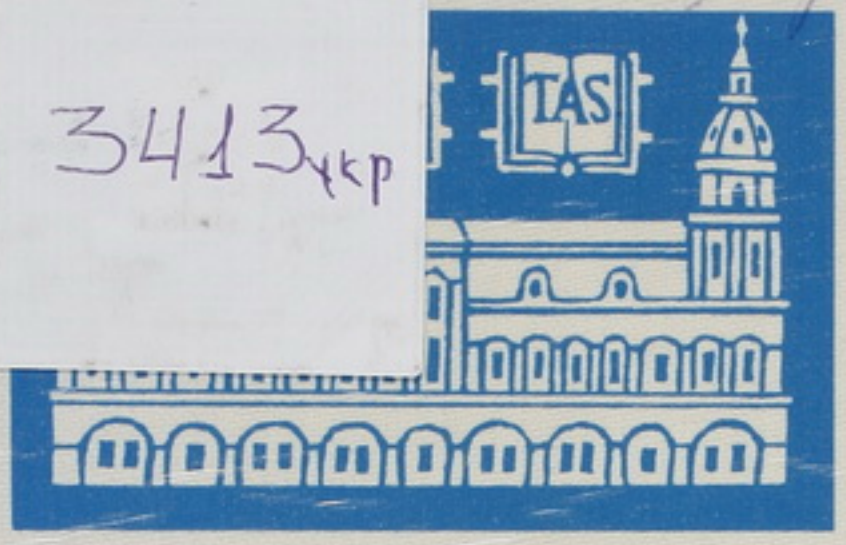
3413 укр
3413 укр



HARVARD SERIES IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES · 8

GEORGE S. N. LUCKYJ

BETWEEN GOGOL' AND ŠEVČENKO

WILHELM FINK VERLAG MÜNCHEN

Кн
Ча! (1
бш 10 1
(зиа 1 11
20-00

HARVARD SERIES IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Edited by The Harvard Committee
on Ukrainian Studies:
Omeljan Pritsak (Editor-in-Chief),
Members: Horace G. Lunt, Richard E. Pipes,
Ihor Ševčenko, Wiktor Weintraub

Vol. 8 · 1971

GEORGE S. N. LUCKYJ

BETWEEN GOGOL' AND ŠEVČENKO

Polarity in the Literary Ukraine: 1798–1847

З українським резюме

WILHELM FINK VERLAG MÜNCHEN

PUBLISHED FOR THE CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

A list of other Centre publications appears at the back of this book.

© 1971 Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München
Gesamtherstellung: Delo, Ljubljana

CONTENTS

Introduction 7

Part One

I. Historians and Folklorists 11
II. Classicists and Romantics 38
III. The Ukraine in Russian Literature 68

Part Two

IV. Gogol' 88
V. Ševčenko 128
VI. The Brotherhood 162
VII. Conclusions 188

Selected Bibliography 196
Резюме 201
Index 203

INTRODUCTION

This is not a study of Gogol' and Ševčenko or of their works. It is an attempt to see their relationship within the context of a special cultural dilemma. This dilemma, which is at the centre of our inquiry, dominated the intellectual life of the Ukraine in the first half of the nineteenth century; it has not been satisfactorily resolved to this day. The horns of this dilemma were: Russia or the Ukraine? Was it inevitable that the political absorption of the Ukraine by Russia, completed in the eighteenth century, should be followed by her cultural dissolution "in the Russian sea"? Gogol"s answer to this question was a clear yes. His own biography and works demonstrate that such a transition, although difficult, was indeed possible. On the other hand, Ševčenko's answer was an equally emphatic no. Contrary to many forecasts, he succeeded in establishing modern Ukrainian literature and in infusing it with a distinct intellectual content.

Such a formulation of this cultural divergence is ours, not Gogol"s or Ševčenko's. Although they were not unaware of the conflict, they were not as conscious of it as were their successors or as we are today. Actually, Gogol"s concept of Russian ascendancy over the Ukraine prevailed up to the 1830's and not until the 1840's was Ševčenko's counter-position made clear. Although he was a contemporary of Ševčenko, Gogol' represented an earlier attitude adopted by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Thus one can speak of a development from Gogol' to Ševčenko. After Ševčenko, the Gogol'ian concept suffered eclipse, though it never completely disappeared.

To state the contest between Gogol' and Ševčenko in such dramatic terms is not an attempt to ignore the vast complexity of the spectrum between these two figures. Though they stood at opposite ends, they had much in common. Not only because both were Ukrainians and shared a similar, if not the same, cultural heritage. Both held that literature must have a high moral purpose and that it had a national as well as a universal goal. Yet they were divided on how their country could achieve these objectives. Indeed while Gogol' considered the Ukraine to be a province of Russia, Ševčenko set himself to carve out her national independence.

The polarity between Gogol' and Ševčenko can be understood only in the context of their time. The entire cultural scene in the Ukraine during the first half of the nineteenth century must therefore be surveyed and analysed. Although dates are set in this study's subtitle (1798–1847), occasionally references are made to events before 1798 and after 1847. It was merely

decided that these dates (the first – the year of the publication of Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida*, the second – the arrest of Ševčenko) set convenient limits to what, after all, is a historical account. It was also decided that the subject can be best treated as a period in Ukrainian intellectual history. It so happens that most of the participants in this movement were writers. However, they are not chiefly considered here as writers, although some note is taken of their literary works. The study attempts to discuss their ideas on the crucial dilemma we have already described, not their literary or aesthetic merits. The period of this study was one in which a national movement was born among Ukrainian intellectuals who were primarily writers. Therefore greater importance must be attached to the ideas and milieu of these men rather than to their literary productions. Even in the quotations from Ševčenko's poems the value for this study lies in their ideas. This is also why (apart from writers) historians, folklorists and even philologists are also taken into consideration, since their ideas often influenced the intellectual climate. It is impossible to discuss developments in the Ukraine without reference to Russia. This is done throughout the study and especially in the chapters on the Ukraine in Russian journalism and literature. No attempt is made to provide an exhaustive treatment of Russo-Ukrainian literary relationship. To some extent this study provides an insight into the development of a minority culture. The latter is viewed here from the side of the minority and in this sense may offer a new look into the history of the Russian Empire.

It is obvious that such an approach must lead to a certain sketchiness and incompleteness. Much is stated in very concise form and at no time is an exhaustive treatment of whatever is under discussion offered. A great deal of material is treated descriptively rather than analytically. The prime victims of this brevity are Gogol' and Ševčenko who do not appear here in their full stature. Gogol"s role is reduced to the one he played in Ukrainian–Russian relations; his place in Russian and world literature is not discussed at all. Ševčenko's career is surveyed up to his arrest in 1847. Although his views did not change substantially after that date, a vital part of his later creative endeavour must be ignored. It is hoped that these disadvantages will be compensated for by a synthesis which will emerge. This synthesis rests on a study of primary and secondary sources, though again not all of them were available. There is much unpublished and inaccessible material which could shed more light on the subject. For only one decade (1920–30) have archival materials relating to that period been published and investigated unhampered by censorship. Most of the studies published since 1930 treat the subject with a definite political bias either from a doctrinaire Soviet or from the emigré nationalist point of view. These views are not necessarily ignored in this study but are often given with our comments. A great deal of research done by other scholars is gratefully acknowledged. There is no claim to offer new material but an attempt has been made to achieve a new

synthesis of what was discovered earlier. The structure of the entire study may appear old fashioned, but this method was chosen because it provides the best means for the unfolding of this particular story. In order to reveal both the development of ideas and something of the personalities of the men who created them, the biographical and historical approach was the most suitable. The first part of the study, dealing with the prelude to the polarity between Gogol' and Ševčenko, is largely historical; the second rests mainly on biographical and environmental scaffolding. The world of ideas in which these two lived is entered through their life stories, their friendships and their day-to-day activities.

Ukrainian place names (with the exception of Kiev and Dnieper) and Ukrainian names are given in transliteration from Ukrainian, not Russian. Only the names of Ukrainian authors who wrote exclusively in Russian (Gogol', Gnedič) are transcribed from Russian. Names of non-literary figures who were of Ukrainian origin are given in their Ukrainian form. An exception is made in the case of Gogol"s father and his other ancestors, who appears as Gogol' not Hohol'. The names of Russians born in the Ukraine retain their Russian form. At times, of course, it was not easy to determine ethnic origin as, for instance, with Dmytro Bantyš-Kamens'kyj, born in Moscow, son of a Ukrainian father who came from an old Moldavian family. Occasionally, men of non-Ukrainian origin (e. g. Sreznevskij), who in the period under study were deeply involved in Ukrainian affairs, are regarded as Ukrainians. For the sake of historical accuracy, in quotations the words *Malorossija, malorossijskij* are always translated as Little Russia, Little Russian, while *Ukrajina, ukrajins'kyj* are rendered as the Ukraine, Ukrainian. In translations from Russian quotations Ukrainian names retain their Russian form. Sometimes, therefore, both the Ukrainian and the Russian form of a name (Hrebinka, Grebenka) or a place name (Myrhorod, Mirgorod) may be found on the same page. Confusing as this may appear it is nevertheless the only way to respect the sources. When first mentioned, titles of works are given in the original with a translation in parentheses. Subsequently, titles are referred to in translation only. Occasionally, titles difficult to translate are kept in Ukrainian (e. g. *Natalka Poltavka*). An exception is also made for two works the titles of which are kept in the original. Ševčenko's *Kobzar* is given throughout in transliteration since there is no adequate translation for it in English *(The Minstrel, The Bard, The Rapsode, The Kobza-player* are all inadequate). Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida,* modelled on Vergil's *Aeneid,* is also kept in the original to avoid possible confusion with Vergil.

The author wishes to thank his colleagues in the field for their criticism of and suggestions about the book. He is especially indebted to Professors Budurowycz, Floruk, Mijakovs'kyj, Rudnytsky, Shevelov and Struk, although he alone must bear responsibility for the form and content of the study. The chairmen of my department, Professors Bowman and Feuer, have

kindly assisted and encouraged me. The Canada Council awarded me a Senior Fellowship in order to complete the research. I am also grateful to Mrs. J. Reoch for typing the manuscript. Lastly, I wish to thank my wife without whose constant help this book could not have appeared.

PART ONE

I

HISTORIANS AND FOLKLORISTS

The Historical Perspective

By the end of the eighteenth century the last vestiges of Ukrainian autonomy within the Russian Empire had disappeared. In 1764 the last Het'man of the Ukraine, Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyj, renounced his title. In 1775 the Zaporožian Sič, the stronghold of the Cossacks, although separated from the Het'man Ukraine but still a symbol of Ukrainian military and national power, was abolished and destroyed. In 1783 serfdom was introduced into the Ukraine. These and other repressive measures were dictated by the policy of Catherine II, aimed at reducing the Ukraine to the status of a Russian province.

What was the reaction of the Ukrainians to these events? The gentry and the intellectuals on the whole welcomed them. With the gradual incorporation of their country into Russia they stood to gain a great deal. The gentry demanded and finally got recognition of their status as equal to the Russian nobility. Their services, as experts in various administrative fields, were eagerly sought by the Russian empire builders. Moreover, the Ukrainian intellectuals regarded themselves as culturally superior to the Muscovites and feared no competition in Moscow or St. Petersburg. They were brought up in the conviction, still strong in the early eighteenth century, that Kiev and not Moscow or St. Petersburg was the spiritual capital of the Eastern Slavs. As the center of ecclesiastical power in the Ukraine was diminishing the intellectuals were attracted by Moscow in ever greater numbers. "Little Russia," writes a Russian critic, "pushed Moscow on to the road of transformation; Little Russia aroused the precursors of Peter and prepared the ground for his reforms; without Little Russia there would be no Peter and no reforms, there would not be a Russian Empire as a new mighty power with her world historic significance. What more, one would ask, could a Little Russian patriot desire . . .?"[1] Indeed, the cultural invasion

---

[1] M. de Pule, "K istorii ukrainofil'stva," *Russkij vestnik,* 1881, March, p. 220. For Ukrainian influence on the 17th and 18th century Russia see K. V. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'* (Kazan' 1914), F. Korčmaryk, *Duxovni vplyvy Kyjeva na Moskovščynu v dobu Het'mans'koji Ukrajiny* (New York, 1964).

of Russia by the Ukraine was on a grand scale. Ukrainian clergy formed the majority in the Holy Synod created by Peter. Most of the Russian bishops came from the Ukraine. With them they brought the doctrine of "three (inseparable) Russias" (Great, Little and White) united by the monarch and by religion. The ministry of foreign affairs was staffed by Ukrainian translators. Among Russia's foremost economists were the Ukrainians Desnyćkyj, Livanov, Rubanovs'kyj and Sambors'kyj; among her artists – the painters Borovykovs'kyj, Levyc'kyj, Losenko, the sculptor Martos, the composers Berezovs'kyj, Bortnjans'kyj, Vedel'; among her writers – Bogdanovič, Gnedič, Kapnist; among her statesmen – Bezborod'ko, Troščyns'kyj, Zavadovs'kyj. "It was a Ukrainian prelate," writes Mirsky, "Theophan Prokopovich, who produced the most complete and learned vindication of the new secular monarchy."[2] While the alliance between the Ukrainian intellectuals and Russian power revitalized Russia, it impoverished the Ukraine. Not only because it represented a "brain-drain" from the latter. Primarily, the shift from the Ukraine to Russia led to a cultural and social revolution begun by Peter the First. It consisted chiefly in the secularization of culture and the rise of a Russian national consciousness.[3] Neither of these penetrated the Ukraine, which clung to an ecclesiastical culture and remained nationally dormant.

Ukrainian literature in the eighteenth century was dominated by the Baroque traditions of the earlier century which came to the Ukraine from Western Europe through Poland. Although some scholars regard its flowering in the Ukraine as very considerable,[4] its derivative character often led to a stifling scholasticism. If "the Baroque is to be regarded first of all as a kind of synthesis of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages,"[5] then in the Ukraine its medieval aspect predominated. Written in a language based on Church Slavic, Ukrainian Baroque literature only occasionally offered masterpieces in poetry (Dmytro Tuptalo, Hryhorij Skovoroda, Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj), the short story (Joannikyj Galjatovs'kyj), the sermon (Lazar Baranovyč, Kyrylo Stavrovec'kyj), the tract (Innokentij Gizel', Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, Petro Mohyla) and school drama (Teofan Prokopovyč, Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj, Jurij Konys'kyj). In general it helped to perpetuate an ecclesiastical culture and a conservative, contemplative attitude which left a lasting mark on Ukrainian intellectual history. Towards the middle of the eighteenth

---

[2] D. S. Mirsky, *Russia; A Social History* (London, 1931), p. 184.

[3] See Hans Rogger, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth Century Russia* (Cambridge, 1960).

[4] D. Čyževs'kyj, "The Renaissance, the Reformation and the Baroque: Literature," V. Kubijovyč (ed.) *Ukraine; A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto, 1963), I, 994–1000.

[5] D. Čyževs'kyj, *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures* (Boston, 1952), p. 57. Čyževs'kyj has amply demonstrated the significance of the Baroque flowering in the Ukraine and its influence on other Slavic literatures in his *Ukrajins'ka barokkova literatura; narysy* (Prague, 1941–44), *Poza mežamy krasy* (New York, 1952).

century the Slavic-Ruthenian *(slaveno-rus'kyj)* literary language disappeared in the Ukraine and was replaced by Russian.

Underneath the crust of the literate culture there was a deep layer of folk tradition which showed great vitality. "Before the centralising reforms of Catherine," writes Mirsky, "Ukrainian civilization remained very distinct from Great Russian. The people had their rich store of folk poetry, their professional itinerant singers, their popular puppet theater, their highly developed artistic handicrafts. Wandering scholars strolled the land; churches were built in the "Mazeppa" baroque style. The one language spoken was Ukrainian and the *Moskal* was an exotic figure so seldom seen that the name was synonymous with soldier."[6] Much of this folk culture was preserved orally (the *dumy)* but some important phenomena, so characteristic of the Ukraine, found their way to the surface. Ukrainian humour found its best expression in the interludes (*intermedia*) within the serious plays (Dovhalevs'kyj) in language very close to the vernacular, and later, especially in the late eighteenth century, in the puppet theater *vertep,* still divided into serious, religious and comic, folk type parts.

There is no scope here to discuss the obvious dichotomy, which is at the root of the decline of the Ukraine, between the Cossack movement and the ecclesiastical culture of the Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Cossacks could be regarded as a successful national mass movement. They had a definite ideology, a charismatic leader in Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (1595–1657), military successes on an unprecedented scale and wide support from the Ukrainian masses. They failed, however, to win over or to produce their own intellectuals who were indispensable for the complete success of such a movement. "The clergy," writes a historian, "has on the whole failed to find a common language with the Cossacks. Only exceptionally gifted Het'mans such as Sahajdačnyj or Xmel'nyc'kyj succeeded for brief moments in their collaboration with the church."[7] The Ukrainian clergy, still under the impact of the religious controversies of the seventeenth century (anti-Catholic) were inclined to favour, with few exceptions, the new center of Orthodox power – Moscow. The inability to achieve a fusion between the Cossack ways of life and the "academic" Kievan culture was aptly observed by Gogol' in the opening lines of *Taras Bul'ba* where old Taras pokes fun at his sons' scholastic education. As late as 1790, Oleksandr Bezborod'ko, a Ukrainian who had become the secretary and chancellor of Catherine II, wrote in a letter to a friend, "Do you know why the heroic spirit has disappeared in Little Russia? Because for some time the

---

[6] Mirsky, *op. cit.,* pp. 232–33. *Moskal',* with a slightly derogatory meaning, is the Ukrainian word for both a Russian and a soldier. The Ukrainian pejorative appellation for a Russian is *kacap;* the Russian counterpart expression for a Ukrainian is *xoxol.*

[7] M. Antonovyč, *Istorija Ukrajiny.* Second edition (Winnipeg, 1966), III, 108–9.

place of Cossackdom has been usurped by scholarship."[8] The center of this scholarship in the Ukraine was the Mohyla Collegium, established in 1632 out of the merger of the church brotherhood schools and raised to the status of an academy by Mazepa in 1694. In curriculum and academic stardards it was comparable to Western European universities. Enrollment, which at one time reached 2,000 students, was open to all social classes. At first the Collegium was under strong Polish influence and later it leaned heavily towards Moscow.

The aloofness which the Mohyla Academy exhibited towards the Cossacks may be seen from the fact that the Cossack revolution was first recorded in the writings of the chroniclers Velyčko, Hrabjanka and "Samovydec'", none of them with any strong connections with the Academy. The lack of co-operation between the Cossacks and the Mohyla Academy led the former to a slow decline. Having tried to establish a "military state" these Ukrainian *condottieri* ended up by betraying the original aim of the movement – the social liberation of the people from the rule of the Polish masters. "The Ukrainian people," writes a historian, "in the middle of the seventeenth century began a new period of history by rejecting the aristocratic order and in another hundred years it arrived at complete submission to the very same order."[9] The masters of the new order were the descendants of the Cossacks, now eager to enjoy the privileges of Little Russian gentry. The death of the Het'man state was accepted by them as something inevitable. They were now ready to serve the Empire in the atmosphere prepared by the Mohyla academicians. While in the seventeenth century the choice before the Ukrainians was: Ukraine or Russia, in the eighteenth it amounted to: provincialism or Empire. It is no wonder that many of them chose the latter, but even those who did not, felt no conflict between their local ambitions and the government. For neither in their church, literature nor in local public opinion could they find opposition to Russia.[10]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the spirit of "Little Russianness" ruled supreme. A strong factor in this was the decline of Polish influence in the Ukraine. After the partition of Poland in 1793 the Right-Bank Ukraine came under Russian rule. One of the great cultural advantages for the Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was her position between Russia and Poland, creating a meeting place of cultural influences and preventing any absorption by either of them. Now this balance was removed, although Polish influences continued, on a smaller scale, to exercise their impact on the Ukraine (free masons, secret societies).

---

[8] "Ot čego dux gerojstva v Malorossii isčez," *Kievskaja starina*, 1883, V, 893–94.

[9] Quoted in the editorial article in *Osnova,* 1861, March, p. IX.

[10] The author wishes to acknowledge here the opinions of his colleagues, primarily Professors Omeljan Pritsak and Ivan Rudnytsky, which emerged in discussions on this complex subject.

The Napoleonic wars left hardly a ripple of discontent in the Ukraine. On the contrary, there was great willingness to defend the "tsar and fatherland".

The next opportunity to show dissent from official policies came during the activities which culminated in the Decembrist uprising of 1825. The Decembrist movement in the Ukraine had an intricate history, different from its counterpart in Russia. Both in the north and in the south the leaders of the movement were Russians (with the exception of Serhij Murav'ev-Apostol, who was of Ukrainian descent) and it is more accurate to speak of the "Decembrists in the Ukraine" rather than of "Ukrainian Decembrists". At no time did the Ukrainian problem become a part of the Decembrist platform. And yet it is obvious that Decembrist activities in the Ukraine took on a special colouring lent by the country's liberal intellectual climate.

Ukrainians were among the founders of another secret society in Volhynia – the "Society of United Slavs".[11] The Borysov brothers and Ivan Horbačevs'kyj came from Ukrainian families. The latter recorded that his father told him "of the misfortunes of his beloved Little Russia,"[12] and that he himself sometimes dreamt of "Little Russia and yearned for her."[13] However strong these sentiments might have been there was no trace of Ukrainian national consciousness in the program of that organization. "Living among the mixed populations of the western borderlands of the Empire," writes an American historian, "they had become keenly aware of the multinational character of Russia, and of the variety among all the Slavic nations. Their nationalism and patriotism, therefore, took the form of panslavic sentiment. Actually, their notions of what constituted the Slavic family of nations were rather vague, since they included the Magyars and omitted the Ukrainians among whom they were actually living."[14] In September, 1825, this society merged with the Decembrist "Southern Society" which had a different, pro-Russian and centralist orientation. They loyally supported it in those critical days when, under the leadership of Murav'ev-Apostol, six companies of the Černihiv regiment marched defiantly against Bila Cerkva.[15] The members of the "Southern Society" were nearly all Russians, led by Pavel Pestel' who did not acknowledge Ukrainians as a separate nationality. We know that some Ukrainians (Kapnist's

---

[11] For a detailed study see G. Luciani, *La société des Slaves Unis (1823–1825)* (Bordeaux, 1963).

[12] *Zapiski dekabrista I. I. Gorbačevskogo* (Moscow, 1916), p. 273.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 245. For a new edition see I. I. Gorbačevskij, *Zapiski, pis'ma* (Moscow, 1963).

[14] M. Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 8–9.

[15] While the local Ukrainian gentry remained loyal to the tsar and kept aloof from Murav'ev-Apostol, the peasants were in rebellious mood. As the Polish landowner Józef Rulikowski recorded, "the more the Ukrainian people witnessed panic and alarm among the *szlachta,* the bolder they became." (Ju. Oksman, ed. *Vospominanija i rasskazy dejatelej tajnyx obščestv 1820–x godov*, Moscow, 1933, II, 409).

son, Ivan) tried to influence Pestel',[16] and that a Polish and Ukrainian writer of Polish descent, Tymko Padurra, argued with the Decembrists that they should recognize the Ukrainians.[17] In 1824, at a conference held in Kiev, Bestužev-Rjumin and Murav'ev-Apostol disagreed with the Polish revolutionary delegate Seweryn Krzyżanowski precisely because neither side could agree on what to do about the Ukraine and Belorussia.[18] Thus the Ukraine remained a dead issue in the Decembrist political program. A most eloquent defense of Ukrainian Cossack history came from the "northern" Decembrist, Ryleev, in his poems on Ukrainian themes.[19]

Both in Poland and in Russia the Ukraine had a place in literature, history and folklore but not in politics. Obviously, both her neighbours regarded her as a quiescent ethnic region rather than as a separate country. Mickiewicz's remark about the Ukrainians as "the most poetical and the most musical people among the Slavs"[20] was typical of the reputation which the Ukraine had among her neighbours. However, the Ukrainian region was rich in folk culture and history and therefore, especially in the early nineteenth century, it formed a unique reservoir of literary material. The *Zeitgeist* of that period was favourable to the Ukraine after all.

It is not altogether surprising that at a time when the Ukraine had lost the last vestiges of autonomy and the middle and upper classes were

---

[16] I. Rybakov, "1825-yj rik na Ukrajini," *Ukrajina,* 1925, No. 6, p. 15.

[17] O. Hermajze, "Rux dekabrystiv i ukrajinstvo," *Ukrajina,* 1925, No. 6, p. 32.

[18] Z. Klarnerówna, *Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warsaw, 1926), p. 21.

[19] See below pp. 81–84. In a letter to the author, Professor I. Rudnytsky writes: "One often hears the assertion that the federalist program of the 'Northern Society' neglected the ethnic peculiarities of the peoples of Russia. As far as the Ukraine is concerned, this opinion is not quite correct. The draft constitution of Nikita Murav'ev provided, among the thirteen states in which Russia was to be divided, two for Ukrainian lands: a 'Black Sea state' (capital Kiev) and a 'Ukrainian state' (capital Xarkiv). Historians have overlooked the circumstances that these two proposed states implied a restoration of two autonomous areas of the eighteenth century: the *Het'manščyna* (including the Zaporožian territory in the south) and the *Slobids'ka* Ukraine... A general observation. The first third of the nineteenth century is the low point in the history of Ukrainian nationhood. The 'estate'-bound, traditional concept of the Cossack Ukraine has already passed out of existence, while the modern, ethnic concept of nationality has not yet crystallized. This has to be taken into account in a discussion of the problem of 'Ukrainian Decembrism'."

[20] A. Mickiewicz, "Literatura słowiańska," *Dzieła* (Warsaw, 1955), IX, 109.

rapidly becoming Russianized there would glimmer the first spark of a national revival. For defeats and losses, as much as victories and successes, can feed the national ego. The appearance of *Istorija Rusov ili Maloj Rossii* (A History of the Russes or of Little Russia) must be regarded as the harbinger of a new trend in Ukrainian intellectual history. The title is misleading since the book does not deal with the Ukraine as a province of Russia, but rather as a semi-independent country with a long and glorious history of its own. The book was most likely written in the first decade of the nineteenth century and was circulating in scores of manuscript copies in the 1820's–30's before it was published in 1846.[21] It was assumed at first that the author was Archbishop Heorhij Konys'kyj but because of the libertarian and slightly anti-clerical tone scholars subsequently deprived the archbishop of authorship. Several other prominent Ukrainians have been suggested as possible authors of the History, among them Hryhorij Poletyka, his son Vasyl', Opanas Lobysevyč,[22] and Oleksandr Bezborod'ko.[23] It has been convincingly demonstrated that the *History* was written in or in the neighbourhood of Novhorod Sivers'kyj.[24]

The work itself is in the province of fiction rather than history. It is essentially aimed at arousing the emotions of the Ukrainian reader by an appeal to a romanticized story of the past glory of the Ukraine. Grossly inaccurate in historical details, it possesses some poetic power and like the ancient *Slovo*, may be viewed as a clever political pamphlet. Its inspirational value is, therefore, very high, especially if one considers the profound influence which it exercised on most of the Ukrainian Romantics as well as on Gogol' and Puškin. There is no doubt that much of the popularity of this work was due to its pronounced anti-Polish bias which made it especially appealing to the loyal subjects of the tsar after the unsuccessful Polish uprising of 1830–31. Although to them it was authentic history not fiction, its main impact was on literature. It became a treasure trove for writers of the Walter Scott type. Like the Scottish Highlands, the Ukraine was once more peopled by heroic knights whose military exploits appealed so much to the Romantics.

At the same time the History gave a powerful stimulus to the reawakening of Ukrainian national consciousness. Here one must bear in mind not so

---

[21] "Istorija Rusov ili Maloj Rossii, Sočinenie Georgija Koniskogo, Arxiepiskopa Běloruskogo," *Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri moskovskom universitete* (Moscow, 1846). For studies of the *Istorija* see M. Voznjak, *Psevdo-Konys'kyj i psevdo-Poletyka: "Istorija Rusov" u literaturi i nauci* (L'viv, 1939) and B. Ol'xivs'kyj, *Vil'nyj narid* (Warsaw, 1937).

[22] O. Ohloblyn, "Do pytannja pro avtora 'Istoriji Rusov'," *Ukrajina* (Paris, 1949), No. 2.

[23] A. Jakovliv (= Yakovliv), "Istoriya Rusov and Its Author," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, 1953, Fall-Winter.

[24] O. Ohloblyn, "Where Was Istoriya Rusov Written," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, 1953, Fall-Winter.

much the men of the 1820's, but the next generation – of the 1840's. To the former *Istorija Rusov* appeared as an attempt to amplify the Ukrainian contribution to the common Russian history; to the latter – as a revelation of national pride. The knights, after all, were Ukrainian Cossacks fighting for the liberation of their country from Polish, Tatar or Russian rule. Although the main part of the book deals with the Het'man Ukraine, the author makes it very clear that the Kievan Rus' and the Lithuanian Grand Duchy were parts of Ukrainian history. The place of honour is reserved for Ukrainian Het'mans, especially Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, the leader of the victorious uprising against the Poles. In many instances the exposition resembles that of the Cossack chronicles which, contrary to the claim of the author, did not serve as its primary source. Veiled as it is, the tone of the book is often anti-Russian.

However, although overflowing with national pride, the work is not narrowly nationalistic. For, as Ohloblyn has adequately demonstrated, "at the root of the philosophy animating the *History* lie the ideas of truth and justice, divine and human."[25] As a rationalist and a follower of the Enlightenment, the author even admits that "if there is no truth in Christianity, one may search for it among other faiths."[26] Truth and justice are to him the principles of political order; the defense of life, freedom and possessions are man's inalienable right. Equally radical are his ideas that no government can rest on tyranny or serfdom. Here the reference to Moscow is quite clear and the Ukrainian Het'mans (Xmel'nyc'kyj, Polubotok), became the spokesmen of the oppressed. Although his greatest venom is reserved for the Poles, the Muscovites are also blamed in no uncertain terms. All the Cossack wars are regarded as campaigns of liberation from enslavement. Xmel'nyc'kyj advises the Muscovite envoy that his people are free "ever ready to give their lives to the last man for the sake of freedom. This is their inborn trait and they do not bear enslavement willingly."[27] A people must show unity and resolution in their fight against foreign tyranny, but it must also be on guard against possible oppression by its own leaders; therefore, it must stand by "its own truth".[28] These ideas were, a few decades later, to exercise a profound influence on Taras Ševčenko and his poetry.

Linguistically, the *History,* although written in Russian, was close to the speech of the Ukrainian gentry of that day and was full of Ukrainianisms. Čyževs'ky remarks that linguistically it may be considered a part of the

---

[25] O. Ohloblyn, "The Ethical and Political Principles of Istoriya Rusov," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.,* 1952, Winter, p. 391.

[26] "Istorija Rusov ili Maloj Rossii . . ." (Moscow, 1846), p. 166.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 87.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 71.

"Ukrainian school" in Russian literature which reached its zenith in the writings of Gogol'.[29] Much ink has been spilt, especially by Ukrainian émigré scholars, on an attempt to track down the author of the *History*. On the other hand, Soviet scholars find this "nationalistic" work unattractive, "permeated by nobiliary and nationalist tendencies, a glorification of the activities of the Cossack élite and numerous attacks on the Russian tsars."[30] Some of this detective work, notably by Ohloblyn, has enabled us to understand the milieu in which the work originated. There is much merit, too, in Yakovliv's study pointing to the circle of Prince Bezborod'ko and even to the Prince himself as the possible author.[31] Still other scholars have attributed authorship to Prince Repnin.[32] It is unlikely that these highranking tsarist officials would preserve such a strong feeling of Ukrainian patriotism as is present in the *History*. A more probable milieu might be found not among the Ukrainian nobility in the highest echelons of Imperial Russia, but among the Ukrainian gentry, slightly impoverished and living within the shrinking manorial economy of the times, but still very proud of their Ukrainian past. The historian, Josyp Hermajze, provides the following view of this social stratum and its contribution to cultural life:

> This class [small gentry] was deprived of any possibilities in agricultural and commercial operations. Its representatives, with perhaps very few and rare exceptions, could not join the ranks of the highest bureaucracy and make administrative, military or civil service careers. Their economic and everyday life could be presented in the following manner. A small estate, the profits from which just barely covered expenses and in any case were used exclusively for the satisfaction of their own consumer needs and not as a means of speculating through the commercial schemes of wealthy landowners. In this small estate life went on quietly, slowly, in an idyllic and patriarchal manner without any pretensions to wide activity or any enrichment of a dull existence. The younger generation on such estates often could not afford to remain there, and occupy itself forever in carefree management, and was forced to seek admission to government service which offered the only hope of a career. The position of a provincial official, or of a petty clerk in the capital, military service which could culminate only in a lowly rank and, last of all, academic activity, which did not attract the "golden youth" of the large estate owners – these were aims in life which could be entertained by the younger generation of the small Ukrainian gentry. This social stratum provided the cadres of the so-called Ukrainian intelligentsia . . .[33]

---

[29] D. Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1956), p. 305.

[30] P. K. Volyns'kyj, Ju. S. Kobylec'kyj, I. I. Pil'huk, P. P. Xropko, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury: Literatura peršoji polovyny XIX stolittja* (Kiev, 1964), p. 35. M. Marčenko discusses *Istorija Rusov* at length in his historiography but attributes its origin to a milieu close to the Decembrists (M. Marčenko, *Ukrajins'ka istoriohrafija,* Kiev, 1959, p. 109).

[31] Yakovliv, *op. cit.*

[32] V. Ikonnikov rejects this hypothesis put out by Maksymovyč (V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoj istoriografii,* Kiev, 1908, II, 2, p. 1631).

[33] O. Hermajze, Foreword in O. Doroškevyč (ed.) *20–40–vi roky v ukrajins'kij literaturi* (Kiev, 1924), II, pp. XI–XII.

Hermajze exaggerates what later became the vogue among Soviet historians: the antagonism between different Ukrainian classes. The remarkable fact about the growth of the Ukrainian cultural movement in those times was not the struggle between inimical classes of Ukrainian society, but the remarkable degree of co-operation between them. Frequently, magnates like Bezborod'ko, Repnin and Troščyns'kyj actively assisted budding Ukrainian intellectuals and gave them their moral and financial backing. Moreover, it may be observed that later both the Ukrainian upper and middle class showed great concern and sympathy toward Ševčenko, a representative of the enslaved peasantry. While it is possible to talk of economic and social class antagonisms one must also acknowledge the harmony that existed between them despite strong pressures in the opposite direction.

The milieu from which the *History* sprang (Lobysevyč, the Poletykas, Xanenko)[34] was motivated by political and historical rather than literary considerations. It must be admitted that the literary value of the *History* is not very high. It has a certain epic quality (Puškin thought that many scenes in the book were "painted with the brush of a great artist"[35]), but otherwise there are only the repetitions and stock phraseology of moral and political rhetoric. It was unavoidable, perhaps, that the poets and writers who were later influenced by the *History's* patriotic message should themselves be political. The stimulus provided by the *History* must therefore be considered as unfortunate as it was natural for a renascent people. Because of it their literature and culture remained oriented toward politics and moralism, two doubtful allies of art.

About the time of the appearance of *Istorija Rusov* Ukrainian history came to exercise an ever stronger fascination for the Ukrainian gentry. Often, retired government officials would spend a great deal of time and effort collecting historical materials. One such retired clerk of the Rumjancev administration, Adrijan Čepa, wrote on May 6th, 1809, to another retired major, Vasyl' Poletyka: "If you will undertake the great labour of writing a famous branch of Russian history – a history of Litle Russia, you will accomplish a task worthy of you. Posterity will give its due to the achievements of your late father, will never forget you among other outstanding men of our fatherland. I expect you have many materials necessary for such a worthwhile edition . . . I can assist you with those documents I have."[36]

The earliest attempts to collect historical materials and to write histories of the Cossack Ukraine date from the late eighteenth century. A protegé of Bezborod'ko, Vasyl' Ruban, (1742–95) published several collections of documents and compiled *Kratkaja letopis' Maloj Rossii* (A Short Chronicle

---

[34] See O. Ohloblyn, *Ljudy staroji Ukrajiny* (Munich, 1959).

[35] A. S. Puškin, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij* (Moscow, *1949),* XII, 19.

[36] V. Horlenko, "Iz istorii južnorusskogo obščestva načala XIX v.," *Kievskaja starina,* 1893, vol. 40, p. 53.

of Little Russia, 1777). It was largely based on *Kratkoe opisanie* (A Short Description), a very popular chronicle of the eighteenth century. Like many other chronicles of that period, the *Short Description* had considerable influence on literature. The long poem by Semen Divovyč, *Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiej* (A conversation of Great Russia with Little Russia) dating from 1762 and influenced by *Opisanie,* is a good example of the mixed feelings of separateness and loyalty which the Ukrainians showed toward Russia.[37] Both countries are regarded by the author as equal partners in a common historical development. Ruban's historical compilation was translated into French by Scherer without any acknowledgment. Ruban was also the author of other historical and geographical studies of the Ukraine. He was at the same time a well-known Russian writer, translator and editor and occupied a prominent place among the Russian classicists.

A Ukrainianized German, Oleksandr Rigel'man (1720–89), wrote *Istorija malorossijskaja ili povestvovanie o kozakax* (A Little Russian History or Account of the Cossacks, 1778) and Opanas Šafons'kyj (1740–1811) in a topographical description of the Černihiv Viceregency (1786) produced "a most valuable work, containing a wealth of information on the Het'man state in the eighteenth century."[38] Among other early Ukrainian historians were Vasyl' Poletyka (1765–1845), son of Hryhorij, Jakiv Markovyč (1776–1804) and Vasyl' Lomykovs'kyj (1778–1845).

Vasyl' Poletyka came of a distinguished Ukrainian family. His father was Hryhorij Poletyka and his uncle (his father's brother) Ivan Poletyka, a famous physician, who obtained his doctorate at Leiden University in 1754 and then taught medicine at Kiel University. Hryhorij Poletyka (1725–84) was educated at the Kiev Academy where he distinguished himself in languages. In 1746 he obtained the position of translator at the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg after passing an exacting examination conducted by Tredjakovskij. In his report to the president of the Academy (K. Rozumovs'kyj), Tredjakovskij wrote:

> I had an opportunity to attest the competence in Russian and Latin of the Little Russian Grigorij Poletyka, who has applied for the position of a translator at the Academy. Herewith I should like to express my opinion about the knowledge of the above mentioned Little Russian. In translating from Latin he showed that he understands that language very well and can translate from it. However, his Russian language is for the most part a translation from the Little Russian dialect as far as speech and whole constructions are concerned.[39]

In 1748, Poletyka became a translator to the Holy Synod, a position he held until his retirement in 1761. In 1764 he came back to public life as an

---

[37] "Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiej," *Kievskaja starina,* 1882, I, February.

[38] D. Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.,* 1957, V–VI, 98.

[39] O. (= A) M. Lazarevs'kyj, "Otryvki iz semejnogo arxiva Poletik," *Kievskaja starina,* 1801, vol. 33, pp. 99–100.

inspector at the Naval Academy. In 1767 he became an active member of the commission set up by Catherine II for the drafting of a new code. As a deputy of the gentry from Lubny he appeared as "a defender of the Little Russian autonomy and of . . . these rights and privileges of the Little Russian gentry which they enjoyed under Poland."[40] He had a wide reputation as a Ukrainian patriot. His large library, eventually destroyed by fire, contained many rare documents dealing with Ukrainian history. He was also known as a writer and translator.[41]

Hryhorij's son Vasyl' was educated at Vilno University and served in the army. He was a marshall of *dvorjanstvo* of the Romny district. Like his father, he defended the claims to Ukrainian autonomy and pleaded for the establishment of a university in Černihiv.[42] He was intensely interested in writing a history of the Ukraine.

Very moving is the life story of Jakiv Markovyč, a descendant of an old Cossack family of Jewish origin. At the early age of twenty-two he wrote *Zapiski o Malorossii* (Notes about Little Russia, 1798) which was a slender volume of 98 pages. This was to be the beginning of a long study. The zeal with which Markovyč applied himself to its pursuit was excessive. After brief service in the army he entered the government service with Troščyns'kyj's help. Joining a rather convivial group of young men in St. Petersburg he fell into debt and begged his mother to send him money. When she failed to send him the needed 3,000 rubles he became so despondent that he committed suicide at the age of twenty-eight.[43]

The greatest achievement came from the pen of a historian somewhat removed from this Ukrainian milieu. He was Dmytro Bantyš-Kamens'kyj (1788–1850), son of a well known archivist Nicholas Bantyš-Kamens'kyj. Born and educated in Moscow, Bantyš-Kamens'kyj junior may be regarded as the first professional historian of the Ukraine. In 1816 he became secretary to Prince Repnin who actively encouraged him to write a long history of the Ukraine. The work, entitled *Istorija Maloj Rossii* (A History of Little Russia) was published in four beautifully produced and illustrated volumes

---

[40] V. Modzalevs'kyj, "Grigorij Andreevič Poletika," *Russkij biografičeskij slovar'* (St. Petersburg, 1905), vol. 14, p. 323. According to some sources, Poletyka defended the Ukrainian peasantry on that occasion by claiming that "for the Little Russian people this notion [serfdom] is terrible and unbearable." (Quoted in the editorial article in *Osnova,* 1861, March, p. IX).

[41] Hryhorij Poletyka's nephew, Petro, was for some time the Russian envoy in Washington and helped to draft the Alaska boundary in a treaty between the United States, Great Britain and Russia (1824). It is interesting that John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State and later the American President regarded him as "a Ukrainian." (M. Huculjak, *Ukrajinec' – spivtvorec' kordoniv Kanady j Aljaski,* Toronto, 1967, p. 117).

[42] Modzalevs'kyj, *op. cit.,* p. 320.

[43] A. Lazarevs'kyj, "Prežnie izyskateli malorusskoj stariny," *Kievskaja starina,* 1894, vol. 47.

in Moscow in 1822. A second edition was published in 1830 and a third in 1842. For a long time this history remained a standard work in its field. Using archival material the work related Ukrainian history from the earliest times. Like the *Istorija Rusov* it concentrated heavily on the Cossack and Het'man Ukraine but its treatment of these eras was relatively objective and scholarly. If there was any bias to be detected in the work it was in favour of the Russian monarchy whose staunch supporter Bantyš-Kamens'kyj always remained. His loyalty helped him in his academic and administrative career. In the 1820's–30's he became governor general in Tobolsk and in Vilno.

Could such history inspire Ukrainian writers? In a long review of Bantyš-Kamens'kyj's work, Nikolaj Polevoj thought that "in the hands of a skilful artist Little Russia will present a most interesting and most picturesque canvas, for no Swiss and no Dutch revolution will offer as many wild and wonderful events."[44]

The spirit of national zeal which was absent in Bantyš-Kamens'kyj's work was rekindled by his two contemporaries, Oleksa Martos (1790–1842) and Mykola Markevyč (1804–60). Only two excerpts from the history of the Ukraine by Martos were published. Markevyč, who in his youth was friendly with the Decembrists, first became known as a poet, the author of the collection, *Ukrainskie melodii,* (Ukrainian Melodies, 1831). His *magnum opus* was *Istorija Malorossii* (A History of Little Russia) in five volumes published in Moscow in 1842–43. Written in a popular style this history was chiefly influenced by the *Istorija Rusov*. Its natonalistic bias was visible despite three volumes of texts and materials which Markevyč included in his work. He claimed that the Ukrainians and not the Russians were the descendants of the Kiev Rus'. This might have appealed to the imaginations of Ukrainian readers but it also brought criticism from Russian historians and critics. Belinskij chided Markevyč for his historical views.[45] In turn, Ukrainian intellectuals came to the defense of Markevyč. Writing in *Moskvitjanin* in 1843, Pantelejmon Kuliš rejected accusations of "historical untruth" levelled at Markevyč by the Russian critic Sen'kovskij.[46] In his review, Sen'kovskij claimed that the Cossacks were brutal and lawless. Kuliš countered by claiming that the Zaporožians lived under very strict rules and used terror only in self-defense against the Poles. Kuliš also defended the wars of liberation led by the Cossacks, their attempts to unite all Ukrainian lands and their support of the Ukrainian church and culture. He

---

[44] *Moskovskij telegraf,* 1839, vol. 35, p. 272.

[45] V. G. Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij* (Moscow, 1953–59), VII, 44–65.

[46] P. Kuliš, "Otvet g. Sen'kovskomu na ego recenziju 'Istorija Malorossii' Markeviča," *Moskvitjanin,* 1843, III, 5. Some Russians welcomed Markevyč's Ukrainian poems. In his poem "In the Album of Markevič" N. Jazykov wondered about the repercussions these literary efforts would have: "... But youths and maidens of Ukraine/Will they believe you today? ..." (N. M. Jazykov, *Polnoe sobranie stixotvorenij,* Moscow–Leningrad, 1964, p. 275).

pointed out that even after the union of Perejaslav it was the Ukrainian Cossack Het'mans (Vyhovs'kyj, Brjuxovec'kyj, Mazepa) who, contrary to popular feeling, opposed Moscow's policies in the Ukraine.

Kuliš's defense of Markevyč marked the temper of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Ševčenko, who dedicated a poem to Markevyč, also admired this prodigious collector of Ukrainian antiquity. A Ukrainian historian was certain to find wide acclaim among his countrymen, especially if he was such a popular figure as Markevyč, who was not only a poet and a historian but a very gifted musician. In his memoirs N. Makarov describes Markevyč as "a hospitable man, always cheerful, animated, gay and witty. Nikolaj Andreevič was particularly attractive in his own village. His genial simplicity, affability and readiness to talk to people in their native language, not only endeared him to his own peasants and servants who treated him as a friend, but also aroused special affection among his neighbours who trusted this unusual *pan*."[47] Curiously enough, Makarov added that despite this personal charm which was aspecially notable in social gatherings in the orchard "under the enchanting light of the moon or the glimmer of stars in the friendly Ukrainian sky,"[48] Markevyč was a melancholy, "superfluous man" in Ukrainian society.

On the whole the early efforts to collect historical materials and publish histories of the Ukraine originated locally though often with the support of influential officials like Repnin or Bezborod'ko. Not until the 1830's did the state sponsored institutions provide assistance for historical studies in the Ukraine. Count Rumjancev's and Metropolitan Bolxovitinov's interest in Ukrainian historical research must not be forgotten. In 1835 a "temporary committee" for researches into antiquity was formed at Kiev University, followed by the establishment of an archeological museum in 1837. In 1843 a "Temporary Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents" was founded. It was attached to the office of the governor general and sponsored substantial research and publications. There is no doubt that all this was done to counteract Polish influences in the Ukraine.

In their works the historians of the Ukraine revealed the existence of a rich and colourful past. Their researches were often based on primary sources such as the Cossack chronicles by "Samovydec'", Velyčko and Hrabjanka. However, to a large extent and sometimes even overwhelmingly, their study of history was motivated by the urge to glorify the Cossack Ukraine and thus to awaken a feeling for the not-so-distant past among their contemporaries. While not all their writings were aimed at increasing the awareness of a distinct Ukrainian history (at times class interests were behind national sentiments), in actual fact their impact on the reader must have been in this direction. For what other lesson could this revived history

---

[47] N. Makarov, "Vospominanija o N. A. Markeviče," *Osnova,* 1861, I, 295.
[48] *Ibid.,* p. 296.

have for them except the one that the present was bleak and colourless in comparison with the past?

Most early Ukrainian historians kept strictly to their field. However, some were also active as poets and ethnographers. Later this amplification of interests was to become more common (Kostomarov, Kuliš). In the preface to his book of poems written in Russian, *Ukrainian Melodies,* Markevyč noted that it would be desirable "to give a detailed description of historic beauties, the charms of nature, customs, rituals, clothes and ancient Little Russian government. It would be pleasant to recall what Baturin, Čigirin or Gluxov was like in the days of our forefathers, what were their manners and language. It would be pleasant to reconstruct our native land in its past."[49]

Treasure House of Folklore

The reconstruction of the past in its widest context became the task of the ethnographers and folklorists many of whom were historians on the side. A work which does not fit into the category of history or ethnography but which contains ideas pertinent to both as well as to literature, was Oleksij Pavlovs'kyj's *Grammatika malorossijskogo narečija* (A Grammar of the Little Russian Dialect, 1818). Until recently it has been regarded as an important contribution to Ukrainian philology, written by a Russian. The researches of George Shevelov have demonstrated that the author was a Ukrainian possibly in the service of Bezborod'ko. Pavlovs'kyj made a signal contribution to literary history. His grammar contains a Ukrainian dictionary of 1130 words, examples of Ukrainian oral literature and his own introduction and comments. The latter are of great interest to the student of literature. The author is torn between great affection for the Ukrainian language which he knew better than Russian,[50] and his desire to see this language refined and uplifted. He prefers some Ukrainian words to Russian *(vesillja* to *svad'ba)* but concludes that there are some words in Ukrainian which "betray the obvious errors of human reason."[51] As Shevelov rightly points out, Pavlovs'kyj's concern with the refinement of "coarse language" expressed the first protest against the dominant school of Kotljarevs'kyj and fore-

---

[49] N. Markevyč, *Ukrainskie melodii* (1831). Here quoted from P. H. Pryxod'ko, *Ševčenko j ukrajins'kyj romantyzm 30–50 rr. XIX st.* (Kiev, 1963), p. 63.

[50] G.Y. Shevelov, "Die 'Grammatik der kleinrussischen Mundart' von Pavlovskij und ihr Autor," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* 1958, XXVII, I, 65.

[51] A. Pavlovs'kyj (Pavlovskij), *Grammatika malorossijskogo narěčija* (St. Petersburg, 1818), p. 108.

shadowed early Ukrainian Romanticism.[52] At the same time Pavlovs'kyj is extremely defensive about the Ukrainian language which to him is, after all, a dialect *(narečie)*. He was the first to see the need for linguistic research if a Ukrainian literary language was to develop. Yet his is a modest plea not a bold stand. Perhaps the reasons for this timidity are not difficult to find. It took several years to obtain permission to publish his work. With his interest in the development of literary language Pavlovs'kyj represented the shifting of emphasis from the historical to linguistic and literary efforts.

The first collectors of Ukrainian ethnographic material appeared in the late eighteenth century. One of them was Hryhorij Kalynovs'kyj whose *Opisanie svadebnyx ukrainskix prostonarodnyx obrjadov v Maloj Rossii i slobodskoj ukrainskoj gubernii* (A Description of Ukrainian Folk Marriage Customs in Little Russia and Slobids'ka Ukrainian Province) was published in 1777. Among the first and foremost folklorists was Prince Nikolaj Certelev (1790–1869). A "Russified" Georgian, who was born and lived in the Ukraine, he was a staunch local patriot. Like many other men of non-Ukrainian origin Certelev contributed a great deal to the Ukrainian revival. In 1819 he published in St. Petersburg *Opyt sobranija starinnyx malorossijskix pesnej* (An attempt at a Collection of Ancient Little Russian Songs). In the preface to the book which was dedicated to his friend Troščyns'kyj, he described how an accident stirred interest in this subject. "Unexpectedly I came upon a blind *bandura*-player, who like the old rhapsodes, walking, from one place to another, sang of the exploits of the native heroes. I took down everything he knew."[53] While collecting these ancient Ukrainian songs Certelev was convinced that he "would not find another Iliad. Nevertheless I had no doubt that the songs which were preserved in the popular tradition for such a long time might arrest the curious eye of the observer. The Greeks and Romans were not the only ones who could see and feel. It is impossible that the vivid imagination of the Little Russians should not be fired by the strange upheavals suffered by their country."[54] Certelev made no claim that these songs could throw light on Ukrainian history. He merely hoped that they would show "the genius and the spirit of the people, the customs of the times and, finally, this pure moral quality *(nravstvennost)* for which the Little Russians have always been known and which they preserve even today as a heritage of their ancestors, saved from the greed of the neighbouring nations."[55] The beauty of Ukrainian folksongs appealed to non-Ukrainians like Certelev who tried to define them aesthetically. The unique "moral" quality was one feature ascribed to them.

---

[52] Shevelov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[53] N. Certelev, *Opyt sobranija starinnyx malorossijskix pesnej* (St. Petersburg, 1819), p. 1.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Some of these concepts were derived from Herder with whom Certelev was familiar through Russian and Polish writers. Herder claimed that "the Ukraine will become a new Greece: the beautiful sky, the gay spirit of the people, their natural musical gifts and fertile land will awaken one day."[56] This statement must be seen in the context of Herder's philosophy of history in which a special place was reserved for the Slavs. They were thought to posses characteristics which would enable them to play a leading part in history. These characteristics sprang from the national character of the various Slavic peoples, each unique in its language and folk culture. Herder's theories, especially his belief that Slavic languages showed great richness and spontaneity, gave an additional stimulus to the intensive collection of Slavic folklore. His notion of a unique national individuality spurred especially those Slavs whose histories were submerged.[57] Certelev was more interested in the Ukrainian past than the future; his view of Ukrainian folk poetry was that of an idyllic and beautiful antiquity. He described the songs in his collection as "hideous ruins testifying to the beauty of the destroyed monument. The dying echo of the harmony, heard at one time on the banks of the Dnieper."[58] His collection of 1819 is almost entirely devoted to the Ukrainian Cossack *dumy*, historical songs with epic or lyric content.

Although Certelev also wrote on Russian folklore, his first love was the Ukraine where all his memories and strongest influences originated. In 1827 he published in Kačenovskij's *Vestnik Evropy*, with which he was closely connected, a letter to a well-known folklorist, Myxajlo Maksymovyč.[59] In it, Certelev enlarged his aesthetic horizons and claimed that folk poetry rather than foreign literature should stimulate the development of Russian national literature. "One can imitate foreigners in one's desire for perfection, in the preservation of literary norms and the purity of language – but why should one be their slaves? Is it not better to learn from the books which they themselves used? And everybody has these books: nature, the writer's heart and his native land."[60] The collections of folksongs were to perform, therefore, a germinative role for contemporary literature. Throughout this letter Certelev distinguished clearly between Russian and Ukrainian folklore. He even made a point of comparing the Russian folksongs to the Ukrainian. "Both express the spirits of their nations, but between them there is, in my opinion, this difference that Russian folksongs are full of daring portrayals, while the Little Russian ones are full of strong sentiments.

---

[56] J. G. Herder, "Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769," *Herders Sämtliche Werke* (ed. B. Suphan) (Berlin, 1878), IV, 402.

[57] See J. L. Talmon, *The Unique and the Universal* (London, 1965).

[58] Certelev, op. cit., p. 5.

[59] *Vestnik Evropy*, 1827, No. 12.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

The first often show crude and savage manners; the latter reflect always the desire for glory, love and freedom."[61]

Certelev belonged to the *"Volnoe obščestvo ljubitelej russkoj slovesnosti"* (Free Society of the Votaries of Russian Literature) which was dominated by the Decembrists. He enjoyed their confidence as an expert on folk literature and was elected in 1823 to the censorship committee of the society which placed him in close association with Ryleev and Bestužev. The society also planned to publish Certelev's work on the history of Russian literature. However, in the aesthetic controversy between the classicists and the Romantics which split the *obščestvo* Certelev sided with the conservatives and opposed the use of folk literature for civic purposes.[62]

Certelev's desire to see more collections of Ukrainian folksongs published was soon gratified. 1827 saw the appearance of *Malorossijskie pesni izdannye M. Maksimovičem* (Little Russian Songs Published by M. Maksymovyč), the first comprehensive collection of 127 Ukrainian folksongs. Myxajlo Maksymovyč (1804–73) is the first major figure among Ukrainian folklorists. Born of impoverished gentry of Cossack origin on the *xutir* Tymkovščyna in the province of Poltava, Maksymovyč after completing the *gimnazija* at Novhorod Sivers'kyj entered Moscow University where he soon distinguished himself in natural sciences, especially botany. However, his deep attachment to folklore showed itself in the fact that the young student was also attending lectures in literature by Professor Merzljakov. In his autobiography, Maksymovyč later wrote: "From that time (1825) I became a participant in the literary world, so rich in my memories, beginning with that time up to my last return from Moscow to Little Russia in June, 1850, together with my unforgettable compatriot and friend, Gogol'."[63] The parallel development of a botanist and folklorist may be seen in the fact that in the year of the appearance of the *Pesni* Maksymovyč brilliantly defended his dissertation in botany. He became a lecturer and later a professor (1833) at Moscow University. He was known as a splendid teacher and had among his enthusiastic students the young Herzen who fondly remembered him in later years. The young professor's literary interests led him to form close ties with a number of writers among whom were Puškin and Gogol' and made him a participant in several literary circles, such as that of Prince Odoevskij, the editor of *Mnemosine*. He was on good terms with Pogodin, Polevoj, the editor of the *Moscow Telegraph* and Nadeždin, the editor of the *Telescope* and knew well some Decembrists (Ryleev) and the Polish poet Mickiewicz. Most of his good literary connections he owed to A. P. Jelagina, the mother of the brothers Kireevskij, who

---

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[62] V. Bazanov, *Očerki dekabristskoj literatury; publicistika, proza, kritika* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 203 ff.

[63] "Avtobiografija M. A. Maksimoviča," *Kievskaja starina*, 1904, vol. 86, p. 330.

herself took an active interest in the study of folklore. In Maksymovyč's "album" there is an entry for 1829 made by Pëtr Kireevskij who was about to go abroad. The entry, an excerpt from a Ukrainian folksong, is in obvious recognition of Maksymovyč's efforts in this field.[64]

Some Soviet critics[65] attempt to see in Maksymovyč's life great ideological battles ending with his coming down on the side of the Decembrists, revolutionary activists and materialist philosophers. There is no doubt that he was subject to the intellectual tensions of his day. However, ideologically, Maksymovyč held to the middle road. Temperamentally he was more of a detached scholar than a public man. There is just as much evidence that Maksymovyč was close to the Slavophiles as there is in favour of his links with the Decembrists. Supremely loyal to the government he was often, like so many other loyalists, in trouble with the censor. He was not averse to becoming a tool of high policy. That is how he became, in 1834, the first rector of the newly established Kiev University and professor of Russian language and literature. According to Pypin, there is little doubt that his appointment was made by Uvarov expressly to counteract the Polish influence in Kiev.[66] It came after the suppression of the Polish uprising and the closing down of the famous Polish lyceum at Kremjanec' (Krzemieniec). It is interesting to observe how in this and many other instances the tsarist government skilfully played the Ukrainians off against the Poles. It was convinced in those early days of the Ukrainian revival that local Ukrainian patriotism was the best safeguard of Russian interests in strongly Polonized Kiev. Pypin does not omit to mention that such a policy was not always successful. The Ukrainians and the Poles could not escape a feeling of "being in the same boat". Frequently they were drawn together, as happened in the case of Maksymovyč and his Polish friends. Eventually, the former's dismissal from the post of rector in 1835 (he continued teaching Russian literature until 1841) was caused as much by official disfavour as by his own ill health.

Devoting himself entirely to humanistic studies, Maksymovyč wrote many papers on Ukrainian history and published two more collections of Ukrainian songs – *Ukrainskie narodnye pesni* (Ukrainian Folksongs, Moscow, 1834) and *Sbornik narodnyx ukrainskix pesen* (A Collection of Ukrainian Folksongs, Kiev, 1849). In 1840 he prepared the first issue of the almanac *Kievljanin* (The Kievan), a kind of symposium on early Ukrainian history. In starting it Maksymovyč was secretly ambitious of emulating the Moscow Slavophiles gathered around *Moskvitjanin* (The Muscovite). This is clear from his correspondence with Jazykov and from the tone of Maksymovyč's

---

[64] "Al'bom M. A. Maksimoviča," *Kievskaja starina*, 1882.

[65] P. M. Popov, "Peršyj zbirnyk ukrajins'kyh narodnyx pisen'," in *Ukrajins'ki pisni vydani M. Maksymovyčem; fotokopija z vydannja 1827 r.* (Kiev, 1962).

[66] A. Pypin, *Istorija russkoj etnografii* (St. Petersburg, 1890), III, 20.

review of Western Ukrainian literature in *Kievljanin,* II (1841).[67] The leader of the older Slavophiles, Aleksej Xomjakov, sympathized with Maksymovyč's efforts. In a letter, written on November 24, 1839, he wrote: "May success crown your work. The title *Kievljanin,* which you chose, is a happy one. So much is contained in this word. It is time for Kiev to speak in Russian language and Russian life. I am convinced that word and thought conquer more than sabre and gunpowder. Kiev may in many relationships prove stronger than St. Petersburg or Moscow. It is a city on the border between the two elements, two cultures."[68] In a well-known controversy with Pogodin Maksymovyč defended the independet status of the Ukrainian language. He was less sure of the future of Ukrainian literature. In 1840 he wrote to the Galician Ukrainian, Denys Zubryc'kyj: "Everything written here in Little Russian is in some sense artificial and has only a regional character like German writing in the Alemannic dialect. We cannot have a literature in the South Russian language; there can only be individual works in this language – by Kotljarevs'kyj, Kvitka Osnovjanenko, Hrebinka and others."[69] Having retired in 1845 to Myxajlova Hora on the banks of the Dnieper, Maksymovyč continued to labour for what by then could be regarded as a Ukrainian cause. Unlike his good friend Gogol', who wrote him fiercely nationalistic letters but continued to enjoy life in St. Petersburg, Maksymovyč became reconciled to life on his *xutir.* Creatively he suffered little, for his historical and linguistic research could be carried on in the Ukraine better than anywhere else. Maksymovyč's achievement as a historian was quite considerable. He was one of the first to attack the "Normanist" school of Russian historians who claimed that the foundations of the Rus' state were laid by the Scandinavians. Here again his main opponent was Pogodin, with whom Maksymovyč also clashed on the problem of the origin of the Ukrainian Cossacks. According to Maksymovyč they did not come from foreign parts but were native Ukrainians. Maksymovyč was also one of the first linguists to study the Ukrainian language as a separate entity. His first publication in this field, *"Mnenie o malorossijskom jazyke"* (An Opinion on Little Russian Language, 1830) was concerned with Ukrainian orthography.

It would be false to suggest that Maksymovyč consciously prepared the foundation for modern Ukrainian literature. Like Kotljarevs'kyj and many of his compatriots he was only accidentally laying this foundation. It could equally well be argued that all his scholarly activity was directed to the enrichment of Russia. His collections of folksongs influenced Puškin and

---

[67] V. Petrov, "Lystuvannja M. O. Maksymovyča ta N. M. Jazykova," *Literatura* (Kiev, 1928), I.

[68] A. S. Xomjakov, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij* (Moscow, 1900), VIII, 463.

[69] Galičanin, *Literaturnyj sbornik* (Lviv, 1863), I, 2, pp. 107–8. Here quoted from P. K. Volyns'kyj, *Teoretyčna boroťba v ukrajins'kij literaturi; perša polovyna XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 91–92.

Gogol' just as much as they did Ševčenko. They were accepted in Russia as a revelation of the beauties of the Empire's southern regions. Like Certelev, Maksymovyč saw in Ukrainian folklore an "unspoiled" patriarchal idyll of the South of Russia, which was superior to the bleakness of the North. In the Ukraine, however, the impact of his collections was deeper for they awakened not only aesthetic but also patriotic feelings.

Maksymovyč's preface to the 1827 collection may serve as the touchstone of his whole philosophy of Ukrainian *narodnost'*. Starting with some general observations Maksymovyč turned to what he considered to be the best sources of *narodnost'* in general: "these are the songs – where the soul is ringing, moved by emotion, where the folk fantasy is reflected."[70] Folksongs also revealed the ordinary life of the people, their customs and beliefs. The Slavic folksongs struck Maksymovyč as particularly beautiful and this "beauty may serve as evidence that poetry is an inborn quality of the human spirit and that true poetry is its own creation."[71] For such idealistic aesthetics Maksymovyč found support in the Polish pre-Romantic, Kazimierz Brodzinski, whose article on Slavic songs he quoted with approval.

Led by such general premises Maksymovyč then turned to the Ukrainian songs which "take one of the first places" among the Slavs. In the Ukraine, he argued, the spirit of the people could not develop for a long time because of adverse historical conditions. Finally, during the Cossack era some degree of independence and homogeneity was achieved. Maksymovyč was acutely aware of the "frontier" element in the make-up of the Ukrainian people, whose settled agricultural and communal life had to be defended against the invaders. According to him three separate elements fused in the Cossack Ukraine: the fierce Cossack raids, the pastoral existence in peace time and their life in agricultural settlements. Hence Ukrainian songs related either to warfare, the deaths of Cossacks or homesickness. A special type of historical song was represented by the *dumy*, sung by the blind *kobzars*, the Ukrainian rhapsodes. Maksymovyč divided the other songs into several groups (ceremonial, spring cycle, humorous, etc.) and following Vuk Karadžić made a basic division between men's songs and women's songs which has been ruled out as unscientific by later scholars. There followed observations on the difference between Russian and Ukrainian folksongs:

> In Russian songs there is expressed a spirit reconciled to its fate and readily submissive to its dictates. The Russian is not accustomed to take an active part in the upheavals of life; hence he is friendly towards nature and likes to paint it, frequently adorning it since only here can his soul express

---

[70] M. Maksymovyč, "Predislovie," *Malorossijskija pesni* (Moscow, 1827), pp. I–II.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. II–III.

itself. He does not try to express in a song the circumstances of real life; on the contrary, he tries to separate himself from everything real and having shut his ears, wants, it seems, to be lost in sound... Hence Russian songs are marked with deep dejection, despondent oblivion, a kind of expansiveness and wide range. Little Russian songs have less of these luxuries: being an expression of the struggle between the spirit and fate, they are characterized by gusts of passion, compact firmness and strength of feeling and equally by natural expressiveness. In them we see not forgetfulness and dejection but rather disappointment and longing; thery are also more active.[72]

Unwittingly perhaps Maksymovyč's comparison of Russian and Ukrainian songs set apart the two peoples, created different aesthetic criteria and bolstered Ukrainian pride in their own *narodnost'*. Pypin notes observantly that

researches into Little Russian antiquity have raised different problems as to the history of Russian nationality: the question was thus raised of the relative age of the Great Russians and Little Russians, the question of how old is the Little Russian tongue; was the history of the Kievan period accomplished by the Great Russians or Little Russians (the former opinion was put forward by Pogodin, the latter by Maksimovič) etc.[73]

All these questions relating to the character and history of the Ukraine came to be discussed by Maksymovyč's readers to whom the collection of folksongs was a tangible proof of Ukrainian cultural independence. Jurij Venelin in his book *Ob istočnikax narodnoj poezii voobšče i malorossijskoj v častnosti* (On the Sources of Folk Poetry in General and Little Russian in Particular, 1834) reiterated Maksymovyč's point that Ukrainian folksongs hold an advantage over the Russian songs because of their closer proximity to *narodnost'*. For different reasons, the Russian critics valued Maksymovyč's collections very highly. Maksymovyč later recalled that when he once found Puškin reading his collection the latter remarked "and I am filching *(obiraju)* your songs."[74]

Although many collections were known in manuscript form (especially the one by the Polish scholar Zorian Dołęga-Chodakowski – pseudonym of Adam Czarnocki – whose splendid collection was used by Maksymovyč for his second book) *Malorossijskie pesni* were the first to appear in print. Just how deep was the impression which Maksymovyč's collection made on the younger generation may be judged from the following comment by Pantelejmon Kuliš in his reminiscences of Kostomarov:

Nikolaša [Kostomarov], like all of us, students of the Russian schools, at first scorned everything Ukrainian and did his thinking in the language of Puškin. Yet to both of us, in two different points in Little Russia, this unusual event happened. In Xar'kov he came across the 1827 collection of Ukrainian songs by

---

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. XIII–XIV.
[73] Pypin, *op. cit.*, I, 375.
[74] *Vestnik Evropy*, 1874, II, 447.

> Maksimovič and I, in Novgorod Siverskij, also by accident came into possession of the Ukrainian dumy and songs of the same Maksimovič, published in 1834. In one day both of us changed from Russian into Little Russian populists.[75]

Maksymovyč's collection gave a powerful stimulus to what became a real vogue among Ukrainian intellectuals: collecting and publishing folksongs. The first work of the Western Ukrainian (Galician) revival by Markijan Šaškevyč, Ivan Vahylevyč and Jakiv Holovac'kyj was a collection *Rusalka Dnistrovaja* (The Dniester Mermaid, 1837) with the subtitle Ruthenische Volkslieder, full of Ukrainian folksongs. Platon Lukaševyč, a former student of the Nižyn high school (1806–87), published a comprehensive collection entitled *Malorusskie i červonorusskie dumy i pesni* (Little Russian and Red Russian Dumy and Songs, 1836). The zeal spread to many Polish writers and scholars. Wacław Zaleski (z Oleska) (1800–49) and Żegota Pauli (1814–95) published good collections of Ukrainian songs.[76]

The passion for collecting reached such proportions that, as might be expected, some scholars were tempted to invent some of the antiquities and pass them off as genuine works. This was the case with the collections *Zaporožskaja starina* (Zaporožian Antiquity; six books appeared between 1833–80 edited by Sreznevs'kyj). His fake *dumy* and historical songs were indeed received by the public as genuine and exercised considerable influence on their generation.[77]

In the 1830's there appeared another prominent Ukrainian folklorist and historian, Osyp Bodjans'kyj (1808–77). Born of an impoverished clerical family he was educated at Moscow University from which he graduated in 1834. In the middle of 1837 he defended his master's dissertation "O narodnoj poezii slovjanskix plemen" (On Folk Poetry of Slavic Races) in which he expressed some radical views on Ukrainian folklore. Following Certelev and Maksymovyč he was anxious to point out the differences between Russian and Ukrainian songs. This he did with a truly Romantic exaggeration. The Russian songs were, for him, marked with great despondency and oblivion and showed submission to one's fate. This he traced to the despondent nature of the north and the passive submissiveness of the Russian people. On the other hand

> the folk poetry of South Russes (Ukrainians, Little Russians) is with all its content and form diametrically opposite to the poetry of the Northern Russes. It could not be otherwise. Of all the Slavic races, the north and south Russes are most unlike each other, notwithstanding their common name which incidentally is foreign to both of them if one considers their origin . . . How different

---

[75] V. Šenrok, "P. A. Kuliš," *Kievskaja starina*, 1901, vol. 72, I, 169–70.

[76] For a useful survey of the extensive Polish contributions to the study of Ukrainian folklore see Wacław Kubacki, "Taras Szewczenko wobec polskiego romantyzmu," *Poezja i proza* (Kraków, 1966).

[77] A. Šamraj, "Do počatkiv romantyzmu," *Ukrajina*, 1929, X–XI.

is the North from the South and how different are the peoples who live there! Here the geographic names most clearly agree with their ethnographies. The dissonance in the characteristics of the Russes and their poetry arises from their origins, the areas which they inhabit and the difference of their cultural and historical lives and other circumstances . . .[78]

Having thus opposed the Ukrainians to the Russians Bodjans'kyj painted a vivid picture of the Cossack Ukraine, the cradle of Ukrainian folksongs. Their dominant quality, reflecting Ukrainian history, is dramatic. "In this the south-Russian songs are quite unique and second to none among Slavic peoples, where dramatic situations are very rare and constitute accidental occurrences whereas [among the Ukrainians this dramatic quality] is imperative, common, essential and natural. Ukrainian songs rank higher than other Slavic songs just as drama is higher than other kinds of poetry . . ."[79]

While Soviet scholars dismiss these sentiments of Bodjans'kyj as "bourgeois nationalism" they are nevertheless of profound importance for assessing the cultural situation in the Ukraine. Bodjans'kyj's feelings may be traced to his student days in Moscow where he fell under the influence of Kačenovskij's "sceptical" theory which doubted the existence of one Old Russian people. In his *kandidat* dissertation (1835) Bodjans'kyj denied the common origin of all eastern Slavs and claimed separate origins for Russians and Ukrainians. His Russian friends regarded his Ukrainian nationalism with a tolerant sense of humor. Nikolaj Stankevič to whose famous "circle" Bodjans'kyj belonged drew a caricature, "the emblematic vignette", directed against the "sceptical" school. Ridiculing several Russian scholars who questioned the origin of Kievan Rus' Stankevič pictured a Ukrainian zealot, who bears a striking resemblance to Bodjans'kyj, as pointing with his hand to a table full of Ukrainian cookies and saying "The Russes are Cossacks! Fellow countryman, if you wish to know the truth [about the origin of Rus'] let us go to Poltava."[80] This teasing had little effect on Bodjans'kyj who remained dedicated to his cause. A friend of Gogol' and Ševčenko he infected them with his own "Cossackomania."

In August, 1837, Bodjans'kyj was sent abroad on a fellowship to study the history and folklore of the Slavic countries. He travelled widely and between 1837 and 1842, despite severe attacks of rheumatism, visited Germany, Austria, Italy, Turkey and Prussia before returning to Russia. He also spent some time in Warsaw. On his return, in October, 1842, he was appointed professor of "Slavic dialects" at Moscow University. Thorough acquaintance with Western and Southern Slavs including personal contacts with leading Czech, Polish and Serbian scholars and writers (Kollár, Hanka, Šafařik, Palacký, Kopitar, Karadžić) made Bodjans'kyj an unequalled expert

---

[78] I. Bodjans'kyj, *O narodnoj poezii slavjanskix plemen* (Moscow, 1837), pp. 122–24.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[80] *Perepiska Nikolaja Vladimiroviča Stankeviča* (Moscow, 1914), p. 456.

in the field of comparative Slavic studies. His Ukrainian interests remained undiminished. In 1845 he became the secretary of the "Obščestvo istorii i drevnostej rossijskix" (Society for the Study of Russian History and Antiquities) and the next year he launched a most valuable series of publications – *Čtenija* of the *Obščestvo*. In two and a half years (1846–48) he managed to publish 23 volumes. They contained a wealth of Ukrainian material.[81] The entire enterprise came to an abrupt end in 1848, a year of wide European revolutionary movements (*Čtenija* resumed publication in 1858). Bodjans'kyj was suddenly dismissed from his professorship in Moscow and suspended as secretary of the *Obščestvo*. The immediate reason for such drastic steps was the inclusion in *Čtenija* of a Russian translation of Fletcher's travel notes on Russia in the sixteenth century, in which Russia was depicted in very dark colours. Because of his stubbornness and good connections Bodjans'kyj was not transferred to Kazan' but remained in Moscow.

Among the first historical works which Bodjans'kyj published in *Čtenija* was *Istorija Rusov*. In a letter to I. P. Saxarov he confided that his fears and difficulties in publishing this book were very great. "Thank God that I succeeded in taking my Russes through Thermopylae in their complete form, whole and undamaged, without the slightest wound, even without a scratch. I must confess that at the beginning I suffered much in anticipation of those blows and losses which they might have suffered, but as often happens with our prognostications, where you don't think of anything everything happens and where you think of everything nothing does."[82]

Bodjans'kyj was perhaps the most extreme promoter of what came to be known as "Ukrainskoe dviženie" (Ukrainian movement) among the historians. Ideologically he belonged to the Slavophiles. He came under heavy attack from the Westernizers especially after his appearance as the official opponent of Granovskij's dissertation.[83] Bodjans'kyj also wrote Ukrainian poetry and under the pseudonym Zaporožec' Is'ko Materynka published versified Ukrainian fables (1835) dedicating them to "his dear mother Ukraine". Above all, he was a great believer that in the Ukrainian historical monuments and folksongs there was sufficient originality and vitality to justify not only a separate division from Russia in the past but to provide nourishment for a new distinctive Ukrainian culture and literature.

The combination of folklore and history was heady wine for Ukrainian intellectuals. It provided ready answers not only to their national problems but also to their aesthetic and philosophic questions. Folksongs were held in such high esteem that their influence on the formation of personality was taken for granted. In his biography of Gogol', written in the middle of the

---

[81] Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–31.

[82] *Drevnjaja i novaja Rossija*, 1880, vol. 16, p. 740. Here quoted from Ohloblyn's foreword to *Istorija Rusiv* (New York, 1956), p. XV.

[83] *Kievskaja starina*, 1903, vol. 83, p. 148.

century, Kuliš argued quite seriously that Gogol"s creative talent was conditioned by the feeling for "tragic sadness and lyric gaiety" of the Ukrainian folksongs.[84] There is no doubt, however, that folksongs influenced writers in the Ukraine in the direction of extreme lyricism. On the other hand, historical researches led the intellectuals away from a heuristic quest into an alley of ideology.

If one assumes that these early Ukrainian historical and folkloristic researches are the first stirrings of modern Ukrainian consciousness one must conclude that they provided it with a firm foundation. For what can be more urgent to the needs of an emerging nation than to find its historical origins and its cultural distinctiveness? For the time being Ukrainians were busy doing just this and discovering thereby their basic identity. A feeling of pride and satisfaction permeated most of their efforts which were not yet seriously hampered by censorship or other forms of control. It is wrong to describe this activity as an organized movement. It was entirely spontaneous and unorganized and had no political aims. One can perhaps speak of "circles" for although in most cases these efforts were uncoordinated they reflected certain regional forces. As yet no one realized the full implications of these activities which did not yet challenge anything in the established order of life. It was still possible to love the tsar and fatherland and at the same time to dabble in Ukrainian history or to collect Ukrainian folksongs. No one had yet thought that such intellectual activities could be more than pure avocations.

There is a deep irony in the fact that historical and folkloristic studies in the Ukraine were actively encouraged by Russian official policy. The doctrine of "official nationality" (part of the triad "orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality") as proclaimed by the Russian minister of education Uvarov in 1833, had a powerful influence on developments in the Ukraine. The cultivation of *narodnost'* (national identity) and *mestnost'* (local identity) were fostered there not for their own sake but within the new concept of Russian culture. "For in addition to its reactionary, dynastic and defensive connotations," writes a historian of Nicolaian Russia, "the term [official nationality] had a romantic frame of reference. And on the romantic plane 'Russia' and 'the Russian people' acquired a supreme metaphysical, and even mystical, importance, leading to belief in the great mission of Russia, to such doctrines as Pan-Slavism and such practices as Russification."[85]

How could official policy leading to Russification increase the development of national consciousness in the Ukraine? Precisely because one type of nationalism (Russian) provoked in the long run another type of nationalism (Ukrainian). It is clear that both the Ukrainian historians and folk-

---

[84] P. Kuliš, *Opyt biografii N. V. Gogolja* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 85.

[85] N. V. Riazanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855* (Berkeley, 1959), p. 124.

lorists had ignited the slow-burning fuse of national consciousness. Their studies had a great impact on their contemporaries and on future generations which regarded them as sources for other endeavours and as a springboard for new ventures. The time would come when Ukrainian intellectuals would not be satisfied with the crumbs which fell from the Russian table. They would end up by opposing all those ideas which the official nationality policy stood for. For the time being, however, their energies were absorbed by a great new venture which was the creation of a modern Ukrainian literature, made possible by the development of historical and folkloristic studies.

II

CLASSICISTS AND ROMANTICS

Kotljarevs'kyj and His Followers

Surveys of modern Ukrainian literature usually begin with Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj. They should start with Hryhorij Skovoroda. Although writing in what he considered to be Russian and in Latin, Skovoroda exercised a profound influence on his followers – the Ukrainian Classicists and Romantics alike. In our story he is a vital link between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century.

Born in 1722 in Poltava province Skovoroda came from a poor peasant family. Educated at the Kiev Academy he showed unusual intellectual gifts. After his graduation he travelled to Western Europe (Hungary Austria, Germany) and mastered foreign languages. On his return to the Ukraine he worked as a teacher, first in Perejaslav Collegium and later, after his dismissal, as a private tutor. From 1759 to 1764 he taught poetics at the Xarkiv Collegium. After 1769 Skovoroda became a "wandering scholar" spending his time in teaching and writing, staying usually in small towns and villages. He died in a village near Xarkiv in 1794.

Skovoroda is primarily a philosopher.[1] The epithet the "Ukrainian Socrates" is quite fitting since his was a quest for truth conducted not only in books but in his own life. His originality consists largely in not following the contemporary trends of the Enlightenment but in going back to Plato, the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the medieval and Patristic philosophers. There is a large dose of homespun wisdom in Skovoroda which he found and in turn preached among the common people with whom he was a great favourite. His philosophy could best be described as Christian humanism with a strong admixture of pantheism. As a writer Skovoroda is known as the author of verses *Sad božestvennyx pesen* (Orchard of Divine Songs, 1753–85) containing mostly lyrical poems, several of them based on folk poetry. The most famous of them "Vsjakomu horodu" (Each City) has in turn become a folksong. Although still in the syllabic form, the poems show some tonic elements. Among his prose works are *Basni xar'kovskie* (The Xarkiv Fables), dialogues and treatises in vivid, poetic language.

---

[1] See D. Čyževs'kyj, *Narysy z istoriji filosofiji na Ukrajini* (Prague, 1931); his *Filosofija H. Skovorody* (Warsaw, 1934). V. Zenkovskij, *Istorija russkoj filosofii* (Paris, 1948), I.

Skovoroda's literary influence is marked by his philosophy and his whole personality. A wandering scholar in search of truth would be more suitable for a medieval setting. In the eighteenth century Ukraine, it represented a reaction against the scholasticism of culture and education. Skovoroda, therefore, appeared as a challenge to the prevalent cultural trends of his day and also a retreat into a personal ideology marked by strong moralism, religiosity and asceticism. Escaping from the corrupt world which, Skovoroda said "tried to catch him but failed", he embraced an inner world of self-knowledge which exercised a great fascination on his readers. As a teacher he believed in the effectiveness of individual discipleship at which he himself excelled. The greatest book for him remained the Bible, but he was an enemy of the literal and a promoter of symbolic interpretation. His intense moralism and religiosity did not prevent bitter attacks on the clergy and the institutional church.

All these ideas found a great response among the intellectuals of the next generation. Ševčenko's religiosity and moral fervour was strongly influenced by Skovoroda, whose works, according to Ševčenko's own words, he copied as a small boy. Above all, Skovoroda provided future generations with a belief in the inherent truth and goodness of quietist philosophy and countryside retreat. The self-sufficiency of the Ukrainian world, although linked to the sources of world knowledge, provided the necessary foundation for Pantelejmon Kuliš's *xutorjanstvo* (idealization of the existence on a Ukrainian *xutir* – homestead) and has remained a strong antidote to foreign influence and to the later civic-mindedness of Ukrainian literary life. Like *narodnost'*, although in a different way, Skovorodism accentuated the spiritual resources of the Ukraine in contrast to her neighbours.

The "father" of modern Ukrainian literature was destined to come from an entirely different milieu than Skovoroda. Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj (1769–1838) was born into the family of a small clerk in Poltava. His education at the local seminary included the study of classical and modern languages and Russian literature. The latter had a strong influence upon the young pupil, who was already composing verses. His first biographer, Steblyn-Kamens'kyj informs us that after completing his courses at the seminary Kotljarevs'kyj lived for a time in a village as a tutor to a landowner's family. At that time he took the opportunity to mix with the peasants and to observe their customs. He even noted down some of their songs.

Kotljarevs'kyj's further career drew him ever closer to Russian life. In 1796 he joined the army and later took part in the Moldavian campaign of 1806–7. He left the army in 1808 and two years later obtained the post of school supervisor in his native Poltava. During the war against Napoleon Kotljarevs'kyj was recalled to military service and helped to form the Fifth Cossack Regiment. In 1816 he became the director of the Poltava theatre in which he was very active. The theatre developed under the solicitous eyes of Prince Repnin who was also instrumental in securing freedom for the

great actor Mixail Ščepkin, a friend of Gogol' and Ševčenko, who often acted in Kotljarevs'kyj's plays. The literary activities initiated by Kotljarevs'kyj and Prince Repnin are sometimes described as the "Poltava circle".[2] At the same time Kotljarevs'kyj was a member of the Biblical Society and the local masonic lodge "Love of Truth". To the latter he was introduced, according to some scholars, by the Decembrist M. Novikov.[3] There is, however, no trace of non-conformist ideas in Kotljarevs'kyj's works or life. He was a model loyal citizen, highly respected for his virtues as a government official. Before his death he freed several of his serfs.

How did it happen that a man of such conservative tastes and conformist leanings became the author of the first long poetic work in the Ukrainian language? The reasons are complex and can be understood only within the literary concepts of Kotljarevs'kyj's time. The classicist theory of literature as developed in Russia by Lomonosov postulated strict adherence to three styles – high, middle and low which were not to be mixed. Certain literary genres automatically fell within these categories and were to conform to definite linguistic rules. The low style included among other literary forms the burlesque, which could be written with an admixture of common speech. The use of Ukrainian could heighten the comic quality of the burlesque since that language was considered to possess a peculiar jocosity *(šutlivost')*. One of the types of the burlesque was travesty (a serious classic theme "dressed up" in modern or folk clothes) which as a literary genre dated from the sixteenth century. A favourite work to be travestied was Vergil's *Aeneid* (G. Lalli, 1633; P. Scarron, 1648–59, A. Blumauer – late eighteenth century). In Russia, Vergil's work was parodied by N. Osipov (1791) and Kotel'nickij (1801). Similar parodies were known in Belorussia.

In the Ukraine the idea of using the vernacular Ukrainian in a burlesque poem based on the *Aeneid* occurred to some writers before Kotljarevs'kyj. We know of one such attempt – "Vergil's Shepherds . . . Dressed up in Little Russian Coats" by Opanas Lobysevyč (1732–1805). The work itself has been lost but an interesting letter from Lobysevyč to Konys'kyj, written in 1794, remains, showing his serious interest in preserving literary works in Ukrainian although in the form of popular comedy. "As in all fashions of clothes," wrote Lobysevyč, "so in all languages there is a beauty of its own. Especially, when the smoke of the fatherland is sweet, the fragrance of native thoughts is sweetest. For the honour of our nation, our mother who was always distinguished for great scholars and produced so many luminaries, for the sake of those who love their fatherland and know how to discover precious thoughts under the layer of common speech, I ask your Grace to oblige me exceedingly by preparing copies of Tans'kyj's or your

---

[2] I. Pavlovskij, "Zaboty kn. Repnina o poltavskom teatre i o vykupe artista Ščepkina," *Kievskaja starina,* 1904, Vol. 87.

[3] P. K. Volyns'kyj, *Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj* (Kiev, 1955), pp. 37–38.

own *interludia*[4] and sending them to me by mail to St. Petersburg. Let them appear in print, let our Plautus, our Molière, if nothing more, add greatness to the fatherland. For I myself remember some verses depicting Easter, the flight of the devil, Judas' death – all beautiful descriptions."[5] It is obvious that Lobysevyč's interest in Ukrainian burlesque was more than literary.

Kotljarevs'kyj's case is different. His *Enejida* (Aeneid), which started to appear in 1798 and was printed in full in 1842, was conceived rather as a literary exercise. Its author had to be persuaded to publish it and therefore could not have regarded it as a literary manifestation. Commitment to the burlesque genre seemed to rule out any other conscious motive from the mind of its creator. However, the effect created by Kotljarevs'kyj's work went far beyond the original intention. This, of course, is not uncommon with literary works: their meaning grows beyond their original conception. In the welter of different interpretations which is always a mark of greatness, a literary work must be related, first of all, to its own time.

There is little doubt about the enthusiasm which greeted the appearance of the *Enejida*. What was it exactly that made it so popular? First and foremost its language. Kotljarevs'kyj, without any conscious intention of becoming a linguistic reformer, succeeded in creating a most colourful Ukrainian from the vocabulary of peasants, townsmen and seminarians. A poet of genius, he chose the raciest synonyms, similes and metaphors, made up most picturesque scenes and images and delighted in the use of proverbs, *sententiae* and slang. Following the Baroque tradition, he was fond of verbal games and macaronic conglomerations.[6] Many of his words and expressions are obscure and unintelligible today but they still ring with wonderful assonance and zest. The secret of Kotljarevs'kyj's appeal is not language alone. His travesty is so complete that the reader does not even remember Vergil. Instead he sees before him Ukrainian Cossacks on what is a huge joyride and fantastic adventure. Aeneas is a "lusty Cossack blade", Juno a "spiteful hussy", Venus, the wife of a Cossack captain, and Prometheus steals the fire to light his Cossack pipe. The Zaporožians from

---

[4] Interludes (known as either *interludia* or *intermedia)* were short comic scenes staged between the acts of a serious play. This dramatic genre originated in England in the fifteenth century and was widely known in the Ukraine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Ukrainian characters in the interludes spoke Ukrainian. There is, of course, no direct link between the English and the Ukrainian interludes.

[5] N. I. Petrov, *Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury XIX stoletija* (Kiev, 1884), p. 20. For the full text of Lobysevyč's letter see O. Ohloblyn, *Opanas Lobysevyč; 1732–1805* (Munich – New York, 1966), pp. 79–82.

[6] D. Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1956), pp. 340–41. Orest Zilyns'kyj has aptly compared Kotljarevs'kyj to Rabelais ("Radist' svitloho rozumu; pro Ivana Kotljarevs'koho," *Duklja,* No. 6, 1969, pp. 58–59). Kotljarevs'kyj's Rabelaisian quality must have appealed to Gogol' who was himself a true "word glutton" (see S. Karlinsky, "Portrait of Gogol as a Word Glutton," *California Slavic Studies,* 1970, V.).

Troy are never idealized, although their prowess, as in Gogol"s *Taras Bul'ba,* is never in doubt. Patriotism is never parodied by Kotljarevs'kyj. No opportunity is missed for carousal and drinking just as in the work by Gogol' who knew his Kotljarevs'kyj well. Not only the characters but the setting is Ukrainian. A wealth of information can be gathered from the *Enejida* about folklore, customs, dress, food and everyday life. The fact that Kotljarevs'kyj's kings and gods act very much like landowners or high officials has prompted some Soviet critics to consider the whole work as one vast social satire. The corrupt, debauched and inhuman Olympians were thought to be disguises for the contemporary mighty ones whom Kotljarevs'kyj wished to ridicule. Such a reading of the *Enejida* is hardly plausible. The work contains a great deal of moral satire which is a natural outcome of the mock-heroic genre. However, to its contemporaries the *Enejida* was certainly not a social satire. As one Soviet critic pointed out in 1931, Kotljarevs'kyj's "attitude to the landowners is determined by moral not social criteria: landowners are not bad *per se,* they are bad because they are cruel to their peasants. Such democracy goes along very well with extreme conservatism."[7] The fact that on his visit to hell Aeneas meets the ruling classes while paradise is populated by the lowly and the poor are not signs of the author's "class consciousness" but of his conventional Christian morality.

It must be conceded that the *Enejida* is a great work of art because it is more than a burlesque. Its humour is also greater than mere mock fun. What started as a literary exercise in the classicist genre of travesty became a revelation of the potentialities of a new literary language. This miracle performed by Kotljarevs'kyj was acknowledged by the Ukrainian writers of his day on whom he had a profound though rather pernicious influence. He was the only major Ukrainian classicist, a writer of great linguistic vitality, surrounded by the wastelands of literary mediocrity and general national atrophy. An entire school of imitators arose whose literary products were inferior (Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, Oleksandriv, Pysarevs'kyj, Kuxarenko). Pavlo Bilec'kyj-Nosenko (1774–1856) whose travesty *Horpynyda* and the novel *Zinovij Bogdan Xmel'nickij* were published posthumously, was a typical Ukrainian landowner with literary ambitions. Coming from an old Cossack family which traced its origin to Mazepa's contemporary colonel Nos, Bilec'kyj-Nosenko after his military service was active as a teacher in the town of Pryluky. He wrote several treatises on logic, aesthetics, law and medicine, all of them the worthless productions of a dilettante. He ruled his serfs in the village of Luhovec' with a rod of iron and left a document on village government, a curious mixture of ruthless tyranny and contemporary enlightenment.[8] In his spare moments this martinet found the time to write Ukrainian verses.

---

[7] I. Ajzenštok, "Kotljarevskij," *Literaturnaja enciklopedija,* V, 520.

[8] I. Lučyc'kyj, "Iz nedavnago prošlogo," *Kievskaja starina,* 1901, vol. 73.

Kotljarevs'kyj's influence stemmed not only from the *Enejida* but also from his two dramatic works, the play-operetta *Natalka Poltavka* and the vaudeville *Moskaľ čarivnyk* (The Soldier Sorcerer) both written and produced in 1819. Written in the literary tradition of the time the plays were intended to correct the impression of Ukrainian life given in many Russian vaudevilles, especially in Šaxovskoj's *Kozak-stixotvorec* (Cossack, the Versifier, 1812). It is interesting that Kotljarevs'kyj made a direct reference to these Russian efforts in his *Natalka Poltavka,* protesting against Šaxovskoj's ridicule of Ukrainian. *Natalka Poltavka* is an adequate play both linguistically and dramatically. Once more Kotljarevs'kyj proved that a successful literary work could be written in modern Ukrainian. Yet, as in the case of the *Enejida,* this play led to many imitations, to such an extent that for decades to come the Ukrainian stage was occupied exclusively by ethnographic and "folk-mannerist" *(pobutovyj)* theatre. Kotljarevs'kyj's pioneering achievement had a confining influence. Its limitations were felt strongly by Ševčenko and Kuliš While the latter condemned Kotljarevs'kyj for making fun of the Ukrainian people, Ševčenko regarded *Enejida* as merely a "farce *(smixovyna)* in the Muscovite vein."[9] Yet both acknowledged Kotljarevs'kyj's merit as a superb imitator, without whom an original literature could never have arisen.

Among the followers of Kotljarevs'kyj the most talented was Petro Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (1790–1865). Son of a priest, he was educated at Kiev Academy and later made a brilliant university career, at first as a lecturer in Polish and then as professor of history and finally as rector (1841–49) of Xarkiv University. Second-rate as teacher and scholar Hulak-Artemovs'kyj possessed administrative gifts which made his career possible. In fact in his later life he was very much a careerist, anxious to please the authorities and enjoy their confidence. He busied himself with literature as a hobby and wrote poems in Russian, some of them upon receiving a new medal or decoration. His out-and-out reactionary political outlook did not prevent him in those days from cultivating his local Ukrainian patriotism. Concurrently with his literary efforts in Russian he wrote in Ukrainian showing great mastery of that language. His best known work is a short fable in verse "Pan ta sobaka" (The Master and the Dog, 1818) based on an epigrammatic fable by the Polish writer, Ignacy Krasicki. Some socially-minded critics see in this classicist moralizing tale told in a bantering tone a criticism of the harsh conditions of serfdom. Sympathy with the lot of the serfs did not in those days imply disapproval with the entire social structure. On the contrary, in order to preserve the social structure one had to guard against the abuses and injustices within it. While there is obvious compassion for abused humanity, no protest is voiced against the system which is accepted as the best possible. It is interesting that Maksym Ryl's'kyj rejected

---

[9] Taras Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v šesty tomax* (Kiev, 1964), VI, 314.

the common Soviet interpretation of this fable as a work with clear anti-serfdom tendencies.[10]

Hulak-Artemovs'kyj also wrote travesties of Horace's odes and translated into Ukrainian two ballads – Mickiewicz's "Pani Twardowska" and Goethe's "Der Fischer". The translation from Goethe is the first, though only half-successful, rendering of a Romantic poem in Ukrainian. The adaptation of Mickiewicz's ballad shows that Hulak–Artemovs'kyj was still unable to rise above classicist practice. His ballad is a good example of the low comedy which the Classicists reserved for the use of the vernacular. The demand for such travesties was still great. Mickiewicz's friend, I. Daniłowicz, wrote to Lelewel on November 30th, 1827, that Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's ballad was very popular. "I implored the author," he wrote, "to turn inside out [Mickiewicz's] *Dziady*. But he conceived of a strange thought – to compose a Little Russian dictionary to rescue that language from perdition."[11] We learn more about the reasons which prompted Hulak-Artemovs'kyj to contemplate working on a dictionary from his letter to Anastasevyč, written in February, 1828.

> Day and night I dream about a Little Russian dictionary. The thought that perhaps the time is near when not only traces of Little Russian customs and antiquity will disappear forever, but also the language itself will merge with the huge river of the mighty, dominant Russian language and will not leave any signs of its existence, plunges me into such melancholy that there are moments when I feel like renouncing all my ambitions and going away to the peaceful refuge of the simple villager in order to catch the last sounds of the native tongue which is dying every day.[12]

It is very significant that Kačenovskij, the editor of *Vestnik Evropy* in which Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's translation of Goethe was published, thought it necessary to write an editorial note in which he quoted the translator's letter to him. In it Hulak-Artemovs'kyj wrote that "among other things and for curiosity's sake he wanted to try if it was possible to express in the Little Russian language tender, fine and uplifted feelings without forcing the reader to laugh as in the case of Kotljarevskij's *Enejida* and other poems written with a similar aim."[13]

For the development of Ukrainian literature it was important that such efforts should be made. One could hardly say that Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's effort to get away from burlesque was successful. He attempted to widen the horizons of Ukrainian literature. His own attempts at innovation were on the

---

[10] *Materialy do vyvčennja ukrajins'koji literatury* (Kiev, 1961), II, 57–58.

[11] Z. Jabłoński, "Listy o Adamie Mickiewiczu ze zbiorów rękopism Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie," *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie,* 1955, pp. 55–56. Here quoted from I. Ajzenštok, "Z tvorčyx vzajemyn A. Mickevyča ta P. Hulaka-Artemovs'koho," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo,* 1966, No. 4, p. 55.

[12] P. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1964), p. 218.

[13] *Vestnik Evropy,* 1827, No. 20, pp. 286–87.

whole futile and the total impression one gets from reading his Ukrainian poems is not very different from Kotljarevs'kyj; at times, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's language is even coarser. We have some evidence that his expansion of Ukrainian literature into other genres seemed to Hulak-Artemovs'kyj a hopeless task. Apparently in an argument with another Ukrainian writer, Kvitka, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj doubted that Ukrainian could be used for more serious purposes. The argument had a beneficial result in that Kvitka, determined to prove his case, wrote a sentimental story "Marusja" which is sometimes regarded as the beginning of Ukrainian prose. "I happened to get into an argument," wrote Kvitka to Pletnev in 1839, "with a writer writing in Little Russian dialect. I asked him to write something serious and touching. He argued that the language is not at all suitable for this. Knowing its subtleties I wrote 'Marusja', and proved that one can be deeply moved by the Little Russian language."[14]

Kvitka Osnovjanenko

The founder of Ukrainian prose, Hryhorij Kvitka (pseudonym Osnovjanenko) was born in 1778 in a well-to-do Cossack family in Osnova near Xarkiv. He was a delicate and sickly child who temporarily lost his sight. His recovery, when Kvitka was five years old, was credited by his parents to divine intervention after a visit to a monastery. Educated by tutors who were monks, Kvitka was inclined for the rest of his life to extreme religiosity. Once he entered a monastery where he stayed for 10 months. In 1806 he became a government official in Xarkiv where he took a very active part in public life. Much of his time was devoted to the activities of the Xarkiv Charitable Society of which he was the founder. It was typical of Kvitka to become absorbed in local affairs; he was marshal of the nobility, took part in literary and musical soirées, expended a great deal of time and energy on the local theatre and supported the establishment of the girls' school at the Charitable Society.[15] The last twelve years of his life he spent happily married in the seclusion of his manor in Osnova where he died in 1843. Zerov aptly remarks that "we should bear in mind the idyllic character of Kvitka's life, the sentimental culture of his emotions before approaching the moods and characters of his better tales."[16]

Kvitka's literary activity began in 1816 when he contributed feuilletons to the journal *Ukrainskij vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald) which started to appear in Xarkiv. In the 1820's Kvitka became a contributor to *Vestnik*

---

[14] H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1957), VI, 532.

[15] V. Lapin, "Xar'kovskoe obščestvo blagotvorenija v 1812–1817 gg." *Kievskaja starina,* 1896, vol. 53.

[16] M. Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo* (Munich, 1960), p. 182.

Evropy where he published Ukrainian anecdotes. In 1827 the Moscow censor received his play *Priezžij iz stolicy* (A Visitor from the Capital) which bears a close resemblance to Gogol"s *Inspector General.* Although any direct influence of Kvitka's play on Gogol' must be ruled out, it is obvious that both authors had a similar sense of humour.[17] Kvitka's play was not printed until 1840. His other works of that period, although quite promising, did not attract special attention. So far Kvitka had written in Russian, although often on Ukrainian themes. Then, suddenly, in 1833, he decided to write in Ukrainian. It would be wrong to interpret this decision merely as the result of an argument with Hulak-Artemovs'kyj. Other, weightier reasons were present. Fortunately, we have Kvitka's own literary declaration written in 1833 in the form of *"Suplika do pana izdatelja"* (Supplication to Mr. Editor) addressed to the editor of *Utrennaja zvezda* (Morning Star), the publisher of Kvitka's first Ukrainian stories which appeared in 1834.

Suplika is an interesting document. Written in Ukrainian and still bearing traces of a jocular, burlesque style, it sets forth the following demands. "Let the people know our writers. There are some who mock us and say and even write that no one of our writers will succeed in creating something which would be, as they say, both ordinary and tender, clever and useful and that in our language it is impossible to write anything but invective and mockery of the foolish."[18] Having made this plea for Ukrainian literature Kvitka attacked those Russian critics who were not prepared to grant Ukrainian literature equal rights with Russian. "They do not understand our language and hence they growl and say about our books: 'there is no need to print them when nobody understands them' . . . Wait gentlemen, don't be so contemptuous. There are some orthodox Christians left in the world who know and like our language. Not everything is for the Russians. Perhaps we deserve to have something too . . . Let our writers try, as they can, to write in our language. I believe that we should write as we speak . . ."[19] As if anticipating hostile criticism of his tales Kvitka referred to one of them, "Saldac'kyj portret" (Portrait of a Soldier) in which a cobbler who can criticize with perfect right the shoes on a painting then proceeds to give his opinion about the clothes and other things he knows little about. The implication was that only those critics who know Ukrainian may criticize Ukrainian literature.

A few years later, when Kvitka, under the pseudonym Osnovjanenko, was already well-known as a Ukrainian prose writer, he attemped to explain more fully the motives which prompted him to write in Ukrainian. In the

---

[17] See I. Ajzenštok, "K voprosu o literaturnyx vlijanijax: G. P. Kvitka i N. V. Gogol'." *Izvestija otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti rossijskoj akademii nauk,* 1923, XXIV.

[18] H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, *Tvory,* VI, 41.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 42.

letter to Pletnev, quoted above, in 1839, Kvitka wrote that having written a couple of short stories "so it went on, precisely for its own amusement and for the sake of reading it pleasantly with one's wife and also seeing that my countrymen liked it."[20] In the same letter Kvitka confessed that he attempted to translate his story "Marusja" into Russian but was unsuccessful. It seems that what began as a wager was now claiming more of his attention and meeting with a favourable response from readers. One of them apparently said that a most fitting epitaph for Kvitka would be – "He wrote 'Marusja'." And so "for them and even more for Anna Grigorievna [Kvitka's wife] I continued writing and compiled short stories in two parts."[21] They appeared in 1834 and 1837 in Moscow under the title *Malorusskie povesti rasskazyvaemye Grickom Osnovjanenkom* (Little Russian Tales Told by Hrycko Osnovjanenko). The first volume was well received by the critics. Among them was Osyp Bodjans'kyj who sensed that Kvitka's tales could be regarded as the start of Ukrainian prose. "As far as prose is concerned," he wrote, "the Ukraine, as we have seen, is very poor. One cannot say that her language is unsuited to prose. What was lacking was a successful, happy and brilliant attempt to arouse the attention of her compatriots and others. This gap has now been filled."[22] At the same time Bodjans'kyj criticized Kvitka's diffuse style and cautioned his future imitators. Ukrainian short-story writers, he believed, should "go freely and independently along their paths and thus create something original, without imitations which in any case are so pernicious."[23]

There is no doubt that Kvitka became conscious of the real need for Ukrainian literature. In 1838, writing to his fellow countryman Maksymovyč, he made an open plea for more publications in Ukrainian to satisfy the needs of the readers. Kvitka was hoping that *Otečestvennye zapiski* (Notes of the Fatherland) would start publishing a Ukrainian supplement. "We must put to shame," he went on, "and silence those who have a strange idea, which they loudly proclaim, that it is unnecessary to write in that [Ukrainian] language, which is spoken by 10 million people and which has its own force and beauty which cannot be expressed in another language, its own phraseology, humour, irony and everything else which a proper language should have."[24] In two letters to Kraevsky, the editor of the *Notes of the Fatherland* (written on October 25th and December 28th, 1841), Kvitka vigorously defended the right to write in Ukrainian against Belinskij's disparagement of it.[25]

---

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 532.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 535.
[22] I. Mastak (Bodjans'kyj), "Kritika," *Učenye zapiski imperatorskogo Moskovskogo universiteta,* 1834, November, No. 5, p. 290.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 307–8
[24] H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, *Tvory,* VI, 548.
[25] V. Tarnavs'kyj, "Dva lysty H. F. Kvitky do A. O. Krajevs'koho," *Literatura* (Kiev, 1928), I.

To be sure, Kvitka's solicitousness for the Ukrainian reader had a utilitarian rather than literary colouring. "Having seen my 'Marusjas' read by our dear countrymen," he wrote to Pletnev, "behind shop-counters while selling pepper, tobacco, etc., read also in homes, in family circles in the city and the environs and having received a deputation expressing their thanks to me for writing in our language, I thought of writing for this class of people something edifying. How much closer to their understanding one could depict the history of the world's creation, man's redemption, the necessity of avoiding sin as something harmful and, in particular for us, their duty before the Emperor, the law, the government, family, etc."[26] Here the patronizing tone of an obedient tsarist servant rings unmistakably. Kvitka's reactionary sentiments are best expressed in *Lysty do ljubeznyx zemljakiv* (Letters to My Dear Countrymen, 1839).

The complex motivation behind Kvitka's Ukrainian writings also included other elements. He was not a very successful writer in Russian and his Ukrainian works brought him a distinction otherwise denied him. However, he himself tended to look at this idealistically and somewhat sentimentally. "Why should I follow the crowd," he wrote to Pletnev, "in which everybody is deafening everybody else? I was disappointed to see everybody flying up to the skies, inventing all sorts of new things, creating characters. Why should one not turn to the right and the left and write about what one sees with one's own eyes? Living in the Ukraine and listening to the language of its people I learned to understand their thoughts and made them tell it to the public in *their own words*. This is why 'Marusja' and other stories attracted attention – because they are written from nature without any adornment or retouching."[27] Some scholars suggest that Kvitka's turning to Ukrainian literature was prompted by the activities of the young Romantic poets of the Xarkiv group.[28] In any case, Kvitka welcomed Romanticism, greeted with enthusiasm the appearance of Ševčenko and, after 1840, no longer had any doubt that, as he wrote to Kraevsky, Ukrainian literature "is moving ahead and it will live."[29]

Kvitka's contribution to Ukrainian literature consists of fifteen short and long stories and five plays. Some of his stories are in the best sentimental tradition since they overindulge in emotion in showing the "sensibility" or goodness of humanity. Yet scholars have argued that his sentimentality is not Karamzinian and that properly Kvitka belongs to an earlier, classicist school.[30] This is certainly true since in many of his stories the predominant tone is one of parody and moral satire. His use of language and imagery is

---

[26] H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, *Tvory,* VI, 550.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 531 (Kvitka's italics).
[28] A. Šamraj, *Xarkivs'ki poety 30–40 rokiv XIX stolittja (Xarkivs'ka škola romantykiv)* (Xarkiv, 1930), p. 6.
[29] H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, *Tvory,* VI, 635.
[30] Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* pp. 374–75.

especially reminiscent of Kotljarevs'kyj. It is only occasionally that Kvitka succeeds in overcoming the comic effect of the vernacular language. Often he takes pleasure in creating low comedy with the help of popular speech and parodying the elevated Church Slavonic. His use of the narrator *(skaz)* is similar to Gogol"s. Kvitka's stories are set in the Ukrainian village, which, as in Gogol"s *Dikan'ka,* is described with a great love for picturesque detail. It has been demonstrated that Kvitka was an accurate observer of popular customs. However, instead of Gogol"s humour and grotesqueness, Kvitka's tales contain serious and moralizing matter and are frequently rather dull. Yet some ("Konotops'ka vid'ma" – The Witch of Konotop, "Perekotypole" – The Feather Grass) have not lost their appeal even today. "Marusja" is a good example of his art. It is a story of unhappy love. Marusja and Vasyl' meet, fall in love but cannot be married because of the objection of Marusja's father, Naum Drot, a rich peasant who does not want a poor son-in-law. Vasyl' tries to improve his social status and is on the point of persuading Drot to accept him. However, fate has decreed otherwise. While Vasyl' is on a journey Marusja suddenly dies and he comes back to her funeral after which he enters a monastery. The plot offers ample opportunity to moralize on the need for accepting one's fate with humility and extracting the maximum sympathy from the reader for the unhappiness of the luckless pair. Belinskij, who read the Russian translation published in *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary), liked the story very much but pointed out that the characters lacked individuality and that they are national not human types.[31] Russian critics from all literary camps praised Kvitka to the skies. He was regarded by many as the most outstanding Ukrainian writer and both his Russian and Ukrainian writings were said to be more "touching" than any of his contemporaries. Kvitka's extreme sentimentality, so popular in his day, is little relieved by being closely related to the world of emotions of the Ukrainian folksong.

As a playwright Kvitka was also eminently successful. In particular his plays *Svatannja na Hončarivci* (Matchmaking in Hončarivka, 1836) and *Šel'menko denščik* (Šel'menko the Orderly, 1840, in which only Šel'menko uses Ukrainian) have remained in the repertory of the Ukrainian theatre up to the present day. Some of his Russian works (*Pan Xaljavs'kyj,* 1840) offer a good portrayal of the life of the Ukrainian gentry.

Hrebinka

A contemporary of Kvitka who corresponded with him and encouraged him was Jevhen Hrebinka (1812–48). Born into the small landowning

---

[31] V. Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij,* III, 52–53.

family of a retired army officer on the *xutir* "Ubežišče" (Retreat) near Pyrjatyn, Hrebinka was educated at the same Nižyn *gimnazija* as Gogol', who was three years his senior. Like Gogol', Hrebinka became interested in literature at a very early age. His interest at once centered on writing in Ukrainian. As a seventeen-year old youth (1829) he started to translate into Ukrainian Puškin's "Poltava" which was published in book form in 1836. Very soon after leaving school (1832) he wrote a letter to his teacher in Nižyn, Kul'žyns'kyj in which he expressed his concern about Ukrainian literature. The letter dealt primarily with the publication of *Ukrainian Almanac* to which Hrebinka had contributed one poem in Russian.

> I read *Ukrainskij al'manax* where my sins are also printed . . . Borovikovskij in his "Kozak" is inimitable; he enriched the Little Russian language which was presented before the court of public opinion by Mr. Kotljarevskij in a vulgar tavern-like [*traktirnoburlackij*] form. In a word . . . I like *Ukrajinskij al'manax* as a native flower, as the first sound of the reviving folk poetry, as a proof that the Ukrainians are beginning (good luck to them) to feel the originality [*samobytnost'*] of their literature . . .
>
> Not long ago I was at a ball where there were forty guests. What a medley of dresses and faces. Among the many guests there were our Cossack officers and officers of the Don Cossack artillery regiments. Can you imagine! A Ukrainian Cossack arguing with me that the Little Russian language is no use, that it is coarse, heavy, clumsy, etc. I blushed for this renegade, and, lo and behold, the Don officer took my side and we two have almost persuaded him that the language spoken by his forefathers and even by his father, has its own worth.[32]

It is remarkable that Hrebinka, well known for his admiration of Kotljarevs'kyj, could also be critical of him, welcoming Borovykovs'kyj and other early Romantics. In 1834 Hrebinka settled in St. Petersburg where he held various teaching positions. His main energy was devoted to literary activities. Contrary to his fears that he would be isolated and lonely in a large city he found in St. Petersburg a lively colony of Ukrainians, among them many of his former schoolmates from Nižyn (Gogol', Prokopovyč, Kukol'nik, Danylevs'kyj, Ljubyč-Romanovyč). In a letter to his friend, Novyc'kyj, Hrebinka wrote: "St. Petersburg is a colony of educated Little Russians. All institutions, all academies, all universities are full of our countrymen and in service appointments a Little Russian draws special attention as *un homme d'esprit*."[33]

At the same time Hrebinka became acquainted with leading Russian writers and literary critics – Puškin, Odoevskij, Sologub, Kolcov, the young Turgenev, Kraevskij, Pletnev, Dal, Panaev and Belinskij. According to Panaev, Hrebinka "out of fear" respected Belinskij.[34] Soon Hrebinka became the center of a Ukrainian literary group in the capital. Gathered in his place

---

[32] Here quoted from P. Fylypovyč, "Do istoriji rannoho ukrajins'koho romantyzmu," *Ukrajina,* 1924, No. 3, pp. 72–73.

[33] *Trudy poltavskoj učenoj arxivnoj kommissii,* XI, p. 13. Here quoted from A. D. Zubkov, *Jevhen Pavlovyč Hrebinka* (Kiev, 1962), p. 20.

[34] I. I. Panaev, *Literaturnye vospominanija* (Leningrad, 1928), p. 120.

to enjoy good Ukrainian food were the leading Russian and Ukrainian writers of the day, among them Taras Ševčenko whom Hrebinka helped a great deal. Hrebinka's Ukrainian "salon" did not yet amount to a circle with a clear aesthetic platform but was rather a social gathering of Ukrainian expatriates in St. Petersburg. However, there is evidence to suggest that Hrebinka's friends shared his interest in Ukrainian literature. They were anxious to receive news of Kvitka and Kotljarevs'kyj with whom Hrebinka corresponded, and they were all eager to see performances of Ukrainian plays such as Kotljarevs'kyj's *Natalka Poltavka,* put on by the students of the Military Medical Academy.[35] From Hrebinka's album, where his friends and well-wishers left their notes, it is clear that he was regarded by them as the leading representative of literary Ukraine in St. Petersburg.[36]

In 1834 Hrebinka published a collection of twenty-four fables which he called *Malorossijskie prikazki* (Little Russian Sayings). Classicist in form, they were written in most vivid Ukrainian. "Instead," writes Zerov, "they show great mobility, varied vocabulary, flexible and correct syntax and the unusual ability to extract from popular speech its unique secret of creating picturesque and striking expressions, an ability in which Hrebinka sometimes equals Kotljarevs'kyj himself."[37] The linguistic virtuosity of the fables makes them original literary creations in spite of the fact that they were mostly modelled on Krylov and Krasicki. Two years later, in 1836, a second edition of the fables was published. While publishing his Ukrainian fables Hrebinka continued writing Russian poems and short stories some of them on Ukrainian themes (*Rasskazy Pyrjatinca* – Stories from Pyrjatyn, 1837). In the latter Hrebinka imitated slavishly and therefore unsuccessfuly his great countryman Gogol', who was more annoyed than flattered by this.[38] His later Russian novels, some of them dealing with Ukrainian history, show greater originality.

Hrebinka's other important contribution to the development of Ukrainian literature was the publication, under his editorship, of the almanac *Lastivka* (The Swallow) in 1841. The preface and the postscript to his volume were regarded as Hrebinka's literary manifesto. Like Kvitka's *Suplika* they are written in a jocular, half-burlesque style from which no Ukrainian writer was able to free himself. The delicate and tubercular poet describes with deep nostalgia the idyllic life in the Ukrainian Arcadia. "I am firmly convinced that there is no more beautiful place in the world than the province of Poltava. Merciful God! What a province! The steppes, the forests, the orchards, the ravines, the pikes, the carps, the cherries, all kinds of drinks,

---

[35] H. Kovalenko, "Žyttje Jevhena Hrebinky," *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk,* 1899, II, 81.

[36] Zubkov, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

[37] Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo,* p. 170.

[38] P. V. Annenkov, *Literaturnye vospominanija* (Moscow, 1960), p. 63.

the oxen, the horses and the good folk-everything is there in abundance."[39] Having described at length and in the proper sentimental vein the glories of his native land, Hrebinka makes a serious point about the need for Ukrainian literature. It is interesting that he blames Russian books for swamping the Ukrainian market. "You give the Russian five rubles, two measures of oats, wheat bread, butter and honey and such things and he will leave you half-a-dozen books. When evening draws nearer and you are bored you take a book, read one page – no good, read another page – even worse, read a third and you get a proper headache: you can't understand a thing... Nothing doing, you put the new books on the shelf. Let them stay there till I grow wiser. For the time being you pick up for the hundredth time Kotljarevs'kyj's 'Aeneas' or Osnovjanenko's tales and you go on reading and laughing and crying."[40]

The Swallow offered a representative sampling of Ukrainian literature of the day. Apart from the Classicists like Kotljarevs'kyj, Kvitka, Čužbyns'kyj and Hrebinka it also contained the works of younger, Romantic writers like Ševčenko, Zabila and Borovykovs'kyj. It was the first almanac in which the contributors, all from the Russian Ukraine, wrote only in Ukrainian. At least one of them, Čužbyns'kyj (pseudonym of Oleksandr Afanasjev, 1817–75), who had earlier written in Russian, made his debut in Ukrainian literature there. There were also the first three poems by the talented lyric poet, Viktor Zabila (1808–69) who was Gogol's contemporary at Nižyn. *The Swallow* was warmly greeted in the Ukraine as one of the first "swallows" of the literary revival. At the same time it drew sharp criticism from the most authoritative Russian critic, Belinskij. Up to this point Belinskij had patiently but without special enthusiasm watched the rise of Ukrainian literature. A great deal of it was related to history and folk literature and as such was given some credit by the critic who refused to grant folk-literature the status of literature. Yet the Ukrainians were attempting to create a fully fledged modern literature. This Belinskij sensed at once and sharply attacked the whole idea. His criticism was not so much of a single almanac but of the very principle espoused by Ukrainian writers. Contrary to their assumption that literature in Ukrainian was both necessary and desirable Belinskij raised the following fundamental question:

> We face an important question: Is there in the world a Little Russian language, or is it only a provincial dialect? From the decision of this question arises the second problem: Can Little Russian literature exist, and should those of our readers who are Little Russians write in Little Russian?
>
> The first question can be answered both *yes* and *no*. The Little Russian language did in fact exist at the time of Little Russia's autonomy *[samobytnost']* and it exists now in the monuments of folk poetry of those glorious times. But this does not mean that the Little Russians have a literature. Folk poetry does not

---

[39] Je. Hrebinka, "Tak sobi do zemljakiv," *Tvory* (Kiev, 1957), V, 319.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 323–24.

constitute literature. None the less the monuments of folk poetry are precious and their preservation is praiseworthy . . . From the time of Peter the Great there began the division of social structure. The nobility in the course of historical inevitability accepted the Russian language and Russian-European customs. The language of the common people became corrupt and now the pure Little Russian language may be found only in [old] books. Therefore we have the full right to say that at present there is no Little Russian language, but only a provincial Little Russian language, but only a provincial Little Russian dialect just as there are White Russian, Siberian and other provincial dialects.

Now it is easy to answer the second question: Is it necessary and is it possible to write in Little Russian? Usually one writes for the public and under the "public" one means a social class for which reading is a kind of permanent occupation, is a kind of necessity . . . in fact, the public consists of the higher educated strata of society. Poetry is idealization of real life. Whose life will our Little Russian poets idealize? That of the higher society of Little Russia? Yet the life of that society has outgrown the Little Russian language, which has remained only in the mouths of the common people, and this society expresses its feelings and ideas not in Little Russian but in Russian and even in the French language. And what a difference, in this case, between the Little Russian dialect and the Russian language! A Russian novelist can create in his novel people from all classes and will let each of them speak his language: an educated man – the language of educated people, a merchant – that of the merchants, a soldier – that of the soldiers and a peasant – that of the peasants. On the other hand, the Little Russian dialect is the same for all classes of people – it is peasant. That is why our Little Russian litterateurs and poets always write tales of common life and acquaint us only with Marusjas, Odarkas, Prokips, Kandzjubas, Steckos and characters such as these. Where there is life there is poetry. True, but in order to create such poetry very great talents are needed. The life of a peasant is in itself of little interest for an educated person; hence a great talent is needed in order to idealize it to the level of poetry. This is the task of a Gogol', who in Little Russian life could find the universal and human qualities . . .Yet what a deep significance lies in the fact that Gogol', passionately in love with Little Russia, all the same began writing in Russian not in Little Russian.[41]

Harsh as it was, Belinskij's argument appeared irrefutable. In Russian society and Russian culture there simply was no room for a viable Ukrainian literature which postulated its own middle and upper class reading public. Deeply preoccupied with the problem of Russian national literature and having declared Gogol' to be one of its new heralds, Belinskij was not prepared to grant the Ukrainians their desires, weak as they were, to develop a literature in their own language. He realized the full implications of the Ukrainian claims, which he firmly rejected. With a penetrating look Belinskij expressed what many Russian intellectuals felt about the Ukraine: that politically and culturally it must remain a province of Russia. This is why, later on, Belinskij clashed so violently with Ševčenko, the first exponent of Ukrainian separatism.

Ukrainian Classicists were still very far removed from the idea of cultural separatism. The generation of Kotljarevs'kyj and Kvitka occupied itself with Ukrainian literature as a kind of pastime. "The stimulus to literary work,"

---

[41] Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij,* V, 176–78.

writes Zerov, "was provided not by some ideological tasks, not by the desire 'to realize social values', but simply by a desire to create for oneself and one's friends pleasant entertainment . . . The Ukrainian reader read mostly Russian books and Ukrainian literature was for him a matter of 'domestic use', was a dessert which he had after the Russian dishes. In the repertoire of Troščyns'kyj's theatre in Kybynci the [Ukrainian] comedies of Gogol' [senior] were performed, it can be assumed, side by side with Griboedov's *Woe from Wit: Natalka Poltavka* appeared as a *pendant* to the works of the Russian dramatists, the fables of Hrebinka, the tales of Kvitka were a supplement and an amendment to Russian works."[42] The Ukrainian peasantry was treated by these first Ukrainian writers as a repository of ancient customs and a source of fine sentiments. The idyllic picture of the beautiful Ukraine was mostly inspired by Russian and Polish early Romantic treatment of Ukrainian themes.

Only very occasionally was there a sign of a wider community and solidarity among the Ukrainian writers who essentially remained scattered and were deeply proud of their own provinces.[43] Perhaps those writers who gathered around Hrebinka in St. Petersburg represented, however vaguely, a first literary gathering of Ukrainian expatriates. Only there, in the distant northern capital, did their local provincial patriotisms merge into a local Ukrainian patriotism. In his reminiscences I. Panaev describes one such evening at Hrebinka's.

> E. P. Grebenka was a most hospitable writer of his time, who regularly invited his literary friends whenever he received some lard, jam or liquor from Little Russia . . . Once he invited me together with M. A. Jazykov . . . That time there gathered at Grebenka's a large crowd, including Ševčenko, who had already begun to enjoy great popularity among his countrymen, and Grebenka's colleagues A. A. Komarov and Prokopovič (a schoolmate and friend of Gogol"s from Nežin lyceum) . . . That evening there was no one preaching about the temple of art or about any uplifting subjects. There they simply gossiped about everyday literary happenings . . . After supper things became even livelier. Grebenka started to sing Little Russian songs and Ševčenko joined in, dancing to the sound of familiar music.[44]

Towards Romanticism

Although there is no clear dividing line in time between Ukrainian Classicism and Romanticism, since both overlapped, it is possible to distinguish

---

[42] Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo,* pp. 195–97.

[43] For a discussion of the provincial literary "nests" see N. K. Piksanov, *Oblastnye kul'turnye gnezda* (Moscow, 1928).

[44] I. Panaev, *Literaturnye vospominanija* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 103–5.

between the Classicists and the Romantics. The real difference was between the "incomplete" (Classicist) and "complete" (Romantic) literature. Not until the Romantic period did Ukrainian writers begin to write in all the literary genres and thus gave a new status to Ukrainian literature. Their classicist predecessors were limited to one or two genres. Any such distinction was opposed by an early historian of Ukrainian literature, Daškevyč, who claimed that "the starting point in the development of Ukrainian literature was the love of one's own *narodnost'*."[45] While no one would quarrel with Daškevyč's observation that Ukrainian Classicists and Romantics alike turned to folklore, there is a vast difference in its use by each group. What at first sight makes it so difficult to draw a line between them is the fact that Romantic elements were present in many classicist works, including the *Enejida*. There, the very introduction of ethnographic and folkloristic material undermined, as it were, the classicist design of the poem. Modern scholarship, especially in the studies by Čyževs'kyj, pointed out the weakness of Ukrainian Classicism as a most serious gap in the continuing process of Ukrainian literature, which, having emerged from the rich period of the Baroque, had to lean heavily on Russian crutches. Not even the Ukrainian Romantics were quite successful in inventing a wide range of literary forms.[46] "Complete" Ukrainian literature came into existence only in the twentieth century.

It is also true that there was no sharp conflict between the Classicists and the Romantics, as there was in Russian and Polish literatures. The absence of aesthetic and ideological polemics between "fathers" and "children" had a negative effect and led to an anomalous situation in which both thrived on mutual encouragement. As Šamraj justly notes, "not only is the hand of the 'children' not raised against the 'fathers' but, on the contrary, in their polemics against Russian criticism in defense of the sovereignty of Ukrainian literature they cite again and again the works of their predecessors as proof of its existence and originality."[47] One of the ill effects of this close relationship was the survival of the classicist and especially the sentimental tradition throughout the 1840's and even later.

It could be said that the most distinguishing feature of Ukrainian Romanticism was its rejection of the classicist burlesque tradition. The writer who best exemplified this new trend was the precursor of Ukrainian Ro-

---

[45] N. P. Daškevyč, "Otzyv o sočinenii g. Petrova 'Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury XIX veka'," *Otčet o dvadcat' devjatom prisuždenii nagrad grafa Uvarova. Priloženie k LIX tomu Zapisok Imp. Akademii Nauk*, 188, I, 103. This was stated in opposition to Petrov's view that Ukrainian literature was entirely dependent on Russian influences. However, Daškevyč, while stressing the native roots of Ukrainian literature and pointing to West Slavic influences upon it, believed that it could never compete with Russian literature and would remain for "home use" only (*Ibid.*, p. 226).

[46] Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, pp. 321–24.

[47] Šamraj, *Xarkivs'ki poety 30–40 rokiv XIX stolittja*, p. 7.

manticism, Levko Borovykovs'kyj (1806–89). Born in a small landowning family of Cossack origin Borovykovs'kyj finished the *gimnazija* at Poltava and from 1826 to 1830 was a student of literature at Xarkiv University. Having graduated with distinction he became a high school teacher, first in Kursk and then, from 1838 on, in Poltava. He remained in this post until his retirement in the late 1850's. Borovykovs'kyj's literary activity dates from the time when he was a university student. He came under the strong influence of one of his professors, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and at the same time came close to the literary circle headed by Izmajil Sreznevs'kyj. Borovykovs'kyj, therefore, is usually regarded as a member of the "Xarkiv Romantic School". Like so many of his contemporaries Borovykovs'kyj came to literature by way of ethnography. "For more than six years," he wrote in 1834 to Sreznevs'kyj, "I have occupied myself with Little Russia in its literary aspect."[48] As a result, he reports, he collected 200 songs and a thousand proverbs.

> The poetry of folksongs, the superstitious life of my countrymen – the lazy children of the fertile and blueskied Ukraine – represent a rich repository for ballads, legends, *dumy;* it is an untouched mine. Studying from the cradle this coarse but vigorous dialect – the offspring of the Slavic tongue – I used the said treasury and wrote over 70 pieces . . . The present activity of my countrymen in the field of Ukrainian literature compels me to publish . . . my *own attempts.* I hope that in them the public will notice one novelty which, it seems, was inaccessible to Little Russian poets – the serious belief contrary to unjust opinion, that it is impossible to write in Little Russian anything other than the comic or the jocular.[49]

Two years later, in a letter to Maksymovyč, Borovykovs'kyj reported collecting 250 Ukrainian fables and compiling a Ukrainian dictionary. His own works, based on folklore, he wrote "in order to acquaint the lovers of the Little Russian language with the legends and beliefs of Little Russians, arraying them in fresh forms of poetry."[50]

Only one third of Borovykovs'kyj's literary production has been preserved. His first works appeared in 1828 when he published a patriotic Russian poem "Feast of Vladimir the Great" and his first "attempt" in Ukrainian – the ballad "Molodycja" (A Young Wife). Both were published in *Vestnik Evropy*. It is as a writer of ballads that Borovykovs'kyj earned his place as the first Ukrainian Romantic. His first ballad, "Molodycja" bears a close resemblance to Ševčenko's "Pryčynna", written nine years later. Borovykovs'kyj's most famous ballad, written in 1829, is "Marusja" which closely followed Žukovskij's "Svetlana" just as the latter followed Bürger's "Lenore". Borovykovs'kyj successfully "Ukrainianized" the ballad and his con-

---

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 242.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 242–43.
[50] "Pis'ma L. I. Borovikovskogo k M. A. Maksimoviču," *Istoričeskij vestnik*, 1881, No. 5, p. 191.

tribution to Ukrainian Romanticism lies precisely in the completely sucessful domestication of foreign Romantic works. What he did in "Marusja" he repeated, perhaps even more skilfully, in translating Mickiewicz's "Farys". How diffident Borovykovs'kyj felt about these attempts may be seen from the introductory notes which were appended to them. In a note to "Marusja" he wrote "'Marusja' that is Maria, is an imitation of Žukovskij's 'Svetlana'. If there is little effect in it I should cite as an excuse the poverty of the half-forgotten dialect of my country."[51] Mickiewicz' "Farys" seemed to Borovykovs'kyj "inimitable. The more so in the limited dialect of Little Russia."[52] Yet he continued doing what he regarded as almost a duty to his country. In the prefatory note to his contributions to the *Swallow* he wrote "My mother is Little Russia: she caressed and nourished me and directed me to everything good. As a good child I listened to her and as long as I live I will not forget what she told me."[53]

The result was the first Ukrainian ballads and poems which, although not original showed linguistic and poetic excellence. For the first time in Ukrainian literature there appeared moonlit landscape and mysterious situations, the flight at night with a dead lover ("Marusja"), the ominous forebodings and the mad gallop of the Arab horseman ("Farys") – all necessary ingredients of Romantic literature. In the poem "Kozak" there were strong Byronic elements, while in his *dumy* very little is left of the folklore sources. Weakest of all were Borovykovs'kyj's fables which often were brief enough to be reduced to a proverb.

The Xarkiv Circle

Borovykovs'kyj was associated with a literary circle in Xarkiv which in 1820–30 played a vital part in Ukrainian literature. It centered around Xarkiv University which was founded in 1805 largely by the efforts of a group of local gentry headed by Vasyl' Karazyn. That part of the Ukraine was settled in the eighteenth century by Ukrainians coming chiefly from the Right-Bank Ukraine. They brought with them their Cossack social and educational institutions. Successfully transplanted, these admirably fulfilled their function in the new land. Church brotherhoods organized schools, hospitals and old people's homes. The Ukrainian gentry found a good spokesman in Karazyn who worked tirelessly for the establishment of the University. In a letter to Fotiev, Karazyn wrote: "It is redundant to describe the benefits of this institution and the glory which it will spread over our

---

[51] *Vestnik Evropy,* 1829, No. 5, p. 117.
[52] *Ibid.,* 1830, No. 1. p. 72.
[53] *Lastivka* (St. Petersburg, 1841), pp. 317–18.

native land [*otčizna*] Ukraine [i. e. the Slobids'ka Ukraine]. My heart rejoices when I imagine the influence this institution will have over our land in all respects – moral, physical and political."[54] This local patriotism was not based on sentiment alone. Some feeling of grievance against Russian policies in the Ukraine was also present. As Karazyn himself put it so well in a letter to a Pole, Prince Adam Czartoryski, "It was painful to see it [the Ukraine] insulted and scorned, rich as it was in both the bounty of nature and the talents of its inhabitants."[55] Later, however, Karazyn did not show any sympathy for the Ukrainian literary movement. While anxious to elevate Ukraine to the foremost province of the Empire, he was sceptical about the Ukrainian cultural revival. In a letter to Pogodin in 1842 he wrote that "everybody was sick of" Ukrainian works.[56]

The moving spirit of the Xarkiv circle was Izmajil Sreznevs'kyj (1812–80) who later became one of the greatest Russian philologists. Born in Yaroslavl, Russia, he spent his childhood and youth in the Ukraine and became interested in Ukrainian folklore while still a student at Xarkiv University. He graduated in 1829 at the age of seventeen and for several years immersed himself in Ukrainian activities. A product of these activities was *Ukrainskij al'manax* (Ukrainian Almanac, 1831), a miscellany of original poetry and folksongs contributed by members of his circle and edited by Rozkovšenko. The initiative to publish the almanac came from Rozkovšenko.[57] At first it was planned to have a large collection of material relevant to the Ukraine and twenty-five contributors were canvassed for the purpose. In the end there were only twelve contributors but the volume showed considerable variety. Its hundred and forty pages contained nine prose works, twelve poems, nine folksongs and two *dumy*. Other volumes were planned but never appeared. The publication of the almanac was a notable event in Ukrainian literary life. One of its contributors, Borovykovs'kyj, in a letter

---

[54] D. Bahalij, *Opyt istorii xar'kovskogo universiteta* (Xarkiv, 1893–98), I, 54. For Karazyn's role in Xarkiv's social and cultural life see H. Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire: 1801–1917* (London, 1967, pp. 99–101; also V. Abramov, *V. N. Karazin, ego žizn' i obščestvennaja dejatel'nost'* (St. Petersburg, 1891). It should be noted that in their efforts to establish a university in Xarkiv the Ukrainian gentry was guided not so much by a desire to create a center of liberal education as by their own class interests in securing influence on selection of candidates for government service. (See James. T. Flynn, "V. N. Karazin, the Gentry, and Kharkov University," *Slavic Review,* XXVIII, No. 2 [June, 1969]; also the same author, "The Universities in the Russia of Alexander I," Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Clark, 1964. In Flynn's discussion of Xarkiv University insufficient attention is devoted to the Ukrainian aspect of the problem).

[55] V. N. Karazyn, "Pis'ma k knjazju Adamu Čartoryskomu," *Russkaja starina,* 1871, p. 704.

[56] N. P. Barsukov, *Žizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina* (St. Petersburg, 1893), VII, 136. Here quoted from the introduction to *Ukrajins'ki literaturni al'manaxy i zbirnyky XIX – počatku XX st.* (Kiev, 1967), p. 4

[57] V. Sreznevs'kyj, "Ukrainskij al'manax," *Kievskaja starina,* 1893, vol. 40.

to the editor written from Kursk, expressed his warm appreciation but also voiced some criticism in order, no doubt, to spur such efforts to even higher achievement.[58] Another Ukrainian, Opanas Špyhoc'kyj, praised Sreznevs'kyj, in 1831, for "awakening the Little Russian genius. Believe me, your work is valuable . . . Work . . . and the spiritual flame will [bring you] a wreath for your self-denial for the glory of the singing Ukraine which has nursed you."[59] Sreznevs'kyj was also the compiler of the six issues of *Zaporožskaja starina* (Zaporožian Antiquity, 1833–38) which included some forgeries of the *dumy*. In a letter to Gogol', Sreznevs'kyj outlined the twofold purpose of this collection. It was to stress the importance of Ukrainian folk literature and at the same time to show the relationship of folk literature to chronicles and folk legends.[60]

According to Sreznevs'kyj's son, Vsevolod, his father's interest in the Ukraine was that of "an observer and researcher, not of a patriotic Ukrainian."[61] As a native Russian he embraced the Ukrainian cause with the zeal of a convert. The description of a *bandura* player, written by Sreznev'skyj in the winter of 1832–33, conveys best of all the Romantic infatuation with the Ukraine blended with an acute gift of observation.

> An old man. Grey hair cut in a circle very high, almost entirely shaved except for the long Cossack tuft left hanging across the crown of the head and tucked behind the ear. Long eyebrows hang over large sunken eyes. A long eagle-like nose. Long strands of the mustache fall on both sides of a small mouth. The entire face is swarthy and yellow; the lips and cheeks are red. The expression on the face is proud and mocking. A well-shaped waist and broad shoulders; muscular hands . . . His chest is half uncovered. Under the grey broadcloth cloak or blue coat there can be seen a shirt the border of which is embroidered in silk, very wide nankeen or sackcloth trousers and high boots smeared with tar. In one hand he holds a blue cloth cap with a sheepskin border, in the other a *bandura* – a kind of guitar with semi-circular base and copper strings. And now he bows low without humbling himself. He speaks and understands only an ancient Cossack dialect and talks slowly and moderately, pausing and emphasizing. You can invite him to sit down, he will not be surprised at anything, not at favours, or coarseness, riches or miserliness, and will preserve a firm and strict indifference to everything surrounding him. Ask him to sing – this is his profession. He will sing you a *duma* or a song and the sound of the *bandura* which is tuned before each song, always in a minor key, and the chant reminiscent of funeral lamentations and the deep guttural voice and the words of the song pronounced with deep feeling – all this will have a strange influence over you; the emotion of the singer will become your own.[62]

---

[58] L. Borovykovs'kyj, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv* (Kiev, 1967), p. 207.

[59] Here quoted from N. Sumcov, "Xar'kovskij period naučnoj dejatel'nosti I. I. Sreznevskogo," *Pamjati Izmaila Ivanoviča Sreznevskogo* (Petrograd, 1916), I, 72.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[61] V. Sreznevs'kyj, *Iz pervyx let naučno-literaturnoj dejatel'nosti I. I. Sreznevskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 4–6. Here quoted from A. Šamraj, "Do počatkiv romantyzmu," *Ukrajina,* 1929, X–XI, 33.

[62] V. I. Sreznevs'kyj, "Pro zbyračiv ukrajins'kyx pisen'," *Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu Vseukrajins'koji Akademiji Nauk* (Kiev, 1927), XIII–XIV, 81–82.

In 1834, in a letter to Professor Snegirev, published in the proceedings of Moscow University, Sreznevs'kyj fiercely defended the status of the Ukrainian language. "At the present time," he wrote, "it seems there is no need for anybody to demonstrate that Ukrainian (or as some call it, Little Russian) is a language and not a dialect of Russian or Polish, as some had been trying to prove. Many are convinced that it is one of the richest Slavic languages . . ."[63] Sreznevs'kyj was equally confident that Ukrainian was destined to be a fully fledged literary language. "It has this hope [for literary achievement] although a weak one, but it has it. Why should the philosophical Skovoroda, the innocent Kotljarevskij, the imaginative Artemovskij, the playful and captivating Osnovjanenko and several others . . . remain alone in the heretofore wild desert of Ukrainian literature?"[64]

It is interesting that Sreznevs'kyj considered the "shield and protection of the wise government," the "care of the monarchs" as the safeguard of the future development of Ukrainian letters. The official Panslavism and *narodnost'*, it seemed to him, were bound to be on the side of a Ukrainian literary renaissance. True enough, the tsarist government had not yet become obstructionist. There was nothing dangerous in allowing a little indulgence in "Ukrainophilism".

To be sure, Sreznevs'kyj's views underwent a certain evolution. In his master's dissertation (1836–37) he defended the right of all Slavic peoples to self-determination and in his doctoral thesis (1838) he put forward a thesis about "the people being the foundation of government." The views of the candidate were considered too radical and the dissertation was not passed. Much later, in 1846, Sreznevs'kyj successfully defended his Ph. D. thesis on a different topic. From 1837 to 1847 he was professor of statistics and political economy at Xarkiv University. From 1839–42 he was sent on a scholarship to the Slavic countries. He visited Poland, Bohemia, the Balkans and that part of the Ukraine which was under Austro-Hungarian rule. He was the second (after Bodjans'kyj) to forge direct links between Czech and Ukrainian scholars and writers. Sreznevs'kyj's friend, Metlyns'kyj, thanked him for arranging Czech translations of Ukrainian poetry. "Thank you for the introduction to the Czechs . . . let the brotherly union of the Slavs flourish . . . Everything foreign may go to the devil. Don't we have enough of our own?"[65] Sreznevs'kyj's new approach to Slavic literatures electrified his students at Xarkiv University who "flocked in large numbers to hear the eloquent professor . . . The novelty of the subject, the lively presentation, uplifted and spiced with quotations from Kollár, Puškin and

---

[63] I. Sreznevs'kyj, "Vzgljad na pamjatniki ukrainskoj narodnoj slovesnosti," *Učenye zapiski imperatorskogo moskovskogo universiteta,* 1834, VI, No. 4, p. 134.

[64] *Ibid.,* p. 135.

[65] Šamraj, *Xarkivs'ki poety 30–40 rokiv XIX stolittja,* p. 114.

Mickiewicz but also critical and not without humour and irony – all this aroused the students."[66]

The idea of Slavic unity was first expounded among the Ukrainians by Sreznevs'kyj. His favourite student, Mykola Kostomarov, translated Czech poetry and planned a periodical publication *Zapiski o južnoj Rossii po Slavjanax* (Notes on Southern Russian and the Slavs). Later, Kostomarov developed the ideas of Slav unity and Ukrainian participation in the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Kostomarov was an active member of the Xarkiv circle. Of half-Russian origin, he mastered Ukrainian sufficiently to write Ukrainian poems which he published under the pseudonym of Jeremija Halka in *Ukrainskie ballady* (Ukrainian Ballads, 1839) and *Vitka* (The Branch, 1840). He also wrote a play *Sava Čalyj* (1838), an unsuccessful attempt to create a Ukrainian historical drama in the Schillerian vein. Kostomarov was convinced that Ukrainian literature could be "Europeanized." In a letter to Sreznevs'kyj, on August 26th, 1840, he complained that "trying to imitate the peasants spoils our poor literature."[67] His role in Ukrainian affairs became even more vital after he arrived in Kiev in 1845.[68] While still in Xarkiv Kostomarov headed a small group of Ukrainian students who were interested not only in Ukrainian literature but most of all in German philosophy.[69]

Sreznevs'kyj's main achievement was not literary, although he wrote both poetry and prose, but that of the first organizer of Ukrainian literature. His collections *Zaporožian Antiquity*, despite the forgeries they contained (at that time regarded as genuine) had a profound influence on contemporary writers like Gogol' and Ševčenko. In 1838 Sreznevs'kyj published in *Ukrainskij sbornik* (Ukrainian Collection) Kotljarevs'kyj's play *Natalka Poltavka*. In 1841, after Sreznevs'kyj left Xarkiv, the second volume of *Ukrainskij sbornik* appeared containing Kotljarevs'kyj's second play *Moskal' Čarivnyk*. It is interesting that Ščepkin, who was instrumental in producing this publication, received an offer from Gogol' to help with the proofs.[70] Sreznevs'kyj was behind many other publishing enterprises, always showing his enthusiasm for Ukrainian folklore and historical sources which he himself painstakingly collected. In 1839 he wrote a historical survey of the Slobids'ka Ukraine.

It should be mentioned that later, after 1847, when Sreznevs'kyj became

---

[66] M. de Pule, "Xar'kovskij universitet i D. I. Kačenovskij," *Vestnik Evropy*, 1874. No. 1, p. 105.

[67] Here quoted from I. Ajzenštok, "Ukrajins'ki poety-romantyky," in *Ukrajins'ki poety-romantyky 20–40-x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1968), p. 44.

[68] See below, .

[69] F. Nesluxovskij, "Iz moix vospominanij," *Istoričeskij vestnik*, 1890, vol. 40, p. 131.

[70] P. M. Fedčenko, "Ukrajins'ki al'manaxy 30-x rokiv XIX st.," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1967, No. 2, p. 44.

a professor at S. Petersburg, his views on the Ukraine changed drastically to the point where he denied Ukrainian the status of a language. In the 1830's, however, his Ukrainophilism knew no bounds. The following description of his visit to Kotljarevs'kyj, in 1837, recalls a scene steeped in the atmosphere of that time.

> I was very glad that he [Kotljarevs'kyj] agreed with me that the history of the Ukraine, or as I call it Little Russia, represents one of the most important episodes in the history of Russia and that this episode should be studied with special care because to the Ukraine belongs the glory of having decided the fate of Poland and of Russia. "When shall we get a historical description of Little Russia, worthy of her?" "When the desire to understand her will replace the desire to describe" I replied. "You are right . . ." Later, we disagreed a little about the importance of folk literature. He, in part, denied its importance as a historical source . . . I told him of my efforts to collect the remains of folklore, of my plans and hopes. I talked as I felt. "If only everyone would set to work in this way! And if only our own people would do it – not the Russians!" I don't know what my answer to it was, but from then on Ivan Petrovič allowed me to mix Russian and Ukrainian phrases while he talked almost entirely in Ukrainian.[71]

Under Sreznevs'kyj's influence members of his circle attempted to write historical fiction on Ukrainian themes. One of them, Ivan Rozkovšenko, wrote to Sreznevs'kyj in 1830: "If there should appear among the Little Russians a genius like Walter Scott then I am deeply convinced that Little Russia would become an inexhaustible source for historical novels. Neither Scotland nor any other country can present such striking pictures as Little Russia, especially in the sixteenth century."[72] Rozkovšenko tried to write "in the spirit of Walter Scott" a tale about the Cossack Het'man Poltora Kožuxa. He was also instrumental in helping the German writer Friedrich Bodenstedt with his translation of Ukrainian folksongs published in 1845 in Tübingen under the title *Die poetische Ukraine*. Undoubtedly influenced by his Ukrainian friends Bodenstedt came to value Ukrainian folklore more highly than Russian. This was underlined by the Russian poet, Vasilij Krasov, whom Bodenstedt regarded as his mentor. "He [Krasov] made it clear to me," wrote Bodenstedt, "that [Ukrainian] folk poetry is much richer, more varied and beautiful than the poetry in Great Russia because the Little Russians succeeded in preserving their freedom, which they value above everything else, for a longer period and because in their long struggle with overpowering enemies their own development has acquired more individual characteristics . . ."[73]

---

[71] V. Sreznevs'kyj, "Znakomstvo I. I. Sreznevskogo s I. P. Kotljarevskim," *Kievskaja starina,* 1899, vol. 44, pp. 7–8.

[72] Šamraj, *Xarkivs'ki poety 30–40 rokiv XIX stolittja,* p. 30.

[73] Here quoted from Jozef Han, "Do postannja zbirnyka 'Poetyčna Ukrajina' F. Bodenštedta," *Sučasnist',* 1966, No. 11, p. 74.

Another member of the Xarkiv group, Orest Jevec'kyj, wrote a story about Morozenko and Opanas Špyhoc'kyj mentioned in a letter from 1831 that he was working on a novel *Ukrajinka*. Špyhoc'kyj, who participated in the *Ukrainian Almanac* and was an able translator of Mickiewicz's sonnets, the first sample of this poetic genre in the Ukraine, was the author of the poetic pronouncement made in a letter to Sreznevs'kyj in 1831, which characterized so well the Ukrainian literary efforts of that period: "Her [the Ukraine's] Cossack days on the field of battle are over. The Cossack may no longer use his sword to decide his fate; now he will be a Cossack in the field of mellow song-making."[74] To us this statement conveys a little more. It rings with sadness felt by one who realized that literary activity was but a poor substitute for the absence of the Cossack Ukraine. Literature came to men like Špyhoc'kyj as an echo of the past, not a prologue to the future.

A prominent representative of the Xarkiv Romantic school was Amvrosij Metlyns'kyj (1814–70) who wrote under the pseudonym of Mohyla. Born in a small landowner's family in the province of Poltava Metlyns'kyj was educated at the Xarkiv *gimnazija* and university. He graduated in 1835, worked for a while as a librarian and received his master's degree in 1839. In that year he also published a collection of poems and translations *Dumky i pisni ta šče deščo* (Meditations, Songs and Something Else). He became professor of Russian literature at Xarkiv University and continued his academic career there and in Kiev (1849–54) until 1858. He died in Jalta of self-inflicted wounds. His tragic end was symbolic of the melancholy and rather secluded life of a shy bachelor who was nevertheless warmly remembered by his students.

Metlyns'kyj's poetry is pervaded by gloom and longing. More than the other Xarkovites he turned to glorify the past of the Cossack Ukraine. Often he considered himself as the last *bandurist* who will pass on the songs written in a dying language. At its best his poetry is philosophical with a heavy dose of melancholy. In philosophy Metlyns'kyj was a faithful follower of Schelling and Herder. "The poet," he said, "creates reality . . . Getting its content from actual life, poetry creates its own world of pure beauty . . . Simple folk find it easy to pass from life directly into the realm of enchanting fantasy."[75] Yet in his poetry he did not engage in the exploration of personal feelings but remained the spokesman of his people. This tended to lower the value of his poems since the reader heard chiefly the voice of a national bard and not that of the man himself. Some of this quality is seen later in Ševčenko's works and the influence of Metlyns'kyj is there unmistakable.

In his preface to *Dumky i pisni* Metlyns'kyj considered the future of the

---

[74] Šamraj, *Xarkivs'ki poety 30–40 rokiv XIX stolittja*, p. 17.

[75] A. Metlyns'kyj, *Rěč' ob istinnom značeniii poezii* (Xarkiv, 1843), pp. 53–56.

Ukrainian language rather pessimistically. "The South Russian language . . . which probably was used in the speech of the Kievan princes, the forefathers of our orthodox tsars, the words and phrases of which are preserved even today in the Holy Bible . . . the South Russian language is from day to day being forgotten and there will come a day when it will be forgotten and silenced . . . It is possible that during the period of neglect of the South Russian language the love for it will awaken. Who, then, will collect as a good son collects the remains of his fathers, the disappearing remnants of the South Russian word? They are scattered from the Vistula to the Kuban'."[76] Metlyns'kyj found some consolation that Ukrainian would not disappear easily in the efforts of the tsarist government to cultivate the official *narodnost'*. He was a staunch Ukrainian and Russian patriot which, at that time, was not a contradiction in terms. In some of his poems Metlyns'kyj called on his countrymen to serve the tsar faithfully.

Metlyns'kyj's close associate and pupil was Myxajlo Petrenko (1817 – date of death unknown). Very little is known about the life of this very interesting member of the Xarkiv group. He was born in Slavjansk and finished his studies at Xarkiv University in 1841. In the same year seven of his poems were published in the almanac *Snip* (Sheaf, 1841), edited by Oleksandr Korsun. Apart from Petrenko's poems Korsun's almanac contained Kostomarov's play *Perejaslavs'ka nič* (The Night of Perejaslav) as well as his translation of some of Byron's Hebrew Melodies, Marfa Pysarevs'ka's first Ukrainian translation from Petrarch and works by Porfirij Korenyc'kyj, Petro and Stepan Pysarevs'kyj and Oleksandr Korsun. Two other almanacs contained the rest of Petrenko's poetry: *Molodyk* (New Moon; four issues, 1843–44), edited by Bec'kyj, and *Južno-russkij sbornik* (South Russian Collection, 1848) edited by Metlyns'kyj.

The critics had at once singled out Petrenko for his poetic gifts. (Metlyns'kyj wrote of him as a "true poet".) What is most original in his poetry is the deliberate turning away from the common topic of the day – the Cossack Ukraine. Petrenko's poems are personal and elegiac lyrics, some of them of great power ("Nebo," "Večirnyj dzvin"). Almost without a trace of folkloristic influence these meditative lyrics were the first in Ukrainian literature to follow the Romantic theme of *Weltschmerz*. Zerov was the first critic to praise these aspects of Petrenko's poetry. "Apart from songs he [Petrenko] offers lyrical meditations in the spirit of contemporary Russian lyric poetry. His images are different, his syntax more complex. He does not enclose himself exclusively in the circle of folksong imagery."[77] One of Petrenko's poems, written under the influence of Ševčenko, may be regarded

---

[76] A. Metlyns'kyj "Zametki otnositel'no južnorusskogo jazyka," *Dumky i pisni ta šče deščo* (Xarkiv, 1839), pp. 3–4.

[77] M. Zerov, *Lekciji z istoriji novoji ukrajins'koji literatury* (mimeographed, n. d.) pp. 181–82. Here quoted from Šamraj, *Xarkivs'ki poety 30–40 rokiv XIX stolittja,* pp. 171–72.

as a conscious expression of his aesthetic creed. "The poem begins," writes Shevelov, "with a line *Dumy moji, dumy,* but having borrowed this line from Ševčenko, Petrenko gave his poem a diametrically different direction. While Ševčenko sends his thoughts *(dumy)* to the Ukraine, Petrenko, on the contrary, calls them to himself, complaining that everything, not only people but also thoughts are leaving him. Petrenko's concept is that of a subjective lyricist enamoured by his own suffering; Ševčenko's concept is that of a citizen who sacrifices himself, his life and work for the common cause."[78] It is significant that these two contemporaries should have met such different fates. Petrenko remained virtually forgotten, ignored by the wider reading public, while Ševčenko gained the popularity and prestige of a national prophet as well as a poet. The forces of the Ukrainian revival favoured a literature with ideological and national content rather than pure literature.

The Xarkovites did not yet speak in the name of the entire Ukraine but their influence spread to other parts of the country. It reached across the borders of the Russian Empire – to the Austro-Hungarian Ukraine. The literary revival in Galicia, initiated by the so-called "Ruthenian Triad" – Markijan Šaškevyč (1811–43), Ivan Vahylevyč (1811–66) and Jakiv Holovac'kyj (1814–88) bears a striking resemblance to developments in Russian Ukraine. It was partly under the influence of these developments and partly under the impact of the Czech revival that the young Galician seminarians printed in Budapest their almanac *Rusalka Dnistrovaja* (1837). Conscious of being late on the historical stage the Galicians tried to catch up with the achievements of their brothers from the Russian Ukraine. The feeling of kinship was very strong and Ukrainian writers from the east like Kvitka, Maksymovyč and Sreznevs'kyj were avidly read and imitated in the west. There was also some personal contact and a great deal of correspondence between them. It is interesting that in turning their attention to the Ukrainian past the Galicians claimed a common patrimony with the easterners – the Cossack Ukraine which in fact had never embraced Galicia. The literary creeds of Šaškevyč, Vahylevyč and Holovac'kyj were derived from sources similar to those of Borovykovs'kyj or Metlyns'kyj. They drew on the riches of Ukrainian folklore, stressed historical themes and favoured Romantic ballads and lyrics. The "Ruthenian Triad" had fewer resources and friends than the writers in the eastern Ukraine. Conditions in Galicia were such that the Germanizing and Polonizing pressures lay very heavily on the Ukrainians. The appearance of *Rusalka Dnistrovaja* itself was delayed several years because of censorship. Out of 1000 copies printed in Budapest only 100 reached the readers – the rest were impounded. Šaškevyč's call for Slavic

---

[78] Jurij Šerex, "Myxajlo Petrenko – – majster elegiji," *Ukrajina* (Paris), 1950, No. 4, p. 248. He developed this idea further in another most provocative article: G. Y. Shevelov, "Z istoriji ukrajins'koho romantyzmu," *Orbis scriptus; Dmitrij Tschiževskij zum 70 Geburtstag* (Munich, 1966).

unity and his identification with the Russian Ukrainians must be regarded, therefore, as a much bolder protest against the existing conditions in Galicia than was the opposition of his brethren in Xarkiv.

Although loyal to "tsar and country" most Xarkovites were confident that Ukrainian literature could develop in all poetic genres and find a demand from the reading public. Their efforts were sporadic, hampered by the absence of Ukrainian periodicals and journals. Often, their works remained unpublished for years and those that were came out late, mostly in haphazardly edited almanacs. Their formula for Ukrainian literature could be compared to the Provencal Felibrige, claiming rights to independent development in a well defined area without competing with the major culture of the country. They were still chiefly preoccupied with folklore and the past and in their works they created a specific foundation for later Ukrainian Romanticism. This foundation was rather narrow. Among the group there were some forerunners of a Ševčenko, but few of a Lermontov or Puškin. Their achievements were primarily in the field of poetry. Prose was still rather neglected and there were some efforts in the field of drama (Kostomarov). Their greatest difficulty remained the creation of a completely adequate Ukrainian literary language. Their correspondence was mostly conducted in Russian, although Metlyns'kyj as well as Kvitka wrote letters in Ukrainian. The fact that all these writers were bilingual and that most of them wrote in both Russian and Ukrainian cannot be overstressed. They had not yet found what Rémy de Gourmont considered was a writer's father-land – his language. Often they lived in a kind of no man's land, eager to create but impotent to do so. The social and political conditions necessary for the development of literature in Ukrainian did not exist. The Russified Ukrainian reader still considered Ukrainian works as a pastime of writers not serious expressions. His literary needs were satisfied in the first place by Russian books and journals. Under these conditions what was produced in Ukrainian was often regarded as second rate.

There were other difficulties in the early development of the modern Ukrainian literary language. Unlike the situation in other Slavic countries faced with this problem (Bohemia, Slovakia), very few attempts were made in the Ukraine to write grammars and dictionaries of Ukrainian. The task of creating the literary language was left by and large to writers rather than to linguists. The writers based their language on regional dialects (Kotljarevs'kyj – Poltava, Kvitka – Xarkiv) and thus far none had emerged with works which would be very widely acceptable. Another influence on the literary language came from the publication of folklore material. Although south-eastern dialects were becoming predominant in the written language, the time for the creation of a standard language had not vet arrived. Despite these difficulties such works as were written in Ukrainian provided a basis for the further possible evolution of literature. This could occur only if outstanding authors appeared on the scene and if they found a wide enough

response among the reading public. In an era of rising national consciouness such writers would have to satisfy not only aesthetic but national appetites.

What the Ukrainian Classicists and early Romantics did could be done within the existing framework of "official nationality", Slavophilism, literary vogues and local patriotism. The development of Ukrainian literature within that framework was not obstructed, but, on the contrary, encouraged. There was as yet nothing about the "Ukrainian movement" which smacked of separatism. The Russian Empire was still regarded by Ukrainian intellectuals as a family of nations in which Ukrainian aspirations could be satisfied. So far, these intellectuals had no goals which could not be realized under the existing conditions. New goals first became apparent to Ševčenko and his friends.

Before proceeding with an analysis of the last phase of Ukrainian Romanticism it is necessary to consider how the Russians reacted to Ukrainian literature. In addition, the picture of the literary situation in the Ukraine would not be complete without some knowledge of the treatment which the Ukraine received in Russian literature.

III

THE UKRAINE IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Russian Journals and the Ukraine

In the field of journalism early Ukrainian writers relied heavily on Russian publications. The beginnings of Ukrainian journalism may justly be regarded as regional development within Russian journalism. The first journals in the Ukraine were in Russian and were devoted only in small part to Ukrainian topics. Their spirit, however, showed local pride, which later came to be associated with the Ukrainian movement. The first journals appeared in Xarkiv. Among the various activities of the Xarkiv university, publications were of great importance. During the first decade of its existence alone the university press published 210 volumes which, according to one source, represented half the number of all books published in the Empire.[1] The fact that the office of censorship was located in the university facilitated matters. Apart from the newspaper *Xar'kovskie vedomosti* (The Xarkiv News) which printed local and some foreign news, there was *Ukrainskij vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald) edited by Professor Filomafic'kyj, the teacher Honors'kyj and the writer Kvitka. Later the editorship passed to Professor Sklabovs'kyj. The journal, which appeared regularly from 1816 to 1819, contained a great deal of historical and ethnographic material. In 1817 there were 197 regular subscribers. The following year the number was 244 and in 1819 it rose to 253. Occasionally the journal printed works of Ukrainian literature such as Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's poems "Pan ta sobaka" and "Solopij ta Xivrja". Another contribution by Hulak-Artemovs'kyj was "Suplika do Hryc'ka Kvitky" (Supplication to Hryc'ko Kvitka) in which he allowed a certain limited status to the Ukrainian language.

Ukrainskij žurnal (Ukrainian Journal, 1824–25) was another periodical publication of Xarkiv University. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and Sklabovs'kyj were to be appointed editors, but the former refused the appointment because of ill health. In his first article Sklabovs'kyj pointed to the demands of Ukrainian readers. "For a Russian everything Russian is pleasant. But even more pleasant is that which is closer to our place, character and very name.

---

[1] S. *R(usova)*, "Xar'kovskaja žurnalistika načala nastojaščego stoletija," *Kievskaja starina*, 1892, vol. 38.

Thus, for instance, for the inhabitant of the Ukraine no matter how interesting Russian journals are, he would still undoubtedly read with greater zeal and curiosity such [magazines] as belong to the Ukraine herself."[2] The journal published many translations from foreign literature and printed some poetry. The Ukrainian material in both journals consisted mostly of travelogues, journalistic historical accounts and some ethnographic descriptions. Despite the ideological neutrality occasionally some views on the place of Ukrainian literature and culture were expressed. Among the contributors to the *Ukrainian Herald* was A. Levšin, whose *Pis'ma iz Malorossii* (Letters from Little Russia) were later published in book form. One of these letters he called "Otličitel'nie svojstva malorossijan" (Distinguishing Characteristics of the Little Russians). In it he defended the distinctiveness of the Ukrainian language, pointing out that successful literary works, such as the *Enejida*, were written in it. He prophesied that in the future the Ukrainians might "perhaps compete in the excellence of their works with the most enlightened peoples of Europe."[3] He hastened to add that "this is a vain hope because there are no motives for it. Even the possibility of creating a language out of a dialect, abandoned by nearly all the educated natives of this country, is very slight."[4] The *Ukrainian Herald* also published a negative review of the vaudeville *Kozak-stixotvorec* (Cossack, the Versifier) by Šaxovskoj. At the same time it printed several Ukrainian poems by Hulak-Artemovs'kyj. The *Ukrainian Journal* did not publish anything in Ukrainian. An article by Kul'žyns'kyj,[5] tried to assess the qualities of Ukrainian poetry. A favourable review of Ryleev's "Vojnarovskij" appeared in 1825 (vol. VIII, Nos. 19, 20).

A non-university publication, which appeared as a monthly from January to June 1816, was *Xar'kovskij Demokrit* (Xarkovian Democritus). It was a semihumourous journal, edited by Vasyl' Maslovyč which published some material in Ukrainian. Among the contributors were Kvitka and Sreznevs'kyj. The half-satirical tone of this journal was still in the burlesque tradition.

A much livelier discussion of Ukrainian problems was conducted in the journals of St. Petersburg and Moscow. There, among the first to show interest in the Ukraine were the Decembrist collaborators of the *Syn otečestva* (Son of the Fatherland) and *Sorevnovatel' prosveščenija i blagotvorenija* (The Promoter of Enlightenment and Philanthropy). Among them were Ryleev and Somov, whose works dealing with the Ukraine are discussed later in this chapter. On the whole the Decembrists were sympathetic

---

[2] *Ukrainskij žurnal,* 1824, I, 1, p. 6.

[3] *Ukrainskij vestnik,* 1816, IV, 51. Here quoted from P. K. Volyns'kyj, *Teoretyčna boroť ba v ukrajins'kij literaturi* (Kiev, 1959), p. 19. Quotations from *Literaturnaja gazeta, Teleskop, Majak, Severnaja pčela* and *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* also come from Volyns'kyj's book.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See below, pp. 80–81.

towards the literary but not towards the political aspirations of the Ukrainians. Indeed, before the tragic events on the Senate Square in 1825, Ukrainian political aspirations were almost non-existent. Although favourable to the development of Ukrainian literature, the Decembrists regarded it as a part of Russian literature. Alexander Bestužev in a letter to the Editor of the *Son of the Fatherland,* criticizing Greč's history of Russian literature, demanded the inclusion of Kotljarevs'kyj and Skovoroda, "the famous Ukrainian Diogenes."[6] On the other hand, Kjuxel'beker, in an unpublished speech, delivered in Paris in 1821,[7] was prepared to admit the separateness of the Ukrainian language which, he said, developed out of an old Kievan dialect.

The journal *Otečestvennye zapiski* (Notes of the Fatherland) did not lose its conservative viewpoint until Belinskij joined it in 1839. Before that date several reviews of Ukrainian books were published, all of them very favourable. As we shall see, the conservative journals gave a warm reception to Ukrainian literature. Not realizing the potentially separatist quality of the cultural renaissance in the Ukraine, these journals gave it their full support. In their supreme confidence in the strength of the Empire they saw no threat in the development of Ukrainian language and literature and they even attempted to justify it within the framework of "official nationality". Typical of this attitude is the review of Kostomarov's play *Sava Čalyj*, probably written by V. Meževič. According to him, Ukrainian literature surpassed Russian because of its closeness to *narodnost'*. "Russian literature and the language in which it is expressed are stamped by artifice, labour and external efforts, but Little Russian poetry and language, as noted above, are created not by the efforts of the intellect but are borne unconsciously by the people and nourished in its bosom. Russian literature is a hothouse, artificial flower; Little Russian literature is a flower which sprang up from the native soil, under an open sky, sprinkled by the dew, warmed by its sun."[8] The praise, of course, did not imply that Ukrainian literature was separate from the Russian; it was simply a distinctive branch of the Russian tree. "Literary Little Russia is our comforting hope, an encouraging guarantee, a promised land, where Russian art will develop in all its genuine splendour in all its fullness.[9]

With the coming of Belinskij the tone of the *Notes of the Fatherland* toward Ukrainian literature changed a great deal. It is ironic but not altogether surprising that the father of Russian radicalism and the severest critic of tsardom should have adopted an attitude of uncompromising hostility towards Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian movement in general. More farsighted than the other critics of his time Belinskij realized that, if allowed to develop freely, Ukrainian literature would lead to autonomous cultural

---

[6] A. Bestužev, "Počemu?" *Syn otečestva,* 1822, No. 77, p. 167.
[7] *Literaturnoe nasledstvo,* 1954, vol. 59, pp. 366, 374.
[8] *Otečestvennye zapiski,* 1839, III, 44.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 49.

and possibly political objectives. He was not prepared to grant autonomy to the Ukrainians for he was convinced that their subordination to Russia should continue.

On the whole, Belinskij preferred to see Ukrainians write in Russian. In his review of Hrebinka's almanac *The Swallow*[10] he pointed to Gogol' as a great Ukrainian writer and doubted that Ukrainian could be developed into a viable literary language. Later, he attacked Ševčenko and other Ukrainian writers.[11] Belinskij was prepared to grant Ukrainian writers the status of folktale narrators and folk poets but not of writers. Within the limits of this status the *Notes of the Fatherland* occasionally praised Ukrainian stories (Kvitka) and defended the use of the Ukrainian language.[12]

From Kvitka's correspondence with Maksymovyč and from other sources we know that in the late 1830's the *Notes of the Fatherland* contemplated publishing a supplement *Literaturnye pribavlenija na malorusskom jazyke* (Literary Supplement in the Little Russian Language) with Hrebinka as editor. The editor of the *Notes of the Fatherland,* Andrej Kraevsky, confessed in a letter to Maksymovyč, that "the sounds of the poetic Ukraine were always pleasant to my heart, they touched on something native and close to the ideally Russian."[13] The negotiations between Kraevsky and the Ukrainians failed.

For some time, at least, *Literaturnaja gazeta* (The Literary Gazette) in its general attitude was close to the *Notes of the Fatherland.* In regard to the Ukraine the *Literary Gazette* took up a more favourable position. It welcomed the appearance of Ševčenko's *Kobzar*[14] and carried several articles by Nekrasov in which he praised Kvitka and Hrebinka. It criticized Kuliš's novel written in Russian, *Mixail Čarnyšenko,* but it approved Hrebinka's *Swallow.* "Do not be afraid," wrote the reviewer, "because the *Swallow* is writen in Little Russian. It is so close to Russian that we Russians do not have to study it beforehand in order to understand it."[15]

The conservative press showed great interest in Ukrainian literature. In the late 1820's particular attention to the Ukraine was paid by *Vestnik Evropy* (The European Herald) edited by Mixail Kačenovskij, a native of Xarkiv, former librarian and protege of Prince A. K. Rozumovs'kyj. A little earlier, in 1815, the journal was critical of the Polish scholar Bandtke's defense of the "rich Ukrainian literature."[16] Later, however, the editor

---

[10] See above, pp. 52–53.
[11] See below, pp. 143–44.
[12] Review of Kupryjenko's *Malorossijskie povesti i rasskazy* in *Otečestvennye zapiski,* 1840, X, 24–25.
[13] Here quoted from P. Fylypovyč, "Zabuti recenziji sorokovyx rokiv na Ševčenkovi tvory," *Ukrajina,* 1930, No. 3–4, pp. 76–77.
[14] *Literaturnaja gazeta,* 1840, No. 36.
[15] *Ibid.,* 1841, No. 56.
[16] *Vestnik Evropy,* 1815, No. 21–22, p. 123.

changed his attitude and tried to dispel the common notion that Ukrainian language was coarse *(grubyj)* and jocular *(šutlivyj)* by printing Ukrainian anecdotes collected by Kvitka and pointing out their literary value. It was in the pages of this journal that Prince Certelev printed his letter to Maksymovyč, asking him to publish as soon as possible his collection of Ukrainian folksongs. "Nature, the writer's heart and his native land," wrote Certelev, "should be the sources of poetic inspiration."[17] Therefore Ukrainian folksongs, rich in lyrical qualities, had much to offer. Maksymovyč's preface to his collection appeared, in a somewhat condensed form, in the *European Herald* for 1827. In addition, the journal printed several Ukrainian works by Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, Borovykovs'kyj and Špyhoc'kyj. In some editorial comments Kačenovskij thought it necessary to explain this policy. "We hear, by the way," he wrote in the preface to Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's ballad "Rybalka", "that among the eager readers of Little Russian poems there are also some who do not like this dialect which is preserved by some five million speakers, our compatriots, and which in many respects is precious to a Slavic philologist. It is difficult to convince the stubborn. But for the others, we might mention the Alemmanian poems of the late Hebbel which are read with curiosity and pleasure in all the states of Germany . . ."[18] This view was similar to that of Maksymovyč who compared Ukrainian to Alemmanian and regarded it as suitable for folk poetry only. Kačenovskij had strong philological interests and therefore defended the use of Ukrainian as a kind of linguistic curiosity. Secondly, Kačenovskij's concept of *narodnost'* postulated an exploration of ancient Kiev and of the folk traditions of that area. However ulterior these motives were, the net result was the publication of Ukrainian literature in the leading journal of the Empire.

A somewhat similar attitude to the Ukraine was adopted by the journal *Teleskop* (The Telescope) and the paper *Molva* (Common Talk) edited by Nikolaj Nadeždin, who to a large extent shared the view of "official nationality". In his opinion, Ukrainian literary works expressed this principle of nationality. "For some," he wrote, "there have appeared successful attempts at literary adaptations of the Little Russian dialect. To some these efforts appear a wasteful and useless game. I hold the contrary view. The Little Russian dialect can also enrich our language. Let the Ukrainians acquaint us with it in their poetic *dumy* and their genial tales. We should be deeply grateful to them."[19] The *Telescope* warmly welcomed the appearance of the *Ukrainian almanac*. The review thought that "we can expect more from the Ukrainians. They have a higher destiny: to be for us the organs of their poetic land, rich in fresh precious remains of Russian antiquity common

---

[17] Certelev, "O narodnyx stixotvorenijax; pis'mo g-nu Maksimoviču," *Vestnik Evropy*, 1827, No. 12, p. 273.

[18] *Vestnik Evropy*, 1827, No. 20, pp. 286–87.

[19] *Teleskop*, 1836, No. 2, p. 247.

to us all."[20] Nadeždin's publications printed the Ukrainian works of Bodjans'kyj, Kvitka and Sreznevs'kyj as well as many follksongs. The second collection of Maksymovyč's songs received a long review in the *Telescope* by Jurij Venelin, a native of Transcarpathian Ukraine who after 1825 lived in Moscow. In an article by Bodjans'kyj[21] a discussion was started about Ukrainian orthography which at that time for all practical purposes did not exist.

By far the greatest interest in the Ukraine was shown by the conservative journal *Majak (The Lighthouse)* edited by S. Buraček. It opened its pages to many Ukrainian writers, such as Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, Kvitka, Korsun, Kostomarov, Metlyns'kyj and Ševčenko. No doubt the effort to enlist Ukrainian contributors was dictated by the desire to bolster up the fashionable tendency to "official nationality." Yet the fact remains that many Ukrainian writers, including Ševčenko, were willing to collaborate. This should be remembered by those who are anxious to divide Ukrainian writers into progressive and conservative camps. The participation of so many Ukrainian writers in this ultraconservative Russian journal proves that their prime concern was not with politics but with literature. If a Russian journal was willing to print them they were prepared to ignore its political leanings. The *Lighthouse* published many favourable reviews of Ukrainian authors, the most glowing being devoted to Kvitka, Ševčenko and Petrenko. The latter was compared to Lermontov and Puškin.[22]

Two reviews of Ševčenko's works deserve to be mentioned. The first, by Ševčenko's censor Korsakov, praised the *Kobzar* not only as a successful recreation of ancient Ukrainian minstrelsy but also as a work of "unfeigned simplicity" which would "bring honour to any literature."[23] The second review, by Tyxors'kyj,[24] was highly complimentary to Ševčenko's *Hajdamaky* and stressed its artistic merits. It observed, however, that Ševčenko's philosophy in this poem was pagan, not Christian. This, the editor explained, in a footnote, was because Ševčenko portrayed his characters from the point of view of their own times and not from a contemporary vantage point.[25]

Occasionally, Ukrainian topics became the subject of wider polemics between the *Lighthouse* and the *Notes of the Fatherland*. These two journals were constantly at war and the issue of Ukrainian literature became a political football in the game between the Russian liberals and conservatives. Indeed, the vehemence with which Ukrainian literature was discussed can be understood only in terms of these bigger Russian ideological conflicts. A good example of this Ukrainian war in Russian journalism was an article

---

[20] *Ibid.*, 1831, No. 18, p. 106.
[21] *Ibid.*, 1834, No. 21.
[22] *Majak*, 1842, No. 9.
[23] *Ibid.*, 1840, No. 6, p. 94.
[24] *Ibid.*, 1842, No. 8.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

by Korsun, written under the pseudonym of Antypenko,[26] in which he attacked Kraevskij's journal for its anti-Ukrainian attitude.

Another conservative journal, *Moskvitjanin* (The Muscovite) also devoted much space to the discussion of Ukrainian literature although it printed nothing in Ukrainian. Edited by Mixail Pogodin and Stepan Ševyrev it, too, was the mouthpiece of the "official nationality" and a stronghold of the Slavophiles. The Ukrainian language, according to Ševyrev, is "unaffected, unadorned and simple . . ." and therefore it "can help to simplify Russian speech."[27] It is noteworthy that the journal showed some interest in the literary development of the Ukrainians in Galicia. Pogodin made a special effort to influence some Russophile Galicians and had his disciples there (Denys Zubryc'kyj).

The reactionary press of the late 1830's and 1840's consisted of *Syn otečestva* (Son of the Fatherland), *Severnaja pčela* (The Northern Bee) and *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* (Library for Reading), edited respectively by the "triumvirate" of Faddej Bulgarin, Nikolaj Greč and Osip Sen'kovskij. They all had a negative, sometimes scornful, attitude towards Ukrainian literature. *The Northern Bee,* in a review of Kvitka's early work, considered that "efforts to resurrect the Little Russian language and to create Little Russian literature [were] impossible and almost useless."[28] In 1834, the paper commenting on the appearance of Gogol"s Ukrainian stories, concluded that "all Little Russian writers and readers have renounced their native language, speak Russian exclusively at home and only salt-vendors *(čumaki)* have preserved their ancient dialect."[29] In a review of Ševčenko's *Kobzar* the *Bee* regretted that he wrote in Ukrainian, which "should . . . die in the archives," but at the same time praised his poetic talent rather extravagantly though inconsistently.[30] A similar note was struck in the review in *The Son of the Fatherland,* with even greater derision of Ukrainian.[31] The *Library for Reading* considered Ukrainian folk poetry as a "collection of the monuments of a disappearing provincial literature."[32] The journal regretted that Ševčenko wrote in Ukrainian. Later it declared that the Ukrainian language has no place among "the languages of mankind."[33] Ševčenko's poem "Hamalija" was dismissed by the *Library for Reading* with ridicule.[34] It is interesting that a similarly scornful and ironic tone was used in the same year in a review in the *Notes of the Fatherland,* where Ševčenko's *Kobzar* was derog-

---

[26] *Ibid.,* 1842, No. 6.
[27] *Moskvitjanin,* 1842, No. 3, pp. 178–79.
[28] *Severnaja pčela,* 1834, No. 248.
[29] Here quoted from N. Piksanov, "Ukrainskie povesti Gogolja," *O klassikax* (Moscow, 1933), p. 78.
[30] *Severnaja pčela,* 1840, No. 101.
[31] *Syn otečestva,* 1840, 11.
[32] *Biblioteka dlja čtenija,* 1834, VI.
[33] *Ibid.,* 1841, XVIII.
[34] *Ibid.,* 1844, LXIV.

atively described as "equal" to French literature.[35] Here the wheel came full circle: both Russian reactionaries and liberals were united in their disapproval of Ukrainian literature. On balance, however, the Russian journals welcomed the appearance of Ukrainian books, although they valued them not for their intrinsic merits but for the contribution they allegedly made to Russian literature.

The Image of the Ukraine in Russian Letters

While Classicism and Sentimentalism tended to ignore nationalities and depicted the rational or sentimental man stripped of his national characteristics, Romanticism rediscovered man in his national environment. Already the late sentimental writers were involuntarily turning to the national background when they indulged in portrayals of far-off idyllic countries and places. These ideal havens of peace and tranquillity were usually located in Greece, Tuscany or the Orient. However idealized, they could be found somewhere on the map. In Russian literature the Ukraine was the chief of these idyllic places. When Prince Šalikov's travel sketches from the Ukraine[36] were criticized for idealizing that country the author defended himself: "I wanted to see only the beautiful. There is plenty of ugliness everywhere and who wants to see it? . . . I wanted Little Russia to be another Arcadia."[37] On another occasion he compared the Ukraine to Italy and in this he was by no means alone among his contemporaries. To many of them the Ukraine was like "a lovely carpet woven with blue, pink and bright yellow field flowers which blend with the horizon and beyond Kremenčug are encompassed by a wide and shining belt of the Dnieper."[38] During the early nineteenth century the Ukraine was the favourite topic of travelogues (Vladimir Izmajlov, *Putešestvie v poludennuju Rossiju* [Journey to South Russia]; Aleksej Levšin, *Pis'ma iz Malorossii* [Letters from Little Russia, 1816]) in which the country was advertized as flowing with milk and honey and possessing all the enchantments of natural beauty and spiritual enjoyment. All Russian travellers in the Ukraine underlined the originality and distinctiveness of the country's ways of life, language and customs. Levšin, whose account is the most informative of all, stressed the deep attachment of the Ukrainians to their history and their unfriendliness towards the Russians. In support he cited many Ukrainian proverbs, such

---

[35] *Otečestvennye zapiski,* 1844, XXXVI.
[36] *Putešestvie kn. Petra Šalikova v Malorossiju* (Moscow, 1803).
[37] "Novoe putešestvie v Malorossiju," *Moskovskij merkurij,* 1803, 9, 178.
[38] "Pis'mo iz Odessy k . . ." *Odesskij al'manax,* 1831, p. 393.

as "he is a good man but a Russian." On the whole Levšin found the Ukrainians very "foreign" but quite attractive.[39]

Different though it was, the Ukraine was most often treated by Russian writers as an integral part of Russia. Similarly Polish writers regarded the Ukraine as a part of the Polish patrimony. The Ukrainian Cossacks came to play for Russia and Poland the part of a "wild west". In Polish Romantic literature, apart from Słowacki whose poetry is permeated by Ukrainian themes, there even existed a "Ukrainian school" consisting of the writers Antoni Malczewski, Bohdan Zaleski and Seweryn Goszczynski. Almost the sole qualification for belonging to that school was the fact that each wrote on Ukrainian themes. A special place among the minor Polish writers interested in the Ukraine (Tomasz Olizarowski, Alexander Groza, Michał Grabowski, Michał Czajkowski) was occupied by Tymko (Tomasz) Padurra (1801–71). Born in the Ukraine and educated at the Lyceum in Kremjanec' (Krzemieniec) he wrote some poems in Ukrainian using the Polish alphabet. His treatment of Ukrainian history in those poems resembled that of Ryleev.

To say that Ukrainian themes lent themselves well to treatment by Russian and Polish Romantics is to beg yet another question. What was it precisely that appealed to these poets and travellers and what effect had this spread of Ukrainian subjects on literary development in the Ukraine? Unquestionably, the intense lyricism of Ukrainian folksongs fed the Romantic imagination. We find that these songs and folk tales were known outside the Ukraine, Poland and Russia, in other Slavic countries such as Bohemia. Not only did Czech Slavists (Hanka, Kollár) collect and publish Ukrainian songs

---

[39] Many foreign travellers in the Ukraine in the early nineteenth century commented on the differences between Russia and the Ukraine. Some echoed Voltaire's remark that "L'Ukraine a toujours aspire à être libre" (Voltaire, *Oeuvres completes,* Paris, 1785, vol. 23, p. 169). The German, Blasius, wrote that "in nearly all spiritual qualities the Ukrainians are the very opposite of the Russians" (J. H. Blasius, *Reise im europaischen Russland in den Jahren 1840 und 1841,* Braunschweig, 1844, p. 326). The Ukrainians were given to poetry and sentiment while the Russians were much more practical. The Frenchman, Charles Louis Lesur, held that traces of the Cossack state were still evident in the Ukraine (C. L. Lesur, *Des progrès de la puissance russe,* Paris, 1812). Two English travellers, John Marshall and Edward D. Clarke commented on Ukrainians as good husbandmen, possessing the virtues of true frontiersmen. "They are," wrote Clarke, "a much more noble race and stouter and better looking people than the Russians and superior to them in everything that can exalt one set of men above another" (Edward D. Clarke, *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey,* Edinburgh, 1839 [first published in 1810], p. 47). In his very informative account of Russia in the 1840's J. G. Kohl even asserted: "Should the colossal empire of Russia one day fall to pieces, there is little doubt that the Malorussians will form a separate state. They have their own language, their own historical recollections, seldom mingle or intermarry with their Muscovite rulers, and are in number already more than 10,000,000. Their national sinews may be said to lie among the rural nobility living in the villages, from whom every great political movement has hitherto emanated" (J. G. Kohl, *Russia* [translation from the German], London, 1842, p. 528).

but some Czech writers (Havliček-Borovský) were influenced by their rhythmical structure. Another source of influence on Slavic literatures was Ukrainian Cossack history. The fact that both Ukrainian folklore and history could so effectively serve as raw material for Slavic writers had some dangerous implications for the development of Ukrainian literature. For although the Ukraine was becoming widely known among the Slavs it was becoming merely a reservoir of literary material. For the well-developed Russian and Polish literatures this material was a great novelty and found its place in a much wider framework. For the Ukrainians it tended to obscure everything else. Moreover, the fashion for Ukrainian themes tended to reduce everything Ukrainian to a vogue.

Many Russian writers of Ukrainian origin, some of them quite prominent (Bogdanovič, Gnedič) did not touch on the Ukraine in their works. On the other hand, many Russian writers (Aljadin, Bulgarin) dealt with the Ukraine. It was, however, the Ukrainians who created "in Russian culture an entire movement and even their contemporaries spoke openly of the Ukrainian school in Russian literature."[40]

Among the first writers to introduce Ukrainian themes into Russian literature was a Ukrainian, Vasyl' Narižnyj (1780–1825) who was known as Vasilij Narežnyj. Born in the province of Poltava, Narežnyj left his native Ukraine when he was twelve years old and moved with his parents to Moscow. There he went to school and later to Moscow University. His memories of the Ukraine, especially of Ukrainian student residences, were so vivid that one may legitimately doubt whether all his youth was spent in Moscow. Perhaps, for a time at least, he lived as a student in the Ukraine.

Narežnyj began his literary career as a follower of Classicism and the Enlightenment with a drama *Dimitrij Samozvanec* (Dimitri the Impostor, 1800). In 1801 he became a clerk in Georgia and the next two years he spent in that country writing a romantic tale of the Caucasian mountaineers, *Černyj god* (The Black Year). After his return to St. Petersburg he served in clerical positions in various government offices. In 1809 he published *Slavenskie večera* (Slavonic Evenings), written under the influence of Ossian, and in 1813, *Rossijskij Žil' Blaz* (The Russian Gil Blas), a novel imitative of Lesage and Richardson. Scholars have observed that the village life in that novel is based on the author's memories of the Ukraine. The character of the "wise man" Ivan Osobnjak is obviously modelled on Skovoroda whose moral philosophy Narežnyj tried to combine with the teachings of Rousseau.

The most Ukrainian work of Narežnyj is *Bursak* (The Seminarian, 1824) which has as a subtitle *malorossijskaja povest'* (a Little Russian tale). The first part offers a detailed description of life in a Ukrainian theological college. This undoubtedly influenced Gogol"s "Vij." In the second part we

---

[40] Piksanov, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

are caught up in a series of adventures set among the Cossacks fighting the Poles. This strictly fictional history does not idealize the Zaporožians whose life and manners are considered worse than those of gypsies. However, their bravery is incomparable. The author's sympathies are with the Cossacks who serve the Het'man and represent the settled element in the Cossack Ukraine. These sympathies were later shared by many Ukrainian writers, notably by Kuliš. However, it would be premature to ascribe to Narežnyj Ukrainian political interests. For him the Cossack Ukraine merely served as a background for a good plot. Therefore, if the plot demanded it, he did not hesitate to transport the reader into a setting among Ukrainian brigands who capture the hero. Every time, however, Narežnyj manages to recreate Ukrainian life and folkways with astonishing faithfulness.

The life of the Ukrainian village gentry was the subject of another story by Narežnyj, *Dva Ivana ili strasť k tjažbam* (Two Ivans or the Passion for Lawsuits, 1825). Its atmosphere and characters are very suggestive of Gogol"s tale of Ivan Ivanovič's quarrel with Ivan Nikiforovič which was certainly influenced by Narežnyj. Two other stories by Narežnyj dealt directly with the Ukraine. One, a novel *Zaporožec* (The Zaporožian, 1824) told the life story of the *otaman* of the Zaporožian Sič, Avenir, who, it turns out, was originally a French Marquis. Narežnyj's last, unpublished novel, *Garkuša,* dealt with the adventures of a famous Ukrainian brigand. The general picture of the Ukraine which the Russian reader received from Narežnyj's works was one of a picturesque country with lively and adventurous people. Mirsky considered Narežnyj a "robust and conscious realist in the tradition of Smollett, Fielding and Lesage."[41] Contemporary Russian critics were aware that Narežnyj owed much of his realism to his Ukrainian background. "It seemed to me," wrote Vjazemskij, "that our customs and, in general, our popular mores *(byt)* have no or very few artistic qualities which an observer could use for the creation of a Russian novel. It is true that our author [Narežnyj] is not quite Russian but Little Russian and that his two better novels *Bursak* and *Dva Ivana* are set in a period when Little Russia still had a distinct physiognomy."[42]

Among other writers of Ukrainian origin who wrote about the Ukraine in Russian were Vasilij Kapnist (1758–1823), the author of the famous *Jabeda* (Chicane), Orest Somov (pseudonym Porfirij Bajskij, 1793–1833), the author of the Ukrainian stories *Gajdamak* (1827), *Rusalka* (The Mermaid, 1829), *Skazki o kladax* (Tales of Treasure, 1829) and *Kievskie ved'my* (The Kievan Witches, 1833), Aleksej Perovskij (pseudonym: Antonij Pogorel'skij, 1787–1836), the author of *Dvojnik ili večera v Malorossii* (The Double or Evenings in Little Russia, 1828) and *Monastyrka* (The Convent

---

[41] D. S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York, 1949), p. 70.

[42] P. Vjazemskij, "Pis'mo v Pariž," *Moskovskij telegraf,* 1825, No. 22. Here quoted from M. G. Zel'dovič, L. Ja. Livšic. *Russkaja literatura XIX v. Xrestomatija kritičeskix materjalov* (Moscow, 1967), p. 135.

Girl, 1830), and Gogol"s teacher, Ivan Kulžyns'kyj (1803–84), the author of *Malorossijskaja derevnja* (The Little Russian Village, 1827).

The Ukrainian patriot Kapnist was also a well known Russian writer. It is commonly accepted that one of his poems "Oda na rabstvo" (Ode on Serfdom) was written in protest against the *ukaz* of Catherine II issued on May 3rd, 1783, which introduced serfdom into the Ukraine. A German scholar, Georg Sacke, attempted to argue that the ode opposed not the introduction of serfdom but the liquidation of Ukrainian autonomy.[43] While it is difficult to agree with him completely, it is nevertheless quite clear from the poem that serfdom is not the only subject. Kapnist refers several times to the oppression of his native land *(otčizna)* and leaves no doubt that not only Ukrainian villages but the cities and the entire people had been enslaved by the power of the state. According to Čyževs'kyj, Kapnist's "pure nature lyric poetry is a true expression of the Ukrainian spirit."[44] One of Kapnist's poems ("Čižik" – Finch) is a close imitation of Skovoroda.

Orest Somov was one of the first Ukrainians to make a literary career in St. Petersburg. In this sense he was Gogol"s precursor and model. Anxious

---

[43] Georg Sacke, "V. V. Kapnist und seine Ode 'Na rabstvo'," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* 1941, XVII.

Just how far Kapnist was prepared to go in supporting Ukrainian autonomy may be seen from his secret mission to Prussia. German sources confirm that in 1791 "un gentilhomme de la Petite-Russie ou Ukraine qui s'appelle de Kapnist qui prétend être envoyé par les habitants de ce pays qui voudront secouer le joug Russien," (Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin–Dahlem, Sign, Re. 11, Russland, No. 132. Here quoted from Sacke, *op. cit.,* p. 300) called on the Prussian minister of state, Count Hertzberg, and asked for help from Prussia in case of war with Russia. The Ukrainian envoy's request was politely but firmly turned down by King Friedrich Wilhelm II. There is little doubt that the Ukrainian nobleman Kapnist was none other than Vasyl' Kapnist, well known for his strong Ukrainian sentiments. The Russians were aware of this and some of them resented it. F. Vigel' wrote in his memoirs: "Both of them [Kapnist and Gnedič], regardless of the bonds of faith, blood and profession, regardless of the two centuries' old union of their country with Russia, secretly hated the latter and the Russian *moskals* or *kacaps.*" (F. F. Vigel', *Vospominanija,* Moscow, 1864, III, 144). Kapnist's daughter confirms her father's fierce patriotism: "My father passionately loved his country and was prepared to sacrifice all his possessions for the benefit of Little Russia ... His ardent wish was to restore the former well-being and wealth of Little Russia, to enliven the people who still remembered their freedom, but were oppressed and persecuted by the unjust land policy of that time" (S. V. Kapnist–Skalon, "Vospominanija," in Ju. Oksman and S. Černov [eds.] *Vospominanija i rasskazy dejatelej tajnyx obščestv 1820-x godov,* Moscow, 1931, I, pp. 304, 311). There is little doubt about the authenticity of the Prussian documents. However, it is still difficult for us to understand today how Kapnist's outward loyalty to the state could be reconciled with his secret mission. Perhaps this was no contradiction to a man of the eighteenth century. For a different interpretation see W. B. Edgerton, "Laying a Legend to Rest: The Poet Kapnist and Ukraino-German Intrigue," (forthcoming in the *Slavic Review*).

[44] D. Čyževskyj, "V. Kapnist und Skovoroda; Literarische Lesefrüchte," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* 1937, XIV, 339.

to succeed he collaborated with several literary magazines although he was closest to Decembrist circles.[46] In his novels and short stories he constantly returned to Ukrainian themes, but was firmly convinced that they could only be treated in Russian. Although he had a high regard for Kotljarevs'kyj and Maksymovyč with whom he corresponded, he considered Ukrainian literature to be a kind of interesting curiosity. It is noteworthy that the only poem which Somov wrote in Ukrainian, "Lyst od ukrainca do ljaxiv" (A Letter from a Ukrainian to the Poles) was a declaration of the author's fierce Russian imperialism. In it the tsarist general Paskevič was compared to Xmel'nyc'kyj and was praised for suppressing the Polish uprising.[46]

Somov was also a well-known critic and a theoretician of Russian Romanticism. In his "O romantičeskoj poezii" (On Romantic Poetry, 1823) he outlined the development of Romanticism in Russia as compared to other European literatures. He hoped that Russian poetry would follow its own path and saw great potentialities in the literary exploitation of Russia's history. Equally rich to him seemed the national characteristics of the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Crimea and Siberia, all of which he regarded as inseparable parts of Russia. "How many different appearances," he wrote, "dispositions and customs present themselves to the inquisitive eye in the size of total Russia. Without mentioning the Russians proper, here are the Little Russians with their delightful songs and glorious reminiscences. There you will find the militant sons of the quiet Don and the brave settlers of the Zaporožian Sič, all of them united in ardent faith and love of the fatherland, having different characteristics in their dispositions and appearances."[47]

Characteristic of the aura which the Ukraine possessed in the period of Sentimentalism and early Romanticism is Kul'žyns'kyj's comment on the nature of Ukrainian poetry.

> The prophetic bards, whose strings like a thunder sang the glory of Vladimir, were of course the Polane or Severjane, that is forefathers of our Little Russians. Who knows, perhaps even Bojan himself has descendants living among us in the neighbourhood of Kiev, Lubeč or Černigov? Maybe the Little Russian face which I often meet on my walks, one with small mustaches, shaven head, with black eyes full of fire and feeling, is a copy of the faces of people who with harps in their hands sat at the table of the Russian Sun [Vladimir]. Laugh at me if you like, my friends, but I raise my hat with the greatest respect before one blind man who with a *bandura* on his back and a stick in his hand comes to our village

---

[45] Z. V. Kyryljuk, *O. Somov, krytyk ta beletryst puškins'koji epoxy* (Kiev, 1965).

[46] In the latest Soviet study by Kyryljuk no mention is made of Somov's Ukrainian poem. It is not clear whether this work has now been declared lacking in authenticity or has been bypassed because it does not fit the image of Somov as a "progressive" writer.

[47] O. Somov, "O romantičeskoj poezii," *Sorevnovatel' prosveščenija i blagotvorenija,* 1823, No. 24, II, p. 131. See also N. I. Mordovčenko, *Russkaja kritika pervoj četverti XIX veka* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1959).

every summer, surrounded by pretty girls and plays and sings to them his songs which arouse in our memories the famous deeds of our forefathers.[48]

Kul'žyns'kyj paints Ukrainian history in sombre but vivid colours. "The whole of Little Russia today is nothing but a vast cemetery preserving the remains of the old warriors who gave their lives to their fatherland. Near every city one can come across a long row of ancient burial mounds – witnesses to the people's bravery."[49] The golden time of the Ukraine was the age of the Cossacks, the "independent and proud people" whom Kul'žyns'kyj does not hesitate to compare to the Romans. The Zaporožian adhered strictly to the discipline of the Sič, "the arrows of Amor made no impression on his heart... The Cossack was oblivious to the fact that mankind does not consist of horsemen alone that there is another, beautiful and gentle sex."[50] Here, in a nutshell, is the image of the romantic Ukraine which writers like Kul'žyns'kyj evoked for their Russian readers with so much success. As for the Ukrainian language, Kul'žyns'kyj, like his pupil Gogol', thought that "Up to the present day it has preserved its loveliest qualities. Just listen to the Little Russian songs – what grand simplicity of expression and feeling."[51] No wonder that occasionally Ukrainian songs, especially of the lachrymose variety, were paraphrased in Russian poetry (Del'vig).

Ryleev and Puškin

A radically different approach to the Ukraine is seen in the major works of the Russian poet Kondratij Ryleev (1795–1826), who was one of the leaders of the Decembrist revolt. Ryleev's interest in the Ukraine dated from his stay there in 1817–19 when he formed several friendships with Ukrainians and became interested in their history. His interest, however, was different from that of his contemporaries and led to an original interpretation. Like most Decembrists, Ryleev regarded the Ukraine as an inseparable part of Russia, but he came to see in Ukrainian Cossack history a special lesson which was relevant to the Russian politics of his day. This lesson could be drawn from the Ukrainian wars of liberation in which the Cossacks developed their own democratic way of life which they opposed to the despotism of Polish kings and Russian tsars alike. The Cossack wars had another appeal for him: they produced many famous and colourful leaders who

---

[48] I. Kulžynskij, "Nekotorve zamečanija kasatel'no istorii i xaraktera malorossijskoj poezii," *Ukrainskij žurnal,* 1825, I, 45.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[50] *Ibid.*, III, 181.
[51] *Ibid.*, I, 46–47.

served as ideal prototypes of strong-willed men. Ryleev's close friend and fellow Decembrist Fjodor Glinka conceived of a gallery of "strong men" of Russian history and had himself contributed a historical novel *Zinovij Bogdan Xmel'nic'kij ili osvoboždennaja Malorossija* (Zinovij Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj or Little Russia Liberated, 1816, 1819).[52] There was also the additional attraction of the ultimate failure and doom of the Cossacks, who, after all, had failed to create an independent Ukraine. All this fused in Ryleev's imagination with his political ideas. While he was writing his greatest "Ukrainian" poem *Vojnarovskij* (1824) Ryleev was deeply committed to the Decembrist conspiracy and was in fact one of its leaders. It is natural, therefore, that he searched for a hero (Mazepa, Vojnarovs'kyj) as totally committed as he himself was to the cause of freedom.

Ryleev's first interest in the Ukraine showed itself in a collection of historical ballads which he called *Dumy* (1821–23) after the Ukrainian epic songs. These poems, influenced by Karamzin's *History* and the *Śpiewy historyczne* of the Polish Classicist writer Niemcewicz, had almost nothing in common with the *dumy*. Two of them are devoted to Ukrainian topics ("Xmel'nickij," "Pëtr Velikij v Ostrogožske") if one does not count those which deal with the Kievan Rus'. Philosophically, the *Dumy* represent a discussion of the ideal monarch and ideal citizen and end in a glorification of the ancient and medieval freedoms of Russia.[53] Artistically, they are the product of late Classicism. Puškin considered them "weak in invention and exposition,"[54] but praised Ryleev's next work, *Vojnarovskij*, which is generally considered to be his best.

Vojnarovskij may be read on two levels. First, it is a story of a well known follower and relative of Mazepa, who after the Het'man's defeat at Poltava escaped to Hamburg where he was apprehended by Russian agents, taken to Russia and exiled to Jakutia. There one day he was found in utter deprivation by the famous German-Russian historian Miller. Ryleev relates Vojnarovs'kyj's reminiscences of his collaboration with Mazepa who appears as a devoted leader of his people rather than as a sinister plotter against Peter the Great. To be sure, he is not altogether attractive, but Vojnarovs'kyj's loyalty to him never wavers and this saves Mazepa from being a negative type. A faint Byronic touch may be seen in the appearance of the "young Cossack maiden" who then marries the hero and is reunited with him in exile.

Of the deeper meaning of *Vojnarovskij* we become aware only when we realize that the poet was deeply involved politically and attempted to inspire his fellow Decembrists by his poem. In *Vojnarovskij* Ryleev attempted to

---

[52] L. A. Lebedeva, "Ukrainskaja tema v tvorčestve dekabristov," *Literaturovedenie, Trudy kafedry russkoj literatury* (Lviv, 1958), II.

[53] B. Galster, *Twórczość Rylejewa na tle prądów epoki* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków), p. 63.

[54] A. S. Puškin, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij* (Leningrad, 1937–49), XIII, 175.

show a hero devoted entirely to the idea of political liberty. The singlemindedness and devotion of the hero are the answers to the problem of treason which preyed on the minds of the Russian conspirators. Vojnarovs'kyj and Mazepa act against the tsar, breaking their oath of loyalty to him just as the Decembrists were about to do. Ryleev's knowledge of their failure is prophetic. Yet no regret is shown in the poem and the attempt to break the despotism of the tsar in the name of freedom remains justified.[55]

Seen in this light the poem does not raise the issue which would interest Ukrainians most: the problem of a national war of liberation led by Mazepa against Peter. However, even if Ryleev did not want to raise the national issue, his contemporary readers wondered wly he chose Mazepa and Vojnarovs'kyj to personify the opposition to the tsar. Ryleev's ambivalence towards Mazepa is puzzling. On the one hand, along with Vojnarovs'kyj the Ukrainian het'man opposes the tsar. On the other hand, it is clear that Ryleev was not fond of the old Het'man. In the poem he is "sullen," "austere," and "sly." The life story of Mazepa by A. Kornilovič which Ryleev published as an introduction to the poem is also unfavourable to Mazepa. Finally, in the notes to an unfinished tragedy, *Mazepa,* Ryleev's characterization of the Het'man is also uncomplimentary. Yet it is difficult to agree with Cejtlin's conclusion that Ryleev did not at all think of the Ukrainian rebels of the early eighteenth century but only of the Russian revolutionaries.[56] The fact remains that many of Ryleev's Russian friends thought that the choice of Mazepa was in bad taste. Puškin himself, while praising the poem, disagreed with Ryleev's interpretation of history and wrote his *Poltava* partly "in reply" to Ryleev. Ryleev's "error" was simply that he could not realize that for the next generation of Ukrainians Mazepa might become a symbol of national independence. But then, he did not write the poem for the Ukrainians.

Ryleev contemplated a long poem about another Cossack hero, Nalyvajko, of which only some fragments have come down to us. The fragments from *Nalivajko* (1824–25) are based largely on the *Istorija Rusov* and therefore reflect a more consistently positive interpretation of Ukrainian history. The hero is the embodiment of the Ukrainian desire to wrest freedom from the Poles and to restore the Ukraine to its former glory. It is interesting that Ryleev considered the Kiev Rus' to be a part of the Ukraine since the first fragment "Kiev" describes the ancient city in its first flowering. Nalyvajko is preparing himself for the war of liberation although he knows that "destruction awaits him" who first rebels against the oppressors of the people. He is ready to sacrifice himself because his belief in ultimate success is firm although he is dismayed by the apathy of those around him. One fragment, in particular, the "Ispoved' Nalivajki" (Confession of Nalyvajko) remained

---

[55] Galster, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–25.

[56] A. G. Cejtlin, *Tvorčestvo Ryleeva* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 188–9.

for a long time the highlight of revolutionary sentiment in literature. The Ukrainian historian and poet Markevyč thanked Ryleev for this poem in a letter written in 1825:

> Allow me to write to you as a true citizen of his beloved fatherland, as a good Little Russian. Can I, therefore, read without emotion *Vojnarovskij* and *Nalivajko?* Accept, my esteemed Kondratij Fedorovič, my gratitude and that of all the compatriots known to me. Be assured that our gratitude is sincere, that in the depth of our hearts we feel the value of your works which glorify the deeds of our forefathers. We have not yet lost sight of the achievements of great Little Russian statesmen; in many hearts the former force of feeling and devotion to the fatherland has not diminished. You will still find among us the spirit of Polubotok.[57]

Among the unpublished works of Ryleev dealing with Ukrainian history is a fragment of the tragedy *Bogdan Xmel'nickij,* based on the history of the Ukraine by Bantyš–Kamens'kyj. The prologue was first published in 1954.[58] An interesting feature is its emphasis on the social and historical background rather than on moralistic didacticism. Recently, Ryleev's reply to the letter from Markevyč quoted above, written at the time of his writing the tragedy, has been discovered. In it Ryleev explains some of his reasons for his abiding interest in the Ukraine.

> Now let me thank you for the flattering ending of your letter. I am a Russian, but I lived three years in the Ukraine. Although this was a short time it was sufficient to fall in love with that country and its kind inhabitants. More than this, the Ukraine gave me my rare and incomparable wife. For six years my kind Ukrainian wife has made me happy. Thus to my attachment is added eternal gratitude to Little Russia. I wrote as I felt and I never thought that my weak efforts would deserve such flattering comments from the descendants of Xmel'-nickij and Nalivajko. You are not the only one; many of your compatriots wrote to me in a similar vein. This is a prize which will always leave me in debt to your country. May God give me strength and opportunity to repay a little the kindness of your countrymen.[59]

Ryleev's treatment of the Ukraine was in a literary sense more sophisticated than that of his Ukrainian contemporaries. The greatest advantage he had over them was his detachment from the Ukraine which enabled him to deal with the country not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. The end was a universal literary theme (freedom versus despotism, sacrifice versus tyranny) in which the Ukraine served as a vehicle. The raising of a Ukrainian topic to a universal level was an achievement sadly lacking in Ukrainian literature. Future writers could learn this from Ryleev.

---

[57] "K literaturnoj i obščestvennoj istorii 1820–1830 gg." *Russkaja starina,* 1888, No. 12, p. 599. Pavlo Polubotok (1660–1724), Het'man of the Ukraine, a staunch autonomist.

[58] *Literaturnoe nasledstvo,* vol. 59.

[59] *Ibid.,* pp. 153–54.

The fascination which the Ukraine had cast over the entire creative career of Ryleev also touched, although much less strongly, Alexander Puškin. During his infrequent and brief visits to the Ukraine Puškin remained aloof from Ukrainian life. One of his friends, Arkadij Rodzjanko, was a Ukrainian landowner who wrote verses (some of them in Ukrainian) of doubtful quality. The impression of Ukrainian literature which Pushkin might have received from him was also probably negative, although at the same time Rodzjanko was known for his "Ukrainian gentryfolk *(dvorjanskij)* nationalism."[60] Other Ukrainians Puškin knew (Maksymovyč, Hrebinka, Somov) were much better informed. Puškin's interest in the Ukraine as a literary topic also remained limited. Scorning Byron's treatment of a Ukrainian theme in *Mazepa* which held a strong attraction for European Romantics, Puškin, like Ryleev, was drawn to that mysterious figure in Ukrainian history. In 1828 in a fit of poetic inspiration he wrote in a very brief period of time a long poem *Poltava* (1829). For his haste in writing it Puškin later offered the following revealing explanation:

> ... What a repugnant object for an artist is the person of Mazepa. Not one fine or noble emotion. Not a single consoling feature. Seduction, hostility, treason, slyness, pusillanimity, violence ... Strong characters and a deep tragic shadow cast over all those horrors – that is what captivated me. I wrote *Poltava* in a few days; I could not occupy myself with it any longer, I would have had to give it up.[61]

It is also very likely that Puškin's poem was to be an answer to Mickiewicz's *Konrad Wallenrod* which was then quite popular in Russia. Mickiewicz's heroic traitor was to be rebuffed by Puškin's despicable deceiver.[62]

At first the title was to be *Mazepa* but the change to Poltava signified an attempt to play down the romantic element at the expense of history. For like *Boris Godunov* before it, *Poltava* must be regarded as a historical even political work. Not only did Puškin surround himself with every conceivable source (Bantyš-Kamens'kyj, Golikov, Kornilovič, Lesur, but not *Istorija Rusov* which he received later) while writing the poem, but in his prefatory note and published remarks he made it clear that *Poltava* was an attempt at an interpretation of history. Therefore the love story of Mazepa and Marija Kočubej does not remain at the centre of the poem but gives way to Mazepa's schemings against Peter, his defeat at Poltava and his death at Bendery. Ultimately, Mazepa is condemned not as the seducer of a young

---

[60] O. Bilec'kyj, "Puškin i Ukrajina," *Zibrannja prac' v pjaty tomax* (Kiev, 1966), IV, 195.

[61] "Vozraženie kritikam 'Poltavy'," (Published in *Sovremennik,* 1838) *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij,* XI, 409.

[62] See Wacław Lednicki, "Mickiewicz's Stay in Russia and His Friendship with Pushkin," *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 45–50.

girl or the executioner of her father, but as a traitor to Russia who cunningly allied himself with Charles XII to gain for the Ukraine independence from Russia.

Puškin analyzes Mazepa's motives for his action as personal ambition and revenge over Peter who once insulted the Het'man by pulling his mustache. When some critics queried these Puškin fiercely defended their alleged historical truth. "In my poem," he claimed, "Mazepa acts exactly as he did in history and his speeches explain him as a historical character."[63] In fact, however, the "historical Mazepa" remains a figment of the poet's imagination. At times, in his "dark moods" he behaves like a Byronic hero. In his historical role, as the leader of the rebellious Cossacks, Mazepa is portrayed as an unmitigated villain but his villainy remains unconvincing. In order to condemn Mazepa the reader must accept Puškin's premise that Mazepa's treason was to the Ukraine's disadvantage. From the point of view of modern (and not only Ukrainian) historiography such a contention is debatable. Michael Florinsky admits that although Mazepa was "a traitor and a villain according to the official Russian historiography," he "was motivated by the legitimate and honourable desire to safeguard the autonomy of his country and to save it from destruction by siding with the probable winner, although his methods were those of the most unscrupulous politician."[64] One does not have to look at *Poltava* from the twentieth century Ukrainian point of view,[65] to feel the inadequacy of Puškin's historical interpretation. It stems from his attitude to the Ukraine. On the one hand he acknowledges that the Ukrainian Cossacks were eager "to wage war against hated Moscow," and on the other hand he regards their alliance with the Swedes as treason. Puškin's aim, according to the epigraph he chose for the poem, was to glorify the "triumphant tsar". In doing this he, as it were, superimposed Peter and his victory at Poltava on the original and narrower conception of the poem – Mazepa's entanglement in a love affair and politics. The result was, as Belinskij pointed out, artistically unsatisfactory. Top heavy with Russian nationalism the poem does not engage the reader. Its poetic merits, and there are many of these, are unrelated to the main theme. In the Ukraine, Puškin's influence was stronger in the 1830's than a decade later. The Xarkiv Romantics (Borovykovs'kyj, Špyhoc'kyj) as well as Hrebinka, whose translation of *Poltava* still showed strong traces of the burlesque style, found in Puškin many affinities and precepts, while the Kievan poets sought new directions.

Was Ukrainian history a proper subject for Russian writers? Up to this

---

[63] A. S. Puškin, "Vozraženie kritikam 'Poltavy'," *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij,* XI, 164. The historical truthfulness of *Poltava* was also upheld by Maksymovyč in *Atenej,* May, 1829.

[64] M. T. Florinsky, *Russia; A History and an Interpretation* (New York, 1955), I, 339–40.

[65] John P. Pauls, *Pushkin's Poltava* (New York, 1962).

time most, though not all, Ukrainian writers and all Russian writers regarded Ukrainian history as a part of Russian history. Once again, Puškin is a good exponent of this view not only in his poem *Poltava* but in his unpublished notes for a history of the Ukraine.[66] Soon after completing his *Poltava* Puškin conceived the idea of writing a history of the Ukraine. All we have left of this project is a brief outline, some notes on the Ukraine in French (dealing mostly with the Kievan Rus') and his commentary on a chapter of *Istorija Rusov* which was printed in *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary). In spite of being very scanty Puškin's notes on Ukrainian history, concludes Oksman, were written with the definite purpose of counteracting pro-Polish sympathies in Western Europe.[67] His French notes contained the following phrase: "Sous le nom d'Ukraine ou de Petit-Russie l'on entend une grande étendue de terrain réunie au colosse de la Russie . . ."[68]

Such a view of the Ukraine was not only typical of Russians but also of those Ukrainians who, like Gogol', felt themselves a part of Russian culture. In the 1830's this view was prevalent both in Russia and the Ukraine, and not until a decade later were a few new voices raised against it. This is all the more remarkable because they were raised against a figure which dominated the Ukrainian-Russian scene. That figure, firmly set beside Puškin, yet infinitely more complex and puzzling, is that of Nikolaj Gogol'. He was to become the best representative of the "Ukrainian school" in Russian literature. His art embraced and expressed the entire range of feelings which the Ukraine evoked in Russian letters, from the exotic and the sentimental to the symbolic and the historical.

---

[66] Ju. Oksman, "Iz razyskanij o Puškine; neosuščestvlennyj zamysel istorii Ukrainy," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Moscow, 1952), vol. 58.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

PART TWO

IV

GOGOL'

There is a correlation between the rise of Ukrainian literature and Russian interest in the Ukraine. Both events occurred just prior to and during the first decade of the reign of Nicholas I which was a period of deep political reaction. The Decembrist revolt had little influence on the Ukraine and the Polish uprising led to an intensified policy of Russification. Had there been a more liberal atmosphere in Russia, literary developments would have been different. As it was, both Russians and Ukrainians accepted the relationship of "elder and younger brother" which has prevailed as the official attitude until today. The Russians assumed the patronizing role of encouraging the expression of "Little Russian *narodnost'*," and reacted favourably to the introduction of Ukrainian themes into Russian literature. The Ukrainians exploited these opportunities to the full and rarely asked for more. No one in the Ukraine had yet protested against the dominance of Russian language which was universally accepted by the Ukrainian middle and upper class. The peasants alone remained distinctly Ukrainian but they had no spokesman. Their influence on the Ukrainian intelligentsia slowly began to grow since they possessed two resources of literary and aesthetic validity: language and folklore. So far, these were used sparingly by writers and scholars, though they must have sown their seeds in the soil of national consciousness. As yet, however, the Ukrainian gentry showed no populist sympathies and held on firmly to their estate consciousness inherited from the eighteenth century. Although intellectuals and writers coming from this gentry inclined to defend the status quo they began to show some ambivalence in their attitude to Russia. For most of them (from Kotljarevs'kyj and Gogol''s father to Kvitka and Hrebinka) it was perfectly possible to reconcile their Ukrainian interests with their loyalty to Russia and to write in both languages. Yet their literary contribution in Ukrainian counted for more than their Russian works and they were pleased with their acceptance in the Ukraine without caring much about their status in Russia. Besides, their Ukrainian reputation gave them the place of minor writers in the Empire.

For a writer in the Ukraine who had great literary ambitions such a rôle was hardly acceptable. To write in what was still commonly regarded as a "Little Russian dialect" could not appeal to anyone who wanted to be

widely known and competently criticised. Therefore the temptation to join the Russian literary process was overwhelming. At the same time for a Ukrainian to succeed as a modern Russian writer was not as easy as it was in the eighteenth century. Culturally and intellectually, the Ukraine became more and more provincial. Who from the provinces could vie with a Žukovskij or a Puškin? On the other hand, an "outsider" had certain advantages over the St. Peterburg élite. He could break fresh ground and give Russian literature new direction. In any case he would have to be exceptionally gifted and not afraid of breaking ties with his native land. Such a man was Nikolaj Gogol'.

The Origins

Gogol"s name in Ukrainian is pronounced and spelt Hohol'. Both in Russian and in Ukrainian the word *gogol' (hohol')* is the name of a bird, the golden eye. Aware of his ornithological name Gogol' attached greater importance to its historical associations. The name Gogol' could be found in the pages of the Cossack chronicles and the *Istorija Rusov* itself. It was the name of a Cossack colonel, Ostap Gogol' (Hohol'), who played a prominent part among the Cossacks in the second half of the seventeenth century. In most of the accounts which mention Ostap Gogol' he figures as a friend of the Poles, although once he served Het'man Dorošenko, a Cossack ally of the Turks. For his services to the Poles, especially for surrendering to them the fortress of Mohyliv, Ostap Gogol' was given by the Polish king the nominal title of Het'man.

Was Gogol' the Cossack an ancestor of Gogo'l the writer? The writer believed this to be so because he did not know all the facts. Today we can try to reconstruct the history of Gogol"s family but the task is difficult and does not lead to a clear-cut conclusion.

The original name of the Gogol' (Hohol"s) family was Janovs'kyj. Nikolaj Gogol"s paternal grandfather Opanas Demjanovyč was the first to add the name Hohol' (Gogol') before his last name, Janovs'kyj. This he did on the strength of a petition to obtain the status of a noble which was granted to him by Catherine II. Himself the son and grandson of a village priest he married Tetjana Lyzohub, the daughter of a wealthy Cossack nobleman whose dowry included the estate of Vasylivka with some 300 serfs. When, in 1785, an edict of Catherine II made it mandatory for landowners of inhabited estates to be nobles, Opanas Demjanovyč had a strong desire to become a noble, since this would put him on an equal footing with his wife, on whose estate he lived. In a petition which he presented to the government in 1788 he claimed that his great-great-grandfather was

the Mohyliv colonel Andrej Gogol'. From him Opanas claimed direct descent through great-grandfather Prokop and grandfather Jan. All of them were Polish nobles and Jan was the one who came over to the Russian side and settled in the town of Kononovka near Lubny. Opanas further claimed that his father Demjan called himself Janovs'kyj after his father's first name, Jan.[1] All he wanted to achieve by his petition was to recover the name and the nobility of his ancestors, the Gogol's.

In support of his petition Gogol's grandfather enclosed a Polish documet testifying the granting of an estate to colonel Gogol' (without mentioning his first name) by the Polish king. While there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the Polish document, there is a serious flaw in the entire argument put up by Gogol"s grandfather. From other sources[2] we know that in 1697 a priest, Jan Jakovlevič, was put in charge of a church in Lubny. No surname was mentioned in his certificate of induction. In 1723 he was moved to the town of Kononovka, a small parish nearby. It was here that his son Demjan, who after his father's death inherited the parish, took the family name of Janovs'kyj from his father's first name. Demjan Janovs'kyj had two sons. One of them took over the parish, the other Opanas, was Gogol"s grandfather. If one compares this humble genealogy with Opanas' petition one discovers several flaws in the latter. In the petition Jan is the son of Prokop. In real life he was Jan Jakubovič, son of Jakiv (Jakub). Jan was never a noble but a village priest. Last of all, since the Polish document mentioned no first name for colonel Gogol', Opanas supplied Andrej instead of the correct one – Ostap.[3]

The link between the Gogol's and the Janovs'kyjs is rather tenuous, but not impossible. Though there appears to be some illegality in Opanas' claim, more research is needed to solve this problem. It would be wrong to claim that the writer's grandfather obtained his status fraudulently and that he was a social upstart. After all, Opanas Demjanovyč married into one of the foremost Ukrainian noble families – the Lyzohubs and Nikolaj Gogol' could claim his nobility more appropriately from his grandmother Tetjana Semenivna than from his grandfather Opanas. Semen Lyzobuh was the grand-

---

[1] O. (=A) Lazarevs'kyj, "Svedenija o predkax Gogolja," *Čtenija v istoričeskom obščestve Nestora Letopisca* (Kiev, 1902), XVI, 1–3. See also: Leon Stilman, "Nikolai Gogol: Historical and Biographical Elements in His Creative Personality," Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1953; also his "Nikolaj Gogol and Ostap Hohol," *Orbis scriptus: Dmitrij Tschižewskij zum 70 Geburtstag* (Munich, 1966). The most recent study of Gogol's ancestry is by O. Ohloblyn, *Predky Mykoly Hoholja* (Munich, 1968). It offers a wealth of genealogical material and does not rule out the possibility of a link between the Volhynian (Ostap, the Cossack colonel) and the Poltavan (Nikolaj, the writer) Gogol's. However, evidence confirming this is still lacking. According to a very recent report in the Soviet Ukrainian press (*Molod' Ukrajiny,* February 1, 1970) new documents have been found which confirm the link between Ostap and Nikolaj Gogol'.

[2] Lazarevśkyj, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 9–10; Stilman, Thesis, pp. 90 ff.

son of Het'man Skoropads'kyj and son-in-law of the Perejaslav colonel, Vasyl' Tans'kyj. In this way Gogol' was distantly related to the well-known eighteenth century Ukrainian poet Tans'kyj, the author of short comic interludes. It was, however, Opanas who provided him with the name Gogol'. Contrary to some of Gogol"s biographers (Belyj), his grandfather was not a social upstart. A student of the Kiev Academy and a son of a priest he later turned to a military career, a switch not uncommon in the Ukraine. Eventually he rose to the responsible position of regimental secretary and retired with a rank equivalent to major which in itself entitled him to *dvorjanstvo*.[4]

Not knowing all the historical facts Gogol' believed that his lineage was noble, going back to the legendary colonel Gogol'. This reinforced his deep attachment to his land to which he was linked, so he thought, by the ties of historical distinction. Although he rarely mentioned colonel Gogol' and had some difficulty in remembering his first name, Gogol' always considered himself a *dvorjanin* of ancient ancestry.

Between Vasylivka and Kybynci

Gogol' was born on April 1, 1809, in Velyki Soročynci. His parents' home was about thirty miles away, but the physician under whose care his mother was placed lived in Soročynci. The seat of the Gogol' family was the small estate of Vasylivka, sometimes called Janovščyna. The nearest town was Myrhorod on the Xorol river, which is a tributary of the Psel, itself a tributary of the Dnieper. The area intersected by the rivers Sula, Xorol, Psel, Holtva and Vorskla was familiar to the young Gogol' whose childhood was spent in Vasylivka and whose first school was in Poltava on the Vorskla. This area, native to both of Gogol"s parents, was rich in historical associations.

During the Kievan era these lands belonged to the principality of Perejaslav which bore the brunt of the Mongolian attacks in the thirteenth century. The river Sula is mentioned in the *Slovo* as a boundary of the Polovcian territory. It was, however, later, during the Cossack era, that Gogol"s native area became the scene of many battles, rebellions and exploits. In the 1630's the Cossack Het'man Ostrjanyn more commonly known as Ostrjanycja, led an unsuccessful revolt against the Poles at first winning and then losing battles on the rivers Holtva and Sula. Later, during the hetmancies of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and Ivan Vyhovs'kyj some of the most famous Cossack leaders came from that area. In the town of Hadjač an

---

[4] O. Ohloblyn, *Predky Mykoly Hoholja* (Munich, 1968), pp. 16–21.

important treaty was concluded with the Poles in 1658. During the Het'man era the well-known Cossack regiments had their headquarters at Lubny, Myrhorod and Hadjač, and it was at Poltava that Mazepa in 1709 led his Cossacks in support of Charles XII in an ill-fated battle against Peter the First.

We have an account, full of historical allusions, of Maksymovyč's visit to Gogol"s country in 1850.

> I reached Lubny on August 8th. While leaving the town across the river Sula I at last found Solonica, well recorded in history. This is a large village surrounded by salt marshes but now without the trenches in which Hetman Nalivajko desperately defended himself and was taken prisoner. I spent the night at Romodan on the way from Loxvica to Kremenčug built in the seventeenth century by Prince Romodanovskij. At sunrise I was in the church in Kibinci where the famous proprietor of that village, Troščinskij, is buried... In Mirgorod I stopped to feed the horses and to drink some tea. Nowhere could I learn where Vasilievka was... The reason was that Vasilievka is known among the [common] people as Janovščina... As a lover of antiquity I had nothing to do in Mirgorod, impoverished and recently ravaged by fire. Although it was regarded as one of the oldest Ukrainian regimental cities and its colonels were well known the headquarters of the Mirgorod regiment was for a long time in Soročinci on the river Psel... The town of Soročinci was up to 1782 a company town of the Mirgorod regiment. In the old days it was called Krasnopol'... The town reached its flowering during the lifetime of Danilo Pavlovič Apostol who was for forty-five years the Mirgorod colonel and for six years Hetman. A memorial to his hetmancy is the beautiful stone church in Soročinci which he had built... We crossed the Psel and reached Vasilievka at night. It was a real pleasure for me to ride with Gogol' across the steppes which had nursed him from the days of his childhood. And never did I see him so uplifted as during that Ukrainian night...[5]

One of Gogol"s first prose works, an excerpt from a historical novel published in 1831,[6] had as its hero Het'man Ostrjanycja. While including it in his *Arabesques* Gogol' added the following footnote which provides a clue to his plans. "From a novel entitled *Het'man*. The first part of it was written and burnt because the author was dissatisfied with it; two chapters, printed in periodical publications, are included in this collection."[7] Another three fragments of *Het'man* have also been discovered so that we have altogether four unrelated episodes from this novel.[8] They do not tell us much about the plot but some of the scenes foreshadow *Taras Bul'ba*. Fragments of *Het'man* show the first sign of Gogol"s abiding interest in Ukrainian history. Were they also an attempt to establish his own identity? Cossack

---

[5] M. A. Maksimovič, "Rodina Gogolja," *Sobranie sočinenij* (Kiev, 1877), II, 356–58.

[6] "Glava iz istoričeskogo romana," *Severnye cvěty*, 1831.

[7] N. V. Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij* (Moscow, 1937–52, 14 vols.) III, 712. Subsequently referred to as Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie*.

[8] All published in vol. III of the collected edition.

history made a vital impact on young Gogol'. He believed that his own forefathers were among its makers. Fascination with his country's past, however, led him later to historical themes in literature, not to a reawakened national consciousness.

A second influence on Gogol"s creative personality also stems from his childhood. This was the natural beauty of the Ukraine which more specifically meant for him the physical environment of Vasylivka. Grigorij Danilevskij left the following description of the place:

> There they are, the places where Gogol"s happy childhood was spent. A wide clearing on the slope of a hill. To the right the buildings of the *xutir,* clean, painted white and yellow, in the shade of charming orchards. On the left a patch, a kind of huge kitchen garden, in the middle of it, facing the *xutir,* are lime trees and willows. In front of the enclosure stands a stone church with a green roof. The wall around the church is made of bricks painted yellow and white; the bricks are laid latticewise. The church is between the garden and the *xutir;* opposite, touching the buildings of the *xutir,* is a new enclosure. Beyond it is a frame manor, one storey high, with a red roof; its wing stretches to the right, to the left are other dwellings. Behind the manor is an orchard; behind the orchard, ponds, and behind the ponds the limitless plains of the Ukrainian steppes.[9]

Once again it is the neighbouring river Psel which personifies Gogol"s attachment to his native part of the Ukraine. This is a description in the "Soročinci Fair":

> The river Psel came into travellers' view; even from afar they had felt its cool freshness, the more welcome after the exhausting scorching heat. Through the dark and light green foliage of the birches and poplars, carelessly scattered over the plain, there were glimpses of the cold glitter of the water; and the lovely river exposed its shining silvery bosom, over which the green tresses of the trees drooped luxuriantly. Wilful as a beauty in those enchanting hours when her faithful mirror so nicely framed her proud, dazzling brow, her lily-white shoulders and her marble neck shrouded by the dark waves of her hair, when with disdain she flung aside one ornament to replace it by another and there was no end to her whims, the river almost every year changed its course, picked out a new channel and surrounded itself with new and varied scenes.[10]

As Stilman points out, the soft, feminine image of Psel is symbolic of the inner, secure world of Gogol' which extends into a wider, turbulent world represented by another favourite river of Gogol' – the Dnieper.[11] The Ukrainian landscape, which Gogol' later recalled nostalgically in St. Petersburg, usually had a deep influence on the Ukrainian Romantics whose lyricism was intensified by it. At first Gogol' reacted to it similarly, but after

---

[9] First published in *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 1852, No. 124. Here quoted from Nikolaj M. (P. Kuliš), *Opyt biografii N. V. Gogolja* (St. Petersburg, 1854), pp. 30–31.

[10] N. Gogol, *Evenings Near the Village of Dikanka* (New York, Frederick Ungar, n. d.), p. 20.

[11] Stilman, Thesis, pp. 45–46.

a splendid depiction of it in his early works, he abandoned it altogether. Yet his later terror of the city would not have been so stark were it not for the fact that it contrasted with the Ukrainian countryside.

Both of Gogol"s parents came from the same neighbourhood. Vasyl' Gogol' married Marija Ivanovna Kosjarovs'ka, the daughter of a neighbouring landowner, in 1805, when the bride was only fourteen years old. They settled in Vasylivka which was an estate with 400 serfs. There was also a distillery and a tavern on the estate and four times a year a fair was held at which young Gogol' could observe at first hand the events which he later depicted in the *Evenings on a Farm near Dikan'ka*. Gogol"s mother, a deeply religious woman, and his grandmother, Tetjana Semenivna Lyzohub, instilled in the child a love of Ukrainian folklore while from his father Gogol' inherited a love of formal gardening and a somewhat melancholy disposition. There is no doubt that Gogol' had a good knowledge of Ukrainian which was spoken in the family household, although Russian was used on formal occasions. Later, several of Gogol"s friends testified to his knowledge of Ukrainian. We also know that Gogol' always spoke Ukrainian to the servants.

The explanation of this bilingualism may be found in the earliest environment of Gogol"s life. Vasylivka was an essentially Ukrainian milieu, but the lives of its inhabitants were closely linked with another powerful center of influence. This was Kybynci, the nearby estate of Dmytro Prokopovyč Troščyns'kyj.

A scion of an old Cossack family (Stepan Troščyns'kyj was the colonel of the Hadjač regiment in the early eighteenth century) Dmytro Prokopovyč made a brilliant career in the government service. From Catherine II he obtained the title of Secretary of State and large estates in the Ukraine, granted in recognition of his services. Troščyns'kyj occupied high government posts during the reigns of Paul I and Alexander I who appointed him Postmaster General. After his resignation in 1806, Troščyns'kyj retired to his Ukrainian estates but after the Napoleonic war he was persuaded by Alexander I to accept the post of Minister of Justice. He stayed in this high office from 1814 to 1817 when he again retired to Kybynci where he lived until his death in 1829. Troščyns'kyj was deeply attached to his native land. Kapnist's daughter records in her memoirs how Troščyns'kyj would ask his guests to "sing the well-known Little Russian song 'The Gull' which allegorically represented Little Russia as a bird which made its nest near the roads converging upon it from all sides. The wonderful music of the song and even more the meaning were so moving that, while listening to it, the venerable old Troščinskij often covered his face with his hand and wept."[12] Through her paternal aunt, Gogol"s mother was related to Troščyns'kyj. Gogol"s father was employed, although without a regular

---

[12] S. V. Kapnist-Skalon, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

salary, as a manager of the estate in Kybynci which boasted an excellent library, an art gallery and a theatre.

Troščyns'kyj's house was, as formerly during his stay in the capital,[13] a centre of literary life. Kapnist, a neighbour of the Gogol's, whose daughters took part in theatrical performances, was a frequent visitor to Kybynci. According to Gogol"s mother it was Kapnist who first noticed the literary inclinations of the five-year old Nikolaj and encouraged the parents to place him in the hands of a good teacher. Recent researches have established that Kapnist and Vasyl' Gogol' directed the theater at Kybynci which was referred to by contemporaries as the "Ukrainian Athens."[14] The repertory included Russian plays by Fonvizin, Krylov, Knjažnin, Zagoskin, Ozerov and Kapnist. The theater was the pride not only of Troščyns'kyj but also of the neighbouring Ukrainian nobility and gentry – the Murav'ev-Apostols, the Skalons, the Kapnists and the Lomykovs'kyjs who actively participated in it. The serfs performed minor parts in the plays and were admitted to the audience. The most active periods of the theater were 1806—1814 and 1822–25.

It was in Troščyns'kyj's theater that Vasyl' Gogol' became very active both as director and as one of the actors. His wife also performed on the Kybynci stage. Between 1822 and 1825, Vasyl' Gogol' wrote two vaudevilles for the Kybynci theater, *Prostak, ili xitrost' ženščiny perexitrennaja soldatom* (Simpleton, or a Woman's Slyness Outwitted by a Soldier) and *Sobaka-ovca* (Dog-Sheep). Only *Simpleton* has come down to us. It was strongly influenced by other vaudevilles of the day and by Kotljarevs'kyj. It was written mostly in Ukrainian, although the Russian characters in the play spoke Russian and the deacon used a mixture of Russian and Church-Slavonic. Some comic effects were achieved by the attempts of the Russians to speak Ukrainian.

We know that Gogol' had a high regard for his father's works and even thought of staging them in St. Petersburg. However, they represented for him the genre of low comedy in which the use of Ukrainian was very effective. But precisely because of this its use in literature was limited. Gogol' must have been acutely aware of the *patois* value of Ukrainian and this, no doubt, was one of the reasons which deterred him from using it in his own writings. The dominant atmosphere in Kybynci was that of Russian high society. Elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen who stayed there in large numbers with or without the host's invitation talked of the latest news from St. Petersburg and discussed the recent French novels. They were a part of the society in which Troščyns'kyj had reached such a high place. Ukrainian as he was, he was also the foremost Russian Empire builder and it was for him that young Gogol' felt so much admiration.

---

[13] N. L. Brodskij, *Literaturnye salony i kružki; pervaja polovina XIX veka* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1930), p. 41.

[14] O. Kazymyrov, *Ukrajins'kyj amators'kyj teatr: dožovtnevyj period* (Kiev, 1965), pp. 36–38.

Gogol"s schooling began at Poltava where he was a pupil at the local school from 1819 to 1821. In 1821 he was admitted to the *gimnazija* at Nižyn. During his second year he obtained a scholarship due to Troščyns'ky's intercession. The *gimnazija* was founded in 1820 by Count Illja Bezborod'ko, another prominent Ukrainian in the service of the tsars, the brother of Oleksandr, the personal secretary of Catherine II. The school, which was housed in the former palace of Bezborod'ko, was in 1832 transformed into a lyceum. It was one of the best schools in the country.

Gogol' was a mediocre student and even in the subject that interested him most, Russian literature, his marks were low. However, as is often the case, lack of academic success was not a sign of intellectual weakness. It was at Nižyn that Gogol' first became seriously engaged in literary activity. Here he wrote his historical tale *Bratja Tverdoslaviči* (The Brothers Tverdoslavič), the tragedy *Razbojniki* (The Robbers) and the satire *Nečto o Nežine ili durakam zakon ne pisan* (A Little about Nezhin or a Fool is a Law unto Himself), none of which has been preserved. He was also active as literary editor of various magazines (that is how he got to know Hrebinka) and participated in the theatrical performances at school. In these he truly distinguished himself and, according to one account, his acting was uproariously funny in a Ukrainian farce which Gogol' obtained from Kybynci. It is not impossible that this was one of his father's comedies.

Gogol's links with Ukrainian life became very tenuous. True, he was performing in a Ukrainian play and we know that he was fond of visiting the country around Nižyn and mixing with the peasants.[15] But the whole spirit of the life in the *gimnazija* was Russian and Gogol"s attention was devoted to things Russian.

Two political events left Gogol' almost completely untouched. The first was the police interrogation of one of his teachers, Belousov, who was accused of spreading anti-government propaganda in his lectures. Some of Belousov's colleagues and pupils were also involved in this. Although there is reason to believe that Gogol' was sympathetic towards them and was quite upset when Belousov was dismissed from his teaching post, the whole affair was of no great concern to him.[16] The attempt to find a link between this Nižyn liberal circle and Vasyl' Lukaševyč, the leader of the "Little Russian Secret Society" requires further proof.[17] Of even less consequence

---

[15] V. Gippius (ed.), *Gogol' v pis'max i vospominanijax* (Moscow, 1931), p. 15.

[16] S. Mašinskij, "Gogol' i delo o vol'nodumstve," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 58 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1952).

[17] M. Lysenko, "Do pytannja pro Malorosijs'ke Tovarystvo," *Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal*, 1967, No. 4, 73. Vasyl' Lukaševyč was also a member of the Kiev masonic lodge "United Slavs" which had as its motto "Jedność sławiańska" (Slavic

to Gogol' was the second event – the Decembrist uprising which sent shock waves through the entire Empire. The fact that throughout his life Gogol' maintained silence on this subject shows that his sympathies were not with the Decembrists. This was all the more strange since as a schoolboy Gogol' must have heard a great deal about the Decembrists who often congregated at Troščyns'kyj's estate in Kybynci. Kapnist's daughter records vividly how excited were the guests of Gogol"s benefactor during one night in November, 1825, when they heard of the tsar's death. "At night," she writes, "the Murav'ev-Apostols and Bestužev-Rjumins hastily left for an unknown destination."[18] Gogol' believed writers should not get mixed up in politics. His interests at Nižyn were literary. He asked his father to send him Puškin's *Eugene Onegin*[19] even before it began appearing in December 1824. With what scorn he could occasionally regard books dealing with the Ukraine we can see from a letter of March 19, 1827, to his former schoolmate Vysoc'kyj. "Now we witness funny stories and anecdotes with Ivan Grigorovič Kul'žinskij. He has just published his book under the title *The Little Russian Village*. This literary monstrosity is the cause of all his afflictions. Whenever he crosses the classroom they read to him excerpts from *The Little Russian Village* and our honourable 'Prince' gets terribly mad."[20]

Yet on the other hand, Gogol' felt the need to make notes about Ukrainian folklore and language in a scrapbook which he kept from 1826 to 1832. Entitled *Kniga vsjakoj vsjačiny ili područnaja enciklopedija* (A Book of Various Sundries or a Manual Encyclopaedia), it contained a wealth of secondhand information on everything from architectural designs to the destruction of trees in Europe. Although most of the notes on the Ukraine date from 1829–31, some were made as early as 1827. Obviously, the Ukraine had a place, although a small one, in Gogol"s search for encyclopaedic knowledge.

At the same time Gogol' was becoming critical of the life around him. His satire on Nižyn is a proof of that. There is a passage in one of his letters from June 26, 1827, to Vysoc'kyj, which expresses his feelings very clearly.

> How difficult it is to be buried together with creatures of low obscurity in a dead silence: You know all our existers *(suščestvovatelej)* all those inhabitants

---

unity). Its aim was to foster understanding between Russians, Poles and Ukrainians. Lukaševyč's role in these and other secret societies is shrouded in mystery for we know very little about him. A descendant of Cossack *staršyna* and a native of Perejaslav district, he was accused in 1807 of raising a toast to Napoleon. Apart from his activities as a mason he was supposed to have masterminded another secret society "Malorossijskoe tajnoe obščestvo" (Little Russian Secret Society). There is no evidence that Lukaševyč was connected with the Decembrists. He was arrested, then set free in 1826, being confined to his estate in Baryšpil'. (See M. Bužyns'kyj, "Do biohrafiji V. L. Lukaševyča," *Za sto lit*, No. 3).

[18] S. V. Kapnist-Skalon, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[19] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie*, X, 48.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

of Nežin. They have smothered the high destiny of man with their earthly crust, their contemptible self-satifaction. And I must cringe among these existers.[21]

Therefore, Gogol' fervently hoped to leave Nižyn as soon as he graduated. He could, of course, return home. His letters were full of nostalgia and he always looked forward to his holidays in Vasylivka. After the death of his father in 1825 his mother looked to him for support and hinted once or twice in her letters that she needed him back in Vasylivka. In one of his replies, Gogol' expressed some understanding of her plight and enquired about the economic condition of the estate advising that additional revenue could be obtained from the manufacture of clay shingles. But such sentiments were very short lived. Gogol' was determined to go to St. Petersburg. This desire was allconsuming and was connected with his other violent ambition – to succeed. He envied Vysoc'kyj who was already in St. Petersburg and poured out to him his dreams of joining him there. "In my thoughts," he wrote, "I jump to St. Petersburg. There I sit with you in a room, stroll with you along the boulevards, admire the Neva, the sea."[22] To his mother he confided that "if I think about anything now it is always about my future life. In my dreams and in reality I fancy St. Petersburg and together with it government service."[23] A little later, in March 1827, remembering his late father, Gogol' declared in a letter to his mother that his memory prompted him to test his "powers for the sake of an important and noble work; for the benefit of the country, for the happiness of its citizens . . ."[24] This idea was more fully developed in a letter to his uncle Petro Kosjarovs'kyj.

Perhaps I shall have to spend all my life in St. Petersburg. At least that is the goal which I sketched for myself long ago. From the earliest times, from the years when I could hardly understand anything I was fired with an unquenchable fervour to make my life useful for the good of the state, I was impatient to be even of the smallest use. Alarming thoughts that I would not be able to do it, that my path would be barred, that they would not give me the opportunity to be of some use threw me into deep despondency. The cold sweat appeared on my face at the thought that, perhaps, I should perish in the dust, without marking my name with a single beautiful act; to be in the world and not to mark it with one's own existence – that was terrible to me. I examined carefully all the conditions, all the functions in the state and stopped at one. At justice. I saw that here would be more work than anywhere else, that only here can I be of benefit, that only here shall I be truly useful to mankind.[25]

Although further in this letter Gogol' speaks of an "invisible force" which made him contemplate government service in this field, we can assume that

---

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 111–12.

it was really Troščyns'kyj, his benefactor, in whose steps he was so anxious to follow, with a secret hope that, like the former Minister of Justice, he would truly distinguish himself in St. Petersburg. Troščyns'kyj's influence on young Gogol' was a strong factor in favouring Russia over the Ukraine. As tsarist minister Troščyns'kyj pleaded with the monarch to abolish the Lithuanian law in the Ukraine and to introduce Russian law. While bursting into tears over Ukrainian songs this pillar of the Empire was ready to hasten the absorption of his country by Russia. His neighbour, Prince Viktor Kočubej, went even further in Russianizing zeal; he tried to introduce the Russian peasant commune system on his estate in Dykan'ka. Denigration of Ukrainian traditions by such Ukrainian nobles, which was later to arouse the anger of Ševčenko, was accepted by Gogol'.[26] The passion which drove him away from home made him quite oblivious of his attachment to the Ukraine. That there could be such an attachment Gogol' realized when he wrote again to his uncle, Kosjarovs'kyj, in September 1828.

> . . . I heard that you are planning to leave Little Russia forever. Do you really find it possible to leave those who you love you so much? Why did you make us so attached to you, so that your departure should plunge us all in bitter sorrow? Early in the winter I am going, without fail, to St. Petersburg, and from there, God knows, where I'll end up. It is quite possible that I will go to foreign lands and nothing will be heard of me for several years. I confess I do not feel

---

[26] An interesting comment on the role of Ukrainians in the tsarist government was left by Prince Dolgorukov in his travel impressions of the Ukraine in 1817: "Saying goodbye to the Ukraine I end my tale with one final observation. As far as I noticed, with my eyes and ears, Little Russia is not happy, regardless of the beneficent influence of nature. Her political sun does not warm her as much as the real sun does. She is exhausted, suffers all kinds of burdens and fully feels the loss of her free era. There are muted but almost universal complaints and the obvious signs of many disorders astonished me all the more because Little Russia always had at the foot of the throne some children nursed by her from early youth. There always were men at the thrones of Elizabeth, Catherine and other tsars who could protect her interests. The Rozumovskijs, the Zavadovskijs, the Bezborod'kos and many others were powerful magnates influential at court. But judging from the present condition of Little Russia one cannot see that anyone of them cared about the advantages of his country and improved her lot. It seems that a happy man forgets everything except himself and that for fortune's sake any country becomes a fatherland" (I. M. Dolgorukov, "Putešestvie v Kiev v 1817 godu," *Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri moskovskom universitete* [Moscow, 1870], II, 191).

Sometimes, paradoxically enough, the interests of the Ukraine were better served by Russians in the Ukraine than by Ukrainians in Russia. There is a revealing exchange between the Ukrainophile Prince Repnin who wanted to preserve Ukrainian military units and the Ukrainian Prince Kočubej who opposed them with these words: "Although I was born a xoxol, I am more Russian than anybody else . . . I look at the affairs of your province from the point of view of the common interests of our country. Microscopic views are not for me. (N. S. "K istorii malorossijskix kazakov v konce XVIII i v načele XIX veka," *Kievskaja starina*, 1897, vol. 59, II, p. 143).

> eager ever to return home, especially having been several times a witness of how our extraordinary mother struggles and toils, sometimes over a *kopek*, how these troubles are seriously ruining her health and everything in order to supply us with necessities and satisfy our whims.[27]

Although he obviously felt guilty of exploiting his mother, Gogol' pressed her hard to make even further sacrifices for him so that he could go to St. Petersburg. He asked her to sell some land and promised that one day he would repay her a hundredfold. All his attention was now concentrated on getting out of the Ukraine and making a career in the capital. Finally, on December 13, 1928, with his friend Oleksandr Danylevs'kyj, he left Vasylivka for St. Petersburg.

In St. Petersburg

The capital was not kind to the young man who wanted to take it by storm. Gogol' arrived in the middle of the winter, armed with letters of introduction from Troščyns'kyj. They failed to produce the expected miracle and he was without a job. His first impression of the city was almost totally negative. "I will tell you also," he wrote to his mother on January 3, 1829, "that St. Petersburg turned out to be not at all as I thought of it. I imagined it much more beautiful, more splendid . . ."[28] Disillusioned as he was Gogol' was determined to try other openings. This is how he became a writer.

From Nižyn he brought with him a long poem *Hans Küchelgarten,* which he now proceeded to have published at his own expense. Well hidden behind the penname of Alov, he awaited the verdict of the critics. When it came, Gogol' became so discouraged that he destroyed all the remaining copies of the poem and left St. Petersburg by sea for Lübeck. It is clear that Gogol' was abnormally sensitive about his literary ambitions. The publication of *Hans Küchelgarten* must have been for him a time of great mental anguish. What if the critics and the public condemned his first efforts? Should he try again, perhaps something in a different genre? As for his first poem, a romantic tale set in Germany, it was, after all, something he wrote while still at school. He tried, therefore, to turn his mind to other topics of which he had some direct experience. As a kind of insurance against another possible failure he turned his attention to a genre which was becoming popular in Russian literature – Ukrainian folk tales.

In April and again in May, 1829, he wrote to his mother asking her to supply him with detailed information about Ukrainian customs.

---

[27] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 131–32.
[28] *Ibid.,* pp. 136–37.

> Now I ask you, my most esteemed mother, my good guardian angel, to do for me, in turn, the greatest favour. You have a subtle, observant mind, you know many customs and manners of our Little Russians and therefore I know you will not refuse to communicate with me about them in our letters. I need it very badly. In your next letter I expect from you a description of the complete set of clothes of the village deacon, from his overcoat to the very boots, with their proper names, as all of them were called by the most inveterate, the most ancient, the least altered Little Russians; also the names of clothes, to the last ribbon, worn by our peasant girls, also by married women and the peasants. Secondly, exact and accurate names of clothing worn during the times of the Hetmans . . . Further, a thorough description of a wedding without leaving out the slightest details . . . Also a few words about the carols, about Ivan Kupalo and the mermaids. If there are, apart from that, some spirits or house demons, then describe them in detail, their names and their goings-on; there are, among the simple people, many superstitions, horror tales, ancient legends, various anecdotes, etc., etc., etc. All this will be of the greatest interest to me.[29]

In the same letter, Gogol' begged his mother to send him two Ukrainian comedies by his father. He thought he might arrange to stage them in St. Petersburg. Everything Ukrainian was very popular there and he might also get some royalties too.

It is easy to conclude from this that Gogol"s interest in the Ukraine was superficial, that he wanted, literally, to cash in on the Ukrainian vogue.[30] He was always asking his mother for money and now his native land, too, had as it were to provide him with the means of material advancement. There was a selfish, calculating streak in Gogol's character which was noted by his biographers.[31] But this alone cannot explain why Gogol' turned to the Ukraine at this critical time. Apart from the purely practical reason there were other factors. In the spring of 1829, Gogol' was trying to become a writer. This meant for him reaching to his innermost resources and experiences. After making a false start in *Hans Küchelgarten* Gogol' instinctively fell back on familiar literary material, the Ukrainian comedy. It was known to him in the dramatic form *(intermedia, vertep),* verse *(virši)* or prose parodies *(kazanie)* but he found for it a new, Romantic vehicle – the short story. His Ukrainian stories on which he was then working can be read on two different levels. On the surface they are a contribution to the field of *narodnost'* in literature (since *narodnost'* was to receive official backing as an integral part of Russian ideology, Gogol' might even have felt that through his works he was "serving" the state). Yet, on a deeper level, these stories became ideal vehicles for expressing his view of life in a form which was most congenial to him. That is why he turned to Ukrainian customs and folklore. He knew that world intimately and only had to ask

---

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 140–41.

[30] D. Magarshak, *Gogol* (London, 1957), p. 49.

[31] Perhaps Pletnev's characterization of a typical Ukrainian as a sly careerist *(prolaza),* a term applied to Nikitenko, could also fit Gogol' ("Pis'ma o Gogole," *N. V. Gogol'; materialy i issledovanija* [ed. V. Gippius], I, 170).

his mother to supply him with details. She promptly obliged and he carefully kept her notes in his "manual encyclopaedia." While in Nižyn, Gogol' surrendered himself to German romantic influence; in St. Petersburg he rediscovered the Ukraine.

Ukrainian Themes

In a letter in which Gogol' notified his mother of his sudden decision to go to Germany, there is a curious postscript. Gogol' thanks his mother for the Ukrainian materials and confides the following: "In my guiet solitude I am building up a reserve which, without a thorough adaptation, I will not let out into the world; I hate to hurry and to be superficial. I ask you, my dear incomparable mother, to relate to me the names and various Little Russian denominations as precisely as possible. My work if it ever appears, will be in a foreign language and that is why all the more I shall have to be exact in order not to distort the proper national nomenclature with incorrect names."[32]

The intention to publish a book on Ukrainian customs in a foreign language cannot be taken seriously, especially if one remembers how upset Gogol' was when he wrote this letter. Utterly downhearted after the failure of *Hans Küchelgarten* he was turning his back on St. Petersburg and Russia, determined never to return. There might also have been some truth in the story of his unhappy love affair, which, as he explained to his mother, was responsible for his decision to go away. Nevertheless, even in a fit of despondency, a thought must have occurred to him about such a publication. That thought was picked up after his return to St. Petersburg, in September, 1829, when Gogol began to study Ukrainian topics more systematically. In his scrapbook *Kniga vsjakoj vsjačiny* we find the following Ukrainian materials, practically all of which Gogol' later used in his Ukrainian stories. Some of them might even have been collected at Nižyn.

1. "Leksikon malorossijskij" (A Little Russian Dictionary) of 386 Ukrainian words with their Russian equivalents.

2. "Virša, govorennaja Getmanu Potemkinu zaporožcami na svetlyj prazdnik voskresenija" (Verses recited to Het'man Potemkin by the Zaporožians on the glorious feast of Easter).

3. "Dokumenty" (Documents) Relating to two episodes from Cossack life in 1711 and 1720.

4. "Epigrafy" (Epigraphs). Twenty-two excerpts from Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida*. Their text differs a little from that of the published editions of the work (1798, 1808, 1809) and must have been copied from manuscripts.

---

[32] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 150.

5. "Igry, uveselenija malorossijan" (Games and amusements of the Little Russians) supplied by Gogol"s mother.

6. "Imena daemye pri kreščenii" (Names given at baptism). Seventy-two Ukrainian names with Russian equivalents.

7. "Zagadki" (Riddles). Seventeen Ukrainian riddles.

8. "Malorossijskie bljuda i kušanja" (Little Russian dishes and food).

9. "Malorossijskie predanija, obyčai, obrjady" (Little Russian legends, customs, rituals).

10. "Obyčai malorossijan" (Little Russian customs).

11. "Odejanija malorossijan" (Little Russian clothes).

12. "Poslovicy, pogovorki i frazy" (Proverbs, sayings, phrases) 140 altogether.

13. "O svad'bax malorossijan" (On Little Russian weddings). Supplied by his mother.

The range of sources used by Gogol' is very wide. The oldest is the humourous *virša,* a popular eighteenth century genre of burlesque travesty. This one, describing Christ's victory over the devil, hell and death, was attributed to the famous Cossack colonel, Antin Holovatyj (1744–97). Gogol' was well acquainted with Kotljarevs'kyj and also with Pavlovs'kyj from whom he copied Ukrainian names and proverbs. The Ukrainian-Russian dictionary, started at Nižyn, might have been a continuation of a similar dictionary kept by Gogol"s father.[33] Gogol"s glossary owed much to Kotljarevs'kyj and Certelev whom he acknowledged as sources. An unacknowledged source was the glossary at the end of Maksymovyč's *Malorossijskie pesni.* Finally, the Ukrainian customs were copied from Kul'žyns'kyj's *Malorossijskaja derevnja* of which Gogol' had been so scornful only a few years before. All of this shows that he was familiar with the latest publications in the field. There is no doubt that throughout the 1830's Gogol' carefully read most of the works on Ukrainian topics. Although among Gogol"s notes of that time there were also many relating to Russia and other parts of the world, his attention gravitated towards the Ukraine. In February, 1830, he again asked his mother for Ukrainian materials. This time, apart from customs and anecdotes, he wanted her to collect for him old coins, books and manuscripts from the Het'man era and antiques of all kinds.

In spite of the fact that he had at last found a job in the department of public buildings, he devoted a great deal of his time to writing. The February and March issues of the *Notes of the Fatherland* contained his first prose work, a Ukrainian tale entitled "Bisavrjuk ili večer nakanune Ivana Kupala" (Bisavrjuk or St. John's Eve). His second publication, an excerpt from the novel *Het'man,* was published in December 1830 under the cryptonym 0000. The almanac *Severnye cvety* (Northern Flowers) which printed it also con-

---

[33] A. A. Nazarevs'kyj, "Iz arxiva Golovni," in V. V. Gippius (ed.) *N. V. Gogol'; materialy i issledovanija* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1936), I, 327.

tained a favourable comment on Gogol"s "Bisavrjuk", written by Orest Somov, who had earlier praised *Hans Küchelgarten*. Somov was a fellow Ukrainian whom Gogol' met soon after his arrival in St. Petersburg. This acquaintance was important for several reasons. Somov, who became the editor of *Literaturnaja gazeta*, was influential in literary circles and was very close to Puškin. His early liking for Gogol' led to the publication in *Literaturnaja gazeta* (January, 1831), of a chapter from a tale "Strašnyj kaban" (The Terrible Boar) by Gogol'. Secondly, Somov wrote many short stories on Ukrainian themes which encouraged Gogol' to do likewise. Somov was impressed by Gogol"s works precisely because of their Ukrainian content. Later he wrote to Maksymovyč: "I should like to acquaint you . . . with a very interesting fellow countryman- the beekeeper Rudyj Pan'ko, who published *Evenings on a Farm*, that is with Gogol'-Janovskij . . . He is a man of excellent talent and knows Little Russian as well as his own five fingers . . ."[34]

At times Gogol' was homesick, especially since he could not get used to the climate in St. Petersburg. For a while he seriously considered asking for a transfer to the provinces. "But I confess," he wrote to his mother, "God forbid, if I had to go to Russia. The only place I would like to go, if I had to, would be Little Russia. But, to consider it properly, regardless of my desire to go to Little Russia, I would lose everything if I left St. Petersburg. Only here can a man attain something . . ."[35] Although very secretive about his literary activities, Gogol' could not refrain from sending his mother a copy of the *Notes of the Fatherland* which contained his unsigned "Bisavrjuk." This made Maria Ivanovna so proud of her son that she started to attribute to him several other unsigned works. In trying to correct this impression Gogol' wrote to her on December 19, 1830: "The place of action of that novel is in the depth of Russia, where up to now I have not yet set my foot. If I should write something of the kind, then surely I would choose for it Little Russia which I know, rather than countries and peoples of whose manners, customs or occupations I am ignorant."[36]

Dikan'ka

At last Gogol's literary endeavours came to fruition when, in September 1831, there appeared the first part of *Večera na xutore bliz Dikan'ki* (Evenings on a Farm near Dikan'ka). Much has been written to demonstrate and to analyze Gogol"s debt in these short stories to Ukrainian literature and

---

[34] *Russkij arxiv*, 1908, No. 10, pp. 265–66.
[35] Gogol' *Polnoe sobranie*, X, 173.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

folklore.[37] Among the most perceptive are the studies by Pavlo Fylypovyč[38] and Vasiiij Gippius.[39] They not only deal with the rather obvious Ukrainian influences but try to assess these in relation to Gogol"s creative development.

Without the Ukrainian folksongs and *vertep*[40] and without Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and Kotljarevs'kyj the *Evenings* would have been inconceivable. In one sense they are simply an extension of Ukrainian literature both oral and written, which Gogol' knew well. As Peretc so aptly observed in his perceptive article on Gogol', the latter "as the analysis of his first short stories shows, appears in them more as an artist who ends a period of Little Russian literature than as the beginner of a new all-Russian *(obščerusskoj)* literature."[41] Peretc was the first to see this culmination of old Ukrainian literature, especially the *vertep* and the *intermedia* of the school drama, in the tales narrated by the deacon Foma Grigorievič and collected by Rudyj Pan'ko. Later, Kadlubovskij convincingly argued that "it is hardly possible to doubt that a similar factor (which influenced Gogol"s art) and one of the most significant, was the ancient literary tradition of Little Russia with which Gogol' was firmly connected by such links as his father and Narežnyj."[42] This dependence showed itself above all in the type of humour and literary devices which Gogol' inherited from old Ukrainian literature. Yet at the same time this Ukrainian material is infused by Gogol' with themes of universal portent, with the kind of significance which Ukrainian literature by and large had lacked. Gogol' develops in the *Evenings* those preoccupations which were to remain with him for the rest of his life. They are: the intrusion of evil forces (the devil) into human life, the impotence of man before his fate, his vulnerability to woman who inevitably brings about his destruction, and finally, his own immeasurable vanity and stupidity. True, all these themes are handled with a great deal of humour and fantasy and

---

[37] N. Petrov, "Južno-russkij narodnij element v rannix proizvedenijah N. V. Gogolja," *Pamjati Gogolja* (Kiev, 1903); V. Peretc, "Gogol' i malorusskaja literaturnaja tradicija," *N. V. Gogol'* (St. Petersburg, 1902), A. Jefymenko, "Ukrainskij element v tvorčestve Gogolja," *Južnaja Rus'* (St. Petersburg, 1905), II.

[38] P. Fylypovyč, *Ukrajins'ka styxija v tvorčosti Hoholja* (Reprint) Winnipeg, 1952), *Slavistica,* No. 13.

[39] V. V. Gippius, "Večera na xutore bliz Dikan'ki Gogolja," *Trudy otdela novoj russkoj literatury* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1948), I.

[40] The Ukrainian puppet theater *vertep* originated in the seventeenth century and was very popular in the eighteenth century. The box consisted of two stories. The upper one served as a stage for nativity plays. The action then shifted to the lower level where puppets in various costumes (Cossack, Polish *pan,* Russian soldier – *moskal',* Jew, peasant, etc.) enacted a comic scene in language spoken by the people.

[41] V. Peretc, "Gogol' i malorusskaja literaturnaja tradicija," *N. V. Gogol'* (St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 49.

[42] A. P. Kadlubovskij, *Gogol' v ego otnošenijax k starinnoj malorusskoj literature* (Nižyn, 1911), p. 49.

remain in a major key. Nevertheless, Gogol's view of life in these short stories is not so different from his later works, not even from *Dead Souls*. The common view of the *Evenings* as gay, rollicking Ukrainian stories, unconnected with his later, serious work, requires urgent revision. The Ukrainian world of the *Evenings*, and later of *Mirgorod*, is not always a happy one. The spirit of gloom, foreboding and decay haunts it on almost every page. What is comic and lusty may in a trice turn sad or ridiculous. At times Gogol' is tempted to poke fun at Ukrainian folklore just as later, in *Taras Bul'ba* he will occasionally puncture the vainglorious Ukrainian Cossacks.

What are the components of Ukrainian life in these tales? It is gay and boisterous like the fair at Soročynci itself, rich in colourful characters, teeming with adventures and set in luxuriant breathtaking scenery. Gogol"s descriptions are often borrowed wholesale from Ukrainian folklore yet they are so cleverly woven into the texture of his prose that the reader remains unconscious of these borrowings. This deliberate mixing of actuality with fantasy led some Ukrainian critics of Gogol' to accuse him of distorting the customs of the Ukrainian people.[43] However, accurate reproduction of reality was never Gogol"s intention.

The peasants and the Cossacks alike show a tremendous capacity to enjoy life and to infect the reader with their gaiety. Humour, often modelled on Ukrainian *vertep*, is evoked by our response to stock situations and caricatures which are nevertheless very funny. Yet over all this there hangs an air of tragedy and sorrow. Evil forces in the shape of devils, sorcerers and demons wrestle with men and rob them of their dreams. Tranquillity and idyll are constantly interrupted by some devilry or witchcraft. True, the supernatural powers, destructive as they are, can be mollified or outwitted by man and the devils often assume genial, human characteristics. As in *vertep* and earlier medieval tradition the devil in Gogol"s work is comic. Yet, ultimately, the tension between man and his environment is resolved by merciless fate, very rarely in favour of man.

There is one important difference between Gogol"s Ukrainian and his later St. Petersburg stories. The former are set in the Ukrainian countryside. The soul-destroying city has not yet made its appearance. In "Christmas Eve", Vakula the blacksmith, on his flying visit to St. Petersburg, betrays the first signs of an ominous fascination with the glitter of city lights. Although he accomplishes the purpose of his mission and gets the tsarina's slippers for his bride, he is not very happy as an accidental member of the Zaporožian delegation in the capital. Both he and the Zaporožians are out of place in St. Petersburg and having obtained some favours from Russia are happy to be heading back to the Ukraine. There, Gogol' recaptures moments

---

[43] P. Kuliš, "Obzor ukrainskoj slovesnosti; Gogol' kak avtor povestej iz ukrainskoj žizni," *Osnova*, 1861, April–December.

of peace and tranquillity in evoking the beauty of the Ukrainian night, the groves and meadows of the familiar countryside and the "lovely Dnieper in tranquil weather."

Such moments attest the depth of Gogol"s roots. Yet at the same time the *Evenings* show his attempt to free himself from this bondage, sweet and comforting as it was. The second part of the *Evenings* came out in March, 1832. Apart from the Ukrainian stories in the same manner as those on part one it contained "Ivan Fedorovič Špon'ka and His Aunt" – a first attempt to break away from Ukrainian themes. For although Špon'ka is a Ukrainian landowner from the district of Hadjač, he is a universal type with hardly any Ukrainian characteristics. Gogol', who identified the Ukrainians with the lower classes only, now turned his attention to the Russified Ukrainian gentry like himself. In fact, Špon'ka is in more ways than one Gogol' himself – eccentric, bashful and terribly afraid of women.

Although the *Evenings* received a mixed reception from the critics it was popular with readers. Puškin praised it extravagantly for its "real gaiety". The Ukrainians liked it immensely and Gogol' complained in a letter to Pogodin that many Ukrainian landowners could not procure a copy from the booksellers in Moscow or St. Petersburg.[44] Some Ukrainians thought that Gogol' could become a "Ukrainian Walter Scott" if only he paid more attention to historical detail.[45] They enjoyed his stories primarily as an account of Ukrainian life rather than as literature. Yet although Gogol' was liked in the Ukraine, he knew that his literary reputation was made in Russia. He was accepted in his homeland only after approval by Russian critics. As late as 1840 Bec'kyj, writing to Pogodin from Xarkiv, complained that Gogol' was not adequately appreciated in the Ukraine.[46] Perhaps the most perceptive explanation of Gogol"s success in Russia came from Boris Ejxenbaum who observed that "Gogol"s language was built on the combination of Russian with Ukrainian, which had preserved the unity of its lexical composition and was not divided as sharply into literary and spoken language as was Russian . . . The use of Ukrainian offered an opportunity to lower Russian literary style without making it at the same time coarse."[47]

It is clear that even at that time Gogol' had conjured up the ideal image of a Russian writer. Moreover, the embodiment of this ideal he found in Puškin. In 1832 he wrote a short article "Neskolko slov o Puškine" (A Few Words about Puškin) in which he hailed him as Russia's foremost national poet. Gogol' was one of the first in Russia to say this about Puškin. He claimed that Puškin's greatness consisted in his Russianness. "In him the

---

[44] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 237.

[45] A. Carinnyj [A. Storoženko], "Mysli malorossijanina po pročtenii povestej pasičnika Rudogo Pan'ka," *Syn otečestva,* 1832, No. 5, p. 300.

[46] "Gogol' v neizdannoj perepiske sovremennikov, (1833–1853)," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo,* 1952, vol. 58, p. 584.

[47] B. Ejxenbaum, *Lermontov* (Leningrad, 1924; reprinted Munich, 1967), p. 135.

Russian nature, the Russian soul, the Russian language, the Russian character are reflected in such purity . . ."[48] he wrote. Gogol' went on to observe that Puškin's early poetic works dealt with non-Russian themes (the Caucasus, Georgia, Crimea). This did not matter because Puškin's treatment of them was Russian. "A poet," wrote Gogol', "may be national even when he depicts a completely different world, but looks at it with the eyes of his national being, the eyes of all the people, when he feels and talks in a way that seems to all his compatriots as if they themselves felt and talked thus."[49] Was Gogol' drawing a parallel here between Puškin and himself? Undoubtedly. In his eagerness to follow Puškin Gogol' forgot only one thing – that he himself was not a Russian.

In the summer of 1832, still flushed with the success of his Dikan'ka stories Gogol' decided to visit Vasylivka in order to bring back to St. Petersburg his two sisters for whom he had secured scholarships at the Patriotic Institute. The visit proved to be an anticlimax to his expectations. Perhaps the immediate reason was the indigestion Gogol' suffered from the rich Ukrainian food. "The cursed abundance of the Ukraine tempts me without a stop," he wrote to Pogodin.[50] In any case he did not feel well physically. In a letter to Dmitriev he spoke of a deeper malaise which his Ukrainian sojourn evoked.

> What is there that this country lacks? Rich, wonderful summer! Crops, fruit, plenty of everything that grows! But the people are poor, properties are in ruins, landowners in arrears with taxes. All because of lack of communications. It has made the inhabitants sleepy and lazy. The landowners themselves realize now that they cannot substantially increase their income by growing crops and distilling spirits. They begin to understand that the time has come to start manufactures and factories, but there is no capital; the happy thought slumbers and then dies while they are chasing hares in order to forget their worries.[51]

The only relaxation Gogol' found was in nature. "The whole of August was delightful," he wrote in another letter to Dmitriev, "the beginning of September is like summer. I am fully satisfied. Perhaps there is no one else in the world as I am now – so much in love, to the point of ecstasy, with nature."[52]

Moments of ecstasy were lost in a mood of surfeit and restlessness. Returning early in October to St. Petersburg Gogol' was eager to see his literary friends again and go back to writing. There was still some doubt in his mind as to whether literature was his main interest, for during the next two years he was sorely tempted to forsake it for history and scholarship. As far as his

---

[48] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* VIII, 50.
[49] *Ibid.,* p. 51.
[50] *Ibid.,* X, 240.
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 239.
[52] *Ibid.,* p. 242.

writing was concerned, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian themes were still to be found side by side. While he was working on the "Vladimir of the Third Degree", "The Portrait" and "The Nose" he was also writing "How Ivan Ivanovič Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovič" and "The Old World Landowners".

Ukrainian History

It was Gogol"s interest in history that compelled him to turn once more to the Ukraine, though the opposite could also be true. In December, 1832, he entered correspondence with the Ukrainian scholar Myxajlo Maksymovyč who became his close friend. Although Kuliš in his biography of Gogol' maintains that the first meeting between Gogol' and Maksymovyč was in a circle of Ukrainian friends in St. Petersburg in 1829,[53] there is good reason to believe that the two did not meet until a few years later. In any case, in January, 1831, Somov in a letter to Maksymovyč assumed that the latter did not know Gogol'.[54]

In his first letter to Maksymovyč Gogol' already showed an interest in Ukrainian folklore and history which was to become a consuming passion during the next two years. He offered to help Maksymovyč with his second collection of Ukrainian folksongs and sent his greetings to Bodjans'kyj, a Ukrainian student of history who at that time was living in Maksymovyč's house.

By the summer of 1833 Gogol' was thoroughly tired of Russia. Several factors contributed to his unhappiness in St. Petersburg. He decided to change his living quarters, was unable to write much and above all, he became attracted to a project of writing a history of the Ukraine. On July 2, 1833, he wrote to Maksymovyč advising him to "chuck the country of the *kacaps* and move to the land of the Hetmans *(Bros'te v samom dele kacapiju, da poezžajte v getmanščinu).* I myself am thinking of doing just that and want to get out of here next year. What fools we are, when you come to think of it. For what and for whom are we sacrificing everything? Let's go!"[55] Although ostensibly the aim of going to Kiev was to "gather all kinds of materials" for historical studies, Gogol"s opposition of Ukraine to Russia reflected more than a passing mood. It was a sign of what Gogol' himself recognized as his *dvoedušie* (two souls).

For the time being Gogol's Ukrainian interests took the upper hand. He even persuaded himself that his new mission was to reveal to the world the

---

[53] P. A. Kuliš, *Zapiski o žizni N. V. Gogolja* (St. Petersburg, 1856), I, 116.
[54] See above, p. 104.
[55] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 273.

truth about Ukrainian history. "Just now," he wrote to Maksymovyč on November 9th, "I began writing the history of our beloved, poor Ukraine. Nothing calms one as much as history. My thoughts begin to flow more quietly and harmoniously. I think that I shall write it and that I shall tell much of what has not been said before."[56] In the same letter Gogol' betrayed an unusual excitement at the thought of studying Ukrainian folksongs, a subject which attracted him as much as history. "How I would wish to be with you now and to look at them [collections of folksongs] together, in the light of a flickering candle, surrounded by walls lined with books, covered with dust and read them with the eagerness of a Jew counting his money. My joy, my life! My songs! How much I love you! What use are all the dry chronicles through which I am now burrowing in comparison with these ringing, living chronicles!"[57] In all of this Gogol' was as much motivated by an aesthetic desire to discover the past as by a sheer feeling of duty ("for the sake of everything that is our own, for the sake of the Ukraine, for the sake of our forefathers' graves").[58] Yet even this feeling of obligation towards his native land was not strong enough to set a spark to national awareness.

At the end of 1833 Gogol"s preoccupation with the Ukraine was given further stimulus. Under Maksymovyč's influence he decided to try and obtain an appointment to the department of history at Kiev University. For this purpose Gogol enrolled the assistance of Puškin and Count Uvarov, the Minister of Education. In the end, all Gogol"s efforts were unsuccessful, but for several months he lived in a state of anticipation and excitement. His desire to gain new prestige as a scholar merged with the feeling of local Ukrainian patriotism aroused in him by historical studies. "There, there, to Kiev!" he wrote to Maksymovyč, "the ancient and beautiful Kiev! It is ours, not theirs, isn't it so? There and around it the events of our antiquity took place."[59] Carried away by enthusiasm Gogol' confided to Puškin some of the grandiose plans he intended to fulfill in Kiev. "I get enraptured beforehand when I start imagining how my work will get into full swing in Kiev. There I shall rummage out many works, not all of which I have yet read to you. There I shall finish the history of the Ukraine and of the South of Russia and shall write a universal history, which unfortunately does not yet exist in its proper form in Russia or in Europe."[60]

Never had Gogol' been so strongly drawn to the Ukraine as he was then. Correspondingly, his dislike of Russia grew stronger. He chided Maksymovyč for falling in love with "that fat woman Moscow from whom apart from cabbage soup and swearing you will not hear anything."[61] Yet even

---

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 326.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 288.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

during the moments of strongest attraction to the Ukraine he remained critical of what he thought was the idleness and outright laziness of his countrymen. There are numerous references to it in his letters. Often he blamed his own weak will and inability to get down to work on his Ukrainian origin. Although throughout his life Gogol' openly acknowledged this origin he was never very proud of it. True, the Ukraine had a glorious history and beautiful songs, but her way of life was too somnolent and idyllic.

At that time, in particular, Gogol' was in love not so much with the contemporary but with the ancient Cossack Ukraine. His work on the history of the Ukraine showed little progress, but he was determined to continue with it. In January and February, 1834, he published long "announcements about the publication of the history of the Little Russian Cossacks" in the *Northern Bee* and the *Moscow Telegraph,* a sure sign that he hoped to complete his work. The notice began with the words "Until now we do not yet have a complete, satisfactory history of Little Russia and of the people which acted independently of Russia for almost four centuries."[62] In response to his announcement Gogol' received many offers of assistance. Sreznevs'kyj wrote to him on February 16, 1834, that he was very glad to hear "that the same writer who so pleasantly and so artfully entertained many of his readers with poetic tales of the Ukraine, wishes to offer to the Ukrainians an important work which actually relates our historical literature."[63]

Perhaps one of the reasons why the history remained eventually unwritten was the fact that Gogol' became intensely disappointed with some primary sources such as the chronicles. "I have grown cool to our chronicles," he complained in a letter to Sreznevs'kyj on March 6th, "in vain trying to find in them what I wanted to find. Nowhere is anything mentioned about the time which should have been richest in events . . . That is why every sound of a folksong tells me in livelier fashion about the past than our dull and short chronicles . . ."[64] The only history of the Cossacks for which Gogol' expressed unqualified praise was the *Istorija Rusov*. Perhaps it was his secret hope to emulate it. The hope remained unfulfilled and only a fragment of Gogol"s Ukrainian historical project came to be written. It was published in April, 1834, under the title "Vzgljad na sostavlenie Malorossii" (A View of the Composition of Little Russia).

The "View" is more a poetic characterization of the Ukrainian Cossacks than a history. However, Gogol"s historical research is clearly evident. He adheres to the common view that the Cossack community was formed out of many elements for the defense of the country, later known as the Ukraine

---

[62] *Ibid.,* IX, 76.

[63] "N. V. Gogol' v perepiske z I. I. Sreznevskim v 1834–35 gg.," *Russkaja starina,* 1892, III, 754.

[64] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 298–99.

against the Mongols. He also stresses the protection which the Ukraine received from the Lithuanians and puts the beginning of the Cossack movement rather earlier than most later historians, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. As to the question of the links of the Cossack Ukrainian with the past Gogol' takes a middle position. On the one hand he argues "the greater part of this [Cossack] society consisted of the original, native inhabitants of southern Russia,"[65] on the other hand he admits that there was a strong admixture of other peoples and races. It is interesting that Gogol' attempts to explain Ukrainian character through this historical biculturalism. "And so there arose a people," he concludes, "which in religion and geography belonged to Europe, but in its ways of life, customs and dress was entirely Asiatic, in which two contrary parts of the world strangely clashed. These two multiplex elements were: European prudence and Asiatic carelessness, simplicity and shrewdness, great activity and extreme idleness, a striving towards development and improvement and yet mixed with the desire to scorn all achievement."[66]

Gogol' was also an active collector of Ukrainian folksongs. He found great pleasure in singing them, especially the "Čajka-neboha" which was also Troščyns'kyj's favourite. Gogol"s ultimate ambition might have been to publish a separate collection. Writing to Maksymovyč on March 12, 1834, Gogol' was adamant that "without fail, we must publish the songs in Kiev. By uniting our forces we shall put out an edition such as nobody has done before."[67] These plans, like those for the history, came to nothing. Nevertheless, Gogol' continued to transcribe hundreds of folksongs from published and unpublished sources. Apart from Maksymovyč's first collection he used the one by Wacław z Oleska (*Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego,* Lwów, 1833), Lukaševyč and Dołęga-Chodakowski. His views Gogol' expressed in an article "O malorossijskix pesnjax" (On Little Russian Songs) written in 1833. Here again he offered a subjective interpretation in a Romantic vein. Ukrainian songs were to him a "living history" of the Ukrainian people. "They are permeated . . . by the wide freedom of Cossack life. Here we can see the power and the joy with which a Cossack forsakes the quietude and safety of home life in order to escape to the poetry of battle . . ."[68] This was a view similar to that expressed by Kostomarov nine years later.

Ukrainian folksongs had a great influence on some of Gogol"s works. Not only the *Evenings* but also the later works like *Taras Bul'ba* owe much to the folksongs. It has been suggested that the structure of the latter work shows the great influence of the *dumy*.

---

[65] *Ibid.,* VIII, 47.
[66] *Ibid.,* p. 49.
[67] *Ibid.,* X, 302.
[68] *Ibid.,* VIII, 91.

In July, 1834, Gogol' was appointed professor in the department of history at St. Petersburg University. This meant the collapse of his Kiev plans. Although disappointed at not being able to go to the Ukraine Gogol' applied himself vigorously to his new profession which turned out to be of very brief duration. "Although my heart desperately longs for the Ukraine," he wrote to Maksymovyč on August 14th, "I must submit. I submitted myself with resignation, knowing that on my side I did everything possible."[69] Gogol"s literary work continued unabated. Early in 1835 there appeared the collection of short stories *Mirgorod,* in which all four stories deal with the Ukraine.

One of them, "Vij," has strong links with the *Evenings*. Despite Gogol"s own explanatory note at the beginning of the story assuring the reader that the chief of the gnomes, Vij, is an authentic figure of Ukrainian folklore, no such assumption is tenable. Although many details of the story are authentic and have been borrowed from folklore sources, the main figure as well as the main idea of the story come from Gogol"s imagination. The story is a supreme example of the free and extremely skilful creative adaptation of folklore to literary art. Under the guise of horror, witchcraft and suspense we discover the central themes of Gogol"s art: the destructiveness of physical love, the spuriousness of social life and the power of evil over men. "Vij" is Gogol"s Ukrainian masterpiece in which the folk tale form conveys ideally a universal theme. This use of folklore did not develop in Ukrainian literature until much later. In this sense Gogol' is a precursor of Lesja Ukrajinka and Myxajlo Kotsjubyns'kyj.

"Vij" was probably the last of the stories in *Mirgorod* to be written. Yet it is closest to the spirit of the *Evenings*. The collection was published in two parts simultaneously. The first part contained "The Old World Landowners" and "Taras Bul'ba"; the second – "The Tale of How Ivan Ivanovič Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovič" and "Vij." It is impossible to establish the order in which the first three stories were written, which in any case may be immaterial. What is important for our purposes is to gauge Gogol"s different sentiments towards the Ukraine. In "Vij" Gogol' looks at it with detachment. In the "Tale How Ivan Ivanovič Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovič" his criticism of the Ukraine is the sharpest. There is simply nothing attractive about the town of Myrhorod in which the story is set. Its people are the worst kind of *pošljaki,* its life is completely stagnant, its courts farcical and its only beauty spot – a puddle. The two leading characters, Ivan Ivanovič and Ivan Nikiforovič who quarrel over nothing personify the pettiness and

---

[69] *Ibid.,* X, 337.

laziness of Gogol"s countrymen who are here mercilessly exposed by him. The exposure is scathing and uncompromising.

On the other hand, "The Old World Landowners" is Gogol"s fond farewell to the tranquil life of the Ukrainian gentry, depicted here in idyllic tones. True, the idyll is not complete; a patina of decay and disintegration hangs over the entire existence of Afanasij Ivanovič and Pulxerija Ivanovna. The tale has autobiographical overtones not only in the fact that the hero and heroine might have been modelled on Gogol"s own grandparents, but also because in places there are clear guilt feelings arising out of the author's exchanging the good life of the Ukraine for St. Petersburg. Yet that good life is now contemplated by Gogol' with irony and doubt. Some scholars have suggested that far from being a pastoral the story is almost a parody.[70]

Instead of a multi-volume history of the Ukraine Gogol' wrote a historical tale "Taras Bul'ba". The *Mirgorod* version of it was finally expanded into a full-length novel in 1842. In some details "Taras Bul'ba" has links with Gogol"s earliest attempts at historical fiction. However, the main stimulus for it came from Gogol's historical researches. Among the most influential sources were *Istorija Rusov, Zaporožskaja starina,* Beauplan's description of the Ukraine which came out in a Russian translation in 1821, and last but not least, folksongs. It has also been pointed out that some descriptions were borrowed by Gogol' from Narežnyj and Markevyč's *Ukrainian Melodies.*

In a way, "Taras Bul'ba" is what so many of Gogol"s contemporaries longed for–a Ukrainian novel à la Walter Scott. The brilliance of the romantic heroes caught up in battles on the wide Ukrainian steppes is magnificent. Yet behind it lies a deeper and darker layer of Gogol"s search for identity. In depicting the Cossacks and their way of life he recalls the origins of his own family. Is there not an attempt to rehabilitate the "traitor" forefather, Colonel Ostap Gogol', who ignominiously surrendered a fortress to the Poles?[71] Perhaps Bul'ba is Gogol's way of atonement. Subconsciously, Gogol' pays a debt to his family and his ancestral home in the Ukraine. But unfortunately this evocation of innocence, beauty and ideal Cossack virtues cannot last. In spite of being a heroic prose poem the book shows some signs of disenchantment and deception. It could be read as "a joke on history,"[72] and not on Ukrainian history alone. After all, what is left of all the glorious exploits and noble deeds? Only memories and these, for Gogol', bear no relation to the present. It is difficult not to agree with a Polish critic of *Taras Bul'ba* according to whom Gogol' in this work "ridicules the

---

[70] R. Poggioli, "Gogol's 'Old Fashioned Landowners'; An Inverted Eclogue," *Indiana Slavic Studies,* III, 54–72; also Bohdan Galster, *Mikołaj Gogol* (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 104–6.

[71] See L. Stilman, "Nikolaj Gogol and Ostap Hohol," *Orbis scriptus; Dmitrij Tschižewskij zum 70 Geburtstag* (Munich, 1966), pp. 822–25.

[72] H. Muchnic, *An Introduction to Russian Literature* (New York, 1966), p. 91.

Zaporožian Cossacks and creates a caricature of them."[73] Gogol"s intention was to create noble characters and to glorify the Cossack way of life. In execution, however, he often reached the level of a farce with Cossacks and Poles playing the parts of cops and robbers. Serious historical fiction proved beyond his grasp just as anything serious had the habit of doing. Identification with Ukrainian history was impossible because although Gogol's past was Ukrainian his present was Russian. However difficult the break with the past was, it had to be made eventually, so that he could live in the present. "Gogol'," wrote a historian, "grew up on the ruins of the old Het'man state without suspecting that with the death of the Cossack government the Ukraine had not ceased living."[74]

As an artist Gogol' understood that Ukrainian themes imposed severe limitations on his works. They allowed no room for the portrayal of the middle class to which Gogol' himself belonged. It was not the life of peasants and Cossacks which Gogol' wanted to explore. His interest was that of a novelist and a novelist must deal with his own milieu. The world of the gentry and of the city clerks was Russian or Russified to an extent that made it very little different from Russian.

On the other hand, already in his Ukrainian stories Gogol' manifested his most characteristic artistic trait – that of a comic writer. Whatever he turned to in the future with the most serious intention became a work of comedy, in which effect is achieved by "indirection, duality, irony."[75] The elements of farce in the *Dikan'ka* and *Mirgorod* stories are closely related to the comedy in the *Inspector General* and *Dead Souls*. In all of them moral satire comes to life from the sources of the Ukrainian puppet theater, the burlesque and folk humour. In particular, the structure of many of Gogol"s works owes a great deal to the dualism of the *vertep* and the puppetry used in it.

Russia and Abroad

The turning away from Ukrainian interests was already clearly evident at the time of writing *Mirgorod*. Simultaneously with these Ukrainian stories Gogol' was writing some of his "St. Petersburg stories," which were included in the *Arabesques* (January, 1835). Russian scholars pointed out that in some of his so-called "St. Petersburg stories" (e. g. "The Coach") and even in the *Inspector General* and *Dead Souls* Ukrainian elements are clearly

---

[73] J. Łobodowski, "Po śmierci Malaniuka," *Kultura*, 1968, No. 10, p. 123.

[74] M. Hruševs'kyj, "Jubilej Mykoly Hoholja," *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, 1909, p. 608.

[75] E. Bentley, *The Life of the Drama* (New York, 1967), p. 309.

discernible.[76] In 1836, with the creation of *Revizor* (The Inspector General), a new chapter began in Gogol's life. From now on not only was his art directed towards Russian and universal themes but he took it upon himself to influence and enlighten Russia with his works. This moralistic tendency was later to become a mania which destroyed Gogol' the artist. For the time being, however, his desire to bring about the moral regeneration of Russia through his works did not interfere with his art. At the height of his creative powers Gogol' wrote the *Inspector General* which is not only a great comedy of universal appeal but a devastating indictment of Russia. This criticism was made by one who was an acute observer of the country and as an "outsider" had an obvious vantage point. We know that some Russians resented Gogol"s satire of Russia precisely because it was made by a Ukrainian. ". . . one of his [Kapnist's] fellow countrymen, an undersized Little Russian *(maloroslyj maloros)* whom it is unfitting to name here [Gogol'], moved by the same motives, in the same spirit wrote his comedies and tales. Without creating on the stage a single honest Russian, he condemned us to universal ridicule in the characters of our provincial and district officials whom he invented. And for this, o Lord, half of Russia proclaimed him great."[77] Similarly, Sergej Aksakov reported in his reminiscences of Gogol' that many of the readers of *Dead Souls* said that "Gogol' does not love Russia; look how beautiful is Little Russia and how [unattractive] is Russia . . . even nature itself in Russia gets no reprieve and the weather is always wet and dirty."[78] Writing in 1851, Alexander Herzen observed that "as Gogol' moves away from Little Russia . . . the naive and delightful images disappear . . . Under the Muscovite sun everything in him becomes gloomy, sullen and hostile."[79]

Gogol' was torn between feelings of love and hate for Russia, his adopted fatherland. With the zeal of a convert he loved the ideal Russia and therefore he could not bear to live there and see its grim reality. At no time did the forces of attraction and repulsion clash so violently as at the time of the creation of the *Inspector General.* No sooner was the play completed and performed than Gogol' decided to leave Russia in disgust and to settle abroad. His disappointment with the play's reception (which was not at all bad) was accentuated by his new consciousness of being an unacknowledged national prophet. Perhaps Nicholas I's intervention in support of the play had also helped to inflate Gogol"s messianic zeal. Writing to Pogodin on May 10th, 1836, Gogol' declared: "I am going abroad. There I shall shake off the melancholy to which my compatriots subject me daily. A

---

[76] N. Piksanov, "Ukrainskie povesti Gogolja," *O klassikax* (Moscow, 1933) and S. A. Vengerov, "Pisatel'-graždanin," *Russkoe bogatstvo,* 1902, Nos. 2–3–4.

[77] F. F. Vigel', *Vospominanija* (Moscow, 1864), III, 145.

[78] S. T. Aksakov, *Istorija moego znakomstva s Gogolem* (Moscow, 1960), p. 91.

[79] "Pis'ma k Gogolju," V. V. Gippius (ed.) *N. V. Gogol'; materialy i issledovanija* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1936), I, 136–37.

modern writer, a comic writer, a writer of the comedy of manners must live far away from his country. The prophet is without glory in his own country . . . it is time for me to create with serious reflection."[80]

For a long time this serious intent blotted out Gogol"s Ukrainian sentiments. In a letter to Pogodin he wrote that "the provinces are weakly depicted in my memory; their features are blurred. On the other hand, life in St. Petersburg is vivid before my eyes, its colours are lively and rich in my memory."[81] A few weeks before leaving Russia, Gogol' wrote to his mother who was to remain a constant link with the Ukraine, "My intention is to visit Switzerland and Italy and finally to return by land through Moscow to Little Russia in order to stay at home for some time."[82] Here he was merely placating his mother who wanted to see him at home. His firm intention was never to return. For, as he stated in a letter to Žukovskij, Gogol' believed that his departure abroad was ordained by higher powers.[83] The object of his mission abroad became clear to Gogol' when he reached Paris . . . it was to write a long "poem" *Dead Souls* in which "the entire Rus' be recalled."[84] It is interesting that here and in other letters of his he used the ancient term Rus' and not Rossija. Rus' is also used in the famous closing paragraph of *Dead Souls* [part one] Gogol"s invocation to Russia which he compares to a *trojka* dashing through the steppes. This term applied originally to the Kiev Rus', Gogol"s patrimony, but was used here poetically rather than historically and it represented for Gogol' the soul of Russia of whose existence he was now firmly convinced.

Occasionally, letters written from Paris to his mother and his friends refer to the Ukraine. "Our Little Russia," he writes in one of them, "is quite an unhappy country: crop failure . . . trouble, good harvest . . . also trouble. When I recall how you are worried about it all, my heart aches even here."[85] In Paris, also, Gogol' wrote a note in Ukrainian to the Polish writer Bohdan Zaleski whose works dealt chiefly with Ukrainian themes. The note is 85 words in length and shows a good command of Ukrainian. It is interesting that Gogol' recommended himself to Zaleski as a "very close countryman, closer by heart than by land."[86] Perhaps, like Zaleski, who was born in the

---

[80] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 41.
[81] *Ibid.,* p. 45.
[82] *Ibid.,* p. 42.
[83] *Ibid.,* p. 49.
[84] *Ibid.,* p. 77. Gogol"s identification of the Ukraine with Rus' was best expressed in his notebooks: "Low-lying cherry orchards, sunflowers over the wattle fences and ditches and the thatched roofs of the clean, painted peasant cottages and a pretty little window with a red frame. You are the ancient roots of Rus', where feelings are more sincere and Slavic nature is more tender." (*Iz karmannyx zapisnyx knižek,* London, 1969, p. 19).
[85] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 80.
[86] *Ibid.,* p. 88.

Ukraine, Gogol' felt occasionally like a nostalgic emigré. He lamented the loss of his youth more than the country itself.

It is from Zaleski that we learn of Gogol"s hostility to the Russians which he shared at that time in Paris with the Polish emigrés. In a letter written on February 19, 1859, to the well known Polish scholar Franciszek Duchiński, the advocate of the "Pan-Turanian" origin of Russia, Zaleski recalled:

> About twenty-five years ago the famous Russian writer Gogol' visited Paris. He was very friendly with Mickiewicz and with me, his fellow Ukrainian [*spół-ukraincem*]. We often gathered in the evenings for literary and political discussions. Naturally, we talked most of all about the Russians [*moskalach*] who were loathsome [*wstrętnych*] to us and to him. The question of their Finnish origin was frequently debated. Gogol' confirmed this view with all his Little Russian fervour. He had with him splendid collections of folk songs in different Slavic tongues. He wrote an excellent paper on the question of the Finnish origin of the Russians which he read to us. In it he showed on the basis of detailed comparison between Czech, Serbian and Ukrainian songs with Great Russian songs the glaring differences in the spirit, customs and morals between the Great Russians and other Slavic peoples. He chose a different song to characterize a different human feeling: on the one hand, our Slavic song, delightful and tender, and along with it a morose, wild and almost cannibalistic Russian song, just like a Finnish one. My dear countryman, you must imagine how pleased Mickiewicz and I were with this article.
> Many years later I tried to get this parallel study from Gogol' in Rome... What was the fate of that article? Is there, perhaps, nothing like it in the posthumous collection of Gogol"s works? It would beautifully confirm your conclusions. In any case, whether this article is ever found or not among Gogol"s works, it is not difficult to create a similar parallel study in our times. Yet one must regret the loss of many racy anecdotes about the Great Russians which Gogol' alone knew and which he could tell with characteristic sharp wit.[87]

Having arrived in Rome, Gogol' confessed to Danylevs'kyj "What can I tell you in general about Italy? It seems to me that I have come to visit old Little Russian landowners."[88] Although in many ways Italy reminded him of the Ukraine, Gogol' was careful to point out differences between the two countries. On February 5, 1838, he wrote to his mother. "You assure me that our climate in Little Russia will have the same effect on me as the Italian climate... But I tell you that the climate here is quite different from what it is in Little Russia."[89] It is interesting that Gogol"s Russian friends attributed his love of Italy to his Ukrainian sentiments. Annenkov, who

---

[87] "Ukrainofil'stvo Gogolja," *Kievskaja starina,* 1902, vol. 78, III, 116–17; see also D. Zaleski (ed.) *Korespondencya Józefa Bohdana Zaleskiego* (Lwów, 1902), III, 26–27. There may be some truth in Zaleski's opinion, expressed in another letter to Duchinski, that Gogol' became more pro-Russian under Žukovskij's influence (D. Zaleski, *op. cit.,* V, 250).

[88] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* X, 95.

[89] *Ibid.,* p. 124.

knew Gogol' well during his stay in Rome, wrote that "he (Gogol') was in love with his view of Rome, yet here there was present, partly, the Little Russian element, always keenly receptive to whatever bears the stamp of antiquity or is reminiscent of it."[90] Occasionally his thoughts wandered back to Vasylivka and he was very much concerned about his mother's welfare. "When you write to me tell me in general about the present condition of our country and whether our province of Poltava is better off . . . Let us talk again about the old times. Tell me of our neighbours, which of them came to our church on Sundays and then, of course, stayed for lunch; how he or she was dressed and what he or she talked about. I do not know what fancy has come over me now to know about it."[91]

Farewell to the Ukraine

The next time Gogol' was moved to return in his thoughts to the Ukraine was a year later, in the summer of 1839. After the death in Rome of young Count Vel'gorskij, with whom Gogol' had formed a very close friendship, Gogol' left Italy and travelled to Vienna. There, according to some of Gogol"s biographers, he underwent a very severe spiritual crisis which changed the entire course of his life.[92]

It was from Vienna that Gogol' wrote to Ševyrev on August 25, 1839. "Before me there appears and passes in poetic formation the history of the Cossacks, and I would be a great fool if I don't make anything out of it. Whether it was from the Little Russian songs which are now in my hands, or whether my heart has clairvoyantly received the past, I feel in me much that is so rare these days. God speed!"[93] We know that for some time before coming to Vienna Gogol' was steeped in the reading of Ukrainian folksongs from which he did not part on his travels. Now, a major new idea emerged in his mind – that of writing a play based on the history of the Zaporožian Cossacks. Throughout the year Gogol' worked on the play and in November or December 1839, Gogol' told Aksakov that "in his head he composed a tragedy from the history of Zaporože in which everything, to the last detail, is ready, even the costumes of the characters; that this is his old and favourite child, that he considers that this play will be one of his better works and that two months will give him enough time to write it

---

[90] P. V. Annenkov, *Literaturnye vospominanija* (Leningrad, 1928), p. 86.
[91] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XI, 170–71.
[92] V. Setschkarev, *Gogol* (New York, 1965).
[93] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XI, 241.

down on paper."[94] On his visit to Moscow, sometime in the spring of 1840, Gogol' told Ščepkin that he had given this play the strange title "Vybrityj us" (Shaven Mustache).[95] In a letter to Pogodin, written from Rome on October 17, 1840, Gogol' remarked that the subject of the play "unfolded before me in such grandeur that my whole being felt a sweet tremor. Having forgotten everything, I settled myself in the world which I had not visited for a long time and at that very minute I sat down to work . . ."[96] V. Panov, who accompanied Gogol' on his return journey from Moscow to Rome, testified that Gogol' read to him several scenes from the play and that one comic character was an accomplished creation.[97] The next news of the tragedy was brief and tragic. In September, 1841, in Frankfurt, Gogol' read the play to Žukovskij and when the latter did not like it, Gogol' burned the manuscript.

All that has been preserved are some drafts for this play. They are too scanty to be able to reconstruct the main idea, the plot or the characters of the play. There are obvious similarities with *Taras Bul'ba* (its strong anti-Polish tone) and also with *Het'man*.[98] Of interest is Gogol"s draft note on the general atmosphere of the play entitled "Kak nužno sozdat' etu dramu" (How to compose this drama). In part, it reads:

> Array it in moonlight, silvery shimmer and sumptuous exhalation of the south. Flood it with the gleaming cascade of bright sunrays and let it be full of unendurable brilliance. Illuminate it all with the past evoked from bygone centuries, the times full of antiquity, envelop it with revelry, Cossack dances and all the expanse of freedom.[99]

The mood of poetic exaltation was Gogol"s valediction to the Ukraine and his own past. At a time of severe inner crisis Gogol' looked with nostalgia to the Ukraine and tried to express her spirit in a work of art. What he could not leave to posterity in the play he left in the second, expanded version of *Taras Bul'ba* on which he worked at the same time. A recent comment on that version suggests that Gogol', worried about the future reception of *Dead Souls* as a work critical of Russia, wanted to win over the Russian reader with an affirmation of Russian virtues in *Taras Bul'ba*.[100] This is also why it was necessary to remove "all references to the

---

[94] S. T. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.
[95] P. Kuliš, *Zapiski o žizni Gogolja* (St. Petersburg, 1856), I, 252.
[96] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XI, 314.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 440.
[98] Ju. Oksman, "Sožžennaja tragedija Gogolja iz prošlogo Zaporožja," *Atenej* (Leningrad, 1926), III; see also P. Kuliš, "Zametki i nabroski N. V. Gogolja dlja dramy iz ukrainskoj istorii," *Osnova,* 1861, January.
[99] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* V, 199.
[100] C. R. Proffer, *The Simile and Gogol's Dead Souls* (The Hague, 1967), pp. 184, 193.

Ukraine as an area distinct from Russia."[101] Even such small detail as Gogol"s footnote to explain the use of a Ukrainian word *svytka* (coat) is very revealing. In the 1835 edition the explanation is a "Little Russian *(u malorossijan)* top coat," in 1842 – "South Russian *(u južnyx rossijan)* top coat." Ukrainian material was used by Gogol' to promote Russian messianism. On historical and artistic grounds this attempt proved unsuccessful.

Ukrainian folklore and history both played their part in Gogol's artistic development not only at the beginning of his career but up to 1842, that is right up to the publication of *Dead Souls*. Throughout his best years he remained close to the Ukraine, closer than is usually admitted. His "Ukrainian" works are, therefore, neither juvenilia nor unimportant productions. They weigh less only in comparison with his masterpiece. The intensity of the Ukrainian ties diminished as Gogol"s roots in the Ukraine weakened. But this weakening was a sign of inevitable growth and of Gogol"s realization that he must explore the soul of man without the context of history. If he wanted to become a great artist he had no choice but to write about modern man unadorned by a folk costume.

As far as his creative development was concerned the source of nourishment which he drew from the Ukraine dried up and he was pursuing a new artistic and religious quest. This led him away from his country, to foreign lands, to restless wanderings and a solitary spiritual search. At first he was still at the height of his creative powers and produced two masterpieces – *The Inspector General* and *Dead Souls*. Later, his religious and moralistic preoccupations destroyed his art and finally the man himself.

During that period Gogol' came to share some of the teachings of the Slavophiles to whom he was always sympathetic. As it did to many Russophile Ukrainians, Slavophilism offered Gogol' many attractions. The Slavophile concepts often coincided with those of "official nationality," especially as far as the cultivation of *narodnost'* was concerned. Gogol"s correspondence with Pogodin and Ševyrev proves that he was ready to accept the Slavophile doctrine of the superiority of what were thought to be the innate virtues of the Russian people over Western European traditions. Yet even here Gogol' had to play the part of a "junior partner" of the Russians who welcomed him but nevertheless kept him at a certain distance. Characteristic in this instance is the comment on Gogol's attachment to the Ukraine by Sergej Aksakov, in a letter to his son, Ivan. The occasion, apparently, was Gogol"s birthday party at the house of the Aksakovs.

> The three Ukrainians *(troe xaxlov)* [Gogol', Maksymovyč, Bodjanskyj] were charming. They sang without the music and Gogol' read to me some *dumy* of the Ukrainian *(xoxlackogo)* Homer. Gogol' recited and the other *xoxly* gesticulated and whooped, as witnessed by Xomjakov and Sophia, although the presence of the latter obviously annoyed Gogol' and as soon as she left the earlier

---

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

grimaces and hand gestures reappeared. I, Xomjakov and Solov'ev enjoyed this expression of nationality, but without much sympathy. Solov'ev's smile betrayed contempt, Xomyakov's laughter . . . a kindhearted mockery and I found it simply amusing to look at them as at some Čuvašes or Čeremisses . . . and nothing more.[102]

The Last Decade

During his return visit to Russia in 1839–40, Gogol' did not go to Vasylivka. Instead his mother came up to see him in Moscow. In her letters to him she must often have begged him to return home. Three years later, in 1843, Gogol' wrote to her from Rome. "You mention a rumour that I shall soon be in Little Russia but that you do not wish to show your joy prematurely. You are quite right in the second assumption: there is no cause for joy, especially as I have no intention [of returning]. When leaving Moscow I told you that for five or at least four years I could not think of returning home, but that everything depends on God's will. If God wills it, the time of my absence will be shortened or, if God so wills, it may be extended to ten years."[103]

It was not until the summer of 1848 that Gogol' visited Vasylivka. Between 1842 and 1848 his interest in the Ukraine had almost vanished though not entirely. While travelling in Europe, Gogol' often thought of himself and was thought of as Ukrainian. The *Almanach de Carlsbad* for 1846 lists him as "Mr. Nicolas de Gogol, Ukrainien, établi à Moscou." Prosper Mérimée, who knew Gogol' personally, later noted that "on lui reproche, m'a-t-on dit, certain patriotisme provincial. Petit-Russien, il auvrait je ne sais quelle prédilection pour la Petite-Russie au préjudice du reste de l'empire."[104]

In 1844, in his correspondence with Alexandra Smirnova, herself of Ukrainian origin, Gogol' twice attempted to define his nationality. On both occasions he ended up by saying that he was both a Ukrainian and a Russian and that there was no conflict between the two. Writing from Frankfurt on October 24, 1844, he argued: "You know that I may have more pride than others, you also know that my shortcomings may be more

---

[102] "Pis'ma o Gogole," *N. V. Gogol', materialy i issledovanija* (ed. V. Gippius) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1936), I, 217.

Describing Gogol's singing at the Aksakovs, Kuliš noted that Gogol' became so carried away by Ukrainian songs that his friends had to calm him down by imploring "that's enough, Mykola," (P. Kuliš, *Opyt biografii N. V. Gogolja,* St. Petersburg, 1854, p. 168).

[103] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XII, 176.

[104] P. Mérimée, "La littérature en Russie," *Revue des deux Mondes,* 1851, XII, 629. It might have been under Gogol's influence that Mérimée became interested in the Ukraine and wanted to write a book about Xmel'nyc'kyj.

numerous than those of all the others because, as you know, I united in me two natures: that of a Ukrainian *(xoxlika)* with that of a Russian."[105] In December of the same year Gogol' expanded this thought, also in a letter to Smirnova, who was particularly interested in his biculturalism. On November 3, 1844, Smirnova wrote to Gogol':

> At Rastopčina's house in the company of Vjazemskij, Samarin and (Fjodor Ivanovič) Tolstoj we discussed the spirit in which your *Dead Souls* is written and Tolstoj remarked that you have drawn all the Russians as repulsive, while all your Little Russians were endowed with some sympathy regardless of their comic aspects; that even the comic aspects are naively pleasant, that there is not one Ukrainian *(xoxol)* in your works who is as vile as Nozdrev, that Korobočka is not disgusting because she is Ukrainian *(xoxlačka)*. He, Tolstoj, even sees an involuntary unfriendliness in the fact that when two peasants are talking you say "two Russian peasants." Tolstoj and after him Tjutčev, a very intelligent man, remarked that a Muscovite would never say "two Russian peasants." They both agreed that your Ukrainian *(xoxlackaja)* soul is evident in *Taras Bul'ba* where with such love you created Taras, Andrej and Ostap . . . I remarked, by the way, that the Ukrainians *(xoxly)* also don't like you at all and reproach you just as the Russians do. Pletnev agreed with me.[106]

Gogol' replied:

> To this I shall tell you that I myself do not know what soul I have . . . Ukrainian *(xoxlackaja)* or Russian. I only know that on no account would I give priority to the Little Russian before the Russian, nor to the Russian before the Little Russian. Both natures are richly endowed by God and each of them separately contains what the other lacks . . . a sure sign that they should complement each other. Therefore, the very histories of their past existence are unlike each other so that different powers of their characters were developed in order to merge, later, into one, to create something more accomplished in mankind.[107]

The last sentiment forms the kernel of a philosophy common in Gogol"s time, that of all-Russian *(obščerusskaja)* nature. This was the belief that the assimilation to Russian culture of the Ukrainians, Belorussians and other peoples of the Russian Empire was never quite complete. In this way the elements of other ethnic cultures and origins were still discernible in Russian culture. Moreover, the strength and vitality of the latter was best guaranteed by the presence of these elements, not by their eradication and complete absorption. There is no doubt that Gogol' can be regarded as a product of just such an all-Russian culture. This has been frequently pointed out, with the greatest persuasiveness by Ovsjanyko-Kulykovśkyj.[108] In the last decade of his life, Gogol' became a strong advocate of the all-Russian philosophy,

---

[105] Gogol' *Polnoe sobranie,* XII, 360.
[106] *Russkaja starina,* 1888, No. 10, p. 124.
[107] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XII, 419.
[108] D. N. Ovsjanyko–Kulykovs'kyj, "Gogol' – obščeruss na malorusskoj osnove," in "Gogol'," *Sobranie sočinenij* (St. Petersburg, 1909), I.

much stronger than he was in his youth. It was left to Ševčenko to lead the first assault on this concept.

Gogol' and Ševčenko disagreed on many more vital issues. One of them was the attitude to serfdom. While Ševčenko came out with a strong condemnation of serfdom, Gogol' defended it. During his most conservative period when, obsessed by religious mania, Gogol' was patrionizingly giving spiritual advice to all his friends, he took time to instruct his mother and his sisters on the management of their estate. In this instance his interest in Vasylivka was an excuse for a defense of the social order. In this Gogol' expressed his basic beliefs which were those of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. His conviction that the social order was hierarchical and was best served by everybody keeping to his own place, stemmed from his early environment and schooling. Gogol"s conservative philosophy was expressed not only in his *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends,* but also in most of his works and in his letters. Writing on May 1, 1846, from Rome, Gogol' gave his mother and his sisters lengthy instructions as to how best to supervise the work of the serfs. "You should tell the bailiff that he is entrusted with authority and all authority comes from God. 'There is no power that does not come from God' the Bible says, and that is why he should look well after the peasants and order and instruct them to do their work well. Also tell the peasants to obey the bailiff and follow whoever is in charge of them, even if he were worse than they are, because there is no authority that does not come from God."[109]

In Gogol"s thoughts Vasylivka became a refuge and a haven for his religious ideas. He begged his mother not to leave it but to pray in the local church while he was on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In this testament, which was included in the *Selected Passages,* he expressed his wish that Vasylivka should become a haven for poor travellers.

It was not until May, 1848, that Gogol', after a long sea voyage from the Holy Land, reached Odessa and then Vasylivka. His physical condition was a little improved but his general neurosis was not much better. The visit to the Holy Land had failed to produce a radical change in his spiritual condition, as Gogol' had hoped. The storm after the unfavourable reception of the *Selected Passages,* a book strongly reminiscent of Skovoroda,[110] had only just died down and the second part of *Dead Souls* remained unwritten. To the tortured soul of Gogol', Vasylivka brought no relief but new tribulations. He described his feeling in a letter to Danylevs'kyj, on May 16, 1848.

> You ask me about the impressions which the sight of places not seen for so long have made on me. I felt a little sad, that was all. I arrived in the evening. The trees – some have grown and formed complete groves, others have been cut

---

[109] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XIII, 59.

[110] For other similarities, between Gogol' and Skovoroda see D. Tschižewskij (Čyževskyj), "Skovoroda – Gogol," *Die Welt der Slaven,* XIII (1968), No. 3.

down. That evening I walked alone along the road across the steppes, behind the church, which leads to Javorovščina and along which I liked to walk before, and I felt deeply that you were not with me.[111]

A sudden heatwave aggravated Gogol"s delicate condition. "For only three or four days after my arrival home," he wrote to Aksakov, "I felt well. Afterwards constant disorders with my insides, nerves and head – all from this hellish heat, worse than in the tropics."[112] To make matters worse, cholera spread in the neighbouring area. It was with no regrets that Gogol' left Vasylivka in August. He returned to Moscow where his spirits revived amid many old friends.

In July 1850, Gogol' returned to Vasylivka where he stayed until October. This was his last summer in the Ukraine. He spent it visiting friends and taking charge of the renovation of his mother's house and in planting an oak forest. It is reported that while visiting some friends Gogol' involuntarily made a random pronouncement on the place of the Ukrainian language. Gogol"s hostess, the mother of a little boy, was embarrassed when her son talked in Ukrainian and demanded that he speak in Russian. Gogol', according to the reminiscences of his school friend Paščenko, stopped her by saying; "Why do you interfere? Let him speak his native language; the time will come when he will be able to learn all the other things."[113] Gogol"s defense of Ukrainian is qualified here by his belief that it was suitable for domestic use only. From Vasylivka, Gogol' went to Odessa where, in the mild climate, he spent the winter of 1850. In the spring of 1851 he was back in Vasylivka and at the end of May he left for Moscow never to return to the Ukraine.

In Moscow, Gogol' kept in touch with some of his Ukrainian friends, notably Bodjans'kyj and Danylevs'kyj. Sometimes he would go to the Aksakovs where he would listen with great enjoyment to Ukrainian songs. It is from the fall of 1851, less than one year before his death, that we have an interesting excerpt from Grigorij Danilevskij's memoirs about a visit which Danilevskij and Bodjans'kyj paid to Gogol'.

Bodjanskij asked Gogol' what he thought about Ševčenko.

Gogol' remained silent for a second after the question and bristled up. His wary, stork-like figure looked at us again from behind the writing desk.
– "How do you find him?" repeated Bodjanskij.
– "All right, What is there to say," replied Gogol', "only don't be offended, my friend. You are his admirer and his personal fate deserves all sympathy and commiseration."
– "Why do you drag in his personal fate?" protested the dissatisfied Bodjanskij, "let's leave that aside. Tell us what you think of his talent, of his poetry . . ."

---

[111] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* XIV, 66–67.
[112] *Ibid.,* p. 78.
[113] V. Paškov, "Čerty iz žizni Gogolja," *Bereg,* No. 268. December 18, 1880.

– "There is a great deal of dross in it *(degtju mnogo)*," said Gogol' quietly but firmly. "And I would add, more dross than real poetry. For us, as Little Russians, this is, perhaps, agreeable, but not everybody's nose is like ours. And the language . . ."
Bodjanskij grew impatient, began to protest and grew angry. Gogol' replied to him quietly.
– "We, Osip Maksimovič, should write in Russian," he went on. "One should strive to support and strengthen one dominant language for all of us, kindred races *(plemen)* . . . I know and like Ševčenko as a countryman of mine and a talented artist. I myself succeeded in helping him a little in arranging his first release. But he was misguided by our great intellectuals who suggested to him works alien to true talent. They are still chewing over the European cud which has long been discarded. A Russian and a Little Russian – these are twin souls complementing one another and equally strong. To give preference to one to the detriment of the other is impossible. No, Osip Maksimovič, that's not what we need. Every writer should now think not about discord; he should follow the one who gave us the eternal word of man . . ."
Gogol' talked at length in the same spirit. Bodjanskij was silent but, of course, disagreed with him profoundly.
– "Well, we are disturbing you, it's time for us to go home," said Bodjanskij at last, getting up. We took our leave and went.
– "What a strange man," said Bodjanskij when we reached the street, "whenever he takes something into his head. To deny the significance of Ševčenko! It's clear that he got on the wrong track today."[114]

There is no need to doubt the veracity of Danilevskij's memoirs. Some Soviet scholars tend to do this and belittle Gogol"s estimate of Ševčenko, trying to explain it by the former's "reactionary views." In fact, Gogol"s opinion as expressed to Bodjanskyj is consistent with his own views of Ukrainian culture and is a logical development of his thought. It is an honest expression of disagreement with Ševčenko and his followers. There are several points in Gogol"s assessment of Ševčenko which may require elucidation. What exactly did Gogol' dislike in Ševčenko's poetry and why did he consider Ševčenko's admirers to be leading him along the wrong road to worn-out poetic models? What was he referring to when he asserted that he helped Ševčenko in arranging his release? There is no other evidence to support this claim. But the main outlines of Gogol"s argument are clear. He believed that by writing in Ukrainian Ševčenko chose the wrong path, that great literature in the Ukraine could be written only in Russian, the language of the educated classes. Writing in Ukrainian, in Gogol"s opinion, led automatically to certain themes and styles which were not of universal significance. Ševčenko's effort to create such an independent Ukrainian literature Gogol' regarded as misguided.

Was Gogol' deceiving himself when he thought that his two souls (Ukrainian and Russian) were never in conflict but always in harmony? There

---

[114] G. P. Danilevskij, *Sočinenija* (St. Petersburg, 1901), XIV, 97–100. Here quoted from V. Gippius (ed.) *N. V. Gogol' v pis'max i vospominanijax* (Moscow, 1931), pp. 432–33.

is no doubt that there was tension between them. Often, the inability to fuse these two elements reached into the innermost recesses of Gogol"s creative art – language. As some scholars (Mandel'štam, Čyževs'kyj) have pointed out, Gogol"s language never became purely Russian in spirit; it remained, even in its syntax, Ukrainian. To say simply that Gogol' enriched the Russian language with Ukrainianisms is to overlook the suffering which his inability to write in good Russian must have caused him. As Mandel'štam convincingly demonstrated, in his works, "Gogol' almost literally inserted a translation from Little Russian and therefore the spirit of non-Russian speech remained in them."[115]

The role which Gogol' played, that of the leader of Russian literature, to which he was promoted by Belinskij himself, was not an easy one. He was conscious of it being a role, an effort, which at times came as easily to him as the role of the inspector-general came to Xlestakov, but at other times, when the same Belinskij who elevated him was berating him, the part of "the father of Russian realism" was very hard. Gogol"s profound unhappiness and his tragic end can be traced, in part at least, to his uprooting and his intense endeavour to be more Russian than the Russians. The price he paid for holding on to his place in Russian literary history was high. The place, however, was truly exalted, it was right next to Puškin and it would have satisfied Gogol"s inordinate ambition.

The substratum of Gogol"s art and philosophy was Ukrainian. His humour and his moralism were the products of his native soil. He simply transplanted them into Russian literature. As an artist he was eminently successful and "from under his cloak" came future Russian realists and surrealists, naturalists and modernists. As a philosopher he was a failure, for only a few of the intellectuals agreed with his premise that personal moral regeneration rather than social reconstruction was the guarantee of progress. Not man's relation to history and society, but his relation to God, interested Gogol' the thinker and in this he was similar to Skovoroda. That is also why Gogol"s response to Ukrainian folklore and history (unlike that of Ševčenko) was purely aesthetic, with no political connotations. Nothing that he found in them led him to believe that the Ukraine was separate from Russia. On the contrary, he demonstrated that the differences between these two cultures could be harmonized. It is ironic that no sooner was the Ukraine "sealed and delivered" to Russia by Gogol' than a challenge would sound by one of his countrymen who questioned this concept.

---

[115] I. Mandel'štam, *O xaraktere gogolevskogo stilja* (Helsingfors, 1902), p. 215. See also V. Čaplenko, *Ukrajinizmy v movi M. Hoholja* (Augsburg, 1948).

V

ŠEVČENKO

The appearance of Ševčenko must be seen not only in contrast to Gogol' but also to the Ukrainian intellectual milieu of the day. The existence of such a milieu, small as it was, was in itself of cardinal importance. In the 1820's and 1830's a series of issues, centered around the Ukraine, came into the open and there crystallized a certain definite attitude, shared by Ukrainian writers, historians and folklorists as to the need for a distinctly Ukrainian culture and literature. Linguistic efforts were made to form a separate Ukrainian literature. Gogol"s decision not to participate in these efforts does not exclude him from the intellectual debate of the time. On the contrary, his attitude was shared by many Ukrainians. On the other hand, Ševčenko's intellectual origins owe much to the milieu described in chapters I and II of this study. It is impossible to imagine him without his predecessors. Yet great as was his debt to them the pace at which he surpassed them was much greater. There is, indeed, a great leap in the Ukraine between the 1830's and the 1840's. That it was accomplished almost entirely singlehandedly is a testimony to the great power of poetry. For it was through the miracle of the poetic word that Ševčenko galvanized the country which was not yet sure of its course. The impact of Ševčenko on the Ukraine was in intensity such as Gogol' in his wildest dreams about the Cossack elan could not imagine. The story of Ševčenko's life holds the key to the understanding of this influence.

Childhood and Youth

Taras Ševčenko was born on March 9, 1814, in the village of Morynci, in the province of Kiev. His father, Hryhorij and his mother Kateryna, nee Bojko, were serfs. Morynci, the village in which Taras' mother was also born, was one of the many possessions of Vasilij Engel'hardt, a Russian magnate and retired general. Taras' father came from the neighbouring village of Kyrylivka to which the whole family moved in 1815. There, in a large family consisting of grandfather Ivan, his parents, two brothers and four sisters, Taras spent his childhood. In his novel *Knjaginja* (Princess) Ševčenko recalled those times.

> And there before me stands our poor, old, white house with a dark thatched roof and black chimney, and near the house, on one side, an appletree with red apples, and around the appletree a flowerbed, the darling of my unforgettable sister, my patient and gentle nurse. A ramous willow withered at the top stands at the gate and behind the willow is a barn, surrounded by stacks of rye, wheat and all sorts of crops, and beyond the barn on a slope of the hill an orchard spreads itself. And what an orchard! Thick, dark and quiet... Beyond the orchard there is a meadow and beyond the meadow a valley and in the valley – a silent, barely rippling stream shaded by willows and guelder-rose and smothered by wide-leaved dark green burdocks.[1]

All this provided some refuge from the dark realities of serfdom. Not that the little Taras was a shy introvert spending most of his time amid the burdocks. In his wanderings he ventured out beyond the boundaries of the village, attracted mainly by the itinerary of the salt-vendors *(čumac'kyj šljax)* who bypassed the neighbourhood. Once he went out determined to find "the columns which support the sky" and was lost until night, when *čumaky* brought him back. With great affection he remembered his elder sister, Catherine, who looked after him when he was small. When he was nine Catherine got married and moved to a neighbouring village.

Taras' father was an exception among the serfs in that he could read. On Sundays he would usually spend some time reading to his family the lives of the saints. He must have valued his literacy because young Taras was sent to the local deacon *(djak)* to learn reading too. Taras preferred the stories which his grandfather could relate rather than formal schooling which was often accompanied by beatings. Old Ivan Ševčenko as a young man was a participant in the bloody rebellion of the Ukrainian peasants against the Polish landowners in 1786 (the so-called *Kolijivščyna*). His accounts of those stirring times were later used by Taras in his poem *Hajdamaky*.

His mother died when Taras was nine years old and two years later, in 1825, his father, who had married again, also died. Before dying Hryhorij Ševčenko said: "My son Taras has no need to inherit any of my property. He will not be an ordinary man; either something very good or no good at all, and for him my inheritance will either mean nothing or be of no help."[2] As an orphan Taras faced his most trying time. His stepmother beat him and he protested by running away from home and hiding. Often he was no longer living at home but with the deacon Bohors'kyj whose underling he became. Life there was not any easier. One night Taras decided to run away from his tyrannical master. Before he did, "finding him completely drunk," he "used against him his own weapon – the birch rod and as much as his childish strength permitted, repaid him for all his cruelties."[3]

---

[1] T. Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v šesty tomax* (Kiev, 1963–64), III, 175. Subsequently referred to as Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja*.

[2] A. Lazarevs'kyj, "Materialy dlja biografii T. G. Ševčenka," *Osnova*, 1862, No. 3, p. 6.

[3] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja*, V, 256.

Eventually Ševčenko returned to Kyrylivka where at the age of thirteen he became a shepherd. At that age he first fell in love, for there is no other way to describe his deep attachment to Oksana Kovalenko. She was remembered later in several of his poems. His first attempts to write poetry probably began at that period too. Apart from ecclesiastical literature there was ever present another source of poetic inspiration – the folksongs. Ševčenko himself said that as a small boy he liked to copy and sing verses by Skovoroda. It is also likely that at quite an early age Ševčenko read Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida*.

His artistic ability showed itself in another direction. As a small child Taras showed a great desire to draw and to paint. "Whenever possible," writes an early biographer of Ševčenko, "on walls, doors, gates, Ševčenko constantly drew with charcoal or chalk. In school where he could get paper and pencil this passion developed even more strongly in him."[4] During his shiftless teenage existence Ševčenko made several efforts to become apprenticed to a painter. For this he, as a serf, needed permission from his master. While trying to obtain it at Vilšana, the residence of the Engel'gardts, he was involuntarily enrolled in his master's domestic staff.

In 1828 the old master Vasilij Engel'gardt died and the Vilšana and neighbouring estates passed to his illegitimate son, Pavel, a lieutenant of the guards and aide-de-camp to the Vilno governor-general Rimskij-Korsakov. The new master liked the appearance of Ševčenko and the "tattered wandering schoolby was straightaway given a twill jacket and pants to match and utimately ended up as a pageboy *(kozačok)*."[5] Sometime in the fall of 1829 he travelled in his new capacity to join his master in Vilno. He was not to return to the Ukraine for several years. Ševčenko's new duties were not onerous but rather dull. He had to wait on his master, bring him a new pipe and be on hand. There were compensations too. Taras spent his time in the residence of his master, and could browse through the books and look at pictures. The temptation to copy the latter led to the following incident, described later by Ševčenko in his autobiographical letter.

> One day, when we were in Vilno, on December 6, 1829, my master and his wife had gone to a ball to celebrate the name day of His Majesty ... I lit a candle in my solitary room ... and started to copy with real zeal. The time passed ... [Suddenly] the door opened and my master and his wife, coming back from the ball, entered. Enraged he took me by the ears and slapped my face because I could have set on fire not only the house but the whole town. Next day the master ordered coachman Sidorka to give me a good beating which was carried out with special zeal.[6]

Engel'gardt realized that the boy had talent and decided to apprentice him to a painter. Some scholars believe Ševčenko became a pupil of the well-

---

[4] Lazarevs'kyj, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[5] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja*, V, 257.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

known Jan Rustem in Vilno. Other hold that his teacher was Franciszek Lampi, who lived in Warsaw.[7] The evidence that Ševčenko lived in Warsaw is not very convincing. Two incidents from days in Vilno are of importance. Both incidents represented Ševčenko's first contacts with Poland which later had an important influence on his ideas. First, Ševčenko formed a friendship with a Polish girl, Dziunia Husikowska. They talked in Polish, a language which Ševčenko knew fairly well. The Right-Bank Ukraine from which he came had become a part of Russia late in the eighteenth century and therefore retained Polish traditions and language. When he first met Dziunia, who was not a serf, Ševčenko is said to have remarked: "For the first time it occurred to me: why aren't we, the wretched serfs, the same people as those in other social classes?"[8]

The second episode was more important. Either in Warsaw or in Vilno one day late in November, 1830, Ševčenko was a witness of the Polish uprising against the Russians. For a few days the revolutionaries held the upper hand. Engel'gardt left in a hurry for St. Petersburg and Taras was left behind, but not for long. He had orders to rejoin his master and made his way in a group of servants through a country full of insurgents openly fighting the Russian troops. There is little doubt that witnessing this anti-Russian revolution left a deep impression on the Ukrainian serf.

In St. Petersburg

Once in the capital Ševčenko reverted to his role of pageboy. Not until 1832 did his master agree to apprentice him to a painter, Širjaev, a well-known St. Petersburg decorator. Širjaev's friend I. Zajcev has recorded in his memoirs that when he recited Puškin and Žukovskij at Širjaev's he could see Ševčenko listening to these verses through an open door.[9] It was also at Širjaev's that Ševčenko must have learned to speak Russian properly for up to that time his knowledge of the language was still imperfect. The lack of formal secondary education could, in Ševčenko's case, be regarded as a blessing in disguise for the schools were the media of Russification.

It was a chance meeting which proved so fateful for Ševčenko's further career. In his free moments he often went to the Summer Gardens to copy some statues. On one of these outings, during a St. Petersburg "white night", he was approached by a stranger, admiring his drawings. It turned out that the stranger was a fellow Ukrainian, Ivan Sošenko, himself a student at the

---

[7] Pavlo Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (Munich, 1955), pp. 36–38.

[8] "Novye materialy dlja biografii T. G. Ševčenka," *Osnova*, 1862, No. 5, p. 52.

[9] "Vospominanija starogo učitelja I. K. Zajceva," *Russkaja starina*, 1887, No. 6, p. 676.

Academy of Fine Arts, a native of Bohuslav, only about 20 miles away from Ševčenko's birthplace. The two young men struck up a firm friendship. At first Sošenko supplied Ševčenko with books and told him all about his life as an art student. Then, realizing Ševčenko's great talent and his plight at Širjaev's, he went out of his way to find influential friends who could help Ševčenko's lot. Among those to whom he introduced Ševčenko were Jevhen Hrebinka, a well-known Ukrainian writer and Vasyl' Hryhorovyč, the secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts. The latter was also of Ukrainian origin.

Although Ševčenko's first friends in St. Petersburg were Ukrainians it would not be true to say that they were the only ones interested in his future. The fate of a gifted artist who was a serf and therefore could not study at the Academy, struck a responsive chord in many Russian hearts. Among these the most powerful were the famous painter Brjullov and the well-known poet Žukovskij. It was finally decided to buy Ševčenko his freedom by offering a sum of money to Engel'hardt. "V. A. Žukovskij," wrote Ševčenko in his autobiographical letter, "having first of all learnt the price from the landowner asked Brjullov to paint his, [Žukovskij's] portrait for the Imperial family with a view of offering it for sale in a lottery within the tsar's family. The great Brjullov willingly agreed. The portrait was painted. Žukovskij, with the help of Count Vel'gorskij, arranged a lottery to the amount of 2,500 rubles and with this sum the freedom of T. Ševčenko was purchased on April 22, 1838."[10]

At first Ševčenko was elated. He was a free man, a student at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and a holder of a scholarship. What more could he desire? For a while he was drawn to the social and artistic world from which he had been barred. He went out in the evenings, bought new clothes and thereby annoyed his new roommate Sošenko. But gradually the hard work at the Academy absorbed all his energies. He became a devoted and conscientious student eagerly filling the gaps in his almost non-existent education. During the next six years he received at the Academy a thorough liberal education. Among the subjects studied were aesthetics, history, anatomy and art history. Above all, he became the favourite pupil of Brjullov, whose house he frequently visited even staying for weeks and months.

Brjullov was at the zenith of his fame. Having returned to Russia after living for many years in Italy he was worshipped by the Russian *cognoscenti* as the greatest Romantic painter. His huge canvas "The Last Days of Pompei" was admired by all, among them Puškin and Gogol'. Gogol' even wrote an essay about it, full of adulation for Brjullov. It was Brjullov who not only opened the doors to the highest artistic circle in St. Petersburg for Ševčenko, but who also introduced him to the world of Romantic literature and art. During readings at Brjullov's house Ševčenko heard the

---

[10] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* V, 259.

latest Western European poetry and prose. In his autobiographical novel *Xudožnik* (The Artist) Ševčenko recreated the atmosphere of his student days, particularly his devotion to the "divine Brjullov" and his friendship with the painer Šternberg. It was also at Brjullov's that Ševčenko became aware of another urge which for some time had been stirring in him. It was in the year he gained freedom that we hear for the first time of Ševčenko as a poet. Later, in his diary, he gave the following account of his first literary attempts.

> I lived in his [Brjullov's] apartment, or I schould say, in his studio. And what did I do? What did I work at in this holy of holies? It is strange even to recollect . . . I wrote Ukrainian verses, which later fell like a terrible burden upon my poor soul. Before his [Brjullov's] bewitching canvas I fell into reveries and evoked in my heart my blind *kobzar* and the bloodthirsty *hajdamaks*. In the twilight of his luxurious studio, as if on torrid and wild steppes along the Dnieper, before me passed the martyred shadows of our hapless Hetmans. The steppe spread out before me, dotted with high mounds. My beautiful, my unfortunate Ukraine preened herself before me in all her immaculate and melancholy beauty . . . And so I grew more pensive and I could not take my spiritual eyes off that native and enchanting beauty. This was nothing less than my destiny.[11]

Actually, Ševčenko started writing at least a year earlier. His ballad "Pryčynna" (Bewitched) was composed in 1837. In 1838 he wrote four *dumky* (meditations) as well as "Na vičnu pamjat' Kotljarevs'komu" (To the Eternal Memory of Kotljarevs'kyj), "Kateryna" (Catherine) and "Tarasova nič" (The Night of Taras). On November 18, 1838, Hrebinka wrote to Kvitka: "There is also here a countryman of ours, Ševčenko, who is very anxious to write verses. Whatever he writes you can only smack your lips and clap your hands in admiration. He gave me several beautiful poems for my collection."[12] The collection in question did not materialize until 1841. However, these facts indicate that no sooner did Ševčenko become a free man than he started thinking of publishing his poems. What were the reasons for this development?

Undoubtedly the St. Petersburg milieu had much to do with this. Many of Ševčenko's new friends were men of letters and literary critics. Among them the most influential was Hrebinka. It was probably through him that Ševčenko heard in greater detail about the Ukrainian writers of the day. Although little was published, still there existed not only collections of Ukrainian folksongs and historical materials but also the original works of poets and prosewriters. Some of them Ševčenko met personally; with others (Kvitka) he started to correspond. In the winter of 1839 he probably met Mykola Markevyč who came to St. Petersburg after failing to have his *Istorija Malorossii* printed in Moscow. By that time Ševčenko had also read

---

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[12] G. Danilevskij, *Ukrainskaja starina* (Xarkiv, 1866), p. 275.

Istorija Rusov which circulated in several copies. In a sense, the St. Petersburg atmosphere was charged with Ukrainian themes and interests in which Gogol"s early works held a prominent place. There were, therefore, many models which Ševčenko could have followed. Indeed, the first known poem by Ševčenko the ballad "Bewitched" which probably dates from 1837, shows traces of many influences (Metlyns'kyj, Borovykovs'kyj). Yet "Bewitched" remains an original work of great poetic power. It is striking how right at the beginning of his poetic career Ševčenko showed the markings of genius. The musicality of his language was extraordinary. The beginning of the ballad, set to music, has become a popular folksong. Ševčenko's language vibrated with colour and richness, his imagery evoked the mood perfectly. Some qualities of this poem are not entirely lost in translation. While Ševčenko was imitating folksong motifs he rose above them so much that the finished product was perfect in a form and structure which were his own creations. His alone were the metric patterns, the rhythms and rich rhymes. More characteristic for Ševčenko than a ballad was the short lyric meditation *(dumka),* a brief song with personal reflections. Among the earliest is "Teče voda v synje more" (Water Flows into the Blue Sea, 1838).

The waters flow down to the sea
And never more return;
A cossack goes to seek his fortune,
– Fortune there is none.
The Cossack journeys far away
Where dance the dark blue waves, –
Like them the Cossack's heart is dancing,
But thought speaks and says:
"Where do you journey without asking?
To whose care abandoned
Father, and your dear old mother.
And a fair young maiden?
And hard to live indeed,
Among them; – none to share your tears,
No one with whom to speak."
The Cossack sits there on the further
Shore – the blue waves dance.
He dreamed that he would find good fortune:
Sorrow crossed his path.
And now the cranes fly in long skeins'
Towards the further shore.
The Cossack weeps – the beaten tracks
Are overgrown with thorns.[13]

The directness and simplicity of Ševčenko's language may be seen in all the early poems written in 1838. Not one of them can be rejected as weak. The appeal they had to Ukrainian listeners was instant. As Panaev recalled in his memoirs:

[13] Translated by Vera Rich. Taras Shevchenko, *Song Out of Darkness* (London, 1961), p. 7.

> I saw Ševčenko for the first time twenty-four years ago [in 1837] at a soiree at Grebenka's. At that time they were still talking about buying out the poet . . . Ševčenko was 23 years old. He was full of life; thoughts of near freedom and hope of a better future enlivened him. He had already written some poems, but they, it seems, were not included in the *Kobzar*. His Little Russian friends even then spoke of him with enthusiasm and said that Ševčenko showed promise of poetic genius.[14]

Apart from purely lyrical verse Ševčenko wrote three longer poems in 1838 which showed his other interests. One of them was "To the Eternal Memory of Kotljarevs'kyj" written after Kotljarevs'kyj's death in 1838. Its panegyrical tone was in sharp contrast to Ševčenko's later opinion of Kotljarevs'kyj. In the poem Ševčenko was full of reverence for the "father" of Ukrainian literature. He praised him for depicting the "Cossack glory" and for reminding the Ukrainians of their ancient history. It is significant that Ševčenko revealed in that poem his sense of the continuity of modern Ukrainian literature. In his desire to listen to the "nightingale-like" language of Kotljarevs'kyj there was clear willingness to continue the process of Ukrainian letters. No contemporary of Ševčenko was filled with exactly these emotions.

The sense of continuous literary tradition, of which the Romantics became aware, was awakened in them by historical rather than aesthetic considerations. The new feeling of national identity led them to a discovery of their past which in turn reinforced the national awareness. As artists, however, they found in the past written literature little that attracted them. The medieval and Baroque era on the whole repelled them because of its Church Slavonic language and ecclesiastical outlook. Classicism was also of little help since it used popular language for comic effect and therefore, in the eyes of some Romantics, debased it. Ševčenko, who struggled hard to refine the language, was remarkable in his restraint and in the respect he showed towards older writers who were hardly his predecessors.

Ševčenko's first historical poem was "The Night of Taras" (1838). For the first time he turned for inspiration to the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks and found it relevant to his own times. Ševčenko's discovery of the clue to Ukrainian history was presented in simple terms: at one time Ukrainians had a glorious history, now they had lost this glory and could only recall it in songs. The past is remembered with sharp poignancy.

> Once there was the Hetmanate –
> It passed beyond recall;
> Once, it was, we ruled ourselves,
> But we shall rule no more . . .
> Yet we never shall forget
> The Cossack fame of yore![15]

---

[14] I. I. Panaev, *Literaturnye vospominanija* (Leningrad, 1928), pp. 169–70.
[15] Translated by Vera Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 11

In the poem Ševčenko recalled one incident from Cossack history – the victory of the Cossacks, led by Taras Trjasylo, over the Poles in 1630. Ševčenko's main sources were *Istorija Rusov* and the history of the Ukraine by Bantyš-Kamens'kyj. As described by Ševčenko, conditions in the Ukraine before Trjasylo's rebellion were those of severe national and social oppression. Yet despite ruthless domination by the Poles the Ukrainians were able to rise and fight. Now, the reader must surely conclude, conditions are equally bad but there is no sign of rebellion. That such a contemporary allusion could be drawn from the poem may be seen from the tsarist censors who, before the poem was printed in the *Kobzar,* deleted such passages as the one quoted above. Even in its censored version the poem was quite revolutionary in the eyes of General Dubel't, chief of the Third Section, who in 1847 condemned it as "being written with the clear purpose of comparing historical conditions with the present ones."[16]

The last work to be written in 1838 was a long poem, "Catherine", dedicated to Žukovskij. It is Ševčenko's first real masterpiece. This long poem of 750 lines relates the story of a Ukrainian peasant girl who is seduced by a Russian officer who then abandons her. Disgraced, she is expelled, with a small child, by her parents and vainly searches for her Ivan. When finally she finds him he refuses to acknowledge her and drives her away. Catherine ends her life by drowning. This Karamzinian theme is given a fresh treatment in which no trace is left of sentimentality. Ševčenko's poem, while in places reminiscent of Kvitka's short story "Serdešna Oksana", is a moving tragedy. It consists of Catherine's transgression of the accepted family order. In Shlemkevych's words, it is the "clash between emotion and the wisdom of the kin, between eros and logos."[17] Ševčenko depicts this conflict not in national or social but in universal human terms and evokes deep sympathy for the suffering woman. An exploration of the human condition, especially of the suffering caused by the conflict of the general good versus personal will, becomes, with "Catherine", the central preoccupation of his better works. The archetypal theme of the mother dominates much of his later poetry.[18] While enjoying his newly won freedom in St. Petersburg, Ševčenko did not forget his family in Kyrylivka. On November 15, 1839, he wrote a letter to his brother, Mykyta, sending him at the same time some money. "As you see," he wrote, "I live, study, don't bow to anybody and I am not afraid of anyone except God; it is a great happiness to be a free man, you

---

[16] M. Novyc'kyj, "Ševčenko v procesi 1847 r. i joho papery," *Ukrajina,* 1925, No. 1–2, p. 91.

[17] M. Shlemkevych, "The Substratum of Ševčenko's View of Life," *Taras Ševčenko; 1814–1861; A Symposium* (ed. V. Mijakovs'kyj and G. Y. Shevelov) (The Hague, 1962), p. 44.

[18] See G. Luckyj, "The Archetype of the Bastard in Ševčenko's Poetry," *Slavic and East European Journal,* XIV, Fall 1970, No. 3.

can do what you like and nobody can stop you."[19] He added this characteristic remark, repeating it twice: "Please write to me as I write to you, not in Russian, but in our language."[20]

At the same time Ševčenko was eager to broaden the horizon of his education. He studied French, taking lessons from a Polish friend, L. Demski. From him he obtained Polish literature, some of it like the works of Lelewel, forbidden in Russia. His progress at the Academy was moderate. In May 1839 he was awarded a silver medal for his drawings. This meant that he could not be awarded a travelling scholarship which might have taken him to Italy. His attention was more and more devoted to literature and he was ready when an opportunity presented itself to publish his first collection of poems.

The Publication of the Kobzar

Three men with three different approaches to Ukrainian literature were instrumental in the publication of Ševčenko's first work. They were Hrebinka, Ševčenko's friend who himself wrote in Ukrainian; P. Martos, a wealthy Ukrainian landowner, who financed the project; and P. Korsakov, the censor, who passed the book for printing. On February 12, 1840, preliminary permission was issued for the printing of *Kobzar* (The Minstrel). The book appeared on sale in the second half of April. It was 114 pages long and contained eight poems – "Dumy moji, dumy moji" (O My Thoughts, My Thoughts), "Perebendja", "Kateryna", "Topolja" (The Poplar), "Dumka" (A Song), "Do Osnovjanenka" (To Osnovjanenko), "Ivan Pidkova" and "Tarasova nič" (The Night of Taras). The volume was adorned by Šternberg's frontispiece drawing of a blind minstrel.

The appearance of the *Kobzar* is the single most important event in Ukrainian literature. It heralded a new and bold beginning, an attempt to express what was still thought by many to be impossible – a wide range of feelings and ideas in Ukrainian of the highest artistic form. Ševčenko's language was not based on a particular dialect; nor was it simply a reproduction of popular speech. It grew out of an amalgam of three dialects (southeastern, northern and southwestern) as well as of Church Slavicisms, colloquialisms and elements of earlier writings by different authors. The linguistic synthesis achieved by Ševčenko was a great success. The secret of it lay in "simplicity, not as the opposite of complexity, but as limpid and crystallized complexity."[21]

In the first poem "Dumy moji, dumy moji," which is a kind of invocation

---

[19] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 9.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 10.
[21] M. Kocjubyns'ka, "Ševčenko – poet sučasnyj," *Dnipro,* Nn. 6, 1968, p. 139.

to the Muse, Ševčenko is full of anguish about his poetic efforts. Although ultimately he sends his poems to his native land in the hope that they may find response there, his sorrows and questionings do not leave him. Ševčenko became even more conscious of the difficulties which a Ukrainian poet faced in the second poem in the collection entitled "Perebendja". The name itself is given here to a blind old minstrel who is exeptionally garrulous and ready to sing all kinds of songs to those who will listen to him. However, behind the superficial facade of gaiety and popularity there is in him another self – that of a poet struggling with himself and his art. On the surface, Ševčenko implies, his songs may appear entertaining, but deep in his heart he wants to do more for his reader. True, even then he will sing about the Ukraine, not to amuse and divert, but to stir and evoke the deepest emotions and thoughts. It is this "inner Ukraine", a part of suffering humanity, that Ševčenko turns to in his poem. There is, therefore, a contrast between the minstrel and the poet. What only a decade earlier was considered by Ukrainian intellectuals to be the prerogative of folk poetry in which the blind *kobzar* was the "father of poetry",[22] became in Ševčenko's poem a new form – the minstrel turned into an archetypal figure of wise man and teacher.

The minstrel's chief claim to fame lies in his evocations of the past glory of the Ukraine. Here, indeed, is the main contribution of Ševčenko's collection. With unparalleled skill he depicts Ukrainian history in the poems "To Osnovjanenko," "Ivan Pidkova," and the "Night of Taras". Their value is not so much in the external richness of poetic description as in the internal, philosophical undercurrent which makes history alive and relevant to his readers. Ševčenko contrasts the past with the present and asks, by implication, what are the causes of the decline and decay of his country. Thereby he arouses feelings not only of patriotism but also of nationalism. Patriotism or the love of one's country was an old and universally known sentiment, but nationalism, a transformation of what was after all an ethnic community into a politically conscious nation, was a new idea in the Ukraine. The logic of Ševčenko's argument was based on the premises of *narodnost'* and Romanticism, applied to the situation in the Ukraine. If the Ukraine possessed in the sixteenth century a large measure of independence and enjoyed periods of home rule (the Het'man state) then Ševčenko's contemporaries had an historical heritage – a basic requirement for the creation of a nation. The old liberties, destroyed after the absorption of the Het'man Ukraine by Russia were worthy of revival, especially as the present conditions in the Ukraine were unsatisfactory. Readers of Ševčenko's historical poems must have made this comparison between the past and the present. The blame for the extinction of Ukrainian independence and for the conditions of serfdom introduced in the Ukraine by Catherine II were placed squarely on Russia.

---

[22] M. (N.) Markevyč, *Ukrainskie melodii* (Moscow, 1831), XVIII.

By creating an adequate linguistic and literary medium in the *Kobzar* Ševčenko was in fact laying the foundation for modern Ukrainian literature which from now on could be defended and developed by Ukrainian writers and intellectuals. It was to them that in a few years' time Ševčenko would be directing his appeals. In 1840 he hoped that some of the leading Ukrainian writers would take upon themselves the task of defining the goals of Ukrainian nationhood. Therefore, very inappropriately, he turned to Kvitka, who, in October, 1839, had published in the *Notes of the Fatherland* an account of the Cossack leader Antin Holovatyj. In "To Osnovjanenko" Ševčenko gratefully acknowledged Kvitka's contribution and encouraged him to write more on historical themes. His appeal fell on deaf ears because the conservative sentimentalist Kvitka was not prepared to share Ševčenko's ideas for a Ukrainian national rebirth. What Ševčenko hoped Kvitka might do he did later himself ("and see Ukraine revive again in accents deep and strong.")[23]

At this "singing of the olden times" Ševčenko was the greatest master. "Ivan Pidkova" in particular may be regarded as a poetic *tour de force* in which little attention is paid to historical accuracy but everything is concentrated on the heroic image of the Cossack leader during a rough sea voyage. Ševčenko admires him for his leadership and recalls nostalgically how

> There was a time in our Ukraine
> When cannon roared with glee,
> A time when Zaporožian men
> Excelled in mastery.[24]

"The Night of Taras" as was pointed out earlier is a similar work. The other poems in the *Kobzar* provide a balance for the historical works. Among them are "Catherine," the ballad "Poplar" and a song "What Use Are Black Brows to Me?" They confirm that Ševčenko was not a narrow nationalist but a poet of a wide range of interests and moods.

Seven reviews of the *Kobzar* were published in the Russian press. Five of them appeared in the journals – *Son of the Fatherland, Library for Reading, The Contemporary, Notes of the Fatherland* and *The Lighthouse,* and two in the newspapers – *The Literary Gazette* and the *Northern Bee.* Although there were many important differences between them, they all agreed on several main points.[25] All the reviewers acknowledged the high poetic talent of the author. All but one of them also were disappointed that he

---

[23] Translated by Watson Kirkconnell; *The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko; The Kobzar* (ed. C. H. Andrusyshen and W. Kirkconnell) (Toronto, 1964), p. 53.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[25] I am indebted here to Natalia Aponiuk's "Shevchenko's *Minstrel,* 1840; An Episode in Ukrainian-Russian Literary Relations," An unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1963.

wrote in Ukrainian, which most of them regarded as a dying dialect, and not in Russian. The one exception was in the *Notes of the Fatherland*. Some Soviet scholars, particularly V. Spiridonov and F. Pryjma, attribute this unsigned review to Belinskij who at that time was the review editor of the journal. They do this in an attempt to show that Belinskij, who later became very hostile to Ševčenko and to Ukrainian literature in general, did write a favourable review of Ševčenko's first work. The whole crux of the matter, however, is that this review is not, in fact, favourable. At first reading it may sound like a defense of Ševčenko. "Here," declared the Russian critic, "are the poetic *dumy,* the historical legends and fascination of abandoned love and the artless story of Katerina's love, in a word, all the elements of the folk poetry of the south of our fatherland." Why should he not write in Ukrainian, asked the reviewer, "if Mr. Ševčenko grew up in Little Russia, if destiny placed him in such relations to the language in which we write and communicate – i. e. Russian – that he cannot express in it his feelings? If from his youth his impressions assumed the forms of the southern dialect, should he therefore bury his talent in the earth? Must the sacred sounds be silenced in his soul only because some gentlemen in stylish tailcoats do not understand these sounds, do not or will not understand the native echoes of the Slavic tongue, the echoes fleeting from the south, from the cradle of glory and religion of Russia . . . Moreover, books written in Little Russian such as . . . Ševčenko's *Katerina* will undoubtedly be of great benefit to the South Russian general reader."[26] The allusion to the poet's inability to write in Russian could hardly be regarded as a compliment. Even less flattering was the relegation of Ševčenko's work to the province of folk poetry. In publishing the *Kobzar* Ševčenko had a different aim in mind than to contribute to the treasure trove of the "folk poetry of the south of our fatherland" or to amuse or educate simple Ukrainian readers by writing verse in their "dialect".

Most other Russian reviewers misunderstood Ševčenko's intention by regretting that he did not write in Russian. The whole point of the *Kobzar* was that it was in Ukrainian. It had no ambition to be what the critics chided it with failing in – to become a part of the mainstream of Russian literature; rather it claimed a status of its own. It is interesting and rather ironic that the only review which showed great sympathy for Ševčenko's point of view was that in the *Lighthouse*. Hidden behind its initials P. K. its author was Pëtr Korsakov, the censor of the *Kobzar*. For rather special reasons,[27] some of which were not necessarily ulterior, he favoured Ševčenko's writings and prepared a niche for them in the arch-conservative journal. Like the other reviewers he was totally unaware of their revolutionary significance. As so often in literary history, the work outpaced its critics.

---

[26] V. G. Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij* (Moscow, 1953–59), IV, 171–72.

[27] See above, p. 73.

Among Ševčenko's friends in St. Petersburg the appearance of the *Kobzar* caused quite a stir. The Russians tried to belittle its importance and the Ukrainians greeted it with enthusiasm. Markevyč noted in his diary for April 23, 1840, that in the company of Čižov, Strugovščikov, Korsakov, count F. Tolstoj and Bulgarin, Kukol'nik a popular dramatist and the classmate of Gogol' from Nižyn "attacked Martos [and] criticized Ševčenko, maintaining that the tendency of his *Kobzar* was harmful and dangerous. Martos fell into despair. Nestor [Kukol'nik] added that it was now imperative to prohibit the languages: Polish, Little Russian and German in the sea coast provinces."[28] On the other hand, in the Ukraine the triumph of the book was almost unchallenged. Kvitka waxed sentimental over it. Writing to Ševčenko on October 23, 1840, he described how he pressed the book to his heart "because I respect very much you and your thoughts. And "Kateryna" . . . Beautiful . . . I cannot say more. That is exactly how the *moskal'* soldiers deceive our girls . . ."[29] The Ukrainian writers Afanas'-ev-Čužbyns'kyj[30] and Metlyns'kyj[31] expressed their delight at the appearance of the *Kobzar*. The reaction of Kostomarov, recorded by Korsun, was quite striking. "Once we were walking with Nikolaj Ivanovič [Kostomarov] to the cathedral for high mass when we dropped in at Aparin's bookstore. We asked if he had any new books and Aparin showed us a thin book – *Kobzar*. We sat down on a bench and sat there right through the lunch hour. We read the entire book . . . This was something quite special, new and original. *Kobzar* has stunned us!"[32]

The welcome he received from his countrymen and the reserved Russian criticism must have had a great effect on Ševčenko. Not that it turned him against the Russian critics. No young poet could afford to ignore them and in a few years' time Ševčenko would try for the time being to follow their advice and to write in Russian. But the reception of the *Kobzar* undoubtedly strengthened this feeling of national identity and made him more aware of his mission as a Ukrainian poet. From then on his dedication to Ukrainian literature superseded his love of painting. Unlike Gogol' he did not think of making a literary career in Russia, but of kindling the small spark of national regeneration in the Ukraine. In 1841–42 he conducted correspondence with the Ukrainian writers Kvitka, Afanas'ev-Čužbyns'kyj,

---

[28] Here quoted from Je. Kyryljuk, Je. Šabliovs'kyj, V. Šubravs'kyj, *T. H. Ševčenko, biografija* (Kiev, 1964), p. 80.

[29] *Lysty do Ševčenka: 1840–1861* (Kiev, 1962), p. 10.

[30] A. Čužbinskij, *Vospominanija o T. G. Ševčenke (St. Petersburg,* 1861), p. 4.

[31] See I. Ajzenštok, "Sud'ba literaturnogo nasledstva T. G. Ševčenko," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo,* No. 19–20 (1935), p. 428.

[32] A. Korsunov, "N. I. Kostomarov," *Russkij arxiv,* 1890, 10, October, p. 207.

Korsun and discussed with them his literary plans. In their exchanges they mutually encouraged each other but Ševčenko was the most active of them. He was full of new ideas, eager to co-operate with others. The result of his endeavours was the publication of the literary almanac *Swallow* (1841) edited by Hrebinka. It is almost certain that Ševčenko acted as co-editor, since Hrebinka himself wrote to Kvitka on January 13, 1839, "I have a wonderful assistant – Ševčenko, a marvellous fellow."[33] The almanac was long in coming out; when it finally appeared after a year's delay, it contained 42 contributions by 13 authors. Ševčenko had four poems in it – "Vitre bujnyj" (Wild Wind), "Pryčynna" (Bewitched), the ode on the death of Kotljarevs'kyj and the first chapter of his long poem *Hajdamaky*.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter[34] Hrebinka's almanac was bitterly attacked by Belinskij who saw no value in a literature in modern Ukrainian. His scathing review was very likely read by Hrebinka (who knew Kraevskij well) before publication and its content communicated to Ševčenko. Deeply aroused, he decided to add a postscript in his invocation to the poem *Hajdamaky* which he was then publishing. In it he refuted Belinskij's criticism as well as that of other Russian critics who advised him against writing in Ukrainian. Ševčenko wrote:

> You've given me a sheepskin coat;
> Alas, it does not fit.
> The garment of your own wise speech
> Is lined with falsehood's wit.[35]

The poem *Hajdamaky* was published in St. Petersburg at Ševčenko's own expense in December, 1841. The censor agreed to pass it only after Ševčenko assured him that there was nothing revolutionary in the poem. Ostensibly this was so for the poem narrated in great detail the peasant rebellion, the so-called *Kolijivščyna,* against the Poles in 1768. But as in his other historical poems Ševčenko often made contemporary allusions. This poem, Ševčenko's longest (2569 lines), is based mostly on folk legends about the *hajdamaks,* some of them heard by the author from his grandfather, although it also owes something to published sources, especially the Polish novel *Wernyhora* by Michał Czajkowski. It is a work of great originality and poetic power, quite Byronic in its conception. Its opening invocation, written with philosophic sweep, sets the perspective for the violent events which follow.

> All things must ever flow and pass away . . .
> Whence did they come and whither have they vanished?
> Nor fool nor sage an answer can convey.
> Things come by life, by dying they are banished.

---

[33] *Naše mynule,* 1918, No. 2, p. 48.
[34] See above, pp. 52–53.
[35] Translated by Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

For one thing blooms; one withers now forever,
Its yellowed leaves are scattered by the blast.
Suns will still rise, nor cease their vast endeavour,
The bright-red stars flow on as in the past;
And you, o silver moon, with visage shining,
Will rise and wander in the azure sky,
Peering in troughs and wells with eye designing,
Painting the sea with glory from on high.[36]

What follows is the love story of Jarema, the poor servant and Oksana, a story which is gradually overshadowed by the activities of the *hajdamak* rebels whom Jarema joins. A large part of the poem deals with the rebellion itself. It depicts many cruel incidents committed by both the Poles and the rebels and portrays two historical characters, the *hajdamak* leaders Zaliznjak and Honta. The latter, in a fashion reminiscent of Taras Bul'ba, kills his own sons whose only fault was that they were Catholics. Ševčenko is also conscious in the poem of the social problem: the oppressed peasants battle against the landlords, not only Ukrainians against Poles.

There is a curious ambivalence about the latter part of the poem. On the one hand, some of the best passages describe glowingly the revenge wreaked by the rebels on their oppressors. The rebels are regarded by Ševčenko as direct descendants of the Cossacks and share with them his full admiration. Yet towards the end a note of alarm is sounded at all the unnecessary carnage between the Ukrainians and the Poles and only the Polish Jesuits are condemned for their schemings. In the preface which Ševčenko appended to the poem he wrote "thank God, it [the fighting] is all over, moreover when you recall that we are children of one mother, that we are all Slavs. My heart aches yet I must tell it all: let the sons and grandsons see that their fathers were wrong; let them be brothers with their enemies. Let the Slavic land, covered with wheat like gold, be undivided, for ever from sea to sea."[37] This is the first indication that Ševčenko had lent his ear to Pan-Slav ideas and deplored the internecine strife among the Slavs.

The Russian critics received *Hajdamaky* with reserve. *Literaturnaja gazeta* on April 12, 1842, praised Ševčenko as a poet but deplored his use of Ukrainian. The sharpest attack came from Belinskij. "The readers of the *Notes of the Fatherland,*" he wrote, "are familiar with our opinion about works of so-called Little Russian literature. We shall not repeat it here and will only say that the new attempt, songs by Mr. Ševčenko, this privileged it seems Little Russian poet, convinces us more than ever that works of such a type are published for the pleasure and edification of their authors only; there seems to be no other public for it."[38] The poem itself was dismissed by Belinskij with scorn and ridicule. Although the Ukrainian reading public

---

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[37] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* I, 142.
[38] Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij,* VI, 172.

was delighted with the poem, Russian criticism was not without effect and to defy it completely was impossible. Ševčenko, therefore, tried to write in Russian "so that the Russians don't say that I don't know their language."[39] The results were disappointing. Ševčenko commented in a letter to Kuxarenko, on September 30, 1842: "I have copied [in Russian] my "Blind Girl" and now I cry over it – what devil made me do it and for what sins do I confess to the Russians *(Kacapam)* in a stale Russian *(kacaps'kym)* language . . . Here, my countrymen and those who are not my countrymen call me a fool, but what can I do – is it my fault that I wasn't born a Russian *(kacapom)* or a Frenchman?"[40] A few months later Ševčenko returned to this topic. In a letter to Tarnovs'kyj on January 25, 1843, he wrote ". . . Here the Russians call me an enthusiast, that is, a fool. God forgive them; let me be even a peasant poet, so long as I am a poet, I don't need anything more."[41] The last remark shows that Ševčenko disliked the label "peasant poet" but was willing to put up with it if people recognized his talent.

In 1842 Ševčenko was tired of the "cursed" St. Petersburg. For a time he still hoped that the Academy would send him to Italy where his friend Šternberg had gone earlier. The lively literary circles in which Ševčenko spent much of his free time fascinated him no longer. From the memoirs of various literary figures of the 1840's[42] we know that among those Ševčenko met infrequently were the Vice-President of the Academy, Count Fedor Tolstoj, the composer Glinka and the literati N. Polevoj, N. Kukol'nik, S. Sobolevskij, I. Sosnickij, F. Bulgarin, Prince Odoevsky, A. Nikitenko, A. Strugovščikov and even, once, Belinskij himself. Ševčenko and Gogol' never met and later, in exile, Ševčenko deplored this as a great loss.

Occasionally Ševčenko gravitated to more purely Ukrainian gatherings. This was already so in the circles of Hrebinka and Markevyč. In the summer of 1842 Ševčenko found very close friends in two Ukrainian visitors to St. Petersburg, Jakiv Kuxarenko, a minor writer and a "Black Sea Cossack chieftain" and the opera singer Semen Hulak-Artemovs'kyj. The trio did actually sing many Ukrainian songs.

In October, 1842, Ševčenko embarked on a sea voyage to Denmark and Sweden. He fell ill on the way and had to abandon his plans in Revel from where he returned to St. Petersburg. It was on this trip that he wrote "Hamalija" a short masterpiece describing sea voyages of the Zaporožian Cossacks to Constantinople. Early in 1843 he wrote to Kuxarenko "In March I am going abroad and I shall not go to Little Russia. To heck with it. There, apart from crying, I shall not hear anything."[43] The last remark betrays Ševčenko's first critical attitude to his countrymen. The Ukraine of

---

[39] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 23.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 23.
[42] See *T. G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Moscow, 1962).
[43] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 25.

his poems was after all in reality a Little Russia full of sentimental landowners and unhappy peasants. This mood was only momentary. In the end Ševčenko did not go abroad, but returned on a prolonged visit to his native Ukraine which he missed so much.

First Ukrainian Journey

In response to an invitation Ševčenko visited first the rich Ukrainian landowner Hryhory Tarnovs'kyj in his estate in Kačanivka near Borzna. Tarnovs'kyj's residence was a virtual palace, built according to the plan of Rastrelli, containing a large picture gallery and surrounded by a huge park. Tarnovs'kyj himself was ambitious to be a patron of the arts, a role he played *ad nauseam*. Conscious of his host's opulence and arrogance Ševčenko remained on friendly yet reserved terms with him. At different times Kačanivka was visited by many writers; Gogol', Maksymovyč and Markevyč were among them. The composer Glinka wrote his opera *Ruslan and Ljudmila* there. Sometimes Ševčenko wandered in the park and talked to the peasants. He did not avoid social life, making many new friends, among them the Ukrainian poet Viktor Zabila, and visiting places of interest in the neighbourhood. From Kačanivka Ševčenko went to Kiev. There he met Pantelejmon Kuliš, a writer and an enthusiast for everything Ukrainian whose friendship meant so much to Ševčenko. Their first meeting was recorded by Kuliš in his memoirs.

> When I was sitting behind the easel, lost in the play of lines, tones and colours, before me appeared the still unfamiliar figure of Ševčenko in a loose canvas coat and a cap pushed back like Cossack headgear.
>
> – "And guess who?" – These were Taras' first words pronounced in the captivating gay voice which endeared him to women and children.
>
> – "Don't you want to offer me a drink?" This was the second sentence I heard from Ševčenko.
>
> This question astonished me a little.[44]

Their first meeting at once marked the contrast between Ševčenko and Kuliš. Ševčenko's cocky, bohemian manner clashed with Kuliš's studious seriousness.[45] The difference between the two personalities was best described by Kuliš in his autobiography.

---

[44] P. Kuliš, "Vospominanija o Nikolae Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov'*, 1885, IV, No. 13, p. 64.

[45] See V. Petrov, "Kuliš i Ševčenko," *Ševčenko ta joho doba* (Kiev, 1925), I, 59–60.

> Kuliš did not quite like Ševčenko for his cynicism; he put up with his eccentricities for the sake of his talent. Ševčenko, on the other hand, did not like Kuliš's aristocratism . . . Kuliš loved cleanliness around his tidy person; he loved order in things and time; his ear was like that of a maiden, nobody ever heard him use foul language. It would be possible to say that this was a meeting between the lowland Cossack from the Sič and a rich city Cossack. Indeed they were representatives of both parts of Cossackdom. Ševčenko represented the Right-Bank Cossacks who after the treaty of Andrusovo were left without leadership and finding themselves under Polish domination, fled to the Sič and from there returned to their landlords' estates as rebellious *hajdamaks* . . . anxious to smash the landlords completely. Kuliš was a descendant of the Cossacks who sat in council with the tsar's boyars, formed for Tsar Peter the Little Russian Collegium, helped Tsarina Catherine to write her Code and introduce schools in place of old seminaries.[46]

Together with Kuliš, Ševčenko visited many places of historical interest around Kiev, among them the burnt out ruins of the famous monastery Mežyhirs'kyj Spas, patronized in the seventeenth century by the Zaporožian Cossacks. In Kuliš Ševčenko met for the first time a Ukrainian intellectual. They found many common interests and ideas, but occasionally they would not agree.

From Kiev Ševčenko went to visit his friend Hrebinka in his *xutir* near Pyrjatyn. From there both of them travelled to the estate called Mojsivka, owned by the rich Tetjana Volxovs'ka. She entertained the neighbouring Ukrainian society on a grand scale and Ševčenko found himself the centre of attention of the numerous gentry. Yet by far the most important place to which Ševčenko travelled with Aleksej Kapnist was Jahotyn, the estate of Prince Repnin. The former governor general of the provinces of Poltava and Černihiv resided here with his family. The actual mistress of the house was his daughter, Princess Barbara. Six years older than Ševčenko she was strongly attracted to him from the first and in the fall of the same year, when he again visited Jahotyn, she fell in love with him. Of her true feelings for Ševčenko she left two records: her letters to Charles Einard in Geneva and, less transparently, her novel *Devočka* (A Girl). In one of her letters to Einard written on January 27, 1844, Princess Barbara confessed that "if I saw love from his [Ševčenko's] side, I would, perhaps, answer with passion."[47] The reasons why Ševčenko did not respond to her love were several. No doubt he felt the gap between himself, a former serf, and a princess. Perhaps he also resented a little Barbara's overprotective solicitude. But most of all he remained reserved because at the same time he was deeply in love with someone else.

In the neighbouring village, Berezovi Rudky, Ševčenko met the Za-

---

[46] "Žizn' Kuliša," *Pravda,* 1868, No. 24, p. 286. This unsigned work is generally regarded as Kuliš's autobiography.

[47] M. Geršenzon (ed.) "T. G. Ševčenko i kn. V. N. Repnina," *Russkie propilei* (Moscow, 1916), II, 217.

krevs'kyj family. At first he was attracted to Viktor Zakrevs'kyj who was the eccentric brother in the family and who organized the "society of wet mugs" *(obščestvo močemordija)*, a kind of drinking club to which Ševčenko for a time belonged. There is good reason to believe that Zakrevs'kyj's circle was dedicated to other things apart from drinking. A few years later, in 1848, a denunciation was made against it in which it was claimed that at one of their gatherings toasts were raised to the French Republic.[48] According to one source, an officer present added "Long live the Ukrainian Republic."[49] The whole matter merited an investigation by the tsarist police. It was against Ševčenko's association with the Zakrevs'kyj's that Repnina protested so much. She had good reason. For Ševčenko, an even greater attraction in Berezovi Rudky was Hanna Zakrevs'ka, the wife of Viktor's brother, Platon. The discovery of the deep affection which Ševčenko felt for this young married woman belongs to Marietta Šaginjan. In her study of Ševčenko she proved beyond any doubt that Ševčenko was deeply in love with Hanna Zakrevs'ka to whom he later dedicated some of his best love poems.[50] In his relationship to women, which was warm and responsive, Ševčenko was the very opposite of Gogol'.

Sometime in July and August Ševčenko gave up visiting the Ukrainian gentry who were so anxious to see him and made a longer journey, probably on the Dnieper, to the very heart of Cossack history – the island of Xortycja, the former seat of the Zaporožian Sič. He also visited the historic towns of Čyhyryn and Subotiv, sketching on the way many old monuments. In his later works Ševčenko would return many times to the memories of this journey through the desolate steppes and past the ruins of Cossack glory. Ruins, that favourite theme of most Romantics, for him assumed a national significance.

At the end of August Ševčenko visited a Ukrainian scholar Platon Lukaševyč in the villate of Berezan'. From him he obtained news of the literary stirrings in Galicia. Respect for scholarship did not blind Ševčenko to Lukaševyč's cruel treatment of the peasants. In September Ševčenko finally reached his home village of Kyrylivka. The contrast between his life and the life of his family must have been very painful. He was determined to alleviate their lot and to help them out financially. In free moments he sketched his old house and drew a portrait of his grandfather Ivan who was still very much alive. Returning early in October to Berezan' he resumed writing, completing the poem "Rozryta mohyla" (The Ransacked Grave). Its opening lines best express Ševčenko's mood:

---

[48] A. Kozačenko, "Do istoriji liberal'noho ruxu 40-x rr. na Ukrajini; dilo pomiščykiv Zakrevs'kyx," *Za sto lit*, 1928, II.

[49] V. Ščurat, "Tost za ukrajins'ku respubliku," *Z žyttja i tvorčosty Ševčenka* (L'viv, 1914).

[50] Marietta Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1946), pp. 168–83.

O gentle region, fair Ukraine,
Dear beyond every other!
Why are you plundered and despoiled,
Why do you perish, mother?[51]

From late October, 1843, to February, 1844, Ševčenko lived in Repnin's palace in Jahotyn, only occasionally travelling to neighbouring villages. He was commissioned to paint copies of Repnin's portrait by the Swiss artist Hornung. He spent his free time talking to Princess Barbara whom he called his "sister" in his poems, reading, reciting some poetry to enthusiastic guests, or just enjoying the hospitality of the gracious prince. The liberal atmosphere of Repnin's home was very congenial. It was no doubt then that Ševčenko became more closely acquainted with the ideas of the Decembrists.[52] The house he stayed at harboured many memories of Sergej Volkonskij and his wife. Added to this was the Ukrainophilism of the old prince himself.

Another insight into what was going on at Jahotyn was provided by the Ukrainian landowner Selec'kyj, who was to compose an opera for which Ševčenko was to write a libretto. The subject on which all at first agreed was Mazepa, but soon the composer and the poet came to disagree when the former branded Mazepa as a "traitor." Ševčenko, apparently, insisted that Mazepa be represented as a fighter for liberty: besides he wanted to write the libretto in Ukrainian. No wonder that the project collapsed before it began.[53]

When the time came to leave the Ukraine, Ševčenko was sorry to say goodbye to his new friends. During the eight months spent in his homeland, where he had been so warmly received, he had changed a great deal. Above all he was struck by the contrast between the comfortable life of the gentry and that of the serfs. The Ukraine he had dreamt about in St. Petersburg became real, too real. The rich and beautiful land was plundered by both Russian and Ukrainian exploiters. Several months later he wrote to Kuxarenko: "Last year I was in the Ukraine. I was at the Mežyhirs'kyj Spas [monastery]. I was on Xortycja; I went everywhere and cried all the time. Our Ukraine has been plundered by the goddam Germans and Russians, confound them."[54]

On the other hand, Ševčenko met with an unusually friendly response and this convinced him that his poetry had admirers not only among the common people but among the gentry and the intellectuals. He was now preparing to speak to them more directly.

---

[51] Translated by Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
[52] See P. Fylypovyč, *Ševčenko i dekabrysty* (Kiev, 1926).
[53] See Pavlo Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka*, p. 122.
[54] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja*, VI, 34. By the Germans Ševčenko meant Russian bureaucracy which was German trained.

On his way from the Ukraine to St. Petersburg Ševčenko stopped for a few days in Moscow. Here he met Ščepkin, the famous actor, who, like Ševčenko, was at one time a serf. Ševčenko and Ščepkin remained friends for life. Ševčenko also met the young Ukrainian historian, Osyp Bodjans'kyj and perhaps through him some leading Russian Slavophiles. But in his thoughts Ševčenko was preoccupied with the Ukraine, still under the fresh impact of the journey. It was in Moscow that he wrote the poem "Čyhyryne, Čyhyryne" (Čyhyryn, O Čyhyryn) dedicating it to Ščepkin. For the first time the poet's despair at the unhappy state of his country was drowned in an outburst of defiance.

Do not rend, thoughts, do not burn!
I shall bring back, may be,
My truth, all fortuneless, my words
Spoken quietly;
Perhaps, indeed, I yet may forge
A new blade from it, make a
Keen new share for the old plough,
And, sweating out the acres,
Maybe I'll plow that fallow land,
And on the fallow, there
I shall scatter all my tears,
Sow my heartfelt tears.
Maybe they will shoot and grow
Into two-edged blades
That will cleave the evil, rotten
Sickly heart, will drain
From it all the poisoned blood,
And in its place will pour
Into it living Cossack blood
Holy, clean and pure![55]

Back in St. Petersburg Ševčenko returned to the Academy from which he was anxious to graduate. He became sidetracked by the idea of publishing a series of etchings "Živopisnaja Ukraina" (Pictorial Ukraine) and from its sale getting enough money to purchase freedom for his brothers and sisters. Princess Barbara Repnina actively supported this plan which took up a great deal of Ševčenko's time and energy. At first he envisaged brief literary commentaries to accompany the etchings. He was going to ask Kuliš to write them. Later his plans changed and yet he persevered with them and in November, 1844, "The Pictorial Ukraine" was published. There is a strong historical emphasis in these etchings. The best known of them is the etching "The Gifts in Čyhyryn in 1649" depicting foreign envoys bringing

---

[55] Translated by Vera Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

presents to Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj when he was still a powerful leader of the "strong and free" Ukrainian people. Explanatory notes to the illustrations were in Russian and French. A second volume of the series was planned but never appeared. Ševčenko attached the greatest importance to this publication. In a letter to Certelev he wrote "If God will help me to complete what I have begun I would fold my hands and be ready for the coffin. I would have achieved enough; the Ukraine would not forget me."[56]

The year 1844 saw the republication of the *Kobzar* and *Hajdamaky* (= Čigirinskij Kobzar' i Gaydamaki) and the separate appearance of two poems written earlier, "Hamalija" and "Tryzna" (Funeral Feast). The latter, strongly influenced by Ryleev,[57] was dedicated to Barbara Repnina and therefore written in Russian. From the new poems written in that year in St. Petersburg, one stands out prominently. It was entitled "Son" (Dream) and was not meant for publication.

"The Dream" is a political poem set in the complex form of a vision. Its purpose was to unmask and expose the workings of the Russian state system in the Ukraine. Ševčenko does this very skilfully by alternating lyrical passages with the most vehement satire of Russia and especially Nicholas I. The effect of this venomous ridicule is greater than anything Saltykov–Ščedrin and other later satirists of tsardom ever produced. Ševčenko's pen is like a merciless sword not sparing anything. "The Dream" is one of the most violent and effective attacks on tyranny. Here the rebellious peasant minces no words about the despotic tsar and his bureaucrats – his robust and straightforward expostulation is in the finest tradition of Romantic protest. Ultimately, the poem succeeds not so much because of its down-to-earth critical view of tsarism, but because of its overall design of exposing human unawareness of evil and the poet's concern with truth and justice. The social and political degradation of the country is made even darker by the contrast with its natural beauty. The poem which is called "a comedy" begins by retelling a dream in which the poet flies over the Ukraine.

We fly . . . I look: the dawn is glimmering,
The skyline is ablaze,
In a dark grove a nightingale
Greets the sun with praise.
A gentle breeze bows quietly,
The steppes, the cornfields glimmer,
Among ravines, by lakes there gleams
The green blush of the willows;
Orchards bow down, richly laden,
Poplars, standing straight
Like sentinels, in the open land
Are speaking with the plain.

---

[56] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 30.
[57] P. Fylypovyč, *Ševčenko i dekabrysty,* pp. 85–92.

And all around me the whole country,
Mantled round in beauty,
Shimmers green and bathes herself
In the morning dew,
From the dawn of time, she bathes
Herself and greets the sun,
There is nowhere a beginning,
Ending there is none.[58]

All the more striking is the contrast when the poet turns aside to describe the life and conditions of the people. He finds that human rights are abused everywhere, "a poor widow is crucified for poll-tax" while her son is "handcuffed and put in the army." Somewhere, "under the fence a child, starved and swollen, is dying of hunger." Over there "a ruined girl limps footsore with her bastard." Even worse is the indifference with which these injustices and sufferings are accepted. In his Dante-like wanderings the poet then flies to the capital of the Empire. St. Petersburg, which inspired Gogol' to start a new literary theme in Russia – that of the nightmare city – is for Ševčenko without any charm or mystery. It is simply a "city on a bog, enveloped by a black cloud of heavy mist," a centre of Russia's power over the Ukraine. Puškin's bronze horseman is to Ševčenko "the one who crucified our Ukraine." The poet discovers that there are hundreds of Ukrainians in the city, all serving obediently their Russian masters. Then with bitter mockery he portrays the tsar and tsarina and their entourage "like fattened boars, big-mugged and bloated." Not only the present tsar is assailed and ridiculed, but so are his predecessors, in particular Peter the First and Catherine the Second, both responsible for the destruction of Ukrainian autonomy. The following lines are addressed to Peter:

Accursed tsar, insatiate,
Perfidious serpent, what
Have you done, then, with the Cossacks?
You have filled the swamps
With their noble bones! And then
Built the capital
On their tortured corpses, and
In a dark dungeon cell
You slew me too, me a free Hetman,
In chains, with hunger martyred! . . .[59]

From there the poet returns to berate his fellow countrymen in Russia's service blaming them for the sufferings of the "childless widow Ukraine." His anger is that of a biblical prophet castigating sinners. The total effect of the poem, which ends abruptly like a dream, is very powerful. Never before had a Ukrainian raised his voice so loudly against Russia. Never before had

---

[58] Translated by Vera Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 36. The Het'man is Pavlo Polubotok imprisoned by Peter I.

this voice been of such poetic power. "The Dream" enjoyed clandestine circulation in hand-written copies and by word of mouth. It was found at the time of Ševčenko's arrest and contributed heavily to the harsh sentence meted out to the poet.

It was probably in 1844 that Ševčenko met some Russian revolutionaries (N. Mombelli, R. Štrandman), future members of the "Petraševskij circle." It is idle to speculate on the influence these men might have had on Ševčenko.[60] Quite naturally he was attracted by kindred spirits, especially by the *Petraševcy* with their Fourierism and federalism, but as later, in his relation to Černyševskij, Ševčenko was rarely on the receiving end of revolutionary theories. He developed his convictions independently and was often in advance of people who supposedly influenced him. Not insensitive to the currents of the age, Ševčenko built his radicalism privately, with a very definite orientation which the Russian revolutionaries did not share. His concern with the Ukraine was unique in the intellectual history of the time and he was an almost Blake-like figure in his solitariness and vehemence. Ševčenko's art also bears a resemblance to Blake's. Both writers have a visionary and prophetic quality, both represent man's existence as tragedy and find release in apocalyptic visions; both are mythopoeic poets.

Ševčenko's moods of dejection, in which he lamented his inability to reach the Ukrainian reader and to awaken him spiritually led him to write, in December, 1844, a poem in the form of an epistle to Gogol'. Although the message was never received, and the poem was first published in 1859, it reveals Ševčenko's attitude to Gogol'.

To Hohol'

Thought follows thought, off in a swarm each flits:
One mauls the soul, one tears it all to bits,
A third weeps gently, softly, deep concealed:
Perhaps to God Himself it's not revealed.
To whom shall I unfold it?
By whom will it be heard –
This speech of mine, who will divine
The import of my Word?
All deaf and all indifferent,
In chains our people bend! . . .
You laugh full deep while I must weep,
My great and mighty friend!
What harvest yields my weeping?
Weeds it perchance may be.
No cannon roar now in Ukraine
With voice of liberty;
Nor will the father slay his son,
His own dear child with pain,

---

[60] See O. Doroškevyč, *Ševčenko i petraševci v 40-x rr.* (Kiev, 1925).

For honour, glory, brotherhood,
The freedom of Ukraine.
He'll rather rear him up to sell
To Moscow's slaughterhouse . . .
This is our tribute to "the throne"
(Our honour though they dowse),
Our offering to "the fatherland,"
A gift that Germans reap . . .
So let it be, my friend, while we
Still fiercely laugh and weep.[61]

Why did Ševčenko write this poem dedicating it to Gogol'? The immediate stimulus might have come from watching Gogol"s plays on the stage of the Alexandrinsky theatre in the fall of 1844. There is little doubt that Ševčenko did go to see them, even if it were just to admire the performance of his friend Ščepkin. Beyond that there is really no direct explanation as to why he suddenly thought of Gogol'. Obviously, rightly or wrongly Ševčenko considered him as a Ukrainian, concerned with the fate of his country. He wanted to emphasize the contrast between Gogol"s art and his own. Gogol' was to him in the first place a satirist and a humourist, while his own works he considered tragic lamentations ("You laugh . . . while I must weep"). One of Gogol"s works to which a direct reference is made in this poem is *Taras Bul'ba*. Ševčenko compares it to his own *Hajdamaky* whose hero killed his own sons, as Taras killed Andrej, for renouncing the Ukraine. Apart from this similarity the paths of the two writers had diverged. In Gogol"s laughter Ševčenko saw a criticism of Russia and therefore welcomed his countryman's "immortal" work. At the same time he was also letting him know of his own sorrows and lamentations which he poured out in his poetry. Therefore, in Ševčenko's view, the view of a Ukrainian writer, their aspirations were separate but complementary.

The only time on record when Ševčenko disapproved of Gogol' was in a passage in the *Artist* which tells of Gogol' sitting in Rome's Cafe Greco and "telling over his lunch the most obscene Little Russian anecdotes."[62] In after years Ševčenko showed great admiration for Gogol"s works. While he saw a great deal of social satire in them (once he compared Gogol' to Saltykov-Ščedrin), he also sensed their universality. Writing to Barbara Repnina in 1850 from exile and recalling pleasanter days in Jahotyn, he declared: "I admire your present view of Gogol' and his immortal work. I am delighted that you have understood his truly Christian purpose. One should venerate Gogol as a man endowed with the profoundest mind and the most tender love for men . . . Our Gogol' is a true diviner of the human heart!"[63]

---

[61] Translated by Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–82.
[62] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja*, IV, 225.
[63] *Ibid.*, VI, 65.

Ševčenko's spirits rose considerably in January, 1845, when permission was obtained to put several Ukrainian plays on the stage of the Ukrainian amateur theater, manned by the students of the Medical and Surgical Academy. Among the plays was one by Ševčenko – *Nazar Stodolja*. In March Ševčenko completed his studies at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, having received the title of "artist." On March 25, 1845, he obtained permission to travel to the Ukraine "for artistic pursuits." He left St. Petersburg and after a few days in Moscow, travelled south to the Ukraine.

Second Ukrainian Journey

This time Ševčenko's itinerary was dictated by commissions received from various landowners to paint portraits. This brought him once again into contact with the Ukrainian gentry among whom he found many admirers. At the same time he could not help noticing the cruel conditions of serfdom. After all, Ševčenko, unlike most of the intelligentsia, was not merely observing these conditions; he had had direct experience of them from childhood. Occasionally he would visit old friends, such as Barbara Repnina in Jahotyn who was then mourning her father's death. In June he visited Kiev briefly and obtained a position on the Temporary Commission for the Study of Antiquities, which authorized him to travel across the Ukraine and sketch historical monuments. For the time being this was an ideal occupation. The entire summer was taken up by travelling and sketching through the districts of Zvenyhorod, Pryluky, Romny, Myrhorod, Lubny and Perejaslav. In September he again visited his home village Kyrylivka. There he proposed to the daughter of the neighbouring priest, Košyc', for whom he used to work as a little boy. The girl liked Ševčenko but her parents would not agree to a marriage. In October Ševčenko stayed for a longer time at the village of Marjans'ke with the landowner Lukjanovyč. There he wrote a poem "Jeretyk" (The Heretic) dedicating it to the great Czech scholar of Slovak origin Pavel Šafařik.

"The Heretic" is Ševčenko's first major poem on a non-Ukrainian topic. The idea for it came from his conversations with Bodjans'kyj who at that time was the foremost authority on Bohemia in Russia. Bodjans'kyj had written a study *O narodnoj poezii slovjanskix plemen* (On Folk Poetry of Slavic Races, 1837) in which he dwelt on the Hussite wars, and had also translated Šafařik's works into Russian. Bodjans'kyj's student, Palauzov, wrote a separate study of John Huss and his successors (1845). The heretic in Ševčenko's poem is John Huss, the Czech reformer who under Wycliffe's influence rebelled against Papal authority and was subsequently burnt at the stake. In the poem, as in history, the account of Huss's struggle against

the Papacy merges with Czech strivings for national liberation from the Germans. Once again for Ševčenko the cause of national liberation was seen in the wider framework of a struggle for human rights.

In the introduction dedicated to Šafařik Ševčenko stresses the Pan-Slavic ideals which were then very much in vogue. However, Ševčenko emphasizes the equality of all Slavs and directly challenges the dream of those Russians who took for granted that the answer to Puškin's question "will Slavic streams flow into a Russian sea?" was yes. For Ševčenko this sea is clearly "Slavic and new," not Russian. There is some evidence that Ševčenko later sent a copy of his poem to Šafařik who was very moved by it. Ševčenko liked to dedicate his poems to his friends or to those to whom he owed a debt of gratitude. It is interesting that in selecting a mentor he turned to a Czech.

Very soon after writing "The Heretic" Ševčenko turned once more to his favourite topic – Ukrainian history. His view had undergone considerable change since the earliest poems which glorified the Cossacks. After two visits to the Ukraine he became convinced that the Cossack leadership was in part to blame for the loss of independence. He then dedicated himself to a searching and critical exploration of Ukrainian history and came up with new and startling discoveries. This reconsideration of the Ukrainian past was carried out independently. Very often Ševčenko went against the popular views expressed by some of his historian friends.

In the allegorical poem "Velykyj l'ox" (The Great Vault) which after the medieval drama genre he called a "mystery," Ševčenko examined several turning points of Ukrainian history and gave his interpretation of their consequences. He did this in a strikingly original poetic form, reminiscent of his earlier poem "The Dream," by using symbolic imagery and the distortion of reality. In the first part of the poem three souls are barred from heaven because of their sins. The first soul suffers because she crossed the path of Xmel'nyc'kyj with full pails of water (thus bringing him luck) when he was riding to Perejaslav to make an alliance with Russia. The second soul is barred from heaven because she watered the Russian tsar's horse when he ruined Mazepa's stronghold at Baturyn. The third soul's sin is that she smiled on Tsarina Catherine when she sailed down the Dnieper. The meaning of this allegory is quite clear. Ševčenko blamed the Ukrainians for supporting Xmel'nyc'kyj's alliance with Russia, he deplored the lack of support to Mazepa and, finally, he considered the reign of Catherine the Second as another tragic event in the Ukraine. There follows the exchange between three crows, one Ukrainian, one Polish and one Russian. They represent the evil forces in these nationalities. The Ukrainian crow symbolizes those Ukrainians who in the course of history helped the enemies of the Ukraine. The last part depicts three minstrels. It is generally agreed that they represent the impotent and spineless Ukrainian intellectuals, unable to protect the best interests of their country. The ending is optimistic. The

Ukrainian vault which Moscow tried to uncover remains untouched. It keeps the vital energies of the people which will one day come into the open and restore freedom for the Ukraine. This optimism is even more clearly evident in the short poem "Stojit' v seli Subotovi" (There Stands in the Village of Subotiv) written soon after "the Great Vault" and representing a kind of epilogue to it.

That church beneath the skies
May crumble down, but from its vaults
A new Ukraine will rise
To end the night of slavery;
Injustice will be gone;
Our serf-born sons' orisons
Will greet sweet Freedom's dawn.[64]

Soviet critics of Ševčenko had a great deal of trouble in interpreting "The Great Vault." Nowadays they grudgingly admit that Ševčenko lacked the "correct" understanding of the Russian-Ukrainian union, but console themselves that he was opposed to tsarism and not to the Russian people.[65] The figure of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, the chief architect of Ukrainian-Russian understanding remains odious to Ševčenko till the end. He regarded him as a "rebel of genius,"[66] but could never forgive him the treaty of Perejaslav. On the other hand, Ševčenko sympathised with the anti-Russian het'mans Mazepa[67] and Dorošenko. Politically, Ševčenko was clearly on the side of Ukrainian independence from Russia.

This in itself represented a revolution in Ukrainian thought. The eighteenth century notions of the inseparability of Great and Little Russia and of loyalty to the Russian tsar as the supreme duty of Ukrainians were discarded. Instead, Ševčenko called the tsar a tyrant and pointed to the right of his people to form their own national destiny. It is not without some significance for this particular study that Ševčenko wrote "The Great Vault" in Myrhorod, a town which ten years earlier (1835) served as the title for Gogol"s stories about the Ukraine, poetic, idyllic and decaying but never nationally self-conscious (not even in *Taras Bul'ba*). The contrast between Gogol"s and Ševčenko's Ukraine could not be greater.

Ševčenko's continued concern with the meaning and direction of Ukrainian history was a severe limitation to his universality. National freedom was to him the basis of universal freedom. Today this assumption is no longer of direct relevance to most countries in the Western World. In Ševčenko's own time as well as in ours in the "underdeveloped countries"

---

[64] Translated by Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–29.
[65] Ju. Ivakin, *Komentar do 'Kobzarja' Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1964), pp. 243–44.
[66] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* V, 139.
[67] In doing this Ševčenko agreed with some Ukrainian historians, notably Markevyč ("Mazepa," *Majak,* 1841, No. 334).

of the world this was and still is a vital problem. If Ševčenko's patriotism did not go beyond the defense of Ukrainian independence he could rightly be classed as a nationalist and his concept of freedom as parochial. However, combined with this fierce patriotism was a profound and everpresent concern for justice and charity among men. The fight for the future of his country could be won, he believed, only in a bigger battle between good and evil in the soul of man. Ševčenko's nationalism belongs, historically, to the first stages of that movement, when it was motivated by liberal and universalist ideals and had nothing in common with the later bigoted variety.

In his travels Ševčenko went through much of Gogol's country. On October 23, 1845, he wrote to a friend from Myrhorod:

> Since I arrived in Mirgorod I have not once left my room and to crown everything there is nothing to read. If it weren't for the Bible I would go mad. I caught a bad chill coming from Xorol and believe it or not famous Mirgorod has no doctor or pharmacy. The city hospital is located on the main street. As far as Mirgorod is concerned Gogol' is quite right, but it is strange that his observant eye has not noticed one very interesting detail. The officials, having finished their daily duties in the rural and district courts, journey in a group for about ten versts to a free sale of vodka and having drunk eight times return to their homes to dinner. Quite original, isn't it?[68]

From Myrhorod Ševčenko visited Gogol's Vasylivka and there painted a watercolour of the local church.[69] Later he went to see his old friend Viktor Zakrevs'kyj and at the end of October, feeling quite ill, stopped at the house of another friend, Kozačkovs'kyj, in Perejaslav. Here he stayed for two months and wrote the poems "Najmyčka" (The Servant Girl) and "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus). He dedicated the latter to Jakiv de Bal'men, a Ukrainian landowner of French origin, a good friend and admirer of the poet. Earlier that year de Bal'men was killed while a member of a Russian military expedition to the Caucasus. His death in the hated cause of Russian conquest of the free peoples of the Caucasus prompted Ševčenko to write the poem. It contains some of the strongest declarations of self-determination of nations Ševčenko ever wrote. Characteristically, Prometheus becomes the symbol of oppressed peoples who in the Russian Empire "from the Moldavians to the Finns are silent in every tongue." Russian imperialism is ridiculed with extreme sarcasm.

---

[68] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 37–38.

[69] For some time it was belived that Ševčenko had also painted a portrait of Gogol' (See A. Vejnberg, "Neizvestnyj portret Gogolja raboty T. G. Ševčenko," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo,* 1935, vol. 19–21). However, later analysts declared it to be a forgery (O. I. Bilec'kyj *et al.* (eds.) *Taras Ševčenko; mystec'ka spadščyna* (Kiev, 1963), IV, 96.

"We are the enlightened! Now
We bring the radiant sun,
Reveal the blessed light of truth
To sightless little ones.
Come to us, and all you ought
To know will be made plain:
Prison buildings will be taught,
How to forge your chains,
How to wear them, how the knout
Is plaited – we'll explain
All our science. Only yield
Your dark-blue mountains, please –
They alone defy us now,
We hold the plains and seas!"[70]

A copy of the poem Ševčenko sent through a friend to Adam Mickiewicz in Paris. Ševčenko was familiar with Mickiewicz's works and was influenced by his *Dziady* (The Ancestors). A contemporary of Ševčenko recorded that the Ukrainian poet "felt a special affection for Mickiewicz."[71] There is some artistic kinship between the two poets which shows itself especially strongly in the prophetic tone of their works. The influence of Polish political and patriotic literature emanating from the circle of Lelewel was even greater. Ščurat has conclusively demonstrated Ševčenko's great debt to these Polish sources.[72] Several of Ševčenko's Polish friends were members of revolutionary societies in St. Petersburg.

Ševčenko's greatest prophecy is contained in the poem "I mertvym, i žyvym, i nenarodženym zemljakam mojim v Ukrajini i ne v Ukrajini moje družnjeje poslanije" (To My Fellow Countrymen, in the Ukraine and Not in the Ukraine, Living, Dead and as yet Unborn My Friendly Epistle), written on December 14, 1845. For a change the poet turns his back on the past and looks at the present and the future. He speaks directly to his contemporaries and implores them to be human or else to suffer the terrible consequences of their wickedness. His prime target is the Ukrainian landowning gentry whom he mercilessly satirizes. In his two journeys through the Ukraine he had met many of these liberals who cared little about the lot of their serfs and whose only ambition was to serve Moscow well. In the poem he lashes out against social injustice and against the intellectual hypocrisy of the gentry. Their chief error was that they had forsaken the Ukraine and had accepted a foreign (Russian) culture. Therefore, even the fine ideas of Westernism or Slavophilism are empty in the mouths of Russified Ukrainians who do not know the value of their native culture. Uncritical glorification of Ukrainian history is meaningless, for only objective historical research can clarify the issues for the future. Above all, Ševčenko was concerned with the gap between the Ukrainian people (peasantry)

---

[70] Translated by Vera Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[71] A. Čužbyns'kyj, *Vospominanija o T. G. Ševčenke* (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 11.

on the one hand, and the gentry and the intellectuals on the other. He calls on them to unite and to embrace each other in love and mutual respect. The alternative is terrible to contemplate. If the present social divisions continue there will break out a revolution which will destroy everything. Ševčenko hopes that the popular uprising can be averted, that the different classes of Ukrainian society may yet find harmony. For this, however, it is necessary to see reality as it is and make immediate and drastic changes. The form of this "epistle" is very striking. The style of Biblical exhortation ideally fits the content of the poem.

The end of 1845 was an unusally productive period in Ševčenko's life. He was writing a new poem practically every week. Immersed in creative work he was approaching an exalted mood in which his innermost thoughts came to be expressed with unusual clarity and ease. These thoughts concerned the Ukraine, but they were generated by an outlook on life that knew no national boundaries. Despite and perhaps because of his anti-clerical sallies Ševčenko's outlook was deeply religious. Ševčenko's most inspired lines almost always relate to the meaning of Christian fraternity *(bratoljubije),* the betrayal of the true God and the unconquerable power of love - *caritas*. All these are present in his adaptations of the Psalms of David ("Psalmy Davydovi") completed on December 19, 1845. They lent themselves ideally to expressing Ševčenko's sombre mood of rebellion and evangelism. The Hebrew idea of God revealing himself as a moral force in history was successfully adapted by the poet to his native conditions. Ševčenko's predisposition towards religious sentiments was noticed by his contemporaries. Vasyl' Bilozers'kyj in a letter to Mykola Hulak, on May 6, 1846, wrote:

> Yesterday Ivan Posjada was here and told me that Ševčenko had written a new poem – "John Huss". I could not help thinking what a man of genius we have in Taras Grigorievič. Only a genius, through deep sympathy, can guess the needs of the people and of the whole age, which will not be revealed by science without poetic and religious fire. How much I hope that the translation of the Psalms will contain evidence of a truly happy spiritual mood in our Minstrel. Our literature then would be refreshed by a new sense of life and confirmed on true foundations.[73]

A week after completing "The Psalms of David" Ševčenko was taken seriously ill and in fear of the approaching end he wrote the stirring stanzas of his "Zapovit" (Testament). In spite of the fact that this poem has become something like a national anthem of the Ukraine, it has great artistic merit and is the crowning achievement of the "three year" cycle, begun in 1843, where it occupies the last place.

---

[72] V. Ščurat, *Ševčenko i poljaky; osnovy vzajemnyx zvjazkiv* (L'viv, 1917).

[73] V. Mijakovs'kyj, "Ljudy sorokovyx rokiv: Kyrylo-metodijivci v jix lystuvanni," *Za sto lit,* 1928, II, 52.

When I die, then make my grave
High on an ancient mound,
In my own beloved Ukraine,
In steppeland without bound;
Whence one may see wide-skirted wheatland,
Dnipro's steep-cliffed shore,
There whence one may hear the blustering
River wildly roar.

Till from Ukraine to the blue sea
It bears in fierce endeavour
The blood of foemen – then I'll leave
Wheatland and hills forever:
Leave all behind, soar up until
Before the throne of God
I'll make my prayer. But till that hour
I shall know naught of God.

Make my grave there – and arise,
Sundering your chains,
Bless your freedom with the blood
Of foemen's evil veins!
Then in that great family,
A family new and free,
Do not forget, with good intent
Speak quietly of me.[74]

Ševčenko's role in Ukrainian literature can hardly be overstressed. He was its true founder, because for the first time in his work the Ukrainian language achieved literary excellence. His place in Ukrainian intellectual history is even more striking. It marks a clear watershed in the development of ideas. Ševčenko's poems expressed boldly the national self-awareness in terms never used before. "The whole subsequent development of Ukrainian nationalism," writes an English historian, "derives from Ševčenko's poetry."[75] If by nationalism is meant an assertion of basic human rights (social, national, cultural and linguistic) then by that definition Ševčenko was a nationalist. His demands for social justice and national self-expression

---

[74] Translated by Vera Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[75] H. Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire: 1801–1917* (London, 1967), p. 271. It is noteworthy that only with Ševčenko did the term "Ukrainian" become firmly established. This meant reviving a term used during the Cossack Ukraine and making a deliberate break with the term "Little Russian" which prevailed in the 18th century. The shift was from the official historical nomenclature to a populist one. In literary criticism, the view of Ševčenko as a nationalist was best expressed by Serhij Jefremov (*Istorija ukrajins'koho pys'menstva,* Kiev, Leipzig, 1919–24) who argued that literature was a weapon in the hands of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the fight for national liberation. Mistakenly, Jefremov looked at the whole of Ukrainian literature from this point of view only. However, as far as Ševčenko is concerned, his argument, while open to serious criticism especially for neglecting the formal side of the latter's poetry, cannot be lightly dismissed.

amounted to a declaration of independence. His call to "sunder the chains" was revolutionary. But side by side with revolution Ševčenko advocates regeneration which in his later works was to gain ascendancy.

All this was new and startling. At first it found response only in a small circle of Ševčenko's friends, for the simple reason that his political poems remained in manuscript. To a wider public he was known primarily through his published works as an author of ballads, lyrics and historical poems. His political poems were copied by hand and remained unpublished till the 1860's (in some cases the first complete texts did not appear in print until after the 1905 revolution). Yet their influence was profound. They became the credo of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and found, as Ševčenko had hoped, "an open heart" among the people. For the time being Ševčenko's influence grew stronger as his ideas spread. They encountered opposition from those of his countrymen who found him too radical and refused to accept his belief that Ukrainian readers should demand Ukrainian literature. This appeared to some to be a deliberate narrowing of cultural horizons, a form of parochialism. No doubt the spirit of the ghetto was also aroused. It remained to be seen in what direction the Ukrainian movement would grow. It could remain defensive and narrow, but it could also unfold and mellow.

VI

THE BROTHERHOOD

Ukrainian Intellectuals

Ševčenko's poems as well as his activities after his liberation from serfdom raised a whole series of new problems for Ukrainians and Russians alike. Foremost among them was simply the degree and the kind of reaction to his appearance on the literary and intellectual scene. Would his influence be limited to literature and language, or would it gather momentum and grow into a national movement? In 1845 few people could have guessed the right answer. Much depended on three factors: would the poet seek an alliance of kindred minds; would he find a response among the educated Ukrainians and what would the Russians say to all this? Ševčenko was not unaware of dangers which these reactions held for him. He showed some reluctance to form organizations and did not become too deeply involved with others. Though on very friendly terms with his associates, he kept a certain distance. He had no ambition to become a pundit or a leader. On the other hand, because of his social gifts and his knowledge of the peasants as well as the gentry, he was widely liked and acknowledged support coming from these quarters. His letters show an awareness of the responsibility he felt toward his contemporaries. Lastly, so far he had not clashed with the authorities. He had many personal friends among the Russians and counted perhaps on their understanding and sympathy. Since he was not just a poet but a committed intellectual, he was on a collision course with the authorities. He knew that sooner or later his poems, which enjoyed clandestine circulation, would be intercepted. It seemed that, having written them, he was propelled to a clearer and sharper form of dissent. No longer was this a matter of writing Ukrainian verses or treating historical themes. The time had come to face the consequences of the bold vision which he expressed with such force to his countrymen.

In the spring of 1846, Ševčenko arrived in Kiev. He was still employed by the Archeographic Commission and was happy to work for it. In Kiev he met several young Ukrainians who became his close friends. Among them was Mykola Kostomarov (1817–85). He was born on the estate of Jurasovka in the province of Voronež. His father, Ivan, came from an old Russian noble family and after a military career settled on his estate. He was receptive to the ideas of the French Revolution. "He liked to argue

with everyone," wrote his son, "that all men are equal, that distinction of birth is a prejudice, that all should live like brothers . . . His favourite books were the works of Voltaire, d'Alembert and Diderot."[1] This did not prevent him from being very strict with his peasants who later conspired to kill him. Ivan Kostomarov's wife had been his serf, a Ukrainian peasant girl, Tetjana. He married her against the strong opposition of his family. Mykola was born a year before their marriage. Both parents surrounded him with great affection. As a small boy he showed remarkable ability to learn, though he was not locked in the world of books but eagerly sought the company of the peasants. When he was eleven his father was murdered by his coachman and other peasants. For a while life became very difficult as his mother was deprived of the estate by her late husband's relatives. Eventually she moved with Mykola to a new house in Jurasovka. The boy was sent to school in Voronež. He graduated at the age of sixteen and was preparing himself for the entrance examinations to Xarkiv University. This university was at that time in a state of decay and when Kostomarov entered it he found little to stimulate his intellect. He was, at first, strongly attracted to the study of classical and modern languages. In 1835 a new professor of history, Lunin, was appointed to the chair. It was under his influence that Kostomarov became an ardent student of history. After the summer holidays in 1835 which Kostomarov, as always, spent with his mother, he lodged with Hulak-Artemovs'kyj. In January, 1837, he completed his studies and soon afterwards joined a dragoon regiment. He did not remain in the service for long. His scholarly interests took the upper hand and he returned to Xarkiv to devote himself to further studies.

Kostomarov was strongly influenced by Herder's philosophy which at that time had many followers at Xarkiv University. According to Herder, each nation had its own inner life which ought to be explored and cultivated. The meaning of life was contained within the national existence. "Herder," writes Hans Kohn, "was the first to insist that human civilization lives not in its general and universal, but in its national and peculiar manifestations; each cultural manifestation must be original, but its originality is that of the national community and the national language. By nature and history men are above all members of their national community: only as such can they be really creative."[2]

> History fascinated Kostomarov to the point of questioning the traditional approach to it. He was puzzled as to why in all history texts they talk a great deal about the prominent government leaders, sometimes about the laws and institutions, but neglect the life of the people. The poor peasant seems not to exist for history. Why does not history tell us anything about his life, his

---

[1] N. Kostomarov, *Avtobiografija: Literaturnoe nasledie* (St. Petersburg, 1890), p. 5.

[2] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1961), p. 429.

spiritual life, his feelings, joys and sorrows. I soon arrived at the conclusion that history must be studied not from dead chronicles and records but also from the live people. It is impossible that a past century should not be reflected in the life and memories of its descendants. It is only necessary to search and one would certainly find a lot which was ignored by scholars. Where should one begin? Of course, from an enquiry into one's own Russian people. But because I lived in the Ukraine it was necessary to begin exploring its Ukrainian branch. This prompted me to start reading folklore material.[3]

This was how a young Russian student of history was drawn to Ukrainian language and folklore. Little did he realize that in a short time this would turn him into a Ukrainian patriot.

I was struck and enchanted by the genuine charm of Little Russian folk poetry and I never suspected that such refinement, such depth and freshness of feeling were in the works of a people so near to me, about whom, as I realized, I knew nothing . . . Within a short time I had read everything that was printed in Little Russian, but this did not seem enough to me; I wanted to become more closely acquainted with the people themselves, not from books but from their speech, from a live contact with them. With this purpose I began to undertake ethnographical trips from Xar'kov to the neighbouring villages and to the taverns which at that time were real people's clubs."

The zeal with which Kostomarov plunged into Ukrainian studies produced good results. By 1838 he could already write Ukrainian poetry and contributed to the literary activities of the Xarkiv circle.[5] While still in Xarkiv he wrote an article surveying the Ukrainian literature of the day, the first literary evaluation of its kind. It was published under the pseudonym Jeremija Halka with the title "Obzor sočinenij pisannyx na malorossijskom jazyke" (A Survey of Works Written in the Little Russian Language) in the almanac *Molodyk na 1844 god*, edited by Ivan Bec'kyj. The editor, who had visited Gogol' in Frankfurt in October, 1844, attempted to link him to his publications by printing his portrait on one of the pages. Gogol' was quite annoyed by this unauthorized maneuver. Behind this might have lain his repugnance to being linked with Ukrainian literature.

Kostomarov began his review with a spirited defense of Ukrainian as a separate language. Turning to literature he declared:

Now the idea of *narodnost'* has enlivened our literature; both the reading public and writers consider *narodnost'* to be the chief merit of any work of literature. But how could a Little Russian who received his first impressions in Little Russia and who perhaps as a child spoke his words in his native language appear in the field of literature? Only with his Little Russian *narodnost'*, with his native language. Many Little Russians felt that it was impossible to express in Russian what can be expressed in Little Russian and therefore began to use

[3] Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.
[5] See above, p. 61.

their native language. And indeed they are right. To be sure, Gogol' in his great works described a great deal of Little Russian life in most beautiful Russian. But let us admit this: experts maintain that much of that would have been better said in his native language. Besides, there are many talented men who, because of the conditions of life, have become so familiar with the Little Russian language that they would write badly if they tried to write in Russian and their works in Little Russian would be read by their compatriots with real pleasure.[6]

The customary defensiveness with which Ukrainian intellectuals viewed the raison d'être of Ukrainian literature is not evident in Kostomarov's article. He took for granted the existence of Ukrainian literature not as a whim *(prixot')* but as a necessity. For Kostomarov, the writer who did the most for the development of Ukrainian literature was Kvitka in whose works he saw the perfect reflection of Ukrainian customs. He also discussed the merits of Kotljarevs'kyj, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, Hrebinka, Metlyns'kyj and Bodjans'kyj. Kostomarov's critical judgment faltered when he tried to assess Ševčenko's significance. He granted Ševčenko an "unusual talent" and praised his poetry but failed to see the difference between him and his contemporaries. It is striking that Kostomarov devoted as much space to Ševčenko as he did to the discussion of the inferior work *Čary* (Spells) by Topolja. Perhaps Kostomarov's feeling for Ukrainian language was still imperfect and his love of ethnographic literature blinded him to the merits of Ševčenko. These, as he himself admitted, were not so much national as universal, and to Kostomarov it was *narodnost'* that was of prime importance. That he was also overwhelmed by Ševčenko's poetry is shown by a later comment: "Taras Grigorievič read me his unpublished verses. I became afraid . . . I saw that Ševčenko's muse tore asunder the curtain over people's life. It was frightening and sweet, painful and delightful to look inside."[7] The impact of Ševčenko's poetry was too overwhelming to please him.

In 1844, Kostomarov defended his master's dissertation on the topic "Ob istoričeskom značenii russkoj narodnoj poezii" (On the Historical Significance of Russian Folk Poetry). This was his second dissertation. His first one on the "causes and the nature of the church union (with Rome) in Western Russia" (1841) was destroyed after the Xarkiv archbishop, Innokentij, objected to some passages allegedly slandering the Patriarchs of Constantinople. After the defense he went as a school teacher to Rivne and from there, in 1845, to Kiev. Intellectual life at Kiev University developed in spite of the oppressive atmosphere created by official surveillance. A contemporary account by A. Soltanovs'kyj records how both students and

---

[6] I. Bec'kyj (ed.) *Molodyk na 1844 god* (Xarkiv, 1843). Here quoted from M. Hruševs'kyj (ed.) *Naukovo-publicistyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova* (Kiev, 1928), pp. 42–43.

[7] N. Kostomarov, "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax," *Osnova,* 1861, IV. Here quoted from Hruševs'kyj, *op. cit.,* pp. 88–89.

professors were strictly supervised so that no disrespect should be shown for the existing order. Emulating Nicholas I, the governor general of the Ukraine, Bibikov attempted to introduce a semi-military discipline into all educational institutions and could be seen in town checking on the appearance and dress of students and deporting those whose coat had a button missing.[8] Yet, in the same account, we find mention of a circle of young men led by Kostomarov and Ševčenko. Their aim was a detailed study of Ukrainian history and folklore.

In Kiev, Kostomarov met another teacher, Pantelejmon Kuliš. The latter left this account of their first meeting.

> One day I met at Juzefovič's the master of Xar'kov University, Kostomarov, who was talking grandiloquently about the Cossacks, as all of us were inclined to do in those days and I personally was so full of admiration for their great deeds that I kept in my memory the historical legends and songs like a Ukrainian Iliad. Taking my part in the conversation I quoted a long text from a chronicle. Kostomarov was surprised by such dedicated study of Ukrainian literature and we became friends after this first exchange... [Later] we used to talk during entire summer nights. In our walks at night... we might have appeared drunk to a passing observer. And we were drunk, but not with wine.[9]

Pantelejmon Kuliš (1819–97) was born in the little town of Voronež in the Černihiv province, not far from Novhorod Sivers'kyj. His father came from an old Cossack family which, because of a technicality, did not receive the status of *dvorjanstvo* during the reign of Catherine II. His father, Oleksandr, was counted as a simple Cossack *(prostoj kozak)* since he could not produce evidence that his ancestors had held military rank. Oleksandr Andrijovyč had a large farm on which he worked together with his peasants. He was very temperamental and was known as "the fiery *(horjačyj)* Kuliš", an epithet inherited by Pantelejmon. His first wife was a *dvorjanka* from Voronež. After her death he married Kateryna Hladka, daughter of a Cossack captain. Pantelejmon was their son. After his mother's death he came under the influence of his father. Another mentor was Tetjana Mužylovs'ka, a wealthy landowner who distributed all her riches to the poor and herself became a nun. She persuaded Kuliš's father to send Pantelejmon to *gimnazija* in Novhorod Sivers'kyj. There he did not perform brilliantly in every subject but showed great interest in literature and art. As in so many other instances it was the accidental discovery of a book (Maksymovyč's collection of folksongs) which stirred his curiosity about the Ukraine.

After the fifth grade he left school and found employment as tutor in a

---

[8] H. Šamraj, "Opovidannja A. A. Soltanovs'koho pro kyjivs'ke žyttja 1840-x rr.," *Ukrajina,* 1924, No. 3, p. 85.

[9] P. Kuliš, "Vospominanija o Nikolae Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov',* 1885, No. 13, pp. 61–62.

landowner's family. He took this opportunity to spend nearly all his free time with the peasants whose language he mastered to perfection. In 1839, Kuliš passed the entrance examination to Kiev University but, after attending it for some time, was not allowed to re-register because he was not a *dvorjanin*. He received much encouragement in his first literary efforts from Maksymovyč, who recommended him to Juzefovič, an influential deputy trustee of the Kiev board of education. In 1841, Kuliš was granted by the latter a teaching appointment in a high school in Luc'k. He was a successful teacher, although he devoted a great deal of time to his own research and writing. Kuliš was an ardent student of languages and knew French, English, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Polish. He read Walter Scott in French translation and, under his influence, wrote his first novel, in Russian, *Mixail Čarnyšenko* (1843). His best friend in Luc'k was Xil'čevs'kyj who introduced him to several Poles. These friendships were the beginning of a close relationship with Polish culture which Kuliš maintained all his life. After a year in Luc'k, Kuliš was transferred to a Kiev school. There he continued his writing, focusing his attention on Ukrainian history. In this he was stimulated by Gogol', whose second expanded version of *Taras Bul'ba* he read with enthusiasm. "Gogol' has read more deeply into Little Russian antiquity," he wrote to Juzefovič on April 15, 1843, "has looked more profoundly into the soul of southern Russes and expressed in *Taras Bul'ba* many new features of the national character, of the customs and military traditions of the Cossacks."[10] Four months later, on August 14, 1843, he admitted to Juzefovič that *Taras Bul'ba* had prompted him to write something. "The following bold thought was born in my head . . . to express the life of the Little Russian people in an epic poem. I chose for it the language and form of our *dumy* which I had studied very thoroughly for a long time."[11] The poem was entitled simply *Ukrajina* (1843). At the same time, Kuliš, also under Gogol"s influence, planned a Ukrainian historical novel. This idea which in the end proved much more successful than the poem, began to take shape late in 1843. On December 10 he wrote to Juzefovič that he was writing a novel *Sotnik Šramko i jego synovja* (Captain Šramko and His Sons) which was the tentative title give to what later became *Čorna rada* (The Black Council).[12] In 1844, still working as a teacher, Kuliš undertook a truly Gogolian project – to prepare a multi-volume publication on Ukrainian history, law, geography, architecture, art and folklore under the provisional title *Žizn' malorossijskogo naroda* (Life of the Little Russian People). Like many Ukrainian folklorists Kuliš believed that parallels could be discovered between the ancient Ukraine and ancient Greece. In his short

---

[10] "Pis'ma P. A. Kuliša k M. V. Juzefoviču: 1843–1861 gg.," *Kievskaja starina,* 1899, vol. 64, II, 188.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

story "Orysja" (1844) he deliberately modelled the action on episodes from the *Odyssey*.

Politically, Kuliš was a moderate. While Ševčenko castigated Russian imperialism and pleaded for Ukrainian independence, Kuliš was quite ready to collaborate with Russians. "The political life of Little Russia ended long ago," he wrote to Juzefovič on September 10, 1844, "that life which expresses itself in language, costumes, customs, etc. – I shall call it poetical – also loses its vividness with every year. Little Russia will soon merge with Russia. This is just as well, but what is not well is that it [the Ukraine], having flourished for two centuries with such a powerful and rich folk culture, has not enriched it with new elements, gained from its own resource at the time of its independent existence."[13] On October 6, 1845, writing from Rivne, where he was teaching, he implored Juzefovič: "Transfer me to Kiev . . . Kiev is even more enticing to me now because Kostomarov, whose companionship means so much to me, is there."[14]

It was Kostomarov rather than Ševčenko who became Kuliš's closest friend. They both shared the conviction that a great deal of work awaited Ukrainian scholars and intellectuals before Ukraine could equal Russia. Kuliš was, therefore, a typical *Kulturträger* or cultural pioneer, dedicated to the spread of Ukrainian scholarship and literature. He instantly recognized Ševčenko's talent and welcomed his appearance. Later, recalling the impact of Ševčenko's poetry, he wrote: "Among the benevolent [Kiev] youth there appeared Ševčenko with a loud lament for the unhappy lot of the country and sang before them:

O gentle region, fair Ukraine
Dear beyond every other!
Why are you plundered and despoiled
Why do you perish, Mother?

This song was indeed like the sound of the archangel's resurrecting trumpet. If one can ever say that the heart came to life, the eyes grew bright and over men's foreheads appeared flaming tongues, it was then in Kiev."[15] But at the same time from the beginning to the very end of their long friendship, Kuliš was critical of Ševčenko. Although this criticism was sometimes patronizing and a little off the mark, its main intent was helpful. Skeptical of Ševčenko's radicalism which to him appeared "cynical", Kuliš was anxious to polish Ševčenko's "unkempt" poetry. In a letter to Ševčenko on July 25, 1846, Kuliš subjected the *Kobzar* and *Hajdamaky* to

---

[13] V. Šenrok, "P. A. Kuliš: biografičeskij očerk," *Kievskaja starina,* 1901, vol. 72, II, 463.

[14] "Pis'ma P. A. Kuliša k M. V. Juzefoviču: 1843–1861 gg.," *Kievskaja starina,* 1899, vol. 64, p. 202.

[15] P. Kuliš, *Xutorna poezija* (L'viv, 1882); here quoted from *Tvory Pantelejmona Kuliša* (L'viv, 1910), VI, 377.

detailed scrutiny. He admitted that he liked these works so much that much of them he learned by heart. However, he also noticed "palpable shortcomings". "Some of these shortcomings," he wrote, "stem from your overconfidence, carelessness, indolence or similar causes; others from the fact that you relied too much on your inborn strength and did not try to attune it to art which in itself is insignificant but in conjunction with such a talent as God has given you could create wonders which would be even more striking than those which it created in harmony with Puškin's talent. Your works do not belong only to you and to your time. They belong to the entire Ukraine and will speak for it forever. This gives me the right to meddle with the family affairs of your imagination and creation and demand from them insistently that they fulfill their works to the highest degree of perfection."[16] He then offered detailed comments on individual poems and suggested several corrections, some of which Ševčenko accepted. At the end of his long letter, Kuliš unfolded a plan to publish Ševčenko's works abroad in German translation "so that a Ukrainian name may be celebrated in all languages."[17]

Kuliš gave advice to Ševčenko not only as a literary critic but also as a writer. As a poet he might even have been envious of Ševčenko, whose verse was more felicitous than his own. As a prosewriter, however, Kuliš was eminently successful. In the mid-forties he was working on a novel which to this day occupies a prominent place in Ukrainian literature. The first five chapters of the *Black Council* were published in Russian in *Sovremennik* (1845). At the same time, Kuliš prepared a Ukrainian text. The reasons for this decision can be gathered from Kuliš's correspondence. Writing to Sreznevs'kyj on March 7, 1846, he confided: "Besides, I want to write the *Black Council* in Ukrainian. As a matter of fact, my command of Ukrainian is much better than my command of Russian, of course, in prose; poetry is not my field. What would you say to that? There are people who are almost scolding me for my intention. And yet Russian seems to me a foreign language."[18] At first he wanted to publish the Ukrainian version of his novel in an almanac which he was preparing. On May 23, 1846, Kuliš wrote to Bodjans'kyj: "I want to publish a Ukrainian almanac (think of the title). Ševčenko sent me four wonderful poems. He performs miracles with the Ukrainian language. Don't you have a short poem or a story or something scholarly in Ukrainian? The aim is to raise Ukrainian to the level of a literary language. Ševčenko translated the 136th and 149th psalms with brilliant success (these are not the only ones he has). I wrote the *Black Council* in Ukrainian and shall publish several chapters in the almanac. It is strange to think that a people so actively participating in the events of

---

[16] S. Jefremov (ed.) *Povne zibrannja tvoriv Tarasa Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1929), III, 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[18] I. Ajzenštok, "Lysty P. Kuliša do I. Sreznevs'koho," *Literaturnyj arxiv*, 1930, I–II, 209.

humanity were not capable of telling about their own life in a historical novel."[19]

Pletnev, who agreed to publish the first five chapters of the novel, gave it the following penetrating description. He [Kuliš] wrote . . . "a historical novel, the *Black Council,* in which with unusual clarity he depicted the darkest period in the history of the Ukraine, which followed Bogdan Xmel'nickij's death. Beneath the exterior of dramatic scenes he represented the mutual relationships between estates *(soslovij)* in the Ukraine, the rights of landed property, the origin and development of contemporary aristocracy and the relationship of the Zaporože to the rest of the Ukraine. All these problems have been up to now dark in the history of Little Russia and Kuliš solved them after a long and thorough study of the chronicles, documents, folk poetry and the Ukrainian people themselves in their present conditions."[20]

It is true that Kuliš depicted the clash of various social forces in the Ukraine in the dark days of 1663. In this, his novel is a direct challenge to *Taras Bul'ba* where the Cossacks are united in their purpose. In *Black Council* it is their disunity which forms the main theme of the novel. However sociologically truthful this concept is, the solution offered by Kuliš has little to do with the dialectics of history. The entire subject of *Black Council* has been analyzed with great incisiveness by Viktor Petrov. He has admirably demonstrated that Kuliš's view of the Ukraine is *sub specie aeternitatis.* The fratricidal strife between the two het'mans, the Cossack *staršyna* and the Zaporožians, the aristocracy and the peasants is ultimately accepted by the author as part of the human condition. No side in this war is better than the other, since all have their failings. True, the state of civil war ravages the country and saps the vital forces of the Ukraine which remains prostrate and disunited. All this is sad and tragic, yet ultimately it is relieved by two characters who speak for the author. One of them, Kyrylo Tur, is "an Übermensch, a superior man, a literary hero. He belongs to the breed of heroes created by Goethe, Schiller, Byron and their followers."[21] He seeks truth. "The starting point of his philosophy is metaphysical . . . he dedicates his life to the search for the inner truth. He wants to find truth not for its own sake, not because he values it as the ultimate goal but because he knows that truth is a chimera. He values truth as an absolute goal which has no aim, he values it for its aimlessness, for its fantastic spuriousness."[22] This does not mean that he seeks an escape; on

---

[19] "Pis'ma P. A. Kuliša k O. M. Bodjanskomu," *Kievskaja starina* 1897, vols. 58–59, I, 339.

[20] Here quoted from V. Petrov, *Pantylejmon Kuliš v pjadesjati roky* (Kiev, 1929), pp. 447–48. Gogol', who read excerpts from Kuliš's novel, greatly admired them and called the author a major talent *(talant bol'šoj ruki)* (E. Hill, "Une lettre de Nicolas Gogol," *Revue des études slaves,* 1961, p. 109).

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 396.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 387.

the contrary, he is the incarnation of the adventurous Cossack ready to help others and sacrifice himself. Yet, while his actions involve him deeply in the plot, he remains uncommitted. In the end he turns his back on everybody, even on his country, and departs from the scene.

The other character in called simply *Božyj Čolovik* (A Godly Man). Like a blind minstrel, he accompanies the Cossacks and comments on the spiritual poverty of his times. He is an example of Christian humility. "The world needs glory. This worldly glory Kuliš contrasts with the glory of God. The hetmanate, riches, victory over the enemy – all are mere playthings for children. The road to victory does not lead through the hetmanate or the struggle for earthly comforts. Man must search for other goals and he who looks beyond this world will find them. All that man needs is the contemplation of the eternal – there lies the goal of human endeavour."[23] The consequences of Kuliš's outlook expressed in this novel were very far-reaching. Its supranational tone found many followers. The emphasis on the religious and contemplative side of life reawakened in the Ukraine the traditions of Hryhorij Skovoroda. The search for inner truth, not only for national fulfillment, remained a vital force in the intellectual circle of Kuliš and led him later to develop his own philosophy of *xutorjanstvo,* elevating the seclusion of life on a *xutir* to the status of a Ukrainian Walden. Unlike Thoreau, for Kuliš a retreat into nature was merely an opportunity to collect energy for social activity.

Kuliš's identification of Ukrainian culture with contemplation and otherworldliness led him to regard Gogol' as a "typical Ukrainian", an explorer of the inner life of man. After Gogol"s death, he became his first biographer *(Opyt biografii Gogolja,* 1854; *Zapiski o žizni N. V. Gogolja,* 1856). Throughout his life, Kuliš oscillated between Gogol"s and Ševčenko's influence. Frequently, Kuliš would admonish his friends for their hastiness and superficiality in interpreting their country. "The time is past," he wrote to Ševčenko on June 5, 1844, "for the clattering of sabres . . . now is the time to use our heads."[24] This meant for Kuliš a rediscovering of the peaceful, meditative substratum of Ukrainian life.[25] Although it resembled Slavophilism (later, in the 1850's, Kuliš became a close friend of the Aksakovs) it was a peculiarly Ukrainian brand of Slavophilism, since for Kuliš the antinomy was not "Russia" and "the West" but "Ukraine" and "Russia".

In November, 1845, Kuliš, at the invitation of Pletnev, went to St. Petersburg where he stayed until December 1846. Pletnev, at that time the Rector of the University, took an unusual interest in the young writer, found him a teaching post and later a lectureship at the University (Russian language for foreigners). In reminiscences, Kuliš recalls that Pletnev did not

---

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 404.

[24] *Lysty do T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1962), p. 25.

[25] See D. Tschižewskij (= Čyževs'kyj), "P. O. Kulisch, ein ukrainischer Philosoph des Herzens," *Orient und Occident,* 1933, No. 14; also his review of V. Petrov's book in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* 1930, No. 1–2.

care for his Ukrainian interests. "But here," writes Kuliš, "he met with silent Ukrainian opposition, the proof of which was, among other things, the *Black Council,* which I started to write in Kiev in Puškin's language but which I wrote in St. Petersburg in the language of Ševčenko."[26] Kuliš became a frequent visitor at Pletnev's home and fell in love with the latter's daughter, Ol'ga. However, she refused to learn Ukrainian and thereby cooled the ardour of her suitor. With all its attractions, St. Petersburg did not distract Kuliš's attention from Ukrainian affairs. In July, 1846, he sent Bodjans'kyj his history of the Ukraine for children. "With the help of this book," he wrote, "I intended to present to our historians some thoughts derived from the study of historical sources and the Ukrainian people themselves. I should like to awaken people with it [both] for and against, in order to solve finally some problems relating to the place of Ukrainians in . . . the Slavic world."[27] Any attempts to publicize the Ukrainian cause abroad received his enthusiastic support. "In Tiflis," he wrote to Bodjans'kyj on August 21, 1846, "the Polish poet Łada-Zabłocki is translating Ukrainian songs into French. I helped him with all kinds of materials for the introduction and the text . . . His edition will appear in Paris and will make our poetry and history (the introduction will be extensive) known throughout Europe, which is very necessary."[28] At the same time, Kuliš was well informed about West European literary developments and was especially concerned with what was going on among the Western Slavs. In a letter to a Czech scholar, Hanka, written in 1846, he wrote: "Reading about you Czechs, how zealously you are working, gladdens our hearts. You have started a big bonfire among the Slavs which has lighted our way."[29]

Kuliš himself hoped to go to Europe in 1847 on a fellowship from the University. In January, 1847, Kuliš married Oleksandra Bilozers'ka. "I was married on the 24th," he wrote to Bodjans'kyj, "I have a beautiful and intelligent wife. She knows our history well and can sing our songs to one's heart's delight."[30] At the wedding, Ševčenko was the best man. He sang Ukrainian songs, and then, half jokingly, conducted an examination in Ukrainian language of Kuliš's sisters-in-law.

Oleksandra's brother, Vasyl' Bilozers'kyj (1825–99), was an old friend of Kuliš. They first met in Kiev in 1842, where Vasyl' was a student at the University.[31] He was the son of a landowner from the *xutir* Motronivka

---

[26] P. Kuliš, "Vospominanija o Nikolae Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov',* 1885, No. 13, p. 66.

[27] "Pis'ma P. A. Kuliša k O. M. Bodjanskomu," *Kievskaja starina* 1897, vols. 58–59, I, 400.

[28] *Ibid,*. p. 405.

[29] V. A. Francev, *Pis'ma k Ganke iz slavjanskix zemel'* (Warsaw, 1905), p. 569.

[30] "Pis'ma P. A. Kuliša k O. M. Bodjanskomu," *Kievskaja starina,* 1897, vols. 58–59, III, 488.

[31] V. Petrov, "Ševčenko, Kuliš, V. Bilozers'kyj – jix perši striči," *Ukrajina,* 1925, No. 1–2.

near Borzna. After graduating from the University in 1846, he taught at the military school in Poltava. In a letter, written in 1846, he describes his life in that city.

> A ray of joy and hope greeted me in Poltava. Literary evenings were being held in the home of Skalon, a most generous and sensitive man, whose wife, a very intelligent woman, is the daughter of the poet Kapnist. There have been two, so far, and I was present at the second. During the first Čužbynskij, that is Afanas'ev, who is here now, read some works of Taras Grigorievič [Ševčenko] and his notes on the Caucasus. At the second I read "Orysja" [by Kuliš]. Four girls were present, among them Miss Kapnist, an intelligent young woman who, it seems, passionately loves the Ukraine . . . One of the listeners said that Ukrainian literature is a last effort. I contradicted him, of course, and argued against him. M-lle Kapnist supported me . . .[32]

In 1847, Bilozers'kyj was preparing to go abroad with Kuliš and his wife. Bilozers'kyj also knew Ševčenko and was a member of the Ukrainian circle in Kiev.

Another member of this group was Mykola Hulak (1822–99). He was born in Zolotonoša district of the province of Poltava and was educated at Dorpat (Tartu) University where he studied law. In Kiev he was employed at the office of the governor general but also worked for the Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents which brought him into contact with Kuliš and Kostomarov. For a time, early in 1846, Hulak and Kostomarov shared lodgings which became the gathering place for their friends. They talked about "literature, philosophy, jurisprudence, Germany, Dorpat University, the peasants, political economy, religion, German scholarship, etc."[33] Hulak was a strict follower of German methods, very hardworking, almost pedantic. He was working on a book on comparative Slavic law. In a letter to the Czech scholar, Hanka, on March 8, 1846, he wrote: "So far I have paid the most attention to the legal relationships between the lower estates in Russia and other Slavic peoples, namely, to the serfs, peasants, those who are subject, etc."[34] Together with Bilozers'kyj, Hulak drafted a project for a school for peasant children in Poltava. Among his other projects was: the publication of a Ukrainian dictionary. Hulak was a born leader who earned the admiration of his friends and young followers. Among the latter was a young student, Opanas Markovyč (1822–67), who wrote to Hulak: "You understand what it means to love our country, you understand, because you love it with the most exalted love in the world."[35] There were many others who, like Markovyč, sympathized with the ideas of the Kievan

---

[32] V. Mijakovs'kyj, "Ljudy sorokovyx rokiv: Kyrylo-metodijivci v jix lystuvanni," *Za sto lit,* 1928, II, 67.

[33] N. M. "Pamjati N. I. Gulaka," *Kievskaja starina,* 1900, vol. 68, p. 264.

[34] V. Mijakovs'kyj, "Ljudy sorokovyx rokiv: Kyrylo-metodijivci v jix lystuvanni," *Za sto lit,* 1928, II, 48.

[35] N. M. *op. cit.*, p. 266.

circle. Little is known about them except their origin and their common dedication to the Ukrainian cause. Three sons of the local gentry, Jurij Andruzs'kyj, Oleksandr Navroc'kyj, Dmytro Pyl'čykiv, one son of a peasant, Ivan Posjada, and the son of a landowner, Mykola Savyč, deserve to be mentioned. The latter studied in Paris from 1831–34 and in 1847 travelled there again, taking with him Ševčenko's poem "The Caucasus" to be handed to Adam Mickiewicz.

The Ideology

Describing the intellectual atmosphere among the young Ukrainians in Kiev,[36] Kuliš emphasized their Christian outlook. "One must know," he wrote, "that the youth of Kiev whom I have mentioned, were deeply enlightened by the Gospels, that this youth was of high spiritual purity and that they enthusiastically upheld the apostleship of brotherly love."[37] Sometime in 1845 or 1846 these young men, bent on practising Christianity in a more organized way, decided to form a secret society. Following the custom of old Ukrainian church fraternities, they called their society the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Bratstvo svjatoho Kyryla i Metodija). A constitution was drawn up and members agreed to wear a gold signet ring. The aims of the brotherhood were laid out in a document which was subsequently called either "Zakon božyj" (The Divine Law) or "Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu" (The Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People). Its author was most likely Kostomarov who, together with Hulak and Bilozers'kyj, must be regarded as the chief organizer of the brotherhood. "Here for the first time," Kostomarov later wrote, "we thought of establishing a society which would have as its aim the idea of Slavic solidarity and, in the future, a federation of Slavic peoples based on complete freedom and autonomy of the nations."[38] Among the members were Kuliš, Andruzs'kyj, Navroc'kyj, Pyl'čykiv, Tulub, Posjada, Savyč, Markovyč and

---

[36] In the study of the Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood (*Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo,* Moscow, 1959) P. Zajončkovskij refers several times to a "Kievan Youth" circle which supposedly preceded the Brotherhood. The evidence for this is not convincing. Even if such a circle existed it could hardly have been called "Kievskaja moloda." This error is repeated by several Soviet scholars and by Dennis Papazian in his otherwise excellent work on Kostomarov which contains the first extensive treatment in English of the Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood (Dennis Papazian, "Nicholas Ivanovich Kostomarov: Russian Historian, Ukrainian Nationalist, Slavic Federalist," Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1966). No books on the Brotherhood were published in the Soviet Ukraine during the last forty years.

[37] "Istoryčne opovidannja," *Tvory Pantelejmona Kuliša,* VI, 378.

[38] N. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografija," *Russkaja mysl',* 1885, No. 5, p. 210.

Ševčenko. Kuliš's membership can be attested despite his own claims to the contrary. There is no doubt about Ševčenko's participation in the society.

The religious inclination of the "brethren" is noticeable throughout the *Books of Genesis*. In a sense the society was organized to bring about the realization of the Christian ideals of justice, freedom and equality. This belief was the cornerstone of their philosophy. Very closely allied to it was their concern for their country. This combination of Christian and national ideologies was not novel. The best example of this was offered by the Polish intellectuals and poets whose influence on the Cyrillo-Methodians was unquestionable (especially Mickiewicz's *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego).*[39] Another source of influence was closer to home – the ideas of the Society of United Slavs. Ultimately, this doctrine may be traced back to Herder and further back to the Enlightenment which held that nations showed no hostility towards other nations and only ambitious monarchs set them against each other.

Ukrainian history was idealized in the *Books of Genesis* just as much as it was in the *Istorija Rusov*. Yet there is a great difference in the implications which a similar worshipful attitude to the Ukrainian past has in each work. *Istorija Rusov* remains a touched-up history, while the *Books of Genesis* represent a political platform. A long road had been travelled by Ukrainian intellectuals from the mere awakening of a national consciousness nourished by historical evocations to an actual awareness of their national identity in the contemporary world.

The formation of this new outlook was largely the result of the discussions between five men who each contributed their ideas and plans: Kostomarov, Kuliš, Hulak, Bilozers'kyj and Ševčenko. Although, basically, there was a consensus between them, their views differed. An indication of this is found in Kostomarov's autobiography where he admits that "when I told Ševčenko about the existence of the society he at once declared his readiness to join, but he reacted against its idea with great fervour and extreme impatience which led to many arguments between me and Ševčenko."[40] The Polish writer, Juljan Bielina–Kędrzycki, who left very interesting memoirs about the "brethren's" meetings, also noted that "Ševčenko seemed not to atribute great importance to Kostomarov's intentions."[41] This has led some Soviet scholars to exaggerate the difference between Kostomarov and

---

[39] See V. Ščurat, *Ševčenko i poljaky: osnovy vzajemnyx zvjazkiv* (L'viv, 1917). For a brief but illuminating discussion of the influence of the *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* on Kostomarov see D. Čiževsky, "Mickiewicz and Ukrainian Literature," in W. Lednicki (ed.) *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 413–19.

[40] N. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografija," *Russkaja mysl'*, 1885, V, 211.

[41] *Biografija T. H. Ševčenka za spohadamy sučasnykiv* (Kiev, 1958), p. 109. Bielina-Kędrzycki's memoirs were published posthumously in 1918 in *Gazeta lwowska.*

Ševčenko, making a reactionary of the former and a revolutionary of the latter. In reality, while not belittling Ševčenko's revolutionary ideas, as expressed in his poems, we must grant his due to Kostomarov who conceived the idea of a secret organization, no mean contribution to revolutionary activity. While the brotherhood was not a conspiratorial group dedicated to the violent overthrow of government, it engaged in activities and professed ideas which were clearly proscribed. Some of the "brethren" were more radical in their views than others, but none of them could be classed as reactionary.

To study their divergent views is to discover the growth of their national consciousness, their doubts and vacillations before committing themselves to the idea of national liberation. The material for such a study is scanty. Some letters from Kuliš to Kostomarov show how difficult it was for them to arrive at a satisfactory concept of a Ukrainian intellectual. On May 2, 1846, Kuliš wrote to Kostomarov from St. Petersburg: "Why do you say that you are not Ukrainian, that you mingle with us only because of humanist ideas? We give you the right to our citizenship. Besides, your mother is Ukrainian. I could not love you as much as I do if I did not regard you as a Ukrainian. Why should one refuse such a precious name?"[42] And again, on June 2, 1846:

> Young people taking up the study of Little Russia do not in any way thereby deprive themselves of acquiring a European education. Why take the extremes? One can love one's bucolic *xutir* and grow enthusiastic over the glittering capital more than somebody who does not live on a *xutir*. One can know by heart all our songs, legends and chronicles and acquire a high degree of European education. I do not understand why, in your opinion, one excludes the other? . . Your opinion that in order to learn one's language it is necessary to turn one's back on educated society is quite mistaken. You should only look into the houses from which come the educated people living in an enlightened society, such as the Bilozerskijs, and see how their children are educated and how they learn their native language. I am also now living not entirely among the ignorant (although the educated ones mostly know less than the Ukrainian peasants) and yet I know the Ukrainian language. You say that one can write in that language only peasant tales. Yet before you there is Ševčenko who in that language and in David's psalms expresses feelings worthy of the highest society . . . And can you, Nikolaj Ivanovič, say these terrible words: 'I do not accuse those who are cold to whatever is theirs. Man strives for the better and what is better is foreign.' No, the living element, without which there will be no harmony in your scholarly and poetic endeavours, has dried up in you. My accusation is strong! . . . Even if all the Little Russians active today in the literary field should wilt away, I am confident and not alarmed. New ones will come from the people, fresh hearts will appear whom nature itself will teach love of their native land, and they will start work and bring sacrifices with an enthusiasm not seen before.[43]

---

[42] V. Mijakovs'kyj, "Ljudy sorokovyx rokiv: Kyrylo-metodijivci v jix lystuvanni," *Za sto lit*, 1928, II, 53.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54.

The passionate tone of Kuliš's letter is indicative of the fervour with which the "brethren" discussed common problems. Kuliš stressed the national, Kostomarov the universal, the humanist, and Ševčenko, in his poems, the social elements of their philosophy. Towards the end of December, 1846, important discussions were held between the leading "brethren." Kuliš, on his return home from St. Petersburg, visited Kiev and took part in these vital talks which he described in a letter to Pletnev written on December 29th.

> Among the local young men who had finished university studies I found great intellectual agitation and readiness to start the most ephemeral undertakings. They thought that I would not only take part in these enterprises but would become the head of their literary corporation. With this in view they gathered at one of my friend's where I had promised to come for dinner. I found myself surrounded by pensive faces, lowered foreheads and knitted eyebrows. Inwardly I laughed and was vexed. The coolness of my opinions surprised them and they came to regard me as an egoist from the capital. However, Kostomarov and Ševčenko are as closely attached to me as they were before. I found a great change in Ševčenko. He had become more erudite and solid. His travels in Little Russia enriched his mind with many important impressions. Among other things, he regards the landlords as they should be regarded.[44]

The plans of the brotherhood were literary and educational. The literary "corporation" to which Kuliš referred was probably the attempt to publish in Ukrainian a journal for the peasants comparable to the Russian *Sel'skoe čtenie* (Village Reading). In the end the views of the "brethren" complemented each other and all found their expression in the *Books of Genesis,* which although written by Kostomarov, could be considered a composite effort.[45]

The book is constructed like a pyramid. First comes the broad basis of the ultra-Christian interpretation of history. Because "the human race forgot God" the "just Lord punished the people with floods, wars, plagues and that which is the worst of all – slavery."[46] With Christ's coming to earth the nations had a chance of redemption, but most of them succumbed to the misrule of ambitious kings and flouted Christian ethics. The corruption

---

[44] Here quoted from V. Petrov, "Rizdvo r. 1846," *Ševčenko, ričnyk peršyj* (Kiev, 1928), p. 148.

[45] Some scholars tried to ascribe the authorship of the entire or at least part of the work to Ševčenko (J. Gołąbek, *Bractwo Św. Cyryla i Metodego w Kijowie,* Warsaw, 1936; M. Markovs'kyj "Ševčenko v kyrylo-metodijivs'komu bratstvi," *Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu VUAN,* Kiev, 1924, No. 4.). Their arguments are unconvincing. There is no doubt, however, that Kostomarov, whose authorship seems now undisputed, was influenced by Ševčenko and other "brethren." For a scholarly account of the Brotherhood see G. Luciani, *Le livre de la genèse du peuple ukrainien* (Paris, 1956), Papazian, *op. cit.*

[46] *Kostomarov's "Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People"* (with a commentary by B. Yanivs'kyi) (New York, Research Program on the USSR, 1954), p. 31.

continued into the modern era when the French and German states fell to the worship of false gods. The French Revolution did not bring the expected change. "And the French slew their king, and banished their master and they themselves began to slaughter each other and they slaughtered until they fell into worse bondage."[47] The Slavs had entered the historical scene with certain advantages. "The Slavic tribe, even before the acceptance of the faith, had neither kings nor masters and all were equal and there were no idols, but the Slavs worshipped one God."[48] After the acceptance of Christianity the Slavs made the mistake of quarrelling among themselves and of accepting foreign kings as their masters. In time, God's punishment overtook them and they all fell under foreign domination. Here, Kostomarov introduces the messianic theme which remains rather mild in the rest of the work. "But the Lord was not completely angered at the Slavic tribe, because the Lord planned that the scripture should be fulfilled in this tribe; The stone which the builders rejected is become the cornerstone."[49] Even after their liberation from foreign yoke the Slavs did not follow the true religion. In particular "the Great Russian people lost their senses and fell into idolatry because they called the tsar the earthly god . . ."[50] The Poles were no better. The Ukrainians alone found a democratic order. "Ukraine loved neither the tsar nor the Polish lord and established a Cossack Host among themselves, i. e. a brotherhood in which each upon entering was a brother of the others – whether he had before been a master or a slave, provided that he was a Christian; and the Cossacks were all equal amongst themselves, and officials were elected at the assembly and they had to serve all according to the word of Christ, because they accepted the duty as compulsory, as an obligation, and there was no sort of seignorial majesty and title among the Cossacks."[51]

In time "the Cossack Host grew and multiplied and soon all the people in Ukraine would have become Cossacks, i. e. free and equal, and there would have been neither tsar nor a Polish lord over Ukraine, but God alone, and as it would be in Ukraine, so it would also be in Poland and then also in other Slavic lands."[52] However, the noble aims of the Ukrainians were misunderstood by the Russians and the Poles who tried to subjugate them. In the end the Ukraine was conquered by these two neighbours and "the German tsarina, Catherine [II], a universal profligate, atheist, husband slayer, ended the Cossack Host . . ."[53] "And Ukraine was destroyed. But it only seems to be so . . . Because the voice of Ukraine was not stilled. Ukraine

---

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

will rise from her grave and again will call to her brother Slavs and they will hear her call and the Slavic peoples will rise . . . And Ukraine will be an independent republic in the Slavic Union. Then all the peoples, pointing to that place on the map where Ukraine will be delineated will say: behold, the stone which the builders rejected, has become the cornerstone."[54]

Thus ends the first declaration of Ukrainian nationalism. Its tone is unmistakably though mildly messianic since it envisages Ukrainian independence only in union with other independent Slavic republics. This point was made explicit in the "explanatory note" by Bilozers'kyj.[55] The nations whose independent republics would form the Slavic federation consisted of Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Lusatians, Serbians, Croats and Bulgarians (point two of the statute). In his autobiography, Kostomarov wrote that "we began to envisage all the Slavic peoples united in a federation modelled on ancient Greek republics or the United States of North America, with the provision that while they should all be strongly tied to each other, each should fully preserve its separate autonomy."[56] It was not until much later that Kostomarov, in an article "Dve russkie narodnosti" (The Two Russian Nationalities, 1861) developed the idea of Ukrainian messianism a little further, claiming that the Russians were despotic, the Poles – aristocratic and only the Ukrainians were democratic. The concept of a Slavic federation was borrowed by the Cyrillo-Methodians from the Decembrists whose ideas, especially as preached by the "Southern Society" had circulated widely in the Ukraine some twenty years earlier. The Decembrists, however, did not include the Ukraine as an independent unit into their program. Undoubtedly, it was the literary renaissance in the Ukraine which prompted the next generation to think in terms of Ukrainian independence. In the program of the Brotherhood, Papazian points out, "the idea of federation is subsidiary to the idea of freeing the Ukraine."[57]

The Cyrillo-Methodians did not limit their program to national and federal goals. Influenced by the progressive ideas from Western Europe they declared themselves in favour of social reforms as well. Point eight of the Brotherhood's constitution made this clear. It reads: "The society will endeavour to abolish serfdom and all degradation of the lower classes as soon as possible, striving at the same time to spread general literacy."[58]

---

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 43–45.

[55] P. Zajončkovskij, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo* (Moscow, 1959), p. 84. For the Brotherhood's "call to brothers Great Russians and Poles" see Papazian, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–35.

[56] V. Kotel'nikov (ed.), *Avtobiografija N. I. Kostomarova* (Moscow, 1922), pp. 187–88. There are three different versions of Kostomarov's autobiography. The first, taken down by N. Bilozers'ka, came out in the journal *Russkaja mysl'*, 1885; the second version was published in St. Petersburg in 1890, and the third, the most complete, dictated in 1875 to A. Kostomarova, appeared in 1922.

[57] Papazian, *op. cit.*, p. 180

[58] Here quoted from Zajončkovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

Some members (Hulak) felt great concern about the lot of the serfs and gave expression to it in their correspondence with others.

The means by which the society's aims were to be achieved were also clearly spelt out. They reveal the non-violent character of the Brotherhood. "As with the entire society," we read in point nine of the statute, "so each member of it should bring his actions into consonance with the biblical precepts of love, meekness and patience. The maxim that the end justifies the means the society regards as ungodly."[59] The ideas of the Brotherhood were to be spread with the help of educational activities among young people and students. Bilozers'kyj had drafted a proposal for the establishment of a village school for peasant children.[60] Each member of the society could enrol new members without the consent of the entire organization. Therefore, the actual membership might have been much larger than the number of the known Cyrillo-Methodians. It is doubtful whether it exceeded one hundred.

Obviously, their strength did not lie in numbers but in their deep conviction so well expressed in his "explanatory note" by Bilozers'kyj.

> Our dear Ukraine, a country which through bitter sufferings in the cause of truth has earned everlasting esteem, has found herself in terrible circumstances. Annexed [to Russia] on the basis of her own laws, she is suffering a great injustice. Her rights are forgotten, and now, not as a sister nation of the same faith, but as a slave, she must endure the most grievous lot of all peoples. Her fate and her future are on the scales of God. But if the present conditions continue for a long time, when nothing Ukrainian will be esteemed, when a foreign yoke is thrown on us, when 'we, O God, feel like foreigners in our forefathers' land, in our own fatherland,' then the Ukraine will lose her ancient national dignity . . .[61]

With the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Ukrainian intellectual history entered a new era. Before, all the intellectual movements in the nineteenth century were merely reflections of Russian intellectual life (Slavophilism, *narodnost'*, historicism). Often, Ukrainians were satisfied with a niche within these Russian movements, as long as they could indulge in Ukrainian subject matter. Now, although still under the influence of their neighbours, they left behind their years of apprenticeship and developed their own ideas. These centered around their own national destiny.

---

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] V. Mijakovs'kyj, "Z novyx materialiv do istoriji Kyrylo-Metodijivs'koho bratstva," *Ukrajina,* 1924, No. 1–2.

[61] Zajončkovskij, *op. cit.,* pp. 82–83.

Early in 1847, Kuliš returned to Kiev from St. Petersburg. He was told by Kostomarov that Ševčenko "has settled down . . . in his cell in Old Kiev, placed before himself a flask of delicious liqueur, pear flavoured, if I remember rightly, and is reading the Bible, a history of Little Russia by Markevič, various Ukrainian chronicles, something about the Slavs, Melanchton and Huss, while regularly drinking glass after glass and writing excellent poetry."[62] In January, 1847, Ševčenko left Kiev and stayed for a while with the Bilozers'kyj's near Borzna. Kuliš's bride, Oleksandra, offered to give Ševčenko a part of her dowry to enable him to travel abroad. Her husband was also hoping to go abroad on a university fellowship. Undoubtedly the three planned to go together. At the same time, due to the efforts of the old Princess Repnina, in February Ševčenko was appointed lecturer in fine art at the University of Kiev. His future looked bright and he was full of expectations. On February 1st, Ševčenko wrote from Borzna to Kostomarov, asking him to take care of his belongings, among them a volume of Shakespeare's works. In his letter, signed "brother T. Ševčenko" the poet makes the only direct reference to Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood.[63]

From Borzna, Ševčenko went to stay at the estate of Andrij Lyzohub in Sedniv. There he wrote the poem "Osyka" (Aspen), returning once more to the theme of the seduced woman. In Sedniv, Ševčenko also wrote a preface to the second, enlarged, edition of *Kobzar*. Though it remained unpublished until 1886, the preface is an important document in Ševčenko's intellectual development. It begins with an expression of concern at the dearth of Ukrainian publications. "I hear," writes Ševčenko, "and sometimes I read: the Poles are printing, the Czechs, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, the Montenegrins, the Russians – all are publishing, but we don't make a sound as if we could not open our mouths."[64] At once he suggests the possible reason for this silence. "Perhaps we are frightened by the invasion of foreign journalists? . . . They clamour why don't we write in Russian."[65] Ševčenko's advice was to ignore the Russian critics. At the same time he pleaded for a new approach to Ukrainian literature by Ukrainian writers. Rejecting the sentimental and burlesque portrayal of Ukrainian village life still prevalent in many literary works, he asked for a realistic depiction of it. "We have not seen our people as God created them . . . In order to know people one must live with them. In order to write about them one must, oneself, be

---

[62] P. Kuliš, "Vospominanija o Nikolae Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov'*, 1885, IV, No. 13, p. 67.

[63] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 39.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[65] *Ibid.*

human and not just waste ink and paper."[66] Ševčenko did not hesitate to criticize such prominent writers of the earlier generation as Kotljarevs'kyj, Kvitka and Hulak-Artemovs'kyj. Not one of them, he claimed, knew peasant life or the Ukrainian language adequately. Kotljarevs'kyj's great classic, *Enejida* is set aside by Ševčenko as a "farce in the Muscovite vein."

There follows a passage which may be taken as a declaration of Ševčenko's innermost convictions. Despite the unpolished language in which they were set they are a landmark in Ukrainian intellectual history.

> Don't pay attention to the Russians *(moskaliv)*. Let them write in their own way and we shall follow our own. They are a people with a language and we are a people with a language. Let the people decide which is more beautiful. They point to Gogol', that he is not writing in his own language but in Russian, or to Walter Scott, that he too did not write in his own tongue. Gogol' grew up in Nižyn, not in Little Russia [proper] and does not know his language. Walter Scott [grew up] in Edinburgh, not in Scotland [proper]. Perhaps there were also other reasons why they renounced their native languages. I do not know. But Burns is nevertheless a national poet and a great one. And our Skovoroda would have been one if it were not for Latin and, later, Russian which led him astray.[67]

Written in the days when the role of Ukrainian literature was still being questioned, Ševčenko's words brooked no compromise. The independent development of Ukrainian literature was imperative to him. The preface was Ševčenko's reply to Belinskij and other Russian critics who doubted the need for such a development. Having exculpated Gogol' for not writing in Ukrainian, Ševčenko turned angrily against all those Ukrainian writers who forsook their native culture. He regarded them as renegades and opportunists, no better than the Ukrainian political leaders who were eager to serve Moscow. He praised Karadzič and Šafařik as examples of true patriots. "Why didn't . . . (they)," he asked, "turn German (it would have been easier for them) but remained Slavs, the true sons of their mothers, bringing them glory?"[68]

Ševčenko's separatist call was coupled with a demand for raising the standard of Ukrainian literature. His plea for "realism", however, must be understood within the terminology of that time. The Romantics in rejecting their predecessors' approach to literature demanded a new and more "realistic" portrayal of life. It was as a Romantic that Ševčenko looked forward to new depth in the literary works of his countrymen. Just what kind of "realism" he meant is indicated by two remarks in the preface. After saying that the writer must see people "as God created them", Ševčenko mentions the *dumy*, the ancient Ukrainian epics, as an example of profound literary

---

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 314.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

insight. At the end of the preface he refers twice in highly favourable terms to the intimate personal lyrics by the Ukrainian woman poet Oleksandra Ps'ol.[69]

In the meantime, while Ševčenko was painting and writing in Sedniv, clouds were gathering over his friends in Kiev. A student, Oleksij Petrov, overheard some of the revolutionary talk of the "brethren". He lived in a room adjoining Hulak's apartment and could hear through the wall the discussions which went on there. Dissembling sympathy for their cause, Petrov became acquainted with Hulak who was prepared to initiate him into the Brotherhood. However, when Petrov had gained sufficient knowledge of its objectives he decided to denounce the "brethren" to the police. In March, 1847, the central office of the Third Section (secret police) in St. Petersburg received a report from its Kiev branch based on Petrov's denunciation. The chief of the Third Section, Count Orlov, issued an order to arrest the members of what became known to the police as the "Ukrainian-Slavic society". Afterwards the following "brethren" were arrested: Hulak (in St. Petersburg), Kostomarov, Posjada, Markovyč, Andruzs'kyj, Tulub (in Kiev), Bilozers'kyj and Navroc'kyj (in Poltava) and Kuliš (in Warsaw, on his way abroad). On March 2nd the Third Section requested the transfer of all those detained to St. Petersburg.

Ševčenko remained at liberty for two more weeks. He spent Easter (March 23rd) with the Lyzohubs in Sedniv and early in April was ready to leave for Kiev where he was to be the best man at Kostomarov's wedding. On April 5th, Ševčenko reached Kiev and was promptly arrested by the police who had been looking for him for some time. It is reported that when he was brought before the governor of Kiev, I. Funduklej, the latter noticed Ševčenko's festive attire. When the poet explained that he was on his way to a wedding, the governor remarked: "where the bridegroom is there should the best man go too."[70]

Next day, Funduklej reported to the Third Section that among Ševčenko's belongings the police found the manuscripts of his own poems "of which many are of a rebellious and criminal nature."[71] Ševčenko, under escort, was quickly driven to St. Petersburg for questioning. By the time he reached the capital the interrogation of the "brethren" had begun. While he was

---

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] O. Konys'kyj, *Taras Ševčenko–Hrušivs'kyj* (L'viv, 1889), I, 233.

[71] From the archives of the Ševčenko Museum in Kiev as quoted by M. Tkačenko, *Litopys žyttja i tvorčosti T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1961), p. 106.

definitely implicated in the affair of the Brotherhood, the Third Section tended to treat his case separately. In his denunciation Petrov had not mentioned Ševčenko as a member of the Brotherhood; he only stated that Ševčenko's poems were read by the Cyrillo-Methodians and that their content was clearly "illegal".[72] In cross examination Petrov related the contents of some poems which, he claimed, were trying "to incite the Little Russians to an uprising".[73] Copies of some of Ševčenko's poems (among them "The Dream" and "The Caucasus") were found among the papers of those under arrest. The officials of the Third Section quickly translated them and evaluated them as follows: "The author consistently takes one direction: He complains unceasingly about the sufferings of the Ukraine in her present condition. He tries to evoke hatred of Russian rule and, recalling earlier freedom, exploits and glory of the Cossacks, reproaches the present generation with indifference."[74]

The evidence given by Andruzs'kyj was very damaging to Ševčenko. Andruzs'kyj counted Ševčenko among the active members of the Brotherhood and eloquently described the influence of his poetry: " . . .Taras Grigorievič Ševčenko arrived. His words thundered across the whole of Little Russia. [The Ukrainians] placed him above Žukovskij, they hoped to see in him their Schiller."[75] It was fortunate, therefore, that Andruzs'kyj's testimony was so verbose and emotional that the tsarist officials tended to discount it. The least co-operative witness was Hulak whose answers were scant and uninformative. Perhaps the harsh sentence he received reflected the annoyance of the police at his refusal to divulge much about the Brotherhood. On the other hand, Kostomarov, who was in a state of great mental anguish, produced lengthy and often contradictory testimony. Intimidated by the police, he broke down and, full of repentance, related volubly the activities of the society which, he claimed, were quite harmless. Similarly, Bilozers'kyj, in his testimony, made several confessions, maintaining, however, that "in all this there was never any secret or political intention . . ."[76] Kuliš, whom the cross-examiner accused of harbouring ambitions to imitate the Cossack het'mans,[77] refused to admit that he was a member of the Brotherhood. Instead, he engaged his interrogator in a learned dispute on Slavic history. All in all, although reacting differently, the "brethren" gave a good account of themselves in the face of the dreaded police of Nicholas I. The hardest to crack were Hulak and Ševčenko.

---

[72] M. Hruševs'kyj (ed.). "Materijaly do istoriji Kyrylo-Methodijivs'koho bractva," *Zbirnyk pamjaty Tarasa Ševčenka: 1814–1914* (Kiev, 1915), p. 110. Hereafter referred to as *Materijaly*.

[73] *Materijaly*, p. 136.

[74] Here quoted from M. Novyc'kyj, "Ševčenko v procesi 1847 r. i joho papery," *Ukrajina*, 1925, No. 1–2, p. 55.

[75] *Materijaly*, p. 136.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 174–75.

The interrogation of Ševčenko was held on April 21st. First, he was asked to describe his origins and to explain why, after beginning his career as a painter, he started to write poetry. To the second part of the question he answered that he began writing verses in 1837 and that his poem "Catherine" had "aroused enthusiasm among the Little Russians."[78] Next, having denied that he was a member of the "Slavic society of St. Cyril and Methodius", Ševčenko answered ten times "I do not know" to questions relating to the Brotherhood. He admitted having known Kostomarov, Kuliš, Bilozers'kyj, Navroc'kyj, Andruzs'kyj and Markovyč but denied hearing from them anything about the Brotherhood. Next he was examined on the contents of his poetry. To the question as to why he wrote verses "which could incite Little Russian minds against our government,"[79] Ševčenko simply replied that "The Little Russians liked my poetry and I wrote it and read it to them without any [ulterior] purpose. I did not allow [my poems] to be copied, but I was careless in not hiding them."[80] He was accused of ingratitude by writing scurrilous poems about the tsar, who had helped in his liberation from serfdom. Ševčenko's answer was that in St. Petersburg he had heard a great deal of disapproval of the tsar. "After my return to Little Russia I heard even more embittered [comments] from young and respected people. I saw the poverty and terrible oppression of the peasants by the landlords, the factory owners and the managers and all this was and is being done in the name of the tsar and government."[81] To the interrogator's suggestion that the popularity of his poems was due to their audacity, Ševčenko replied that "my poems were liked only, perhaps, because they were writen in Little Russian."[82] To be sure, faced by the mighty Third Section, Ševčenko showed some contrition for writing "insolent" verses against his benefactor, but this had no effect on the official assessment of his guilt.

Count Orlov, who supervised the interrogation, realized at once that even though it was difficult to prove Ševčenko's membership in the association, the poet, in fact, was by far the most dangerous revolutionary of them all. The Brotherhood was found to be merely in the first stage of organization,[83] not guilty of violent activities against the state. On the other hand, Ševčenko's poems were widely known and their content was flagrantly revolutionary. In his report to Nicholas I, submitted on May 28th, Orlov underlined Ševčenko's guilt in the following words:

> Ševčenko, instead of eternally nourishing reverent feelings for the persons of the august family which deigned to ransom him from serfdom, wrote poems

---

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] M. Novyc'kyj, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

in the Little Russian language of most scandalous content. In them he lamented the alleged enslavement and afflictions of the Ukraine, now proclaiming the glory of the former Hetman rule and the ancient freedom of the Cossack and now, with unbelievable audacity, pouring forth calumnies and bile on the persons of the imperial house forgetting that they were his personal benefactors. Among his friends, Ševčenko acquired the reputation of the foremost Little Russian writer and therefore his poems are doubly harmful and dangerous. With [these] beloved verses there could be sown and take root in Little Russia thoughts about the alleged happiness of the times of the Hetmans, the desirability of bringing back these times and the possibility of the Ukraine's existence as a separate state... All the evidence shows that Ševčenko did not belong to the Ukrainian-Slavic Society, but acted independently, [and was] carried away by his own depravity.[84]

The punishment was to fit the crime. After a trial which consisted of an indictment followed by police interrogation with no right to defense counsel. Ševčenko was sentenced to be exiled for an indefinite period as a private soldier in the Orenburg Separate Corps. Tsar Nicholas I added in his own handwriting: "under the strictest supervision, forbidden to write or to sketch." The severity of the sentence is obvious if one compares it with that of the other members of the Brotherhood. Hulak was imprisoned for three years in the Shlisselburg fortress and then exiled to a remote *gubernija;* Kostomarov was to be imprisoned for one year and then exiled, while Bilozers'kyj and Kuliš each received a term of four months' imprisonment with a subsequent sentence of exile. All the others were banished from the Ukraine. Kuliš, Kostomarov and Hulak were forbidden to engage in literary activity.

Despite the secrecy surrounding the trial the news of it travelled far and wide beyond the Ukraine. Nikitenko noted in his diary that the Cyrillo-Methodians aimed at creating a federation of all Slavs modelled on the United States of America.[86] A member of the Petrashevsky circle, Mombelli, wrote: "Just now everybody in St. Petersburg is whispering and talking secretly with an air of mystery about the uncovered society of slavophiles... All the stories agree on one point: several men, who are intelligent, truly honourable and learned, have been brought to St. Petersburg and thrown into dark dungeons inaccessible to anyone. They all agree in repeating that Ševčenko, Kuliš and Kostomarov are among the unfortunate ones."[86] The only spiteful comment came from Belinskij who, in a letter to Annenkov, wrote: "Ševčenko has been sent to the Caucasus as a soldier. I am not sorry for him; if I were his judge I would be no less severe. I feel a personal animosity toward this type of liberal. They are enemies of all progress. With their impudent stupidities they provoke the authorities and make them suspect a rebellion where there is none and provoke measures which are

---

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[85] A. Nikitenko, *Dnevnik v trex tomax* (Moscow, 1955), I, 305.
[86] *Delo petraševcev* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1937), I, 309.

sharp and disastrous for literature and enlightenment . . ."[87] Some further arrests were made in Kiev and governor general Bibikov warned the university students that no dissension would be tolerated. In an official circular, Uvarov condemned Pan-Slavic movements as detrimental to Russian unity.[88]

Throughout the trial Ševčenko remained in good spirits. According to several eyewitnesses his manner was calm, even carefree. His creative powers had not deserted him and he continued writing poetry.[89] Some of his best lyrics ("Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty") were written at that time. In other poems written in the fortress he stoically accepted his fate. To his closest friends and collaborators he addressed the poem "Shall we ever meet again?" in which he begged them not to forsake the Ukraine. It was, he declared in another poem ("Meni odnakovo") all the same to him whatever happened to him. But he was not indifferent to the fate of his country "lulled to sleep by rogues and knaves."

On this defiant note ends the early career of a poet who was to linger for ten years in exile and who died in 1861. Ševčenko's story is the antithesis of Gogol"s. Born in the same culture they were nourished by different forces. Ševčenko's peasant origin was to a large degree responsible for the tenacity with which he clung to Ukrainian culture. With his poetry he succeeded in raising the re-awakened aspirations of his countrymen to the level of an art. But this meant unhitching the Ukrainian horse from Gogol"s Russian *trojka*.

---

[87] Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij,* XII, 441. Vasilij Rozanov made the following interesting comment on Belinskij's words: ". . . The lines breathe condemnation. Kuliš's and Ševčenko's love for their Ukraine, for her customs and people, for these thousands of lopsided villages with their ringing songs and traditional tales — all this seems to him insignificant compared to the 'French novels' which came under the attack of censorship . . . This love of *theirs,* of a splendid poet and of a passionate historian he tramples down, he tramples on their attachment to their native land which interferes with *his* notions of French literature." V. V. Rozanov, *Religija i kul'tura* (St. Petersburg, 1901), Second edition, p. 84 (Rozanov's italics).

[88] For French translation of Uvarov's report on the Brotherhood to Nicholas I see Luciani, *Le livre de la genèse du peuple ukrainien,* pp. 74–80.

[89] The strong urge to write poetry, regardless of external circumstances, was noticed in Ševčenko by other poets. An interesting comment on this came, more than a century later, from Osip Mandelstam's widow: "I can understand Shevchenko's lament – which M. [Osip Mandelstam] appreciated only too well – about the way his poetry would not leave him alone, bringing him nothing but misery and not allowing him to pursue his craft as a painter, the only thing that gave him pleasure." (N. Mandelstam, *Hope against Hope; A Memoir,* New York, 1970, p. 188).

VII

CONCLUSIONS

The change which occurred in the intellectual life of the Ukraine in the first half of the nineteenth century was profound. In less than five decades, or the span of two generations, a concept of national identity emerged which radically differed from the old beliefs. New as Ševčenko's message was, it grew out of the old traditions. In the eighteenth century the Ukraine's integration with Russia was never complete. Despite the loss of political autonomy, the "betrayal" of her intellectuals, the Russification of her upper class, there remained among the Ukrainians a residue of national pride. While they did not consider themselves Ukrainians, they were not Russians either, but clung stubbornly to their Little Russianness. Culturally they still possessed many distinctive traits which proved an important factor in the rise of the new Ukrainian intelligentsia. Unlike the Russians, who even in the eighteenth century had shown strong awareness of a national identity[1] the Little Russians, as they should properly be then called, lived, as Gogol' said "... a life so quiet, so quiet, that for a minute you forget yourself and think that passions, desires and restless products of the evil spirit that plague the world, do not exist at all ..."[2] But in their seclusion they preserved much which helped them to resist absorption.

Eighteenth century art and literature in the Ukraine were distinct and original though they lacked national form. By its nature Baroque culture was international. It did not encourage linguistic and prosodic changes such as those made in Russia by Tredjakovskij and Lomonosov, changes necessary for the creation of a national literary language. In the Ukraine, therefore, the transition from a scholastic to a modern literary language was more difficult than in Russia. It began late and was finally accomplished by the Ukrainian Romantics. The creation of the literary language by Ševčenko and his contemporaries did not mean a rejection of the eighteenth century heritage. On the contrary, the Baroque view of life rooted in an aesthetic and philosophic quest for truth, continued to exercise great influence in the Ukraine. Strong religious and Christian sentiments continued to be present in the thinking of the Cyrillo-Methodians just as they were in Skovoroda and his predecessors. Much of Gogol"s outlook comes from this source too.

---

[1] See H. Rogger, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth Century Russia* (Cambridge, 1960).

[2] Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie,* II, 13.

The feeling for history was awakened among Ukrainians by eighteenth century researchers and historians. It reached a climax in the appearance of *Istorija Rusov,* regarded by most contemporary readers as authentic history. Romanticism added fresh stimulus to the historical trend which lingered well into the 1840's. Here, too, Gogol' was actively involved, as indeed he was with another discovery of the time – Ukrainian folklore. It is difficult to say which of the two – history or folklore – had the greater influence on Ukrainian Romanticism. The rediscovery of Cossack history did not necessarily contribute to the growth of national consciousness. Some Ukrainians (Gogol') attempted to find in the past ideals of universal freedom and archetypes for noble characters *(Taras Bul'ba).* To others (Ševčenko, Kuliš) freedom was linked with the national destiny. "It seemed," wrote Kuliš, "that the Ukrainians would never rise from their oppression. But the dignity of this people consists precisely in the fact that the spark of freedom was never extinguished among them. In the darkest times of oppression they remembered their former freedom and no matter how much they are destroyed, they never lose hope for better times."[3]

Folklore was more important than history for the development of a literary language since it provided ready made prosodic models. In time, to the imitations of folksongs were added lyrical and narrative poems, drama and short stories. Yet this entire attempt at creating a "full" literature (complete in all genres)[4] might not have succeeded if it were not for Ševčenko. Without him it might have become a regional *(oblastnaja)* literature, precisely the kind Gogol' would have approved. For had he not succeeded in showing that the Ukraine was a proper subject for Russian literature as long as it was reduced to folklore and history? He might even have grudgingly agreed that this literature could be written in Ukrainian (following Kvitka's model) as long as it knew its place within Russian literature. Many Ukrainians agreed with Gogol' and sought a niche within Russian culture. Yet when the critical juncture in Ukrainian history was reached it was Ševčenko, not Gogol', who had more to offer to his countrymen. Not because he was a greater artist (he was not) but because he best expressed their longing for national self-expression. Here lies Ševčenko's challenge to Gogol'. There was no direct confrontation between them on this issue. Ševčenko certainly knew Gogol's work and valued it highly. Perhaps he even realized that his own alternative to Gogol' was not acceptable to all his contemporaries. Ševčenko's idea of an independent Ukraine was a dream for future generations (his "Epistle" is addressed to those "yet unborn" as

---

[3] P. Kuliš, *Povest' ob ukrainskom narode* (St. Petersburg, 1846), p. 20.

[4] Čyževs'kyj points out how meagre was this "full literature." He writes "in reality there was almost no drama and one novel and a few short stories cannot constitute prose," (*Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* 484). Yet quantity was not decisive; a beginning had been made which gathered impetus and could not be reversed.

well as to the living). On the other hand we can safely assume that Gogol' did not know all of Ševčenko's most radical works. Had he known them he would have disapproved of Ševčenko even more than he actually did. For to Gogol' Mother Russia was not to be abused. To him, the souls of a Russian and a Ukrainian could not be separated.

The fact that the development of modern Ukrainian literature coincided with the rise of a Ukrainian national consciousness had good and bad effects both on literature and on the national consciousness. The vitality of that literature was chiefly due to its identification with national sentiments. Belinskij's plea that Russian literature must create Russian society was translated and put into practice by Ševčenko in the Ukraine where, literally, Ukrainian literature created Ukrainian society. Ševčenko was also the first to elevate *narod* (the peasants) to the rest of the nation, which, in the eighteenth century included only the gentry, the clergy and the nobility. His works were read with equal enthusiasm by all three groups, thus destroying the gap which separated them and creating a community of spirit hitherto unknown. Recalling their past history he asked them to unite ("embrace, my brothers") and, observing social justice, forge a new history as a nation. This was a vital and stirring message.

This message colours most, though not all, of Ševčenko's works. It is conveyed eloquently, with great intensity. The human individual is the centre of Ševčenko's philosophy, but he triumphs only as a part of a new and just national and social order. Within this order the existential problems of man may be solved. The complexities of human existence are resolved within the apocalyptic vision of the future when "the day of truth will dawn." The secret of Ševčenko's appeal to the Ukrainian reader was and still is because his message remained unfulfilled. The great test of his poetry will come if and when the Ukraine becomes a sovereign nation.

In the meantime, the direction he gave to Ukrainian literature is likely to remain. It shows concern with national, social and historical rather than purely human issues. It is, at times, profoundly narcissistic. History, for an "unhistoric" people like the Ukrainians, has become with Ševčenko the ultimate fulfillment. There is no meaning in life outside of history. Ševčenko himself wrote in 1844 that "it seems to me that even if my country were the poorest and paltriest in the world, it would look to me more beautiful than Switzerland and all the Italies."[5] There is more in these words than mere natural patriotism. For Ševčenko and his followers were ready to "lose their souls" for the Ukraine. There were other Romantic writers in the Ukraine (Petrenko) who stressed the ahistorical and apolitical reality of human life. Even Ševčenko himself, especially in the lyrics written in exile, shows awareness of and an aptitude for literature which is not "engagé". But these aspects of Ukrainian Romanticism passed, on the whole, unheeded,

---

[5] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* VI, 31.

overshadowed by a vigorous nationalism. Kuliš's comment in this connection, made in retrospect in 1885, must not be dismissed as irrelevant. "Early in our lives," he wrote, "we [Kostomarov and Kuliš and by implication other contemporaries] were not so much literateurs as politicians and this circumstance has ruined many good years."[6]

Just as literature, under Ševčenko's impact, became tinged with moral and political overtones, Ukrainian politics became oriented toward literature. Here the blame rests not on the Ukrainian intelligentsia but on the government regime which barred them from political activity. The suppression of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius was but the first in the long series of strictures against Ukrainian organizations. In the end, frustrated politicians-turned-writers did more harm than good to the development of literature. Issues which required political expression became curiously diluted in literary works and the very idea of a Ukrainian national renaissance seemed to exist only in literature. The development of a Ukrainian middle class, which would be in the best position to assert national existence, was extremely slow.

Great effort was spent in developing a Ukrainian literary language. Not until Ševčenko did it become obvious that this could be entirely successful. His poetry has not even now lost its great power and originality. Despite Kvitka's achievements Ukrainian prose developed much more slowly. Ševčenko, who himself wrote his diary and prose in Russian, lived to see the appearance of short stories by Marko Vovčok, a writer of great talent. It could be said that this Russian-born wife of the Cyrillo-Methodian Opanas Markovyč "repaid" to the Ukraine Gogol"s contribution to the prose of Russia.

Important as these achievements were they can be exaggerated. For an adequate literary language is a means not an end in literature. However vital its existence it does not guarantee anything about literature except its survival. The Ukrainian Romantics were so preoccupied with this problem of survival that they failed to give their creations the depth of other national literatures of that period. Their followers, therefore, had the much harder task of enlarging the content of Ukrainian literature. This they did despite severe restrictions which culminated in the 1876 ban on Ukrainian publications. It was not until 1906 that the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences acknowledged Ukrainian as a separate language. The intense dedication to their country cost the Ukrainian Romantics the kind of detachment which is a mark of literary greatness. Their feeling for the Ukraine was generally love, sometimes hate, but never dispassion. Perhaps this prompted Gogol' to remark that Ševčenko's works were "impure."

Writing of the predicament of a Scottish writer, Edwin Muir concluded that "if he wishes to add to an indigenous Scottish literature, and roots him-

---

[6] P. Kuliš, "Vospominanija o Nikolae Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov'*, 1885, IV, No. 13, p. 63.

self deliberately in Scotland, he will find there, no matter how long he may search, neither an organic community to round off his conceptions, nor even a faith among the people themselves that a Scottish literature is possible or desirable, nor any opportunity, finally, of making a livelihood by his work."[7] Similar doubts existed in the Ukraine at the turn of the nineteenth century. By 1847 they proved unfounded. The new Ukrainian literature found the support it needed and its roots became firmly imbedded in the life of the people who showed faith in it.

One of those who had no such faith was Gogol'. Had he been born a decade later he might have decided to write in Ukrainian, for by the 1840's there was clear evidence that Ukrainian literature would survive. Even then it is doubtful if Gogol' would have made such a decision. There were definite traits in his personality, among them a propensity for the superlative and a strong ambition to succeed, which propelled him towards Russia, away from Ukrainian provincialism. Above all, he could never have fulfilled his literary ambitions had he written in Ukrainian. He was simply not interested in creating a Ukrainian prose language and the national ardours of Ukrainian writers left him completely cold. He was, Hruševs'kyj wrote, "a poet of old Ukraine, which was irrevocably buried. He showered with the splendid flowers of his art this Ukraine which appeared to him as dear, beautiful but dead; he enveloped her grave with the scent of poetry without suspecting her close resurrection."[8] Gogol' was a Little Russian and Ševčenko a Ukrainian.

Yet they were both writers born and bred in the Ukraine. There is a strong kinship between them and a similarity which transcends their differences. Both regarded literature as a great moral force and in their writings tried to guide men through darkness onto light. In Gogol' Ukrainian religiosity (eighteenth century Kievan ecclesiastical culture, Skovoroda) was supplanted by Russian messianism and became the main stimulus behind the writing of his *Dead Souls,* a "divine comedy" of which it is only an Inferno. Like Ševčenko, Gogol' drew his first creative inspiration from Ukrainian folklore, but for him it had no national content. These two writers' love of Ukrainian songs, so often attested by their biographers, was

---

[7] Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland* (New York, 1938), p. 15.

[8] M. Hruševs'kyj, "Jubilej Mykoly Hoholja," *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk,* 1909, p. 608. Gogol"s readiness to bury the old Ukraine and follow the new Russia was part of the syndrome commonly seen among the Ukrainian gentry and nobility of the time. Its manifestations were complex, but in many cases Russification was never complete. Alexej Konstantinovič Tolstoj, who was eight years younger than Gogol', came from an ancient Ukrainian family. His maternal grandfather was Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyj. Tolstoj spent his youth and his retirement in the Ukraine. In his lyrical poems, written in the 1840's, not unlike Gogol', he extolled the beauty of the Ukraine. The non-conformist and satirical tendency of some of his later works might perhaps have been fed by his Ukrainian descent, however much it was overlaid by Russian culture.

really quite different. In one of her letters Aksakova pointed out that during one of his singing sessions Gogol', together with Maksymovyč, appeared to her to be expressing the "tender aspect of Little Russia."[9] On the other hand, Ševčenko, though equally sensitive to the lyrical beauty of Ukrainian folksongs, often could not "sing or cry, but only howl like an owl."[10] Even when Gogol' is aware of the sombre quality of folklore, it becomes permeated by demonology and Gothic horror rather than by national feeling.

In *Dikan'ka* and *Mirgorod* Gogol' expressed a view of life which remained unchanged in his later works. His discovery was simple: under the superficial gaiety, life was petty, people were victims of temptations and their strivings were vain. But unlike Ševčenko, who grew angry at similar discoveries, Gogol' laughed at them. The sense of humour, which Ševčenko on the whole lacked, Gogol' brought to St. Petersburg from his homeland where an awareness of the incongruity and duplicity of life was highly developed (*vertep,* Kotljarevs'kyj). Gogol' continued to laugh, although "through tears", at Russia and mankind in general. As an outsider in Russia, one who eagerly sought but never found complete acceptance, he was in a favourable position to observe and to comment. It was the form of his comment which destroyed his philosophy. A moralist and conservative at heart, Gogol' was a Romantic artist, at his best in the realms of fantasy, the grotesque and humour. It was through these gifts and not through his ideas that he made his contribution to literature. Yet both his philosophy and his art had a strong Ukrainian colouring.

There is also a curious similarity between Gogol"s and Ševčenko's view of Russia. Ševčenko's strong dislike of Russians was well known and Gogol"s saying that "only pigs can live in Russia" was not a solitary outburst. Both of them disliked St. Petersburg though they were strangely fascinated by it. Both satirized the Russian bureaucracy and regimentation. Yet Gogol' found for himself an ideal Russia which became a country he loved passionately during the long years of his "émigré" existence. Some of the features of the real Russia (autocracy, nationality, orthodoxy) merged with his ideal image of a spiritual Russia. Ševčenko, on the other hand, looked to an ideal Ukraine "without serf or lord," where "enslaved children will pray in freedom." With equal passion he was devoted to this Ukraine. To most Russians, even to those who had their own dreams of a reformed Russian society, this appeared as utter folly. We know Belinskij's devastating criticism. Others also found Ukrainian aspirations galling. Aleksej Xomjakov, in a letter to Jurij Samarin in May, 1847, wrote the following comment about the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius: "It seems that the Little Russians have been infected by political folly. It is pitiful to see such nonsense and backwardness . . . I do not know to what extent the poor

---

[9] "Gogol' v neizdannoj perepiske sovremennikov: 1833–1853," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo,* 1952, vol. 58, p. 727.

[10] Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja,* I, 352.

Little Russians' errors were criminal, but I know that their fatuity is clear. The time of politics is over."[11] But Ševčenko's stubbornness was unshakeable. A contemporary of Ševčenko once remarked that the poet used to express his whole philosophy in one simple sentence which he often repeated: "I wish for nothing else but that people should not reject what is theirs *(ščob ljudy svoho ne curalys')*."[12]

This was the charge made by some Ukrainians against Gogol' whom they regarded either as a careerist or as a tragic figure who, having lost his country, never found happiness anywhere else.[13] They forget that Gogol"s greatness stems partly from his rootlessness and his quest for a solution to the existential problems of man. There is little doubt that in his serious desire to depict the troubled world of man Gogol' was a precursor of Dostoevskij and of much modern literature. Gogol"s universality has been accomplished through the transition from Ukrainian to Russian themes which provided a better medium for an exploration of the human condition. To civic-minded critics, however, this meant that Gogol"s great works depicted Russia. In fact in them Gogol' successfully transcended nationality, something which Ševčenko was never quite able to do.

Finally, the difference between Gogol' and Ševčenko stemmed from their different social origins. Only in exceptional cases did the Ukrainian middle gentry show interest in the Ukrainian movement. Gogol' was no such exception. On the contrary, he was a rather typical Left-Bank Little Russian *dvorjanin,* conscious of his descent but loyal to the tsar and fatherland.[14] Ševčenko, on the other hand, came from the enslaved peasantry of the Right-Bank Ukraine, where anti-Russian feeling was fairly strong and Polish and Cossack traditions lingered on. In order to exemplify this difference of background, a biographical approach has been followed rather closely in the second part of this study. More can be gained for our purposes by knowing the milieu in which Gogol' and Ševčenko grew up and were active than by a study of their works.

On the whole, Ukrainians received Gogol' warmly and continued to regard him as their fellow-countryman. Gogol"s influence on Ukrainian literature has been profound.[15] Whole generations of Ukrainian youth thrilled with passionate patriotic sentiments while reading *Taras Bul'ba.* Finally, Ukrainian folklore and history have been made known to the world

---

[11] "Pis'ma A. S. Xomjakova k Ju. Samarinu," *Russkij arxiv*, 1871, III, 327–28.

[12] "Kievskie slavjanisty sorokovyx godov," *Kievskaja starina,* 1891, vol. 56, p. 187.

[13] For such extreme Ukrainian interpretations see Je. Malanjuk, "Hohol'—Gogol'," *Knyha sposterežen'* (Toronto, 1962; English translation in *Ukrainian Review* (London, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1967), and Jurij Lypa, *Bij za ukrajins'ku literaturu* (Warsaw, 1935).

[14] A somewhat overstressed but by no means invalid sociological interpretation of Gogol' was given by N. Piksanov in "Ukrainskie povesti Gogolja," *O klassikax* (Moscow, 1933).

[15] See N. Je. Krutikova, *Hohol' ta ukrajins'ka literatura* (Kiev, 1957).

largely because of Gogol'. Myxajlo Drahomanov summed up Ukrainian feelings for Gogol'. In a letter to Bučyns'kyj he wrote:

> I ask you (and other young writers about whom you write) earnestly to pay attention to Gogol'. Although he did not write in Ukrainian, there is much in his works dealing with the Ukraine (Kuliš was not quite fair in criticising Gogol"s works *Evenings on a Farm* and *Mirgorod;* even there Gogol' showed himself as a great artist in depicting the Ukrainian people and history). What is even more important is that he always remained in spirit a Ukrainian. This *xutir* gentleman *[xutirnyj panyč]* came to St. Petersburg and Moscow without great education. But he brought with himself from a Ukrainian family noble ideals and, from his memories of the past, an ambition for greatness. He was struck throughout by "the terrible slime of the trivialities engulfing our life"–as he said, and he saw this life as a Ukrainian – "through laughter, visible to the world and through tears unknown and invisible." He instituted great moral reform not only in Great Russia but among educated men in the whole of Russia. The entire new Great Russian literature followed him . . . It is regrettable that Gogol"s influence on the separate Little Russian literature turned out to be smaller than on the Great Russian . . . May God grant that from your [circles of] youth there will come Gogol"s successor. We must not reject him, for he was one of the best-known Ukrainians and one of the greatest writers in the world.[16]

At a time of crucial importance in Ukrainian history, when the concept of a separate Ukrainian literature and, indeed, a nation was born, Gogol' refused to believe in it. As often before, something eluded him. His country was entering into a new era and Ševčenko's decision to follow a different path meant that in future there would be few new Gogol's in Russian literature. Most Ukrainian writers would write in Ukrainian. They would not make careers in St. Petersburg but preferred to work on their native soil *(na ridnij nyvi).* They would forego the opportunity to influence Russian literature and to become known to the world as Gogol' was. Instead, their works would be "closely related with the fight of the nation for religious, national or political freedom and that as often as not they were the spiritual weapons in this struggle . . . This carried two implications hardly understood by great nations with a long and unbroken development of spiritual life; firstly, that literature and nearly all the arts (even music and plastic arts) were not something *per se* . . . Secondly, for centuries people, even the most humble, knew that they would find in books and art a source of inspiration, a shield and a spear in their religious, national and social struggle."[17]

Ševčenko's followers sustained Ukrainian national ideals often at the expense of entering the mainstream of European literature. Living in the shadow of Russia, Ukrainian intellectuals were often aware of Gogol"s continuing presence. Yet to them he became a symbol not so much of "the road not taken" as of the lasting potentialities of Ukrainian genius.

---

[16] "Perepyska Myxajla Drahomanova z Melitonom Bučyns'kym; 1871–1877," *Zbirnyk filolohičnoji sekciji NTŠ* (L'viv, 1910), XIII, 43.

[17] P. Tigrid, "La poésie—notre Patrie Commune," *New Road* (London, 1945), p. 181.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aksakov, S. T. *Istorija moego znakomstva s Gogolem.* Moscow, 1960.

Annenkov, P. V. *Literaturnye vospominanija.* Leningrad, 1928.

Ajzenštok, I. "K voprosu o literaturnyx vlijanijax; G. F. Kvitka i N. V. Gogol'," *Izvestija otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti AN SSSSR,* XXIV (1923), No. 1, pp. 23–42.

Bahalij [Bagalej], D. *Opyt istorii Xar'kovskogo universiteta.* 2 vols. Xarkiv, 1893–98, 1904.

Bahalij, D. (ed.) *Dekabrysty na Ukrajini.* 1930.

Bantyš-Kamens'kyj, D. *Istorija Maloj Rossii.* Moscow, 1822.

Bass, I. I. *V. H. Bjelins'kyj i ukrajins'ka literatura 30–40-x rokiv XIX st.* Kiev, 1963.

Bazanov, V. *Očerki dekabristskoj literatury; publicistika, proza, kritika.* Moscow, 1953.

Belinskij, V. G. *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij. 13 vols.* Moscow, 1953–59.

Borovykovs'kyj, L. *Povne zibrannja tvoriv.* Kiev, 1967.

Bojko, I. (ed.) *Ukrajins'ki literaturni al'manaxy i zbirnyky XIX — počatku XX st: bibliohrafičnyj pokažčyk.* Kiev, 1967.

Brodskij, N. L. *Literaturnye salony i kružki; pervaja polovina XIX veka.* Moscow–Leningrad, 1930.

Certelev, N. *Opyt sobranija starinnyx malorossijskix pesnej.* St. Petersburg, 1819.

Čaplenko, V. *Ukrajinizmy v movi M. Hoholja.* Augsburg, 1948.

Čyževs'kyj [Čiževsky, Tschižewskij], D. *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury.* New York, 1956.

—. *Narysy z istoriji filosofiji na Ukrajini.* Prague, 1931.

—. "P. O. Kulisch, ein ukrainischer Philosoph des Herzens," *Orient und Occident,* 1933, No. 14, pp. 7–18.

Danilevskij, G. P. *Ukrainskaja starina.* Xarkiv, 1866.

Daškevyč, M. (= N.) P. "Otzyv o sočinenii g. Petrova 'Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury XIX věka'," *Otčet o dvadcat' devjatom prisuždenii nagrad grafa Uvarova. Priloženie k LIX tomu Zapisok Imp. Akademii Nauk* (1888, No. 1).

Dement'ev, A. *et al.* (eds.) *Russkaja periodičeskaja pečat': 1702–1894.* Moscow, 1959.

Doroshenko, D. *History of the Ukraine.* Edmonton, 1939.

—. "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.* V-VI (1957).

Dorošenko, K. P. *Biohrafija T. H. Ševčenka za spohadamy sučasnykiv.* Kiev, 1958.

Doroškevyč, H. "Ševčenko j Hohol'," *Žyttja j revoljucija,* 1926, No. 4, pp. 40-49.

Doroškevyč, O. *20-40-vi roky v ukrajins'kij literaturi.* Kiev, 1924.

Fadner, F. *Seventy Years of Pan-Slavism in Russia.* Washington, 1962.

Fedčenko, P. M. *Materialy z istoriji ukrajins'koji žurnalistyky.* Kiev, 1959.

Florinsky, M. T. *Russia: A History and An Interpretation.* 2 vols. New York, 1955.

Fylypovyč, P. *Ševčenko i dekabrysty.* Kiev, 1926.

—. *Ukrajins'ka styxija v tvorčosti Hoholja* (Reprint) *Slavistica,* No. 13, Winnipeg, 1952.

Galster, B. *Twórczość Rylejewa na tle prądow epoki.* Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków, 1962.

—. *Mikolaj Gogol,* Warsaw, 1967.
Gippius, V. V. *Gogol'*. Leningrad, 1924.
—. (ed.) *N. V. Gogol': materialy i issledovanija*. 2 vols. Moscow–Leningrad, 1936.
—. (ed.) *Gogol' v pis'max i vospominanijax*. Moscow, 1931.
—. "'Večera na xutore bliz Dikan'ki' Gogolja," *Trudy otdela novoj russkoj literatury,* I (1948), 9-38.
Gogol', M. I. "Avtobiografičeskaja zapiska," *Russkij arxiv,* 1902, No. 4, pp. 706-24.
Gogol', N. V. *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*. 14 vols. Moscow, 1937-52.
Gogol'-Golovnja, O. V. *Iz semejnoj xroniki Gogolej,* Kiev, 1909.
Golubova, S. N. *et. al.* (eds.) *T. G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov*. Moscow, 1962.
Gorbačevskij, I. I. *Zapiski, pis'ma*. Moscow, 1963.
Hrebinka, Je. *Tvory*. 5 vols. Kiev, 1957.
Hruševs'kyj [Hrushevsky], M. *A History of Ukraine,* New Haven, 1941.
—. (ed.) "Materijaly do istoriji Kyrylo-Metodijivs'koho bractva," in *Zbirnyk pamjaty Tarasa Ševčenka; 1814-1914*. Kiev, 1915, pp. 99-256.
Hruševs'kyj, O. "Z sorokovyx rokiv," *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka,* LXXXIII (1908), 158-68.
Hruševs'kyj [Gruševskij], A. S. *Iz žizni ukrainskoj intelligencii 1830-x godov*. Petrograd, 1916.
Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, P. *Tvory*. Kiev, 1964.
Hurevyč, Z. *Moloda Ukrajina*. Xarkiv, 1928.
"Istorija Rusov ili Maloj Rossii, Sočinenie Georgija Koniskogo, Arxiepiskopa Belorusskogo," *Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri moskovskom universitete,* I (1846).
Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury u vos'my tomax. Kiev, 1967-68. vols. II, III.
Ivakin, Ju. *Komentar do "Kobzarja" Ševčenka*. Kiev, 1964.
Jefymenko, A. *Južnaja Rus'*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1905.
Jefremov, S. *Miž dvoma dušamy: Mykola Hohol'*. Kiev, 1909.
Jefremov, S. and Doroškevyč, O. (eds.) *Pantelejmon Kuliš*. Zbirnyk istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu UAN, No. 53, Kiev, 1927.
Kadlubovskij, A. *Gogol' v ego otnošenijax k starinnoj malorusskoj literature. Nižyn,* 1911.
Kapnist-Skalon, S. V. "Vospominanija," *Vospominanija i rasskazy dejatelej tajnyx obščestv 1820-x godov* (ed. by Ju. Oksman and S. Černov). Moscow, 1931, I.
Kazymyrov, P. *Ukrajins'kyj amators'kyj teatr: dožovtnevyj period*. Kiev, 1965.
Kohn, H. *The Idea of Nationalism*. New York, 1961.
Komarov, A. I. "Ukrainskij fol'klor i literatura v russkom obščestve načala XIX veka," *Učenye zapiski leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Serija filologičeskix nauk,* IV (1939), 125-58.
Kondrašov, N. A. *Osip Maksimovič Bodjanskij*. Moscow, 1956.
Korčmaryk, F. *Duxovi vplyvy Kyjeva na Moskovščynu v dobu Het'mans'koji Ukrajiny*. New York, 1964.
Kostomarov, M. I. *Tvory v dvox tomax*. Kiev, 1967.
—. *Avtobiografija*. Edited by V. Kotel'nikov. Moscow, 1922.
—. *Naukovo-publicistyčni i polemični pysannja* (ed. M. Hrusevs'kyj). Kiev, 1928.
—. *Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People*. With a commentary by B. Yanivs'kyi. New York, 1954.
Kotljarevs'kyj, I. *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*. 2 vols. Kiev, 1952.
Krasil'nikov, S. A. "Istočniki sobranija ukrainskix pesen N. V. Gogolja," in V. V. Gippius (ed.) *N. V. Gogol'; Materialy i issledovanija*. Moscow–Leningrad, 1936, II, 377-406.
Krutikova, N. Je. *Hohol' ta ukrajins'ka literatura*. Kiev, 1957.
Kubijovyč, V. (ed.) *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*. Vol. I. Toronto, 1963.

Kuliš, P. *Tvory*. 6 vols. L'viv, 1908-10.
—. *Tvory*. Edited by O. Doroškevyč. Xarkiv–Kiev, 1930.
—. *Vybrani tvory*. Kiev, 1969.
—. *Spohady pro Tarasa Ševčenka*. Xarkiv, 1930.
—. *Zapiski o žizni N. V. Gogolja*. St. Petersburg, 1856.
—. [Nikolaj, M. pseud.] *Opyt biografii N. V. Gogolja*. St. Petersburg, 1854.
—. "Ob otnošenii malorossijskoj slovesnosti k obščerusskoj; epilog k 'Černoj rade'," in his *Černaja rada*. Moscow, 1857. Pp. 231-53.
—. "Obzor ukrainskoj slovesnosti: Gogol' kak avtor povestej iz ukrainskoj žizni," *Osnova,* 1861, No. 4, pp. 67-90; No. 5, pp. 1-33; No. 9, pp. 56-68; No. 11-12, pp. 1-11.
—. "Vospominanija o Nikolae Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov',* IV (1885), No. 13, pp. 61-75.
Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, H. F. *Tvory*. Kiev, 1957.
Kyryljuk, Je. P. (ed.) *T. H. Ševčenko: bibliohrafija literatury pro žyttja i tvorčist', 1839-1959*. 2 vols. Kiev, 1963.
—. (ed.) *Lysty do Ševčenka: 1840-1861*. Kiev, 1962.
Kyryljuk, Je., Šabl'ovs'kyj, Je., and Šubravs'kyj V. *T. H. Ševčenko: biohrafija*. Kiev, 1964.
Kyryljuk, Je., Šabliovs'kyj, Je., and Šubravs'kyj V. *T. H. Ševčenko: biohrafija*.
Lemberg, H. *Die nationale Gedankenwelt der Dekabristen*. Graz, 1963.
Luciani, G. *Le livre de la genèse du peuple ukrainien*. Paris, 1956.
—. *La société des Slaves Unis (1823-25)*. Bordeaux, 1963.
Luckyj, G. S. N. "Shevchenko Studies One Century after the Poet's Death," *Slavic Review,* XXI (December, 1962), 722-35.
—. "Is Shevchenko a Symbol of Universal Freedom?" *Comparative Literature Studies,* I (1964) No. 2, pp. 143-51.
Maksimovič [Maksymovyč], M. *Malorossijskie pesni*. Moscow, 1827.
—. *Sočinenija*. 3 vols. Kiev, 1880.
—. "Oborona ukrainskix povestej Gogolja," *Den',* 1861, No. 3, 5, 7, 9; 1862, No. 13.
Malaniuk, E. "Hohol—Gogol," *The Ukrainian Review,* 1967 (XIV), No. 3, pp 55–69.
Mandel'štam, I. *O xaraktere gogolevskogo stilja*. Helsingfors, 1902.
Manning, C. A. "Gogol and Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Quarterly,* 1950 (IV), No. 4, pp. 323-30.
Mersereau, J. "Orest Somov: An Introduction," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* XLIII, No. 101 (June, 1965), pp. 354-70.
Metlyns'kyj, A. *Dumky i pisni i šče deščo*. Xarkiv, 1839.
—. *Tvory*. L'viv, 1914.
Mirsky, D. S. *Russia: A Social History*. London, 1931.
Mijakovs'kyj, V. "Ljudy sorokovyx rokiv: Kyrylo-metodijivci v jix lystuvanni," *Za sto lit,* II (1928), 33-98.
Mijakovs'kyj, V. and Shevelov, G. Y. (eds.) *Taras Ševčenko: 1814–1861; A Symposium*. Hague, 1962.
Mjakotin, V. A. *Očerki social'noj istorii Ukrainy v XVII-XVIII vv*. 3 vols. Prague, 1924-26.
Novyc'kyj, M. "Ševčenko v procesi 1847 r. i joho papery," *Ukrajina,* 1925, No. 12, pp. 51-99.
Ohloblyn, O. *Ljudy staroji Ukrajiny*. Munich, 1959.
—. *Predky Mykoly Hoholja*. Munich, 1968.
—. (ed.) *Istorija Rusiv*. New York, 1956.
Olxivs'kyj, B. *Vil'nyj narid*. Warsaw, 1937.
Ostrjanyn, D. *Svitohljad M. O. Maksymovyča*. Kiev, 1960.
Ovsjaniko-Kulikovskij, D. N. "Gogol'—obščeruss na malorusskoj osnove," in his

"Gogol'", *Sobranie sočinenij*. St. Petersburg, 1909, I, 148-57.
Panaev, I. I. *Literaturnye vospominanija*. Leningrad, 1928.
Papazian, D. "Nicholas Ivanovich Kostomarov: Russian Historian, Ukrainian Nationalist, Slavic Federalist." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1966.
Pavlovskij, A. *Grammatika malorossijskogo narečija*. St. Petersburg, 1818.
Petrov, N. I. *Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury XIX stoletija*. Kiev, 1884.
Petrov, V. *Pantelyjmon Kuliš v pjadesjati roky*. Kiev, 1929.
—. "Kuliš i Ševčenko," *Ševčenko ta joho doba*. Kiev, 1925, I, 57-79.
—. "Ševčenko, Kuliš, V. Bilozers'kyj—jix perši striči," *Ukrajina*, 1925, No. 12, pp. 42-50.
Piksanov, N. K. *Oblastnye kul'turnye gnezda*. Moscow, 1928.
—. "Ukrainskie povesti Gogolja," in his *O klassikax*. Moscow, 1933, pp. 43-148.
Poluxin, L. K. *Formuvannja istoryčnyx pohljadiv M. I. Kostomarova*. Kiev, 1959.
Pritsak, O. and Reshetar, J. S. "The Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," *Slavic Review*, XXII (June, 1963), 244-55.
Pryjma, F. Ja. *Ševčenko i russkaja literatura XIX veka*. Moscow–Leningrad, 1961.
Pryxod'ko, P. H. *Ševčenko j ukrajins'kyj romantyzm 30-50 rr. XIX st*. Kiev, 1963.
Pypin, A. *Xarakteristiki literaturnyx mnenij ot dvadcatyx do pjatidesjatyx godov*. Third edition. St. Petersburg, 1906.
—. *Istorija russkoj etnografii*. 3 vols. St. Petersburg, 1890.
Raeff, M. *The Decembrist Movement*. Englewood Cliffs, 1966.
Riasanovsky, N. V. *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles*. Cambridge, 1952.
—. *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855*. Berkeley, 1959.
Rudnyc'kyj, J. B. "Gogol et Chevtchenko: deux hommes — deux symboles," *Études slaves et Est-Européennes*, I (1956), No. 3, pp. 158-63.
Rudnytsky, I. "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Ukraine," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, VI (1958), 1381-405.
—. "The Role of the Ukraine in Modern History," *Slavic Review*, XXII (June, 1963), 199-216.
Rulin, P. "P. O. Kuliš jak doslidnyk i krytyk M. V. Hoholja," *Knyhar*, 1919, No. 23-24, pp. 1563-74.
Šaginjan, M. *Taras Ševčenko*. Moscow, 1946.
Šamraj. A. P. *Xarkivs'ki poety 30-40 rokiv XIX stolittja; xarkivs'ka škola romantykiv*. Xarkiv, 1930.
—. (ed.) *Xarkivs'ka škola romantykiv*. 3 vols. Xarkiv, 1930.
—. "Do počatkiv romantyzmu: literaturnyj hurtok I. Sreznevs'koho," *Ukrajina*, X-XI (1929), 31-53.
Savčenko, F. "Peršyj zbirnyk ukrajins'kyx pisen' Maksymovyča," *Ukrajina*, VI (1927), 25-79.
Scherrer, M. "Ševčenko, le poète national de l'Ukraine," *Revue des études slaves*, XLIV (1965), 89-107.
Ščurat, V. *Ševčenko i poljaky: osnovy vzajemnyx zvjazkiv*. L'viv, 1917.
Semevskij, V. I. *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo 1846-47 gg*. Moscow, 1918.
Šenrok, V. I. *Materialy dlja biografii Gogolja*. Moscow, 1892.
—. "P. A. Kuliš: biografičeskij očerk," *Kievskaja starina*, LXXII (1901), No. 2, pp. 153-79; No. 3, pp. 461-92; No. 4, pp. 125-52; No. 5, pp. 183-213; No. 6, pp. 344-82; No. 7-8, pp. 46-102; No. 9, pp. 304-30; No. 10, pp. 18-44.
Seton-Watson, H. *The Russian Empire: 1801-1917*. London, 1967.
Setschkarev, V. *Gogol*. New York, 1965.
Ševčenko, T. H. *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*. Edited by S. Jefremov. Vols. III-IV. Kiev, 1927-29.
—. *Povne vydannja tvoriv*. Edited by P. Zajcev. Vols. II-XV. Warsaw, 1934-38.

—. *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v šesty tomax.* Edited by K. Hudzij. Kiev, 1963-64.
—. *The Poetical Works.* Translated by C. H. Andrusyshen and W. Kirkconnell. Toronto, 1964.
—. *Song out of Darkness: Selected Poems.* Translated by Vera Rich. London, 1961.
Shevelov, G. Y. *Die ukrainische Schriftsprache: 1798-1965.* Wiesbaden, 1966.
—. "Die 'Grammatik der kleinrussischen Mundart'von Pavlovskij und ihr Autor," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* XXVII (1959), No. 1, pp. 49-89.
—. "Z istoriji ukrajins'koho romantyzmu," in *Orbis scriptus: Dmitrij Tschižewskij zum 70 Geburtstag.* Munich, 1966. Pp. 757-66.
Skovoroda, H. *Tvory v dvox tomax.* Kiev, 1961.
Slabčenko, M. Je. *Materialy do ekonomično-socijal'noji istoriji Ukrajiny XIX stolittja.* Vol. I. Kiev, 1925.
Sreznevśkyj, I. I. "Vzgljad na pamjatniki ukrainskoj narodnoj slovesnosti," *Učenye zapiski imperatorskogo moskovskogo universiteta.* 1834, No. 6, pp. 134-50.
Sreznevs'kyj, V. I. "Pro zbyračiv ukrajins'kyx pisen'," *Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu VUAN,* XIII-XIV (1927), 76-82.
Stecenko, L. F. "Ševčenko i Hohol'," *Zbirnyk prac' peršoji i druhoji naukovyx ševčenkivs'kyx konferencij.* Kiev, 1954. Pp. 77-87.
Stilman, L. "Nikolai Gogol: Historical and Biographical Elements in His Creative Personality." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1953.
Storoženko, A. L. [Carinnyj, A, pseud.] "Mysli malorossijanina po pročtenii povestej pasičnika Rudogo Pan'ka," *Syn otečestva,* XXV (1832), No. 147, pp. 41-49; 101-15; 223-42; 288-312.
Studzinski, C. "Charakterystyka i geneza utworów Ambrożego Metlinskiego," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział filologiczny, Seria druga.* XI (1898), 261-311.
Suxobrus, H. S. *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'ki fol'klorni zvjazky.* Kiev, 1963.
Swoboda, V. "Shevchenko and Belinsky," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* XL (1961-62), 168-83.
Sypovs'kyj, V. *Ukrajina v rosijs'kim pys'menstvi: 1801-1850 rr.* Zbirnyk istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu VUAN, No. 58. Kiev, 1928.
Thaden, E. C. *Conservative Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Russia.* Seattle, 1964.
Vigel', F. F. *Vospominanija.* Moscow, 1864.
Volyns'kyj, P. K. *et al. Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury: literatura peršoji polovyny XIX stolittja.* Kiev, 1964.
—. *Teoretyčna boroť ba v ukrajins'kij literaturi: perša polovyna XIX st.* Kiev, 1959.
Voznjak, M. *Psevdo-Konys'kyj i psevdo-Poletyka: "Istorija Rusov" u literaturi i nauci.* L'viv, 1939.
Xarlampovič, K. *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'.* Kazan', 1914.
Zajončkovskij, P. *Kirillo- Mefodievskoe obščestvo.* Moscow, 1959.
Zajcev, P. *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka.* Munich, 1955.
Zenkovsky, V. V. *A History of Russian Philosophy.* 2 vols. New York, 1953.
Zerov, M. *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo* (Reprint). Munich, 1960.
"Žizn'Kuliša," *Pravda,* 1868, No. 2, pp. 19-21; No. 3, pp. 32-34; No. 4, pp. 45-46; No. 7, pp. 79-80; No. 24, pp. 283-86; No. 25, pp. 296-300; No. 26, pp. 311-312; No. 27, pp. 322-324; No. 28, pp. 335-36.
Zubkov, A. D. *Jevhen Pavlovyč Hrebinka.* Kiev, 1962.

Юрій Луцький

»Між Гоголем і Шевченком«

(Протиріччя літературної України 1798—1847)

(Резюме)

Вихідною точкою цієї монографії є протиставлення Гоголя і Шевченка, двох українців, що належали до того самого покоління, творців, що їхні літературні шляхи йшли в протилежних напрямках. Обидвох їх досліджено не лише як письменників, а також як полюси українського культурного розвитку першої половини 19-го сторіччя. Інтелектуально перший з них був представником традиційного, консервативного малоросіянства, а другий — революційного, новітнього українства. В цій праці автор робить спробу проаналізувати цю істотну розбіжність в духовому житті України того часу, розбіжність, яка в певній мірі існує і до сьогодні. Автор розглядає це явище радше з боку історії інтелектуального життя, ніж з боку літературної критики. В дослідженні автор намагається докладно висвітлити процес виникнення модерної української національної свідомости, яка головним чином виявилася в літературі і науці (історія, етнографія). Саме тому багато уваги присвячується письменникам, історикам и фольклористам тієї доби. Не зважаючи на суперечності, які криються в самій темі, значення постаті Гоголя аж ніяк не применшується, а навпаки вона стає історично виправданою. Яскрава постать Шевченка не ідеалізується, хоч він не перестає бути в центрі уваги книжки. Тому підхід до праці був суто речевий, опертий на першоджерелах і документальних даних. Цим зумовлене також велике число приміток. Але праця написана в першу чергу для англомовного читача, який про ту добу — на мою думку — недостатньо поінформований.

Працю складено з двох частин. В першій частині наголошено історичні передумови літературного и духового розвитку, в другій подано докладний аналіз середовища, ідеології і подекуди творчости Гоголя і Шевченка. Як початкову дату дослідження в підзаголовку подано дату публікації »Енеїди« — — кінцевою датою є арешт Шевченка і кирило-методіївців та слідство над ними в 1847 р. Монографію поділено на сім розділів:

1. *Історики і фолкльористи.* Короткий історичний вступ з характеристикою 18-го сторіччя і перегляд історичних і фолкльорних творів початку 19-го сторіччя.

2. *Клясицисти і романтики.* Короткий огляд української літератури дошевченківської доби з наголосом на розвиток ідей того часу.

3. *Україна в російській літературі.* Огляд українсько-російських зв'язків перед Гоголем. Окреме місце приділено українській темі в російській журналістиці і літературі.

4. *Гоголь.* Його походження та життя на Україні, в Росії і закордоном. Ставлення Гоголя до України в його творах і листуванні. Зв'язки Гоголя з росіянами й поляками.

5. *Шевченко.* Біографічний огляд до 1847 р. Його творчість, ідеологія й середовище.

6. *Братство.* Шевченко, Костомаров і Куліш в Кирило-Методіївському Братстві. Аналіз »Книг битія«. Арешт і допит кирило-методіївців.

7. *Висновки.* Підсумки головних аргументів праці і спроба їхньої синтези.

8. Вибрана бібліографія джерел українською, російською, польською, англійською, німецькою і французькою мовами.

INDEX*

Abramov, V., 58
Adams, J. Q., 22
Afanasjev, Oleksandr see Čužbyns'kyj
Ajzenštok, I., 42, 44, 46, 61, 141, 169
Aksakov, I., 121
Aksakov, S. T., 116, 119, 121, 125, 171
Aksakova, 193
Alembert, d', 163
Alexander I, 94
Aljadin, 77
Alov, V. see Gogol, N.,
Anastasevyć, V., 44
Andrusovo, 146
Andrusyshen, C. H., 139
Andruzs'kyj, I., 174, 183, 184, 185
Annenkov, P. V., 51, 118, 119, 186
Antonovyč, M., 13
Antypenko, see Korsun, O.
Aparin, 141
Aponiuk, N., 139
Apostol, D. P., 92

Bahalij, D., 58
Bajskij, P., see Somov, O.,
Bal'men, J de, 157
Bandtke, J. S., 71
Bantyš-Kamens'kyj, D., 22–23, 84, 85, 136
Bantyš-Kamens'kyj, N., 22
Baranovyč, L., 12
Barsukov, N. P., 58
Baturin, 25, 155
Bazanov, V., 28
Beauplan, G., 114
Bec'kyj I., 64, 107, 164, 165
Belinskij, V., 23, 47, 49, 50, 52–53, 70–71, 127, 140, 142, 143, 144, 182, 186, 187, 189, 193
Belousov, N., 96
Belyj, 91
Bendery, 85
Bentley, E., 115
Berezan', 147
Berezovi Rudky, 146, 147
Berezovs'kyj, M., 12
Bestužev-Rjumin, M. A., 16, 28, 70
Bezborod'ko, Count I., 96
Bezborod'ko, Prince O., 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25
Bibikov, D. G., 166, 187
Bielina-Kędrzycki, J., 175
Bila Cerkva, 15
Bilec'kyj, O., 85, 157
Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, P., 42
Bilozers'ka, N., 179
Bilozers'kyj, V., 159, 172–173, 174, 175, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186
Blake, W., 152
Blasius, J. H., 76
Blumauer, A., 40
Bodenstedt, F., 62
Bodjans'kyj, O., 33–35, 47, 60, 73, 109, 121, 125, 149, 154, 169, 172
Bogdanovič, I., 12, 77
Bohors'kyj, 129
Bohuslav, 132
Bojan, 80
Bolxovitinov, Metropolitan, 24
Borovykovs'kyj, L. I., 50, 52, 56–57, 58, 59, 65, 72, 86, 134
Borovykovs'kyj, V. L., 12
Bortnjans'kyj, D., 12
Borysov brothers, 15
Borzna, 145, 173, 181
Brjullov, K., 132–133
Brjuxovec'kyj, Hetman, 24
Brodskij, N. L., 95
Brodzinski, K., 31
Bučyns'kyj, M., 195
Budapest, 65

* Compiled by Natalia Sonevytsky, Barnard College (New York).

Bulgarin, F., 74, 77, 141, 144
Buraček, S., 73
Bürger, G., 56
Burns, R., 182
Bužyns'kyj, M., 97
Byron, Lord, 64, 85, 170

Čaplenko, V., 127
Carinnyj, A., 107
Catherine II, 11, 13, 22, 89, 94, 96, 138, 146, 151, 155, 178
Cejtlin, A. G., 83
Čepa, A., 20
Černihiv, 15, 80, 146
Černihiv University, 22
Černov, S., 79
Černyševskij, N. G., 152
Certelev, N., 26–28, 31, 33, 71, 103, 150
Charles XII, King of Sweden, 86, 92
Čižov, 141
Clarke, E. D., 76
Čužbyns'kyj A., 52, 141, 158, 173
Čyhyryn, 25, 147
Čyževs'kyj, D., 12, 18, 19, 38, 41, 48, 55, 79, 124, 127, 171, 175, 189
Czajkowski, M., 76, 142
Czarnocki, A., 32, 112
Czartoryski, A., 58

Dal, V. I., 50
Danilevskij, G., 93, 125, 126, 133
Danilowicz, I., 44
Danylevs'kyj, O., 50, 100, 118, 124, 125
Daškevyč, N. P., 55
Del'vig, A., 81
Demski, L., 137
Desnyc'kyj, S. J., 12
Diderot, 163
Dikan'ka, 99
Divovyč, S., 21
Dmitriev, I. I., 108
Dnieper, 27, 30, 75, 91, 93, 147, 155
Dolęga-Chodakowski, Z., see Czarnocki, A.,
Dolgorukov, I. M., 99
Dorošenko, Hetman, 89, 156
Doroshenko, D., 21, 35
Doroškevyč, O., 19, 152
Dorpat University, 173
Dostoevskij, F., 194
Dovhalevs'kyj, M., 12, 13
Drahomanov, M., 195

Dubel't, 136
Duchiński, F., 118

Einard, C., 146
Ejxenbaum, B., 107
Engel'hardt, P., 130, 132
Engel'hardt, V., 128

Fedčenko, P. M., 61
Fielding, H., 78
Filomafic'kyj, J. M., 68
Fletcher, G., 35
Florinsky, M., 86
Flynn, J. T., 58
Fonvizin, D. I., 95
Francev, V. A., 172
Frankfurt, 120, 122
Friedrich Wilhelm II, 79
Funduklej I., 183
Fylypovyč, P., 50, 71, 105, 148, 150

Galjatovs'kyj, J., 12
Galster, B., 82, 83, 114
Geršenzon, M., 146
Gippius, V., 96, 101, 103, 105, 116, 122, 126
Gizel', I., 12
Glinka, F., 82
Glinka, M. I., 144, 145
Gluxov, 25
Gnedič, N. I., 12, 77, 79
Goethe, J. W., 44, 170
Gogol', A., 90
Gogol', N., 89, 90, 91, 114
40, 42, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 59, 61, 71, 74, 77, 79, 81, 87, 88–127, 128, 134, 144, 145, 147, 152–153, 157, 164, 167, 171, 182, 187, 188–195
Gogol', O., 89, 90, 91, 114
Gogol', P., 90
Gogol', V., 54, 88, 94, 95
Gogol'-Janovs'kyj, O. D., 89–91
Gogol'-Kosjarovs'ka, 94, 102–104, 117, 118
Gołąbek, J., 177
Golikov, I. I., 85
Goszczynski, S., 76
Gourmont, Remy de, 66
Grabowski, M., 76
Granovskij, T. M., 35
Greč, N., 70, 74
Griboedov, A. S., 54

Grigorievič, F., 105
Groza, A., 76

Hadjač, 91, 92
Halka, Jeremiah see Kostomarov, M.,
Han, J., 62
Hanka, W., 34, 76, 172, 173
Havliček-Borovský, K., 77
Hebbel, C. F., 72
Herder, J. G., 27, 63, 163
Hermajze, Josyp (O.), 16, 19, 20
Hertzberg, Count, 79
Herzen, A., 28, 116
Holovac'kyj, J., 33, 65
Holovatyj, A., 39, 103
Holtva, 91
Honors'kyj, R. T., 68
Horace, 44
Horbačevs'kyj, I., 15
Horlenko, V., 20
Hornung, 148
Hrabjanka, 14, 24
Hrebinka, J., 30, 49–54, 71, 85, 86, 88, 96, 132, 133, 135, 137, 142, 144, 146, 165
Hruševs'kyj, M., 115, 184, 192
Hryhorovyč, V., 132
Huculjak, M., 22
Hulak, M., 159, 173, 174, 175, 180, 183, 184, 186
Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, P., 43–45, 56, 60, 68, 69, 72, 73, 105, 163, 165, 182
Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, S., 144
Husikowska, Dz., 131
Huss, J., 154, 181

Ikonnikov, V., 19
Innokentij, Archbishop, 165
Ivakin, Ju., 156
Izmajlov, V., 75

Jabłoński, Z., 44
Jahotyn, 146, 148, 154
Jakutia, 82
Jalta, 63
Jan Jakovlevič, 90
Jan Jakubovič, 90
Janovs'kyj, D., 90
Jazykov, M. A., 54
Jazykov, N. M., 23, 29
Jefremov, S., 160, 169
Jelagina, A. P., 28–29
Jerusalem, 124
Jevec'kyj, O., 63
Jurasovka, 162, 163
Juzefovič, M. V., 166, 167, 168

Kačanivka, 145
Kačenovskij, M., 27, 34, 44, 71, 72
Kadlubovskij, A. P., 105
Kalynovs'kyj, H., 26
Kapnist, A., 146
Kapnist, I., 16
Kapnist, V. V., 12, 78, 79, 95
Kapnist-Skalon, S. V., 79, 94, 97, 173
Karadžić, V., 31, 34, 182
Karamzin, N. M., 48, 82
Karazyn, V., 57–58
Kazymyrov, O., 95
Khmel'nyc'kyj, Bohdan see Xmel'nyc'kyj, Bohdan
Kiev, 11, 16, 29, 30, 61, 63, 71, 80, 83, 109, 110, 112, 145, 146, 154, 162, 173, 174, 177, 181, 183
Kiev Academy, 21, 38, 43, 91
Kiev University, 24, 29, 110, 165, 167, 172, 181
Kirkconnell, W., 139, 142, 148, 153, 156
Kireevskij, P., 28, 29
Kjuxel'beker, V. C., 70
Klarnerówna, Z., 16
Knjažnin, J. B., 95
Kobylec'kyj, J. S., 19
Kocjubyns'ka, M., 137
Kočubej, M., 85
Kočubej, V., 99
Kohl, J. G., 76
Kohn, H., 163
Kolcov, A. V., 50
Kollár, J., 34, 60, 76
Komarov, A. A., 54
Kononovka, 90
Konys'kyj, H., 17
Konys'kyj, J., 12, 40
Konys'kyj, O., 183
Kopitar, V., 34
Kopystens'kyj, Z., 12
Korčmaryk, F., 11
Korenyc'kyj, P., 64
Kornilovič, A., 83, 85
Korsakov, P., 73, 137, 140, 141
Korsun, O., 64, 73, 74, 141, 142
Kosjarovs'kyj, P., 98, 99
Kostomarov, I., 162–163
Kostomarov, M., 25, 32, 61, 64, 66, 70, 73, 112, 141, 162–166, 168, 173, 174,

175–176, 177, 178–179, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 191
Kostomarov, T., 163
Kostomarova, A., 179
Košyc', 154
Kotel'nickij, 40
Kotel'nikov, V., 179
Kotljarevs'kyj, I., 25, 30, 38, 39–43, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61, 62, 66, 70, 80, 88, 95, 103, 105, 130, 135, 165, 182, 193
Kotsjubyns'kyj, M., 113
Kovalenko, H., 51
Kovalenko, O., 130
Kozačenko, A., 147
Kozačkovs'kyj, A. O., 157
Kožuxa Poltora, Hetman, 62
Kraevsky, A. A., 47, 48, 50, 71, 74, 142
Krasicki, I., 43, 51
Krasnopol' see Soročynci
Krasov, V., 62
Kremenčug, 75, 92
Kremjanec, Polish Lyceum, 28, 76
Krutikova, N. Je., 194
Krylov, I. A., 51, 95
Krzyżanowski, S., 16
Kubacki, W., 33
Kuban, 64
Kubijovyč, V., 12
Kukol'nik, N., 50, 141, 144
Kuliš (Hladka), K., 166
Kuliš, O., 166
Kuliš (Bilozerska), O., 172, 181
Kuliš, P., 23–24, 25, 32, 36, 39, 71, 78, 93, 106, 109, 120, 122, 145–146, 149, 166–174, 175, 176–177, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 191, 195
Kulžyns'kyj, I., 50, 69, 79, 80–81, 97, 103
Kupryjenko, 71
Kursk, 56, 59
Kuxarenko, J., 42, 144
Kvitka, A. G., 47
Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, H., 30, 44–49, 51, 52, 53, 60, 65, 66, 68, 71, 73, 88, 133, 136, 139, 141, 142, 165, 182, 188, 191
Kybinci, 54, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97
Kyrylivka, 128, 130, 136, 147, 154
Kyryljuk, Je., 141
Kyryljuk, Z. V., 80
Lada-Zablocki, 172
Lalli, G., 40
Lampi, F., 131
Lapin, V., 45
Lazarevs'kyj, O. M., 21, 22, 90, 129, 130
Lebedeva, L. A., 82
Lednicki, W., 85, 175
Leiden University, 21
Lelewel, J., 137, 158
Lermontov, M. J., 66, 73
Lesage, A. R., 78
Lesur, C. L., 76, 85
Levšin, A., 69, 75
Levyc'kyj, 12
Livanov, 12
Livšic, L. Ja., 78
Ljubyč-Romanovyč, V. I., 50
Lobodowski, J., 115
Lobysevyč, O., 17, 20, 40–41
Lomosov, M. V., 40, 188
Lomykovs'kyj, V., 21, 95
Losenko, 12
Loxvica, 92
Lubeč, 80
Lübeck, 100
Lubny, 22, 90, 92, 154
Luciani, G., 15, 177, 187
Luc'k, 167
Luc'kyj, G., 136
Lučyc'kyj, I., 42
Luhovec', 42
Lukaševyč, P., 33, 147
Lukaševyč, V., 96–97, 112
Lukjanovyč, 154
Lunin, 163
Lypa, J., 194
Lysenko, M., 96
Lyzohub, A., 181, 183
Lyzohub, S., 90–91
Lyzohub, T., 89, 90

Magarshak, D., 101
Makarov, N., 24
Maksymovyč, M., 19, 27, 28–33, 47, 56, 65, 71, 72, 73, 80, 85, 92, 103, 104, 109–110, 112, 121, 145, 166, 167, 183
Malanjuk, Je., 194
Malczewski, A., 76
Mandel'štam, I., 127
Mandelstam, N., 187
Mandelstam, O., 187
Marčenko, M., 19

Marjans'ke, 154
Markevyč, M., 23–24, 25, 84, 114, 133, 138, 141, 144, 145, 156, 181
Markovs'kyj, M., 177
Markovyč, J., 21, 22
Markovyč, O., 173, 174, 183, 184
Marshall, J., 76
Martos, I. P., 12
Martos, O., 23
Martos, P., 137, 141
Mašinskij, S., 96
Maslovyč, V., 69
Mastak, I., 47
Mazepa, Hetman, 14, 24, 82–83, 85–86, 92, 148, 155, 156
Melanchton, 181
Merimée, P., 122
Merzljakov, A., 28
Metlyns'kyj, A., 60, 63–64, 65, 66, 73, 134, 141, 165
Meževič, V., 70
Mežyhirs'kyj Spas, 146, 148
Mickiewicz, A., 16, 28, 44, 57, 61, 63, 85, 118, 158, 174, 175
Mijakovs'kyj, V., 136, 159, 173, 176, 180
Miller, 82
Mirsky, D. S., 12, 13, 78
Modzalevs'kyj, V., 22
Mohyla, see Metlyns'kyj, A.,
Mohyla, P., 12
Mohyla Academy, 14
Mojsivka, 146
Molière, J. B., 41
Mombelli, N., 152, 186
Mordovčenko, N. I., 80
Morynci, 128
Moscow, 11, 13, 14, 18, 22, 23, 30, 34, 69, 73, 77, 107, 110, 120, 122, 125, 149, 195
Moscow University, 28, 33, 34, 60, 77
Motronivka, 172
Muchnic, H., 114
Muir, E., 191–192
Murav'ev-Apostol, S., 15, 16, 95
Muzylovska, T., 166
Myrhorod, 91, 92, 113, 154, 156, 157
Myxajlova Hora, 30

Nadeždin, N., 28, 72, 73
Nalyvajko, Hetman, 83–84, 92
Napoleon Bonaparte, 39
Narežnyj, V., 77–78, 105, 114
Navroc'kyj, O., 174, 183, 185
Nazarevs'kyj, A. A., 103
Nekrasov, A. S., 71
Nesluxovskij, F., 61
Neva, 98
Nicholas I., 88, 116, 150, 166, 184, 185, 186
Niemcewicz, J., 82
Nikitenko, A., 101, 144, 186
Nižyn, 33, 50, 52, 54, 96, 97–98, 100, 102, 103, 141, 182
Nos, Colonel, 42
Novhorod Sivers'kyj, 17, 28, 166
Novikov, M., 40
Novyc'kyj, M., 136, 184, 185

Odessa, 124, 125
Odoevskij, Prince, 28, 50, 144
Ohloblyn, O., 17, 18, 19, 20, 35, 90, 91
Oksman, Ju., 15, 79, 87, 120
Oleksandriv, 42
Olizarowski, T., 76
Orenburg, 186
Orlov, Count, 183, 185–186
Osipov, N., 40
Osnova, 45
Ostrjanycja, Hetman, 91, 92
Ovsjanyko-Kulykovyśkyj, D. N., 123
Ozerov, V. A., 95

Padurra, T., 16, 76
Palacký, 34
Palauzov, 154
Panaev, I. I., 50, 54, 134–135
Panov, V., 120
Papazian, D., 174, 179
Paris, 117, 172, 174
Paščenko, 125
Paskevič, 80
Paškov, V., 125
Paul I., 94
Pauli, Ż., 33
Pauls, J. P., 86
Pavlovskij, I., 40
Pavlovs'kyj, O., 25–26, 103
Perejaslav, 38, 154, 155, 157
Peretc, V., 105
Perovskij, A., 78
Pestel', P., 15, 16
Peter the First, 11, 12, 82–83, 85–86, 92, 146, 151
Petrarch, F., 64

Petrenko, M., 64–65, 73
Petrov, N., 41, 105
Petrov, O., 183, 184
Petrov, V., 30, 145, 170, 171, 172, 177
Piksanov, N. K., 54, 77, 116, 194
Pilhuk, I. I., 19
Plautus, 41
Pletnev, O., 172
Pletnev, P. A., 45, 48, 50, 101, 123, 170, 171–172, 177
Poggioli, R., 114
Pogodin, M., 28, 30, 32, 58, 74, 107, 108, 116, 117, 120, 121
Pogorel'skij, A., see Perovskij, A.,
Poletyka, H., 17, 20, 21–22
Poletyka, I., 21
Poletyka, P., 22
Poletyka, V., 17, 20, 21, 22
Polevoj, N., 23, 28, 144
Poltava, 28, 34, 38, 39, 66, 77, 82, 85, 86, 92, 96, 118, 146, 173, 183
Polubotok, Hetman, 18, 84, 151
Popov, P. M., 29
Posjada, I., 159, 174, 183
Pritsak, O., 14
Proffer, C. R., 120
Prokopovyč, T., 12, 50, 54
Pryjma, F., 140
Pryluky, 42, 154
Psel, 91, 92, 93
Ps'ol, O., 183
Pule, M. de, 11, 61
Puškin, A., 17, 20, 28, 30, 32, 50, 60, 66, 73, 82, 83, 85–87, 97, 107–108, 110, 127, 131, 151, 172
Pyl'čykiv, D., 174
Pypin, A., 29, 32
Pyrjatyn, 50, 146
Pysarevs'ka, M., 64
Pysarevs'kyj, P., 42, 64
Pysarevs'kyj, S., 64

Rabelais, F., 41
Raeff, M., 15
Rastrelli, 145
Repnin, Prince, 19, 20, 22, 24, 39–40, 99, 146, 148
Repnina, Princess, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 181
Revel, 144
Riazanovsky, N. V., 36
Rich, V., 134, 135, 149, 151, 158, 160
Rigel'man, O., 21
Rimskij-Korsakov, 130
Rodzjanko, A., 85
Rogger, H., 12, 188
Rome, 118, 119, 120, 124
Romny, 154
Romodanovskij, Prince, 92
Rozanov, V., 187
Rozkovšenko, I., 58, 62
Rozumovs'kyj, A. K., 71
Rozumovs'kyj, K., 21
Rozumovs'kyj, Hetman, 11, 192
Ruban, V., 20, 21
Rubanovs'kyj, 12
Rudnytsky, I. L., 14, 16
Rudyj Pan'ko, 104, 105
Rulikowski, J., 15
Rumjancev, Count, 20, 24
Rusova, S., 68
Rustem, J., 131
Rybakov, I., 16
Ryleev, K., 16, 28, 69, 76, 81–85, 150
Ryl's'kyj, M., 43

Šabliovs'kyj Je., 141
Sacke, G., 79
Šafařik, P., 34, 154, 155, 182
Šafons'kyj, O., 21
Šaginjan, M., 147
Sahajdačnyj, Hetman, 13
St. Petersburg, 11, 21, 22, 26, 30, 41, 50, 51, 54, 62, 69, 79, 93, 95, 98, 99–102, 104, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 117, 131–133, 141, 142, 144, 149–154, 158, 171, 177, 181, 183, 185, 186, 193, 195
Šalikov, Prince, 75
Saltykov-Ščedrin, M. E., 150, 153
Samarin, J., 193
Sambors'kyj, 12
"Samovydec'", 14, 24
Šamraj, A., 33, 48, *55*, *60*, *62*, *63*
Šamraj, H., *166*
Šaškevyč, M., 33, 65
Savyč, M., 174
Saxarov, I. P., 34
Šaxovskoj, 69
Scarron, P., 40
Ščepkin, M., 40, 61, 120, 149, 153
Schelling, F. W., 63
Scherer, 21,
Schiller, F., 170, 184
Scott, Sir Walter, 17, 62, 107, 114,182
Ščurat, V., 147, 158, 159, 175
Sedniw, 181, 183

Selec'kyj, P. D., 148
Sen'kovskyj, O., 23, 74
Šenrok, V., 33, 168
Šerex, J., see Shevelov, G.,
Seton-Watson H., 58, 160
Setschkarev, V., 119
Ševčenko, H., 128, 129
Ševčenko, I., 129, 147
Ševčenko (Bojko), K., 128
Ševčenko, M., 136
Ševčenko, T., 18, 20, 24, 31, 34, 39, 40, 43, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 73, 74, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128–187, 188–195
Ševyrev, S., 74, 119, 121
Shevelov, G. Y., 25, 26, 65, 136
Shlemkevych, M., 136
Shlisselburg, 186
Širjaev, 131
Skalons, 95
Sklabovs'kyj, 68
Skoropads'kyj, Hetman, 91
Skovoroda, H., 12, 38–39, 60, 70, 79, 124, 127, 130, 171, 182, 188, 192
Slavjansk, 64
Słowacki, J., 76
Smirnova, A., 122, 123
Smollett, T. G., 78
Snegirev, 60
Sobolevskij, S., 144
Sologub, V. A., 50
Solov'ev, 122
Soltanovs'kyj, A., 165
Somov, O., 69, 78, 79–80, 85, 104, 109
Soročynci, 91, 92, 106
Sošenko, I., 131–132
Sosnickij, I., 144
Spiridonov, V., 140
Špyhoc'kyj, O., 59, 63, 72, 86
Sreznevs'kyj, I., 33, 56, 58–62, 63, 65, 69, 73, 111, 169
Sreznevs'kyj, V., 59
Stankevyč, N., 34
Stavrovec'kyj, K., 12
Steblyn-Kamens'kyj, S. P., 39
Šternberg, 133, 137, 144
Stilman, L., 90, 93, 114
Storoženko, A., see Carinnyj, A.
Strandman, R., 152
Strugovščikov, A., 141, 144
Subotiv, 147
Šubravs'kyj, V., 141
Sula, 91, 92
Talmon, J. L., 27
Tans'kyj, 40, 91
Tans'kyj, V., 91
Tarnavs'kyj, V., 47
Tarnovs'kyj, H., 144, 145
Thoreau, H., 171
Tiflis, 172
Tigrid, P., 195
Tjutčev, F. I., 123
Tkačenko, M., 183
Tobolsk, 23
Tolstoj, A. K., 192
Tolstoj, F. I., 123, 141, 144
Tredjakovskij, V. K., 21, 188
Trjasylo, Taras, 136
Troščyns'kyj, D. P., 12, 20, 22, 26, 54, 92, 94–95, 96, 99, 100, 112
Tübingen, 62
Tulub, 174, 183
Tuptalo, D., 12
Turgenev, I. S., 50
Tymkovščyna, 28
Tyxors'kyj, X. T., 73

Ukrajinka, Lesja, 113
Uvarov, S. S, 29, 36, 110, 187

Vahylevyč, I., 33, 65
Vasylivka (Janovščyna), 89, 91, 92, 94, 98, 100, 108, 118, 122, 124–125, 157
Vedel, A., 12
Vejnberg, A., 157
Vel'gorskij, Count, 119, 132
Velyčko, 14, 24
Velyčkovs'kyj, I., 12
Venelin, J., 32, 73
Vengerov, S. A., 116
Vergil, 40, 41
Vienna, 119
Vigel, E., 79, 116
Vilno, 22, 23, 130, 131
Vilšana, 130
Vistula, 64
Vjazemskij, P., 78, 123
Vojnarovs'kyj, 82–83
Volkonskij, S., 148
Voltaire, 76, 163
Volxovs'ka, T., 146
Volyns'kyj, P. K., 19, 30, 40, 69
Voronež, 162, 163, 166
Vorskla, 91

Vovčok, Marko, 191
Vyhovs'kyj, Hetman, 24, 91
Vysoc'kyj, 97, 98

Wacław z Oleska, 112
Warsaw, 34, 131, 183
Wycliffe, 154

Xanenko, O. I., 20
Xarkiv, 38, 45, 48, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 107, 163, 166
Xarlampovič, K. V., 11
Xil'cevs'kyj, 167
Xmel'nyc'kyj, B., Hetman, 13, 18, 80, 91, 122, 150, 155, 156, 170
Xomjakov, A., 30, 121–122, 193
Xorol, 91
Xortycja, 147, 148
Xropko, P. P., 19

Yakovliv, A., 17, 19
Yanivs'kyj, B., see Mijakovs'kyj, V., 177
Yaroslavl, 58

Zabila, V., 52, 145
Zagoskin, M., 95
Zajcev, I., 131
Zajcev, P., 131, 148
Zajončkovskij, P., 174, 179, 180
Zakrevs'ka, H., 147
Zakrevs'kyj, P., 147
Zakrevs'kyj, V., 147, 157
Zaleski, B., 76, 117, 118
Zaleski, P., 118
Zaleski, W., 33
Zavadovs'kyj, 12
Zeldovič, M. G., 78
Zerov, M., 45, 51, 54, 64
Zilyns'kyj, O., 41
Zubkov, A. D., 50, 51
Zubryc'kyj, D., 30, 74
Žukovskij, V. A., 56, 57, 117, 118, 120, 131, 132, 136, 184
Zvenyhorod, 54

The series encompasses original works, reprints of rare and important publications, collections of articles on selected topics, handbooks, textbooks, bibliographies, dictionaries and collected or selected editions of classical Ukrainian works in the humanities.

10. MYRON KORDUBA

La littérature historique sovietique ukrainienne
Comptes-rendus, 1917–1931

Reprint of an important bibliographical survey published in Warsaw in 1938. With an introduction by Professor Omeljan Pritsak. Ca. 400 pp. cloth, about DM 60.–

12. OLEKSANDER OHLOBLYN

A History of Ukrainian Industry

Reprint of a three-volume study:

1. *Manufaktura v Getmanščine* (Kiev, 1925; in Russian) 'Manufacture in 18th century Left-Bank Ukraine'

2. *Kripac'ka fabryka 18–19-ho st.* (printed in Kiev in 1931, but not released; in Ukrainian) 'Industrial Production Based on Serf Labor in the 18th and 19th Centuries'

3. *Predkapitalističeskaja fabrika* (Kiev, 1925; in Russian) 'Precapitalistic Industry'

With an editor's preface, and a retrospect in English by the author. Altogether 888 pp. cloth, DM 120.–

14. FEDIR SAVČENKO

The Suppression of the Ukrainian Activities in 1876

Reprint of *Zaborona Ukrajinstva 1876 r.*, containing an extensive collection of archival documents and an essay published by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev (1930). With a bio-bibliographical preface by Professor Omeljan Pritsak and an introduction by Professor Basil Dmytryshyn, Portland State University. 460 pp. cloth, DM 78.–

WILHELM FINK VERLAG · MÜNCHEN 23

Books written under the auspices
of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies,
University of Toronto

Peter Brock and H. Gordon Skilling (eds.)

The Czech Renascense of the Nineteenth Century

(University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970)

H. Gordon Skilling and Franklyn Griffiths (eds.)

Interest Groups in Soviet Politics

(Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1970)

James R. Gibson

Feeding the Russian Fur Trade

(University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969)

Brenton Barr

The Soviet Wood-Processing Industry

(University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970)

320ш-19