in love with all her heart, (*Poljubyla*)
Forgetting all the world.
The orchard was their **trysting**-place; (*Poljubyla*)
She went there in the night
To meet her handsome Muscovite,
And thus she ruined her life.[41]

****
"**My Ivan dear!**" she cried, (*Ljubyj mij Ivane*)
"**My lover**, you have come at last! (*Serce moje koxaneje*)
Where were you all this while?"[42]

****
"Here, look at me, **my darling dove**, (*mij holube*)
Look closer at my face:
I'm Katerina, **your true love**. (*tvoja ljuba*)

****
"Oh wait a moment, **darling**, wait! (*mij holube*)
D'you see—I do not weep.
You do not recognize me, dear?

****

I'll be your slave...**Love whom you please**, (*z druhoju koxajsja*)
I'll say no word to you...
Make love to all...I will forget (*z cilym svitom* [*koxajsja*])
I ever loved you true...[43] (*ščo kolys' koxalas'*)

These passages, even though their translation is not literal, do serve as a textual source of a number of variants for the Ukrainian term(s) for making love and other utterances of endearment. They certainly are not exhaustive.[44] Yet what they do show (by comparison with the dictionary entries discussed above) is the tendency of the Podvez'ko and Balla dictionary to avoid or skirt the notion of physical love where possible. Yet Podvez'ko and Balla do offer more information on the subject. This information, however, is not found under the noun or the verb "love," but under the separate entries "love making" and "lover." And again in both cases the physical aspect is listed as the second rather than the first notion: "*zalycjannja*" ("courting") and only then "*fizyčna blyz' kist'*" ("physical closeness") for "love making," and, initially, "*koxanyj, koxana*" ("sweetheart" or "darling") and only then "*koxanec*" and "*koxanka*" ("paramour") for "lover."[45]

This brings us to the third expression which can be also elucidated and resolved by the use of Ukrainian textual material. In this instance, it is the expression of approval or potential preference that is being mistranslated. In English the verb "to like" rather than "to love" is normally used to express this notion. The speaker seems to have made an attempt at a word for word translation from the common English question, "How do you like it here?", omitting the "it." The result is the construction, unacceptable in both English and Ukrainian, "How do you like/love here?". Although the dictionary is more helpful in this case than in the other two above, the contextual illustration of the verb "to like," taken from a sample post card, can throw further light on its usage. The second sentence of the greetings reads: "*Duže nam tut podobajet' sja*" ("We like it here very much").[46]

Since both "to like" in English and "*ljubyty*" in Ukrainian are transitive, it might seem that the fault with the cited construction is the lack of a direct object of the verb. The English solution is to provide the object "it," but in Ukrainian the use of "it" as an object is not normal. Instead, a pseudo-reflexive form is used to produce an intransitive verb. In this case it is *podobatysja* (in a so-called indirect sentence structure). Finally the reason for the misuse of *ljubyty* vs *podobatysja* probably lies in the informant's awareness of the *ljubyty/koxaty* dichotomy in Ukrainian. Since *ljubyty* is normally less intense than *koxaty*, the informant could have compared it to the like/love dichotomy and decided to use the former term analogically in Ukrainian.

The textual mistranslations of the concept of love into Ukrainian may serve as an illustration of the intricacies that have to be mastered in learning

another language. Not only must the non-native speaker grasp the syntactic structures, synonyms, and grammatical functions of various parts of the target language, but he/she must also acquire a command of its styles, idiomatic expressions, and a feeling for its linguistic changes by being able to distinguish between archaisms and contemporary expressions and between the latter and neologisms. Finally, whether you like something or want to become physically involved or simply wish to send your love to someone in Ukrainian, and express it well, will depend on the degree of comprehension and mastery of the cultural and linguistic intricacies of that language.

NOTES

1. Henrik Birnbaum, "The Sphere of Love in Slavic: Some Preliminary Observations," *American Contributions to the Eight International Congress of Slavists*, vol. I, ed. H. Birnbaum (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1978), p. 155.
2. Birnbaum, pp. 155-79.
3. Birnbaum, p. 161.
4. M. L. Podvez'ko and M. I. Balla, eds., *Anhlo-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk* (Kiev: Radjans'ka škola, 1974), p. 311.
5. M. L. Podvez'ko, ed., *Ukrajins'ko-anhlijs'kyj slovnyk* (Kiev: Radjans'ka škola, 1957), p. 412.
6. Podvez'ko, p. 383.
7. Podvez'ko, p. 283.
8. Podvez'ko, p. 342.
9. Podvez'ko, pp. 708, 383.
10. Podvez'ko, p. 412.
11. Podvez'ko, p. 383.
12. Podvez'ko, p. 23.
13. Podvez'ko, p. 394.
14. Podvez'ko, p. 721.
15. Podvez'ko, p. 510.
16. This item and the following few are found in Podvez'ko and Balla, p. 311.
17. Ibid.
18. Podvez'ko, p. 285.
19. Podvez'ko, p. 712.
20. Podvez'ko and Balla, p. 311.
21. Podvez'ko, p. 412.
22. Podvez'ko, p. 383.
23. Podvez'ko, p. 975.

24. Podvez'ko, p. 33.

25. Lesja Ukrajinka, *Zibrannja tvoriv u dvanadcjaty tomakh* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1978), XI, p. 16.

26. Ukrajinka, p. 25.

27. Ukrajinka, p. 30.

28. Ukrajinka, p. 29.

29. Ukrajinka, p. 13.

30. Ukrajinka, p. 17.

31. Ukrajinka, p. 108.

32. Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj, *Tvory v šesty tomakh* (Kiev: Vydav. Akademiji Nauk Ukr. RSR, 1961), V, p. 79.

33. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 83.

34. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 98.

35. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 278.

36. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 281.

37. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 372.

38. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 403.

39. Kocjubyns'kyj, p. 418.

40. Taras Ševčenko, *Vybrani poeziji* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1977), p. 15.

41. Ševčenko, pp. 15-16.

42. Ševčenko, p. 38.

43. Ševčenko, p. 39.

44. Luckyj, for example, cites Hrushevsky who suggests that "capturing and seducing girls at Easter rites and wedding ceremonies is amply recorded in folk songs." George S. N. Luckyj, "The Archetype of the Bastard in Shevchenko's Poetry," in *Shevchenko and the Critics 1861-1980*, ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 390.

45. Podvežko and Balla, p. 311.

46. Ju. O. Žluktenko, N. I. Toc'ka, and T. K. Molodid, *Pidručnyk ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev: Vyšča škola, 1978), p. 258.

GOGOL'S *INSPECTOR GENERAL* AS DUMB SHOW

Ralph Lindheim

With his play *The Inspector General* Nikolay Gogol attempted for Russian comedy what Alexander Pushkin had already accomplished for Russian tragedy: to turn away from the classical tradition, to modernize and nationalize a standard dramatic form, and to produce a play more interesting and intriguing stylistically, structurally, and morally than its predecessors. It was these goals that led Gogol not just to borrow Pushkin's anecdote about being mistaken for a government official in some provincial town, but also to imitate some of the basic features of *Boris Godunov*. From Pushkin's play Gogol borrowed a story of Romantic breadth, involving characters from various social levels and groups who exhibit a spectrum of manners, customs, and ideas; a dramatic action spontaneously intitiated and naturally developed which does not have to rely on anemic lovers to crank the stage machinery; a central conflict between two heroes in which the older authority figure is bested by a younger imposter; and, last but not least, a riveting conclusion in which the stage is filled with many characters, all stunned and silent.

The power of the conclusion of *Boris Godunov* when the populace, learning of the murder of the dead Tsar's family, refuses to proclaim the pretender Dimitry has been keenly felt and appreciated ever since the censor rejected the original, more Shakespearian ending in which the crowd easily changes its allegiance and howls its support of the usurper. But the dumb scene that ends *The Inspector General*, with characters both silent and frozen in odd, graceless poses, has not yet been fully appreciated. Most view the dumb scene in the way that Vsevolod Meyerhold, the most famous modern Russian theatre director, viewed it, as a brilliant theatrical crystallization and hence recapitulation of the play's main theme of fear.[1] But Gogol seems to suggest more than just this thematic notion. While pointing out that all are petrified ("вся группа, вдруг переменивши положенье, остается в окаменении"[2]—"the whole group, having suddenly shifted position, becomes petrified"—95), he does not note explicitly, as he has in at least two shorter dumb scenes in the play, that the characters are frightened. In Act II when the Mayor and Khlestakov first meet, "Оба в испуге смотрят несколько минут один на другого, выпучив глаза" ("In fear both look at each other for a few moments, their eyes bulging"—33). In Act III all the local officials "трясутся от страха" ("tremble in fear"—50) when Khlestakov lies about his connections with the

great and near-great in Petersburg. But at the end of the play no one is described as paralyzed by fear:

> Городничий посередине в виде столпа с распростертыми руками и закинутою головою. По правую сторону его: жена и дочь с устремившимся к нему движеньем всего тела; за ними почтмейстер, превратившийся в вопросительный знак, обращенный к зрителям; за ним Лука Лукич, потерявшийся самым невинным образом; за ним, у самого края сцены, три дамы, гостьи, прислонившиеся одна к другой с самым сатирическим выраженьем лица, относящимся прямо к семейству городничего. По левую сторону городничего: Земляника, наклонивший голову несколько набок, как будто к чему-то прислушивающийся; за ним судья, с растопыренными руками, присевший почти до земли и сделавший движенье губами, как бы хотел посвистать или произнесть: «Вот тебе, бабушка, и Юрьев день!» За ним Коробкин, обратившийся к зрителям с прищуренным глазом и едким намеком на городничего; за ним, у самого края сцены, Бобчинский и Добчинский с устремившимися движеньями рук друг к другу, разинутыми ртами и выпученными друг ча друга глазами. Прочие гости остаются просто столбами. (95)
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> (The mayor stands in the center like a post, with arms spread out and head thrown back. On his right are his wife and daughter, each straining toward him with her whole body. Behind them is the Postmaster, who has turned himself into a question mark addressed to the audience. Behind him is Luka Lukich, naively bewildered. Behind him, by the very edge of the stage, are three lady guests, leaning towards each other with the most sarcastic expressions on their faces, meant for the Mayor's family. To the left of the Mayor is Zemlyanika, with his head somewhat tilted as though he were listening for something. Behind him is the Judge, with his arms spread wide, squatting, and with his lips puckered as if he wanted to whistle, or to say, "There you are, Grandma, back where you started from!" Behind him is Korobkin, turned to the audience with one eye narrowed and with a sarcastic insinuation about the Mayor. Behind him, at the very side of the stage, are Dobchinsky and Bobchinsky, their hands reaching out to one another, their mouths agape, goggling at each other. The other guests remain standing, like so many posts.)

The reactions of only a few characters may be interpreted as prompted by fear. Both the Mayor and his wife seem stunned by the sudden turn of events and perhaps they are frightened by the thought of swift retribution. Bobchinsky and Dobchinsky may also be scared at this moment by the all too real possibility of being targeted as the scapegoats for the costly mistakes made by all. The Director of Charities, on the other hand, is frozen in a pose in which he is trying to hear something that may prove useful to his career in the future, while the

other characters from town, who have little or no reason to fear the arrival of an inspector from the capital, are caught in poses that either express glee at the discomfort of their more powerful friends and neighbours or express nothing special at all—they "остаются просто столбами" ("remain standing, like so many posts"—95). Because Gogol has seen fit not to isolate here any single thematic issue, it would be wise to avoid reducing and simplifying the message of the concluding tableau and to seek out and explore other bonds between the dumb scene and the play as a whole.

It might be easiest to start with what the dumb scene does not do: it does not sustain and fortify the believable surface of the play. One of the glories of *The Inspector General*, to quote only the last of a long line of critics, is that it "seems generated by a sense of life rather than mental abstraction."[3] More old-fashioned critics speak unabashedly of the play's realism, of the logical and natural development of the action, and of the plausibility of each critical moment of the story. The opening announcement of the impending arrival of an important functionary, incognito, is paralleled by the closing announcement of his actual arrival. The mistake that elevates the petty civil servant Khlestakov into a starring role supremely undeserved is made quite naturally by a group of panic-stricken bureaucrats hysterically attempting to cover up their Watergate of sins without "stonewalling." Khlestakov's acceptance of the false role held out to him and his fantastic lies about his personal and public lives in Petersburg are grounded on his narcissism, his boundless ambition, and his inebriated condition following the splendid banquet at the hospital. Khlestakov's sudden departure from town is more than adequately anticipated. In the opening monologue of Act II, before Khlestakov even appears, his servant Osip tells of the Petersburg trick of slipping out the back entrance while your cab driver waits for his money at the front. And the discovery of Khlestakov's real identity hinges upon the local postmaster, who reads much of the mail passing through his office and holds back all letters whose style or content he considers impressive or, in the present situation, dangerous. And the illusion of realism generated by a unified dramatic action with well motivated peripeties is reinforced by a cast of individualized characters who represent a broad spectrum of social life in nineteenth century Russia, who speak good, racy Russian, and who seem even more lifelike because they are all rather ridiculous.

But the conclusion of *The Inspector General* in which all the characters on stage are transformed into clumsy, inelegant mannequins is but the last of a series of strange happenings, unexpected bits of inept action, and wierd events that are far from natural, explicable, and believable. In Act I the Mayor for little or no reason places a hat box on his head instead of the hat that completes his uniform. At the end of Act II the rotund Bobchinsky finds that for no reason at all the door, behind which he had been eavesdropping to the conversation between the Mayor and Khlestakov, flies open suddenly and he stumbles and

tumbles into the room, injuring his sensitive little nose. In Act III Khlestakov ends his brilliant fantasia about life in Petersburg by slipping off his chair and he, according to the stage direction, "*чуть-чуть не шлепается на пол...*" ("*all but tumbles onto the floor...*"—50). One could, of course, attempt to explain this moment by the local madeira, which the Mayor describes as "неказиста на вид, а слона повалит с ног" ("not much to look at, but it'll knock an elephant off its feet"—38). But the near fall at the very end of the lying scene is much too delayed a reaction to the liquor and should be seen as yet another unexpected and astonishing moment of inordinate clumsiness. At the beginning of Act IV all the local bureaucrats try to squeeze through a small door at the same time, and in the final act Dobchinsky and Bobchinsky rush forward to kiss the hand of the Mayor's wife only to crack heads. All these moments of action, and others which are not farcical, together with the final tableau puncture and progressively demolish the realistic facade of the play.[4]

These sudden unanticipated veerings from the expected, the normal, and the logical are also met in the dialogue of Gogol's play and account for much of its verbal humour. Many of the speeches are crammed with details amusing in their irrelevance, with information passed on despite a lack of bearing on any of the issues at hand, on any of the topics or personalities discussed. For example, at the very beginning of the play when the Mayor reads the letter warning him of the inspector's arrival, he tries but fails to censor certain parts of the letter: both the section which advises him to take certain precautions because he is unable to "пропускать того, что плывет в руки..." ("to let go of what swims into his hands..."—12) and the section which contains domestic news ("...сестра Анна Кириловна приехала к нам с своим мужем; Иван Кирилович очень потолстел и всё играет на скрипке..."—"...my sister, Anna Kirilovna, has come to visit us with her husband; Ivan Kirilovich has gotten very fat and still plays the violin..."—12), of interest to none of the Mayor's listeners but read to them nonetheless. Bobchinsky and Dobchinsky, when they first appear, threaten to submerge the important information they have to convey in a sea of irrelevant details, and many of the play's long monologues follow suit. If not studded with irrelevant details, then the speeches often feature redundancies, as in Zemlyanika's denunciation of the Judge's liason with Dobchinsky's wife, "...и нарочно посмотрите на детей: ни одно из них не похоже на Добчинского, но все, даже девочка маленькая, как вылитый судья" ("...and make a point of looking at the children: not one of them resembles Dobchinsky, but all of them, even the little girl, are the very image of the Judge"—64). Or there are other odd bits of information, which need not be mentioned and yet are. Khlestakov, for example, boasts, "У меня дом первый в Петербурге. Так уж и известен: дом Ивана Александровича" ("Mine is the foremost house in Petersburg. It's even well known: as Ivan Aleksandrovich's house"—

49). But most important are the logical absurdities which are liberally sprinkled throughout the dialogue, absolute nonsense which is not seen for what it is, total drivel, but is spoken and received as appropriate, explanatory, relevant, and significant. Three examples, all of them well known, should suffice. In Act I the Mayor and the Judge discuss the latter's law clerk:

> Также заседатель ваш...он, конечно, человек сведущий, но от него такой запах, как будто бы он сейчас вышел из винокуренного завода, – это тоже нехорошо. Я хотел давно об этом сказать вам, но был, не помню, чем-то развлечен. Есть против этого средства, если уже это действительно, как он говорит, у него природный запах: можно ему посоветовать есть лук, или чеснок, или что-нибудь другое. В этом случае может помочь разными медикаментами Христиан Иванович.(14)
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> (There's also your clerk...he, of course, is well versed, but he always smells as if he had just walked out of a distillery—and that too is not so good. I wanted to tell you about this a long time ago, but was preoccupied by something—I don't recall what. There are remedies, if that is really, as he claims, his natural smell; you might advise him to eat onions, or garlic, or something else. In this case Christian Ivanovich [the local doctor] can help with various medications.

But the Judge rejects this advice, saying, "Нет, этого уже невозможно выгнать: он говорит, что в детстве мамка его ушибла, и с тех пор от него отдает немного водкою" ("No, it's no longer possible to get rid of it [the odour]: he says that in his childhood his nurse bruised him, and since then he has smelled slightly of vodka"—14). Later in the fourth act a marvelous exchange occurs when Khlestakov asks Zemlyanika, "Скажите, пожалуйста, мне кажется, как будто бы вчера вы были немножко ниже ростом, не правда ли?" ("Tell me, please, it seems as if you were a bit shorter yesterday? Isn't that so?"), to which the Director of Charities replies without blinking, "Очень может быть" ("That's very possible"—63). The last example comes from the same fourth act when the Mayor defends himself against the accusation of the Corporal's widow by insisting, "Унтер-офицерша налгала вам, будто бы я ее высек; она врет, ей-богу врет. Она сама себя высекла" ("The Corporal's widow lied to you if she claimed I flogged her. She is lying, really and truly lying. She flogged herself"—77).

Gogol's characters not only spout arrant nonsense, but they also defend it the all too few times their nonsense happens to be mildly challenged. When Khlestakov's claim to the authorship of a popular novel is countered with the name of the real author, the pretender responds smoothly and effortlessly, "Ах да, это правда: это точно Загоскина; а есть другой Юрий

Милославский, так тот уж мой" ("Oh yes, that's true: that's actually Zagoskin's; but there's another *Yury Miloslavsky*, and that one's mine"—49). Later when the Mayor's wife so embroiders Khlestakov's proposal for her daughter's hand in marriage that she has to be reminded by her daughter of the final object of the young man's affections, the mother makes a minor correction and concession which in no way disabuses herself about the suitor's intentions and feelings:

Анна Андреевна....Всё чрезвычайно хорошо говорил; говорит: «Я, Анна Андреевна, из одного только уважения к вашим достоинствам...» И такой прекрасный, воспитанный человек, самых благороднейших правил. «Мне, верите ли, Анна Андреевна, мне жизнь - копейка; я только потому, что уважаю ваши редкие качества».

Марья Антоновна. Ах, маминька! ведь это он мне говорил.

Анна Андреевна. Перестань, ты ничего не знаешь и не в свое дело не мешайся! «Я, Анна Андреевна, изумляюсь....» В таких лестных рассыпался словах...И когда я хотела сказать: «Мы никак не смеем надеяться на такую честь», он вдруг упал на колени и таким самым благороднейшим образом: «Анна Андреевна, не сделайте меня несчастнейшим! согласитесь отвечать моим чувствам, не то я смертью окончу жизнь свою».

Марья Антоновна. Право, маминька, он обо мне это говорил.

Анна Андреевна. Да, конечно.. и об тебе было, я ничего этого не отвергаю. (87)

(Anna Andreyevna...Everything was extraordinarily well put. "I, Anna Andreyevna, am doing this only out of respect for your personal merits." And such a splendid, well-bred person, of the noblest principles. "For me, would you believe it, Anna Andreyevna, life is without value; but I am doing this only because I respect your rare qualities."

Marya Antonovna. Ah, Mamma dear, why he said that to me.

Anna Andreyevna. Stop that, you know nothing, and don't interfere in what is none of your affair! "I, Anna Andreyevna, am astonished..." He showered such flattering words on me...And when I wanted to say, "We dare not hope for such an honour," he suddenly fell on his knees and said in the most noble manner: "Anna Andreyevna, Don't make me the most miserable of men! Consent to return my feelings, or else I will with death terminate my life!"

Marya Antonovna. Really, Mamma dear, he was saying that about me.

ANNA ANDREYEVNA. Yes, of course...It was also about you, I don't deny that at all.)

There is little sensible monologue or true dialogue in *The Inspector General* because the characters cannot control their tongues, cannot order their thoughts and feelings, and cannot concern themselves with others. They are too absorbed in themselves, their positions, their concerns, their desires and fears. Even minor characters, such as the locksmith's wife, fail to establish real contact with others. She is too engrossed in her own injuries and can only unleash an unending barrage of invective against her persecutor, the Mayor, and all his innocent relatives:

Милости прошу: на городничего челом бью! Пошли ему бог всякое зло, чтоб ни детям его, ни ему, мошеннику, ни дядьям, ни теткам его, ни в чем никакого прибытку не было!

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...побей бог его и на том и на этом свете! чтобы ему, если и тетка есть, то и тетке всякая пакость, и отец если жив у него, то чтоб и он, каналья, околел или поперхнулся навеки, мошенник такой.... чтоб всей родне твоей не довелось видеть света божьего, а если есть теща, то чтоб и теще...(71-2)

(I ask for mercy! I am petitioning against the Mayor! May God send him every kind of evil, so that neither his children nor he himself, the swindler, nor his uncles and aunts ever profit in anything!

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...May God strike him down in the next world and in this, and if he's got an aunt, then for the aunt all kinds of nastiness, and if his father be living, may he, the beast, croak or choke forever and ever, swindler that he is....May all your kin never see the divine light, and if you've a mother-in-law, may even your mother-in-law...)

But even before their graceless acts and absurd words begin to shred the realistic illusion, grave doubts about the characters are raised by their names, the names listed in the *dramatis personae*. Some of the minor figures have the telltale names of eighteenth-century comic characters, but here Gogol plays with rather than imitates the tradition by selecting names that are physically concrete rather than morally abstract. Two of the town's policemen are called Mr. Eartwister and Mr. Snoutgrabber, while the others are Mr. Whistler and Mr. Button. The major characters, interestingly enough, have complete names which suggest that Gogol, once again like Pushkin, was well aware of how significant names were for the creation of believable characters.[5] In a number of foreign novels as well as in *Eugene Onegin* he encountered names that subtly commented on rather than blatantly exposed characters, names that suggested

socio-economic and cultural features of the age in which the characters lived and the environment in which they developed, names that asserted rather than undermined identity. But Gogol's names prove more eccentric than typical, more embarrassing than realistically suggestive. In unconventional ways they say too much about the characters and fail to affirm what is expected of them. The name of Khlestakov, for example, conjures up for the sensitive Russian ear—at least, for the ear of Vladimir Nabokov—a series of associations that illuminate too fully the limited gamut of the hero's activities and aspirations, indeed, of his very existence: "it conveys to the Russian reader an effect of lightness and rashness, a prattling tongue, the swish of a slim walking cane, the slapping sound of playing cards, the braggadocio of a nincompoop, and the dashing ways of a lady-killer (minus the capacity for completing this or any other action)."[6] The names of the provincials, while not as resonant as the hero's, short-circuit in their own fashion whatever pretensions to dignity, individuality, and humanity these figures might affect. Pëtr Ivanovich Bobchinsky and Pëtr Ivanovich Dobchinsky establish the basic paradigm for the others, who proceed to present paired variations on the theme of similarity instead of singularity. The Judge Ammos Fëdorovich and the Director of Charities Artemy Filippovich share an odd combination of unusual, though not impossible, Christian name and more conventional patronymic, while the Mayor and the Superintendant of Schools both double their fathers' names, the former being Anton Antonovich and the latter Luka Lukich. The names not only point to the similarity of the characters but also comment on the dimness of their parents, who could do no better for their offspring than pass along the name of the child's father or select pretty much at random one of the saints celebrated on the infant's day of birth or of christening. The last names too have their roles to play in the shredding that begins before the curtain is lifted. Many have last names that drain them of humanity by associating them with the strangest objects, things that have little or no life. Zemlyanika means "wild strawberry" and Khlopov, the inappropriate name of the henpecked Superintendant of Schools, is derived from the Russian interjection for the sound "bang!". The Judge's last name, Lyapkin-Tyapkin, is related to an adverbial expression meaning "slapdash" or "slipshod", and the Mayor's name, Skvoznik-Dmukhanovsky, stems from two words, a noun meaning "draft" and a verb "to blow". These last two double-barrelled names, by the way, might suggest pedigree and nobility—many aristocrats had long, compound surnames with each component designating a distinguished branch of the family tree. But the dignity and nobility of Gogol's characters are flouted and not celebrated by their family names: by the funny sound of the Judge's name and by the semantic redundancy in the two elements of the Mayor's name, two elements too similar in meaning to warrant doubling.

The barely camouflaged message of the names becomes more explicit as

the characters display their uniformity and conformity. Though the major female figures are superficially differentiated—the mother being old and shrewish and perhaps slightly frustrated, socially and sexually, and the daughter being young and sentimental—in no way are they really different. Both are obsessed with the same things, mainly, fashions, both are bored to the point of quarreling endlessly over trifles, and both come to think themselves the true love of the imposter. Dobchinsky and Bobchinsky are more than just similar; they are one consonant away from being identical. They are so close that Bobchinsky knows of the hole in the right hand pocket of Dobchinsky's coat. But all the local officials are essentially interchangeable; they eat, dress, talk, think, and act alike. Whereas Khlestakov is a man always stimulated, no matter what his circumstances, to the heights of fantasy, to self-assertive lying and dreams of glory, for the others the threat of losing their mealticket propels them in the opposite direction. Instead of magnifying and elevating themselves, they seek the safety of the pack. Huddled together constantly, they insist that all must act and pull together, that they are all in the same boat, all one family.[7] They lean on one another, constantly look at one another for help and advice, imitate one another. All mistake Khlestakov's identity, all attempt to bribe him in Act IV, and all read his letter in the final act and try to censor the material devoted to them, despite the fact that their friends demand nothing be cut and despite the fact that what they consider objectionable material is absolutely irrelevant and in no way applicable to them. Also in the final act the bureaucrats are joined by other townspeople who troop in to congratulate the Mayor and his wife on their future son-in-law with the usual ritualistic formulas, which some qualify with malicious mutterings reflecting the true feelings of the community. In addition to similar responses, words, and actions the characters share the same values, as each desires and pursues the most trivial and conventional of ends—money, possessions, status, privilege—and expends a not inconsiderable amount of energy to secure a future in no substantial way different from the past. Of importance in this regard are the dreams of the Mayor and his wife about the new life in Petersburg guaranteed them by their son-in-law's high position and powerful friends. On his imagined future the Mayor reflects:

> Ведь почему хочется быть генералом? потому что, случится, поедешь куда-нибудь—фельдъегеря и адъютанты поскачут везде вперед: лошадей! и там на станциях никому ни дадут, всё дожидается: все эти титулярные, капитаны, городничие, а ты себе и в ус не дуешь: обедаешь где-нибудь у губернатора, а там: стой, городничий! Хе, хе, хе! (*заливается и помирает со смеху*), вот что, канальство, заманчиво! (82)

> (You know why I want to be a general? Because, if it happens that you travel somewhere, aides and state couriers will gallop everywhere ahead, demanding horses for you. And then at the post station no one will get horses; all the others, the officials, captains, and mayors, will have to wait for everything, but you don't give a damn. And when you dine at some governor's, then an ordinary mayor will just have to stand and wait his turn. Xe, xe, xe (*He begins to chuckle but soon splits his sides with laughter*), that's what's attractive, damn it!)

He yearns for more power and more of the fringe benefits of power, not for the opportunity to display his talents but for the perks of the new office, many of which he already enjoys but more of which he desires. And his wife dreams of elegant surroundings, refined deportment, and fine fashions, even though, as Gogol indicates in his opening notes on the characters, she is already a clotheshorse who changes her dress four times in the course of the few hours the action takes. All the others, too, see the future as a continuation of the past and hope to secure the Mayor's continued patronage by offering him what they have always offered, bribes in the form of hunting dogs, hypocritical flattery, and obsequious requests for aid and protection.

Whereas Khlestakov can dream of all that he is not, can dream of being a great poet, a statesman, a field marshall, the imagination of the others is fettered, and they can dream only of saying and doing what has already been said and done. The repetitious sameness, their dull, provincial consistency, the poverty of their consciousness—all these are at the heart of the wasteland that Gogol reveals progressively in the course of the five acts of *The Inspector General*. But at the very end the isolated glimpses into the characters and their world are supplemented by a collective image in which stands fully revealed their true essence.

So far the one fear that has linked all the characters and has driven them to mask and disguise themselves is the fear of exposure. In the attempt to conceal themselves, as in everything else they undertake, they fail, as Khlestakov unwittingly predicts in the third act: "Напротив, я даже стараюсь всегда проскользнуть незаметно. Но никак нельзя скрыться, никак нельзя!" ("On the contrary, I actually try always to slip by unnoticed. But in no way can you hide yourself, in no way can it be done!"—48). In fact, because of their encounter with Khlestakov the others inadvertently reveal themselves to be the opposite of what they claim: to be dishonest instead of honest, stupid instead of clever, incompetent instead of efficient, reactionary rather than liberal, spiteful rather than charitable, camp followers instead of trendsetters. But what they truly fear revealing and yet again fail in concealing is what accounts for their general incompetence, their physical ungainliness, their verbal awkwardness, and their moral freakishness. It is the other implication of petrification that Gogol draws out at the close of the play—the transformation of living

matter into stone. What the characters are unable to hide in the last scene is their inertness, their rigidity, their lack of a vital ability to change, adapt, grow, and progress. That they remain motionless and that the slow curtain, which is delayed for a minute and a half, falls on a frozen stage strongly suggest that whatever energy and vitality they possessed has been squandered on delusions. Now, finally, all humanity and life have been snuffed. The process of petrification is complete.

The only one missing is Khlestakov, who is as dumb as the others but in different ways. They are conformists; he is a non-conformist. They are sober and serious while he is drunk, carefree, reckless, lighthearted, and lightheaded. They are petrified, but he, as Nabokov points out, is "volatile" and seems to evaporate at the end of Act IV.[8] To this protean figure of limited charm who can assume so many shapes, there is no real substance, no firm skeleton or structure. He is totally concerned with appearances, with the impression he makes on others, with the poses he projects. And though he possesses some imagination he has no mind to control it. He is scatterbrained, so scatterbrained that his lies are all consistent in their inconsistency and evanescence. He can sustain no one thread of thought or talk for any length of time and can't even, we learn upon first encountering him, whistle one tune for more than a few seconds before beginning a new one which, in its turn, yields to something nebulous and formless.[9] So perhaps, after all, Khlestakov is present at the very end of the play, memorialized in the empty air that swirls about the petrified remains.

The final scene of *The Inspector General* is the play's coda and does more, therefore, than just recapitulate any one issue or concern. Familiar chords are sounded but in such a way as to offer a new perspective on the thematic material and a concluding insight into the characters and the world created by Gogol. And the oppressive duration of the concluding moment must surely stimulate some uncomfortable musings about a dumb scene expanded into a dumb show empty of humanity, purpose, and value, about a stage filled with disembodied spirits and prehistoric fossils whose grotesque nature stands out all the more clearly against a recognizable but superficial background of logic, probability, and realism. Finally, the delay in the curtain's fall must also act in Pirandellian fashion to question the distinction between stage and hall, between players and viewers, and to remind us in yet another way that we are still looking, if no longer laughing, at ourselves.

NOTES

1. Milton Ehre, "Introduction," *The Theater of Nikolay Gogol: Plays and*

Selected Writings, ed. Milton Ehre (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. xxv.

2. N. V. Gogol, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (Leningrad: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1951), IV, p. 95. All subsequent quotations from the play and all page references are from this edition. The translations are mine.

3. Ehre, p. xxi.

4. For a similar view of the play's surface realism and its undermining, see Yu. Mann, *Komediya Gogolya "Revizor"* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1966), pp. 78-97.

5. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1957), p. 18, writes that "the problem of individual identity is closely related to the epistemological status of proper names; for, in the words of Hobbes, 'Proper names bring to mind one thing only; universals recall any one of many.' Proper names have exactly the same function in social life: they are the verbal expression of the particular identity of each individual person. In literature, however, this function of proper names was first fully established in the novel."

6. Vladimir Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol* (Norfolk: New Directions, 1944), p. 55.

7. One of the glories of the famous Meyerhold production was the way in which the director crammed all the actors on a number of small platforms. The provincials were always so crowded that for one to move the whole group had to be disentangled.

8. Nabokov, p. 54.

9. "*(Насвистывает сначала из Роберта, потом: «Не шей ты мне матушка», а наконец ни се, ни то)*"—"*(Whistles at first something from* Robert le Diable, *then the song 'The Red Sarafan,' and finally something neither here nor there)*"—29.

THE CENTRAL EMBLEM IN *DEAD SOULS*

H. E. Bowman

Lurching through Gogol's *Dead Souls* (Part I) there rides a central emblem graphically encompassing the meaning of the novel and yet so unobtrusive that even the thoughtful reader may fail to examine it with the attention it deserves. A moving emblem, a flashing cameo: the equipage and its members.

Larger than a cameo, really. For in this picture are represented all the basic realities and relationships of early nineteenth-century rural Russia. Here, indeed, in the elements and relationships within the small universe of this moving carriage and its riders and horses are all the primary constituents of the feudal world of Gogol's Russia. The relation between master and man; the relation of man to animal; even the local world of material things, represented by the carriage. And the crucial implication is clear: none of these parts is attractive, none of the relationships is positive. Through all these elements, as if it were the novel's main electricity, runs a spirit of lovelessness, distrust, hostility. The good reader could know the most important features of the world of this novel without even reading everything in the book, if he only scrutinized closely enough the tiny circle of this brichka and its occupants.

That would be nothing if this were only one *barin* and one pair of servants and one brichka-and-troyka. But in the context of *Dead Souls* these entities and relationships must be taken for a far larger meaning. Gogol's book is, in fact, almost tiresome in its insistence that it is about Russia—until the reader comes to suspect that the words Russia and Russian must surely appear at least a hundred times in the text. On first glance a most curious repetition in a Russian novel.[1]

Taking *Dead Souls* to be, as it is, an indictment of the entire Russian world (Who are the Dead Souls? Everybody.) the reader is left to wonder where a more pessimistic, more repellent caricature of a whole society was ever presented in a novel. The hostility that marks all the relationships within *Dead Souls*—is it not pouring out of the author himself? The reader who has come to be well acquainted with this novel, perhaps after several or numerous close readings, will hardly be able to respond, as he may well have responded at first, to the quirky humour enlivening many of these pages, because now all he can see is varying shades of black. This larger character of the total work is of particular relevance, since in studying the parts of this central emblem one should of course keep an awareness of the total context and its all-pervasive darkness.

And now to look briefly at the elements of this central figure of coach and riders.

If we turn first to the brichka itself, a notable fact becomes apparent: we are told very little about it. Of its physical character we are told, in sum, that it is "not large" (*nebol'shaya*). Only toward the end of the novel (in the final Chapter 11) are we told that Chichikov pulls a leather cover over himself and that he lowers the curtains.[2] And Selifan, to his sorrow, will complain (also in Chapter 11) that the front part of the carriage needs fixing. But perhaps the most revealing judgement of the vehicle will come from those two "Russian" peasants of the first chapter, who question how long a trip the carriage is good for and then immediately decide that it wouldn't make it to Kazan. Just what that means, of course, we can never know, because we never know exactly where we are. But the assessment is eloquent enough: the brichka is given a fairly low grade by the knowing peasants. Against such judgement, the description of the arriving carriage as "rather handsome" (*dovol'no krasivaya*) carries little force; the description may well be simply an alternate phrase for "average"—neither handsome nor ugly.

If any part of the book's central emblem can be taken to represent the material Russian world, it is the brichka; a horse-drawn carriage, an example of those multitudinous essential vehicles of travel and transport in this rural Russian world—an average example, like everything else. Is there anything good said about this brichka? No, the few scattered hints we have are all mainly unfavourable.

What of the horses—another major element of this rural Russian economy—what of their treatment; what of the relation between man and animal?

Of the horses themselves we are told very little; really only their colours; and that one of the three has a name: "Assessor"—but not the Russian *asessor*; Chichikov would never countenance a horse with a title. But again we get the picture, even from meagre details.[3] Somewhat as with the two servants, the horses come most to life when they are being attacked. The scene following the visit to Manilov's, of the tipsy Selifan whipping up and threatening the horse on his right (Is this simply *because* it is on the right and thereby the easiest target for the driver's whip?) and then overturning the carriage and calling down Chichikov's ire—in this little scene of several pages does it not appear as if Selifan is passing on to the horse the upbraiding *he* gets from *his* master? It is this ring of hostility passing through master, man, and animal that binds the whole basic trinity of this rural world into the unbeautiful central picture that Gogol is single-mindedly busily painting.

If one looks next at the relationship between master and servants, outside of the few incidents of angry confrontation, a most revealing fact stands out: the silence. The absence of communication. The remoteness of Chichikov on his Georgian rug and leather cushion. Here, in perfect miniature, is the central

human relationship of this feudal society. The dumb people. And indeed the dumb *barin*, at least while he is with his serfs. When Chichikov does speak to his servants, he speaks mostly threats and complaints. We know—certainly the contemporary Russian reader knew—enough. Although the silences are deafening and the exchanges few, we can guess quite accurately how Chichikov and his servants relate to each other: the safest relationship is a wordless coexistence, interrupted in the occasional crisis by threats of violence, sometimes extreme: "I'll give you such a beating you won't recognize your own face" (Chapter 11).

One can wonder that Gogol did not do more with the relation between master and servant, a topic that would seem rich in illustrative or comic possibilities. Was the subject risky?

In this connection there is a curious revealing statement offered by indirection. In the first pages of Chapter 1, as Chichikov is getting settled at the inn, he asks the inn-servant a most unusual question: whether the present owner of the inn is a "scoundrel" (*podlets*—the word Gogol will finally apply [in Chapter 11] to Chichikov). To which the servant answers, "Oh, yes sir, he's a real shyster (*bol'shoy moshennik*)." Perhaps this brief but curious exchange should make the reader think. Is this a comment that Selifan or Petrushka might be capable of making about *their* master, in his absence? *Moshennik*: does that apply to Chichikov? Perfectly.

Of Chichikov himself, the chief traveller, we finally learn so much that it becomes difficult to envisage all of him within the narrow confines of his moving conveyance. Nor is our image of him clarified by his facelessness, or by his author's insistence on attributing to him everything that is middle and average. And not just average, but typical. So typical, indeed, that the reader is encouraged to picture the whole Russian world awash in Chichikovs. (Even Chichikov's name can be read as a mockery of Russian sounds, or names. And of course Pavel Ivanovich is only a breath away from Ivan Ivanovich.) If at the end of the book one reflects on what Chichikov is, the prospect of a whole society populated by his like is totally devastating. And yet every Russian reader is invited to ask himself, "Isn't there something of Chichikov in me?" (Chapter 11)

Well, there it rides, this circular medallion, rolling through the book, from the first sentence to the last sentence, and then on out and beyond the book,

finally charging into a more exalted country—into a vision of Russia herself.

Has this central emblem become the emblem of Russia?

Yes.

Alas.

NOTES

1. One translator of *Dead Souls* into English, apparently nonplussed at the very beginning by the oddity of "two *Russian* peasants" (the two who first give Chichikov's brichka a critical scrutiny), thougthfully edits Gogol by correcting the phrase to read "two peasants."

2. Gogol's own miniature of the brichka in his own drawing for the frontispiece of his first edition shows no hood or windows or curtains.

3. At the one rare place where the mood of the horses is particularly touched upon (at the beginning of Chapter 5, following the hard drive away from the village of Nozdrëv), their mood is bad.

INTENTIONAL AND EMERGENT STRUCTURES IN *DEAD SOULS* (Chichikov: A Case for the Defense)

Kathryn Feuer

Quis rides? Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur...
Horace, *Sermones* I, 1, 69-70
(At whom are you laughing? With a change of name, the story being told is about you.)
Horace, *Satires*, I, 1, 69-70

Out of reality are our tales of imagination fashioned.
Hans Christian Andersen[1]

...all this is Russia: the prisoners on the tracks..., the girl on the other side of the Stolypin partition, the convoy going off to sleep, pears falling out of pockets, buried bombs, and a horse climbing to the second floor.
Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelago II*.

The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book I, ll. 254-55.

To what depths can man fall...! How he can alter!...There is truth in everything and man can become anything.
Nikolay Gogol, *Dead Souls*, 1842.

Yes, man is a pliable animal...who has grown accustomed to everything!
Fëdor Dostoevsky, *Notes from the Dead House*, 1860-2.

I.

Chapter 1 of *Dead Souls* is a miracle of miniaturization. It introduces many of the novel's themes and techniques and also portends its essential principles of construction.

In the first sentence, the chaise which arrives in the provincial town of N. is "fairly smart" and "medium-sized."[2] This "middling" detail will recur again and again: most often with references to Chichikov, "neither too fat nor too thin," but also attached to the inn and the local officials and landowners. Eventually all these middling people and places add up to our image of Russian provincial mediocrity. Within a decade of Gogol's death, in 1859, Aleksey Pisemsky, in *A Thousand Souls*, would pay tribute to Gogol's great novel in his

title and also in the name of his petty village villain, Mediokritsky.

Still in the first paragraph of Chapter 1 we find one of Gogol's most characteristic techniques, the personification of objects—the wheel which (or who) might get to Moscow but not so far as Kazan. Subsequently we shall meet more and more instances of another favourite antinomous technique, the objectification of persons. Before this occurs in the novel, however, the reader encounters in the first paragraph several other telling Gogolian methods. Apartness from Russia:[3] the two peasants who discuss the wheel are designated as "Russian"; can one imagine a novel set in Kansas or Saskatchewan in which local farmers would be singled out as American or Canadian? Although the "Russian" designation is a Gogolian absurdity, the stance of distance in time or space was, as Gogol once noted, essential to him. One is reminded that in *Taras Bul'ba* he constantly called Ukrainians Russians, and reminded also of the great writer who liked to see himself as Gogol's descendant, Vladimir Nabokov, who wrote of Russians as aliens and, having proudly declared his American citizenship, wrote of America as an alien country.[4] Immediately after the "Russian peasants," the waiter wearing a "bronze pin of Tula design in the shape of a pistol" strolls past, and out of the novel. His existence, though fleeting, is real and foreshadows the non-existent characters who will soon creep in, flood, and overwhelm its cast—even at the end, with Kifa Mokiyevich and his son Moky Kifovich, "these two denizens", as Gogol said, "who towards the end of our poem peeped out unexpectedly..." (Chap. 11).

In the next paragraph Gogol's "close-in" though unspecified use of point-of-view appears with the servant whose features it was "impossible to distinguish"—a technique which Tolstoy would elaborate into dominant method in *War and Peace*. There follows a double-depersonification: like people, cockroaches "peer out," but they in turn are "like dried prunes." Then comes Gogol's famed realism—the description of the dirty, grimy inn with details piled up in order to rub the griminess in. The famous principle enunciated for philosophers by William of Occam, "Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem," was reversed by Gogol five centuries later. In his writing the irrelevant entities are multiplied beyond belief, and one can only wonder, with Nabokov, how any reader could have mistaken these verbal binges for "realism."[5] Finally, in this second paragraph appears our first example of full depersonification: the drink vendor who sits next to a samovar—"from afar one might have fancied that...two samovars were standing in the window."

Chichikov has himself not yet been introduced, but his narcissistic feminine quality is suggested by his effeminate "white leather trunk"—middling again: once elegant, now shabby. The novel's two living serfs then appear, Petrushka and Selifan. Petrushka's body-odour is his chief characteristic, thus leading into more debased realism on the foulness of the inn and its occupants. Then a note of feminine menace, the portrait on the wall of "a nymph

with breasts so enormous that the reader has probably never seen the like."

With this phrase Gogol introduces the second of his three narrators. So far there has been only the descriptive narrator; the lyric narrator, who usually takes over during travel, is yet to appear, but here is a hint of the self-conscious narrator who refers, usually with trepidation, to "the reader" and whose preoccupation with the author's fear of readers will become obsessive: especially in the early pages of Chapter 7.[6]

Still unnamed, Chichikov himself is introduced through his nose, which he can blow in a particularly impressive manner. He then arrives at the inn and immediately lies, calling himself a "landed proprietor." Soon Chichikov's acquisitive selfishness is marked: seeing a theatrical ad for a dismal, middling production, he doesn't note it down, but rips it from the wall and stores it in his precious box. With the box, moreover, is introduced by metonymy his ultimate Nemesis, Korobochka, the "little box" who exposes him. His flattery of the local officials he visits is so transparent that although Gogol will freely call him a rogue (Chap. 11) the reader begins to warm to him, because only vain idiots would be taken in by his lies. His *toilette* in preparation for the Governor's evening party takes two hours, mostly before the mirror. (There is throughout the suggestion that where the narcissistic female and the theatening female are absent, the males, such as Chichikov, Plyushkin, Nozdrëv and even Manilov take on these characteristics.)

The town officials encountered by the hero are mostly plump or stout: thin men, we learn from Gogol (himself thin), fare ill in this world; even if they inherit from stout ancestors, they soon dissipate the family fortune. The notables include the Postmaster, introduced with a Gogolian pseudo-logic, born often of conjunctions, as "a squat *but* [Italics added] witty man." Also met are Manilov and Sobakevich (who begins the acquaintance prophetically by treading on Chichikov's foot). Interestingly it is only these two who are married, and only these two will stand by Chichikov at the end. Chichikov keeps his eye on his purpose, and only after enquiring the number of serfs and condition of each landowner's estate does he bother to ask him his name. On the third day Chichikov meets Nozdrëv and on the evening of the next day encounters the glorious shabbiness of the provinces when the President of the Court receives him in his "greasy dressing gown." And finally, the fourth night ends with a reprise of the first day's threatening woman motif. Says Sobakevich to his wife, in bed: "'My little dove...I met Pavel Pavlovich Chichikov, a collegiate councillor—a most charming man!' Whereupon his spouse replied 'H'm!' and gave him a push with her foot."

Ultimately, we learn at the end of Chapter 1 that much flattering opinion of Chichikov will go through a *passage*, a "sea-change," "throwing the entire town into a state of consternation."

In Chapter 1 are also limned the ideas I wish to present. First, Chichikov

does win some sympathy from the reader. With most other critics on his side, Victor Erlich seems to me excessive in his view that Chichikov's "sinister and futile acquisitive frenzy" is "ghastly," dominated by, as he quotes Boris Bugaev (whose pseudonym was Andrey Bely), "'...not a lack of morals but a lack of personality...' For this unheroic hero is truly evil,...is a chief agent of moral decay and corruption in *Dead Souls*. No ablutions, however strenuous, could ever obliterate his moral stench.... Once again...Gogol stumbles upon an important and influential notion:...'the banality of evil.'"[7] Chichikov does indeed embody the ugly component of the mostly admirable bourgeois; he trades in dead serfs. Yet he tortures no one, kills no one, doesn't, though he strives for the best deal possible, even cheat anyone. (The bourgeoisie are unattractive to romantics, yet they have provided more economic, political, and personal freedom than anyone else.)

In the opening chapter appear many of the novel's significant structures. I do not speak here of "structure" in the awesome sense in which it is used nowadays in discussions whose results often recall Horace's "*disiecta membra poetae*." By significant structure I mean a skeleton which gives unity, meaning, harmony, and beauty to the work of art, a scheme of construction which may or may not have been conscious or intentional on the part of its creator. *Dead Souls*, I suggest, has several such significant structures. Those to be briefly discussed here are the picaresque; the use of three narrative voices; death as a recurring and ordering theme; women as instruments of (usually evil) Fate; the *Divine Comedy* structure; Chichikov as victimizer and victim, pursuer and pursued, as subject and object. Finally there is an extended discussion of *Dead Souls* as a novel of childhood nightmare, developed through a comparison with Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio*.

II.

Reuben, Reuben, I've been thinking,
What a great world this would be,
If the men were all transported,
Far beyond the Northern Sea.

Rachel, Rachel, I've been thinking,
Men would have a merry time,
If at once they were transported,
Far beyond the salty brine.

It is not miracles that dispose realists to belief. The genuine realist, if he is an unbeliever, will always find strength and ability to disbelieve in the miraculous,

and if he is confronted with a miracle as an irrefutable fact he would rather disbelieve his own senses than admit the fact.

F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*

And then he wept a little and fell to talking of magic and macaroni.[8]

Prince de Ligne

One finds many significant structures in *Dead Souls*. First is what most readers call picaresque. Some purists tend to over-restrict that term; I refer here to an adventure novel, whose episodes are linked by a rogue hero. Simon Karlinsky says forthrightly "picaresque."[9] Vsevold Setchkarev does not use the term itself but refers to *Don Quixote* (whose qualification as "picaresque," since the Don is not a rogue, is itself disputed), and speaks of "an adventure novel... a recasting and combining of the narrative styles of Fielding, Sterne and Lesage..."[10] Erlich says "quasi-picaresque,"[11] Nabokov "pseudo-picaresque."[12] Donald Fanger points out the importance Gogol attached to his denomination of the novel as a "Poema," by which he meant a "lesser epic". Fanger too sees a kinship to *Don Quixote*.[13]

Vasily Gippius's discussion is valuable in many ways not relevant to this essay, especially his emphasis that *Dead Souls* "is a novel of characters rather than events..."[14] Yet may this acute observation not go too far? Chichikov does experience events: he is endangered physically by Nozdrëv, and potentially (hunger, cold, imprisonment, loving death embraces) by his other hosts and hostesses. He is spiritually and almost mortally endangered by the near-collision with the carriage of the Governor's daughter. Unsavoury as he is, the rumours and accusations which fulminate around Chichikov are unjust. Thus he must flee, if not for his life, for his freedom. These are events, plot happenings, sufficient to the novel's length. Picaresque, in the expanded sense most used now, seems satisfactory.

Chichikov is a rogue, as Gogol called him in Chapter 11. It may be argued that even while being shocked at his deeds one should find in the picaro some engaging or likeable characteristic. (Perhaps in writing of a rogue with no redeeming quality Gogol faced a problem similar to Dostoevsky's in *The Idiot*, the portrayal of a perfectly good man who is not comic.[15]) Still, there are rogues in *Dead Souls* more repellent than Chichikov. He is, moreover, unusually for his time and place, neither a drunkard nor a gambler; he is ready to pay a "fair price" for his dead merchandise and does pay what he promised. He does not, like Balzac's Vautrin, romanticized as a heroic rebel by many, crave ownership of living slaves for sexual exploitation. In a society where human beings are owned as property, Chichikov seeks only paper property, *dead* souls, though he almost certainly plans to buy living serfs in future, if his venture succeeds.

The second most evident significant structure is that of the three narrators: the lyric one who rhapsodizes about the joys of travel and the glory of Russia; the "realistic" one who portrays Russia and mankind always in debasement, dirt, bad smells, cracks in the walls, and cockroaches crawling out of those cracks; the third, personal, apprehensive narrator. The third needs only brief comment. He is the Gogol with whom all are acquainted, fearful of readers' attacks, sceptical even of adulatory praise, constantly defending himself where no defense is needed and thus constantly rendering himself vulnerable. This note of fear of the reader's criticism is not unique to Gogol. It can be found in the preface to *Childhood*, Tolstoy's first published work, and in the preface to *The Brothers Karamazov*, Dostoevsky's last novel. Unique to Gogol, however, is the intensity and omnipresence of this fear throughout his writings. The interplay of these three narrative voices in *Dead Souls* is powerfully, symphonically effective. There is a close connection here with Gogol's terror of the "all-seeing eye" which the reader meets near the end of "A Terrible Vengeance," of which Leon Stilman has eloquently written.[16]

Setchkarev puts well another of the significant structures: "the adventure novel...was to end up in the style of Dante. Chichikov, the hero who was originally planned as a negative character...was eventually to reach the stature of a purified hero."[17] Gogol's well-known hope to convert *Dead Souls* into a Russian *Divine Comedy* at first seems ludicrous: where is Vergil, where Paolo and Francesca? Then one realizes that Gogol has in very fact depicted an inferno, partly of the provincial Russia he barely knew, mostly of the human condition. I cannot agree with Erlich's high estimation of Wolfgang Kayser's study of the grotesque as providing key insights to Gogol. Kayser's analyses of the St. Petersburg stories seem only to point out the obvious, or to be fitted or rejected according to the critic's rather narrow, prescriptive recipe (much as the definition of the picaresque has been overly narrowed). Kayser writes powerfully, however, of the world of *Dead Souls*, the world of mediocrity where everything, including the hero, is a middling hell:

> ...the world which is depicted in the novel is decadent and rotten. The parties given by society resemble macabre Dances of Death full of distorted movements, and when we accompany the hero to the lonely estates, we enter a kind of Hades—or so the narrator wants to make us believe....These characters are, of course, no longer demonic creatures whose presence spells death; nor does the supernatural intercede as in the St. Petersburg stories. The individual characters of the book belong to the chorus of shades in whom the alienation, which persists even where the caricatural and satiric elements are in the ascendant, is crystalized.[18]

An *Inferno* indeed.

There exist the will to life and the yearning for death, for oblivion,

Thanatos, not-to-be. Smokers, compulsive athletes or dare-devils, over-eaters, drinkers, drug addicts are endlessly told that their behaviour may hasten their death, by well-meaning counselors who do not perceive that they are reenforcing such behaviour, since the wish for death is its aim. Death provides a significant thematic structure for *Dead Souls*, starting with the first word of its title and the importance Gogol attached to that title.

Mad Korobochka is a widow, mad Nozdrëv and mad Plyushkin are widowers. Chichikov speaks to Manilov of "such peasants as are not alive in reality but only alive relatively speaking and in accordance with the legal forms..." (Chap. 2). Korobochka insists that she has never traded in "dead folk," inciting Chichikov to shout that they are "mere dust.... Take any useless, cast-off...rag...it will have a price...but as for them they are of no use whatever" (Chap. 3). Nozdrëv keeps repeating how he'd love to have Chichikov hanged; he is quite willing to give him without fee his dead souls, so long as Chichikov also buys his horses, dogs, hurdy-gurdy, or gambles with him in any game in which Nozdrëv can cheat. With Sobakevich, Chichikov carefully calls the souls not "dead" but "non-existent." "You are in need of dead souls?" Sobakevich calmly responds (Chap. 5). Subsequently Sobakevich demands an outrageous price for his deceased serfs; the living ones, he declares, "are flies not men." Chichikov counters: "But still they do exist. Your other folk are but a dream." In Chapter 6, Plyushkin's household is crushed by the death of his wife, then the death, to him, of his children, while Chichikov is entranced by the extraordinary number of his starved-to-death serfs.

Once again, and strangely, Chichikov emerges—relatively, as it must be with Gogol—humane and empathetic. His desire for profit and progeny (Chap. 11) are, in this death-loving company, an affirmation of the life force. The reader has been early prepared to be glad of his ultimate escape.

The next structure to be noted is that of "The Monstrous Regiment of Women," as John Knox called us in his famous, sixteenth century pamphlet. It begins early, when Chichikov sees at the inn the portrait of the enormous female. It continues with Manilov's poisonously saccharine wife (Chap. 2), with the dreadful Korobochka (Chap. 3) on whose estate a sow gobbles up a live chicken "without noticing" and in whose atmosphere a Prometheus becomes a "mere fly—less even than a grain of sand." In Nozdrëv's section (Chap. 4) we have references to his brother-in-law, Mizhuyev, "the fair one," ambiguous in Reavey's translation—probably a deliberate pun—since Mizhuyev has just returned from the fair (in Gogol, "yarmarka") and is also fair-haired (in Gogol, "belokuryy." Needless to say, "fair" in the sense of "just" or "impartial" does not enter in here.). Because of his devoted wife, who awaits him, Mizhuyev abandons Chichikov to Nozdrëv's mercy. Like Manilov, although not so much, Nozdrëv also does a lot of kissing and embracing.[19]

On the road, in Chapter 5, Chichikov has his near-collision with the

Governor's daughter. He is attracted by her whiteness, expecially her alabaster-like face, as transparent as a newly-laid egg: "there is nothing feminine about her," he muses lovingly, "nothing of what makes all women so repulsive." Although the road represents freedom, and carriages on the road make freedom possible, curiously, women in carriages bring about Chichikov's downfall: the Governor's daughter; vengeful Korobochka in her watermelon coach; and in Chapter 9, the "agreeable lady" who hastens in her carriage to "the lady agreeable in all respects" to begin the ruinous gossip.[20]

After his encounter with the Governor's daughter, Chichikov comes to the estate of Sobakevich, on whose walls is a prominent portrait of "the Greek heroine, Bobelina, one of whose legs seemed to be larger than the whole body of the sort of dandy that crowds our drawing-rooms nowadays" (Chap. 5). Mrs. Sobakevich is not a bad match for Bobelina. In Chapter 6, Plyushkin's, comes the most complex and subtle treatment of the female theme. In a characteristic linguistic Gogolian feat, Chichikov first sees Plyushkin as "she," then as "he," then as "it." Plyushkin had had a genuinely good wife, who died young, after which he alienated his children and turned from a model proprietor and decent, well-ordered man into a monstrous miser. Even a truly good woman betrays her husband; she ups and dies on him.

In each succeeding chapter women, although none is recognizable as human, play crucial roles. As readers of ungenderized English, we must take care in ascribing sexual meaning to noun usage in genderized languages. Yet it may be worth noting that Gogol chose as a major image the feminine noun *troyka*. It is Chichikov's means of transportation, and he, smelly Petrushka, and lazy Selifan constitute a Russian *troyka* of their own. (In its tripleness the noun can also suggest androgyny.) Later Gogol makes it the triumphant symbol of another feminine noun, all-conquering *Rossiya*. Females are the bearers of males; the *troyka* the bearer of the glorious *Rossiya* in birth. What a wonderful world it would be, Gogol often implies, if the women were true women, producing strong sons and gazing into their mirrors, leaving men free to be real men.

The women and their menacing power introduce my sixth significant structure, Chichikov as pursuer (through Chapter 6) and then as pursued, prefigured by Nozdrëv in Chapter 4. The chapter arrangement has the uneasy symmetry of the Tower of Pisa. Chapter 1 is followed by five chapters of Chichikov as would-be victimizer. Chapter 7 portrays him at the height of his gleeful triumph, potentially enriched and contemplating a dowry, even though it must be accompanied by a bride. The next four chapters (8-11) reveal Chichikov as victim of incredible gossip (the more incredible, the more believed), persecuted, and perhaps about to be prosecuted. The meanness of his childhood and youth—meanness *to* him and done *by* him—is finally encapsulated. He has committed no actual crime yet must make a fearful

escape, whose ignominy only the lyric narrator can elevate.

Finally I propose that *Dead Souls* is a novel of children's nightmares and fears, so consistent as to constitute a seventh emergent structure. I shall try to elucidate this view by means of an extended comparison with Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio* (1880), a novel for children which offers much to adults, especially to readers of *Dead Souls*.[21]

III.

> In Dreams Begin Responsibilities.
>
> Delmore Schwartz

> Yet, wholly familiar as he is...to the children he [Sam, their father] is monstrous—not the singular monster that he is to us, but the ordinary monster that any grown-up is to you if you weigh thirty or forty pounds and have your eyes two feet from the floor.
>
> Randall Jarrell, "Introduction" to Christina Stead, *The Man Who Loved Children*

> He shook himself, as if to cast off a nightmare; yet that power, which knows the difference between dream and reality, told him it was all true.
>
> Isaac Bashevis Singer, "Yentl the Yeshiva Boy"

> I did not invent these nightmares. They weighed heavily on my soul.
>
> N. V. Gogol, in a letter about *Dead Souls*, 1843.

Pinocchio is a fine example of the neo- or pseudo-picaresque. The birth of the hero is simple, grotesque, and fated. The carpenter, Master Cherry, finds a piece of wood that laughs and cries; he gives it to his friend, carpenter Geppetto, who uses it to create a wonderful puppet; the puppet becomes Geppetto's child, a very naughty one.[22] Like Chichikov and any picaro, he is a rogue; what is new here is that he is a *child*-rogue. He is endowed with a Conscience ("the talking Cricket") whom he resolutely ignores. In Chapter 5 the Gogolian food motif appears; hungry Pinocchio finds an egg and lovingly prepares to make for himself an omelet, but when the eggshell is cracked, its contents turn into a bird, which thanks Pinocchio for its liberation and flies away. Pinocchio begs from an old man who promises him bread and instead pours cold water over him. To recover he sleeps with his feet on a brazier, and his feet, being wooden, burn away. He is rescued by all-forgiving Geppetto (Chap. 6).

Geppetto gives Pinocchio his own hard-earned breakfast of three pears, which Pinocchio demands to have peeled. Geppetto makes Pinocchio new feet; he creates a wardrobe for him of flowered paper, and sells his only coat to buy him a spelling book. Pinocchio experiences brief gratitude, but it is soon diverted; he sells the spelling book to buy a ticket to a puppet show. There he is "recognized" (a mystic Gogolian touch) by the other puppets. Then he is almost burnt to death by the evil puppet-master (a terrifying Gogolian touch) and, spared at the last moment, saves the life of his puppet friend, Harlequin. The puppet-master (Fire-Eater) repents and gives him five gold pieces to take to Geppetto, but Pinocchio is instead lured by the Fox and the Cat; they convince him that if he buries and waters a gold piece, it will blossom into thousands. He discovers too late, in a scene reminiscent of Gogol's "St. John's Eve," that he has been cheated, then falls among assassins who try to burn and rob him. He is rescued by a "beautiful Child with blue hair," a Fairy with a magical falcon at her command, who calls in three doctors, a Crow, an Owl, and a talking Cricket. As sybaritic as Chichikov, Pinocchio takes the sugar offered him for comfort but not his bitter medicine, until he sees the grave-diggers arrive. As calculating as Chichikov, he lies to the good Fairy, saying that he has lost his four remaining gold pieces, and his nose grows longer. On his way home to Geppetto he again meets the Cat and the Fox, who again delude him that he can make his money grow in "the Field of Miracles," and who now steal it all.

Thus, the first eighteen chapters of the novel's thirty-six. There are, I suggest, many Gogolian elements. Pinocchio's fantastic creation from a piece of wood that laughs and cries recalls the "fated" naming of Akaky Akakiyevich Bashmachkin in "The Overcoat," and his equally wooden, non-human existence. Gogol has provided no character as loving and good as Geppetto, but "Papa Geppetto" is at the same time a God-figure who with his art has given Pinocchio life and who sustains that life with generous, loving self-sacrifice. Again there can be no precise Gogol comparison. The God who lours over Gogol's works is neither generous nor loving; indeed the closest He comes to Godliness is a bare approximation in "The Terrible Vengeance," when He grants the punishment of Petro which Ivan demands, but shudders and condemns Ivan to sit for eternity watching it. Yet the Godly presence is there in both these picaresque novels, a genre from which it is usually absent.

Equally strange to *Dead Souls* as we know it is Pinocchio's endowment with a Conscience: stern, though benign. In Chapter 16, when he appears as one of the three doctors, while the Crow and the Owl are merciful, the Cricket condemns Pinocchio as "a confirmed rogue...a ragamuffin, a do-nothing, a blackguard." It seems likely that Gogol too planned to bestow a conscience on Chichikov in Book II.

Pinocchio's first nightmare, the egg for the omelet which turns into a bird

and flies away, recalls the recurrent failed and thwarted dreams in the *Dikanka* stories. His pretty suit, so easily dissolved in the rain, recalls the great Gogolian theme of disrobement-*razoblacheniye*. The malicious old man who dumps cold water on hungry Pinocchio is a spitting Plyushkin, or the sadistic madhouse attendant who regularily pours icewater over poor Poprishchin's head. The Fire-Eater, the wicked puppet-maker who burns up his puppets to heat up his dinner—and who can show capricious and therefore terrifying moments of kindness—is a Sobakevich. The beautiful Child with blue hair is as abstract a female figure as the Governor's alabaster-skinned, egg-faced daughter. The crafty Fox and Cat recall Chichikov more than they do Nozdrëv, Korobochka, and the town officials, who are less calculating, more spontaneously and unpredictably wicked. A more natural comparison can be made between Pinocchio and Chichikov since both are wicked, completely self-seeking, utterly narcissistic, yet not Evil with a Capital E. Neither chooses deliberately to hurt anyone else. Incipient psychopaths, they only want what *they* want, not designedly cruel, just careless of the consequences to others.

In Chapter 17 of *Pinocchio*, near its mid-point, its most evident Gogolian feature appears. Evident, quite literally, when Pinocchio tells a lie, his nose, yes, the Gogolian nose, begins to grow. I shall not expand on the fascinating but by now tired theme of Gogolian nosology; any reader of this essay will have read the works and discovered it all for him-, her-, (or, to be Gogolian, it-) self. From Rostand's Cyrano through Jimmy "Schnozzola" Durante the nose has been a powerful male symbol. What Gogol and later Collodi added was its specific attribution as a sign of guilt.[23] Is it phallic guilt made visible? Yes, sometimes. But also the other guilts: morbid depressions show in the circles under the eyes, secret gluttony on the waistline, etc., etc.

Much more remains in *Pinocchio* to remind one of *Dead Souls*. In Chapter 19 Pinocchio discovers (from a parrot) that the Cat and the Fox have cheated him; the judge to whom he complains "was a big ape of the gorilla tribe." He summons "two mastiffs dressed as gendarmes…'That poor devil,' rules the magistrate, 'has been robbed of four gold pieces; take him up and put him immediately into prison.'" After four months the other prisoners are released, but innocent Pinocchio gets out only when he protests to the jailor that he is "also a criminal." The pseudo-logical irony here would have warmed Gogol's heart, as would Collodi's chapter introduction: "Pinocchio is robbed of his money and *as punishment* he is sent to prison…" [Italics added].

Pinocchio's further adventures are Chichikovian: a horrible Serpent; capture in a trap; enslavement by a peasant; mourning for the death of the Child with the blue hair; an effort to help Geppetto; a reunion with the Fairy; more evil companions; a terrible Dogfish; arrest; the threat of being fried like a fish; a wonderful breakfast celebrating his escape; again an evil companion, Candlewick, with whom he goes to the "Land of Cocagne, or Boobies," where

after five months he turns into a donkey—ears, tail, braying. Later he is sold to a circus as a dancing donkey, lamed and sold for his skin to make a drum, then thrown into the sea where he is swallowed, a Jonah, by the terrible Dogfish. Collodi's introduction to Chapter 35 reminds one, though in child's language, of Gogol's direct discourse with his readers: "Pinocchio finds in the body of the Dogfish...whom does he find? Read this chapter and you will know." He finds of course Geppetto, whom he heroically rescues. This time he remains good and generous to others, though he must still endure the donkey's ears and tail. But finally his dream is realized; he "at last ceases to be a puppet and becomes a boy" (Chap. 36).

Pinocchio's great desire, ultimately fulfilled, is to become a real boy, *nastoyashchiy chelovek*. How much this seems to resemble the dreams of Poprishchin and Akaky Akakiyevich. Yet Gogol was of course both more profound and ambiguous than Collodi and he was writing for grown-ups. Piskarëv, for example, finds reality "sickening." All the same to become a real human being was, I think, Gogol's dream for Chichikov; he had to postpone it to the never-written sequel, to the ever-dream of tomorrow, with the results we know.

Further, *Pinocchio* and *Dead Souls*, one a children's classic the other a world masterpiece, share a common wellspring, the fears, the unexpressed nightmares of childhood. I've set these out in the case of *Pinocchio* because many readers will know that work only from the Disney film, but this significant inner structure of *Dead Souls* may need elaboration. Gogol's Ukrainian stories and St. Petersburg stories suggest that he had had every bad dream ever experienced by anyone. *Dead Souls* is more specific in its terrors, the nightmares of children who are constantly (not) "comforted" by being told that it doesn't matter, it was only a dream. Specifically, I would suggest that the horrors and disasters faced by Chichikov, like those encountered by Pinocchio, are the nightmares of childhood, for whom the rogue-hero (thus designated by both writers) is a particularily appropriate bearer-victim. Manilov would at first seem the least fearful. But his sugary sweetness recalls the doting relative whose cooing and kissing all children instinctively reject. There is always the fear, often confirmed by reality, that the grown-ups who hug and gush are those who may turn on you in unprovoked fury. The threat of Manilov is compounded by his equally saccharine wife; together they represent one of Gogol's menacing to the young "ideal" marriages. One need think only of the mother and the witch in "Hansel and Gretel" or the grandmother-wolf in "Little Red Riding Hood." (Not to mention Djuna Barnes and the *Nightwood* version.)

In the next chapter Korobochka is called a "witch" and a "crone." With her the sexual threat is more evident, for it is in her chapter that we have the detailed description of Chichikov's safe "wife," his own little box. (This box has been too much held against Chichikov. He is a travelling entrepreneur, and surely

everyone should have some private place, if only a little box.) Everything on Korobochka's estate is shabby, decaying, smelly. She denies her basic female nourishing role in saying it's too late to give Chichikov anything to eat, but offers the more intimate service of a foot-rub. Next morning, anticipating profit, she does feed him. Again, one of the anxious, uneasy experiences of childhood, the woman who alternately starves and caresses you.

Nozdrëv, in Chapter 4, is even more terrifying. He is the schoolyard bully who demands your lunch money, the teacher who cloaks his madness in bewilderingly irrefutable linguistic double-talk: "Here is the boundary-line of my estate. Everything on this side of it is mine, and everything on that side too" (Chap. 4). He tries to tempt and threaten Chichikov into outrageous wagers, as the Cat and the Fox lured Pinocchio. He is clinically insane; in his domain even the most tenuous security is absent. And as we learn later, in Chapter 10, although everyone in town knows him to be a pathological liar, it is his absurd testimony against Chichikov which is officially requested and solemnly believed. He "proves" him a forger because his banknotes are genuine. Chichikov, neither attractive nor admirable, and in his thoughts despicable and ugly, has in fact harmed no one so far, and thus emerges as Nozdrëv's victim, a representation of the naughty child's fear of the evil child.

Sobakevich and his wife embody the basic childhood fear of superior, overwhelming force, which one cannot placate by human speech. His is a double animal image, the dog (*sobaka*) and the bear (he is Mikhail, i.e., Misha, and all in his house was "the very image of a bear"). Sobakevich's arms are as thick as thighs, his thighs like tree trunks. Moreover, he is untrustworthy, praising the local officials, then comparing them to the pagan gods, Gog and Magog (more Gogolian doubling). Once again Chichikov, a schemer like Pinocchio, passes from would-be victimizer into sympathy-inducing victim of potential brute, uncontrollable irrationality.

These are children's fears, but Gogol's genius left the worst till last. Food is the essential, hunger the unconquerable. It is Plyushkin (Chap. 6) who has the most dead souls for sale because he has mortally starved so many and who, with his disgusting, grudgingly offered, mouldy cake, could starve Chichikov, again an unattractive yet terrified victim with whom everyone who remembers childhood anxieties can identify. Seemingly Gogol has exhausted his catalogue of frightening females, but no: when Chichikov first sees Plyushkin he takes him for a woman. Much has been written, appropriately, of Gogol's fear of female sexuality. But the important woman in childhood, and for some men all their lives, is the mother.

Gogol's mother seems to have been loving and nurturing in the basic ways; as a boy he was indulged, and plied with fine Ukrainian food. Unfortunately she seems also to have been somewhat simple-minded. The love-hate relationship appears in Gogol's letters to her, a mishmash of condescension, pious adulation,

peremptory demands, and intense irritation. It is hinted (in opposite) in the early stories where, as Karlinsky has pointed out, it is not the maternal, giving women but only the totally narcissistic ones who are not threatening. Ambiguity reaches its height in the food-providing but otherwise maddeningly monotonous wife of "Old World Landowners." ("The world is my circumference," said Emily Dickinson. The world, the circumference, of Mirgorod is painfully small.) With Plyushkin the bearable ambiguity spirals into nightmare. There is a dramatic reversal; the child discovers that the woman is really a man, and the he/she/it will not feed him. The ecstasy of horror followed by depression, which Chichikov experiences, embodies this ultimate childhood terror.

In the second half of *Dead Souls* comes a catalogue of a child's fears: caught in the bad things one did do, accused of worse things one didn't; being talked about by people in authority. By this time many readers must rejoice in Chichikov's escape when the threatening forces are gathering around him (as surely as one rejoices in the more innocent Khlestakov's escape). Gogol again employs his great and subtle art. As contemptible Chichikov flees, Gogol switches to the voice of the lyric narrator, if not at his best, at his most eloquent, rising heavenward from miserable *Rossiya* to the all-conquering *troyka.* Through his persecution by male and female maniacs, Chichikov comes to seem potentially redeemable. His dreadful childhood, recounted in the final chapter, makes the reader think that he too, like Pinocchio, may once have longed to become a "real boy." Had not the sinister intervened, perhaps that *Purgatorio* could have been written. Yet the *Paradiso*? Who knows? It would seem to have required a whole other Chichikov, a whole other Gogol.

NOTES

1. There are similarities in the lives of those two great fantasists, Andersen and Gogol. Both had simple beginnings, from which they were rescued by literature. Both rejoiced, perhaps inordinately, when favoured by the rich or noble. Both seem to have avoided erotic relationships with women and preferred the company of young men, although both described in ecstatic terms the women of high position whom they met. At a time when it was highly uncomfortable, both were obsessed with travel, not for the purpose of getting there but for the experience of movement, perhaps escape. The crucial difference seems to lie in that mysterious factor: personality. Andersen was an optimist, Gogol a pessimist; in the most discouraging events Andersen always found a cheerful "silver lining," while praise and fame only increased Gogol's fear and despair. See Hans Christian Andersen, *The Story of My Life*, transl. unnamed (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1871), *passim.*

2. Most of my quotations are from Nikolai V. Gogol, *Dead Souls*, transl.

by George Reavey (New York: W. W. Norton Co. Inc., 1976). I have also used the Russian text in N. V. Gogol', *Sobraniye khudozhestvennykh proizvedeniy v pyati tomakh*, izd. vtoroye, Tom V (Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1956). Though I think the Reavey translation excellent, I'd recommend even more highly that by Bernard Guilbert Guerney, which unfortunately seems to be out of print. References in the text are simply to chapters. With the existence of so many English and Russian editions, page references seem irrelevant.

3. See G. S. N. Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko: Polarity in the Literary Ukraine, 1798-1847* (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1971).

4. "I am an American writer...I came to America in 1940 and decided to become an American citizen and make America my home. It so happened that I was immediately exposed to the very best in America, to its rich intellectual life and to its easygoing good-natured atmosphere.... I became as stout as Cortez...my weight went up from my usual 140 to a monumental and cheerful 200. In consequence I am one-third American—good American flesh, keeping me warm and safe." *Interview: Vladimir Nabokov*, *Playboy*, Jan. 1964, p. 38.

5. Vladimir Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1944), p. 89.

6. The apprehensive narrator not only reappears throughout the novel; Gogol kept him alive long after its publication when he kept offering new accounts of what he really meant to say. Some notable examples: his introduction ("Predisloviye k chitatelyu ot sochinitelya") to the second edition of 1846, which can be found in *Sobr. khudozh. proiz.*, V, cited above, pp. 552-556; his letters postscripting the novel, the four most important ("Chetyre pis'ma k raznym litsam po povodu *Mërtvykh dush*") are included in his *Pol. sobr. soch.*, VIII, 286-99; and there are numerous references in the *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends.*

7. Victor Erlich, *Gogol* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 133–34.

8. This reference has two justifications. In our best memoir of Gogol S. T. Aksakov tells how in Rome Gogol fell in love with pasta, and carried in Moscow a pocketful of macaroni which he'd cook for himself and favoured friends. (S. T. Aksakov, *Istoriya moyego znakomstva s Gogol'yem, Sobr. soch.*, III (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1955), pp. 149-388.) Maréchal Charles Joseph, Prince de Ligne (1735-1814), served briefly at the court of Catherine II, but was especially noted for his travels and his cosmopolitan knowledge of international art, literature and horticulture. Mme de Staël, in 1809, published *Lettres et pensées de prince de Ligne*. The quotation is the epigraph to Part I of Elinor Wylie's novel, *The Venetian Glass Nephew* (New York: George H. Doran, 1925). In its celebration of the beauty art creates Wylie's work recalls Gogol's admired E. T. A. Hoffmann, without the dark Teutonic strain. A pious

and contentedly celibate Cardinal longs not for a son but for a nephew. For a price, an uncannily skilled glass-blower, with the aid of Giacomo Casanova's own sort of magic, creates one—whom Cardinal Peter Innocent names Virginio. The nephew is translucent, intelligent, courteous, and charming, but Virginio is a mystic *nomen-omen*; he falls in love and marries. The solution to the dilemma of consummation is as ethereal as Gogol could have wished. The "Italian Connection," which I'll stress below, continues in Thommaso Landolfi, *Gogol's Wife and Other Stories* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1963). The wife is not of glass but of rubber; Gogol names her "Caracas." Ultimately, weeping, he pumps her up to explosion, then destroys her bits and pieces, like his manuscripts, in the fire. Art remains miraculous but devil-inspired. I'm told that in recent years Collodi's *Pinocchio*, discussed below, has aroused a good deal of critical and scholarly interest in Italy. These Italian reverberations, I think, tell us more about Gogol's art than do speculations on his flirtation with Roman Catholicism.

9. Simon Karlinsky, *The Sexual Labyrinth of Nikolai Gogol* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 225.

10. Vsevolod Setchkarev, *Gogol: His Life and Works* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 183.

11. Erlich, p. 114.

12. I feel sure that I've read this characterization in Nabokov's *Gogol*, cited above, but I've re-read and can't find it. He does employ it in an essay on *Don Quixote*: "It is closely allied to the picaresque novel... When we come to Gogol's novel, *Dead Souls*, we shall easily discern in its pseudopicaresque pattern and the strange quest that the hero undertakes a freakish echo and morbid parody of Don Quixote's adventures," *Partisan Review*, 1983, Vol. L, No. 1, pp. 36-7.

13. Donald Fanger, *The Creation of Nikolai Gogol* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 164 ff.

14. F. M. Dostoevsky, *Pis'ma*, 4 vols., ed. A. S. Dolinin (Moscow - Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928-1959), II, pp. 71-72. (Letter to his niece, Sonya Ivanovna.) The letter has been often cited in studies of *The Idiot*. For its fullest discussion see Robin Feuer Miller, *Dostoevsky and The Idiot* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), Chaps. 1, 2 *et passim.*

15. V. Gippius, *Gogol* (1924; rpt. Providence: Brown University Press, 1966), p. 135.

16. Leon Stilman, "The 'All-Seeing Eye' in Gogol," in *Gogol from the Twentieth Century*, ed. and trans. Robert A. Maguire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 376-89.

17. Setchkarev, p. 183.

18. Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*, trans. Ulrich Weinstein (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 126-27.

19. Chapter 4 is, in terms of the woman-structure, the most meagre. Perhaps its astounding brilliance briefly liberated Gogol from his obsession with the "Regiment." But since Nozdrëv is as threatening as any woman, structurally the chapter represents a turning point. Nozdrëv is so terrifying that the reader's perspectives begin an uneasy shift in Chichikov's direction.

20. It is notable that both the Governor's daughter and the Polish temptress, the principal woman in *Taras Bul'ba*, remain, throughout both novels, nameless. Karlinsky [pp. 38-42] gives an extended discussion of female narcissism and, for Gogol, its non-theatening nature. He was, I think, the first to point this out.

21. Carlo Collodi, *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (New York: Lancer Books, 1968). Following the bad old custom, the translator is not named. I believe it was M. A. Murray. Since writing and submitting this article, I've found a newer, more scholarly translation than the paperback I used—*The Pinocchio of C. Collodi*, translated and annotated by James T. Teahan (New York: Schocken Books, 1985). I've concluded that my paperback translator did very well. The differences I find are minor; in the Introduction to Chapter 17, which I quote, "gravedigger" is rendered "pall-bearers," and in Chapter 30, where my version called the wicked seducing boy "Candlewick," Teahan writes "Lampwick." Probably they are equally correct, except that now "Candlewick" refers to an unattractive chenille dotted bedspread. The other difference is slightly more serious. Still in Chapter 30 Pinocchio goes to the Land of Cocagne. I consulted a colleague in the Department of Italian, wondering if it could be the land of Cocaine, and was assured that this was not its meaning—it meant fools or "dopes" and that "Boobys" was a good translation, so I shall not change to Teahan's "Toyland." The Teahan version has much to recommend it; these notes are only included to explain why I've stayed with the translation I first used.

22. Gogol was much interested in the Ukrainian puppet theatre, and, in the view of some critics, influenced by its type-characters in his writing. The affinity to *Pinocchio* (if there is one) may have something to do with Gogol's characters who seem often manipulated by invisible strings.

23. Théophile de Gautier, for example, in *Les Grotesques* (1835) is said to have been the first to endow the historical Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac (1619-1655) with an extraordinary nose, whereas contemporary portraits show a full-formed but not particularly long one. Gautier points out that in Savinien Cyrano's *Comic History of the States and Empires of the Moon*, virtue corresponds with the length of the nose; when flat-nosed children are born there, measures are taken that they not reproduce. Similarly he writes of the long nose as a visible sign of honour, intelligence, and courage: "Without a nose... there can be no valour, no wit, no cleverness, no passion.... The nose is the abode of the soul; it forms the distinction between man and the brute,..."

And, as to the long-nosed artist; "Reason in vain stands on guard..., fantasy has always in reserve some secret thrust with which it pierces her....The thrusts our gentleman makes use of are exaggerated metaphors, over-refined comparisons, plays upon words, quibbles, conundrums, conceits, witticisms, low jests, far-fetched preciosity, the quintessence of sentiment,—whatever, in a word, is excessive..." Théophile de Gautier, *The Grotesques*, in *The Complete Works*, trans. and ed. by S. C. De Sumichrast (London-New York: Postlethwaite, Taylor and Knowles, 1909), II, 167, 178-9.

It is unlikely that Gogol could have read *Les Grotesques* when he wrote "The Nose." One hopes that he had the comfort of reading it sometime.

NIKOLAY GOGOL'S NIHILISM

Constantin Ponomareff

Pervading the body and spirit of Nikolay Gogol's writings is a destructive, nihilistic vision or state of mind hostile to humanity and life. As characteristic of Gogol as it was of many of the major writers of fiction in Russia during the nineteenth century, this nihilism comes closest to the definition of nihilism given by Helmut Thielicke. In his view, nihilism as a "symptom of disease" and as a dehumanizing force grounded on the sense of life's meaninglessness can find expression, disguised, especially in times of upheaval, in political and totalitarian forms. And from such a perception or experience of the world one can seek refuge in artistic forms of expression that, in effect, camouflage the nihilistic conditions of life.[1]

There are points of contact between Gogol's nihilism and the "poetic nihilism" of the European Romantics. On one major point, though, they differ markedly; if it can be said that Gogol sought, however futilely, to find his God,[2] the European Romantic nihilists had abandoned Him and tried to replace Him by an aesthetic and idealistic experience of Being.[3] Gogol's nihilism, however, has nothing in common with what has erroneously been called "Russian nihilism," the label often applied to the radicals of the 1860s. As Wolf-Heinrich Schmidt has correctly pointed out, the Russian radicals of the 1860s were not nihilists but "enlighteners" intent on humanizing Russian social reality.[4] Soviet Russian critics, for their own political reasons, have also consistently absolved the Russian radicals from nihilism by seeing them as the revolutionary new men, humanist and idealist precursors of the Soviet era.[5]

If we take inhumanity and dehumanization as the essence of Russian nihilism, it is more than interesting to note that it was in fact Dostoevsky who was the first to point implicitly to this inhuman quality in Gogol, when he called him one of two very real and colossal demons (the other was Lermontov).[6] And like a demon, throughout his lonely, restless, and terror-stricken life, Gogol felt a desperate need for moral purification, clutching equally desperately at God and salvation. Perhaps not so surprisingly he chose Rome as his more or less permanent address while abroad (1836-48, with brief sojourns in Russia) and, consistent with his travel mania, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem—no less—in the spring of 1848 before returning to Russia permanently.

Gogol's profound need for purification and salvation came from an acute sense of the presence of evil in life and, especially, in art, and from his obsessive feeling that he had somehow become contaminated as an artist, especially after the publication of the first part of *Mërtvyye dushi* (*Dead Souls*,

1842). He did not always feel that his work, even his major novel, lacked divine inspiration: in the years 1840-41, just before the publication of *Dead Souls*, he thought of it as a "wonderful creation," as his "sacred work," and wrote, "My work is great, my feat is my salvation."[7] But as Dmitry Chizhevsky has observed: "The main hero of nearly all Gogol's works, the hero whose name we encounter in nearly every work, is the Devil."[8] It was no doubt this artistic obsession with evil which led Gogol to suspect the moral dimension of art, even his apparently inspired, genuine art. As early as 1837 he had already written to his close friend N. Ya. Prokopovich that:

> It terrifies me to recall all my scribblings. Like threatening accusors they appear to my eyes. The soul begs oblivion, longs for oblivion. And if there were to appear a moth that would suddenly eat all the copies of *The Inspector General* and along with them *Arabesques*, *Evenings*, and all the other nonsense, and in the course of a long time no one would utter a word about me either in print or orally—I would thank fate. Only glory after death (for which, alas, I have done nothing so far!) is familiar to the soul of the true poet.[9]

To P. A. Pletnëv he confessed in a letter of 1844 that he had "felt almost disgust for my own creation,"[10] and to his confidante A. O. Smirnova he observed in a letter of 1845 from Karlsbad: "My friend, I do not love my former works which have been printed up until now, especially *Dead Souls*."[11]

Gogol spent the last ten years of his life trying to interfere with the natural flow and expression of his "demonic" imagination.[12] The work which he believed would allow him to atone for all his creative sins was *Vybrannyye mesta iz perepiski s druz'yami* (*Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends*), which he insisted on publishing in 1847 against the better judgement of some of his friends. From a satirical writer, whose art had been regarded by liberal writers and critics as fighting against social abuse in the interests of humanity, *Selected Passages* shocked many readers because this "divinely" inspired book written for the edification of Russia was in essence an all-out defence of Russian despotism.[13] In his justly famous response to *Selected Passages* in the summer of 1847, V. G. Belinsky accused Gogol of having dishonoured and forfeited the calling of Russian writer.[14] Gogol was stung to the quick by Belinsky's accusation. In his reply to the critic, which he did not send, he tried to justify himself by maintaining that true art always supported the *status quo*, implying thereby that he had done nothing in his *Selected Passages* to undermine his artistic integrity.[15]

It was, however, in his curious "Avtorskaya ispoved'" ("An Author's Confession" 1847) that Gogol intimated that there were artistic and more subjective motives than those of state and edification behind the writing of *Selected Passages*. These motives seem to have come in the wake of his ongoing attempt to stifle his creativity, even to the extent of redefining the

nature of his art. For one, Gogol seemed to suggest some kind of creative impotence which had led him to write the book and to explain "why I could not write during this time [after 1842]" and to resolve the question of whether or not he should remain a writer.[16] Even more interesting was the remark that the primary motive for writing *Selected Passages*, a "faithful mirror" of himself containing "outpourings of my soul and heart,"[17] was a "psychological problem": "I began to talk of my literary shortcomings, because it was relevant in terms of the psychological problem which is the main subject of all my books."[18]

It is more than probable that this "psychological problem" had to do with his demonic or nihilistic imagination, with that evil power which he believed lurked in his art and which could contaminate and destroy him. Already in his long story "Portret" ("The Portrait" 1841-42) he had turned this creative-moral concern into the story's central theme, metaphorizing the demonic dimension of art. But it was to be in his major work *Dead Souls* (1842) that he wrote yet another and more profound and devastating portrait of his nihilistic imagination.

In the third of his "Chetyre pis'ma k raznym litsam po povodu *Mërtvykh dush*" ("Four Letters to Diverse Persons Apropos *Dead Souls*" 1843-46), Gogol gave sufficient indication that *Dead Souls* was indeed a portrait of his nihilistic self. "If anyone had seen the monsters which first issued from my pen, he would promptly have shuddered for me,"[19] he wrote. "As for inventing nightmares, I have not invented any either; these nightmares weigh on my soul: what was in my soul is what issued forth from it."[20] "My heroes," he confessed, "are close to the soul because they come from the soul; all my last works are the story of my own soul."[21] That Gogol considered *Dead Souls* a purely subjective, spiritual outpouring and not a social satire can be seen from a number of remarks in his letters. Thus, for example, in a letter of 1846 to N. M. Yazykov from Rome, Gogol reiterated the fact that *Dead Souls* was not a portrait of Russia.[22] To S. P. Shevyrëv he wrote in 1843 from Rome concerning the novel that "...there is not a shadow of satire or personality in it."[23] To A. O. Smirnova he made the following characteristic remark from Karlsbad in the summer of 1845: "The subject of *Dead Souls* is not at all the provinces, and not a few ugly landowners, and not that which people ascribe to it. For the meantime it is still a secret."[24] That Gogol failed to write a more socially and morally conscious sequel to the first part of *Dead Souls*, one that would have become in his eyes a godly antidote to the human negativity of the novel, and that he twice burned the manuscript of the second part, shows what an impossible task it was for him to revamp his poetic imagination. (Ironically, his tragic life and suicide[25] seemed to bear out his fear of the evil and destructive consequences of his art.) Here he not only failed himself as an artist but unwittingly he also failed to come up to the expectations of contemporary critics who had mistakenly read the first part of *Dead Souls* as a realistic, historical, and social depiction of Russian society.[26] But in fairness to Gogol it

should be said that his intuitive withdrawal from *Dead Souls* was not altogether surprising. For in this world of "monsters" and "nightmares" there was certainly no love for man or for life. As intriguing as this poem in prose is for the exploration of Gogol's disturbed psyche and of his sinister imagination, as a novel it lacked full-blooded characters, creating in their stead sombre negative types amid a masterful hyperbolic flow of words. If Gogol could claim that the only honest character in his comedy *The Inspector General* had been laughter,[27] he might with equal justice have maintained that the only real character of *Dead Souls* was language manipulated by the author to mask the human void.[28] And behind this language the author's oppressive psychology had usurped the psychology of the characters.

In the lifeless world of *Dead Souls* epitomized by the title, broken objects and things displaced the human being. Man was disfigured in a process of grotesque and hideous transformations which left him a helpless thing of odds and ends, an ugly object, animal, or insect.[29] As Gogol put it through Chichikov, "...there is a cold look in my eyes."[30] This world of dead souls, which has more in common with the gloom of hell than real life, was inhabited by sombre figures whose sole claim to humanity seemed to be an overriding defect or obsession. In fact, it is as if Gogol had used Pushkin's metaphor of the Miser to paint an increasing scale of human deprivation and corruption. The acquisitiveness or material gluttony of the likes of Korobochka, Sobakevich, and Plyushkin, not to mention Chichikov, drew in an ascending order a picture of such spiritual want that even the environment came to reflect their condition. This ascending process of dehumanization was further underlined by the horrifying amorality of Nozdrëv, who seemed motivated by neither good nor evil, and by Manilov, who was shown to be so unbelievably good or insipid that one felt he had absolutely no character at all and one quickly forgot him.

The spiritual emptiness of Gogol's creatures was fully expressed in the description of a head of a department who could easily have stood for the devil or, for that matter, perhaps even for Gogol himself: "There was absolutely nothing in him: neither wickedness nor goodness, and there was something terrifying in this absence of anything."[31] This human and moral vacuum could not be filled with lyrical "digressions," be they a poetic evocation of Russia from afar, a symbolization of her unique and mythical destiny, or the author's own megalomaniacal, moral self-aggrandizement as God's elect.[32]

If *Dead Souls* reflected the spiritual vacuity of Gogol's inner self, if it uncovered his painful psychological being, if it gave, be it in the language of poetry, the torturous self-portrait of a crooked and disfigured soul, is it at all appropriate to speak of social satire or of social vision in the novel, even if Gogol had never denied it himself? If life was seen at all, it was through the eyes of a suffering genius obsessed with evil[33] and with a hostility to man which reminds us of Flaubert, with whom Gogol has a striking inner resemblance in

this respect. We remember Flaubert's tell-tale line referring to Madame Bovary: "Elle ne haïssait personne, maintenant."[34] One truly wonders whether Gogol's *Selected Passages* and the book's complete support of an inhuman Russian absolutism was not in fact an appropriate measure for the nihilistic degree of dehumanization and moral anemia reached in his dead soul.

NOTES

1. Helmut Thielicke, *Nihilism. Its Origins and Nature—With a Christian Answer*, trans. John W. Doberstein (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 30, 31, 40; 27, 32; 80, 103, 115; 36, 38, 40; 74, 80, 116-17; 39, 46, 98, respectively.

2. We could perhaps apply here Glicksberg's category of "literary nihilist" as one who "persists in seeking the light that dwells in the heart of darkness" in anguish and spiritual despair. See Charles I. Glicksberg, *The Literature of Nihilism* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1975).

3. See, for example, Dieter Arendt, *Der 'poetische Nihilismus' in der Romantik. Studien zum Verhältnis von Dichtung und Wirklichkeit in der Frühromantik*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: N. Niemeyer, 1972).

4. Wolf-Heinrich Schmidt, *Nihilismus und Nihilisten. Untersuchungen zur Typisierung im russischen Roman der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: W. Fink, 1974).

5. See V. Bazanov, "'Novyye lyudi' i 'nigilisty'," in his *Iz literaturnoy polemiki* (Petrozavodsk: Gosizdat, 1941), pp. 5-96; A. I. Novikov, *Nigilizm i nigilisty. Opyt kriticheskoy kharakteristiki* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1972).

6. F. M. Dostoevsky, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (22 vols., incompl.; Leningrad: Nauka, 1972-81), XVIII, 59.

7. *Pis'ma N. V. Gogolya*, ed. V. I. Shenrock (4 vols; St. Petersburg: A. F. Marks, 1901), II, 97, 99-100, 100 respectively. Hereafter cited as *Pis'ma*.

8. Dmitry Chizhevsky, "About Gogol's 'Overcoat'," in *Gogol from the Twentieth Century. Eleven Essays*, ed. by Robert A. Maguire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 319; see in the same volume Dmitry Merezhkovsky, "Gogol and the Devil," pp. 55-102.

9. The translation is taken from *Letters of Nikolai Gogol*, ed. Carl R. Proffer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 67. Hereafter cited as *Letters*; see *Pis'ma*, I, 425.

10. *Letters*, p. 146; *Pis'ma*, II, 521.

11. *Letters*, p. 159; *Pis'ma*, III, 80.

12. See, for instance, his "Predisloviye ko vtoromu izdaniyu pervogo toma *Mërtvykh dush* (1846)," in *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy N. V. Gogolya* (10 vols.; Berlin: Slovo, 1921), IV, 377-82. Hereafter cited as *Polnoye sobraniye*.

See also Andrey Bely, *Masterstvo Gogolya. Issledovaniye* (Leningrad: GIXL, 1934), pp. 5-42.

13. See *Polnoye sobraniye*, IX; and Nikolai Gogol, *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends*, trans. Jesse Zeldin (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969). Hereafter cited as *Selected Passages*. See also *Pis'ma*, III, 224; *Letters*, p. 164.

14. V. G. Belinsky, "Pis'mo k N. V. Gogolyu," in *Estetika i literaturnaya kritika* (2 vols.; Moscow: Gosizdat, 1959), II, 633-41. See also *N. V. Gogol' v pis'makh i vospominaniyakh*, ed. by Vasily Gippius (Moscow: Federatsiya, 1931), pp. 304-76.

15. *Pis'ma*, IV, 33; *Letters*, p. 179; see also *Pis'ma*, IV, 140; *Letters*, p. 192. Furthermore, see Gogol's "Teatral'nyy raz"yezd posle predstavleniya novoy komedii," (1836; 1842) in *N. V. Gogol' o literature. Izbrannyye stat'i i pis'ma* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1952), pp. 252-86, where he also saw art as a powerful means to "make peace with life" (p. 285) for those who had reached their limit of endurance in suffering. See finally his "Avtorskaya ispoved'" (1847) in *Polnoye sobraniye*, X, 18-61.

16. *Polnoye sobraniye*, X, 45, 53, 46.

17. Ibid., X, 19, 24.

18. Ibid., X, 22.

19. *Selected Passages*, p. 105; see also *Polnoye sobraniye*, IX, 126-34.

20. *Selected Passages*, p. 108.

21. Ibid., p. 103; see also *Polnoye sobraniye*, X, 57.

22. *Pis'ma*, III, 133; *Letters*, p. 161.

23. *Pis'ma*, II, 265; *Letters*, p. 123.

24. *Letters*, p. 159; *Pis'ma*, III, 80.

25. See K. Mochulsky, *Dukhovnyy put' Gogolya* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1976), esp. pp. 136-44; and Donald Fanger, *The Creation of Nikolai Gogol* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 4. See also Victor Erlich, *Gogol* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969); Vladimir Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1944); Vsevolod Setchkarev, *Gogol. His Life and Works*, trans. Robert Kramer (New York: New York University Press, 1965); George S. N. Luckyj, *Between Gogol and Ševčenko. Polarity in the Literary Ukraine: 1798-1847* (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1971), pp. 88-127; A. N. Pypin, "Gogol'," *Kharakteristiki literaturnykh mneniy ot dvadtsatykh do pyatidesyatykh godov; istoricheskiye ocherki* (St. Petersburg: Kolos, 1906), pp. 349-424.

26. See Paul Debreczeny, *Nikolay Gogol and His Contemporary Critics* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1966), pp. 29-50.

27. See *N. V. Gogol' o literature*, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

28. See also the excellent study by A. de Jonge, "Gogol," in *Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature. Studies of Ten Russian Writers*, ed. by John

Fennell (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 69-129, esp. pp. 79, 106, 122-23, 126.

29. References to this in Gogol's novel are far too numerous to list complete. See Nikolai Gogol, *Dead Souls*, trans. by David Magarshack (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 61-62, 96, 99, 103, 106, 109, 115, 117, 124, 127, 128, 133, 174, 179, 195, 240, etc. See *Polnoye sobraniye*, IV. In this connection see also Dmitrij Tschizewskij, "Gogol' - Studien," in *Forum Slavicum* (vol. 12, 1966), *Gogol'. Turgenew. Dostoevskij. Zur russischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 57-126, here p. 97.

30. Gogol, *Dead Souls*, p. 120.

31. Ibid., p. 240.

32. Ibid., pp. 231-32, 258-59, 143 respectively. Gogol's letters show God guiding his hand since about 1825!

33. See also de Jonge, pp. 127-8.

34. Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), p. 337. See also *Plädoyer für eine neue Literatur*, ed. by Kurt Neff (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1969), pp. 195-207, esp. 198, 201, 202, 205.

TRAGEDY AS IDEOLOGY: D. S. MEREZHKOVSKY'S *PAUL I*

C. Harold Bedford

Tendentiousness in drama is by no means a novelty. Nor is its presence in the dramatic compostitions of Dmitry Merezhkovsky unexpected, as he invariably required his belletristic writings to disseminate his religious and socio-political concepts. That excessive philosophising is indeed destructive to drama, and flaws certain of Merezhkovsky's plays,[1] cannot be denied. Yet *Paul I* (*Pavel I*), the drama which contains Merezhkovsky's first condemnation of autocracy in a non-publicistic work, successfully transcends this potential danger through the intensity of the personal tragedy of the central character, to the degree that it has been termed, with some justification, the best historical tragedy in Russian since Alexander Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*.[2]

Merezhkovsky's choice of Tsar Paul I as a symbol for the evils of autocracy was a relatively safe one. Paul has been invariably considered insane; therefore, in his delineation of Paul Merezhkovsky was presenting a historical portrait. The actions of the tsar, either performed on the stage (the degrading treatment he accords his generals and troops in Act I, Scene i) or referred to by various characters (in particular Alexander's wife Elizabeth and Count Palen) are well documented and may be attributed specifically to Paul's madness, although Merezhkovsky undoubtedly intended them to apply to tsardom as a system. Certainly, he availed himself of every opportunity to bear out the opening speech of the drama—Konstantin's: "He [Paul] was a beast yesterday, he will be a beast again today"[3]—and Elizabeth's later embittered remark to Alexander: "We are all slaves, you know—that peasant without his cap, and I, and you."[4] Indeed, it was not Merezhkovksy's portrayal of Paul which aroused the ire of the authorities against him, despite his paying little more than lip-service to the belief in Paul's insanity.

What is surprising in this work is Merezhkovsky's subordination of his absolute condemnation of autocracy to the exigencies of the genre of tragedy. The latter obliged him to arouse a certain degree of sympathy for Paul; otherwise, in spite of its horrific aspects, the murder of the tsar would be purely an act of justice and not tragedy. Paul had to be made a human being as well as a beast, a tormented man as well as a minion of Antichrist, a Man-god who claims: "Above all popes, tsar and pope together, Caesar and Pontiff am I, I, I alone in the entire universe."[5] While the slaying of the autocrat must be a necessity, the slaying of the man must fulfill the dictates of tragedy.

Merezhkovsky therefore developed Paul on two levels: first, as the egotistical, irrational though perhaps not yet really insane, overbearing, brutal wielder of absolute power; and secondly, as a person capable of experiencing the human feelings of love, fear, and sentimentality.

The initial intimation of Paul's human sensibilities appears as early as Act I, Scene i. He speaks to his son Alexander about his love for Princess Anna Gagarina, and relates the effect a flower could have on him:

> I was endowed by nature with a sensitive heart, Sashen'ka. Once I saw a small violet: it stood by the side of a rock, covered with stones, where not a drop of dew refreshed it. And a tender melancholy embraced my soul, tears fell from my eyes on that little flower, and revived by the moisture it opened.[6]

Projected against the background of what proves to be the fatal beating of a soldier whose wig is not the official length, Paul's reference to his 'sensitive heart' is assuredly ironic. Merezhkovsky doubtlessly intended to achieve this dramatic effect, but he also purposed the device to be a symbol revealing that the autocrat has gained preponderance over the man.

Paul is, above all else, a product of the autocratic system. He, too, has been subject to the tyrannous caprices of an absolute monarch—his mother, Catherine the Great.

> Yes, I know: my mother killed my father and wanted to incarcerate me, her son, in Schlüsselburg, in the very casemate where once the innocent sufferer, Ivan Antonovich, was strangled like a rat in a cellar. For thirty years I lived with the fear of death; I expected poison, a knife or a noose from my own mother and saw how she and her myrmidons, the regicides, reviled the memory of my father—I saw and endured, and remained silent... Thirty years, thirty years!... How did God preserve my reason and my life?[7]

Although the revelation of his past does not mitigate the evils perpetrated by Paul and is a further argument against autocracy itself, nevertheless it provokes a sense of horrified pity for the tsar and underscores his present fear of assassination, which convinces him that his beloved Alexander is a potential parricide.

Finally, it is in the short scene between Paul and Anna Gagarina, immediately preceding his murder, that Merezhkovsky strove successfully to engender the needed degree of sympathy for Anna's "Poor Paul."[8] Aware of the conspiracy and of the participation of members of his own family, Paul has come to Anna to seek a measure of peace. Lying at her feet, his head on her knees, he reminisces about his childhood: the tears shed when he had been hurt by someone, usually his mother; his pranks with a childhood friend; his flirtations with the young ladies-in-waiting. While he knows of Alexander's

complicity in the plot against him, he can still regard Alexander's portrait in Anna's locket and utter the words of a proud father:

> Ah! I had forgotten that we were both together here; I on one side, he on the other. We are the same age. Both about twelve. And how alike we are! Two drops of water. You cannot make out where I am or where he is. Just like a twin or a double. But this is not surprising—he is my own son, after all, my first-born, my flesh and blood, my dear boy!... Alexander, Alexander![9]

After such a speech Paul's flinging the locket into the fire and his cursing Alexander are but the outcome of the despairing rage of a man betrayed by the person dearest to him. With fate inexorably to encompass his death that very night, Paul is indeed to be pitied as he leaves the safety of Anna's comforting presence.

True to the tradition of tragedy, Paul's vain conflict with fate heightens this sentiment of pity. The effect is intensified by Merezhkovsky's personification of fate in the figure of the Machiavellian Count Palen, military governor of St. Petersburg. No one is equal to the machinations of the ubiquitous Palen, who appears in all but two scenes: the above mentioned tête-à-tête and the murder scene. Cunning and opportunistic, a master of deceit and duplicity, Palen orders the actions, decisions and destinies of principal and minor characters alike. It is he who, in Act I, Scene i, channels the personal anger and resentment of General Talyzin, commander of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, and of Prince Yashvil' into the resevoir of the conspiracy, after the former has been upbraided and the latter struck by an enraged Paul. To Talyzin, who threatens to resign, Palen offers flattery and a promise: "Such persons as you are particularly necessary to us now. *(In his ear).* This disorder cannot exist for long."[10] He plays on Yashvil''s vanity to transform his impotent threats of revenge into action: "Do not say too much... I will tell you something better. *(Leading Yashvil' aside).* It is the base who talk, the brave who act."[11] It is Palen, too, who repeatedly insinuates that Paul is insane and who finally convinces the empress and even the reluctant Alexander.

To achieve his purpose, Paul's death, Palen makes use of every means at his disposal. To Alexander he feigns sincerity: "I am an outspoken man, Your Highness, I do not know how to use cunning: what is in my mind is on my tongue."[12] To Paul he professes loyalty: "Your Majesty, you yourself know: for me there is only God and you. I would lay down my soul for you!"[13] Paul's trust must be maintained, but Alexander's sanction of the overthrow of his father is of greater importance, for by it alone will Palen's scheme gain legality. At first Palen tries to arouse Alexander's vanity and ambition:

> You know our plan: to seize the person of the emperor, to declare him ill and to compel him to abdicate the throne in order to give it to you. I say this not

> from myself, but from the senate, the army, the gentry—from the whole Russian nation, whose sole desire is to see Alexander emperor.[14]

When this approach fails, Palen works on Alexander's liberal, humanitarian, and religious sentiments. He argues that the attainment of his goal is "for Russia, for Europe, for all humanity."[15] It is not, he lies, the insane Paul whom he hates, but "the source of his madness—despotism."[16] Finally, he endeavours to impress upon Alexander the divine mission which has been laid upon them both:

> I thought that the Lord had chosen us for this great deed—to return human rights to forty million slaves. I see now that I was mistaken. You and I are not the instruments of God's destiny. We were born slaves and will die slaves. I do not know about you, but I—though I may die on the block—I am happy to perish for my country and will appear before God's judgement with a pure conscience—I did what I could.[17]

The latter has already included a betrayal of the conspiracy to Paul, accompanied by the falsehood that the imperial family, and in particular Alexander, actively support the plot. By such knavery Palen readily induces Paul to sign an *ukaz*, prepared by Palen, authorizing the arrest of every member of the royal family.[18] It is a tragic twist that in an effort to save himself Paul has unwittingly affixed his signature to his own death-warrant. With this document and threats Palen succeeds in breaking Alexander's resistance and obliges him to sign a manifesto, also written in advance by Palen, announcing the abdication of Paul and the accession of Alexander.[19] The signatures on the death-warrant are complete.

In spite of his mouthings to Alexander, Palen's reason for the overthrow of the tsar is neither patriotic, humanitarian, nor divine. No less than Talyzin and Yashvil', he has a personal, human motive: he has learned that he is to be removed from his high post. "I see, Sire, that General Arakcheyev, my worst enemy, has been appointed military governor in order to destroy me."[20] These words, few though they are, destroy the façade which Palen has carefully erected and reveal the paucity of the cabal. Paul is to be murdered for human and not humanitarian reasons; he is to be slain not for the purpose of overcoming autocracy, but to rid Russia of an individual against whom other individuals seek revenge. It is therefore not fate ordained by God, but fate proceeding from man, against which Paul vainly and tragically contends.

Merezhkovsky exhibits no sympathy for the participants in the palace revolution. His attitude toward them is best summarised in the words of Benigsen, one of the conspirators: "you will not make a revolution with these gentlemen. In deposing the tyrant, we will only confirm tyranny."[21] To offer proof of these words is Merezhkovsky's purpose in Act IV, Scene i, in which the anti-Paulists are gathered together before the murder. Among them are

drunkards, the Princes Volkonsky and Dolgoruky, who disagree on what song to sing; a nineteen-year-old cornet who has come along at the last moment, presumably for the thrill and to prove his manhood; Skaryatin, who delights in relating obscene anecdotes; and Platon Zubov, a coward who is forced at pistol-point to accompany the regicides. Lack of unity is abundantly in evidence. Baron Rozen's constitution, which he attempts to read, is unheeded, misunderstood, or mocked. Two unidentified plotters haggle over the sale of a sixteen-year-old serf-girl, while others reject the very concepts of equality ("In nature, sir, there is no equality"[22]) and liberty ("Liberty? What is liberty? Noise is deceptive and smoke empty"[23]). It is symbolic of the outcome of the conspiracy that the opponents of liberty and equality outnumber the advocates by the ratio of two to one. Klokachëv's demands for a republic are drowned in the arguments of the absolutists, in particular Talyzin, who believes that the autocrat has no legal right to limit his autocratic powers and contends: "The Russian empire is so great and vast that, except for an autocratic sovereign, every other government is impossible and pernicious."[24] Only one, Mordvinov, calls for the liberation of the serfs. Shouted down, he prophesies, as Merezhkovsky repeatedly did in his works, a future revolution:

> Take care, then, citizens! The day of vengeance is coming—the slaves will rise and with their chains will smash our skulls and will steep their cornfields in our blood. The block and the noose, the sword and fire—those are what await us. This will be, this will be!... My gaze penetrates the veil of time... I see through a whole century... I see... [25]

But the prophet is silenced, and the quarrels continue, until Palen arrives to give order, if not cohesion, to their undertaking.

Only Alexander is the true opponent to the kingdom of the Beast, autocracy. To his wife he passionately declares:

> Oh, my sole dream, when I ascend the throne, is to leave it, to renounce power, to show everyone how much I hate despotism, to recognise the holy Rights of Man—les Droits de l'Homme—, to give Russia a constitution, a republic—anything they wish... [26]

However, he is a dreamer, not a man of action. He longs, under the influence of Rousseau, to flee with Elizabeth to the peace of nature: "There, on the banks of the Rhine or in the blue Jura, in a wilderness hut entwined with vines our life will flow like an exquisite dream, in the embrace of nature and innocence."[27] It is Alexander's tragedy, as well as Paul's, which is developed through the drama. Content to lose himself in revery, preferring his own death to complicity in the death of his father,[28] he lacks the will to oppose successfully the stronger wills of Elizabeth and Palen: he is compelled to act as others wish him to act,

and he must then accept the guilt engendered by the forced action.

Despite his unwillingness to rise against the anointed of God, it is Alexander who queries the divine origin of power. He first does so immediately after signing the manifesto:

> *There is no power but of God.* The priest said this to us recently in church, when we took the oath. But if the sovereign is insane, is power also of God? A madman with a razor. Is the razor of God? A beast of prey which has escaped from its cage. Is the kingdom of the beast the Kingdom of God? It is impossible to understand anything...[29]

It was primarily this speech, and the following variation of it in the final scene, which led to the charge of *lèse-majesté* against Merezhkovsky.[30]

> Yes, yes... power of God... *there is no power but of God...* And this is again as it was then... But you know, Lizan'ka, there is something wrong here. But if autocratic power is not of God? If this place is damned—will one stand on it and be swallowed up? All were swallowed up before me—and I shall be swallowed up. You think that I have gone mad, that I am raving?... No, now I know what I am saying; perhaps later I shall forget, but now I know... Here, I say, the devil and God are close, very close—God and the devil have been so entangled that one cannot untangle them!... [31]

Although he did not state it explicitly, Merezhkovsky hinted at his current belief that the origin of autocratic power was of the devil and not of God.

There is no question that Merezhkovsky was in sympathy with Alexander for his liberal and religious tendencies. Yet it must not be overlooked that *Paul I* is but the preface to the novels *Alexander I* (*Aleksandr I*) and *December the Fourteenth* (*Chetyrnadtsatoye dekabrya*).[32] Alexander's tragedy has barely begun. Forced by fate to rise against his father, he is also forced by Palen to accede to the throne, although he foresees the agony of conscience which lies before him:

> Afterwards... Afterwards... all my life... always—every day, every hour, every minute—just this and nothing more... How can one live with this, reign with this? Do you know?... I do not know... I cannot... let he who can... but I cannot... [33]

Merezhkovsky must also forewarn that Alexander's reign, in spite of the new tsar's professed liberalism, will be no less evil than the one just ended. For this purpose he has the arrival of Arakcheyev, a *diabolus ex machina*, announced in the last lines of the play and has Benigsen state: "Remember my words, gentlemen: Paul is dead, Arakcheyev is alive—the beast is dead, the

beast is alive."[34]

The tragedy of Paul has been accomplished. Yet it is a tragedy that is poignantly ironic, for the elimination of Paul has been an act of futility. Only the human being has perished; the institution which produced him and of which he is the symbol lives on.

NOTES

1. See V. G. Malakhiyeva-Mirovich's review of Merezhkovsky's drama *There Will Be Joy* (*Budet radost'*), "Novaya p'yesa D. S. Merezhkovskogo," *Russkaya Mysl'* (Moscow and Petrograd, 3/1916).
2. M. Tsetlin, "D. S. Merezhkovsky," *Novosel'ye* (New York, 2/1942), p. 53.
3. D. S. Merezhkovsky, *Pavel I*, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (St. Petersburg and Moscow: M. O. Vol'f, 1911-13), XV (2), 3. Hereafter cited as *Pol. sobr. soch.*. All translations are mine.
4. Ibid., XV (2), 21.
5. Ibid., XV (2), 44.
6. Ibid., XV (2), 13.
7. Ibid., XV (2), 25.
8. Ibid., XV (2), 117.
9. Ibid., XV (2), 111.
10. Ibid., XV (2), 7.
11. Ibid., XV (2), 10.
12. Ibid., XV (2), 28.
13. Ibid., XV (2), 70.
14. Ibid., XV (2), 26-27.
15. Ibid., XV (2), 77.
16. Ibid., XV (2), 77.
17. Ibid., XV (2), 77.
18. Ibid., XV (2), 68.
19. Ibid., XV (2), 80.
20. Ibid., XV (2), 69.
21. Ibid., XV (2), 107.
22. Ibid., XV (2), 89.
23. Ibid., XV (2), 89.
24. Ibid., XV (2), 94.
25. Ibid., XV (2), 96.
26. Ibid., XV (2), 19.
27. Ibid., XV (2), 19.
28. Ibid., XV (2), 74.

29. Ibid., XV (2), 81. The quotation is from Romans 13:1.

30. The case was heard in September 1912. Merezhkovsky and his publisher, M. V. Pirozhkov, were acquitted, and the ban on *Paul I* lifted. For a brief résumé of the trial see the editor's note to D. S. Merezhkovsky, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (Moscow: I. D. Sytin, 1914), VI, 277-80.

31. Merezhkovsky, *Pavel I*, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XV (2), 141.

32. The drama and two novels comprise Merezhkovsky's second trilogy, *The Kingdom of the Beast* (*Tsarstvo zverya*).

33. Merezhkovsky, *Pavel I*, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XV (2), 140.

34. Ibid., XV (2), 146.

SOVIET SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY IN THE PROSE OF VLADIMIR TENDRYAKOV

N. N. Shneidman

Vladimir Tendryakov belongs to the generation of writers who appeared on the Soviet literary scene in the immediate post-Stalin period. His name is therefore closely associated with the "thaw" in Soviet culture and with the beginnings of the re-evaluation of the canon of socialist realism in Soviet literature. The early works of the young Tendryakov are in the main stream of the so-called "village prose," dealing primarily with the predicament of the Soviet countryside in the 1940s and 1950s.[1] In his mature works, however, he does not limit himself to the portrayal of simple peasant life; he explores more universal problems, setting them in the conditions of contemporary Soviet urban life. His later heroes, representatives of the city intelligentsia, are introspective and soul-searching. They quest for meaning in life and question their place in this world, yet are frustrated by a reality they can neither fathom nor refuse to accept. Some of them evade the dilemma they encounter by means of ardent religious faith, while others explore it squarely and honestly. Looking for answers or explanations for the inner void they find so burdensome, some of Tendryakov's major characters see the roots of their psychological and metaphysical disquiet in the education they received in Soviet schools.

Tendryakov's interest in problems of education is not new: it dates back to the 1950s when, rather than focussing his attention on the educational system or even the educational process, he was primarily interested in the personality and ability of the teacher. He considered most important the teacher's ability to help his students define and distinguish between good and evil, love and hate, selflessness and egoism. Thus, for example, Andrey Biryukov, the narrator-hero of the novel *Za begushchim dnëm* (*On the Heels of Time*) written in 1959,[2] is a teacher of Russian literature and a crusader for school reform. He opposes old teaching methods which stifle the pupils' interest and initiative and he advocates the introduction of "organized dialogues" to stimulate student involvement in the lessons. Biryukov can hardly be regarded as a successful Soviet hero for his "positive" ideals are often at odds with his indecisive nature, and his excellent intentions bear no results. Yet despite the novel's weakness in characterization, the educational issues examined in it were so important to Tendryakov that he even waged a campaign, broader in scope, in the Soviet press, criticizing many aspects of the state system of education and calling for drastic changes in the schools' teaching methods.[3]

Tendryakov's concern did not slacken over the years and in the early 70s he returned in his fiction to the question of education, this time the problems of upbringing affecting the lives of the young people who are his main characters. In "Vesenniye perevertyshi" ("Spring Turnovers" 1973)[4] and in "Tri meshka sornoy pshenitsy" ("Three Bags of Weedy Wheat" 1973)[5] he juxtaposes two generations: young, uncorrupted teenagers who battle for justice and common sense and their fathers who represent the corrupt, complacent administrative bureaucracy. The investigation of the relationship between fathers and sons, which is prominently featured in "Vesenniye perevertyshi," leads Tendryakov to an inquiry into the negative changes in the young, who gradually become malleable, accomodating adults, complacent about everything other than immediate material gratification and personal well-being.

Family, school, and society are the three forces that most influence young people in their formative years. The Soviet school, because centrally controlled, uniformly promotes and fosters values advocated by the state. But the influence which the school exerts on a young student in the Soviet Union is not always commensurate with the needs and ambitions of the individual or with the expectations of his family. The objectives of the state often clash with the educational concerns of the individual, leading to a conflict between the school and teacher, on the one hand, and the pupil and his family, on the other. The incompatibility between the school, which must serve the interests of society in general, and the individual student, who is not always able to sublimate personal cravings through public service, accounts for many of the difficulties Soviet education encounters in its endeavour to prepare young people for the challenges of modern life. These are the problems that concern Tendryakov most because, according to him, the irreconcilable conflict between the individual and the school is largely responsible for the ethical shallowness, if not the moral corruption, of young Soviet citizens.

The intricate relationship of school, teacher, pupil, family, and society is set forth in extreme, dramatic terms in Tendryakov's trilogy of short stories, "Noch' posle vypuska" ("The Night after Graduation," 1974),[6] "Rasplata" ("Atonement," 1979)[7] and "Shest'desyat svechey" ("Sixty Candles," 1980).[8] The action of "Noch' posle vypuska" takes place in June 1972, on the thirty-first anniversary of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. The plot is set in motion by the valedictory speech delivered by Yulechka Studentseva. The best student of the graduating class frankly admits that though her education opened for her many different roads, all leading to a brilliant future, her schooling failed to teach her what was most important: how to choose. When Yulechka asks, "What road should I choose?", she replies to her own question, saying that "school forced me to know everything, except one thing—what I like, what I love.... Now I look around and it turns out that I love nothing... and there are a thousand roads, and they are all the same, all indifferent to me.... Do

not think that I am happy. I am terrrified."[9]

Yulechka's desperate speech sounds like a helpless cry in the wilderness, pointing to the weaknesses and inadequacies of the system under which she studied. Though Soviet schools have a number of admirable qualities—they develop diligence, obedience, and discipline, while stressing the value of good marks and teaching the efficient management of heavy workloads—they emphasize the importance of the group over the individual, and their rigorous requirements of uniformity and conformity discourage the student from thinking for himself. Thus the Soviet school stifles growth of personality, and fosters a conformist psychology which forces everyone to look, to act, and to think as convention requires, and as his peers do. Such enforced collectivity can produce dangerous consequences, as is illustrated in the story when the young graduates, after a bitter quarrel, decide to surrender their best friend, Genka Golikov, to a gang that wants to murder him. Only Yulechka, who has already asserted publicly a personal identity distinct from her peers, comes to Golikov's defense. By taking a stand against a common treachery she expresses her independence, her ability to withstand peer pressure.

As the title of the first story suggests, everything happens in the ominous night after graduation. But the action develops simultaneously in two locations, among two groups of people. While the students begin their graduation celebration in the city square, six teachers, three men and three women, assemble after the ceremony in the teachers' lounge. Both gatherings end in acrimonious arguments and bode little good for the members of these groups. The young people become embroiled in bitter exposures of each other's shortcomings, thus revealing how their enforced camaraderie in school barely camouflages the jealousy, envy, and hostility deeply rooted in the hearts of supposedly friendly and cooperative schoolmates. The disputation among the teachers is just as vitriolic. Shocked by Yulechka's pronouncement, which some teachers view as an impudent act of open rebellion against the school, they argue about the merits and shortcomings of their teaching methods. Zoya Vladimirovna, the sixty year old literature teacher, is accused of producing ignorant young people, unable to appreciate a real work of art. Instead of stimulating her students to think and feel and reflect, she requires them to memorize long passages and to repeat the worn-out truths prescribed by the school programmes. Zoya Vladimirovna seems to lose the argument, yet she is not prepared to accept her colleagues' accusations. This would be tantamount to an admission of failure, an admission of a wasted life.

The discussion in the teachers' lounge solves nothing. It re-emphasizes only in the form of fiction the opinions many teachers and students have been voicing in Russia since the death of Stalin, views which, unfortunately, have been ignored by the bureaucrats in the upper echelons of the Soviet system of education.[10] But Tendryakov's message in "Noch' posle vypuska"—that

school fails to prepare adequately young people for adult life—is too simple, concrete, and insistent to be easily dismissed. Therefore, the story has generated a lively and mixed reaction in Soviet literary criticism. Most critics admit that the story touches upon a number of very important issues, but they fail to agree on its relative merits. Instead, Tendryakov is attacked hashly for the ideological shortcomings of his work. Thus, for example, the "conservative" critic N. Shamota decries the fact that Tendryakov poses in his story a number of very important questions but avoids the responsiblity of even attempting to reply to them. According to Shamota, "the literature of socialist realism never shunned the duty of answering the questions posed by life, doing it with a degree of great internal responsibility. A Marxist-Leninist *Weltanschauung* is a reliable foundation for such cognition."[11] It is evident that the demands of Shamota sound not only a retreat from the Chekhovian principles of artistic presentation, according to which it is not the writer's duty to solve problems, but just to present them correctly, but also step back from the literary evolution of the 1960s and early 1970s when writers were relatively free to present and to explore controversial problems, without being required to voice a definite opinion on the conflicts described and the issues discussed.

In "Noch' posle vypuska" the action is set in motion by an abstract notion, by a statement expressing the failure of the educational system; in "Rasplata," on the other hand, the conflict is generated by an act of parricide. A grade nine student, Kolya Koryakin, shoots his alcoholic father for abusing and tormenting his mother and for destroying their family life. An intense family drama is at the core of this story, but Tendryakov does little to investigate the family relationship of the Koryakins. Nor does he analyze the psychological state of young Kolya before his decisive and terrible act of violence. Instead, he becomes absorbed in the search for the reasons for the crime and for the culprits responsible for it. Among those who take upon themselves the guilt for the murder is, first of all, Kolya's mother, who wants to save her son. Quite surprisingly and quite significantly, Kolya's fifty-four year old literature teacher, Arkady Kirillovich Pamyatnov, is also overcome by a sense of culpability. He is the first at the scene of the crime, arriving even before the police, and from that moment he becomes the main protagonist. And in his search for the causes of the parricide he looks both within himself and at his methods of teaching literature.

Now the murder becomes secondary in the development of the plot as Tendryakov investigates the relationship between teacher and pupil, school and family, and the effect of the teaching of literature on the sensitive soul of a young man. Pamyatnov greatly influences his students, and he is famous for his intense concern with ethics in the classroom. He teaches his students that man is essentially good, and that one has to fight evil. But at the same time he shelters his students from real life, projecting an idealized reality in which good

always prevails. "Together with other teachers Arkady Kirillovich tried to protect his students from the evils of this world. They have been told that there is no alcoholism, no robbery, cheating or self-centered egoism. Instead there are only the achievements of labour, the growing consciousness of the people, noble deeds, and honest relationships."[12] But the students are not blind. The moment they are dismissed from classes they encounter a world vastly different from the one described in their classroom, and they are forced to develop new skills and values to ensure their survival in this real and complicated world.

Pamyatnov's notion that one should fight evil is carried by Kolya to the extreme that he murders for what appears to be an elevated idea. Pamyatnov's conscience may be troubled because he thinks that "murder and happiness are incompatible."[13] But his students argue that to "kill for life's sake, for a better life,"[14] is possible and necessary, and they support their argument with examples from the lives of leading revolutionaries who have killed for a higher cause, examples previously cited by their teacher in his literature lessons. The question if one is justified in killing for a noble cause is not new. It is central to Dostoevsky's famous novel *Crime and Punishment*.[15] But it is one thing to discuss these problems on a theoretical plane, as an abstract or historical issue, and it is totally different to use this argument for the justification for the murder of one's own father. Pamyatnov is confused and dejected when he realizes that his intent to teach his pupils what is good does not lead to positive results. He recognizes also that supervising the general process of education and upbringing is much more difficult than teaching simple facts, and that the ethics of everyday life are often much more complicated than abstract notions of universal morality.

According to Tendryakov, the Soviet school does not give the literature teacher the tools necessary for educating the young. "School programmes tell the student that he should know the biographies of writers and the ideological essence of their best works. He should be able to determine, in a given stereotyped manner, the essence of an artistic image.... But the programmes do not take into consideration that literature describes human relations in which nobleness encounters baseness, honesty faces falsity, magnanimity confronts perfidy, and ethics counter immorality."[16] Indeed, the Soviet teacher is given little room for innovation, independence, and imagination in his literature classes. From their literature classes the students acquire certain skills; they master many facts and learn to interpret them in the required manner, but they cannot relate the pulsing life of a literary narrative to their own lives.

The story ends inconclusively. Tendryakov does not take the reader into the courtroom for the verdict against Kolya. Nor does he make clear who are the main culprits in this human drama. Since Tendryakov tries hard to absolve Kolya of guilt without explicitly revealing who is to blame for the murder, the only possible conclusion is that everyone is guilty: the family, its friends, the

school, and, last but not least, the whole social system which often neglects to create conditions adequate for peaceful family life, and is supportive of a school system which fails in its task of upbringing and of preparing young people for life.

The hero of the trilogy's last story, "Shest'desyat svechey," is its narrator Nikolay Stepanovich Yechevin, a small town history teacher. He has just celebrated his sixtieth birthday and the fortieth anniversary of his teaching activity. He has been honoured by the town, by the school, and by many of his former students. But among the congratulatory letters is an anonymous threat to kill him for having allegedly ruined the writer's life. The threat has a shattering effect on the teacher and provokes a soul-searching re-examination of his past. Little by little he begins to understand that he has always given in to public pressure and to the "demands of the times," choosing consistently the road of least resistance. He finally realizes that for years he has been deluding himself that he knows what he is teaching, that he knows no more about truth than do his students, that the blind have been leading and continue to lead the blind.

Yechevin, who appears to be an ordinary, stern, and upright man, has been obsessed all his life with the idea of justice and with the welfare of his students. Yet he now recalls painfully that his obsessive drive to put good intentions into practice did not inevitably lead to positive results. He remembers how as a fifteen year old student, influenced by youthful zeal and by a young revolutionary and school principal named Sukov,[17] he forsook the girl he loved, and denounced and drove to suicide her father, Ivan Semënovich Graube, who was also his former teacher and benefactor. Years later, after the Second World War, he persuaded one of his students, Sergey Kropotov, to denounce his own father, when the old man was wrongly suspected of collaborating with the Nazis. Following this denunciation young Kropotov could not cope with the alienation from his family, and his conscience drove him to alcoholism and ruin. And it was for all the ensuing tribulations of a smashed life that Kropotov decided on revenge against his former teacher by means of an anonymous threat. With these oppressive memories and revelations Yechevin can only conclude that his concerns have resulted in more harm than good.

The encounter between Yechevin and Kropotov, however, proves anticlimactic when the pupil meets a changed and repentant teacher, who nonetheless claims that his good intentions must be taken into account. But Kropotov argues that unconscious delusion is more dangerous than deliberate villainy and then, bidding his teacher to judge himself according to his own conscience, he hands over his gun to Yechevin. Yechevin's teacher, Graube, poisoned himself after he concluded, "I have taught him [Yechevin] all his life to distinguish between falsehood and truth; to hate evil and to respect the good—but I failed to teach him. I am a wretched bankrupt. I wasted my life."[18] Yechevin, however, does not follow in his teacher's steps for he lacks the inner

strength and fibre to commit suicide; instead, his guilt, his doubts, and his gnawing sense of his own uselessness condemn him to a life of torment.

Yechevin's situation suggests that man is a blind tool of circumstances, no matter how he deludes himself that he is in control of his destiny. Yet his conscience responds to the responsiblity which freedom imposes upon man, a burden he is often too ready to relinquish in order to avoid the anguish of being forced to make a choice or take a stand. Yechevin wants to be good and just, but in his experience these two are incompatible. It is impossible for him to tell the truth because it would hurt others; therefore to do good means to lie and become a hypocrite in order not to cause pain to himself or to others.

The action in "Shest'desyat svechey" covers one day in Yechevin's life, but it is not a good day. It is a day of awakening and frustration. Just as Graube, his teacher, had come to realize that he had failed in his educational endeavours, so Yechevin learns that his life has been a waste. He knows now that he was unable to instil in his students "good human qualities and sensitivity. He did not develop in them a sense of independence." Instead of stimulating their independence and initiative he infected them with his own "icy indifference to history."[19]

There are certain parallels in the predicaments of Pamyatnov and Yechevin. Both begin teaching by adhering strictly to the requirements of the official school programmes. Yechevin acts even beyond the call of duty by attempting to influence the private lives of his pupils. But the dramatic occurrences which shatter the tranquility of their daily lives place their past educational endeavours in a new perspective. All of a sudden they recognize the inability of man to judge his fellow man because he is himself fallible and imperfect. They become concerned with the universal problems of the ethics of life and death, discovering that life in itself has a value which is beyond and above the noble ideas which advocate and justify war and even murder. By raising these problems the teachers challenge the philosophical foundations of the Soviet interpretation of history and literature as well as the ideological roots of the modern Soviet state. No wonder the teachers find no solutions to their dilemmas. In the contemporary conditions of Soviet life they would get no chance to voice them, anyway. All Yechevin can say in conclusion to his unvoiced deliberations is, "Oh, how life is difficult—full of incompatible contradictions!"[20]

Soviet readers have found Tendryakov's later stories compelling, for they not only examined many provocative and relevant issues, but also presented their social and ethical content in gripping dramatic fashion. An act of violence or some other dramatic occurrence of great tension precipitated the action, and a Dostoevskyan emphasis on the extreme, the unusual, and the criminal, grounded on devices generating intrigue, surprise, and suspense, was constantly maintained. The power of the melodramatic events and the moral content embedded in them was offset by a number of aesthetic deficiencies: the actions

of the characters were poorly motivated and characterization was often thin. The main characters were introduced primarily to advance certain philosophical and social notions, and their long debates and monologues often hindered the smooth flow of the narrative. Yet despite these flaws, some of which may have resulted from the changes demanded by censors and editors uncomfortable with the sensationalistic violence so essential to the stories, the appearance of Tendryakov's stories was an important literary event on the Soviet stage. These works probed the ethical foundation of Soviet education; they disturbed the peaceful complacency of the Soviet educational bureaucracy; and they questioned the moral and social values prevalent in contemporary Soviet society.

Since the appearance of his early stories Tendryakov had been censured by Soviet critics on numerous occasions for his artistic as well as his ideological shortcomings, yet he always remained at the fore of Soviet letters. In the West, on the other hand, Tendryakov was popular with Western readers and editors only in the early 1960s, when he was hailed as one of the major figures of the literary "thaw" in the Soviet Union. J. G. Garrard even suggested that "technically speaking, Tendrjakov no longer appears to have very much to learn. He is amazingly skillful at structuring his stories and manipulating characters and events."[21] In the late 1970s, however, the writer's stock declined, and some critics, like Geoffrey Hosking, addressed the diminishing interest in Tendryakov's work by suggesting "that this neglect of him is in a way justified. He is important because he is symptomatic rather than because he is a good writer."[22] But Tendryakov's mature fiction was in no way inferior to his early work, and all his stories demonstrated similar strengths and weaknesses. Yet though his first works were extolled because they belonged to a minority that sounded liberal, anti-Stalinist views with which many Western readers sympathized, his recent works were neglected because they were in the mainstream of contemporary Soviet literature, generally more critical of its own society.

The spirit of the "thaw" has long been stifled, and whatever hopes Tendryakov had for a continuation of the post-Stalin relaxation in the arts were shattered by the indifference and complacency of the new Soviet bureaucracy. His late works, therefore, brooded over the overpowering effect of evil and over the inability of man to overcome his own failings. No hint of a better future was offered. Most of the characters were negative, and the few protagonists with whom the author identified and sympathized roamed in the dark without a clear sense of direction or without hope of finding a way out of the darkness. His work seemed the outcry of a desperate man who honestly mirrored the contradictions of his age and the absurdity of the human predicament.

The mood of dejection and negativism permeating his late stories found no sympathy in official Soviet circles, particularly at a time when the creation of a new image of a contemporary positive hero was demanded over and over

again. A resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU stated bluntly that "the new generations of Soviet young people require a positive hero who is close to them in time and spirit; a hero who would be perceived as an artistic discovery; a hero who would reflect the fate of the people and in turn influence their actions."[23] Tendryakov could not produce such a positive hero because he was deeply aware of and perhaps tormented by the incompatibility between, on the one hand, the demands of his moral nature and artistic integrity and, on the other, the social requirements of conformity and compromise. And he was oppressed by the chasm between a social reality difficult to change and yet impossible to reject and a personal conscience impossible to alter and yet searingly painful to bear.

NOTES

1. The English translations of Tendryakov's stories "Ukhaby" ("Potholes"), 1956, "Troyka, semerka, tuz" ("Three, Seven, Ace"), 1960, and "Korotkoye zamykaniye ("Short Circuit"), 1962 have been published in the West. A number of more recent works, including "Sud" ("The Trial"), 1961, "Nakhodka" ("The Find"), 1965, and "Vesenniye perevertyshi" ("A Topsy-Turvy Spring"—in Soviet translation), 1973, have been translated and published in the Soviet Union. Tendryakov's early works are discussed in J. G. Garrard, "Vladimir Tendrjakov," *Slavic and East European Journal*, IX, No. 1 (Spring 1965), pp. 1-18. The works of the 1950s and 60s are discussed in Deming Brown, *Soviet Russian Literature since Stalin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 169-73 and 280-82, and in Edward J. Brown, *Russian Literature since the Revolution*, revised and enlarged edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 323-25. Geoffrey Hosking discusses "Apostol'skaya komandirovka" ("On Apostolic Business"), 1969, in "The Search for an Image of Man in Contemporary Soviet Fiction," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, XI, No. 4 (October 1975), pp. 349-65, and Tendryakov's other works in *Beyond Socialist Realism* (London: Granada Publishing, 1980), pp. 84–100. Tendryakov's works of the 1970s are discussed in N. N. Shneidman, *Soviet Literature in the 1970s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 21-24. A Ph. D. dissertation on the subject "Vladimir Tendryakov; A Survey and Analysis of his Works" has been defended in 1975 at Michigan State University by L. S. Pacira.

2. *Molodaya gvardiya*, Nos. 10-12 (1959), and in Vladimir Tendryakov, *Sobraniye sochineniy v chetyrëkh tomakh*, II (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1979), pp. 233-612.

3. See Vladimir Tendryakov, "Vash syn i nasledstvo Komenskogo," *Moskva*, No. 11 (1965), pp. 143-59. Tendryakov's article sparked a heated

discussion on the pages of *Moskva*. See *Moskva*, Nos. 1, 4, 10, and 11 (1966).

4. *Novyy mir*, No. 1 (1973), pp. 118-71.
5. *Nash sovremennik*, No. 2 (1973), pp. 3-80.
6. *Novyy mir*, No. 9 (1974), pp. 82-130.
7. Ibid., No. 3 (1979), pp. 6-99.
8. *Druzhba narodov*, No. 9 (1980), pp. 91-165.
9. *Novyy mir*, No. 9 (1974), p. 83.
10. For a discussion of programming and of methods of teaching literature in the Soviet Union, see N. N. Shneidman, *Literature and Ideology in Soviet Education* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973).
11. N. Shamota, "Chitatel' i literaturnyy protses," *Znamya*, No. 8 (1976), p. 232.
12. *Novyy mir*, No. 3 (1979), p. 62.
13. Ibid., p. 72.
14. Ibid.
15. In his article, "Uchitelya i ucheniki," Ark. El'yashevich points out a number of parallels between "Rasplata" and *Crime and Punishment*, and between the characters of Koryakin and Raskolnikov, placing an exaggerated emphasis on the affinity between Tendryakov and Dostoevsky. See *Novyy mir*, No. 7 (1982), pp. 240-41.
16. *Novyy mir*, No. 3 (1979), p. 14.
17. The name Sukov can be interpreted as a derogatory symbol because it is etymologically related to the word "suka," which in English means "bitch."
18. *Druzhba narodov*, No. 9 (1980), p. 114.
19. Ibid., p. 144.
20. Ibid., p. 165.
21. Garrard, p. 2.
22. Hosking, *Beyond Socialist Realism*, p. 84.
23. "O tvorcheskikh svyazyakh literaturno-khudozhestvennykh zhurnalov s praktikoy kommunisticheskogo stroitel'stva," *Literaturnaya gazeta*, August 4, 1982, p. 1.

SOLZHENITSYN AND ANARCHISM: AUTHORITY AND JUSTICE

K. A. Lantz

Speaking to a session of the Secretariat of the Writers' Union in 1967 Solzhenitsyn cast the writer in a distinctly non-political role, insisting that "the writer's task is not to defend or criticise one or another mode of distributing the social product, or to defend or criticise one or another form of government organization."[1] Despite his many pronouncements on political matters Solzhenitsyn is not primarily concerned with politics. But he is passionately concerned with justice, and that concern adds a political dimension to his writings. This political dimension has been shaped in large measure by sentiments best described as anarchist. This does not imply that Solzhenitsyn himself should be labelled an anarchist; but there is a distinctly anarchist spirit in his fiction, and it is that that I wish to examine.

The range of anarchist thought, even among its Russian representatives, is very wide, embracing Tolstoyan pacifism and non-violence along with the "passion for destruction" of Bakunin. But a basic tenet shared by all anarchists is a concern for justice.[2] The sense of justice, anarchists maintain, is an inborn trait of all humans, and it stems from their inherent sociability. To quote George Woodcock:

> All anarchists, I think, would accept the proposition that man naturally contains within him all the attributes which make him capable of living in freedom and social concord. They may not believe that man is naturally good, but they believe very fervently that man is naturally social. His sociality is expressed, according to Proudhon, in an immanent sense of justice, which is wholly human and natural to him: 'An integral part of a collective existence, man feels his dignity at the same time in himself and in others, and thus carries in his heart the principle of a morality superior to himself. This principle does not come to him from outside; it is secreted within him, it is immanent. It constitutes his essence, the essence of society itself. It is the true form of the human spirit, a form which takes shape and grows toward perfection only by the relationship that every day gives birth to social life. Justice, in other words, exists in us like love, like notions of beauty, of utility, of truth, like all our powers and faculties.'[3]

The very core of anarchism, then, is this affirmation that human beings can live justly and peaceably with one another without direction from some external authority since they have an inborn sense of justice and are, if only left alone, inherently predisposed toward cooperation. Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* (a

work which Shulubin in *Cancer Ward* urges Kostoglotov to read) attempts to demonstrate precisely this by attacking the post-Darwinian notion of human relations as a "Hobbesean war of each against all."[4] Kropotkin argues that even though there may be strife between different animal species or different human societies, both the species and the tribe survive and prosper because their members cooperate with one another. "Sociability," he argues, "is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle."[5] According to Kropotkin, the concentration of authority in the State only weakens this inborn tendency to mutual aid: as citizens' obligations toward the State multiply, their obligations to one another diminish. Mutual aid becomes institutionalized as public charity.[6]

These two threads—the natural sociability of human beings arising from their inherent sense of justice, and the failure and perniciousness of authority—run through the writings of Solzhenitsyn as they run through anarchist thought.

Each of Solzhenitsyn's major works is set within some system of authority. Most prominent, of course, is the prison system, whose aim is to punish its inmates and, often, to dispose of them through isolation, terror, inhuman labour, and slow starvation. *Cancer Ward*, however, deals with a system whose aims are drastically different—to preserve life and to ease suffering—but which is still seen as extending its unwelcome authority over the individuals within it. The play *Candle in the Wind*, set in the "modern technological state," treats briefly the problem of authority in society generally. Finally a fourth system of authority, the military, whose aim is to destroy the fighting capacity of the enemy, is depicted in detail in *August 1914*.[7] If we examine Solzhenitsyn's treatment of each of these systems we find a consistent attack on centralized, hierarchial authority, and a consistent affirmation of the values of solidarity, brotherhood, and mutual aid.

Solzhenitsyn's novels and play set within prison camps depict a system of authority that is as near to absolute as can be imagined. The prison controls nearly every waking minute of the prisoners' lives and deprives them, or attempts to deprive them, of any vestige of individual freedom. Little argument is needed to convince a reader that the prison system Solzhenitsyn depicts is pernicious. And it is pernicious because it sets out to destroy those bonds between people that should and otherwise would exist. The killing work load, the meagre rations, the lack of proper clothing and shelter, and all the other horrors that are chronicled in the pages of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, *The Love-Girl and the Innocent*, and *The GULAG Archipelago* push the prisoners toward a deadly competitive struggle that seems to confirm the view of human relations as "a Hobbesean war of each against all" neatly summed up by the prison proverb "You croak today, I'll croak tomorrow." Any hope for cooperation, trust, and mutual aid would seem utterly utopian as the prisoners are driven to compete for the bare essentials of survival. Ivan Denisovich recalls his first gang boss warning him that the camps operated by

the law of the jungle. "Who's the zek's worst enemy?" asks Ivan. "The guy next to him."[8]

But Ivan's gang itself operates on laws quite unlike those of the jungle. When he is taken away to scrub floors in the guard house he knows that his comrades will not devour his breakfast but will keep it and his bread ration waiting for him. At each meal the members of his gang go through the arduous process of making their way into the mess hall, securing seating space and trays, and collecting their rations by cooperating with one another so that no orders need be given. At the noon meal the others instantly cover for Ivan Denisovich when he manages to cheat the cook out of two extra bowls of food, even though they themselves derive no direct benefit from it.

The functioning of Ivan's gang bears out another of Kropotkin's observations on human interaction. Kropotkin remarks that his belief in the viability of anarchism began after he had seen the effectiveness of cooperation among Russian peasants and Dukhobor sectarians living in small, autonomous communities in Siberia: "I began to appreciate the difference between acting on the principle of command and discipline and acting on the principle of common understanding."[9] It is this principle of common understanding that allows Ivan's gang to operate as well as it does. The men have organized themselves, taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of its individual members so that each can work most efficiently and effectively for the benefit of the whole. "To look at them the gang was all the same—the same black overcoats and numbers—but underneath they were all different. You couldn't ask the Captain to guard your bowl, and there were jobs even Shukhov wouldn't do—jobs that were beneath him" (1:14/16). Authority within the gang is not concentrated in a few individuals as it would be in a hierarchical system: "Anybody who worked hard," thinks Ivan Denisovich, "would get to be a sort of gang boss for a while" (1:74-75/111). Few commands are issued while the gang is at work since all realize that their survival depends on the performance of the group as a whole. Tyurin, the gang boss, does give orders, but these are minimal and are carried out because the men understand why they must be carried out. He tells them, for instance, how they must organize the bricklaying: "Shukhov and Kilgas looked at each other. Right enough! That was the easiest way. They grabbed their picks" (1:71/106). Unlike a disciplined, hierarchical system of authority, which strives for unquestioning and immediate compliance with instructions, the gang carries out its orders with the consent of the men themselves.

There seems, indeed, to be a kind of unwritten law within the gang which most of its members come to understand and accept. Shukhov *knows* he is entitled to one of the extra bowls of food he has gained, just as he *knows* that Pavlo is right in giving the other bowl to the Captain, who will spend the next ten nights in the cooler. He *knows* that he is entitled to Caesar's supper for

holding his place in the parcel queue, just as he *knows* Caesar owes him something for the loan of his knife. These are not laws that are codified or enforced; rather they are customs that are valid because they have evolved out of the gang's own experience. And they run directly contrary to the laws of the jungle with which the camp system tries to force the prisoners to comply.

At least one character in the story does live by the law of the jungle, and he is an outcast. Fetyukov is engaged in a private Darwinian struggle for existence by eating as much as he can whenever he can, shirking work to save his strength, and living only to ensure his personal survival no matter the expense to others. Yet Fetyukov's survival in camp is doubtful: "He'll never live to see the end of his sentence," thinks Ivan Denisovich. "He just doesn't know how to do things right" (1:119/181).

The camp itself may be a jungle, then, but Ivan and his gang survive in it because they cooperate. "Like one big family," thinks Ivan Denisovich. "It was a family, your gang" (1:65/96-97).

The malignancy of authority within the prison is dramatized much more vividly in *The Love-Girl and the Innocent*. Nemov, the "innocent" in this corrupt camp, is convinced that he, a decent and just man, can rule responsibly and fairly and so make the system more humane. But each time he tries to exercise his power he is frustrated or finds himself betraying the very principles he set out to uphold. He is beset by prisoners eager to bribe him for privileged jobs which they will hold at the expense of other prisoners; yet without the support of these allies in key positions he will be unable to hold on to his own post. He threatens to close the foundry because safety regulations are being violated; the prisoners working there object since they would then be sent to general duties and certain death. Fifteen pairs of boots must be distributed among 500 people, each of whom is desperately in need of decent footwear. Prisoners must be assigned for transport to timber cutting at an isolated camp where few will survive. Even the high-minded Nemov cannot solve these problems and still mete out justice to all.

Khomich, who has no such scruples, soon replaces Nemov, who is glad to be relieved of his power. But clearly conditions in the camp are worse under Khomich, whose only concern is to save himself by squeezing more work out of the prisoners. The problem of responsible authority is taken up later in an exchange between Granya and Gay, a gang leader who tries to use his power justly but who, like Nemov, despairs at the impossibility of the task: "It's a Hell of a job, being a gang leader. Why did I ever take it on? If some poor drudge gets too weak to fulfill his norm, what am I to do about it? Beat him up?" "Someone's got to be gang leader," Granya tells him. "If it wasn't you it'd be someone else, and he might be a bastard" (5:93/104).

This question, in fact, is never overtly resolved in the play. What does emerge is a scathing critique of centralized authority in general. The fundamental

issue Solzhenitsyn raises is not whether a good man can help make a bad system better; his point is that a system that concentrates such power in the hands of one person is evil. And that person, no matter how humane and well-intentioned, cannot help but cause injustice to some when he makes a decision.[10]

It is unfair to derive any general conclusion about Solzhenitsyn's attitude to authority solely on the basis of evidence from the prison system, which operates on corruption, cruelty, and exploitation. But even the hospital in *Cancer Ward*, whose functioning is intended to be entirely salutary, is depicted as different only in degree but not in kind from the prison. Like the prison system, the hospital system is wrong because it concentrates power over many in the hands of a few.

Although the distance from camp to cancer ward may seem vast, Kostoglotov, the ex-prisoner and cancer patient, immediately senses the resemblance between the two. Windows are barred; the patients, terrified, sleep in bunks; their daily routine, including meals, parcels, visitors, and baths, is rigidly controlled; there are periodic searches in which personal belongings are confiscated. Kostoglotov objects to being treated as "a grain of sand, just as I was in the camp" (2:89/74). Leaving the hospital he thinks: "This exit through the hospital gate—was it any different from the exit through the prison gate?" (2:537/485).

The doctors, who control the system, have enormous power—literally the power of life and death—over the patients in their care. It is significant how frequently Solzhenitsyn describes their methods of treatment as violent, "unnatural," or "barbaric." Radiation therapy is a "barbarous execution (*rasstrel*) by heavy quanta unimaginable to the human mind" (2:80/66). Kostoglotov believes his injections to be "sheer barbarity" (2:329/293). Senior Surgeon Ustinova "sawed off limbs... took out stomachs, penetrated to every part of the intestines, plundered the inside of the pelvic girdle" (2:125/106). While radiation therapy does destroy cancerous cells it also inflicts damage on healthy ones at the same time. The doctors themselves do not fully understand the implications of the powerful treatments they administer, and in their efforts to help they sometimes cause new maladies. Dr. Dontsova has a case of a fifteen-year old boy who has been cured of multiple lesions of the bones through X-ray treatments which later caused severe growth deformities, and another case of a mother whose breast tissues have atrophied because of earlier treatment for a benign tumor. Here too, as in *The Love-Girl and the Innocent*, it is the system itself that simply puts too much power in the hands of individuals. This is not to suggest that Solzhenitsyn makes any sort of equation between prison staff and doctors: he depicts most of the hospital staff as capable, humane, dedicated, and grossly overworked. His point, rather, is that the burden of power that the doctors are forced to carry is so enormous that they cannot avoid causing injustices. "Why do you assume you have the right to

decide for someone else?" Kostoglotov challenges Dr. Dontsova. "Don't you agree it's a terrifying right, one that rarely leads to good? You should be careful. No one's entitled to it, not even doctors" (2:92/77).

The doctors, in fact, are all too aware of the hazards of exercising power and even realize that they operate under severe limitations. They are often forced to admit their helplessness, but to preserve their authority they withold information from patients or tell them outright lies. Vera Gangart is led to ask herself whether the methods used in administering X-rays are any more scientific than those of a primitive medicine man scooping up a handful of dried root without using the scales. Lev Leonidovich, the chief surgeon, dreads the operation he must perform on Asya: "The hand literally rebels against doing an amputation on someone so young... You have a feeling you're going against nature" (2:402/361). After Kostoglotov has questioned her very right to treat him, Dr. Dontsova, with much soul searching, reaches much the same conclusion—though perhaps more profound—as Granya in *The Love-Girl and the Innocent*: "It was a universal law: everyone who *acts* breeds both good and evil. With some it's more good, with others more evil" (2:106/88).

Kostoglotov resists the well-intentioned tyranny of the doctors and fights against the rules and restrictions of the hospital system. He objects that the doctors want to think for him and asks only that they relieve his suffering to let him live a little longer without pain. In spite of the startling success of his treatment he prefers to recover under his own resources, letting the "natural defences of the organism" (2:64/51) take their course. Kostoglotov, in fact, is a firm believer in natural healing: he believes in the benefits of *chaga* or birch fungus; he treats himself with a concentration made from the mysterious root from Issyk Kul; he speaks of "self-induced healing" (2:154/133).

One can easily draw an analogy between the various prescriptions for healing the human organism and the differing notions of treating ills of the social organism. It would be a distortion of this complex and subtle novel to attempt to squeeze a narrowly political meaning out of it, and Solzhenitsyn has himself denied it is in any sense a political allegory.[11] Still it seems clear enough that authority in the hospital functions as authority does anywhere else. Both doctors and politicians have radical methods of treatment at their disposal, but neither, no matter how noble their intentions, can know the full consequences of the application of these methods. Kostoglotov's stubborn faith in folk remedies and natural healing should be seen not only as the reaction of a cantankerous ex-prisoner whose experience has taught him to be wary of authority and imposed solutions, but also as a wider prescription for social healing: the social organism, like the human organism, has its own defenses and these also should be allowed to work. Those who would treat the ills of society by subjecting it to massive, imperfectly understood, "barbaric" political or social remedies, Solzhenitsyn implies, may solve immediate problems but may

cause many more long-term ones. Kostoglotov's question to the doctors applies equally well to the politicians: who gives them the "right to treat?" Politicians, like doctors, must act, but in so doing they are bound to "breed both good and evil." Kostoglotov's attitude to medical authority thus conveys Solzhenitsyn's attitude to politics: skeptical, even mistrustful, and determined to defend the rights that belong to him alone. Kostoglotov insists on thinking for himself; he wants to understand why his treatment is necessary and what its aftereffects will be before agreeing to it. He does not reject all medical treatment, any more than Solzhenitsyn rejects all authority; but he does make it clear that authority is a trust and must be exercised only with the informed consent of those who have entrusted it. In the final analysis there is the strong affirmation of the supremacy of the individual's right and duty to exercise his private judgement in matters of therapy as well as politics.

One of the most remarkable commentaries on authority comes in the novel's Chapter 30 ("The Old Doctor"). Dr. Oreshchenkov resists both the tyranny of the hospital and the tyranny of the state by what in his society amounts to a brazen proclamation of individualism: he has a private house and maintains a private practice. The bureaucratization of medicine is something utterly alien to him. His advice to doctors can also be taken as advice to authorities generally: "The primary doctor should have no more patients than his memory and knowledge can cover. Then he could treat each patient as a subject on his own" (2:471-72/425). He argues for a decentralized system which is based on mutual agreement between the individual and the doctor-authority. This agreement is in fact a contract—thus Dr. Oreshchenkov argues that patients should pay for their treatment—which allows the individual some control over what happens to him. The hospital system, in spite of the dedication and skill of its staff, simply cannot do this: it requires the patients to submit unquestioningly to treatment; it is too large, too bureaucratized, and too much a monopoly to be able to regard each patient as "a subject on his own."

Dr. Oreshchenkov's views on authority are echoed by the social cyberneticist Terbol'm in the play *Candle in the Wind*. Terbol'm hopes to create an "ideally regulated" society using computers to process information and test proposed reforms. Computers will allow the individual's voice to be truly heard, he argues, since they will collect and store opinion on issues and proposals. Terbol'm displays two social models: the first is a democratic society whose power structure is represented by a pyramid-shaped hierarchy composed of many small units at the bottom; these grow progressively fewer but progressively larger the higher they are in the pyramid. This model he categorically rejects:

> This model lacks flexibility. We have here a highly complicated combination of elements. The organizational form you see here was invented by human beings and their efforts have proved a complete failure. Living cells prefer to

> combine together... like this [he indicates his second model]. Without a master mind. (5:174/95-96)

His preferred model is not a hierarchy but a cluster of independent units analogous to the human brain, which he describes as follows:

> The cells are all connected together.... It is only thanks to these free connections that the organism is able to survive by successfully resisting external destructive forces and recovering from injury. If, on the other hand, the connections are subjected to strict control... development is arrested and life itself is threatened. (5:173/94)

This latter model, then, depends on many "free connections" of presumably equal cells operating independently and unrestricted by any centralized authority. Terbol'ın's ideas are obviously meant to be taken seriously: even though he is not a central figure in the play, Alex, the hero, decides to work with him to develop a plan for such an "ideally regulated society."

The failure of a centralized, highly-structured system of authority is amply documented in *August 1914*. The principle of command itself, of course, is by no means rejected. Indeed, the point of Solzhenitsyn's criticism of the higher levels of command is that they never exercised their authority responsibly. General Blagoveshchensky's attempt to rationalize his cowardice by citing the fatalism of Tolstoy's Kutuzov ("military matters go their own way, which they are fated to follow whether or not it corresponds to what men propose" [463–63/503]) is given short shrift. Blagoveshchensky is a major culprit in the defeat since his panicky retreat exposed General Samsonov's right flank and opened the way to the encirclement of the Second Army.

Many factors contributed to the disaster, but the largest single one is seen as the rigidity of the command structure itself, which is portrayed as a system based strictly on seniority, top-heavy with generals who are incapable of teamwork and who must justify their existence by issuing irrelevant orders. And it is clear that the rigid discipline of the system is responsible for stifling initiative and discouraging real talent: "discipline, the foundation of the whole army, always works against a man of rising talent, and everything that is dynamic and heretical in him must be shackled, suppressed, and made to conform" (199/214). Samsonov, in the grip of this discipline, is given orders which he knows are wrong but which he must nevertheless obey: "... at the front orders had to be obeyed, not as a favour but as a duty. And however stupid the next order and all subsequent orders might be, he had no alternative but to carry them out, because even an army commander had no more freedom than a hobbled horse" (87/88). Had Samsonov been less a product of the system, had he been willing to do what he knew was right rather than simply follow orders, the outcome of the battle might have been different. Solzhenitsyn sees the same

stifling effects of a rigid system on the German side as well. Usually thought of as a superbly organized and tightly disciplined machine, the German staff, according to Solzhenitsyn, seriously misread the situation. Had Hindenburg's and Ludendorff's plan been followed to the letter, their army might have been defeated. But Generals von François and von Mackensen exercised their initiative (and disobeyed orders) by seizing the opportunity to begin the pincer movement that eventually trapped Samsonov's army.

The most successful or heroic military actions depicted in the novel are those done either counter to the orders of the Russian staff, without orders, or with only a bare minimum of direction. The troops are at their best when they act because they know what must be done, when they act on Kropotkin's "principle of common understanding." The first major action of Samsonov's army, the Battle of Usdau, was almost won until General Artamonov ordered a withdrawal. The earlier, successful part of the action was quite spontaneous: "... with the weakening of enemy pressure on the left flank, the pent up Russian forces, thirsting for action, had burst forward on their own initiative. This had not come from divisional headquarters, it had been a spontaneous movement at company level" (244-45/245). When the German counter-offensive has acquired momentum Colonel Vorotyntsev, the novel's central figure, discovers a gap in the line which must be plugged in order to allow other units to withdraw. The only troops available to fill it are from the Estland Regiment which has itself retreated after suffering heavy casualties from two days of continuous fighting. Vorotyntsev knows full well how exhausted and demoralized the troops are, and wonders how he can possibly order them to return to the line. He would like to speak honestly and to explain simply their objectives and to admit the cowardice and incompetence of their generals. But this, he realizes, is so absolutely against military tradition that even he, who ignores the rules when he knows he must, cannot go so far. He does manage to rally the regiment, but not by invoking military discipline, nor by appealing to the troops' sense of honour, their obligations to Russia's allies, to their Tsar, their God, or their country. He appeals instead to their sense of solidarity with their fellows: "What we ought to be thinking of now is not how we can get ourselves out but how we can avoid letting our comrades down ... Brothers ... Isn't it selfish to save ourselves at the expense of others?" (329/359-60). The shattered troops do return to the line, proving, it seems, that their sense of solidarity remains intact even after their military discipline has been destroyed. Similarly, the action of the Dorogobuzh Regiment in fighting a suicidal rearguard action while undermanned and undersupplied is not ascribed to discipline or to training (half its troops are reservists who have been on full time service for only a month). "Others like them would retreat, return home; they owed such men nothing: they were not their relatives or their brothers—yet they would stand and die so that others might live" (354/386).

The principle of common understanding is demonstrated most vividly in the later chapters when Vorotyntsev and a small band of survivors break out of German encirclement. In these scenes the structure of military command has virtually melted away, replaced by a different and more authentic relationship between the survivors. Vorotyntsev leads, to be sure, but insists "there are the fit and the wounded, that's the only difference between us" (420/457). He ensures that everyone understands their situation, just as earlier he had always explained the purpose of their actions to his orderly Blagodarëv. Thus his orders are not so much commands as statements of what the others already know must be done. His authority is quite genuine and is based on more than his rank: the men are aware of their common dilemma, and they are also aware that he is the best equipped to lead them out of it. When the original group of four meets another group of survivors from the Dorogobuzh Regiment Vorotyntsev speaks to them all, not only to their senior rank; he makes no attempt to give them orders but asks if they want to join forces. Somewhat surprised by Vorotyntsev's distinctly unmilitary manner, Lieutenant Kharitonov thinks: "... there was something odd about this group, something unmilitary. Their relationship was not based on subordination but trust. Lieutenant Ofrosimov was not in command of them, the group seem to run itself, and that was why the soldiers themselves had to be asked" (444/485).

What emerges from *August 1914* then is the sense of a clear necessity for authority and command, but an authority "based not on subordination but trust," one that operates on the principle of common understanding. The successful military actions in the novel occur when these two factors—responsible authority and common understanding—operate together. When conditions warrant, natural leaders such as Vorotyntsev emerge, leaders who can assert power because it has been freely entrusted to them, but who exert it with justice since the leader and the led operated on a principle of common understanding.

Apart from its attention to military matters *August 1914* contains some intriguing hints about social and political structures generally, suggestions that also owe much to the Russian anarchist tradition. One of the positive figures in the novel, the energetic and creative engineer Obodovsky, is an ex-anarchist who remains mistrustful of governments. "Intelligent, practical men don't wield power," he claims, "they operate and transform. Power is a waste of time. But if government hinders the development of the country, then we might have to take over" (527/572). Varsonof'yev, the "stargazing" philosopher, is also indifferent toward government: "The social order?... I suppose there is one kind that is better than all the bad ones. Perhaps there may even be a perfect one. Only remember, my friends, that the best social order is not susceptible to our arbitrary powers of invention. Nor can it be scientifically constructed ..." (376/410). Society, Varsonof'yev argues, is not held together by government or by

written law but by "the bonds between generations, bonds of institution, tradition, custom; these are what keep the stream flowing between its banks" (377/411). Varsonof'yev's notion of the make-up of the social fabric echoes that of Kropotkin, who wrote: "Relatively speaking, law is a product of modern times. For ages and ages mankind lived without any written law, even that graved in symbols upon the entrance of a temple. During that period, human relations were simply regulated by customs, habits and usages, made sacred by constant repetition, and acquired by each person in childhood, exactly as he learned how to obtain his food by hunting, cattle-rearing, or agriculture."[12]

Such a view forms the basis of Solzhenitsyn's traditionalism. His works suggest that the glue which holds a society together consists of these same bonds of tradition, institution, and custom that have evolved slowly and sensibly as they were tested by experience over many centuries. A revolution that sets out to sever the bonds with the past, to turn its back on tradition and custom, and to destroy longstanding and viable institutions in fact opens the way to tyranny. Once the threads of the social fabric have been torn, the sense of solidarity and the notion of mutual aid are weakened, and a centralized authority can easily extend itself. Personal responsibilities are shifted to the State. The bonds that Varsonof'yev and Kropotkin cherish make up the nation's "common understanding" that enables it to live in harmony with itself, and although they may not entirely eliminate the need for a central government, they work against that government's tendency to encroach upon the freedoms of its people. Solzhenitsyn suggests that if the bonds are strong enough they can allow a people to resist the potential tyranny of its government.

The crucial role Solzhenitsyn assigns to social tradition suggest another influence, that of Slavophilism. Several writers have suggested that Solzhenitsyn himself is a twentieth-century reincarnation of these nineteenth-century thinkers.[13] To be sure, the nationalist component of Solzhenitsyn's ideas owes much to Kireyevsky and Khomyakov. But, as has been noted, Slavophilism itself has a strong anarchist component.[14] Berdyaev argues, in fact, that "an original anarchist element may be discerned in all social tendencies of the Russian nineteenth century."[15] It may well be that beneath the other "–isms" discerned in Solzhenitsyn's outlook lies an even older, authentically Russian tradition that is expressed most notably in Russian Orthodoxy, with its emphasis on consensus, *sobornost'*, and brotherhood, and its mistrust of worldly authority. A proper examination of this tradition in Solzhenitsyn is, of course, a subject for another study; it seems evident enough, however, that his roots run very deep in the Russian past.

The presence of anarchist tendencies in the works discussed here is not difficult to explain. His novels deal with people caught within some system which, by its very nature, works to limit their individuality. The system tends to function as an end in itself, and to do so it pressures the individual to adapt

himself to its needs: he becomes merely another number on the prison guard's roster, another case on the surgeon's roster, another rank and function on the regimental roster. Authority and the individual's relation to it is clearly a central issue in Solzhenitsyn's works.

Anarchism—and specifically Kropotkin's anarchism—offers Solzhenitsyn some means of coming to terms with authority.[16] The notions of mutual aid and of a society regulated by its sense of common understanding and healthy tradition ("by mutual agreements between the members of that society and by a sum of social customs and habits"[17]) are held up as a counterforce to tyranny and a means by which authority can function with justice. Solzhenitsyn's works still express a deep suspicion of authority of all types, however. When Kostoglotov defiantly questions the doctors' "right to treat" he is also questioning any leader's right to lead and any government's right to govern. Such rights are seen not as absolutes but as matters of trust and mutual agreement between the leaders and the led, who remain free individuals. The fact that Solzhenitsyn's free individuals can retain a real measure of their freedom, even when caught within a system that extends its power to its maximum, demonstrates his profoundly optimistic view of human nature.[18]

NOTES

1. Leopold Labedz, ed. *Solzhenitsyn: A Documentary Record* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 147.

2. A concern reflected in the titles of two western classics of anarchist thought, William Godwin's *Political Justice* and Proudhon's *De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église.*

3. George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (New York: New American Library, 1962), p. 22. Compare Solzhenitsyn's remarks in his "Letter to Three Students:" "There is nothing relative about justice, as there is nothing relative about conscience. Indeed, justice *is* conscience, not a personal conscience but the conscience of the whole of humanity. Those who clearly recognize the voice of their own conscience usually recognize also the voice of justice. I consider that in all questions social or historical... justice will always suggest a way to act (or judge) which will not conflict with our conscience" (Labedz, p. 151).

4. T. H. Huxley, "The Struggle for Existence in Human Society," *Collected Essays* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 10:204.

5. Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, ed. and intro. Paul Avrich (London: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 30.

6. Ibid., pp. 197-98.

7. One might add a fifth system, that of the highly centralized and

disciplined political party, depicted in *Lenin in Zurich*. It is difficult to make valid conclusions based on that work, however, until one sees how it fits into the broader context of the cycle *The Red Wheel*, and for that reason I have not considered it here. Works written or revised after 1985, when I wrote this essay, have not been taken into account.

8. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *Sobraniye sochineniy v shesti tomakh*, 2d ed. (Munich: Posev, 1968-70), 1:96. Further references to Solzhenitsyn's fiction will be made in parentheses in the text with the volume and page number of the *Sobraniye sochineniy* given first; following the slash is the page number of the English translation, taken from: *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, trans. Ronald Hingley and Max Hayward (New York: Bantam Books, 1963); *The Love-Girl and the Innocent*, trans. Nicholas Bethell and David Burg (New York: Bantam Books, 1969); *Candle in the Wind*, trans. Keith Armes (London: The Bodley Head and Oxford University Press, 1973); *August 1914*, trans. Michael Glenny (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972). The Russian edition of *Avgust chetyrnadtsatogo* used was Paris: YMCA Press, 1971. Quotations are cited from the above translations with occasional modifications of my own when required.

9. Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, ed. James Allen Rogers (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), pp. 216-17.

10. In *The GULAG Archipelago* Sozhenitsyn recounts his own intoxication with power on being commissioned in the Red Army during World War II. He notes how he coveted his privileges, his special rations, his orderly, and how delighted he was to have men respond to his orders: "That's what shoulder boards do to a human being" (*The GULAG Archipelago, 1918–1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, trans. Harry Willetts (New York: Harper & Row, 1976-78), 1:164).

11. The question of the possible symbolic or allegorical significance of the novel has been addressed in a recent article by David Sloane ("*Cancer Ward* Revisited: Analogical Models and the Theme of Reassessment," *Slavic and East European Journal*, 26, No. 4 (1982), 403-18). Sloane's suggestion that the novel provides "analogical models based on the likeness of the doctor-patient relationship to the relationship between state authority and society" (p. 404) is a useful one. He cites many other parallels between the power of the doctors and the power of the state.

12. Peter Kropotkin, "Law and Authority," *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, ed. and intro. Roger N. Baldwin (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1927), p. 201.

13. See, for example, Abbott Gleason, "Solzhenitsyn and the Slavophiles," *Yale Review* 65, 61-70; Jack Fruchtman, Jr., "A Voice from Russia's Past at Harvard," and Richard Pipes, "In the Russian Intellectual Tradition," both in *Solzhenitsyn at Harvard: The Address, Twelve Early Responses, and Six Later*

Reflections, ed. Ronald Berman (Washington: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1980).

14. Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962), p. 146.

15. Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*, p. 144.

16. It bears repeating that my aim is not to argue the validity of these principles as part of any specific programme of Solzhenitsyn but only to examine their place in his fiction. They do appear in his non-fiction, however, and one need only examine his *Letter to the Soviet Leaders* to see some political proposals that owe a good deal to the Russian anarchist tradition. Likewise it is instructive to look at "The Forty Days of Kengir" (Chapter 12, Part V, *The GULAG Archipelago*) which deals in some detail with a camp uprising. Although Solzhenitsyn elsewhere shows no sympathy for the rebellious aspect of anarchism he does speak here of the "stern and cleansing wind of rebellion" (p. 306) that swept the camp. His depiction of the events at Kengir stresses that the revolt succeeded as much as it did because political prisoners and criminals, traditional arch-enemies, cooperated and stood together. The criminals, who had hitherto lived by oppressing and plundering the non-resisting politicals, "behaved like *decent people*" (p. 306) since their common cause transcended years of fear and hatred. What he most admires about the revolt is that the participants managed to organize themselves successfully and maintain order even when the prison's harsh discipline had been removed: food stores were not raided, food norms remained the same as before, cooks stopped pilfering, only a dozen prisoners fled, women prisoners were not raped, and the prisoners displayed startling ingenuity in finding ways to survive and defend themselves when left on their own. The guards, expecting that the revolt would soon collapse as it dissolved into "anarchy," "were regretfully forced to conclude that there were no massacres, no pogroms, no violence in there, that the camp was not disintegrating of its own accord, and that there was no excuse to send troops in to the rescue" (309). In short, the revolt seemed to prove the capacity of human beings, even those who had been longstanding enemies and who for years had been deprived of even the most limited independence, to cooperate and to organize themselves successfully on their own initiative. Solzhenitsyn's criticism is reserved for those who seized the leadership of the revolt and, he implies, tried to channel it into directions it might otherwise not have taken. Once a "government" is firmly established the original purity of the revolt seems sullied. A jail is set up, for example: "The newborn camp government, like all governments through the ages, was incapable of existing without a security service... " (314).

17. Peter Kropotkin, "Modern Science and Anarchism," *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 157.

18. It is salutary to compare the very different view offered in the works

of Varlam Shalamov, a writer whose prison experience was longer and harsher than Solzhenitsyn's. Shalamov's brief stories depict a system whose power has no limits; individuals within it are either reduced to the level of animals fighting one another to survive or are crushed altogether. This pessimistic view should in no way weaken Solzhenitsyn's case, however: the fact that he could draw very different conclusions from Shalamov on the basis of similar evidence again suggests his fundamentally optimistic view of human nature.

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