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FOREWORD

Studia Ucrainica is an irregular publication dedicated to the presentation of current research on Ukrainian studies. *Studia Ucrainica* publishes articles in Ukrainian, English and French.

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Eastern Slavs and the Christian Millennium of 1988

The notion that the contemporary East Slavic nations (Belorussians, Russians, Ukrainians) are entitled to co-celebrate as equals the memory of Volodymyr's (Vladimir's) world-historical conversion to Christianity in or around 988 A.D. is based upon an outright misunderstanding (or even distortion) of the available historical record. It is a notion strongly tied to the current needs, interests, and strategies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, as is well known, will in three years' time be orchestrating massive remembrances of Volodymyr's deed in the "brotherly" Slavic republics of the U.S.S.R. I propose in this communication to explore briefly why it should not be so, although it undoubtedly and irreversibly will be so.

One of the most ancient documents dealing with the event, Monk James' (Iakov's) "Memorial and Laud to the Rus' Prince Volodymyr,"¹ puts the matter quite succinctly:

Volodymyr accepted Christ for himself, and enlightened his children and his entire household through holy baptism. . . . He also christened the whole Rus' land from one end to the other. . . and afterwards he beautified the whole Rus' land and all its towns with holy churches. . . .²

In order to grasp the meaning conveyed by these words, it is essential that they be placed in their historical context. Monk Iakov was writing in the third decade of the twelfth century, perhaps even a little later. He was a younger contemporary of Nestor, the main editor of the *Povest' Vremennikh Let*. To these learned ecclesiastics the concept of "Rus' land" had a very specific and clear connotation. It most certainly did not, in its usual sense, refer to the full cluster of territories and populations under the direct or indirect control of the Kievan princes. This is obvious in Monk Iakov's continuator who patriotically notes in one passage that, after his own and his land's conversion to Christianity, Volodymyr "with God's help" defeated and imposed tribute on a series of alien peoples, including the Radimichians, the Viatichians, the Yatvingians, and the Khazars.³ Nestor is even more explicit. In his time, the second decade of the twelfth century,

1. Printed in Met. Makarii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), 3rd ed., tom I (Saint Petersburg, Russia: Tipografiia R. Golike, 1889), addition n. 1, pp.249-257.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.

3. *Ibid.*, p.255.

"Rus' land" was an expression identical to, and absolutely convertible to, the expression "Polianian land."⁴

It should be noted in passing that the so-called "Normanist" controversy is only peripherally pertinent to this particular point. The *origin* of the name (Rus') by which a discreet people and territory (that of the Polianians) were then called is one thing. That people's *actual existence* and precise relationship to other contemporary peoples, quite another. Archaeological investigation has very effectively assisted written documentary assertions. The boundaries of the Polianian land, i.e. of the "Rus' land" which Volodymyr the Great converted and Christianized in or around 988, are now more or less definitely established: it lay on both banks of the middle Dnipro River beginning some dozens of miles north of

4. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (PSRL), II (Moskva: izd. Vostochnoi Literaturi, 1962). All translations, here and elsewhere, are ours.

col. 18: Poliane, iazhe nini zovamaia Rus' (The Polianians, who are today called the Rus')
col. 20: ... prozvashasia Rusiu, a pervie bisha Slovine, ashche i Poliane zvakhusia (They were called the Rus', but earlier they were Slavs, and they were also called/named the Polianians)
col. 15: Askold zhe i Dir. ... nachasta vladiti Polskoiu zemleiu. (Askold and Dir began to rule the Polianian land.)

col. 8: Pochasha derzhati rod ikh kniazhenie v Poliakh (Their clan began to hold the rulership of the Polianians)

"Poliani" is an artificial term that was revived, if not coined, *circa* 1080 A.D. by the editors of the initial version of *The Povest' Vremennikh Let* as an alternative historical *nomen* for the "Rus'" (core Old Ukrainian) population of the Kievan Empire. One simply cannot underline the point strongly enough. We hope to discuss elsewhere the literary sources of, and the political reasons for, this important ideological move, the very existence of which seems to have eluded our standard historians, including M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 3rd ed. (Kyiv: Drukarnia Pershoi Spilky, 1913), pp.188-193; *A History of Ukraine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp.24, 39-44; and G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), pp.82, 115, 308, 313-314; *The Origins of Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp.102, 201, 211-213.

Failure to grasp that a terminological revolution occurred in the scientific consciousness of the late eleventh century Kievan intellectuals has unfortunately rendered much twentieth century speculation on the "origin of the Rus'" somewhat akin to Plato's famous description of shadow games in the Cave. Theories that overemphasize the distinction between "Rus'" and "Poliani" (for instance those of H. Paszkiewicz) are in clear conflict with the sources. We do not wish to deny the reality or significance of the Norse contribution to Ukrainian history, but only to note a simple biological fact that goes a long way towards explaining the mysteries and ambiguities of this contribution. The Norse "Rus'", whose presence and activity in Eastern Europe is well-documented in the ninth and tenth centuries, had, practically speaking, no womenfolk of their own nationality: they were almost entirely *male* warrior and merchant groups. This is well attested, for example by the Chernihiv barrows. It is thus not surprising at all that their children and grandchildren should have been Slavized so completely and abruptly, while retaining the name (Rus') by which their fathers had been known. Because the overwhelming majority of the Norse "Rus'" settled in Central Ukraine after 943 A.D., their ethnic *nomen* was initially appropriated by the related Slavic *rods* of that region, and that region alone. The Slavic cultural homogeneity of Rus'-Polania — through assimilation of Ihor's Norse warrior-merchants — was well-established in Volodymyr's time (e.g., Volodymyr's uncle Dobrynia was the son of Malfred, Ihor's Norse governor of Liubech; Mystyslav ["Mystyssha"] was the son of Sveinald, Ihor's Norse general, etc.).

We have adhered to PVL terminology in calling the Old Central Ukrainians both "Rus'" and "Poliani". The question of their earlier historical *nomen* or *nomina* requires a separate investigation, which cannot be undertaken here.

Vyshhorod, and extending southward a little beyond the mouth of the river Ros'. On the left bank of the Dnipro, it included a fairly wide strip of territory that became the basis of the later Pereiaslav principality. On the right bank, it reached the basin of the upper Bog River.⁵

The land was relatively small but compactly populated and exceedingly well-developed economically. Christening it "from one end to another" was not an especially difficult enterprise. Its capital, of course, was Kiev. Other major centres were: Vyshhorod, Bilhorod, Vasyliv, Zvenyhorod, Pereiaslav, Peresichen', Vytychiv, Roden', etc. This "land of Rus'" was, for a short period of time, the hub of an imperial structure wherein the Polianian-Rus' ethnos exercised political, economic, administrative, military, cultural, and to some extent linguistic *hegemony* over many other different ethna of the vast East European plains and forests. The nature and extent of this hegemony was exceedingly varied and existed, furthermore, in a state of constant change and flux. It was never securely solidified, and by the mid-twelfth century, it had effectively collapsed.

It is important to underline as an indubitable historical fact that, while this hegemonic political system prevailed, it helped to develop a high level of ethnic consciousness in leading circles of the Rus'-Polianian population, including a certain superiority complex with regards to other groups. This "Rus'-Polianian" pride in their special role encouraged intellectuals to haughtily combine under the rubric of alien "subjects and tributaries" all the ethna they dominated, even those that were objectively most closely related to themselves — for instance, the Derevlians of Ovruch, who "lived like animals,"⁶ the Volynians and Galician Croats, whom they contemptuously dismissed as "Lyakhs,"⁷ and the neighbouring Siveriani of Chernihiv, who were lumped together with the genuinely remote Radimichians and Viatichians as "beastly forest types."⁸

The usually self-centred Rus'-Polianian authors (Ilarion, Iakov, Ivan, Nestor, Sylvester, Volodymyr Monomakh, etc.) tell us very little about the

5. O.A. Kupchynskyi, *Naidavnishi slovianski toponimy Ukrainy* (The Oldest Slavic Toponyms of Ukraine) (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1981), pp.174-175, 194-196, 244-245. That the population of tenth century Kiev was overwhelmingly of Rus'-Polianian stock may be gathered from the study of O.P. Motsia, "Pytannia etnichnoho skladu naselennia davnoho Kyieva" (Concerning the Ethnic Structure of Ancient Kiev's Population), *Arkheologiya* 31 (1979), pp. 28-36, esp. 31. Cf. also I.P. Rusanova, "Kurgani Polian 10-12 st." (The Polianian Barrows of the tenth to twelfth centuries), in *Arkheologiya SSSR* (Moskva, 1966), pp.1-71; V.V. Sedov, "Formirovanie slavianskogo naselennia srednego Podneprov'ia" (Formation of the Middle Dnipro's Slavic Population), *Sovetskaia Arkheologiya (SA)*, 1972, n. 4, pp.116-130; *id.*, "Dregovichy," *SA* 1963, n. 3, pp. 112-125. Other pertinent articles appeared in issues of *SA* for 1960.

6. PSRL, II, col. 10: Derevliani zhiviakhu zvirskim obrazom, zhivushche skotski. (The Derevlians lived in animal fashion, they lived like beasts).

7. *Ibid.*, cols. 69, 137.

8. *Ibid.*, col. 10: Radimichi i Viatichi i Severo odin obichai imiakhu zhiviakhu v lisi iako zhe vsiakii zvir. . (The Radimichians and Viatichians and Siverianians had the same customs, living in the forest like any other animal).

introduction of formal or actual Christian influences amongst subject ethna. On the basis of the meagre pieces of available evidence, we may nevertheless infer that the Christianization process was highly uneven. To the southwest and south of Kiev, it had roots older than Volodymyr, in some cases going back to the missionary activities of Methodian priests.⁹ To the north and east, its status was dubious at best and nonexistent in many localities long after Volodymyr's departure from this world. Examining the Rus'-Polianian empire of the tenth to twelfth centuries on an ethnos by ethnos approach, here is what we can discover.

The Galician Croats and the Volyniani were probably Christians of the Methodian rite who existed in very significant numbers for some time prior to their political subjugation by Volodymyr.¹⁰ The steppe peoples (Pechenegs, Torks, etc.) remained overwhelmingly pagan. The Ulychians and Tyvertsians were peripheral groups from our perspective. These erstwhile rulers of South Poliania had systematically retreated towards the southwest after c. 950 A.D., blending with the Croats and the Pechenegs, and disappearing as distinct entities.¹¹

The Rus'-Polianians were "officially" converted to Christianity by Volodymyr, although large numbers had already been professing Christians of various rites and orientations.¹² The Derevliani's territorial closeness to and particularly intimate historical relations with the Rus'-Polianian realm suggests, in spite of Rus'-Polianian authors' prejudices, that they underwent a Christianization experience very similar to that of their southwestern neighbours.¹³

The Christianization pattern of the Siverianians is almost totally unknown to us. They were certainly Christian by the time of Nestor, and probably had been since the early eleventh century. Perhaps the majority

9. *Ibid.*, cols. 18-20.

10. The literature is cited copiously in S. Pap, *Pochatky Chrystianstva na Zakarpatti* (The Beginnings of Christianity in Transcarpathia) (Philadelphia: Mytropolia Ukrain's'koi Katolyts'koi Tserkvy u ZSA, 1983), esp. pp.28, 101, 102, 196. These territories had been under the steady political and religious influence of Great Moravia and its successor states: cf. F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1974), esp. pp. 78ff., 125ff., 277.

11. It is possible that "Ulychi Tyvertsii" simply meant "the Ulychian princes (turkic: Tabar, Teber, Tavar = hereditary vassal ruler. Cf. M.I. Artamonov, *Istoriia Khazar*, Leningrad, izd. Gos. Ermitazha, 1962, pp. 244-246). The Ulychians (Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Outlines*) many have been in the area of South Ukraine since the late fifth century, as the Hunnic "Ulch-indur" (reported in Jordanes c. 551 A.D.). For a more traditional explanation of the "Ulychi Tyvertsii" that views them as the remnants of Slavic colonists slowly withdrawing northwestward under pressure from Turkic steppe nomads, cf. O.A. Kupchynskyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-187, 197. On this understanding, the complex in question would include the Slavs in Moldavia, whose Christianization in all likelihood followed the Croat or perhaps the Bulgarian pattern. The Moldavian populations were not politically subject to Volodymyr or his immediate successors.

12. PSRL, II, cols. 18-20, 42, 69-70. Cf. also *infra* Appendix.

13. Archaeological evidence of mass Christianization begins to appear in the eleventh century: cf. I.P. Rusanova, *art.cit.* in note 5, p. 24.

were converted under Yaroslav and Mstislav.¹⁴ Similar comments might apply to the Dregovichians of Turiv¹⁵ and perhaps to those of Minsk as well.¹⁶

We know that Christianization of the Polotsk Krivichians began relatively early.¹⁷ Yet the influence of pagan priests was still apparent at the court of the local ruler as late as c. 1020.¹⁸ The Krivichians of Smolensk are reputed to have embraced Christianity in 1013 A.D.¹⁹ Those of the upper Volga and the colonists of Meryaland were still largely pagan in the mid-eleventh century and beyond.²⁰ Formal Christianity took root fairly quickly among the Slavs of Pskov and Novgorod. But investigators have noted the continuance of rural paganism until the late Middle Ages, and

14. PSRL, II, col. 141: I umnozhisasia prozvuteri i liude khristianskii i radovashasia Yaroslav vidia mnohi tserkvi i liudi kristiani zelo. (And priests and Christian people multiplied and Yaroslav was joyful seeing many Christian churches and strongly Christian people). The areas around Liubech and Chernihiv were Christianized noticeably earlier than the remainder of Siverian lands. Cf. A.P. Motsia, "Truposozhzhennie i trupopolozhenie u slavian srednego podneprov'ia. Prichini smeni pogrebnogo obriada" (Cremation and Inhumation Among the Middle Dnipro Slavs. Reasons for Changes in Burial Rite), in V.D. Baran *et al.*, eds., *Slaviane i Rus'* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1979), pp. 117-118. The West Siverianians had been closely tied to Kiev since the ninth century, and their culture had become substantially "Polianized": cf. O.A. Kupchynskyi *op.cit.*, pp. 176, 195.

15. Their ruler in 1012 was the subsequently much-maligned Sviatopolk. Thietmar of Merseburg recounts a story about the incarceration of this prince, his Polish wife (she was the daughter of Boleslas Chrabry), and Reinbern, bishop of Kolobrzeg/MGH, SS RR GER, NS, t. IX, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1955, pp. 486-488. The trio was arrested by Volodymyr on suspicion of treason. In this connection, Thietmar attacks Volodymyr for his "iniquitous act" towards Reinbern (who died in prison) and paints a glowing picture of the prelate's career, including his life-long struggles with the "demons" and "idols" of paganism. While this would *prima facie* seem to apply to Reinbern's activities in Pomerania, much ambiguity surrounds the curious episode. Thietmar, it appears, has nothing to say about local religious practices in Dregovia. He does not tell us *when* Reinbern and the Polish princess arrived, how long the bishop resided in Turiv before his arrest, and what functions he performed there. The "pro-Boleslas plot" must have taken some time to mature, and it is difficult to imagine an important bishop just sitting in Turiv as father confessor to Boleslas' daughter. So the question arises most naturally, was Reinbern to evangelize an autonomous unit of Volodymyr's Empire? Only one thing is clear-cut in our source — it is Volodymyr himself who arranged the Polish marriage. Cf. also H. Paszkiewicz, *The Origin of Russia* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), p. 20, n. 5.

16. Minsk itself was not founded until c. 1063 A.D.: cf. L.V. Alexeiev, *Polotskaia Zemlia* (Moskva: Nauka, 1966), pp. 144, 205. Its area was settled by the Dregovichians earlier in the eleventh century (*ibid.*, p. 51, map).

17. Nevertheless, Princess Rogned, her son Iziaslav, and her grandson Vseslav were all buried not in Polotsk but in the Cathedral of Kiev (in 1000, 1001, and 1003 respectively: cf. PSRL, II, col. 114). A bishopric may have existed in Polotsk from the early eleventh century (the evidence is ambiguous) but this, apparently, had no influence on the surrounding pagan villages, judging by the persistence of old burial rites (Alexeiev, *op.cit.*, p. 227). Interestingly enough, pagan rites likewise predominated in the mixed ethnic area around Zaslav (just northwest of today's Minsk), where Princess Rogned and her eldest son had been exiled by Volodymyr c. 985 A. D. (?): cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 42, 45, 52, 178.

18. PSRL, II, col. 143. Cf. Alexeiev, *op.cit.*, pp. 61, 65, 228.

19. M. Tikhomirov, *The Towns of Ancient Rus* (Moskva: Foreign Languages Publishing House), 1959, p. 375.

20. Cf. *infra* note 74 and text thereto.

occasional "crises" would erupt in the area's urban Christian population (e.g., in 1068, 1228), a phenomenon unknown to have occurred elsewhere under similar circumstances.²¹

The Ugro-Finns of Rostov-Suzdal' (Merya, Muroma, Ves') and those of the far north remained in Nestor's time almost totally pagan.²² Persistence of non-Christian ways amongst the Radimichian people received sensational confirmation not long ago, when Soviet archaeologists discovered the site of an eleventh-century pagan temple situated on the left bank of the Dnipro not far from Rohachev in east Belorussia, near a lake still called "Svyatoie ozero" by the locals. Its perpetual ritual fires were probably visible to merchants travelling up and down the "route from the Varangians to the Greeks."²³

The bulk of the Viatichian people was politically independent of Kiev and was not integrated into its successor political systems until c. 1147. Their pagan burial rites were colourfully described by Nestor.²⁴ Totally outside the state were the Galindians of Moscow. Very little is currently known concerning this mysterious people, a problem to which we shall return shortly.

Given the complex nature of Volodymyr's empire, it is understandable (as some researchers have perceptively written²⁵) that his adoption of Christianity was never intended or indeed implemented as a universally binding policy, except in the territories that were directly ruled by him or by his appointed ministers.²⁶ The view that Volodymyr made Christianity into a coercive, state-cementing, unifying ideology for all is untenable and breaks down at the first confrontation with known facts. Peoples who merely owed tribute in kind, money, or military manpower were mostly

21. B.A. Ribakov, "Iazicheskoe mirovozzrenie russkogo srednevekovia" (The Pagan World-View of the Russian Middle Ages), *Voprosy Istorii*, 1974, n. 1, pp. 3-30.

22. PSRL, II, col. 8, where the word "iazyk" means not only language, but also religion. Cf. on this H. Paszkiewicz, *The Making of the Russian Nation* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963), pp. 31-51. Cf. also L.A. Golubeva, "Kinskie pogrebenia v kurganakh severo-vostochnoi rusi VIII-XI vv." (Horse Burials in the Barrows of North-Eastern Rus' of the VIII-XI cs.), SA 1981, n. 4, pp. 87-98.

23. A.V. Kuza, G. F. Solovieva, "Iazicheskoe sviatilishche v zemle Radimichei" (A Pagan Temple in the Land of the Radimichi), SA 1972, n. 1, pp. 146-154.

24. PSRL, II, col. 10... vzlozhat' na kladu mertvitsa i szhihakhu i po sem sbravshe kosti vv ssud mal i postavliakhu na stolpi na putekh. . . . (They position the corpse on the pyre and burn it and afterwards gathering the bones they put them in a small urn and place it on a stand by the roadways). As Artsikhovskii later remarked, "Poniatno chto ot takogo obriada nichego ne ostaetsia na doliu arkheologov" (It is understandable that of such a ritual nothing remains for the consideration of archaeologists). Cf. his *Kurgani Viatichei*, Moskva, Ranion, 1930, p. 152. For an attempted correction of Artsikhovskii's narrow interpretation of Nestor on this point, cf. V.V. Sedov, "Rannie kurgani Viatichei" (Early Viatichian Barrows), in *Kratkie soobshcheniia. . Institut Arkheologii (=KS)*, 1973, n. 135, p. 10; B.A. Ribakov, "Nestor o slavianskikh obichaiakh" (Nestor on Slavic Customs), in *Drevnie slaviani i ikh sosedii* (The ancient Slavs and their neighbours) (Moskva, 1970), p. 43.

25. E. Golubinsky, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), tom I (Moskva: Universitetskaiia tipografiia, 1901), pp. 198-214.

26. Rus'-Polania, the Derevlians, Volinians, Croats, possibly though not certainly the West Siverians and South Dregovichians, and of course the Novgorodian Slavs.

left undisturbed in the enjoyment of their own laws, customs, and local ruling dynasties (euphemistically called "boyars"), though occasionally a son of Volodymyr might be substituted or superimposed, as in Rostov or T'mutorokan'.²⁷

Since the impact of Volodymyr's conversion in 988 A.D. was felt above all by the Rus'-Poliani, it stands to reason that a celebration of the event's millenium should be the particular concern of their national descendants. The only modern Slavic nation that may claim this distinction is the Ukrainian.²⁸ For the Rus'-Polianians were the core, the nucleus around which certain other ethna (including the vast majority of the Derevlians, Siverianians, Volynianians, the Galician Croats, most of the Ulychi-ans, many steppe people, the Transcarpathian Rusyns, etc.) progressively coalesced to form the historical Ukrainian nation. It is in the Rus'-Polinian territory that the concept of "Ukraine" emerged, that the major tenets of Ukrainian national consciousness were created or revived (note: Shevchenko), and that the norms of the national language were established. The assimilative influence of the Rus'-Polinian ethnos, under its new name of Ukrainians, over those groups I shall call *adjunct ethna* was both incontrovertible and highly beneficial. No territorial representative of such an adjunct ethnos would dream of placing his or her regional history on a par with that of the national centre. It may, for instance, be a fact that Galicia was once an independent cultural and political entity, that it was Christian long before Kiev. These realities are no longer preponderant in the consciousness of Galicians. Today they are Ukrainians first and foremost (probably more so than the Ukrainians of Kiev!) and will probably continue to be so for as long as the Ukrainian nation exists. Members of the Ukrainian people who are physical descendants of Pecheneg or Polovt-sian steppe warriors (and there are many such, as names and physical appearance testify) do not consider the recorded careers of Kuria, Konchak, Boniak, or Tugorkan to be that of Ukrainian heroes, but of deadly enemies of the Old Ukrainian population, and in no sense a cherished part of Ukrainian national history. In short, the historical experience of adjunct ethna is significant only to the extent that it is filtered through and integrated with that of the national core or nucleus according to standards determined by intellectual representatives of the latter's values, and determined not arbitrarily, but in continuity with the actual historical experience of the nuclear ethnos. "Ievshan zillia" — yes; Kobiak and Sharukan' — no.

This dialectic of core ethnos/adjunct ethna is, we believe, quite useful in helping to clarify the extent to which Belorussians or Russians are

27. PSRL, II, cols. 105-106. M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia* . . . , ed. cit., pp. 412, 425f, 487.

28. M. Braichevskiy, *Pokhodzhenia Rusy* (The Origin of Rus') (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1968), *passim*, esp. p. 189. The old speculations of Sobolevsky concerning the "Great Russian" language of mediaeval Kiev and Pogodin's theories of mass migrations therefrom to Suzdal'ia are now mere historical curiosities. The central significance of "Polinian" Kiev to Ukrainian ethnogenesis was pointed out long ago by M. Hrushevs'kyi (*Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, ed. cit., pp. 190, 551-556).

entitled to organically connect their histories with the Christian activity of Prince Volodymyr, and therefore to consider 1988 as "their" millenium also.

There is no difficulty in viewing the modern Belorussian nation as principally composed of descendants of certain ethnic units existing in Volodymyr's day, viz., the Dregovichians, the Polotsk Krivichians, and the Radimichians. The *core ethnos* of the Belorussians were the Dregovichians, particularly the northern branch thereof, which existed for a time within the principality of Polotsk (where, as we have seen, there were still strong and officially condoned pagan trends in 1020) and formed an autonomous state at the beginning of the twelfth century with its capital in Minsk.²⁹ The North Dregovichian dialect provided a basis for the official state language of Lithuania in the thirteenth century³⁰ and for the national Belorussian language some centuries later.³¹ As we have noted, there is no reliable evidence (direct or indirect, overt or implicit) that would link the Christianization of the North Dregovichians to Volodymyr rather than to Yaroslav or to someone else — e.g., Briacheslav or Vseslav. Since the history of their core ethnos is silent on the issue, we would suggest that the 1988 millenium is no concern of theirs, except as friendly neighbourly observers.

Some Belorussians consider the descendants of the Smolensk Krivichians to be a part of their nation, but this view seems both mistaken and irrelevant. It is mistaken for the following reason: while it is true that as late as the nineteenth century the population of Smolensk *guberniia* showed characteristics in its speech, customs, culture, and dress that were objectively very close to those of the Belorussians, it is equally true that this population never possessed a genuine Belorussian national consciousness. Ethnographers such as Karskii, who included the Smolensk speech among Belorussian dialects,³² noted that it was speedily disintegrating under the pressure of Russian linguistic influences.³³ This process was greatly strengthened after the 1917 Revolution, and observations carried out by field ethnographers in the late 1920's (when "official Belorussianization" was well under way in the Belorussian republic) showed that the Smolensk dialect had reached a stage at which it had as many objective Russian traits as Belorussian traits, and that the priorities of the local intelligentsia were to "speak as in Moscow," not as in Minsk.³⁴ The national consciousness of

29. L.V. Alexeiev, *op.cit.*, pp. 51 (map), 144.

30. E.F. Karskii, "Chto takoe drevnee zapadnorusskoe narechie" (What Is Meant by the Old West Russian Dialect), in *Trudi*, vol. 2-3 (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1962), pp. 253, 262.

31. *Ukrainska Radianska Entsiklopedia*, vol. I (Kyiv: Ukrains'ka Akademiia Nauk, 1959), p. 569.

32. "K voprosu o razgranichenii russkikh narechii" (Concerning the Boundaries of Russian Dialects), *op.cit.*, pp. 405ff.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

34. P.A. Rastorguev, *Govori na territorii Smolenshchiny* (Speeches on the Territory of Smolensk) (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1960), pp. 183ff.

the population was strongly Russian. By the mid-1960's the Smolensk speech was so organically Russified as to be listed as a South Russian dialect in the new linguistic atlases of the U.S.S.R.³⁵

But even if the descendants of the Smolensk Krivichians had opted for the Belorussian nationality, this would still have been irrelevant from our perspective, since they could not in any case have been viewed as the nuclear Belorussian ethnos, and thus their possible Christianization in 1013 A.D. would not be admissible as "national" Belorussian history³⁶ any more than the putative Christianization of Galicia in 872 A.D. or of Transcarpathia in 867 A.D. is admissible as "national" Ukrainian history.

Let us turn now to the Russians. Their development as the largest Slavic nation is the result of a rather complicated and sometimes bloody and violent process. They are clearly in large part descendants of many ethna that were part of Volodymyr's empire; specifically, of the Novgorod and Pskov Slavs, the Volga and Smolensk Krivichians, the Finnic populations of Rostov-Suzdal', and the Ryazan' Viaticians. They also descend from ethna that were never in any sense a part of Volodymyr's dominions, viz., the Oka Viaticians, and the Moscow Galindians. *And it is precisely the last-named people that became the nuclear ethnos around which the modern Russian nation arose.* Since this is not generally known, and where known not openly discussed, it is well worth considering at greater length.

The role of eastern Baltic elements in the ethnography of Eastern Slavdom has only slowly come to be recognized, especially in the U.S.S.R. It is now quite clear, thanks to the work of language historians and archaeologists such as Toporov and Trubachov,³⁷ Gimbutas,³⁸ Sedov,³⁹ Tretiakov,⁴⁰ and others,⁴¹ that as late as the second half of the first millenium A.D. and into the first centuries of the second millenium, vast expanses of the European U.S.S.R. were inhabited by tribal groups closely related in culture and speech to the Letts and Lithuanians. These groups were progressively Slavicized beginning from about 500 A.D. But the

35. K.F. Sakharova, V.G. Orlova, *Dialektnoe chtenie russkogo iazika* (Dialectal Readings in the Russian Tongue) (Moskva, izd. Prosveshchenie, 1970), pp. 32ff. and added map n. 2.

36. Neither, incidentally, would it be admissible today as "national" Russian history.

37. *Lingvisticheskii analiz gidronimov verkhnego podneprov'ia* (Linguistic Analysis of the Upper Dnipro's Hydronyms) (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1962).

38. *The Balts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963).

39. Of his many articles on this issue, some of the most noteworthy are: "Sledi vostochnobaltiiskogo pogrebal'nogo obriada v kurganakh drevnei Rusi" (Traces of the East Baltic Burial Rite in the Barrows of Old Rus'), SA 1961, n. 2, pp. 103-121; "Ryazan'sko-Okskie mogilniki" (The Ryazan-Oka Tombs), SA 1966, n. 4, pp. 86-104; "Ieshche raz o vklade Baltov v kulturu vostochnikh slavian" (Once More On the Baltic Contribution of the East Slavs), SA 1973, n. 3, pp. 73-82. The discussions in *Sovetskaiia Etnografiia* during 1967-1969 might also be profitably consulted.

40. "Ob istokakh kul'tury Romensko-Borshevskoi drevnerusskoi gruppirovki" (On the Sources of the Culture of the Romen-Borshev Old Rus' Group), SA 1969, n. 4, pp. 78-90.

41. E.g., I.G. Rozenfeldt in SA 1972, n. 4, pp. 42ff., and various contributions by T.N. Nikolskaya. The list is far from exhaustive.

process of Slavicization was slow, and in some cases very slow indeed, depending on the numbers of Slavic arrivals and on the reaction of local Balts to this influx. It was quite difficult for investigators to decide which of the newly forming ethna preponderantly spoke Slavic rather than Baltic prior to the formation of the Rus' Empire. The current view is that, although the Baltic was not quite squeezed out west of the upper Dnipro, the dominant speech fairly soon came to be a form of Slavic. East of the Dnipro, among the Radimichians, the Viaticians and others, Baltic appears to have held out much longer.⁴²

The Galindians (called Golyad' in the Rus'-Polonian chronicles) were the easternmost of the Eastern Balts. They inhabited the remote and inaccessible forests to the north of the Oka, specifically the basins of the rivers Ugra, Protva, Moskva, Pakhra, Nara, and Lopasna, among others. Archaeologically, they were indistinguishable from the Viaticians of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries,⁴³ and it is only careful examination of the chronicles' documentation that assures us that we have indeed to do with discreet, if very closely related, populations.

To our knowledge, no Russian historian, linguist, or archaeologist is prepared to *consistently* make the distinction or to honestly maintain it. Sedov, for instance, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly argued as if the land of the Galindians was an unclassifiable archaeological chameleon throughout the eighth to twelfth centuries.⁴⁴ Artsikhovskii, whose study of "Viatician" barrows remains a standard classic of Soviet research literature, had even earlier provided a curious illustration of this conflict between patriotic and scientific sensibilities. His excavations in the basin of the river Protva (the seat of the Galindians, according to Sedov) proved conclusively that the population in residence during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries was "archaeologically speaking" identical to the population of the Moscow and Pakhra river basins. He decided to call all of these peoples "Viaticians" because the *Povest' Vremennikh Let* said

42. O.S. Stryzhak, ed., *Hidronimia Ukrainy v ii mizhmovnykh i mizhdialektnykh zviazkakh* (The Hydronymia of Ukraine in its Linguistic and Dialect Relationships) (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1981), p. 80.

43. A.V. Artsikhovskii, *Kurgani Viatichei* (Moskva: Ranion, 1930), *passim*, but esp. pp. 117, 118, 128, 182-183. T.N. Nikolskaya, "Selskie poselenia zemli Viatichei" (Rural Settlements in the Land of the Viaticians), *KS* 1977, n. 150, pp. 3-10. "Cultural" fusion was probably the outcome of these *ethna's* tight anti-Kievan political alliance during the period c. 980-1140 A. D.

44. A vicious circle was in fact adumbrated here. Sedov claimed that the Galindians had no barrow burials or identifiable settlements in the eighth to twelfth centuries. Therefore, the Protva barrows of the twelfth century could not, it seems, be Galindian, a point he partly contradicted in 1973: cf. his "Rannie kurgani Viatichei" (Early Viatician Barrows), pp. 11-12, 16 (cited in full *infra* note 52). This, at least with regards to the problem of settlements, was in sharp conflict with the conclusions advanced by Nikolskaya in 1977: cf. her account of the Benitzi (Protva basin) excavations carried out by Uspenskaya in 1960-1962 (*art. cit.*, *supra*, note 43; pp. 4, 7 (drawing 3). The settlement of Benitzi existed *from the tenth century*; it must therefore have been Galindian. Cf. Sedov's comment cited *infra* note 52.) The problem is that Nikolskaya insisted on calling the population in question "Viaticii", ignoring the unambiguous declaration of written medieval sources we shall quote. (See footnotes 47-49 below).

that the Viatichians lived "along the Oka" of which the Protva and Moskva were tributary streams.⁴⁵ He then cited all the available chronicle materials about the Viatichians and used these to reconstruct the history of the archaeological population to the north of the Oka.⁴⁶ One passage, however, Artsikhovskii *deliberately omitted*. It is found in the Hypatian Chronicle under the year 1147 and states that Prince Sviatoslav of Chernihiv made war on the people inhabiting the basin of the Protva river, a people known as the Golyad'.⁴⁷ Artsikhovskii had to omit this passage because it completely destroyed his hypothesis linking the archaeological population north of the Oka with the Viatichians of the chronicles. As a matter of fact, twelfth century chronicles used the word "Viatichi" *exclusively* with respect to subject populations settled in the central and northern sections of the Chernihiv principality,⁴⁸ while later mediaeval chronicles⁴⁹ identified the Viatichians with the people of the Ryazan' state. Not one chronicle, not a single passage may be found anywhere to bolster the suggestion that the population in residence north of the Oka was ever known as "Viatichian." The only argument in favour of this view is the great similarity in material culture between the Viatichi of the South and their northern neighbours. This is clearly not enough. There are famous instances of a material culture being shared by different ethna, e.g., the Cherniakhiv culture of the second to sixth centuries⁵⁰ and the Saltov/Maiaki culture of the eighth to tenth centuries.⁵¹ The so-called "Viatichian" material culture should be placed in the same category. The testimony of the chronicles is brief, but it is decisive and irrefutable. "Along the Oka" and to the South lived the Viatichians. North of the Oka, the Galindians.⁵²

45. A.V. Artsikhovskii, *op.cit.*, pp. 110-111, 123ff.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 151ff.

47. PSRL, II, col. 339: . . . shed Sviatoslav i vzia liudi Goliad' verkh Porotve i tako opolonishasia družina Sviatoslavlia i prislav Giurgii reche pridi ko mni brate v Moskov. (Sviatoslav went forth and captured Galindians north of the Protva and thus did his army take prisoners; and George sent [a message] to him saying 'come to me, brother, in Moscow'). (This is the famous "earliest mention of Moscow in the chronicles.")

48. Sedov admitted as much in 1973 ("Rannie kurgani . . ." p. 16): *absoliutnoe bol'shinstvo gorodov Viaticheskoi semli upominaiemikh letopisiami u 12 v. raspolozheno v oblasti rannikh kurganov Viatichei*. (The absolute majority of forts in the Viatichian land mentioned in twelfth century chronicles may be found in the area of early Viatichian barrows.), i.e., on the upper Oka, *south of the Ugra*.

49. A.V. Artsikhovskii, *op.cit.*, p. 125. V.V. Sedov, "Rannie kurgani . . .", p. 10; A.L. Mongait, *Riazanskaia Zemlia* (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1961), p. 128.

50. Cf. the evidence adduced in B.V. Mahomedov, "Kulturno-etnicheskie komponenti Cherniakhovskogo naselenia severo-zapadnogo prichernomoria po dannim pogrebalnogo obriada" (The Cultural and Ethnic Components of the Chernyakhov Population in the Area of the North West Black Sea Coast According to Burial Rite Data), in V.D. Baran *et al.*, eds., *op.cit.* in note 14, pp. 67-74. An even more radical position may be found in M.I. Artamonov, *Istoriia Khazar* (Leningrad, izd. Gos. Ermitazha, 1962), pp. 46-49.

51. M. Braichevskii, *Pokhodzenia Rusy* (The Origin of Rus') (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1968), pp. 170-171.

52. Sedov is ready to concede this for an earlier time period. Cf. "Rannie kurgani . . ." p. 16 (last paragraph): *Vse viaticheskije kurgani VIII/X vv. sosredotočeni v basseine verkhnei*

The Galindians, as already mentioned, were never a part of the Kievan realm in the period of its classic power. They were not even tributaries. The only mention of them extant in the *Povesť Vremennikh Let* is under the year 1058, viz.: "Iziaslav defeated the Golyad'."⁵³ Archaeologists have demonstrated that massive Krivichian colonization of the lands south of the upper Volga and north/northwest of the Moscow river began approximately from that time.⁵⁴ We may legitimately conclude that the purpose of Iziaslav's expedition was to remove the Galindian threat from the area connecting the lands of Novgorod to those of Rostov-Suzdal', and that the expedition was successful.

The town of Moscow appears to have been founded in the Galindian heartland astride the Moskva very shortly thereafter,⁵⁵ and there are no indications in either chronicles or legends that it was at that time a Rus'-Polianian princely foundation. It was obviously the seat of local Galindian dynasts. When Nestor was putting the finishing touches to his master work (c. 1115-1116), the Moscow Galindians were still very much independent,⁵⁶ as were their Viatician neighbours to the South. By the year 1147 this was no longer the case. Unfortunately, a hiatus in Kievan chronicle-editing of some thirty-odd years subsequent to the publication of Sylvester's revision of Nestor's work c. 1116-1117 makes it impossible to know exactly how this happened.⁵⁷ Our best guess is that the event occurred not too long before 1147, in conjunction with Northern Rus' units' activist empire-building. In any case, from 1147 A.D. the Moscovites appear in extant texts as Suzdal'ian tributaries.⁵⁸ There exists, however, no

Oki. Bolee severnie oblasti viaticeskogo areala v eto vremia po vidimomu bili zaniati Golyadu. (All Viatician barrows of the eighth to tenth centuries are concentrated in the basin of the upper Oka. The more northerly territories of the Viatician area were at that time apparently occupied by the Galindians.) Sedov is incapable of satisfactorily explaining why they should no longer be considered as occupied by the Galindians in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. His vague reference to "Slavic colonization" (osvoeniia) can be dismissed outright as idle and unsubstantiated speculation, especially since they contradict his very own unretracted and correct view that Galindians-Golyad' were settled in the Protva basin in the twelfth century: cf. the 1961 article cited in note 39, p. 121. Recent hydronymic studies confirm the existence of this important ethnic boundary on the middle Oka. Cf. G.P. Smolitskaya, "Kartografirovaniie gidronimii Poochia" (Cartography of the Oka Basin's Hydronymy), in E.M. Pospelov, ed., *Toponimia tsentralnoi Rossii* (Toponymy of Central Russia), (Voprosi Geografi, n. 94) (Moskva, 1974), pp. 59-69, esp. 61, 62, 64. O. Kupchynskyi has pointed out the near total absence of early Slavic toponyms in the lands of historical Galindia: cf. *op.cit.* in note 5, pp. 122, 141, 203.

53. PSRL, II, col. 151: Pobidi Iziaslav Goliad'.

54. E.I. Goriunova, *Etnicheskaia Istoriia Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurechia* (The Ethnic History of the Volga-Oka Basin) (Moskva: Akademia Nauk SSSR, 1961), esp. pp. 205ff.

55. M.G. Rabinovich, *O drevnei Moskve* (Concerning Ancient Moscow) (Moskva: Nauka, 1964), pp. 18ff. A.G. Veksler, "K voprosu o dreveishei dati Moskovskogo Kremliia" (The Question of the Moscow Kremlin's Earliest Dating), SA 1963, n. 1, pp. 110-115.

56. They shortly came to be called "the Moskvliani": cf. PSRL, II, col. 601.

57. There is evidence of extensive and selective rewriting under years 1123, 1127, etc. by the chroniclers of Iziaslav Mstislavich (1146-1154).

58. Cf. *supra* n. 47. The Protva Galindians are noted as Smolensk tributaries in 1136 A.D. Cf. T.N. Nikolskaya, *art.cit.* in n. 43, pp. 4, 9 (note 7).

evidence in the chronicles of active administrative interference into their internal affairs, and, until the late thirteenth century, this apparently continued to be the rule.⁵⁹ At that time, the Moscovites acquired a permanent princely dynasty in the person of Daniel, the youngest son of Alexander Nevsky, and from thence forward their history is copiously documented.

Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, Moscow as an urban centre grew very slowly, thanks exclusively to its own reproductive dynamics and to the population migrating from nearby villages.⁶⁰ The ethnic base established in this early period was strong enough, we are told by Rabinovich, to successfully absorb and assimilate the new groups that began to converge upon the city as its political fortunes improved (i.e., from approximately the 1330s).⁶¹ Another researcher, Kargalov, has established that most of the Suzdal'ians who fled their lands during the great Tartar raids of the 1280s and 1290s moved north and northwest, and that only a trickle of them sought the security of the Moscow forests.⁶² By all reliable indicators then, it is upon their own long-established and quite numerous ethnic base that the Moscow Galindians began their spectacularly successful march into world history.⁶³

59. Cf. *supra* p. 16, sentence preceding footnote 27; Moscow was in much the same situation vis-à-vis Rostov/Suzdal'/Volodymyr from c. 1147 to c. 1280. M Braichevskiy has characterized the Galindians of the ninth to thirteenth centuries as an insignificant tribal group that played no noticeable role in the history of Eastern Europe (*Pokhodzhenia Rusy*, p. 195).

60. M.G. Rabinovich, "Ob etnicheskom sostave pervonachalnogo naselenia Moskvi" (The Ethnic Structure of Moscow's Earliest Population), *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, 1962, n. 2, pp. 58-71.

61. M.G. Rabinovich, *O drevnei Moskve* (Concerning Ancient Moscow), pp. 70-81, 319. M.N. Tikhomirov, *Srednevekovaiia Moskva v XIV-XV vekakh* (Mediaeval Moscow in the XIV-XV Centuries) (Moskva, izd. Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1957), pp. 29-31.

62. *Feodalnaia Rus' i Kochevniki* (Feudal Rus' and the Nomads) (Moskva: Nauka, 1967), pp. 193ff. Cf. esp. the map on p. 194.

63. Archaeology has shown that the Moscovian heartland had about five times the population of the Krivichian areas of Vologda and Dmitrov to the immediate north. Cf. E.I. Goriunova, *op.cit.*, p. 214, and esp. the added map n. 4 (eleventh to thirteenth centuries).

One additional general comment: far from having together constituted the mythical mediaeval "Old Russian people" of official Soviet propaganda, the contemporary East Slavic nations reached maturity as ethnic collectivities at widely differing time periods: the Ukrainians in the tenth to twelfth centuries; the Belorussians in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries; the Russians in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Soviet anthropologists are forced to admit that only the Ukrainians may claim preponderant biological descent from groups that were thoroughly Slavic at the time of Volodymyr. The formation and emergence of Belorussians and Russians as Slavic nations was considerably delayed (in comparison to the Ukrainians) by the presence on their eventual ethnographic territories of massive Baltic and Finnic populations requiring cultural assimilation. (Cf. L.V. Alexeiev, *Polotskaia Zemlia*, pp. 32-33, 60-61; V.P. Alexeiev, *Proiskhozhdenie narodov vostochnoi Evropy* (The Origin of the Peoples of Eastern Europe) (Moskva: Nauka, 1969), pp. 198-208; T.I. Alexeieva, "Etnogenez vostochnikh slavyan po dannim antropologii" (Ethnogenesis of the East Slavs According to Anthropological Data), *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, 1971, n. 2, pp. 48-59).

The supreme irony in this admission is that even if a Slavic "Old Russian people" had existed in the tenth to thirteenth centuries (which it most emphatically did not), the bulk of today's

If, as seems undeniable, the Moscovites were the core ethnos of today's Russians, if they were never a part of Volodymyr's realm, if, as we shall shortly see, they were for the most part not even Christians or at all interested in Christianity until well on into the thirteenth century, it is difficult to see on what foundation or pretext Russians should be involved in a celebration of Volodymyr's conversion anniversary.

True, the Novgorodians, albeit with some reluctance, submitted to Christianity in Volodymyr's time (as the famous phrase has it: "Dobrynia and Putiata christened [them] with fire and sword"). But the Novgorodians are an adjunct Russian ethnos, brutally incorporated into Russia in the late fifteenth century, systematically despoiled, persecuted, deported, and eventually assimilated after a maniacal exercise in genocide perpetrated by Ivan IV in 1570. Moralizings aside, we do have records of their history, when they still existed as a free and distinct people.⁶⁴ As such, they are no more. Their history, as recounted in extant chronicles, is not Russian history, and can never be Russian history, for the reason already stated, viz., that the historical experience of an adjunct ethnos can only be integrated into a "national history" on terms that do not radically conflict with the ethos and movement of the latter. This cannot be done with Novgorodian history by the Russians, any more than it could be done with Pecheneg or Polovtsian history by the Ukrainians. Novgorodian Christianity is a fact, and it is interesting, but it is no more a dominant fact of Russian history than Galician, Transcarpathian, or Crimean Christianity is a dominant fact of Ukrainian history, or mediaeval Polotsk Christianity of Belorussian history.

The same point holds with respect to Suzdal'ia. Actually, little stress needs to be put on this. Suzdal'ia was predominantly and aggressively pagan until the beginning of the twelfth century.⁶⁵ But even if the inventions of Moscovite historiography were true, and Volodymyr the Great had paraded through the land in the 990s, with all his bishops, in a quick Christian conversion exercise,⁶⁶ this would not be sufficient to legitimize Russian claims to the 1988 millennium. For the Suzdal'ians, no less than the Novgorodians, are an adjunct ethnos, conquered and absorbed by the Moscovians in a series of political and military moves from 1393 through 1453. Their culture, their tradition, their language even,⁶⁷ were quite

Russians would not be its biological heirs. But of course, anthropological science is one thing, and the infallible "scientific communism" of the CPSU quite another. . . .

64. The separate and independent nature of the mediaeval Novgorodian language has been strongly underlined in K.V. Gorshkova, *Ocherki istoricheskoi dialektologii Severnoi Rusi* (Outlines of the Historical Dialectology of North Rus) (Moskva, izd. Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1968), p. 181.

65. PSRL, II, col. 8, and materials under years 1024, 1071, (*ibid.*, cols. 135, 164ff.).

66. PSRL, IX (Moskva: Nauka, 1965), p. 64.

67. *Istoriia Moskvi*, vol. I (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1952), p. 23. N.N. Durnovo, *Vvedenie v istoriu russkogo iazika* (Introduction to the History of the Russian Language) (Moskva: Nauka, 1969), p. 169. Cf. also the collective work *Obrazovanie severnorusskogo*

different from the culture, tradition, and language of the Moscovites. It is true that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Moscovites made much use of the Suzdal'ian literary forms, so much better developed than their own.⁶⁸ This did not last, and from the early sixteenth century, Suzdal'ian was reduced to the status of a dialect, which it has remained until our time. The emergence of Moscow speech as Russia's national language is an obscure matter, on which Russian linguists are split and Russian historians uneasy.⁶⁹ There is solid evidence that the so-called "akannia" was part of Moscow speech much sooner than some linguists are willing to admit. Avanesov's suggestion (echoing that of Durnovo) that Moscow speech is in fact a late jargon (we do not use the term pejoratively), constituted long after the typical traits of today's "North" and "South" Russian dialects had developed, is quite fruitful.⁷⁰ This hypothesis would coincide well with the historical and economic position of the Moscow Galindians on the main trade routes linking "North speech" Novgorod and Rostov to "South speech" Kolomna and Ryazan', and the creation of a local mixed trade *lingua* that eventually displaced the old Baltic speech. Be that as it may, and since we have no intention of over-focusing on the linguistic or political history of the nuclear Russians, perhaps a few additional comments on what is known of their religious history might be in order:

In lands far removed from the Kievan centre, for instance among the Viaticians, pagan funeral pyres still burned throughout the eleventh century, and Kievan missionaries were massacred by the population . . . [there was] organized opposition to Christianity. The presence of a non-Slavic Baltic or Finno-Ugrian element played a significant role here. For people with no knowledge of Rus' speech, Christianization was difficult; furthermore their familiar paganism appeared a significant guarantee of tribal independence.⁷¹

narechia i srednerusskikh govorov (The Formation of the North Russian Dialect and of the Central Russian Speeches) (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1970), p. 237.

68. K.V. Gorshkova, *op.cit.*, pp. 23, 124, 181.

69. Gorshkova and the 1970 collective insisted that the "akannia" was a late development, under the influence of South Russian dialects from Ryazan' and Kolomna, which did not make itself felt until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Durnovo and Avanesov were categorical in their insistence that "akannia" was in place much earlier, and the evidence of the Siisk Gospel (1339 A.D.) strongly supported them. Tikhomirov, Rabinovich, and Mongait favoured an earlier date for the original Moscow speech, but were cautious in their attacks on the linguists. For Avanesov's position, cf. his "Voprosi istorii russkogo iazika v epokhu formirovannia i dalneishogo razvitia russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti" (The Question of the History of the Russian Language in the Period of the Formation and Further Development of the Russian [Great Russian] People), in N.M. Druzhinin, L.V. Cherepnin, eds., *Voprosi formirovania russkoi narodnosti i natsii* (Questions on the Formation of the Russian People and Nation) (Moskva-Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1958), pp. 155-191, esp. 184ff.

70. R.I. Avanesov, *Ocherki russkoi dialektologii* (Outlines of Russian Dialectology), part I, Moskva, Gos. ucheb-pedagog. izd., 1949, pp. 37, 231. By 1958, his position had shifted: cf. *op.cit.* in note 69, pp. 184, 188.

71. B.A. Ribakov, *op.cit.*, in note 21, p. 22. Cf. also M.N. Tikhomirov, "The Origins of Christianity in Russia," *History* XLIV (1959), pp. 200, 208-209.

Much of this holds for the Galindians, although there is no record of their having assassinated any Kievan missionaries. From the twelfth century, numerous barrows appear in the Moscow basin, attesting to a change in Galindian burial rites, possibly a concession to their new political status as tributaries of Christian rulers. These barrows have been excavated by Artsikhovskii and others.⁷² In a recent article, Belenkaya has made an interesting attempt to judge the influence of Christian ideas amongst the Moscovite population on the basis of religious items discovered in barrows dated 1150-1250 A.D.⁷³ Comparing her study to the ethnic and population distribution along the Krivichian-Galindian border in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, we have found that almost 25 per cent of the Krivichian barrows contained Christian items, whereas only some 5 per cent of the Galindian barrows did likewise.⁷⁴ All in all, this testifies to a significantly slower diffusion of Christian ideas among the much more numerous and compactly settled Galindians than among their northern neighbours. It is difficult not to agree with Belenkaya's assessment:

The small number of twelfth to thirteenth century burials with Christian symbols (of about one thousand investigated *kurgans* in the Moscow region, only thirty-six contain crosses or small icons) proves without any doubt *not* that the rural population of Moscovia had been massively Christianized . . . but that rather we are witnessing early and undeveloped contacts with a new religion.⁷⁵

There is no sign of any significant breakthrough until the very late thirteenth century, but then it is explosive and dramatically comprehensive.

A similar situation seems to have prevailed in the major urban centre, Moscow. The cultural layers of the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries have been irremediably destroyed in the area of the oldest settlement in the Kremlin.⁷⁶ There is hence no way of archaeologically verifying a chronicle report of the year 1461 that asserts that a wooden church of The Birth of St. John the Baptist once stood there, that it was the oldest church in Moscow, and was even the Cathedral church under Metropolitan Peter (1308-

72. T.N. Nikolskaya, *Kultura plemen basseina verkhnei Oki v I tysiacheletii* (The Culture of the Tribes of the Upper Oka Basin in the First Millennium A.D.) (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1959); *id.*, "Drevnerusskii Serensk — gorod viaticeskikh remeslennikov" (The Old Russian Serensk — City of Viatician Artisans), KS 1971, n. 125, pp. 73-81; V.V. Sedov, *Selskie poselenia tsentralnykh raionov Smolenskoï Zemli* (Rural Settlements of the Smolensk Land's Central Regions) (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1969), esp. pp. 92-119; A.A. Yushko, "Pokrovskie i Strelkovskie Kurgani" (The Pokrov and Strelkovo Barrows), SA 1972, n. 1, pp. 185-199; *id.*, "Istoricheskaia geografiia Moskovskoi zemli" (Historical Geography of the Land of Moscow), KS 1976, n. 146, pp. 71-75; *id.*, "Arkheologicheski pamiatniki basseina r. Pakhra" (Archaeological Finds in the Pakhra River Basin), KS 1980, n. 160, pp. 82-87.

73. D.A. Belenkaya, "Kresti i ikonki iz kurganov podmoskovia" (Crosses and Icons From the Moscow Area Barrows), SA 1976, n. 4, pp. 88-99.

74. E.I. Goriunova, *op.cit.*, added map n. 4. Compare Belenkaya's map in her article, p. 92.

75. Belenkaya, *art.cit.*, p. 96.

76. M.G. Rabinovich, *O drevnei Moskve*, p. 66. Cf. also pp. 16-18.

1326).⁷⁷ There is no sense in speculating about this church, and the chronicle says nothing about the founder.

Recent diggings in a more central part of the Kremlin have apparently disproved the long-established notion that the Cathedral of the Assumption (built in 1326-1327) was the first stone church in Moscow.⁷⁸ Older stone foundations were unearthed, which Shelyapina believed were those of the church of St. Demetrius, where the second sovereign prince of Moscow, Yuri Danilovich, was reported to have been buried in 1326.⁷⁹

An even more fascinating discovery was made by the same group of archaeologists. Apparently, this old stone structure (the putative St. Demetrius has been tentatively dated c. 1285-1300)⁸⁰ was partly erected on the grounds of an even older cemetery. From this cemetery many interesting stone plaques have been exposed, all dating from the early thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries.⁸¹ Shelyapina has proposed the risky hypothesis that this cemetery was located next to, and associated with, an alleged predecessor wooden church of St. Demetrius, which was consecrated in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century by the Suzdalian authorities.⁸² There are two major problems with this theory.

The first is that Moscow experienced two utterly devastating fires in its early history — in 1177 when Prince Gleb of Ryazan' razed the city, and again in January 1238 when Batu Khan's Tartars did the same. Now, in all areas where diggings had been conducted, traces of these fires were always clearly discernible. The area adjoining the old cemetery in the other direction was no different. Yet nothing at all, in spite of extensive efforts, was found in the acreage where the predecessor church of St. Demetrius is supposed to have existed. There was seemingly nothing to burn.

The second problem is that the symbolism of the stone burial plaque has nothing Christian about it. It is very reminiscent of the zigzag and wolf-tooth ornamentation of rural Galindian barrows, and the arrangements engraved on the plaques are without any shadow of a doubt intended to convey a sense of sun-worshipping magic, more or less emphasized depending on the individual plaques.⁸³ The impression is very vivid that what we have here is a pagan burial ground, still actively functioning in the centre of the Kremlin around the year 1300 A.D.

77. PSRL, XI, Moscow, 1965, p. 114. Other indicators suggest "Spas-na Boru" as Moscow's earliest Cathedral church. Cf. M.N. Tikhomirov, *Srednevekovaia Moskva*, p. 20.

78. N.S. Shelyapina, "K istorii izucheniia Uspenskogo sobora Moskovskogo kremliia" (Pertaining to the History of the Moscow Kremlin's Assumption Cathedral Studies), SA 1972, n. 1, pp. 200-214.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 208.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 204. Cf. also N.S. Shelyapina, "Arkheologicheskie nabliudeniia v Moskovskom kremle v 1963-1965 g." (Archaeological Finds in the Moscow Kremlin During 1963-1965), in N.N. Voronin and M.G. Rabinovich, eds., *Drevnosti Moskovskogo Kremliia* (Moskva: Nauka, 1971), pp. 144-146.

82. SA 1972, n. 1, pp. 208-209.

83. Cf. Shelyapina's reproductions in *Drevnosti*, p. 148, drawing 26.

We draw no conclusions beyond this statement of fact. We do, however, know more or less reliably, that the first ecclesiastical stone structure of *any kind* in the greater Moscow area was Daniel's monastery, founded c. 1282 a few kilometres south of the city, where that prince was buried in 1303.⁸⁴ It is possible that the so-called stone church of St. Demetrius was also a monastery, and that its foundation was somehow associated with an otherwise unrecorded struggle against powerful remnants of paganism that were backed by strong cliques of local boyars. We do not think it is entirely accidental that a full cycle of Moscow foundation legends link the "demise of Kuchko" episode not with Yurii Dolgorukii (d. 1157), but with Daniel Alexandrovich.⁸⁵ Whatever and whoever the original Kuchko may have been, he evidently came to stand for the dispossessed local dynasts.

A careful analysis of the Moscow foundation legends just possibly might yield fruitful results. On the whole, these seventeenth century stories represent an unholy mixture of creative popular fantasies and remembrances, with more than a touch of subsequent literary editorializing by unknown hands. Yet, here and there, one finds strangely suggestive tones or comments. Thus: four of the ten major versions of the Moscow legend introduce chronicle-style dates, the authenticity of which can neither be convincingly confirmed nor convincingly denied. As Salmina muses, "It is difficult to say what these dates mean. They are not found in the chronicles. . . ."⁸⁶ The first date is March 17, 1289. On that day Prince Andrew or Prince Daniel (depending on the version) is supposed to have annihilated the entire Kuchko clan in battle.⁸⁷ The victorious prince immediately built a wooden church of the Annunciation, and many other churches over the next two years.

The second date is July 27, 1291. On that day the prince, in some unspecified manner, completed nothing less than the "foundation of Moscow."⁸⁸ Other versions of the legend contend that Prince Daniel ruled in Moscow for twelve years, until his death in 1303.⁸⁹ The "historical" chronicles, on the other hand, assign to that ruler a span of dominion of no less than twenty-one years. The difference is significant and again underlines the mysterious meaningfulness of the year 1291. One version adds that Daniel's chief internal activity during those twelve years consisted in "strengthening the Christian faith" (*Utverzhaia Veru Khristovu*).⁹⁰

84. M.N. Tikhomirov, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

85. For the various "Kuchko legends", cf. M.A. Salmina, ed., *Povesti o nachale Moskvi* (Tales of Moscow's Beginning) (Moskva-Leningrad: Nauka, 1964). During a brief period of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, "Kuchkov" or "Kuchkovo" seems to have been a popular parallel name for Moscow: cf. e.g., PSRL, II, col. 600 (Year 1176, but transcribed and perhaps corrected in the thirteenth or fourteenth century): *idosha s nim do Kuchkova, rekshe do Moskvi* (went with him to Kuchkov, rather to Moscow).

86. *Op.cit.*, pp. 89-90.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 224, 239, 244.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 226, 240, 244.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 192.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Suffice it to say, then, that the real history of Moscovite Christianity is still to be written. That history will have nothing to do with Volodymyr the Great and his Christianization of Central Ukraine in 988 A.D. But it nevertheless promises to be highly interesting. After all, even if the Russian Christian millennium is still centuries away, there is something remarkable about the speed, extent, direction, and intensity of the Christian breakthrough in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century Russia-Muscovy. Surely a proper scholarly focus on this fascinating phenomenon would be a more worthwhile endeavour for patriotic Russians than the political appropriation of another people's anniversary.

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Appendix

It is generally not known or appreciated that from c. 943 to c. 978 A.D. the central government of the Kievan Empire officially recognized two state religions, viz., Christianity and Perunism (cf. PSRL, cols. 35-42). Olha (945-969) was a Christian, yet necessarily tolerant of Perunism. Sviatoslav (945-972) was a Perunist, yet necessarily tolerant of Christianity. It is probably this situation that Adalbert, the first Latin-rite bishop of Kiev (and the future archbishop of Magdeburg) was unable to accept, whence his unfortunate but inevitable expulsion in 962 A.D. (Cf. Thietmar's Chronicle as cited in note 15, *supra*, p. 64). Volodymyr upset the balance in 978 by cancelling the equal status of Christianity, but re-established this religion ten years later as the *exclusive* official rite of the core of his realm.

The significance of Perunism had been considerably enhanced in Kiev c. 943 A.D. when the Rus' Kagan Ihor chose this city (heretofore a commercial capital) to be the political and administrative centre of his dominions and established his permanent residence there. In the treaty negotiated with Byzantium c. 911 A.D., only Perunism had been emphasized as a state religion of the Rus' Empire (PSRL, II, cols. 23-28) largely because it was the faith of a very mobile sovereign, Oleh, who spoke as the guarantor of the good-will and reliability of *all his associate vassals* (the "great princes" who ruled "Rus' grads" such as Kiev, Chernihiv, Rostov, etc. "under his hand"). Now, most of these "great princes" were local dynasts of Slavic, Baltic, or Finnish background, who participated in Oleh's vast commercial and military enterprise (called Rus' after its leading Norse component) not as submissive underlings, but as confederates (Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls them *paktiotai*; cf. F. Dvornik, *op.cit.* in note 10, p. 64; *pace* Dujcev and Obolensky, the term does not necessarily mean tributary subjects in the strongest sense) who shared fully in the taxes extracted from the mass of the population, in the booty of war expeditions, and in the profits of regular commercial exchanges with neighbouring countries. The limitation on their internal sovereignty appears to have been minimal. It did not include assimilation to the religious beliefs professed by the sovereign Grand Prince of the Rus'. This obviously puts the question of Christianity's official status in an entirely different perspective. A religion (including Christianity) could have a status within a confederated polity that it did not necessarily possess in the leading political organization.

There is little doubt in our minds that this was exactly the situation prevailing in Kievan "Poliania" (this may be deduced from careful in-context analysis of some cryptic statements in the *Povesi' Vremennikh Let*: PSRL, II, cols. 15, 42). When Ihor arrived in Kiev with his retinue c. 943 A.D., he found that the preferred religion of local ruling circles was Christianity. The subsequent official state bi-ritualism of c. 943-978 was

the result of a necessitated political accomodation on his part. The fascinating question now arises: how long prior to 943 A.D. had Christianity been thriving in Kiev?

There is as yet no firm evidence for the Christianity of Askold and Dyr, although the possibility has been raised from time to time and should not be lightly dismissed. A solution to the problem would require an exhaustive review of the highly complicated power realities existing in the Dnipro basin in the mid-ninth century, and this cannot be undertaken here. In any event, what matters is not so much the governorship of these "Variags" (a subject that is in many ways still surrounded by tantalizing obscurities), but the religious orientation of the political class without whose consent no individual or individuals could have ruled Kiev, viz., the Polianian aristocracy. It is that aristocracy (the "clan of Kyi" mentioned under Year 862) that accepted Askold and Dyr, and it is the same aristocracy that later repudiated them, preferring instead to participate in Oleh's version of the Rus' system. (This is easily inferred from a study of PSRL, II, Yr. 882, where not a single word is written about Oleh having to *fight* for the control of Kiev subsequent to his murder of Askold and Dyr. The real issue, then, may be formulated as follows: what do we know of the Polianian aristocrats' developing commitment to Christianity?

It is unfortunate that the *Povest' Vremennikh Let*, in spite of its pronounced "Polianophilia", should have been so reticent concerning Christian beginnings in the land. Much of this is attributable to the ideological attitudes of its later compilers, intent, as we hope to show elsewhere, to de-emphasize significantly Kiev's "Byzantine-Constantinopolitan connection." Enough indicators have nevertheless survived to enable us to hazard a plausible hypothesis.

Kiev's Cathedral church ("sbornaya tserkvi" — cf. PSRL, II, col. 42) in 945 A.D. was that of St. Elias (Ilia). This was a name far better known in Greek and Eastern Christianity than elsewhere. The architectural style of Kiev's earliest stone structures, the palaces of Ihor and Olha (built c. 943-945: cf. P.P. Tolochko, ed., *Novoe v arkheologii Kyiva* (New Facts in the Archaeology of Kyiv) (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1981), pp. 173ff.) was clearly Byzantine. These facts would by themselves point south rather than west for Kiev's Christian roots. On the other hand, the *Povest'* is adamant in proclaiming a strong link between the Cyrillo-Methodian ecclesiastical order and that of Rus'-Polianian Kiev. Quoting directly from the Pannonian *Life of Methodius*, the *Povest'* asserts that the Slavonic translations undertaken by Methodius and his disciples in Moravia c. 884 A.D. and before were meant not only for the Pannonian Slavs, the Czechs, the Moravians, and the Lyakhs, but also "for the Polianians who today are called the Rus'." This has sometimes been dismissed as mere confusion on the part of the *Povest'*'s editor, who is supposed to have misunderstood some document dealing with the Western Polianians (the core Poles) and applied its contents illegitimately to the Kievan Polianians. We do not accept this interpretation. Nestor (if he was the editor in question) knew that the Western Polianians were "Lyakhs" (indeed, he went out of his way

to point this out). Nor have the critics been able to identify the putative source of Nestor's "confusion". That being so, we must try to make some sense of the *Povest's* remark.

Clearly the critics' difficulty lies above all in a prejudiced circumscription of Methodian geography. It is felt that the Polianians on the Dnipro were too far removed from the centre of Methodius' activities in Moravia to have been genuinely affected by these during his lifetime (after all, the *Povest'* does not mention Slavic units much closer to Methodius's See as involved in immediately profiting from the new Slavic literature).

But this attitude conveniently forgets a cardinal point made in the *Life of Methodius* (Chapter XIII), viz., his visit to Constantinople in 881 A.D., his cordial and very constructive discussions with both the Emperor and the Patriarch (who happened to be none other than the famous Photius, the original patron of Constantine-Cyril), and the immediate establishment of a "Methodian centre" in the Byzantine capital for the propagation of Slavic Christianity (a centre, incidentally, to which many of Methodius' disciples fled after their brutal dismissal from Moravia in 885 and which may very well have been responsible for the emergence of a "new, improved" Slavic script, the *kyrylytsia*). Given Kiev's close trade links with Byzantium, it is more than probable that the early Methodian ties underlined by Nestor were largely filtered via that route, through Methodius' Constantinopolitan institution (cf. S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: Bell, 1930), pp. 124, 140-141; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970), pp. 171-174, 251-252). Furthermore, as new archaeological discoveries have made the thesis of direct Methodian influences from the west far more tenable than was previously thought possible, Kievan remoteness from Great Moravia's religious influence becomes itself an increasingly difficult hypothesis. (Cf. Marian Bendza, *Prawosławna Diecezja Przemska w latach 1596-1681* (Warsaw: Christian Theological Academy, 1982), pp. 26ff.

The analogy drawn by Nestor with other Slavic groups (Pannonians, Czechs, etc.) is instructive. He is telling us at least this: by c. 884 A.D., the Kiev Polianian upper classes were professors of the new religion. (On the vast Polianian hinterland, no information exists: its continuing majority adherence to paganism until Volodymyr's time is questionable.) And he is also telling us that no other autonomous unit of the Rus' system was at that time in a like situation. Reserving for another occasion a more precise study of the initial phases of Polianian Christianization, we can say with a good deal of certainty that the organized initiation of the process goes back to the later 860s. S. Pap was absolutely correct when he suggested that Volodymyr's conversion was not the first step, but one of the last in the history of Central Ukraine's adhesion to Christianity (cf. *op.cit.*, note 10, *supra*, pp. 197-199).

It is, of course, quite probable that the *Povest'* somewhat antedated the successes of Christian propaganda in Rus' Poliania and should therefore be understood less strictly, viz., that the Slavic language literature

produced by the Moravian archbishop Methodius and his disciples found its way to Kiev in and after 884 A.D. and prompted the perceptible growth of Christian consciousness among the people, which eventually resulted in Christian ideals becoming dominant within the local ruling classes — the “official” religion, if you will, of the Polianian aristocracy. The historic occurrence cannot as yet be firmly dated. But there is little doubt that it was a fact of life on the Kievan hills noticeably sooner than 943 A.D. Archaeologists have underlined the existence of an important group of Christian burials on the hill where Volodymyr later erected the beautiful Church of the Mother of God (*Desiatynna tserkva*: c. 989-996), burials whose topography implies the existence of an earlier shrine (cf. P.P. Tolochko, *Istorična topohrafiia starodavnoho Kyieva* (Historical Topography of Old Kiev) (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1970), pp. 63-64). The earliest grave has been dated as c. 892/907; the latest as c. 975/990. This clearly confirms the growing influence of Polianian upper class Christianity at the dawn of the tenth century.

The Emergence of the Idea of the Federalization of Nineteenth-Century Imperial Russia

This study explores the need to bring some order to the problem of the emergence of the idea of the federalization of nineteenth-century Imperial Russia. First, it addresses the question of the genesis and evolution of federalist thought and theories as they appeared in prerevolutionary Russia. Second, it reviews the political programs and movements that aimed at the federalization of the Russian Empire prior to the Revolution. Third, it analyses the contribution to the idea of federalist reconstruction of the Russian imperial complex made by Ukrainian intellectuals.

The Imperial Russian State and Autocracy

Modern Russian political evolution has been characterized by an unremitting drive for centralist integration of an imperial territory spread over two continents: Europe and Asia. Historically, all Russian rulers and political elites have been centralists. They believed firmly that federalism, with attendant decentralization and self-government, were not suitable for their multinational empire. This was clearly expressed by Prince A. Bezborodko in 1899 when he noted that

Russia is an autocratic state. Its size, the variety of its inhabitants and customs, and many other considerations make it the only natural form of government for Russia. All arguments to the contrary are futile, and the least weakening of the autocratic power would result in the loss of many provinces, the weakening of the state.¹

Such a *confession de foi* reflected the main pattern of thinking and conditioned the politics of Imperial Russian régimes; and it certainly continued to exercise a far-reaching influence on the development of Soviet "federalism" after the October Revolution of 1917.

There were only two possible exceptions to this course, and then only to a certain degree — during the reigns of Alexander I (1801-1825) and Alexander II (1856-1881). Subjected to both liberal and conservative influences, Alexander I regarded liberalization and decentralization with some favour and was even willing to assent to a "gradual and progressive federalization" of the Russian Empire.² He seemed aware of the ethnic and

1. Marc Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966), p. 70.

2. Georg von Rauch, *Russland: Staatliche Einheit und nationale Vielfalt: Foederalistische Kraefte und Ideen in der russischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1953), pp. 51-68.

regional diversities of the Empire. To meet this reality, he made several attempts at modest decentralization and granted unique constitutional status both to Poland and Finland. However, other "borderlands" were not even considered for such a privilege.

Alexander II was even less inclined to follow a path of "liberalization." In 1876, for example, he signed the so-called Ems Act or *Ukaz* (at the German resort Ems), which prohibited the printing and importation into the Russian Empire of books in the Ukrainian language.

Earlier in his reign, Alexander II had seemed inclined toward some measure of local self-government; in 1864, for example, he had created the *zemstva* — local self-governing bodies at provincial, county and municipal levels. This seemed to indicate some concession to the various regions and "borderlands" of the Empire. In truth, however, the *zemstva* remained in the hands of the generally centralist nobility, had no independent legislative initiative and by 1866 had lost power to set budgets and taxes. In short, they were co-opted into the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Judging from the nature of the *zemstva*, it is safe to say that Alexander II's inclination toward decentralization and federalism was in large part cosmetic only; it was elicited from him largely by the post-Crimean turbulence in the Empire.

Thus these two noticeable deviations actually confirm the rule: there was very little place for federalist thought and attitudes amongst the ruling élite of Imperial Russia. Stung by the revolt of the Decembrists, Nicholas I (1825-1855), the successor of Alexander I, held firm beliefs in autocracy and centralization. Under Alexander III (1881-1894) and Nicholas II (1894-1918), the preservation of autocracy, centralization and Russification remained the order of the day.

In point of fact, throughout the history of modern Russia from the late seventeenth century right up until the 1917 October Revolution, federalist thought and aspirations were the concern of only several prominent liberal, revolutionary or "free thinking" intellectuals.³

The Emergence of the Idea of Federalization

It was only at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries that the federalist spirit was first reflected in the thought of some representatives of the intelligentsia in Russia, and this happened only after it had slowly fashioned for itself a course in secrecy.⁴

The first proponents of federalism saw in it the possibility of achieving harmonious social relationships within the Russian polity and of creating

3. Dimitri von Mohrenschildt, *Toward a United States of Russia: Plans and Projects of Federal Reconstruction of Russia in the Nineteenth Century* (London-Toronto, 1981), pp. 232-249.

4. M. Rubach, "Federalisticheskie teorii v istorii Rossii," in M. Pokrovski, ed., *Russkaia istoricheskaia literatura v klassovom osveshchenii* (Moscow, 1930). This book was written in 1924-25; two chapters were omitted from the 1930 edition, one of which was on Drahomanov.

an appropriate form of political organization that would include and respect national minorities. Almost always, they also identified themselves either with the ideal of a constitutional monarchy or with radical political programs advocating a "Westernization" of Russia. In a word, it was a group of intellectuals, nourished by European notions of social, cultural, economic, political and national revolution, and addressing nothing but the fundamental questions of politics, that brought federalist thought into the Russian political spectrum.

Despite the fact that officialdom denied the efficacy of the federalist position, during the nineteenth century a great variety of such proposals emerged aiming at the reconstruction of Russia in accordance with federal concepts. Such proposals can be grouped in several major categories: (1) several types of Slavic federations that included Russia as one of the constituent states but without predominant status; (2) several kinds of Western-style federations (modeled upon the American or Swiss pattern); (3) free federations of workers' artels and peasants' communes, which, according to the anarchist plan, were to federate into provinces, the provinces into nations, and the nations into a United States of Europe; and finally, (4) plans for a federal union of Russia and Ukraine, and of Siberia and the United States.⁵

These various federalist programs seemed, from the beginning, to contradict fundamentally the Pan-Slavist and Populist mass movements of the nineteenth century. By and large, the Russian Pan-Slavists never subscribed to the federalist idea because such a political formula would not, in their opinion, conform to their concept of the reunification of all Slavs within a single state.⁶ In their view, federalism would only divide into separate entities the "living body of Russia" (*zhivoe telo Rossii*).

As for the Populists (*Narodniki*), their political credo was reduced to a rhetoric of antielitism and exaltation of "the people," a position readily adaptable to many different uses. They constituted a heterogeneous movement, united by the belief that Russia could follow its own road of development of an antiurban socialism and arrive at social justice by avoiding capitalism and its evils, and could also escape the separation of the "borderlands." The traditional "people's" institutions were considered, by the Populists, as the most appropriate social, political and economic forms for the future Russia of which they dreamed.

Like the Pan-Slavists, the Populists were not prepared to break into fragments the already unified "people" and state.

The aim of both movements was greater unity, not division. A deeper structural reform was not suitable for them. By implication, they rejected the idea of the federalization of the Russian imperial complex.

Hence, one has to conclude that the two main forces in the prerevolutionary Russian Empire, namely, representatives of the *ancien régime* and

5. D. von Mohrenschildt, p. 255.

6. B.S. Itenberg, *Dvizhenie revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva* (Moscow, 1965); M.G. Sedov, *Geroicheskii period revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva* (Moscow, 1966).

most spokesmen of the revolutionary movements, were not prepared to accept a federalist idea for imperial reconstruction. They were not willing to reorganize the Russian social and political system by creating a multinational state based on the principles of self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities, and on federalization.⁷

With few exceptions, all the Russian revolutionary forces operating before 1917 advocated the traditional idea of a Russia "one and indivisible" (*edinaia i nedilimaia*). In this context, the non-Russian constituent nationalities of the Russian Empire were labeled "unhistoric" and, as such, were expected to "merge in the Russian sea."⁸ This lyrical Pan-Russianism was commonly held by a significant majority of the intelligentsia.

With respect to this concept of "historic nations," it is noteworthy that, insofar as the non-Russian nationalities of imperial Russia are concerned, only the Poles and Finns were recognized, however timidly, to be such nations. This, perhaps, was one of the reasons why, as has already been mentioned, these two countries were singled out by Alexander I for special status within the Russian Empire. Incidentally, Poland and Finland were also the only two constituent entities within imperial Russia that later succeeded in affirming their respective independence at the time of the Russian revolution. This happened, it must be noted, with considerable help from the Western wartime alliance, but happen it did.

Overall, one can conclude only that, for the majority of Russian intellectuals and political leaders, the very idea of federalism as a form of state organization — implying acceptance of a pluralistic diversity and a negation of uniform unitarianism — appeared to be irreconcilable with their political culture and ideology.

In fact, the choice of a genuine federalism in the latter part of the nineteenth century could have had grave implications for the future of Russia. The Russians were an ethnic minority in their own empire, constituting (according to the 1897 census) only 43.3 per cent of a total population of 125 million (excluding Finland), and composed of some 126 ethno-linguistic groups.⁹ A federalist option could have put an end to Russian political and cultural supremacy, if a concerted and united force could have been formed by at least the major non-Russian "minorities" — Ukrainians (22 million), Poles (8 million), Bielorrussians (6 million), Jews and other ethnic groups whose demographic strength exceeded one million.

It was obvious that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Russians

7. G. von Rauch; Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalities, 1917-1922* (Cambridge, 1964); B. Meissner, "The Soviet Concept of Nation and the Right of National Self-Determination," *International Journal* (1976/77), p. 56.

8. The expectation of "merging" Slavic nationalities into the Russian nation-state was expressed in poetic form by Pushkin. In his poem "To the Slanderers of Russia" ("Klevetnikam Rossii," August 2, 1831), Pushkin put the question rhetorically, asking if and when "all the Slavic Rivers will be brought to merge into the Russian Sea."

9. M. Slavinski, "Natsionalnaia struktura Rossii i Velikorossii," in A.I. Kostelianski, *Formy natsionalnogo dvizheniia v sovremennykh gosudarstvakh* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 280.

were becoming a minority in the imperial state they had created. This is presumably another major reason why only a tiny minority of the Russian leading political and cultural figures would have considered a federalist option as a possible device for finding a satisfactory solution to autocracy and the nationality problem.

This overall configuration explains why the federalist idea never generated a more serious political movement in prerevolutionary Russia. It also explains why the federalist option was primarily associated with the so-called non-Russian "borderlands," particularly with Ukraine.

The idea of transforming the Russian empire into a multinational federation, when expressed, was professed almost exclusively by non-Russians. Thus, for instance, a group of Georgian intellectuals drafted a plan calling for the creation of a Caucasian federation within a larger Russian federation. The latter was to be established through the reorganization of the Russian imperial state into a federative system of nations. In a similar way, but in a more decisive manner, the Jewish Bund, at its Fourth Congress held in Bialystok (Poland) in April 1901, demanded the recognition of the Jewish nation and a federative capacity within the Russian state structure, which itself would be reorganized into a multinational federation. Many other national groups came forth with similar programs and demands in favour of federalism. Some of them simply called for a limited federation based on a broad national-cultural autonomy as a desired end. Others, however, presented their federalist plans as the only possible alternative to separatism. This was the case, in particular, with Ukrainians.

Almost all early federalist projects that appeared during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were conceived and advanced as programs of political reform, opposition or revolution. They were advanced by individuals and groups committed to the cause of political change; as such, they represented a challenge to the centralist autocratic order of imperial Russia.

The Decembrists

The first important Russian revolutionaries attracted by the idea of federalism were the Decembrists.¹⁰ The history of all Russian revolutionary movements dates from the Decembrist conspiracy, which resulted in an uprising on December 26, 1825 (whence the name "Decembrists" or, in Russian, "Dekabristy"), an event precipitated immediately by the death of the "liberal" Czar Alexander I. The Decembrists were also the first, however timid, proponents of federalism.

As secret revolutionary conspirators recruited from among former military officers who had participated in the Napoleonic Wars, the Decembrists organized themselves into four well-known societies: the Union of

10. V.I. Semevski, *Politicheskie i obshchestvennye idealy dekabristov* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 456-69, 482-91.

Salvation (1816-18) and its successor, the Union of Welfare (1818), which in 1821 split into the Northern Society and the Southern Society.¹¹ There were also other Decembrist societies such as the United Slav Society or the Union of the South Society, which were founded by the brothers Piotr and Andrei Borissov (1823).

The best known among the Decembrists, those who inspired the whole movement, were Count Dimitriev-Mamonov, the brothers Nikita and Pavel Muraviev, the poet Kondraty Rylleev, the brothers Andrei and Piotr Borissov, Maxim Kovalevsky, Georgii S. Batenkov, Nikolai Turgenev, and Colonel Pavel I. Pestel.¹²

Perhaps the greatest intellectuals among the Decembrists were Pestel, Muraviev and Turgenev. The latter wrote a three-volume work, *La Russie et les Russes*, which summarized the political program of the movement. Most of the Decembrists professed a genuine desire for decentralization and were, either implicitly or explicitly, for a federalization of Russia, a federal union to be founded upon ethnogeographic and "geo-political" principles.¹³ Pestel, however, was a notable exception in this regard, insisting that all non-Russian peoples of the Empire, except the Poles, should "completely fuse their nationality with the nationality of the dominant people."¹⁴

The inspiration for federalist ideas among the Decembrists came from different sources: the United States Constitution, the French Revolution, and pan-Slavist ideas current among western Slavs after the Napoleonic wars. Within Russia, a factor contributing to the spread of federalist thought was an increasing awareness of the multinational character of the Russian empire. Such an awareness was highlighted by the granting of the Finnish (in 1809) and the Polish (in 1815) constitutions.¹⁵

There were two main federalist tendencies among the Decembrists. The first, particularly supported by the members of the Northern Society, subscribed to the transformation of Russia into a multinational federation headed by a constitutional monarch. This program was, however, ill-received by the Jacobin centralists and the exponents of the idea of a Russia "one and indivisible," including in its compass the non-Russian nationalities.¹⁶ The second, strongly advocated by the Union of the South Society (or Society of United Slavs) favoured the creation of a Pan-Slavic multinational "Federative Republic of Slavic States," merging Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Serbia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bulgaria, and even Hungary (which is not Slavic).

11. D. von Mohrenschildt, p. 19; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. III, p. 439.

12. V.I. Semevski, pp. 487-91.

13. *Vostanie dekabristov: Materialy i dokumenty* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1925-1958), 11 volumes; P. Gronskej, "L'idée fédérative chez les dekabristes," *Le monde slave* (June 1926); M. Zetlin, *The Decembrists* (New York, 1958).

14. Quoted in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 16, p. 60b.

15. D. von Mohrenschildt, p. 18.

16. The most articulated exponent in this respect was Pestel. See M. Raeff, pp. 136-7; M. Pokrovsky, "A.P. Shchapov," *Istorič-Marksist*, No. 3, pp. 1925-29.

There were also some individual federalist plans among the Decembrists. The most important was probably the constitutional project drafted by Nikita M. Muraviev (1795-1843), one of the co-founders and leaders of the Northern Society, who envisioned the transformation of the Russian Empire into a federation composed of thirteen autonomous states (*derzhavy*) and two regions (*oblasti*). The whole structure was to be modelled after the United States of America.¹⁷ Muraviev's *derzhavy* were not to have their own separate constitutions; in truth, he paid little attention to the ethnic or national principle. His federalism was, rather, of a territorial-economic type. There would be only four areas retained for the federal government: finance, army, navy and foreign affairs.¹⁸

This was probably the first time in modern Russian history that a political movement had identified itself with a federalist option as a possible alternative to autocracy and rigid unitarianism. Although the Decembrists did not produce a clear-cut federalist project in the form of a political program, they did succeed in enunciating the idea.

In fact, a number of Russian and non-Russian revolutionaries, as well as some liberal and radical "free thinkers," were inspired by the federalist thought advocated by the Decembrists. This was the case for adherents of the Petrashevsky circle, the Ukrainian federalists, the Siberian regionalists (inspired by the historian A.P. Shlapov, 1830-1876) and, above all, some populists.¹⁹

Numerous subsequent non-Marxist revolutionaries and their intellectual followers were also, in one way or another, "federalists." One such individual worthy of mention was the Russian naturalist and historical philosopher Nikolai Y. Danilevsky (1822-1885). According to him, Russia and the Slavs should follow their own historical development and form a distinct civilization different from that of the West. Danilevsky was said to have "given Russian nationalism a biological foundation." Some compare him to the father of German nationalism, Oswald Spengler. Along with this idea, some have credited Danilevsky with a "federalist" position, his absolutist and messianistic beliefs notwithstanding. In his *Russia and Europe* (Russiia i Evropa) of 1869, Danilevsky professed the creation of a Slav federation as a means of rejuvenating and recreating mankind. He listed, in that opus, the territories that should belong to his envisioned Slav Federation. They are, interestingly enough, territories which, with the

17. P. Gronskej; A.G. Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution: The Decembrist Movement* (Berkeley, 1937); Thornton Anderson, *Russian Political Thought: An Introduction* (New York, 1967), pp. 159-70; D. von Mohrenschildt, pp. 19-24; Glynn Barratt, *Voices in Exile: The Decembrist Memoirs* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1982).

18. G.G. Krichevsky, "Konstitutsionnyi proekt Nikity Muravieva i amerikanskije konstitutsii," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1946), p. 402; N.M. Druzhinin, *Dekabrist Nikita Muraviev* (Moscow, 1933), pp. 180, 308; M.V. Nechkina, *Dvizhenie dekabristov* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 389, 390-91. Quoted by Mohrenschildt, pp. 22-23.

19. D. von Mohrenschildt, pp. 28, 31-38.

exception of the district of Constantinople, are now under the domination of the Soviet Union.²⁰

Even some anarchists, among them Bakunin, were in principle not opposed to federalist programs. While Bakunin was a supporter of nationalist revolutionary movements in various Slav countries, he had endorsed Proudhon's theory of federalism.²¹ He and others regarded federalism, especially a Pan-Slavic federalism, as a possible transitional alternative to autocracy and unitarianism.

Bakunin believed that society should be organized from the bottom up. Federalism was, therefore, the ideal formula and the goal of the evolution of humanity.²² He thought of the advent of federalism in classic Hegelian terms: "the centralized states as thesis, anarchy or amorphism as antithesis, and federalization of the independent groups and people as synthesis."²³ In sum, though different in form, the anarchists' formula for federalism converge in content with the positions endorsed by the Decembrists.

Finally, some contemporaries of the Decembrists and the prominent Russian intellectuals of the succeeding generation, among them Bakunin (already mentioned), N. Chernyshevsky, N. Ogarev and A. Herzen, all thought that "democracy calls for self-rule and this implies a federalism."²⁴ Herzen, among others, was probably the first of his contemporaries to envision the empire transformed into a federation on the model of the United States of America. It should be noted here, however, that most of the Russian "federalists" held an idealized picture of the American "melting pot."²⁵

All the first pronouncements in favor of federalism reviewed up to this point were severely limited in scope; they did, however, serve as a source of reference for others who pushed the idea of federalism along the road to further development.

The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius

A fuller and more genuine federalist program for Russia and Eastern Europe was advanced by the Brotherhood, or Society, of Saints Cyril and Methodius.²⁶ Founded in the 1846 in Kiev by Mykola Hulak and Vasyl' Bilozersky, the Brotherhood (also known as the Ukrainian-Slavic Society)

20. See also his *Sbornik politicheskikh i ekonomicheskikh statei*, ed. N.N. Strakhov (1980).

21. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 1, pp. 808-809.

22. M.A. Bakunin, *Oeuvres*, 2 vols., Vol. 1, *Fédéralisme, socialisme, etc.* (Petrograd, 1907).

23. M.A. Bakunin, *Izbranniie sochinenia v chetirekh tomakh* (London, 1915), p. 388.

24. A.I. Herzen (or Hertsen), *Sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 1958), p. 35.

25. D. Mohrenschildt, p. 256.

26. The brothers Cyril and Methodius were the first to baptize the Slavs into Christianity. They also created the Slavonic alphabet. 1985 is the year of the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius.

Bulgarians claim that the brothers conceived the Slavonic alphabet "on the basis of the

boasted a membership of some forty Ukrainian intellectuals, poets, writers and artists, such as Panteleimon Kulish, Mykola Kostomarov (or Kostomarov) and Taras Shevchenko. The English historian Hugh Seton-Watson has dubbed this group as the "first Ukrainian nationalist organization." The Brotherhood declared itself a movement for the national self-determination of non-Russian nations of the Russian Empire.²⁷

The second most important and ultimate aim advocated by the Brotherhood was the transformation of the Russian Empire into a federation of co-equal Slavic nations, based on the principles of equality, freedom, democracy and self-government. The proposed federation was to comprise Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Serbs, Croats and Bulgarians. It was to be headed by a general Slavic representative assembly.²⁸

In "The Statute of the Slavic Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius," under the chapter entitled "Chief Ideas," the federalist concept of the Brotherhood is defined as "the spiritual and political union of the Slavic peoples . . . , towards which they should aim." The first six points of the Statutes describe the future Slavic federation as being a union of Slavic nations, "all united on the federative principle into one Slavic union founded on the Christian religion."²⁹

A major influence on the ideology of the Cyril-Methodians was the *Zakon Bozhii, Knyha bytiia ukrainskoho naroda* (The Law of God, the Book of Genesis of the Ukrainian People), written by Mykola Kostomarov. Kostomarov's work showed that the constitution of the United States of America, adopted in 1789, exerted an influence on the formulation of the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius' plans. This subject will be discussed more fully below.

The Cyril-Methodians believed in the possibility of building a political and social order among Eastern Europeans based upon federalist principles. To quote Mykhailo Drahomanov, himself a proponent of federalism (to be discussed later), the Cyril-Methodians tended "toward a democratic and federalist Panslavism." In this respect, as V.I. Semevsky and P.A.

spoken language of the Bulgarian Slavs." Macedonians claim that the written language conceptualized by Cyril and Methodius was also based on that of Macedonians living near Salonika. Methodius founded his original diocese in Djakovo in Croatia, near ancient Sirmium; consequently, Croats are equally devoted to the first teachers of Slavic in mediaeval Europe. According to tradition, St. Methodius was buried in Velehrad, the village in Moravia, Czechoslovakia. Here again the symbol keeps its importance. On July 7, 1985, in Velehrad, the largest religious gathering (about 150,000 people) in the history of Czechoslovakia took place to mark the 1,100th anniversary of Methodius' death. Cyril and Methodius have their devotees not only among Slavs, but also in Greece, their original homeland.

27. P.A. Zaionchkovskiy, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 70-78; Mykola Kostomarov, *Knyhy bytiia Ukrainskoho narodu* (Augsburg, 1947); John P. Sydoruk, *Ideology of Cyrillo-Methodians and Its Origin* (Winnipeg-Chicago, 1954).

28. "M. Kostomarov," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto), pp. 675-76.

29. M. Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske Bratstvo* (Lviv, 1921), p. 81; "M. Kostomarov," p. 29; Dennis Papazian, *Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov: Russian Historian, Ukrainian Nationalist, Slavic Federalist* (University of Michigan, 1966); *idem*, "N.I. Kostomarov and the Cyril-Methodian Ideology," *The Russian Review* (January 1970), p. 69.

Zaionchkovsky have convincingly argued, the Slavic federation advocated by the Brotherhood shared some points of similarity with Nikita Muraviev's proposal. Also, there were similarities to the Society of the United Slavs.³⁰

Russian imperial authorities viewed the federalist ideas adopted by the Cyril-Methodians as a serious threat to the security of the state, particularly because they were identified with the Ukrainian national movement. L.V. Dubelt, an official of the Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancery, gave an accurate retrospective account of this "Ukrainian (federalist) threat" in his letter of January 18, 1854 addressed to the Minister of Education, A.S. Popov:

At first the aim of this society consisted of reviving the nationality, the language and literature of the Slavic peoples, of preparing these peoples for a union under one power. Since, however, all the members of the society were natives of Ukraine, their Slavophilism soon turned to Ukrainianophilism and they arrived at the proposition of reestablishing Ukraine as it was before it joined Russia. . . .³¹

The above quotation must be taken to mean that the Cyril-Methodians put "emphasis on the leading role reserved for Ukraine in the future federation."³² This was, of course, anathema to the Russian state of Nicholas I.

In 1848 the Brotherhood was forcibly disbanded and its members, following denunciation by an informer, were punished by banishment. The federalist idea advocated by the Brotherhood was subsequently further developed and later refined by its individual members, in particular by Kostomarov, a prominent Ukrainian historian and one of the leading ideologists of the Brotherhood. It then became associated with Drahomanov's federalist proposals.

Mykola Kostomarov: Further Development of a Federalist Idea

Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885), like many members of the Brotherhood, was concerned with universal themes, with the Ukrainian national identity, Pan-Slavic unity, and the social-political issues of the day. One of his more significant interests was federalism, as reflected in his essays on history.

Kostomarov's approach to history may be described as "ethnic/national federative," with a strong emphasis on "national." He belonged to what can be called the national "ethnographic school," which was characterized by a federalist element that stemmed from his comprehension of the origins of ancient Slavic history.

30. V.I. Semevski, in *Russkaia starina*, January 1886, p. 23; Zaionchkovsky, p. 87. Quoted by Mohrenschildt, pp. 43-44.

31. L.V. Dubelt, ed., *Nikolaevskie zhandarmy i literatura 1826-1855 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 40-41.

32. D. von Mohrenschildt, p. 44.

Kostomarov's interpretation of the history of Ukraine had been formulated by around 1860. Essentially, he was of the learned opinion that Ukraine (Southern Rus') already exhibited certain differences from Northern Rus' as early as the twelfth century. In his article "Two Russian Nationalities," Kostomarov characterized the Ukrainians as "individualists" and the Russians as "collectivists." The striving of the Ukrainians, he argued, was "toward federalism," while the ethos of the Russians was "toward autocracy and a firm monarchy."³³

But in spite of separate cultural histories, the Ukrainians, he concluded, were not thinking of "tearing South Rus' from its ties with the rest of Russia."³⁴ Rather they strongly favoured a federative union of the two nations, and, indeed, of all nations.

At the same time, Kostomarov reserved a "leading role" for Ukraine in the future federation. For example, he wrote in his *Knyha bytiia ukrainskoho naroda*:

Ukraine shall rise from her grave and shall call her Slavic brothers, and they will all rise . . . and Ukraine will be an independent republic in a Slav Union.³⁵

As has already been stated, the most original aspect of Kostomarov's historiography was the pioneering of the idea of pan-Slavic federation. He considered a pan-Slavic union to be the very solution for the difficulties of the Eastern European regions that were inhabited by people of many nationalities, both Slavic and non-Slavic. With great power of expression and enthusiasm, Kostomarov painted his concept of a Pan-Slavic federation (and perhaps an even wider, East European federation) in his biography, as a union to be erected upon the ideals of "liberty and brotherhood" of

Slavic peoples united among themselves in a federation like the ancient Greek cities or United States of America, living in close contact but, without exception, keeping their full autonomy. . . .³⁶

Kostomarov's most important and interesting works on federalism were *Thoughts on the Federative Principle in Ancient Rus'* (*Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi*) published in 1861 in the review *Osnova*, and his federalist program published in *Russkii Arkhiv* (no. 7, 1893). Another major work by Kostomarov on the theory of federalism, which became a fundamental source for the ideology of the Saints Cyril and Methodius Society, was his *Zakon Bozhii*, or *Knyha bytiia ukrainskoho naroda*.³⁷

33. M. I. Kostomarov, "Dve russkie narodnosti i cherty narodnorusskoi istorii," *Osnova* (1860-61); Kostomarov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 21 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1903-1906), p. 33.

34. "Pismo N.I. Kostomarova k izdatelu 'Kolokola'" (Geneva, 1885), p. 13.

35. Quoted after Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography* (New York, 1957), p. 134.

36. Kostomarov, N.I., *Avtobiografiia N.I. Kostomarova*, edited by V. Kotelnikov (Moscow, 1922); Vozniak, p. 82; Sydoruk, p. 11.

37. A full text is in the appendix of P.A. Zaionchkovskii's study *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe*

It is mainly by these writings that Kostomarov established himself as one of the major exponents of what became loosely known as the "federalist school" of history, as opposed to the "state school" of S. Soloviev, B. Chicherin and N. Kavelin.³⁸ This new school of thought, advocating the "federation of Slavic peoples on the basis of full freedom and autonomy of nationalities,"³⁹ represented a shift toward the history of "borderlands," away from the dominant historiography of the Russian "state school." The "federalist school" claimed also that the essence of history is the life of the people, not the glory of state as professed by the traditional "state school."

It is not surprising that Kostomarov's federalist writings had some connection with the Pan-Slavist movement in general and with the Pan-Slav Manifesto in particular. Formulated by the Czech historian František Palacký and adopted at the Slav Congress in Prague in June 1848, the Pan-Slav Manifesto called for transforming the Austrian Empire into a federation of equal peoples. A similar and perhaps more articulated federalist concept, designed to be applied to the Russian Empire, was developed by Kostomarov. There is obviously a link between the two federating aspirations, though Palacký's Pan-Slav Manifesto had little practical and intellectual effect on Kostomarov's federalist thinking.

Unlike Palacký, Kostomarov retained his prominent position in the history of federalist thinkers in Eastern Europe. According to his theory, even before the coming of the Varangians, the Eastern Slavs, or "nationalities" as he called them — Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, and the peoples of Pskov and Novgorod — had formed a "nucleus of a federal organization."⁴⁰

In his lectures on Russian history, given at the University of St. Petersburg in the early 1860's, Kostomarov also provided strong evidence in support of his main contention that the pan-Slavic federalist idea had been both advanced and practised in the Kievan Rus' of the tenth and eleventh centuries. He convincingly argued that, in particular, the relations between the principalities of medieval Rus' had been regulated by mutual federative-like treaties and agreements patterned on federative principles. In his opinion, "Rus' was aspiring toward a federation, and federation was the form into which it was beginning to develop." Kostomarov contended that the "nationalities" of Kievan Rus' "were held together in a loose federation of city-states by common language, dynasty, religion, territory,

Obshchestvo, 1846-1847 (Moscow, 1959). An English translation is in Dennis Papazian's dissertation "Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov: Russian Historian, Ukrainian Nationalist, Slavic Federalist" (University of Michigan, 1966), pp. 118-33.

38. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *L'idée fédérale en Russie de Riourik à Staline 1862-1945* (Paris, 1945), p. 95; Mohrenschildt, pp. 46-79.

39. V.I.M.V. Semevski, *Butashevich-Petrashkevsky i Petrashevtsy*, edited by V. Vodovozov (Moscow, 1922), p. 187.

40. Kostomarov, "Mysli o federativnom nachale drevnei Rusi," in *Sobranie sochinenii*, No. 1, p. 30; *Osnova*, No. 1 (1961).

and common enmity toward the Germans."⁴¹

One could also suggest that relations between Muscovite Russia and other Slavic political entities at a later date were exactly of such a federalist type. This is particularly reflected in the relations between Muscovite Russia and Ukraine as fixed by the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654), which was concluded between the Ukrainian Hetman State and the Muscovite Tsar, Alexei Mikhailovich. In fact, the Treaty created what may be called a "real" union, similar to a "federation," which failed for various reasons.

Because of his strong federalist conviction, Kostomarov never thought of "tearing South Rus' [Ukraine] from its ties with the rest of Russia."⁴² In his opinion, already mentioned above, the "striving of the Ukrainians was always toward federalism."⁴³ Thus Kostomarov's federalist "school of thought" was firmly Pan-Slavic.

Concerning the federation to be established, Kostomarov conceptualized a union constituted of a number of states formed out of historical and natural regions of the Russian empire and other areas: Central, Northern, Northeastern, Southeastern, Upper Volga, Lower Volga, two Ukrainian states, two Southern states, two in Siberia, and the Caucasus, Belorussia, Poland, Serbia, etc. Kiev was to be the federal capital and the seat of the federal Seim (parliament) and government.⁴⁴ Here, again, Kostomarov held to the historical pre-eminence of Kiev [Ukraine] in the future federation.

The significance of Kostomarov's work did not lie in its immediate political potential, but in the social philosophy that lay at its roots. This philosophy could not be ignored by any politically articulate and involved intellectual of his time. The ideas advanced in his works and his political commitments were a notable contribution to the progress of federalist thought in Eastern Europe and were greatly appreciated by fellow federalists in East and West.⁴⁵

Predictably, Soviet historiography finds fault with Kostomarov as a historian and a federalist. Though praised by some Soviet historians for his "influence on a whole generation of populists,"⁴⁶ Kostomarov is usually presented as "reflecting the rising nationalist-Ukrainian, liberal-bourgeois ideology."⁴⁷

Although Kostomarov did not think of himself as a founder of any new "federalist school," many prominent Ukrainian intellectuals, espe-

41. M. Kostomarov, "Dve russkie narodnosti i cherty narodno-russkoi istorii," *Osnova*, 1860-61; *idem*, "Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Russii," *Osnova*, No. 1 (1861); *idem*, "Istoricheskaia monografia: Nachalo edinoderzhavii v drevnei Russii," *Vestnik Evropy*, No. 6 (1870); *idem*, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 21 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1903-1906).

42. See *Pismo N.I. Kostomarova k izdatelu "Kolokola"* (Geneva, 1885), p. 13.

43. Kostomarov, *Dve russkie . . . , Sobranie . . . , Vol. 1*, p. 33.

44. See Letter of Kostomarov to N.A. Bilozerskaia, in *Russkaia starina*, January 1886, pp. 187-88.

45. G.V. Vernadsky, "Kostomarov," MS.G. Vernadsky Collection, Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture, Columbia University.

46. Rubach, p. 63.

47. *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v Rossii*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1955-60), Vol. 2, p. 146.

cially historians such as M. Drahomanov, V. Antonovych and M. Hrushevsky, were greatly influenced by his writings. Antonovych, and more particularly Hrushevsky (1866-1934), carried the notion of the uniqueness of Ukraine's historical development further than Kostomarov could have envisioned. They both favoured a "federalist solution" for a Ukraine within Eastern Europe. But Kostomarov's "federalist school" of thought was best followed and developed by Drahomanov (1841-1895), who may be perceived as his ideological successor.

Mykhailo Drahomanov

The federalist ideas professed by the Cyril-Methodians and the theoretical contribution of Kostomarov to federalist thought inspired another distinguished Ukrainian historian and publicist, Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895). Drahomanov was, of course, also well aware of the federalist ideas, concepts and programs authored by the Decembrists (especially Muraviev), the United Slavs and Palacký's Pan-Slav Manifesto. Nonetheless, his contribution to federalist thought in Ukraine and Eastern Europe should be regarded as original and innovative.

Regarding his national identity, Drahomanov considered himself a Russian-Ukrainian writer and politician.⁴⁸ In this respect he appeared to have a "split" personality. His writings and political activities were directed mainly against Russian autocracy and centralism, but also against Ukrainian separatism, though he was, it should be added, firmly devoted to the Ukrainian cause. This was one of the principal reasons for much of the hostility directed against him by proponents of autonomy and independence, as well as the cause of much respect accorded to him by advocates of federalization.

Depicting Drahomanov in the early 1920's, the Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky distinguished three main periods in the development of Drahomanov's political view: (1) 1859-73: a Cosmopolitan-liberal period modified by Ukrainian populism; (2) 1873-81: a period of Ukrainian socialist thought, which was based largely on Proudhon and to a certain extent on Bakunin; (3) 1881-95: a period characterized by liberal-constitutionalist, anti-revolutionary and anti-terrorist thought.⁴⁹

Drahomanov's short-term political aim was to achieve an autonomy and national equality for Ukraine within a federative framework of a multinational democratic Russian state. In 1873 he wrote the following to Volodymyr Navrotsky, editor of *Pravda*, the organ of Galician (Western Ukrainian) liberals:

In my opinion, the Ukrainians can achieve political freedom within Russia, not by

48. M.P. Drahomanov, "Avtobiografiia," *Byloe* 6 (June 1906), p. 263.

49. M. Hrushevsky, *Drahomanov et le group socialist de Genève* (Vienna, 1922). M. Hrushevsky, "Drahomanov, Ukrainian Nationalist and Social Critic," in *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* 5, p. 233.

separatism but together with other nations and regions of Russia by way of federalism.⁵⁰

His *profession de foi* on Ukrainian politics was perhaps best expressed in the *Hromada* declaration of the same year (1873): "rationalism in culture, federalism in politics, and democracy in the social question."⁵¹

In keeping with this formula, Drahomanov spoke with approbation of previous federalist constructs for a union of Belorussians, Ruthenians, Lithuanians and Galicians with Ukraine, or a union of Ukraine with either Poland or Russia, provided, however, that it not be dominated by either; or of a more extended federalization of Eastern Europe, which would include Slavic and non-Slavic nations.⁵² He placed his ultimate hopes in a free federal association of national communities on a global scale.

In the introduction to the first *Hromada* collection published in Geneva in 1878, Drahomanov summarized his views on Ukrainian history and culture and outlined his ideal of a "federated socialist state" based on a free union of self-governing communities (*Hromady*).⁵³

The aim of these *Hromada* publications was to introduce the ideas of European socialism and federalism into Ukraine.⁵⁴ But Drahomanov's most detailed federal formula for Ukraine was advanced in 1884 in a program for the reconstruction of the Russian imperial complex along federal lines. It was called "Free Union of Nationalities," or *Vol'nyi Soyuz — Vil'na Spilka*, which was to be based on ethnic, historical, geographical and economic considerations.⁵⁵

Drahomanov's "Free Union" scheme depicted absolutism and centralization as the major evils of the Russian imperial state, and separatism as a non-solution for Ukraine. In a letter to Ivan Franko (1906) he pointed out the advantages of the federal alternative. Federalism, he wrote, had two main practical advantages: first, through the use of national languages, a federation aids education and brings the courts and administration closer to the people; and second, administration is conducted by those whose interests are most directly affected.⁵⁶ This was, of course, a "populist" understanding of federalism in contradistinction to the American and Swiss models that Drahomanov used in his scientific writings.

The aim of Drahomanov's writings on federalism was to provide a theory that could transform itself into a moving political force to influence the revolution he sensed to be in the making. His appeal for federalism touched upon an urgent need. He tried to indicate a way out of autocratic centralism and unitarianism to the benefit of all.

50. "Avtobiografiia," p. 203.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

52. M. Drahomanov, *Istoricheskaia Polsha i velikoruskaia demokratiia* (Geneva, 1881); Drahomanov, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905-06), I, pp. 124, 128-29.

53. M. Drahomanov, "Peredne slovo do 'Hromady,'" *Hromada*, I (1878), 60-80.

54. V.G. Sokurenko, *Demokraticheskie ucheniia o gosudarstve i prave na Ukraine vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka* (Lviv, 1966), p. 26.

55. M. Drahomanov, *Vol'nyi soyuz — vil'na spilka: Opyt ukrainskoi politiko-sotsialnoi prohranny* (Geneva, 1884); *Sobranie . . .* Vol. I; *idem*, "Avtobiografiia," p. 209.

56. M. Drahomanov, *Letters to Ivan Franko and Others* (Lviv, 1906), I, p. 124.

Predictably, Drahomanov was at variance with the defenders of the status quo, as well as with the majority of Russian political thinkers, both liberals and radical-socialists, who understood the Ukrainian problem only in terms of two political alternatives: centralism or separatism.⁵⁷ In Geneva, where he definitely formulated his federalist program, Drahomanov accused Russian socialists and other revolutionaries of being guilty of Jacobin centralism and antifederalism, and of being insensitive to the aspirations of the non-Russian nationalities.⁵⁸ There was indeed a kind of *séparation d'esprit* between Drahomanov, on the one hand, and the Russian antirégime movements, which were not associated with federalist thinking, on the other.

Drahomanov's social and political philosophy received inspiration from a variety of sources. His specialization as historian was in the field of Roman history; here he learned of, and was attracted by, the Roman federal commune system. This was perhaps the origin of his interest in small communities or *hromady*, and in social and regional diversity and federalism, as opposed to political and cultural uniformity, centralism and concentration of power. Later, his interest was further extended to national and ethnic minorities, especially to the Ukrainian question, and even to the question of universal justice.⁵⁹ Because of this orientation, he was sometimes called by his opponents "the cosmopolitan," a term which he accepted as a compliment.⁶⁰

As was stated at the outset, Drahomanov's federalist ideas also stemmed from the ideology of the Saints Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood and from the writings of Kostomarov. He was further inspired by P.J. Proudhon and by the British principles of self-government and devolution. His approach to societal history was, finally, very close to the positivism of Auguste Comte.

As to his "ideological" identity, Drahomanov preferred to be called a non-Marxist socialist and prudently avoided identification as a liberal. He clearly thought of himself as a socialist without, however, adhering to a specific socialist school of thought. Nevertheless, he was considered to be the founder of the socialist movement in Ukraine.⁶¹

Because of his socialist and federalist options, Drahomanov could hardly be labelled "separatist" or "nationalist." He thought rather of cultural autonomy and political self-government for Ukraine and other ethnic minorities of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian imperial struc-

57. M. Dragomanov, "Istoricheskaia Polsha i velikoruskaia demokratiia" in *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii* (Geneva 1881), 1, p. 84.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-67.

59. See *Hromada*, 2 (1878), p. 567.

60. M. Drahomanov, "Avtobiografiia," *Byloe* 6 (June 1906), p. 187.

61. *Ukraine* . . . , pp. 685-86; Ivan L. Rudnytsky ed., *Mykhailo Drahomanov: A Symposium and Selected Writings* (New York, 1952), pp. 72-3, 91-103; B.I. Rogosin, *The Politics of Mikhail P. Dragomanov: Ukrainian Federalist and the Question of Political Freedom in Russia* (Harvard University, 1967); D. von Mohrenschildt, p. 132; M. Hrushevsky, *Drahomanov et le groupe socialiste de Genève* (Vienna, 1922); *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* 5, p. 233.

tures, all of them within a larger Slavic East-European federation.⁶² However, he equated his "federalism in politics" (his own words) with near independence, which

can be achieved either by secession and by the creation of an independent State (separatism), or by winning self-government without separation (federalism).⁶³

Drahomanov's federalism was founded upon the principles "national in form" and "cosmopolitan in substance." He thought of federalism as a "Free Union" of nationalities, sharing a common civilization and political power. Such a formula was therefore not suitable for his opponents, who strove to ensure the integrity of the Russian imperial complex.

Perspective will be added to this proposition if we note that Drahomanov's federalist position was accepted and adhered to by some eminent Ukrainian scholars, such as Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and by Ukrainian political movements or parties operating prior to the Revolution.

For example, the most prominent representatives of Ukrainian socialism shifted their attitude toward federalist ideas advocated by Drahomanov a number of times, but in the end became either statist and antiseparatists or adherents of the cause of maximal independence for Ukraine. Other groups, such as the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP, *Ukrains'ka Revoliutsiina Partiiia*), founded in 1900, opted for "one indivisible, independent Ukraine from the Carpathian mountains to the Caucasus." Three years later, however, RUP dropped the call for complete independence and decided in favour of an autonomy within the future Russian federal democratic republic.⁶⁴ During the course of the Revolution, however, most Ukrainian national movements eventually chose the independence option. Federalist and independist ideologies in Ukraine eventually culminated in the declaration of independence — the Fourth Universal. (1918).

Among the non-Russians minorities, a number of political organizations, such as the Lithuanian Democratic Party, Georgian Socialist-Federalists, Armenian Dashnaktsutun, the Jewish Bund and some Armenian Social-Democrats (e.g. Shaumian), wanted to transmogrify the Russian state into a multinational federation as advocated by Drahomanov.

As for the Marxists, the federalist aspiration and the nationalism that attended it were a hindrance to the international socialist movement. Plekhanov and Lenin, prior to the Revolution, considered federalism as utopian, antiquated and reactionary. But they did not fail to take notice of

62. O. Zaslavski, *M.P. Drahomanov* (Moscow, 1924, reprinted 1934), p. 189, 139.

63. M.P. Drahomanov, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*, Vols. I and II (Paris, 1905-1906), p. 253.

64. K. Zalevski, "Natsional'nye dvizheniia," in L. Martov et al., *Obshchestvennye dvizheniia v Rossii v nachale XX veka* (St. Petersburg, 1911), Part 2, p. 201.

existing federalist aspirations among some prominent representatives of the non-Russian intelligentsia and the more significant political groups.⁶⁵ Debating their own "federalization" formula to be applied in post-revolutionary Russia, the Bolshevik leaders could hardly have ignored the federalist "school of thought" founded by the Decembrists, the Cyril-Methodians, Kostomarov and Drahomanov.

Concluding Observations

I have surveyed in this article the main federalist currents that emerged in the second part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries in the history of the Russian imperial state. The federalist ideas discussed here were first enunciated by individuals and groups, such as the Decembrists and the Cyril-Methodians, which were loosely organized in either clandestine or barely legal societies and were opposed to autocracy, centralization and ethnocentrism. They were followed by a number of prominent intellectuals of the new "federalist school" of thought, especially by two Ukrainian historians, M. Kostomarov and M. Drahomanov. Their theories and programs were later accepted by a number of other Ukrainian intellectuals and political activists, such as V. Antonovych and M. Hrushevsky. There was, certainly, a marked continuity of thought between these various advocates of federalism. And each successive generation of thinkers recognized the influence and inspiration of its predecessors.

I found that the aspiration of these groups and individuals to transform the Russian Empire into a federation of nationalities and regions was present in varying intensity throughout nineteenth century political thought and action. The proponents of federalism argued that, from the earliest times, geography and the history of Slavic ethnicities combined to produce a distinct national pluralism, which traditionally defied the centralism of the Muscovite state and, later, of the Russian Empire. This pluralism, so goes the argument, produced a steadily growing national self-consciousness and aspiration for cultural and political autonomy and even independence.

In Ukraine, as elsewhere in the "borderlands" of the Russian Empire, federalist thinking marked a stage in the development of the modern national identity, which was associated with the struggle for political freedom, the rise of nationalism, and even democratic socialism. Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, federalism, nationalism and socialism were developing within the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe simultaneously. Ukraine, Finland, Poland, the regions of the Baltic and of the Caucasus, all drew from federalist ideas new elements to deepen their respective national identities. The nationali-

65. R.P. Ivanova, *Mykahilo Drahomanov u suspilno-politychnomu rusi Rosii ta Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1971), p. 234.

ties problem and the problem of the relationship of the centre with the "borderlands" thus became a serious concern for the imperial régime.

This new development also originated a new trend in Russian and East-European historiography. The new school of history stressed not the importance of the imperial state complex, but primarily the inner development of the "people," the regions, and national identities. This was an important shift away from the exclusive dominance of Russian historiography, which was based on Russian ethnocentrism and focused on the state.

Another important finding of this study is that the proponents of federalism were convinced that the Russian imperial complex and Eastern Europe inevitably had to go through the stage of political liberalism, as had Western Europe and the North American subcontinent. The method they advocated to achieve this was federalization by means of which a multinational state would be established.

Historic circumstances have shown, however, that neither the political elite of the dominant nation, i.e. Russia, nor the Russian and non-Russian opposition forces, had the political wisdom and the will to follow the road advocated by the federalist-minded intellectuals. Tsarism and the imperial ruling elite were, of course, sensible only to self-preservation; their objective was simply to ensure the *status quo*, through limited concessions when forced to do so. Defending their stratum interests, they had little interest, if any at all, in "the people" and in non-Russian nationalities; they were resolutely opposed to federalism, which, if implemented, would have destabilized the existent system, and perhaps triggered a revolution.

Nor were Russian socialists particularly interested in obtaining change through a federalization of the existing political system; they were and remained unitarianists and centralists by their *profession de foi*. They were convinced that federalism, which by its nature was not a revolutionary device, was not an appropriate road to socialism.

The Russian liberals and other moderates, on the other hand, were opposed to revolutionary action and to the radical changes advocated by socialists. While not opposed to constitutional reforms, their attitude toward federalization was also clearly negative.

Success in the creation of a new order in imperial Russia required some type of compromise between the various forces seeking change. This, however, did not occur. The proponents of federalism continued to believe that the proper road to the new polity-building was federalism, but they remained a minority. In the early twentieth century, the federalist option subsided; when efforts were made to revive the idea of federalism, nationalistic rivalries among the various non-Russian nationalities prevented its resuscitation.

The federalist option declined further when Russian Marxism began to assume importance. This development had an impact not only on the non-Russian national movements, but also on the Russian Cadet party and on the socialist organizations of various orientations — Jewish Bund, Armenian socialists, Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and others —

during the brief period of the Dumas.

The Bolsheviks, the most radical of the Marxists, resolutely opposed federalism. They considered federalism and the nationalism that it promoted to be a hindrance to the international socialist movement and to the projected revolution. But they drastically altered their view at the inception of the Soviet régime, after their coup d'état of October 1917. Ironically, the Bolsheviks co-opted federalist ideas in order to safeguard the territorial integrity of the inherited imperial complex. But the Soviet "federation," *sui generis*, that eventually emerged out of the civil war, was not shaped in the federalist mould envisioned by the proponents of federalism in the time preceding the Russian Revolution. For obvious reasons, Soviet pseudofederalism has always been, and remains, at variance with federalism as understood and projected by the Cyril-Methodians, Kostomarov, Drahomanov, Hrushevsky and their followers, and, indeed, is far removed from the general, genuine theory of federalism. Nevertheless, the concepts and theories of genuine federalism, as these were advanced during the period considered in this paper, remain relevant to the problem of nationalities in the Soviet Union.

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LITERATURE

Don Quixote in Ukrainian Literature: A Bibliographical and Thematic Review

The popularity of the Don Quixote theme in Ukrainian literature had its basis in the adverse historical and cultural milieu of a nation forcefully relegated to a state of ethnic provincialism. Under such circumstances only the Don Quixote types have been strong or "mad" enough to challenge the "Sancho Panza-esque reality" and revive what, at times, seemed irretrievably lost — the ideals of Ukrainianism.

There has been a continuous succession of Quixotic figures ready to "redress all manner of grievances" in all walks of Ukrainian national life to the present day, including political and military leaders (Ivan Mazepa), self-made fighters for social justice (Ustym Karmeliuk, Tryshka, Rohal'skyi, Ukrainets'), philosophers (Hryhorii Skovoroda), political and social thinkers (Dmytro Dontsov), literary figures who succeeded in rehabilitating the national literature against seemingly unsurmountable odds (Taras Shevchenko, Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko), and, finally, numerous members of the Ukrainian cultural elite, who have refused to compromise their ideals and bow to the twentieth-century totalitarian ideologies and regimes (Hryhorii Chuprynka, Mykola Khvylovyi, Mykola Kulish, Mykhail Semenko, Oleksa Vlyz'ko, Vasyl' Symonenko, Lina Kostenko, Ievhen Sverstiuk, Zynovii Krasivs'kyi, Valentyn Moroz, and others). In their attitude towards life and their environment, all of them chose the path of Don Quixote, and most expressed their kinship with, and interpretation of, the "mad knight" in their writings. The Quixotic trait became so embedded in their personality and attitude that some of them would, even in public, refer to one another as "Don Quixote." In a speech commemorating the thirtieth birthday of Vasyl' Symonenko delivered on January 16, 1965, in Kiev, the literary critic Ivan Dziuba stated that "Vasyl' Symonenko was a hopeless Don Quixote. . . ."¹

1. In Dziuba's words, Symonenko was a "hopeless Don Quixote" because "he refused to acknowledge the so-called 'historical abyss' as the 'real abyss' [i.e., to accept the current cultural and political reality in Ukraine], and demanded something impossible: 'May Russia and America be silent / When I elect to speak with you.' [From his poem "Filial." The reference is to his poetic "conversation" with Ukraine]. . . . And all this, oh, how impossible and hopeless from the point of view of the educated and the all-wise piglet that knows very well the laws of history and in good conscience has sucked political wisdom from a mechanized trough." Ivan Dziuba, "Vystup" [Preface], *Ukrains'kyi visnyk* [The Ukrainian Herald: Underground Journal from Ukraine], Issue 4 (January 1971) (1971; rpt. London: Ukrainian Publishers, 1971), IV, 89-90.

A Russian writer closely familiar with Ukrainian culture and life, Nikolai S. Leskov (1831-95), aptly commented on the proliferation of Quixotic figures on Ukrainian soil:

It is remarkable with what vitality and likeness the Don Quixote types recur in Ukraine. Rohals'kyi resembles Karmeliuk, Karmeliuk resembles Tryshka, and so on. . . . And so, the people tell stories about their deeds, praise them in their songs and in slavery weep for them to the moaning tunes of the *bandura*. . . .²

In Ukrainian literature there are at present, close to 270 original works in various genres dealing with Spanish themes written by some 190 authors during the past one hundred years. The most sizeable group of original material consists of 62 items dealing with the theme of Don Quixote and related topics,³ composed by 53 writers, poets, playwrights and essayists. There are, in all, 41 poems, 5 novels and short stories, 3 plays, 10 essays, 1 tale, 1 literary "discourse" and 1 "autobiography." Of the total number of items on the theme of Don Quixote, 34.4 per cent were written in the twenties and early thirties, and 43.7 per cent in the sixties and early seventies — i.e., during the periods of relative political and cultural "thaw".

The Theme of Don Quixote in Original Works

Poetry

The earliest work that introduced the Don Quixote theme into Ukrainian literature was Ivan Franko's long poem *Pryhody Don Kikhota* [The Adventures of Don Quixote], first serialized in 1891 in *Dzvinok* [The Little Bell], a Lviv magazine for children. Due to its success, the poem was published in book form under the same title of *Pryhody Don Kikhota* (Lviv: n.p., 1892). Later, revised and enlarged editions of the same work appeared in 1899 and 1913.⁴ In Franko's own words, his poem is a "re-creation of the essential episodes of the first part [of *Don Quixote*] and of the end of the second part. The re-creation, from prose into verse, was modelled on the

2. Nikolai S. Leskov, "Nasha provintsialnaia zhizn'" [Our Provincial Life], *Birzhevie vedomosti* [The Exchange News], No. 307 (1869), cited by I.V. Stoliarova, "'Hamlet i Don Kikhot': Ob otklike N.S. Leskova na rech Turgeneva" ["Hamlet and Don Quixote:" N.S. Leskov's Commentary on Turgenev's Article], *Turgenevskii sbornik* [Collected Articles on Turgenev] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1967), III, 121.

The *Bandura* is the Ukrainian national string instrument.

3. For comparison purposes, as of 1957 Russian literature has produced some twenty works dealing with the theme of Don Quixote. *Migel' de Servantes Saavedra: Bibliografiia russkikh perevodov i kriticheskoi literatury na russkom iazyke, 1763-1957* (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: Bibliografia de las obras traducidas al ruso y ensayos criticos, 1763-1957) (Moscow: Iz-vo Vsesoiuznoi Knizhnoi Palaty, 1959), pp. 103-106.

4. M.O. Moroz, *Ivan Franko: Bibliohrafiia tvoriv, 1874-1964* [Ivan Franko: A Bibliography of Works, 1874-1964] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1966), p. 112.

Spanish *romance* verse form.⁵ The entire work is divided into a "prologue" and twenty-four parts consisting of 3,510 lines of poetry.

The late Dmytro Buchyns'kyi provided some interesting information and comments about Franko's work and the circumstances surrounding its creation and subsequent publication:

We do not find any mention in Cervantine scholarship of Ivan Franko's re-creation of Don Quixote, *which could be the most original and interesting of them all for having re-created it from prose into verse* [emphasis added]. This re-creation was effected in 1890 from a German translation rather than from the Spanish original. Franko called it *Pryhody Don Kikhota which means The Adventures of Don Quixote*. . .

The first edition appeared in 1892 under the auspices of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Association in Lviv. It must be emphasized that this Association published only the best works of Ukrainian and foreign authors to be used by Ukrainian youth as reading material in schools. . .

The second edition of *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, revised by Franko and Professor Vasyli' Bilets'kyi, and very well illustrated, was also published by the same Association in 1899. This event proves the popularity of *Don Quixote* among Ukrainian youth. Before World War I there appeared a third edition which was also very well illustrated. [At that time] the first edition was already an extremely rare item in our country. . .

We would like to state for the record . . . that the *Don Quixote* that Franko offered to Ukrainians in such a beautifully poetic form was very popular not only among school age youth, but also among adults. This was an uncommon happening in Ukraine, [a country] which for the past two hundred years lacked its own national publishing houses, and everything that has been done was on the sole initiative of the people.⁶

Apart from Franko's poem, which should be treated as a separate, if not unique, literary phenomenon, Ukrainian poetical works with the Don Quixote theme can be divided into two general groups, according to the manner in which the poets approached or used the image and symbolism of Don Quixote and related topics: Don Quixote in relation to surrounding reality, and direct identification with the person of Don Quixote and/or with Quixotic ideas or characteristics. In each of these groups, Don Quixote and related symbolism appear in association with a variety of secondary themes. There is, of course, much overlapping between the two groups.

The question of deceitful reality and Don Quixote as a fighter for truth appear in "Don Kikhot" [Don Quixote] written in 1903 by Borys Hrinchenko, *Tvory* [Works] (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk Ukrain's'koi RSR, 1963), I, 177-79. The image of a proud and incorruptible Don Quixote, a rebel against man's conventions and a timeless symbol of free will, physical defeat and spiritual victory, is originally portrayed in Hryhorii Chupryn-

5. Ivan Franko, "Migel' de Servantes i ioho Don Kikhot" [Miguel de Cervantes and His Don Quixote], *Pryhody Don Kikhota* [The Adventures of Don Quixote] (Lviv: Ukrain's'ko-Rus'ka Vydavnycha Spilka, 1913), p. vi.

6. Dmytro Buchyns'kyi, "Ivan Franko y la literatura espanola," *Revista de literatura*, 3 (1953), 69-70.

ka's "Lytsar — Sam" [The Knight — Alone], *Tvory* [Works] (Prague: Ukrain's'kyi Hromads'kyi Vydavnychy Fond, 1926), pp. 244-253. In Borys Demkiv's poem "Monoloh Lytsaria Pechal'noho Obrazu" [A Monologue of the Knight of the Woeful Countenance], *Symvoly* [Symbols] (Kyiv: Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk, 1968), pp. 14-16, Don Quixote appears on the stage of life facing a hostile humanity. In this poem the Knight of the Woeful Countenance embodies the ideals of beauty and nobility. A similar image of Don Quixote is conveyed in Volodymyr Bazylevs'kyi's "Don Kikhoty" [The Don Quixotes], *Iatran'* [The Blaze] (Kyiv: Molod', 1968), pp. 15-16. In the last three poems, Don Quixote also emerges as Christ-like figure. Don Quixote as a symbol of perennial rejuvenation, of resurgence after defeat and of the driving force of mankind appears in the aforementioned poem by Bazylevs'kyi, and also in Borys Oliynyk's "Romantychne intermetsto" [A Romantic Intermezzo], *Na linii tyshi* [On the Line of Silence] (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1972), pp. 53-55.

The theme of Don Quixote's "error" of equating "fantasy" with "reality" is evident in Ievhen Pluzhnyk's "Hladkoho Pansa . . ." [The Fat Panza . . .], *Vybrani poezii* [Selected Poetry] (Kyiv: Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk, 1966), p. 217; and in Platon Voron'ko's "Vin pomylyvsia" [He Was Mistaken], *U svitli blyskavyts'* [In the Flashes of Lightning] (Kyiv: Molod', 1968), p. 48. In a somewhat similar vein are Zoya Kohut's "Don Kikhot," *Lys Mykyta* [Fox Mykyta], No. 7-8 (July-August 1977), p. 2, where Quixotism is identified with fiction and dreams, and reality with man's wakeful state; and Volodymyr Havryliuk's "Donkikhots'ke" [Something Quixotic], *Estafeta* [Estafette], No. 2 (1972), pp. 77-78, in which drab reality is associated with the implacable passing of time, and Quixotism with idealism.

A solitary, motionless windmill symbolizing a human reality standing quiescent due to the absence of a Don Quixote in our times is the leitmotif of Volodymyr Luchuk's "Peisazh z vitriakom" [Landscape with a Windmill], *Shisdesiat' poetiv shisdesiatykh rokiv* [Sixty Poets of the Sixties] (New York: Prolog, 1967), p. 32; Ihor Kalynets's "Kamiani vitriak" [A Petrified Windmill], *Pidsumovuiuchy movchannia*, [Summing up Silence] (Munich: Sučasnist, 1971), pp. 41-45; and Lina Kostenko's "Balada moikh nochei" [The Ballad of My Nights], *Poezii* [Poetry] (Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1969), pp. 244-45. While Kostenko expresses the idea that in the duel between the spirit (Don Quixote) and drab reality (the herd) the latter wins, Kalynets' optimistically declares that Don Quixote will return and set the windmill of life once more in motion. Kalynets', however, seems to be a solitary voice. Other poets, while recognizing the virtues of Don Quixote and Quixotism in general, see him succumb to the relentless onslaught of reality. Such is the case in Mykola Chyrs'kyi's three poems written in 1928-29, each entitled "Don Kikhot," *Emal'* [Enamel] (Prague: Kolos, 1941), pp. 10-11, 12, 13-14. A similarly fatalistic interpretation is conveyed by Bohdan Nyzhankivs'kyi's "Budennist'" [Drudgery], *Lys Mykyta* [Fox Mykyta], No. 4 (April 1975), p. 2, the message being that Don Quixote is dead and Sancho Panza alive and well. Only the windmills and the spectre

of Don Quixote roaming the windswept plains of La Mancha are left in part X of Mira Harmash's poem "Maria Luisa," *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh* [Liberation Route], No. 12 (December 1972), p. 1305. The windmill, however, appears not only as a symbol of reality, but also as an instrument of punishment for Don Quixote's attempt to challenge it, as in Vitalii Korotych's "Don Kikhot," *Vohon'* [Fire] (Kyiv: Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk, 1968), pp. 18-19. This particular poem was written to commemorate the 350th anniversary of Cervantes' death.

In the face of reality, Sancho Panza is proclaimed the true hero, and Don Quixote a "false messiah" in Iurii Petrenko's "Nad Servantesom" [About Cervantes], *Rubizh* [On the Brink] (Kyiv: Molod', 1970), p. 8. Similarly, an entirely positive appraisal of Sancho Panza at the expense of Don Quixote is evident in Vasyl' Shvets's "Na dobranich, liudy!" [Good Night, People!], *Dvoboi* [Duels] (Kyiv: Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk, 1965), pp. 5-6. The good, likable and down-to-earth Sancho Panza is even viewed by Leonid Poltava as a prototype of the Spaniard in "Vulytsia troikh pomaranch" [The Street of the Three Oranges], *Iz espans'koho zshytka* [From a Spanish Notebook], (New York: A.D.U.K., 1978), p. 23.

In other poems, however, we find a drastic departure from the above interpretations of Don Quixote and Quixotism. Thus, in Borys Homzyn's "Sic transit," *Samostiina dumka* [Independent Thought], No. 12 (February 1934), p. 1, Don Quixote is portrayed as a gun-toting, ruthless, revolutionary utopian, and Sancho Panza as a corrupt and equally ruthless bureaucrat. This not-so-complimentary image of Don Quixote becomes considerably tempered in Lesia Tyhlii's "Monoloh Don Kikhota" [Don Quixote's Monologue], *Horlytsia* [Turtle Dove] (Kyiv: Molod', 1968), pp. 32-33, where Don Quixote appears only as a positive, tough, modern rebel.

Lastly, in a satirical poem by Oleksa Vlyz'ko "Kanarkovy iunak" [The Canary Lad], *Mii druh Don-Zhuan* [My Friend Don Juan] (Kharkiv: Radians'ka Literatura, 1934), pp. 29-36, which is directed against some of the author's contemporary romantic fellow-literati, Don Quixote, the romantic par excellence, becomes an object of derision.

Although the problem of reality versus fantasy is a constant of the Don Quixote theme in any work, in the following major group of poems the dominant feature is direct identification with the person of Don Quixote and his traits. Thus, Liubov Zabashta in her two poems "Rih bezsmertia" [The Horn of Immortality], and "Umyraiut' poety tak, iak vmyraiut' sontsia" [Poets Die the Way the Suns Die], *Oi katrane, katanochku* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1968), pp. 25, 33-34, begins by drawing a parallel between Don Quixote and poets. Among the first of the three of his poems entitled "Don Kikhot," "Ia ne znay pro prekrasnu Liutsiiu" [I Did Not Know about the Beautiful Lutsiia] and "Ia ne liubliu tyshi i sumu" [I Do Not Like Silence and Sadness], *Kobzar* [The *Kobza*' Player] (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1925), pp. 206-207, 307-308. The foremost Ukrainian futurist, Semenko sees himself as a Don Quixote of poetry.

7. A traditional Ukrainian string instrument.

Similarly, Halyna Mazurenko, commenting on her creative processes in "Muza ta Sancho Pansa" [The Muse and Sancho Panza], *Porohy* [The Rapids] (London: Dniprovi Porohy, 1960), p. 44, identifies her creative drive with Don Quixote and her physical self with Sancho Panza.

In part due to their current predicament, two contemporary Ukrainian poets, Ievhen Sverstiuk and Zynovii Krasivs'kyi,⁸ totally identify themselves with Don Quixote. Thus, Sverstiuk in "Don Kikhot," *Poeziia z-za koliuchykh drotiv* ("Poetry from behind the Barbed Wire") (Muenchen: Verlag Schliakh Peremohy, 1978), pp. 49-50, draws a parallel between himself, Don Quixote and Cervantes the prisoner, maintaining that the only worthwhile reality is faith, symbolized in this poem⁹ by Don Quixote. Krasivs'kyi, in a poem also entitled "Don Kikhot,"¹⁰ sees himself as a Don Quixote whose Dulcinea is portrayed here as Ukraine.

Ievhen Malaniuk and Leonid Pervomais'kyi have each identified a Quixotic figure among their fellow poets. Malaniuk does this in a poem written in 1936: "Iuriievi Darahanovi, 2" [To Iurii Darahan, 2], *Poezii* [Poetry] (New York: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1954), p. 227, dedicated to his prematurely deceased friend; and Leonid Pervomais'kyi dedicates his poem "Alonso Dobryi" [Alonso the Good], *Tvory* [Works] (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1968), I, 482-83, to the Ukrainian-born Russian poet Mikhail Svetlov.¹¹ Both Malaniuk and Pervomais'kyi saw Quixotic traits in the lives of their colleagues.

Others, however, took a negative view of the identification of the poet with Don Quixote. Thus, Hryhorii Sachenko in "Ushcherblenym peram" [To Dented Pens], *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia* [Life and Revolution], No. 8-9 (August-September 1933), p. 66, warns poets against being, like Don Quixote, inclined to struggle with phantoms; and Porfyrii Horotak in "Imperatyv sontsia" [On the Sun's Command], *Diabolichni paraboly* [Diabolical Parables] (Salzburg: Novi Dni, 1947), p. 14, written in 1938, insists upon a similar interpretation.

A further interesting "nationalization" of the Don Quixote theme can be found in Oleh Zuiev's'kyi's "Don Kikhot: Suchasnyi monoloh" [Don Quixote: A Contemporary Monologue], *Zoloti Vorota* [The Golden Gate] (Munich: [no publisher given], 1947), p. 36; and in Ihor Shankovskyy's

8. Both are now imprisoned in the USSR for dissident views.

9. Sverstiuk's poem "Don Kikhot" had been memorized, along with some of his other poems, by a fellow political prisoner, Arie Vudka. After his release from prison in 1976 and subsequent emigration to Israel in early 1977, Mr. Vudka had transcribed, from memory, Sverstiuk's poems and made them available for publication. Personal interview with Arie Vudka [in Toronto], 26 December 1977.

10. Krasivs'kyi's poem followed a similar route to that of Sverstiuk. It was committed to memory by one of his fellow prisoners, Victor Fainberg (now in London, England). Unfortunately, Mr. Fainberg could only recall a fragment of this poem, which was later transcribed by an émigré Ukrainian poet, Ihor Kachurov's'kyi who graciously made the text available to this writer. Letter received from Dr. Ihor Kachurov's'kyi, 1 February 1976.

11. Mikhail Svetlov wrote the popular poem "Granada" about the Spanish Civil War. Pervomais'kyi also dedicated a poem to Cervantes' captivity in Algiers, entitled "Servantes v Al'zhiri" [Cervantes in Algiers], *Tvory* [Works], I, 943-95.

biting poem "Don Kikhot z Ukrainy" [A Don Quixote from Ukraine], *Korotke lito* [A Short Summer] (Edmonton: Ukrainian Book Store, 1970), pp. 58-62. Both poets identify the post-World-War II Ukrainian expatriate with Don Quixote, but their angle of interpretation is different. Myroslav Ichnians'kyi, in his "Kikhoty i Panzy Ukrainy" [The Quixotes and Panzas of Ukraine], *Lira emigranta* [The Immigrants's Lyre] (Winnipeg: Ukrain's'ka Knyharnia, 1936), p. 77, also offers a socio-political interpretation by identifying some Ukrainian political figures with Don Quixote for their endeavor to change Ukrainian reality.

Finally, Leonid Poltava in another poem "Pershymy znykly . . ." [They Disappeared First . . .], *Bila trava* [White Grass] (Philadelphia: Ameryka, 1963), p. 12, attempts perhaps the boldest interpretation of Don Quixote in Ukrainian poetry: Poltava seems to consider Don Quixote the embodiment of humanity in general.

Prose Narrative

The earliest Ukrainian work (known to this writer) that may have a direct relation to Cervantes' *Don Quixote* is a folk tale entitled "Ukrains'kyi Solomon" [The Ukrainian Solomon], which had been recorded by St. Fon-Nos from family memoirs in the second half of the nineteenth century and published in *Kievskaiia starina* [Kievan Antiquity], July 1883, pp. 492-505. The tale bears a close resemblance to the episode in which Sancho Panza, as "governor" of Barataria, wisely resolves a wrangle between an "assaulted" woman and her "assailant" (*Don Quixote*, Pt. II, Ch. xlv).¹² Since the motif of "the woman who could defend her property but not her person" is one of international folklore,¹³ it is difficult to establish the exact source of the Ukrainian version of the tale.

The conflict between man's personal goals and a higher good, presented in terms of a Quixotic figure caught between human love and the call of duty, is found in Volodymyr Kuch's poetic short story "Don Kikhotyk" [The Little Don Quixote], *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk* [The Literary-Scientific Herald], 100, No. 11 (November 1929), 940-49. The setting is Ukraine during the national and social upheavals that shook Eastern Europe in 1917-1921. Another work inspired by those events is Iurii Ianovskyy's novelette *Baihorod*, in *Tvory* [Works] (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Khudozhn'oi Literatury, 1958), I, 169-217. This beautiful story, written in 1927, is about a town called Baihorod, which is caught in the midst of a siege, and about a young, romantic Quixotic hero whose

12. M. Gorodetskii, "Sovpadanie malorossiiskago predaniia s ispanskim romanom" [The Similarity Between a Ukrainian Legend and a Spanish Novel], *Istoricheskii vesnik* [The Historical Herald], 16 (May 1884), 458.

13. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, rev. and enl. ed. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1957), IV, 85, J1174.3; British Museum, Dept. of Manuscripts, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Printed by the order of the Trustees, 1910), III, 21; Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst* (Berlin: Herbert Stubenrauch, 1924), II, 260.

name is Quixana and who symbolizes the town's deliverance from its woes. As the narrator, who presents Quixana as Don Quixote's nephew, decides to "cast away the flag of La Mancha" and substitute for it that of Baihorod, a new knight is born — Don Quixana of Baihorod. Delicate lyricism, elements of high drama, a contrapuntal manner and subtle philosophical commentary all contribute to the thematic and aesthetic worth of this novelette.

The early period of the Soviet regime in Ukraine has also been interpreted in terms of the dichotomy between the expectations of the "Quixotes" of the revolution and the post-revolutionary reality. In 1924, Mykola Khvylovyi wrote his first novel entitled *Povist' pro sanatoriinu zonu* [A Tale about the Sanatorium Zone], in *Tvory* [Works] (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928), II, 100-270, in which the author symbolically presents the problem of the "betrayed revolution" and the ensuing despair and disillusionment with the new reality. The "sanatorium zone," symbolic of Soviet society, becomes the scene of conflict between the Quixotes and the philistines and cynics.

Khvylovyi returns to the same theme in yet another novel entitled *Santymental'na istoriia* [A Sentimental Tale], in *Tvory* [Works] (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928), II, 271-352. In this instance we witness a gradual loss of Quixotic innocence by a heroine who considers herself a "wretched Don Quixote" in the face of an overpowering reality. Khvylovyi's search for the elusive "golden age" also appears in his short story "Na ozera" [On to the Lakes] in *Tvory* [Works] (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1927), I, 192-205. In this piece of writing, filled with delicate lyricism, the narrator sees himself as a Don Quixote setting out in search of bygone illusions and unknown shores to escape bleak reality.

Khvylovyi's writings are highly impressionistic in style, full of drama and symbolism. His manner is contrapuntal, with numerous philosophical digressions and, above all, lyrical passages. Critics have lauded his writings as masterpieces of "revolutionary and national romanticism."¹⁴

The direct identification of statesmen with Don Quixote appears, albeit in passing, in Bohdan Lepkyi's historical tetralogy *Z pid Poltavy do Bender* [From Poltava to Bender], Vol. IV of *Mazepa* (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society of America, 1955), p. 199. In this lengthy novel, written in 1926-29, the three key historical figures at one stage of the Great Northern War (1700-1721) — King Charles XII of Sweden, Tsar Peter I of Russia and Hetman¹⁵ Ivan Mazepa of Ukraine — are presented as three Don Quixotes locked in a struggle, each on behalf of his own ideal — Dulcinea.

Finally, there was an attempt by Oles' Honchar to smuggle the Don Quixote theme into his Soviet socialist-realist novel *Tronka* [The Sheep

14. George S.N. Luckyj, *Literary Policies in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*, p. 115.

15. Title given to the ruler of Cossack Ukraine.

Bell], Vol. V of *Tvory* [Works] (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1967), p. 216. The heroine of one of the episodes of the novel is simply identified by a fellow-worker as "Don Quixote," seemingly because she had decided to give up a more leisurely life and had joined one of the workers' brigades building a canal. Needless to say, this "insertion" has limited thematic and aesthetic value within the context and spirit of the novel.

Drama

The Don Quixote theme had had an early debut in Ukrainian drama with Pavlo Barvins'kyi's five-act play *Suchasnyi Don Kikhot* [A Contemporary Don Quixote] (Borysivka: n.p., 1899). In this play a morally corrupt milieu drives mad an idealistic doctor, who then in his own way tries to come to grips with the concept of reality and the meaning of moral values and social conventions. There is no evidence that this thematically interesting play has been staged since World War I.

In 1927, Iaroslav Halan made a literary debut with a three-act romantic play entitled *Don Kikhot z Ettenhaima* [Don Quixote of Ettenheim], in *Tvory* [Works] (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Khudozhnoi Literatury, 1960), I, 47-84. As the basis for the plot, Halan used a historical fact: the execution in 1804 of Louis Antoine Henri de Condé duc d'Enghien (1772-1804), heir to the throne of France, who was accused of participating in a conspiracy against Napoleon. The hero of the play is indeed the Quixotic Louis d'Enghien who, from his exile, dreams of a liberated France — Dulcinea. In 1927, this play earned the first prize at a competition sponsored by the Ukrainian Theatre in Lviv. Before being awarded the prize, the young and still unknown playwright was required to prove the originality of his work — which he did successfully.¹⁶

In the same year, the creator and master of modern Ukrainian drama, Mykola Kulish (whose favourite authors were Lope de Vega, Cervantes and Shakespeare),¹⁷ wrote his masterpiece, the tragicomedy *Narodnyi Malakhii* [The People's Malakhii], in *Tvory* [Works] (New York: Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A., 1955), pp. 11-104. The plot of this five-act play centres on the tribulations of its principal character, Malakhii Stakanchyk, a former postman. Fancying himself a reformer of men, Malakhii sallies forth on his reformist mission and immediately clashes with Soviet post-revolutionary reality. In its theme, Kulish's play is in the same vein as Khvylovyi's works (mentioned earlier). Since the appearance of *Narodnyi Malakhii*, its hero has been acclaimed by the critics as the modern Don Quixote. And indeed, the parallels between the Spanish "mad knight" and the Ukrainian "mad reformer" are striking. With regard to style, *Narodnyi Malakhii* is a play in which Kulish condensed all his knowledge of the expressionist, symbolist, and real-

16. Petro Dovhaliuk, *Introd.*, *Tvory* [Works], By Iaroslav Halan (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Khudozhnoi Literatury, 1960), I, 12-13.

17. Iurii Lavrinenko, *Rostriliane vidrodzhennia: Antolohiia, 1917-1933* [The Executed Renaissance: An Anthology, 1917-1933] (Munich: Instytut Literacki, 1959), pp. 49, 51.

ist . . . forms of theatrical representation. . . .¹⁸ The play, which had three different versions due to the demands of Soviet censorship, was finally banned in Ukraine in the early thirties.¹⁹ It has been staged, however, several times since the end of World War II by Ukrainian theatrical companies abroad.

In addition to these three plays,²⁰ mention should be made of other works in the performing arts, such as the Ukrainian version of the musical *Man of La Mancha* by Dale Wasserman, with lyrics by Joseph Darion and music by Mitchell Leigh. In a commentary regarding the complexity of the part of Aldonza, the following remark discloses the main thrust of the Ukrainian production:

In this skilful interpretation of the musical there comes to life a strange being. Blighted by a pitiful existence, oblivious to any manifestation of spirituality, she crawls out of the darkness. This is how Don Quixote could have seen her had he wanted. However, the wondrous knight sees her with a pure heart, which awakens her humanity. Before our eyes the base Aldonza blooms into the enchanting Dulcinea . . .²¹

The first Ukrainian production of *Man of La Mancha* took place in 1971 at the Kiev Drama Theatre. It was subsequently performed at the Odessa Operetta Theatre in 1972 and 1973.²²

Another foreign theatrical piece adapted to the Ukrainian stage was the comedy *Nowy Don Kichot* [The New Don Quixote] by the Polish playwright and poet Aleksander Fredro (1793-1876).²³ This comedy was turned into a Ukrainian musical by a nineteenth-century playwright and composer, Isydor Vorobkevych (1836-1903), who wrote the musical score.²⁴ No information is available about its production.

18. The play had been written for the avant-garde theatrical company "Berezil" (March), and masterfully produced by its founder and director, Les' Kurbas, one of whose favourite authors had also been Cervantes. V.S. Vasylyko, ed., *Les' Kurbas: Spohady suchasnykiv* [Les' Kurbas: Recollections of His Contemporaries] (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1969), p. 61. Kurbas' company had been likened to Don Quixote: "Somewhere in Kyiv 'Berezil,' like a Don Quixote, is fighting against a flock of sheep . . . And for this it is called an experimental theatre — and why not exemplary?" Iurii Merezko, "Na teatral'nomu fronti nebezpechno" [Danger on the Theatrical Front], *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia* [Life and Revolution], No. 12 (December 1925), p. 52.

19. Hryhorii Kostyuk, *Notes Tvory* [Works], by Mykola Kulish (New York: Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A., 1955), pp. 443-44.

20. There is also a Russian comedy by A. Ia. Brushtein and B.V. Zon, *Don Kichot* (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1928), which had been successfully produced in the Theatre of the Young Spectator in Kiev in 1928. *Ukrains'kyi teatr* [The Ukrainian Theatre], No. 6 (November-December 1970), p. 6.

21. L. Myronova, "Halyna Zadushkina," *Ukrains'kyi teatr*, No. 2 (March-April 1972), p. 29. Halyna Zadushkina, an actress, played the role of Aldonza in the Ukrainian production of "Man of La Mancha."

22. *Ukrains'kyi teatr*, No. 2 (March-April 1972), p. 29; Letter received from Valerian Revutsky, 7 February 1976.

23. The Polish comedy in its original version was staged in Lviv in 1817. "Fredro, Alexander," *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna* [The Great Universal Encyclopaedia], 1964, IV, 15-16.

Last, but not least, the ballet *Don Kikhot* by the Austrian composer Leon Minkus (1827-1890) has enjoyed widespread popularity in Ukraine. Since its first Ukrainian production in 1926, the ballet has been staged in Kiev (in 1926-28, 1934, 1935, 1953), Lviv (1940, 1942, 1960), Kharkiv (1926, 1929, 1931, 1944, 1946, 1947-50),²⁵ and Odessa (1952).²⁶ It has also been favourably received abroad; and in 1942 a production of it by the Ukrainian Opera Theatre in Lviv was praised by a Spanish theatre critic who had seen the performance and subsequently wrote a review in a Madrid newspaper.²⁷ *Don Kikhot* has been performed by the Ukrainian Opera Theatre no less than forty-six times.²⁸

Essays

Ukrainian essays dealing with the theme of Don Quixote focus on literary, philosophical, psychological and socio-political implications of the theme. The theme of Don Quixote has been used to raise issues of universal significance, and interpret some aspects of the Ukrainian question.

Of strictly literary content are the first two Ukrainian essays ever written on the subject of Don Quixote and published at the turn of the century: P[avlo] Zhytets'kyi, "*Don Kikhot Lamanchskii*: roman Servantesa" [*Don Quixote of La Mancha*: Cervantes' Novel], in *Ocherki iz istorii poezii* [Essays on the History of Poetry], 3rd ed. (Kiev: Tipografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1903), pp. 124-46; and N[Mykola] Storozhenko, "Filosofiiia Don Kikhota" [The Philosophy of Don Quixote], in *Iz oblasti literatury: Stati, leksii, rechi, retsenzii* [From the Realm

24. Vasil' Rusnak, "Narys istorii ukrains'koho teatral'noho mystetstva na Bukovyni po 28-ho chervnia 1940 r." [An Outline History of the Ukrainian Dramatic Arts in Bukovyna to 28 June 1940], *Nash teatr: Knyha diiachiv ukrains'koho teatral'noho mystetstva, 1915-1975* [Our Theatre: A Collection of Historical Essays and Memoires, 1915-1975] (New York: Association of Ukrainian Theatre Artists, 1975), I, 176.

25. This ballet, as staged by the Kharkiv Opera and Ballet Company, had been a dancing and pantomimic interpretation of several episodes from *Don Quixote*, such as Don Quixote's duel with the Knight of the White Moon. Kyrilo IE. Myloslavs'kyi, Pavlo A. Ivanovs'kyi and Halyna V. Shtol', *Kharkivs'kyi Akademichnyi Teatr Opery ta Baletu* [The Kharkiv Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet] (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1965), pp. 105-106, 114, 116.

26. Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, "Ukrains'kyi teatr pislia Vyzvol'nykh Zmahan'" [The Ukrainian Theatre after the War of Liberation], *Nash teatr* [Our Theatre], I, 58; Mykhailo Ivasivka, "Ukrains'kyi Opernyi Teatr u Lvovi" [The Ukrainian Opera Theatre in Lviv], *Nash teatr*, 325, 338-39; Khronika [Annals], *Chervonyi shliakh* [The Red Route], No. 10 (1934), p. 180; M.K. Iosypenko, ed., *Shliakhy i problemy rozvytku ukrains'koho radians'koho teatru* [Trends and Problems in the Development of the Soviet Ukrainian Theatre] (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1970), pp. 243, 249; Iu.O. Stanishevs'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi radians'kyi muzychnyi teatr, 1917-1967: Narys istorii* [The Soviet Ukrainian Musical Theatre, 1917-1967: An Outline History] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1970), p. 100; Letter received from Valerian Revutsky, 14 January 1978.

27. Letter received from Mykhailo Ivasivka, 18 July 1977. Mr. Ivasivka (now resident in New York), had been the costume designer for the Ukrainian Opera Theatre in Lviv, and had read the review in question in autumn 1943. He does not, however, recall the name of the Spanish newspaper or the name of the critic who wrote the review.

28. Ivasivka, "Ukrains'kyi Opernyi Teatr u Lvovi" [The Ukrainian Opera Theatre in Lviv], *Nash teatr*, I, 339.

of Literature: Articles, Lectures, Discourses, Reviews] (Moskva: A.V. Vasileva, 1902), pp. 78-96. After a brief discussion of the cultural and historical milieu which, in Zhytets'kyi's view, led to the appearance of *Don Quixote*, the author gives an interpretation of some of the issues involving the person of Don Quixote. Among the most interesting problems that he discusses are Don Quixote's personal qualities, the cause of Don Quixote's tragicomic predicaments and the question of illusion and hallucination in Don Quixote's emotional state. Storozhenko, for his part, dissatisfied with the direction that Cervantine criticism had embarked upon in the nineteenth century, attempts to reassess the entire issue. He proposes to achieve this by: a) reviewing the relationship between Cervantes and his interpreters; b) establishing the "true sense" of *Don Quixote*; and c) determining the threads that bind this product of Cervantes' genius to his personal life, ideas, and world view. In this respect, Storozhenko did manage to present, in a few pages, an "integrated" interpretation of *Don Quixote* and his creator.

In 1935, however, Oleksander Bilets'kyi wrote his essay "Peredmovna do romanu Servantesa: *Khytroumnyi idal'ho Don Kikhot Lamanchs'kyi*" [A Preface to Cervantes' Novel: *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha*], in *Zibrannia prats'* [Collected Works] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1966), V, 325-52, in which he radically departs from the point of view of his predecessors — Zhytets'kyi and Storozhenko. Having to work in the Soviet cultural milieu of the thirties in Eastern Ukraine, Bilets'kyi rejects much of what he calls "bourgeois criticism" and claims that the proper way to approach *Don Quixote* is through the Marxist critical method. In a more recent essay by D.S. Iakhontova, "Movna kharakterystyka obrazu Sancho Pansy" [The Linguistic Aspects of the Portrayal of Sancho Panza], in *Visnyk Lvivs'koho Politekhnychnoho Instytutu* [Lviv Polytechnic Institute Herald], No. 22 (1968), pp. 42-46, the author discusses the "Quixotization" of Sancho Panza as reflected in his speech and ideas.

Among the essays which display cultural, philosophical, psychological and socio-political content is Leonid Mosendz's "Narodzhennia Don Kikhoty" [The Birth of Don Quixote], in *Samostiina dumka* [Independent Thought], 6, No. 6-8 (June-August 1936), 337-43. In this penetrating essay, the author discusses the meaning of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in the universal human context and, above all, attempts to isolate the moment of transmutation of Quixana into Quixote.

At about the same time, Bohdan Kravtsiv wrote "Don Kikhot v Alkazari" [Don Quixote at Alcazar], in *Don Kikhot v Alkazari: Esei* [Don Quixote at Alcazar: Essays] (Lviv: n.p., 1938), pp. 92-93. This essay, written in October 1936, had been inspired by the defense of the Alcazar in Toledo at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. The author ponders this event in terms of the perennial conflict between the elements of Quixotism and Panza-ism. In the same vein is Ievhen Sverstiuk's "Slidamy kazky pro Ivanovu molodist'" [On the Trail of the Story of Ivan's Youth], in *Shyroke more Ukrainy* (Wide Sea of Ukraine) (Paris: P.I.U.F., 1972), pp. 54-66, in which he presents a story about a dispute between two brothers (a roman-

tic and a realist) on the merits of Quixotism in life.

Quixotism in the context of Ukrainian realities is the subject of Dmytro Dontsov's "Sancho Panza v literaturi i v zhyttii" [Sancho Panza in Literature and in Life], in *Dvi literary nashoi doby* (Two Aspects of the Ukrainian Literature of Our Age) (Toronto: Ukrainian Echo, 1958), pp. 124-153. Dontsov, who wrote this essay in 1934, gives an interesting analysis of the modern Ukrainian cultural and ruling elite in terms of the philosophy and attitude of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.²⁹ A similar approach is also taken in Sherekh's essay "Nasha suchasnist' — Nashe mystetstvo" [Our Contemporaneity — Our Art], *Dumky proty techii* [Thoughts Against the Current] (Munich: Ukraina, 1949), pp. 61-78, in which the author focuses on the apparent dichotomy between the traditional so-called "Ukrainianism" and contemporary reality.

At the turn of this decade, another essay appeared in which Quixotism is viewed as playing a key role, not only in preserving, but also in promoting Ukrainian national and cultural consciousness. Valentyn Moroz in "In the Midst of the Snows," *Report from the Beria Reserve: [His] Protest Writings*, trans. and ed. John Koklasky (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1974), pp. 85-113, using Don Quixote as his term of reference, tells how the so-called "Shestydesiatnyky" (the cultural generation of the sixties) sparked the Ukrainian national and cultural renaissance in the post-Stalinist era.

Other

In 1929, in the Literary Building in Kharkiv, a curious "literary dispute" took place. The participants — all of them well-known literary figures of the twenties — were asked to define the identity of the . . . "Green Mare." One of the contestants, Ivan Kulyk, in his "allegorical" discourse, concluded that the "Green Mare" was Rocinante, with Don Quixote riding on its back. The contestants' entries were not only of literary interest, but they also contained satirical comments on contemporary issues related to the Ukrainian cultural scene of the twenties and Soviet literary policies in Ukraine, which could not be discussed openly. In spite of all the speculations, however, the identity of the "Green Mare" remains a literary enigma to this day. Kulyk's presentation (along with all the others) was published as "Promova I. IU. Kulyka" [I. Iu. Kulyk's Discourse], *Literaturnyi Iarmarok* [The Literary Fair], No. 2 (January 1929), pp. 238-39.

Finally, mention should be made of a unique "autobiography" of a well-known Ukrainian poet and writer Mykhailo (Mike) Iohansen. This imaginative composition was written by his colleague Ivan Senchenko "Autobiohrafii Maika Iohansena" [The Autobiography of Mike

29. Ievhen Malaniuk also interpreted, albeit in passing, the Ukrainian character and psychology in terms of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in his essay "Buriane polittia, 1917-1927" [The Tempestuous Years, 1917-1927], *Knyha sposterezhen'* [Logbook: Essays] (Toronto: Ukrainian Echo, 1962), I, 11-32. This essay had been written in 1927.

Iohansen], *Literaturnyi Iarmarok* [The Literary Fair], No. 3 (February 1929), pp. 1-3. Iohansen's fantastic genealogy is "traced back" to an imaginary "sister" of Cervantes, Doña Ana, making both writers distant "relatives." Although this fictional "autobiography" has no direct bearing on the theme of Don Quixote in prose narrative, it does point to a certain intimacy with which some Ukrainian writers regard Spain and its literary and cultural achievements.

Translations and Adaptations of *Don Quixote*

The first opportunity for the Ukrainian public to become acquainted, in its own language, with Don Quixote came as late as 1891, when Ivan Franko published his versified interpretation of Cervantes' masterpiece. However, Franko's work, which was supplemented by a concise introduction about Cervantes and his novel, could give the reader only a general idea about the subject matter and the underlying philosophy of *Don Quixote*. As a full translation of this novel became more urgent, one of Franko's contemporaries, Volodymyr Samiilenko (with many translations from Spanish to his credit), reportedly undertook the task. It is not known, however, whether he finished his translation, or how far his work progressed. The fate of the translation manuscript is presently also unknown, and there is little hope that it will ever be located. In view of the quality of Samiilenko's art of translation, the disappearance of his manuscript is considered an irreplaceable loss for Ukrainian literature.³⁰

In the twenties, at least two literati undertook the task of translating *Don Quixote* into Ukrainian. One such attempt was an abridged adaptation for young people by Antin Lotots'kyi, trans., *Vysokodumnyi lytsar Don Kikhot iz Manchi* [The Presumptuous Knight Don Quixote of La Mancha], 2 vols. (Lviv: Moloda Ukraina, 1924-25). Of this publication an anonymous reviewer stated that, for the time being, this "gap in Ukrainian literature could be bridged by Lotots'kyi's two-volume adaptation. There are countless such adaptations in world literature and, therefore, it was easy for Lotots'kyi to follow foreign models."³¹ The reviewer also maintains that, from the point of view of the young readership, the first volume is the most interesting, and that any further editions should be reduced to only one volume based on the first part of *Don Quixote* completed by episodes from the second.³² For Lotots'ki, "Cervantes' novel is not only a satire of the novels of chivalry, but also a faithful portrayal of the struggle between man's higher goals and his lower passions."³³ The didactic worth of *Don Quixote* was undoubtedly Lotots'kyi's prime motivation in under-

30. Hryhorii Kochur, "Roman Servantesa na Ukraini" [Cervantes' Novel in Ukraine], *Vsesvit* [The Universe], No. 1 (January 1967), pp. 86-7.

31. Bibliografiia [Bibliography], *Literaturno-naukovi visnyk* [The Literary-Scientific Herald], 92, No. 1 (January 1927), 88-9.

32. Bibliografiia, *Literaturno-naukovi visnyk*, pp. 88-9.

33. Antin Lotots'kyi, trans., introd., *Vysokodumnyi rytsar Don Kikhot iz Manchi* [The

taking the project of translating and adapting Cervantes' novel for the benefit of Ukrainian youth.

Two years later, there appeared another translation of *Don Quixote* by Mykola Ivaniv, *Don Kikhot z Lamancha* [Don Quixote of La Mancha] (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1927), which enjoyed three editions. After the 1927 edition, the other two appeared under the title of *Vyhadlyvyi idal'ho Don Kikhot Lamanchs'kyi* [The Ingenious *Hidalgo* Don Quixote of La Mancha] (Kharkiv: Ditydav, 1935 and 1936). There are noticeable differences between the 1927 edition on the one hand, and the 1935 and 1936 editions on the other, since Ivaniv seemingly had decided to revise the first version. The translation is good, although unfortunately abridged. The only consolation is that his editing had been guided by his wish to keep the general plot-line intact. Notwithstanding the merits of his effort, Ivaniv's translation (because of its abridged form) fails to give the reader a full insight into Cervantes' novel. His interest in *Don Quixote* had been aroused by the following characteristics of this novel which, in his own words, can be considered as

a satire of the novels of chivalry; the first humorous novel; a portrayal of Spain in those times; partly an autobiographical work; a symbol of the eternal collision of two worlds — reality and illusion — and, finally, Don Quixote as a symbol of man in an era of transition.³⁴

In 1941 or 1942 there appeared another Ukrainian version of *Don Quixote* entitled *Smishnyi lytsar* [The Amusing Knight] by Petro Solomonovych (pseud. of Petro Mihovk). The only available reference to this publication appeared in an obituary of Petro Mihovk to the effect that "S.P. [Solomonovych, Petro] gave the public the eternally vital Don Quixote in a book entitled *Smishnyi lytsar*."³⁵

The need for a full Ukrainian translation of *Don Quixote* was far from being satisfied by a full translation of the novel from a Russian version by Vasyli' Kozachenko and Ievhen Krotevych, *Don Kikhot Lamanchs'kyi* [Don Quixote of La Mancha] (Kyiv: Molod', 1955).³⁶ The mere fact that this is a translation of a translation suggests that the work leaves much to be desired, as far as its literary merit is concerned. However, the poems that are found in *Don Quixote* were masterfully translated directly from the Spanish by Mykola Lukash. The futility of this hybrid publication is

Presumptuous Knight Don Quixote of La Mancha], by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Lviv: Moloda Ukraina, 1924), I, xv.

34. Mykola Ivaniv, trans., Peredmovia [Foreword], *Don Kikhot z Lamancha* [Don Quixote of La Mancha], by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1927), p. xii.

35. Iurii Stanynets' "Nad svizhoiu mohyloiu" [By a Fresh Grave], *Duklia* [a Carpathian pass], 16, No. 3 (1968), 235.

Unfortunately, since Mihovk's work was a war-time publication, we were unable to locate and examine a copy of it. We are inclined to believe, however, that it must have been a translation or adaptation of *Don Quixote*, rather than an original work.

36. In view of the fact that there is certainly no shortage of able and experienced

further emphasized by the fact that in the sixties the same Mykola Lukash had already completed his own full translation from the Spanish of *Don Quixote* entitled *Zavziatyi idal'ho Don Kikhot Lamanchs'kyi* [The Implacable *Hidalgo* Don Quixote of La Mancha]. This literary event had been announced in journals, and excerpts of the translation had even been published for readers to savour, in advance, Cervantes' prose in Lukash's interpretation. As one critic put it,

This [Lukash's translation], actually, will be the first Ukrainian translation of Cervantes' novel that meets the most severe requirements both in terms of penetrating the original text and in its outstanding linguistic mastery. The name of the translator alone is a guarantee that his new work, like all his previous ones, will become a remarkable event in our literature. Only now will we have a translation that could match the most outstanding attempts by the other European literatures to assimilate that great novel.³⁷

Unfortunately, Lukash's translation has not been published to this day, and the critic who evaluated his work has since fallen into disgrace with the Soviet authorities.³⁸

Finally, it should be mentioned that a number of Russian and Yiddish translations and adaptations of *Don Quixote* also appeared in Ukraine to meet the cultural needs of the Russian and Jewish minorities in the period between the 1870's and the 1930's.³⁹

Ukrainian literati in the field of literary translation who could have translated *Don Quixote* from the original, it is not unlikely that this particular version of the novel may have been inspired by political considerations. It was done from the Russian version by N. Liubimov, *Khytroumnyi idal'ho Don Kikhot Lamanchskii* [The Ingenious *Hidalgo* Don Quixote of La Mancha], by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, 2 vols. (Moskva: Goslitizdat, 1951). *Migel' de Servantes Saavedra: Bibliografiia*, p. 51.

37. Kochur, p. 87.

38. In all likelihood, Lukash's work has been barred from publication because in 1973 he was expelled from the Union of Writers and threatened with imprisonment in a psychiatric institution when he offered to serve out the five-year sentence given to a very sick literary critic Ivan Dziuba (see note #30). *The Ukrainian Herald: An Underground Journal from Soviet Ukraine*, Issue 7-8 (1974), trans. Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen' (Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1976), pp. 137, 195.

The translator and literary critic, Hryhorii Kochur (see notes 30, 37), was punished in the same manner by the Soviet authorities and for a similar reason. *The Ukrainian Herald*, Issue 7-8, p. 193.

39. In Russian: N.K. Gernet, trans., *Don Kikhot Lamanchskii* (Odessa: Bendt, 1874); n. trans., *Don Kikhot Lamanchskii* (Odessa: Aktsionoe Iuzhnorusskoe Obshestvo Pechatnovo Dela, 1899); E.A. Sin'kevich, trans., *Don Kikhot Lamanchskii* (Kiev: F.A. Joganson, 1912); A. Rudol'fovich, trans., *Don Kikhot Lamanchskii* (Odessa: n.p., 1925); M. Leontevoi, trans., *Don Kikhot Lamanchskii* (Odessa: Odespoligraf, 1928).

In Yiddish: I. Kipnis, trans., *Don Kikhot* (Kiev: Kultur-Liga, 1930); B. Hutians'kyi, trans., *Don Kikhot* (Kiev: Ukrderzhnatsmenvydav, 1936).

Don Quixote in Ukrainian Art

Prominent Ukrainian artists also made an important contribution to the interpretation of the theme of Don Quixote in art.⁴⁰ Among the first are Teofil Kopystyn's'kyi, a portraitist and religious painter, who illustrated Ivan Franko's *Pryhody Don Kikhota* [The Adventures of Don Quixote] in the 1890's;⁴¹ and one of Kopystyn's'kyi's contemporaries, the painter and engraver Olena Kul'chyts'ka, who created her well-known engraving *Don Kikhot*.⁴² In the thirties a young artist, Vitol'd Manastyr's'kyi, established himself in the realm of Ukrainian art with several outstanding paintings, among which there is also one entitled *Don Kikhot*.⁴³

However, the major contribution came after World War II from a renowned Ukrainian artist Borys Kriukow. He was engaged by El Ateneo, one of the most reputable publishing houses in Argentina, to illustrate a series of classical works of world literature, among which was *Don Quijote* (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1952-54). Kriukow's art has been repeatedly praised since his arrival in Argentina by such respectable dailies as *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, and the exclusive cultural journals *Atlántida* and *El Ateneo*.⁴⁴ The Argentinian novelist Max Dickmann had this to say about Kriukow's art:

Kriukow was a galley slave type of an artist chained to his painter's easel by the urge to express his character, which was just as enigmatic as it was rich in hues of the most opposing types. He was a painter, illustrator and cartoonist both anecdotal in his themes and lyrical in their execution. He had an almost divinatory mental ability to grasp the subtlety of a given theme, no matter how foreign it may have been to him. He would not only fathom scenes of Ukrainian life, but also themes of a most antipodal nature, as for example in books like *The Thousand and One Nights*, *The Divine Comedy*, *Don Quixote*, or Quevedo's works. Today, the latter [two] impress us as having been rendered by an artist of unadulterated Spanish ancestry.⁴⁵

On the first anniversary of the artist's death, *La Nacion*, in its weekly cultural supplement, commented as follows:

40. Among the foreign artists whose illustrations were widely used to embellish Ukrainian editions of *Don Quixote* was the Frenchman, Gustave Doré (1832-1883).

41. *Mystets'vo druhoi polovyny XIX-XX stolittia* [Art in the Second Half of the Nineteenth — Beginning of the Twentieth Century], Vol. IV, pt. 2 of *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva* [The History of Ukrainian Art] (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk Ukrain's'koi RSR, 1966-68), pp. 282-83, et passim.

42. Olena L. Kul'chyts'ka, *Don Kikhot*; Illus. in *Tvorchist' Oleny Kul'chyts'koi* [The Art of Olena L. Kul'chyts'ka], by I.V. Seniv (Kyiv: Akademiia Nauk Ukrain's'koi RSR, 1961), p. 106.

43. *Radians'ke mystetstvo 1917-1941 rokiv* [Soviet Ukrainian Art in 1917-1941], Vol. V of *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva* [The History of Ukrainian Art], p. 401.

44. Boris Kriukow (Buenos Aires: Edicion Olga Gurski, 1970); Iurii Tys-Krokhmaluk, "Borys Kriukiv," *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh* [Liberation Route], 6, No. 8 (August 1956), 940-45; Jorge Tys, "Borys Kriukov, el pintor ucranio en Argentina," *Ucrania libre*, No. 10-11 (March 1956), pp. 332-35; etc.

45. Introd., *Boris Kriukow*, n. pag.

In 1964 he received the prize of Codex Publishers at the International Competition of Illustrations for *Don Quixote* in Madrid. . . . His exquisite talent of illustrating can be enjoyed in numerous books published here and abroad, and particularly in those in the series "Unforgettable Classics" of El Ateneo Publishers. As an eternal pilgrim in the world of fiction and a traveller in the world of reality, Kriukow felt as completely at home in Dante's *Hell* as on the dusty roads of La Mancha. The characters of Boccaccio and Zola, of Poe and Quevedo were all equally familiar to him. They stare at us from the pages of a given book like a natural incarnation of the visual thought of its author making it easier for us to fathom his world.⁴⁶

Among the better-known works by Kriukow with the Don Quixote theme are the oil paintings *Don Kikhot i Sancho Panza* [Don Quixote and Sancho Panza], *Lytsars'ki Romany* [Books of Chivalry] (showing Don Quixote reading) and a tempera portraying a defiant Don Quixote with his sword drawn. The tempera had been a prize-winner at the International Contest in Madrid mentioned above.⁴⁷

Finally, among the artists presently working in Ukraine who have dealt with the Don Quixote theme are Anatolii Bazylevych and Valentyn Lytvynenko.⁴⁸ The masterly but ill-fated translation by Mykola Lukash probably would have been embellished by the modernistic illustrations of O. Petrova, some of whose sketches illustrated Pt. I, Chaps. i and xxv of *Don Quixote*, which appeared in *Vsesvit* [The Universe] in 1967.⁴⁹

It is a pity, however, that fate and human folly prevented the foremost Ukrainian master of the graphic arts, Borys Kriukow, and the masterly translator of *Don Quixote* into Ukrainian, Mykola Lukash, from combining their rare talents to create what might have been a lasting monument to Cervantes and Don Quixote in Ukraine and Eastern Europe as a whole.

46. Heino Zernask, "Boris Kriukow y sus mundos imaginarios," *La Nación*, 10 March 1968, Sec. 3, p. 3, col. 4-7.

47. *Boris Kriukow*, Illus. 13, 29, 38.

48. "Miguel' de Servantes Saavedra," *Vsesvit* [The Universe], No. 4 (April 1966), pp. 99-101.

49. Mykola Lukash, trans., *Zavziatyi idal'ho Don Kikhot Lamanchs'kyi* [The Implacable Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha], by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, in *Vsesvit*, No. 1 (January 1967), pp. 80-90, 93-94, 96.

Гетьман Сагайдачний у віршах К. Саковича (1622)

В історії України, серед довгого ряду гетьманів війська запорозького чи й самої Гетьманщини, найбільше вирізняються три українські особистості: Петро Конашевич Сагайдачний, Богдан Зиновій Хмельницький та Іван Мазепа. Про останніх двох існує немала література. Життя й діяльність першого з цих державних діячів, на жаль, мало досліджене, а творів красномовного письменства про нього ще менше. І це в той час, коли П. Конашевич Сагайдачний був одним із перших гетьманів, що послідовно працювали для державного визволення України та її усамостійнення. Великою мірою він підготував те, що завершив Гетьман Богдан Хмельницький — створення в 1648 р. фактично незалежної держави.

Михайло Максимович, мабуть перший у нашій новій літературі, висловився про політичні наміри Гетьмана Сагайдачного. На його думку, гетьман, звільнюючись від польської залежності, глибоко вірив, що Україна, себто нова “Київська Русь. . . визволиться. . . і буде самостійною” (в оригіналі: “Киевская Русь. . . освободит себя. . . и будет самостоятельною”)¹ А “щоб досягнути цього, Київській Русі треба було спершу поновити свою православну митрополію”,² що й було зроблене. Слова Максимовича свідчать не лише про прагнення Гетьмана Сагайдачного, а й про самостійницькі ідеї українців середини ХІХ ст..

Що являла собою національна свідомість українців за Гетьмана Сагайдачного? У характеристиці “южно-русской литературы XVII в.”, що була надрукована в журналі *Киевская старина* 1885 р., Мико-

1. М. Максимович, “Сказание о Петре Сагайдачномъ”, *Киевлянин* (Москва, 1850), кн. 3, стор. 157. Про самостійність України в ХVІІ ст. писав також М. Гатцук у книжці *Вжинок рідного поля* (Москва, 1857):

Наливайко, Сагайдачний. . .
Дорошенко, Дорошенко!
Тільки ти тручавсь Лядського [,]
Московського панства; [держави - ЯС]
Тільки ти хтів Україні
Самотнього Царства. (Стор. 305).

Підкреслені рядки були вилучені царською цензурою, але після надрукування книжки вписані олівцем рукою самого автора. Єдиний на Заході примірник Гатцукової книжки зберігається в автора цієї статті.

2. Там же, стор. 157-58.

ла Сумцов так писав про тогочасних українців (подаю в перекладі з російської):

Силою національної свідомости українські [в оригіналі “южно-русские”] люди початку XVII ст. стояли дуже високо, вище українських людей кінця XVII ст., не згадуючи вже значно пізнішого часу, коли настало загальне духове зубожіння і здрібнення.³

Полеміка православних із католиками, що намагалися польщити Галичину, Волинь і навіть Правобережжя, причинилась до завзятої боротьби за національну незалежність України. Яскравим виявом саме таких прагнень став Гетьман Сагайдачний. Це була дуже талановита і всебічно розвинена людина. Військовий стратег, шанований знавцями воєнного мистецтва, він досягнув кілька блискучих перемог у боях проти султанської Туреччини, сягаючи околиць Константинополя, визволяючи невільників. 1616 р. козаки під його проводом напали на Кафу (Теодосію), спалили й потопили галери-каторги і знищили 14 тисяч турків і татар, визволивши багато бранців. Під Хотином 1621 р. козацьке військо Гетьмана Сагайдачного було вирішальною силою в розгромі турецької армії, що загрожувала слабій Польщі та іншим країнам осередньої Європи. Це був один із небагатьох гетьманів, які дбали про сувору дисципліну в Січі та всебічне вишколення козацького війська. Як пізніше Гетьман Мазепа, Гетьман Сагайдачний давав значні суми грошей на школи, церкви та шпиталі, дбаючи про збереження й розвиток духовости свого народу.

Цілком логічно, що Касіян Сакович, ректор шкіл київських, уважав за свій обов'язок пошанувати гетьмана величальними віршами. Вони були прочитані на його похороні, а потім — у поширеному обсязі — видані окремою книжкою 1622 р. Повний текст титульної сторінки такий:⁴

3. Н.Ф. Сумцов, “Характеристика южно-русской литературы XVII в.,” *Киевская старина*, 1885, стор. 11.

4. Фотокопія титульної сторінки, зроблена з оригіналу, що зберігається в Києві. Усі цитати віршів — за текстом, що в книзі *Українська поезія: Кінець XVI — початок XVII ст.* Упорядники В.П. Колосова, В.І. Крекотень, Київ: “Наукова думка”, 1978. В окремих випадках цитати звірено за ксероксованою копією з першодруку 1622 р. Саковичів правопис не послідовний. Ті самі слова у нього написано різно, навіть у суміжних рядках: ест, есть; рыцер, рицер; там, тамъ; -дцать, -дцять. . . . Оскільки це не мовознавча праця, такі випадки тут не обговорюються. Я точно цитую за джерелами, що зазначені в цій примітці.

Б Ъ Р Ш Ъ

НАЖАЛОСНЫЙ ПОГРЕБЪ

Зѣцного Рѣцера

ПЕТРЪ КОНАШЕВНЧА

САГАНДѢЧНОГО, ГВТМАНА

БОЙСКА ЕГО КЪ: МѢТИ

ЗАПОРОЗКОГО.

ЗЛОЖОНЫИ ПРЕЗЪ ЙНОКА

КАСІАНА СЯКОВНЧА

ГІКТОРА ШКОЛА КІВЕКНЪ,

В' Б Р Я Ц Т В Ъ.

МОВАНИИ ѿ ЕГО СПЕДИѢ НА ПОГРЕБѢ ТОГО ЦНОГО РѣЦЕРА
В' КІВЕКНЪ, І НѢН ПРОВОДНИѢ,

ГОЛА ЕЖОГО, ТІСАЧА ШІТЬСѢТИ ДВАДЦАТЬ ЕТОГОГО.

С. ПР. П. ВО СЪВѢТИ ЛѢ ПѢН ВАНТИМАНА ВАНІТА ПАДІ С' ОДЪ ДѢЛА СЪ ІДѢН.

При цій нагоді треба виправити дві очевидні помилки, яких допустилися ті, що писали про це видання. О.П. Молчанов у своїй коротенькій статейці до *Радянської енциклопедії історії України* змінює слово “жалосный” на “жалостный” (уставляє Т)⁵ і таким чином російщить первісне написання, дуже властиве для української вимови: вісник, жалісний, пристрасний. . . (без Т в написанні й вимові). Літературознавець С.І. Маслов, відомий солідністю в дослідженнях, у своїй статті “Вірші Кассіана Саковича *На жалосний погреб П.К. Сагайдачного*” заступає написання “запорозкого” словом “запорожского”.⁶ Можливо зробили це упорядники або — правдоподібно — цензори, щоб наблизити первісне написання до сучасного російського.

Книжка Саковича складається з віршованої передмови, 19-ох деклямацій та епілогу. На самому початку, після титульної сторінки, уміщено герб “сильного войска. . . запорозкого”, а під ним — шестирядковий вірш, епіграма на цей герб. Валерій Шевчук, назвавши це видання “видатною поетичною книгою в Києві”, нагадує, що автор “впроваджує в український вірш. . . силу”.⁷ З цим твердженням не можна не погодитись, особливо після першого в українській літературі римованого твору “Хто йде. . .” Івана Жоравницького з Луцька, написаного 1575 р., “Пісні про Козака Плахту і Кулину” (1612?) та інших, напр., “Козак Байда”, що створені силаботонічними віршами, близькими до народних пісень.

Вірші Саковича деякі дослідники називали панегіричним твором,⁸ інші порівнювали з похоронним плачем, або голосіннями, “ляментом”. На мій погляд, ці вірші найкраще класифікувати як історичні. Очевидно, в них є елементи панегіриків, але вони якось розпливаються і зникають за суворими фактами з життя покійника, що цілком слушно зазначив уже Т. Пачовський.⁹ Формально ці вірші близькі до деклямацій — їх, як відомо, й було виконано на похороні. Під кожною частиною поставлено ім’я та прізвище студента (спудея) братських шкіл у Києві, що виголошував похвалу над труною гетьмана. Ця формальна особливість давала декому¹⁰ якусь підставу зараховувати Вірші до драматичної творчості. Оскільки це не властиві діалоги, а скоріше монологи, думаю, що краще трактувати

5. *Радянська енциклопедія історії України* (Київ, АН УРСР, 1972), том 4, стор. 49.

6. *Матеріали до вивчення історії української літератури. Том I. Давня українська література*. Упорядкували О.І. Білецький, Ф. Я. Шолом (Київ: “Радянська школа”, 1959), стор. 253.

7. Валерій Шевчук, “Київські поети XVII-XVIII віків”, *Дніпро*, 1980, ч. 9, стор. 118.

8. *Історія української літератури. Давня література* (Київ: “Наукова думка”, 1967), том I, стор. 320 (автор розділу — В.П. Колосова); С.І. Маслов — див. примітку 6.

9. Т. Пачовський, *Лекції з курсу “Історія української літератури XVI-XVIII ст.”* (Львів: Львівський університет, 1965), стор. 41.

10. М.С. Грицай, *Українська драматургія XVII-XVIII ст.* (Київ: “Вища школа”, 1974), стор. 14.

їх просто як віршову творчість, тогочасну поезію, з історичними мотивами.

Головний персонаж Віршів Саковича — Петро Конашевич Сагайдачний. З багатьох рядків дізнаємося про життєписні дані гетьмана:

Уродилъся он въ краяхъ подгорскихъ премисскихъ.
 Выхованъ въ вѣрѣ церкви восточней зъ лѣтъ дѣтинскихъ.
 Шолъ потомъ до Острога, для наукъ утивыхъ,
 Которыи тамъ квітли за благочестивыхъ
 Княжатъ. . .
 Тамъ теды Конашевичъ часъ немалый живши
 И наукъ въ писмѣхъ нашомъ словенскомъ навѣкъши,
 Потомъ, видячи ся бити способнымъ до мензства,
 Шолъ до запорозкого славного рыцѣрства,
 Межи котрымъ презъ часъ не малый жиючи
 И рицѣрскихъ дѣлностей тамъ доказуючи.
 Гетманомъ потомъ собѣ войско го обрало,
 Изъ нимъ менжне татаровъ и турковъ бивало. [било - ЯС]
 За своего гетманства взялъ въ Турцѣхъ мѣсто Кафу,
 Ажъ и самъ цесаръ турскій былъ въ великомъ страху,
 Бо му чотырнадцать тысячъ тамъ люду збилъ,
 Катарги едины палилъ, другіи потопилъ,
 Много тогды зъ неволѣ христіанъ свободилъ. . .

(Зі слів 13-го спудея)

Після довгого переліку подвигів гетьмана, його заслуг перед військом запорозьким та всією Україною, як також окремих епізодів із його життя, що схоже на історичний літопис, зазначено:

Року тисѣча шесть сотъ двадѣсятъ второго,
 Погребенъ въ монастыри брацтва Кіѣвского,
 На который тисѣчай килка офѣровалъ,
 А же бы тамъ науки фундовано, жадалъ.

(Зі слів 17-го спудея)

Здається, що ці відомості були основними джерелами до життєпису гетьмана, який складали науковці вже новітнього часу, бо воєнні завірюхи, особливо визвольна війна 1648-50 років, понищили багато архівів. У правдивості даних, заримованих у Віршах, покищо ніхто не сумнівається.

Образ Гетьмана Сагайдачного в показі Саковича має одну своєрідну рису, яку треба наголосити:

. . . гетманъ не самъ презъ ся, лечъ войскомъ естъ славный,
 А войско тыжъ гетманомъ, доводъ то естъ явный,
 Гетманъ безъ войска што жъ естъ, войско тыжъ безъ него?
 Згола нѣчого не естъ единъ безъ другого.

(З передмови)

Оці тяжкуваті силабічні вірші, для кращого сприймання, варто переказати сучасною українською мовою:

... гетьман не сам собою, а військом славний,
 Військо славне також гетьманом — на це є довід явний.
 Бо що ж гетьман без війська, що військо без нього?
 Зовсім нічого не варті один без одного!

Отже, провідник і нарід — це одність, голова й тіло у повній єдності. Окремо взяті, вони нічого не варті чи мало що варті. Цікаво, що подібну думку зустрічаємо приблизно 80 років пізніше в “Думі” Гетьмана Мазепи, що її поширювали кобзарі по Україні, як позрадянському доносив московському цареві Кочубей (ці вірші знайдено в таємному архіві Москви уже за нашого часу):

На корабель поглядімо,
 Много людей полічімо;
 Однак стирник сам керує,
 Весь корабель управує.
 Пчулка бідна матку має
 І оної послухає.¹¹

Гетьман Мазепа хотів цими рядками впливати на тих, що діяли “без жодної політики”, слугували туркам, ляхам, москалям заради власної вигоди, “не в еден гуж” тягнули, тому “През незгоду всі пропали, Самі себе звозвали”. За Сагайдачного такого ще не було, принаймні не було його так багато, як пізніше, за Мазепи, коли автономна українська держава ставала залежною від Московії та її сатрапа Петра І.

У передмові Сакович дуже добре з'ясовує, що таке свобода чи пак “волность”, яку він ставить над усе в житті, щось таке, “што найбільшого єсть в людех”. Перед свободою поступається навіть гідність. Далі автор розгортає цілий трактат із приводу цього:

... посвѣдчити могутъ всѣ створеня,
 Которыи зъ натуры прагнутъ свобожения.
 Золотая волность — такъ си называютъ.
 Доступити си всѣ пилне ся старають.
 Леч она не каждому можетъ быти дана,
 Только тымъ, што боронятъ ойчизны и пана.
 Менствомъ си рыцерьъ въ войнахъ доступують.
 Не грошми, але кровю ся си докупають.
 Войско запорозкоє волности набыло
 Тымъ, же вѣрне ойчизнѣ и кролюмъ служило.
 Кройники о ихъ менствѣ старые писали,
 Якъ они неприятелей ойчистыхъ бивали,
 Моремъ, сухомъ, частокротъ пѣшо, и тыжъ конно,
 Хотяй ся неприятель ихъ убиралъ збройно.

(3 передмови)

11. Іван Мазепа, *Писання* (Краків-Львів: “Українське видавництво”, 1943), стор. 27-28.

Характеризуючи козаків, автор не задовольняється своєю сучасністю. Запорозьке військо, без якого не може гетьман славним бути, хоче він збагатити ще й винятковим родоводом. Правдивий християнин, звертається Сакович до Біблії, виводячи запорожців “з нащіння оного Іафета, Который зъ Симом покрыл отчіе секрета”. Ясна річ, такий мітологічний родовід — не що інше, як поетична фігура. Зате вже у згоді з історичною правдою звучать наступні рядки про те, що ці ж самі козаки

За Олега, русского монархи, плывали
 Въ чолнах по мору и на Царьград штурмували.
 Их то продки зъ росским ся монархою крестили
 Владимиром, и в вѣрѣ той статечне жили.
 При которой и они такъ стоятъ статечне,
 Же за ню умирати готови конечне.
 (Також із передмови)

Історична пам'ять у Саковича — дуже важливий національний фактор. Можна гадати, що вона була поширена в Україні за Гетьмана Сагайдачного. Івани без роду й племені з'являться значно пізніше, після скасування Січі Катериною II. Як згадував уже Сумцов, поширяться тоді “духове зубожіння і здрибнення”, бо національно свідомий люд український XVII ст. перетвориться протягом наступного, післямазепинського часу, в безформну етнографічну масу — без освіти й проводу, без історичної пам'яті в народі, над яким ляскатиме московський батіг Романових та їхніх вислужників. Сакович засвідчує те, що геніяльно прославить Тарас Шевченко 220 років пізніше, мовляв, “Було колись в Україні. . .” Не забуває автор Віршів нагадати читачеві, що

Бывали межи войском тым князѣ и паны,
 С которых выходили добрыи гетманы,
 Якимъ и тотъ их гетман, Петрѣ Коначевич, был,
 Который справ рицерских дѣлностью всюды слыл.

Оскільки гетьман без війська нічого не вартий, Сакович голосно прославляє хоробрість, умілість і завзяття козаків, бо це військо “ойчизні єсть потребно”. Такий закон життя, що — як співається в народній пісні — “на горі. . . жінці жнуть, а попід горою. . . козаки йдуть”. Тому

Украина тым войском вѣцале зоставаѣт.
 А где запорозцов нѣт, татарин впадаѣт. . .
 Козак, нѣ маючи нѣ зброи, нѣ шишака,
 Стигаѣт татар, бы могл допасти лошака.
 Чинить здровню своєму часто одваженя,
 Бы толко неволник могл мѣтъ высвобоженя.

Такі-то спритні й моторні оті козаки! Як пізніше Еней в Івана

Котляревського! Без зброї й навіть без коня, якщо треба, “стигають”, себто ловлять татар, наїзників із Криму. Це ж вони, запорожці, “ойчизнѣ нашої суть обороною, От татар поганих и турков заслоною”. Правдиве зображення ролі українського, зокрема запорозького, козацтва! Заслоною козаки були не лише для України, а й для всієї Європи, що розвивалася, розцвітала й пожинала багаті плоди культури — тоді, коли Україна кривавилась у нескінченних битвах проти турецьких і татарських людоловів і паліїв українських сіл.

Свѣдками того суть (ох) мѣста подолскіи
И краи подгорскіи, аж тыж и белзскіе,
Где много поганин крѣве християнской розлял,
А живо позосталых тых въ неволю забрал.
(Усі непозначені цитати — з передмови)

Як уже згадано, Сагайдачний і його козаки — це одність, єдність. Саме тому вони й були переможцями у походах і битвах. Красно сказавши про війсьکو запорозьке, Сакович знову і знову повертається до образу самого гетьмана, якого доповнює окремими штрихами, неначе маляр — пензлем; то порівнює з Олефіром (біблійним Олоферном, якого обманила Юдита, напоївши його й відрубавши йому голову), то з атенським відважним королем Кодром, який волів сам прийняти смерть, аби лише його батьківщина була ціла, не поділена, бо

... лепѣй ест стратити живот за ойчизну,
Нѣжли неприятелю достать ся въ коризну.
Кто бовѣм за ойчизну не хочет вмирати,
Тот потом зъ ойчизною мусить погибати.
(Зі слів другого спудея)

Останні два рядки звучать — як афоризм! До речі, цю строфу переклав на сучасну мову Максим Рильський — вона була надрукована як цитата у статті Маслова:

Таж краще голову покласти за отчизну,
Ніж лютим ворогам дістаться в даровизну.
Бо хто за рідний край не хоче помирать,
Із рідним краєм той сам мусить погибать.¹²

Сама згадка про Кодра не задовольняє Саковича. Він шукає інших аналогій в античності, до якої причащалась і давня Україна — за допомогою Ольвії, Херсонесу та інших міст-держав на північному березі Чорного моря. Тому таке доречне порівняння Гетьмана Сагайдачного зі спартанським королем Леонидом, “который менжне

12. Журнал *Українська література*, 1942, ч. 5-6, стор. 226. Передруковано у збірнику *Матеріали*, т. I. — див. примітку 6.

(мужньо - ЯС) кроля воювал Ксерксеса". Очевидно, перський цар Ксеркс тут виступає втіленням турецько-татарських загарбників. Цікаво, що автор Віршів заглиблюється в деталі перемог спартанського короля, ніби прототипа гетьмана, мудрого й відданого Спарти Леоніда, який

Шестьсот толко зъ собою рыцеров маючи,
Впал зъ ними, Ксерксово войско рубаючи,
Которого по пятькоть сто тысячий было,
Леч от шестех сот двадцать тысяч го убыло.
(Зі слів другого спудея)

Усі ці відомості свідчать, що Сакович був добре ознайомлений з історією Геллади, Спарти й Близького Сходу. Чисельність війська, може, й не точна. Головне те, що ті числа служили для автора ваговитими атрибутами у змалюванні подвигів українського гетьмана, якого прирівняно до королів, царів чи інших визначних особистостей античності. Згадки про єгипетського царя Філядельфа (слова п'ятого спудея), про царів Константинополя (слова шостого спудея), про царя Салатина чи пак арабського Саладина (слова восьмого спудея), як і про Олександра Македонського (слова 12-го спудея) та його батька Філіпа чи Пилипа (слова дев'ятого спудея), як також про Діогена чи навіть Валенса, римського імператора Валента (слова 10-го спудея), — усе це засвідчує начитаність автора Віршів. Сакович орудував цими та іншими іменами досить вільно — так як пізніше поети-клясицисти гралися Аполлоном, Венерою, Зевсом і т.п.

Намалювавши портрет Гетьмана Сагайдачного, іноді яскраво-образними словами, з допомогою метафор та епітетів, згадавши про його щедрі пожертви на школи, шпиталі й церкви, Сакович іще й додає, який-то має бути зразковий гетьман чи зразковий лицар узагалі:

С того гетмана каждый рыцер нех ся учить,
Якъ бы тыж мѣл на свѣтѣ тот живот свой кончить.
Ото он в вѣрѣ своей святой трвал статечне
И ойчизны свои боронил тыж менжне,
И мастью добро своєю шафовал,
Не на кости и карты и збытки обертал. . .
Видѣл он и Лвовское братство, хоть далеко,
Церков их въ мѣстѣ надѣлил не ледаеко,
Суму значную грошій до брацтва лекговал,
А же бы науки тамъ были, пилне жадал.

(Зі слів 14-го спудея)

Після цього переліку чеснот Гетьмана Сагайдачного автор Віршів, користуючись нагодою, складає своєрідний правний кодекс для полководця чи лицаря взагалі. Сукупність військових, етичних, побутових чи всяких інших правил добре викладено в монолозі 18-го спудея. Гетьман повинен мати, передусім, такі "цноты": "боязнь бож-

ую”, “трезвость, чуйность, статечность. . . чистость”. Сакович продовжує, що гетьман чи лицар

В науцѣ тѣж вѣсннѣй нех будет цвиченѣй,
 Голодом и холодом тѣж привычаснѣй.
 Бо не завше вѣ обозѣ свѣжая волина,
 Добра зѣ саламахою подчас кабанина. . .
 О напоях коштовных там нѣ помышляй,
 Але на водѣ, если рачиш, переставай. . .
 Маст тѣж гетман вѣ войску мѣти справедливость,
 Добрых миловати, злых засѣ карать за их злость.

І закінчує автор ніби параболою, що її сказав “єдин грецькій” філософ: “лѣпше єсть мѣти лѣва над єлєнями Гетманом, а нѣжели єлєня над лѣвами”.

Оскільки гетьман чи лицар узагалі мусить бути “цвиченѣй”, себ-то освічений, розумний, то Сакович запевняє, що “глупѣй сам зѣгинет и войско погубитѣ” та ще й додає, що “автор не мутитѣ”, а каже суто правду, бо лицар може “найболшим войском рядити”, якщо згадані “цноты. . . будет мѣти”. Іншими словами, лише людина зі святим обов’язком, “сѣ похвалою”, може воювати, здобуваючи перемогу. Воювати не з метою збагачення, не з метою поневолення, а навпаки — визволення.

Обов’язок лицаря — постійно дбати про свободу. Тому ректор шкіл київських не вагається повчити читача, можливого кандидата на гуманного лицаря:

. . . за найболшую нех себѣ нагороду
 Почитаєт рыцєр, кдѣ кого на свободу
 Визволитѣ, за што грѣхов себѣ отпушєнє
 Одержитѣ, а по смерти вѣ небѣ вѣмѣшєнє.
 (Зі слів 13-го спудєя)

Отже, хто визволяєтьсѣ й визволяє інших, тому дорога просто до неба! Для правдивих християн це була справді велика нагорода.

З нагоди похорону гетьмана, що помер від незагойної рани (від отруйної стріли в бою під Хотином), говориться багато про смерть, про яку тоді часто писали поети. У Саковича вона нікого не обминає, зустрічає всіх, бідних і заможних, усіх стриже під один горщик:

Посѣкла премудрого она Соломона,
 И оного силного рыцєра Сампсона,
 Не выкупилсѣ Крезус от неѣ богатством,
 И не оборонилсѣ єѣ Ксерксес воинством,
 Бо єѣ сам праводавца Бог тоє право дал,
 Абы под си владзу каждый человек подлегал.
 (З епілогу)

Така вже могутня ота смерть, як пізніше в Григорія Сковороди. Забрала вона й Гетьмана Сагайдачного. Але автор Віршів запевняє

безсмертя для нього. Так постає одна з найраніших і найкращих од в українській літературі:

Несмертельнои славы достойный гетмане,
 Твоя слава в молчанно нѣгды не зостане,
 Поки Днѣпръ зъ Днѣстром многорыбные плынути
 Будуть, поты дѣлности теж твои слынути.
 Не зайдеш въ глубокое нѣкгды запомнѣня,
 Анѣ ты лѣта пустятъ въ долгое молчѣня.
 Бо если выхваляет Кгреція Нестора,
 Ахиллеса, Аякса, а Троя Гектора,
 Атенчикове славятъ кроля Периклеса
 И славного оного зъ ним Темистоклеса,
 Рим зась зъ смѣлости своего хвалить Курциуша
 И зъ щасливых потычок славить Помпеюша,
 Теды теж и Россія Петра Са[га]йдачного
 Подасть людем, въ памятку вѣку потомного,
 Абы его послугы кравыи всѣ знали
 И предъ народы годне его вспоминали. . .
 (Зі слів 17-го спудея)

Останні 10 рядків цієї цитати — для кращого сприймання тексту — наводжу нижче в перекладі М. Рильського. Варто пригадати сучасному читачеві, що “Россія” в Саковича значить “Київська Русь”, як правильно тлумачить і перекладач. Московію, чи пак “Московское Государство”, лише Петро I перейменував на “Россию” після кривавої перемоги під Полтавою 1709 р., таким чином присвоївши українську (руську) спадщину для Московії (між іншим, *ruski*, “руський”, у польській мові ще й тепер уживається зі значенням “давньоукраїнський”).

Як Нестор та Ахіл — у Греції герої,
 Як Гектор сміливий прославився у Трої,
 В Атенах склалася Периклова хвала
 І Темістоклові гриміли скрізь діла,
 Як мужність Курція у Римі всі хвалили
 І переможного Помпея божествили,
 Хай Сагайдачного повік-віків
 Прославить наша Русь, як приклад для синів,
 Щоб про діла його нащадки споминали
 І гідним іменем в народах називали.¹³

* * *

Образ Гетьмана Сагайдачного, на жаль, не втішався належною увагою серед літературознавців минулого. Сергій Єфремов у своїй *Історії українського письменства* (перший том написано ще до Української Революції) зовсім не займається такою темою, лише цитує всього шість рядків про лицарство запорожців,¹⁴ не входячи в

13. Пачовський, стор. 39.

14. Сергій Єфремов, *Історія українського письменства* (Ляйпціг: “Українська накладня”, 1924), т. 2, стор. 223.

аналіз. Українську віршову літературу XVII ст. оцінює він переважно негативно.

Михайло Возняк у другому томі своєї *Історії української літератури* (1921), подаючи майже в подробицях Саковичів життєпис, лагідніше ставиться до Віршів, відзначає біографічні дані про гетьмана, заримовані в них, а подекуди навіть їх аналізує. Добрим словом згадує дослідник трактування запорожців. Усе ж таки немає мови про органічну спільність між гетьманом і козаками. Висновок Возняка стосується переважно літературних вартостей твору:

На Віршах Саковича слідний до деякого ступня вплив латино-польської поезики й риторики шкіл. . . красномовности. . . пописатися уривковими вітками з мітології, римської та грецької старовини, географії й історії, хоч ці недостачі не разять, бо їх надробляє талановистість і теплота почувань автора.¹⁵

Об'єктивний висновок Возняка, із яким ще й тепер можна погодитися, звучить в унісон із характеристикою Віршів Саковича, що її зробив Володимир Перетц у своєму дослідженні давньої української поезії років 20 раніше (воно було надруковане 1900 р. в Петербурзі):

Поети в Україні, як і в Польщі, відгукуються на значні події свого часу, оспівують та оплакують провідників тієї суспільної кляси, до якої самі належать. . . у творі Касіяна Саковича — всі характерні особливості сучасних йому польських творів того жанру, змісту і призначення. . . Гроховський, задовго до Саковича, дав йому зразок у віршах на смерть Замойського, де дуже вдало зобразив значність такої втрати й перерахував усі подвиги покійника.¹⁶

Перетц був першим, що подав польське джерело — Ks. St. Grochowskięgo wiersze i insze pisma (Kraków, 1607) — яке послужило українському поетові за зразок. Зрештою, Саковичів твір не був єдиним випадком у той час.

На жаль, мені недоступні інші дореволюційні критичні праці, в яких згадуються Вірші Саковича. Натомість останні радянські видання напихваті. У них скрізь підкреслюють клясове розшарування в суспільстві, неодмінну рису методу соціалістичного реалізму. Образ Гетьмана Сагайдачного, рельєфно накреслений Саковичем, якось розводнюється, стає нечітким. Лише В.П. Колосова в “колективній” *Історії української літератури* (1967), не зважаючи на приписи згаданого методу, правдиво характеризує гетьмана. Вона доречно цитує з Віршів: “гетман без войска — што ж есть? Войско тыж без него. Згола нїчого не есть єдин без другого”. Дослідниця слушно констатує, що “провідний мотив” твору, не зважаючи на похорон гетьмана, “бадьорий, життєстверджуючий”.¹⁷ Тимчасова

15. Михайло Возняк, *Історія української літератури* (Львів: “Просвіта”, 1921), том I, частина I, стор. 282.

16. В.Н. Перетц, *Исследования и материалы по истории старинной украинской литературы XVI-XVIII веков* (Москва - Ленинград: АН СССР, 1962), стор. 146.

17. Колосова, стор. 318 — див. примітку 8.

відлига під радянським ладом дала Колосовій блискучу нагоду відзначити у творі найголовніше:

Піднісни військові доблесті і моральні якості Петра Конашевича Сагайдачного, Сакович першим в українській давній поезії створив монументальний образ ідеального національного героя і наділив його виразною виховною функцією ("с того гетьмана кождый рыцерь нех ся учить!")¹⁸

Дуже доречно також її характеристика поетикальних засобів у Віршах: автор "майже не вживає метафор", однак "щедро вводить порівняння, особливо полюбуючи аналогії зі стародавньою історією", з метою підсилення емоційності "поет нагнітає один епітет на другий"¹⁹ тощо.

Не можна не згадати "навчальний посібник" *Історія української літератури. Давня література* (1969), в якому сторінки про Саковича написав Ф.М. Поліщук. В основному він тримається інтерпретації, що її зробила Колосова, ота жінка — єдина амазонка серед козаків на Січі! Поліщук підкреслює, що Вірші "становлять для нас певну цінність і як історично достовірна розповідь про життя Петра Сагайдачного", а на образ гетьмана дивиться як на "мужнього борця за свободу і незалежність батьківщини", "хороброго і мудрого керівника запорізького війська".²⁰ Важливе тут слово "незалежність", що його усунуть радянські цензори з пізніших характеристик Гетьмана Сагайдачного у працях інших дослідників. Поліщук наголошує:

Сакович славить гетьмана як поборника науки і культури. Сагайдачний сприяв відновленню православної церкви, розвитку освіти, підтримував зв'язки з вченими колами Києва. Разом з усім запорізьким військом записався до Київського братства.²¹

Там же йде мова про гетьмана як про "національного героя". А щодо "метафоричних образів", то сказано, що їх "чимало". Це контрастує з твердженнями деяких попередників, які зазначали, що їх "мало". Цей же дослідник наводить гарну метафору про гетьмана: "твоя свіча ясна юж згасла", а також говорить про "філософсько-релігійні роздуми", "емоційне забарвлення", слухно відзначає, що в "деяких місцях плач за гетьманом нагадує за формою народні голосіння", дуже близькі до "народнопісенного речитативу",²² зокрема у виступі четвертого спудея.

На превеликий жаль, майже нічого подібного немає в підручнику "для студентів філологічних факультетів" *Давня українська літе-*

18. Там же, стор. 319.

19. Там же, стор. 319.

20. *Історія української літератури. Давня література* (Київ: "Вища школа", 1969), стор. 201 (автор підрозділу — Ф.М. Поліщук). Не плутати цього підручника з академічним виданням 1967 р., що має таку саму назву.

21. Там же, стор. 201-202.

22. Там же, стор. 202.

ратура (1978), що вийшов у світ приблизно 10 років пізніше (після чергового московського погрому в 1972 р.) і заступив підручник 1969 р. В.Л. Микитась і Т.І. Пачовський, автори розділу про Саковича, у цьому останньому виданні подають образ Гетьмана Сагайдачного не таким рельєфним, як у Колосової та Поліщука. Знову напущено туманності: ті самі цитати, ніби й та сама чи подібна аргументація, але не те саме враження! Студенти філологічних факультетів отримують тут не повний літературний портрет гетьмана, а лише його ескіз. Добре, що хоч згадано “доброзичливість гетьмана у ставленні до українського суспільства, його пожертвування на шпиталі, монастирі, церкви і особливо школи”, “матеріальну і моральну допомогу”²³ Київському та Львівському братствам і т.п.

* * *

Силабічні вірші Саковича, написані тогочасною книжною мовою, в основному зрозумілі освіченому читачеві, особливо тому, хто ознайомлений із польською та бодай трохи з церковнослов'янською. Але деякі рядки, без переказу чи перекладу сучасною мовою, розуміти не так то й легко. Масовий читач не вчитає першотвір, передрукований у згаданий уже антології *Українська поезія: Кінець XVI —початок XVII ст.* (1978). Нічого дивного в цьому немає. Адже Віршам більш як 360 років. Не зважаючи на архаїчні мовні особливості та іноді різне написання тих самих слів, Саковичів твір має значну літературно-пізнавальну вартість. Окремі деклямації позначені виразним хистом поета. Образ Гетьмана Сагайдачного, як уже згадувалося, накреслено у згоді з історичною правдою, помистецькому, хоч дуже часто незграбною силабою, що не дає естетичного задоволення. Це усвідомлюють сучасні дослідники давньої української літератури. Антологія *Аполлонова люття: Київські поети XVII-XVIII ст.* (1982) та перший том шеститомної *Антології української поезії*, а саме *Українська дожовтнева поезія: Твори поетів XI-XVIII ст.* (1984) уже мають уривки з твору Саковича в гарних перекладах Володимира Крекотня й Валерія Шевчука, до речі, зі збереженням силаби. Покищо осучаснено лише уривки. (Тому автор цієї статті переклав, а подекуди переказав сучасною мовою всі Вірші Саковича).

Насамкінець треба хоч коротко сказати про самого Касіяна Саковича. Народився він 1578 р. в селі Потеличі (Подтеличі) на теперішній Львівщині в родині православного священика. Назвали його Калістом. Родина була, мабуть, не дуже заможна. Як повідомляє Возняк,²⁴ через брак належного догляду, свиня відкусила немовляті Калістові одне вуха, що стало пізніше предметом глузування з боку деяких польських полемістів, які погорджували простолюдям.

23. М.С. Грицай, В.Л. Микитась, Ф.Я. Шолом, *Давня українська література* (Київ: “Вища школа”, 1978), стор. 167-68.

24. Возняк, стор. 277.

Навчався Сакович у Замойській та Краківській академіях. Постригшись у ченці, прийняв ім'я Касіяна. Якийсь час був дяком і визначився тим, що часто скакав у гречку, за що його хотіли повісити, але він щасливо утік. У 1620-24 роках був ректором Київських братських шкіл, коли й написав свої Вірші, а його учні прочитали їх на похороні гетьмана. Здається й тут, у чернечому стані, не цурався жінок і тому втратив ректорство. Ображений, перейшов 1625 р. до уніятів, отримуючи в нагороду визначну посаду в базиліянському монастирі в Дубні, де також відвідував. . . черниць. Приловлений, урятувався переходом цілком на католицизм. Після цього дуже завзято виступав із критикою уніятських і православних церков, про хиби яких знав із першоджерел, навіть із власної поведінки. Помер 1647 р. католицьким капеляном у Кракові.

Як видно з цих життєписних даних, Сакович був людиною буйної натури, близькою до барокко, що й засвідчено подекуди в його віршах, а ще більше в полемічних писаннях, зокрема в книжці *Перспектива або з'ясування блудів, сресей і забобонів у греко-руській церкві* (Краків, 1642), що вийшла у світ польською мовою. Осуджувати автора Віршів за його походеньки навряд чи треба. Сакович жив у час ліберальних поглядів на цнотливість чи пак "пристійне поводження" і не думав довго про зміну духовних господарів. Т.зв. "продажність" (віровизнавча, політична чи всяка інша) тоді мотивувалась народним прислів'ям: "риба шукає, де глибше, а людина — де ліпше".

З епістолярної спадщини Григорія Сковороди

Григорій Сковорода належить до тих світил людства, що їх ніколи не притемнювала тінь забуття. За свого життя привертав до себе увагу сучасників найширших верств народу, від селян до найвищої аристократії. Хоч за життя Сковороди твори його не друковано, вони розходились у рукописах, їх читали на широких просторах України і поза Україною. Розходились у копіях, переписувані з великим пієтизмом, який доходив аж до наслідування його почерку, до “автентичного наподоблення”. Аж чотири роки після смерти Сковороди вперше надруковано дещо з його спадщини. Щопише 1894 р., себто в століття смерти філософа, Дмитро Багалій здійснив наукове видання творів, враз з біографічним нарисом “Життя Григорія Сковороди” пера М. Ковалинського. Тоді також вийшли друком деякі листи філософа. З початком ХХ ст. із запланованого В.Д. Бонч-Бруєвичем двотомника творів появився тільки один том. Дослідна і видавнича праця спадщини філософа розгорнулася щопише в другій половині нашого століття. За бібліографією з 1972 р. начислюється 1442 одиниці видань творів Сковороди та праць про нього. Повне видання творів у двох томах здійснила Академія Наук УРСР 1973 р. (кожний том має понад 500 сторінок). Саме в другому томі поміщено 125 листів, а з них 79 адресовані до Михайла Ковалинського стали предметом цієї праці.

Звичайно, філософські твори Сковороди найбільше опрацьовані. Дослідники ствердили оригінальність теорії “сродної праці” та філософську систему поетичних і етичних поглядів.¹ Сковороду як автора “Саду божественних пісень” літературознавці вважають за першого справжнього ліричного поета, а його “Харківські байки” за найвище художнє досягнення у цьому жанрі з часів тої епохи. Дослідники, працюючи над текстами, виявили багатий фольклорний елемент і це вже везсумнівно великий вклад у вивченні літературної творчості Сковороди. Залишається надалі маловивчена перекладницька діяльність філософа, а зовсім не розглянена епістолярна спадщина, хоч дослідник Сковороди Домет Оляничин ще 1928 р. писав, що листи філософа треба зачислити до літератури.² А втім, учені не так то й давно почали розглядати листи славних людей не тільки як джерела біографій, але як і художні твори.

1. *Історія Української Літератури*, вид. Академія Наук УРСР, Київ 1967.

2. Dr. Domet Oljancyn, *Hryhorij Skovoroda, Ostenropaische Forshungen*, Berlin 1928.

Цей новий аспект епістолографії зроджується на переломі XVIII-XIX століть, а особливо з початком XIX ст. У 1866 р. виходить цінна збірка листів (James P. Holcombe, *Literature in Letters*), де поміщено добірку листів XVII, XVIII, XIX ст. У першій половині нашого століття виходять цікаві збірки листів, що захоплюють час від 49 року до Христа аж до 1940 р. (*A Second Treasury of the World's Great Letters* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1941). Галузь епістолографії розвивається у XIX ст. в кожній країні, навіть супроти свого рода опозиції, як то було в Польщі з листами Адама Міцкевича. Листи видається спершу уривками, а потім повні величезні збірники навіть менших письменників, бо саме в нашому столітті епістолографія актуалізується, стає на черзі дня. Цікава й в нас історія епістолографії. Згадати б, наприклад, що листи Тараса Шевченка приятелі почали збирати зараз по його смерті. Так, оце “Основа” збрала 64, а під кінець XIX ст. Олександр Кониський зібрав 174 листи. Через “укази” не міг їх друкувати. Перша друкована збірка листів у числі 154 походить з 1911 р., а вже п'ята, дотепер остання, що вийшла друком у Чикаго 1960 р. містить 223 листи. Як відомо, в Києві 1965 р. видано два томи листів Лесі Українки. Недавно дуже цікаві листи гетьмана Івана Мазепи зібрав з польських архівів проф. Орест Субтельний (вид. УВАН, США 1975 р.), а проф. Юрій Луцький збірку листів Пантелеймона Куліша. Звичайно, згадані приклади не вичерпують цього питання в українському літературознавстві, а вказують на велику актуальність. Епістолографія — це тепер самостійна, повновартісна ділянка літературознавства. Листи, приналежні до неї, мають літературнотворчі компоненти. Під цим аспектом розглянемо листи Сковороди до його студента Михайла Ковалинського.

Перший лист зі згаданих 79 написаний 26/27 травня 1762 р., останній 2 квітня 1794 р. Найбільше листів, бо аж 66, написано до грудня 1763 р. Лист передостанній з 26 IX 1790 р. замітний і дуже важливий, за висловом Л. Махновця, своєрідний “заповіт” філософа. Там він перечислює всі свої твори оригінальні та перекладні. Насувається питання хто саме був адресат, Михайло Ковалинський.

За віднайденим списком учнів Сковороди в Харківському Колегіюмі, дослідник Леонід Махновець (Леонід Махновець, “Григорій Сковорода”, Наукова думка, Київ 1972) ствердив, що Михайло Ковалинський (в нього Коваленький) народився 1744 або 1745 р. в родині священика Йоана Коваленського на Харківщині. Учився у Колегіюмі від 1753 р. У шкільному році 1762/63 було йому 18 років, а в студіях був на другому році філософії. Жив тоді на станції в родині о. Бориса Єнкевича в Харкові разом зі своїм молодшим братом Григорієм. Часто згадуваний у листах також син о. Бориса Яків-Яша також учень Колегіюму, як і інші студенти, приятелі філософа, Микола Заводовський, Яків Правицький, Олексій Базилевич. А втім, каталог “школи” синтакси подає 96 учнів на шкільний рік 1763/64, а Сковорода вчив ще й хор Колегіюму, музику, спів, тож круг його студентів був дуже широкий.

Дослідників цікавило також питання де саме жив філософ, учительючи в Колегіюмі. Після довгих розшуків Леонід Махновець натрапив на звідомлення ректора Колегіюму Йова Бизилевича для єпископа Самуїла Миславського. Так і виявилось, що Сковорода жив тоді в Покровському монастирі, дуже близько Колегії, разом з іншими професорами, серед них сердечним приятелем був Лаврентій Кордет, викладач філософії. Там також була для учителів спільна трапеза-їдальня. Своє мешкання — келію називав філософ “музеєм”, себто приміщенням Муз. У цьому ж “музеї” часто писав листи до свого студента з класи латини. Писав по-латинському прозою і віршами, таки з навчальним наміром, бо пізніші листи писані по-українському. “Важко викласти зміст цих листів, — таке тут багатство і розмаїття думок, зауважень напучень, застережень, інформації. . . . Їх треба просто вдумлено й неодноразово читати” — пише Л. Махновець у своїй праці. Як джерело дослідів життя учені вже використали їх, відкривши вперше дату народження філософа, генезу деяких віршів та інше. Але листи виявляють також літературнотворчі компоненти, які визначають їх до наймолодшого в літературознавстві жанру — епістолярного. Правда, треба згадати, що значну частину листів, бо аж 35, творять вірші, вірші-побажання, вірші-епіграми, ліричні, всі філософського звучання, тож за своєю поетичною істотою належать до літератури. Але й прозові листи мають ті самі компоненти, як тематика, мотиви, портрет, образи-візії, усі вони того ж філософського характеру, всі сповнені світлих почувань.

Великою ніжністю відзначаються вступні звернення філософа до Михайла Ковалинського: Найдорожчий, Найлюбіший, Любителю Муз, Турбото і втіхо душі моєї, Друже еллінів, Найжаданіший брате в Христі, Мир тобі, мій брате, Вітай скарбе софістичних перлин, а то й цілий вірш. Всі звернення до адресата завжди інші, ніколи не повторяються, як і підписи автора листів. Від звичайного “Твій Григорій Савич, Твій найбільший друг, Григорій Савич, Твій товариш по навчанню, пізніше Ваш друг Г.С. аж до Твій друг і брат, слуга і раб, Григорій Варсава Сковорода — Даниїл-Мейнгард.” Є ще одна цікава підписова фраза, не без легкої іронії, а саме “Осел серед софістів Григор”, відповідно до звернення: “Вітай скарбе софістичних перлин!” Всі звернення виявляють щирість, сердечність. Сковорода нічим не показує своєї вищости, називає себе “товаришем по-навчанню” і скрізь ставить молодого приятеля у центрі, скеровує його на вершини розвитку.

На сторінках листів розгортається ідея-візія нової людини, людини святої духовости, яка має приготувати себе на гідну обитель Бога. Тож автор заохочуючи свого студента до змагання, називає його новобранцем: “Тепер ти новобранець:правляючись вчинками з часом станеш воїном”. У змаганнях треба іти в сліди найкращих мужів, як Платон, а він же сказав: “Для мене нема нічого важливішого, ніж бути чи стати кращим”. У цьому напрямі філософ постійно подає цитати авторів, посилає другові “ароматні квіточки” — уривки творів — щоб

скріпившись їх медом, з часом вирів у досконалого мужа. Подає способи ЯК до Того дійти, а саме: зберегти тверезість і непорочність, читати блаженні книги, які очищають душу і навчають керувати почуттями.

З ідеєю-візією нової людини розгортається величезний круг тематики. У початкових листах на першому місці стоїть мотив приязни-дружби. Дружба — “божественна, сонце життя” — може існувати поміж спорідненими душами, чистими, непорочними, бо “гнилого дерева не склеїти з гнилим”. Аргументує дружбу цитатами, уривками з творів філософів і так відкриває Михайлові стежку приязни до геніїв людства. Цей мотив приязни ясним промінням освітлює всі листи. З ним в’яжеться мотив любови. Сповнений ним лист 33-ій з 1763 р., писаний віршем і прозою. Автор, ставлячи ряд питань подає суть любови:

. . . що є більш божественним ніж любов християнська? Що таке християнська релігія, як не істинна і досконала дружба? Хіба Христос не встановив, що відзнакою його учнів є взаємна любов? Хіба не любов все поєднує, будує, творить, подібно до того, як ворожість руйнує? Хіба не називає Бога любов’ю його найулюбленіший учень Йоан? Хіба не мертвою душа позбавлена істинної любови, тобто Бога? . . . Що дає основу? — Любов. Що творить? — Любов. Що зберігає? — Любов. Що дає насолоду? — Любов, любов початок, середина, кінець, альфа і омега.

(Листи, ст. 277).

Двісті років пізніше читаємо в Олеса Бердника:

Все перетвориться в попіл,
В хвилі Першооснови,
Лише навік невмирущі
Зерна Любови. . .

Тематика листів поширюється на інші питання, як мир душевний, ентузіазм у праці, питання радості, щастя, що й розв’язує автор згідно зі своєю філософією — “шукай в собі, там воно заховане”. Життєві проблеми, як бідність, самотність, старість знаходять нове позитивне наświetлення, бо бідність — добра, самотність — найсвятіша, а вже мудрість — справжня мати чеснот. Немало місця присвячено в листах таким прикметам, як скромність, поміркованість, а ще зокрема чистота тілесна так і душевна. Автор порушує також проблему часу. Час — це велика цінність за яку можна й небо купити, а ми “сподіємося на майбутнє, сучасним нехтуємо”, витрачаємо його на дрібниці, а що гірше на гріхи. А “гріх таїть в собі всі види зла”. Два головні полюси знаходять у листах своє наświetлення: життя і смерть. Життя — це велике мистецтво, справа дуже важка, і один Христос може це дати і навчити. Смерть духовна-нещастя, смерть тілесна — чи не єдиний вихід зі всіх небезпек. Ми ж тут тільки тимчасові. (Приблизно в той же час на другому кінці Європи про людську тимчасовість, про смерть пише Александер Попе, кажучи, що людина тільки маленький атом, а

людське тіло — тільки “катедж” для душі). Сковорода постійно пригадує: “перш за все збережи душу. Не для світу, а для Христа. Для мене Христос — життя і смерть.” До Христа відкликається автор дуже часто, Ісус Христос “підказує” йому думки, слова, дарує натхнення, допомагає. Роздумуючи про Христа, автор мріє про обнову людини як такої:

О, якби нам в серце влився той дух,
який вчитель вклав у своїх учнів!
Той новий дух, що овнолює серця своїм вогнем;
Той, що створює нові мови, нові діяння.

Згадати б, що ця мрія про переображення знаходить свій вияв у творах пізніших наших письменників Т. Шевченка, О. Кобилянської, О. Бердника, що також мріє про “переображення ясне” та в інших авторів.

Візія обнови, перетворення в духову людину спонукує філософа до педагогічних унапрямувань, що й стає джерелом практичних порад-вказівок, наприклад, як розуміти приповідки, бож “необов’язково у греків і латинян увійшло в прислів’я те, що в нас”. Як треба перекладати, бо перекладач мусить передати духа твору, а не докладність слів; як читати; як вивчати літературу; як дбати про “Адама земського” себто про тіло, своє фізичне здоров’я; як добирати приятелів; як трактувати людей підлих, нечесних і вкінці як через самопізнання, самодисципліну прямувати на вершини духові. Всі згадані мотиви, поучування вказівки творять таку різnorodність змісту, таку його насиченість, що нелегко все те сприймати, чи як автор каже “споживати”. З багатства такого змісту виринає духовний образ філософа.

Читаючи листи, ми відчуваємо проміння його душі в ніжності, в усміхах радості, у глибокому відчутті Господа. Бачимо його на шляху самодосконалення і самодисципліни. Призбирані скарби щедро роздає тим, що хочуть їх прийняти. Малі, розкинені тут і там деталі зі щоденного життя — це чародійні світелка понадчасовості і ми бачимо Сковороду в “музеї” як пише листа, а тут дзвінок дзвонить. Філософ швидко кінчає писання і поспішає до близької школи на лекцію латини, чи греки. То пише знов у неділю “близько півночі”, або іншим разом “На світанку”, або при сніданку укладає вірш. Іншим разом приймає в себе ченця і переймається його розповіддю. Бачимо його в травневий вечір після вечірньої молитви, як іде з хором “мальовничою” долиною туди, де вони будуть співати. Для хору складає то пісню, мелодію, то пише нові слова до знаної вже. “Сам проводжу з хлопцями навчання в супроді органа”. Він же музика і диригент. Іншим разом філософ впроваджує нас у лабораторію своєї думки: “Завдавши учням вправу, я пішов до “музею”, написав вірш з поясненням слова “астролог”. Від думок про видиме небо я прийшов до питань духовних.” (ст. 261). Дуже інтимний, зворушливий лист з 22 листопада 1763 року, в якому автор згадує день свого народження. Маленькі самохарактеристики розкинені тут і там — це коштовні риси в портреті філософа. Уже в перших

листах до Михайла читаємо: “Я така людина, яка ніколи не може насититися розмовою з друзями”. “Я той моряк, що викинутий на берег під час аварії корабля, інших своїх братів непевним голосом попереджає яких сирен і страховищ їм треба берегтися і куди прямувати” (ст. 252) “Тож скористайся хоч моїм досвідом”, просить адресата. Ще в іншому листі: “Я ж твердо знаю, я всього себе посвятив шуканню однієї лише божественної істини. (256) Або. . . — . . .поки я усвідомлюю самого себе, поки душа керує тілом, я буду дбати лише про те, щоб всіма засобами здобути любов благородних душ. Це мій скорб і радість і життя і слава. І там же: “Любов викликається любов’ю, яку породжує ласка і прихильність у поєднанні з чеснотою” (352) Автор — людина величезної ерудиції, великого серця у змаганні до своєї досконалости і свого учня.

На сторінках листів зарисовується профіль студента Михайла Ковалинського. Адресат, за словами філософа, “не з породи шулік, а від крові орлів благородних”, які линуть до вищого. . . злітають до сонця” (ст. 275) З листів виявляються різні прикмети молодого студента. Він, хоч фізично слабкого здоров’я, завжди веселий, жартівливий, пильний до наук, талановитий. Його вірші пройняті “латинським духом”, але він і дуже вразливий на критичні зауваги свого вчителя. Та понад усе в нього, за словами автора листів, “серце палаюче, а душа світла, чиста, душа схильна до чесности.”

Не помилився філософ, вибираючи його як свого близького друга, бо як відомо, Михайло Ковалинський на все життя залишився вірним приятелем Сковороди. Він зберіг його твори, його листи, він написав перший життєпис свого славного вчителя. Причинившись до створення університету в Харкові, Ковалинський причинився до прослави Харкова, яку передбачив Сковорода в своєму листі з 1790 р., пишучи молитву за місто Захарія-Харків, що колись стане “справжнім сонцем”.

У зв’язку з різноманітним змістом листів — філософські проблеми, педагогічні мотиви, ліричні настрої, — спостерігається велика різnorodність стилю. Так, у листі першому стиль розмовний, розповідний, ораторсько-урочистий про любов; науковий виклад на тему “Мудрець скромний”; повчальний про здоров’я, а то й жартівливий, як про софістичні перлини. Мова листів дуже багата в художні засоби. Автор скрізь думає образами. То каже зійти на високу гору і звідти спостережати людей, то знов зображує пальму, що виростає стиснена скелями, але все одно прямує вгору — добрий приклад для молодого людини в усіх обставинах. Багато порівнянь двоскладових як: душа як орел, як птаха, ефекти — сміється як ластівка, розуміється як осел на лірі; розвинені порівняння як напр. для духа, що безтілесний, ховається в недоступних сферах, як вода в жилах землі, невидна для звичайних очей, та інші.

Автор залюбки користується реторичними питаннями, а вони оживляють текст, збуджують зацікавлення, полегшують сприймання змісту. Розглядаючи хворобу, як розлад елементів у тілі, автор пере-

ходить до розгляду почуттів: “Радієш, що ти багатий? Ти хворий. Радієш, що ти благородний? Ти нездоровий. Боїшся смерти, поганої слави через добрі вчинки? Ти не зовсім здоровий душею. (283)

Стиль листів, як і слід сподіватись, сповнений афоризмами. З них конденсується головна думка, вони підсилюють твердження, як напр. важливість щоденної праці в науці, “повільна постійність нагромаджує кількість більшу від сподіваної”. Духова зброя сильніша за тілесну, Наше життя це безперевна боротьба. Наше християнське життя — це військова служба. Велика група афоризмів відноситься до приязни і любови, як оце: “Все переходить, а любов ніколи. Міцна і вічна любов виникає зі споріднених душ. Одна доброчесність робить щасливим і зберегає щастя. Добрі люди, це друзі Божі. Веселість — це здоров’я гармонійної душі”. Коли авторові прийшлося переживати конфлікти та різні неприємності в своєму оточенні він заявляє: “Похвально є не подобатись поганим”. Далі аргументує також афоризмом: “Моряк, як кажуть, хороший для моряка, осел для осла, а свиня для свині”. В афоризмах зустрічаються й антитези: Діяльна бездіяльність збільшує наші сили. Хто всім серцем просить, той уже має. Гарні вислови як “мовчазна бесіда”, “розмовляє мовчки.” Не бракує й силіогізмів: “Надмірність породжує пересиченість, пересиченість нудьгу, нудьга — душевний смуток, а хто хворіє на це, того не можна назвати здоровим.” Привертають увагу сильні контрасти: Слабкість — зрівноважити мужністю, навчання не труд, а втіха. Відпочивай, але уникай надмірного неробства.

Замітні своєю індивідуальною прикметою епітети, з них на першому місці: божеський, божественний, істинний, блаженний, благородний. Дружба — істинна, вічна, божеська, чиста. Музи святі, благородні, чарівні Камени, божественне правило, божественний спокій, блаженні книги. Дуже влучні епітети — гостра думка, гризька гризота, і бувають звичайні, як чиста совість, чесна праця, щира душа, грубий жарт. Мова багата в метафори, бо цитати то “ароматні квіточки”, заклик на прогулянку то — “посилаю шапку”. і т.п. Особливе багатство синонімів в іменниках і дієсловах. Так різно називає чорта. Раз він сатана, то старий пройдисвіт, злий дух, біс, навіть бісєня. Підкреслюючи спосіб доброго вивчення предмету, автор ставить різні синоніми: “Читай його, товчи, черпай з нього, повертай, викручуй, насичуйся!” Тексти листів пересипані приповідками народними та з творів античних авторів, і вони також підкреслюють думку, висновки, твердження. Також знайдеться багато цитатів з Біблії, з посланій апостола Павла, та античної літератури. Тексти листів — це дійсно невичерпне море знання і багатства вислову.

Короткий огляд епістолярної спадщини Григорія Сковороди виявляє, що зміст листів сповнений універсальними ідеями, завжди актуальними. Листи пронизані глибокими почуттями приязни любови, широти, безпосередності. Віддзеркалюють вони духовість філософа, його постать просвітлену ясністю і глибоким відчуттям Божої присутності. Виявляють також духову атмосферу тієї епохи в

якій співіснували античний і новий світ, мітологічні постаті, боги, старозавітні пророки, апостоли і філософи новіших часів. Але понад усім панує постать Ісуса Христа.

Ці листи — унікальні твори епістолярного жанру, з яких кожний — закінчена одиниця як за змістом так і за формою. Зібрані в хронологічному порядку, листи Григорія Сковороди творять психологічну і стилістичну цілість, неначе повість філософського характеру і драматичного напруження.

TRANSLATION

Les poèmes de Mykhail' Semenko

Mykhail' Semenko est l'un des personnages les plus méconnus et les plus énigmatiques des années vingt. Paradoxalement, il est à la fois célèbre et obscur. Son nom, synonyme de scandale, est toutefois peu associé à la littérature. Certains se souviennent de lui comme d'un traître à sa patrie, d'autres voient en lui un bourgeois dont la décadence se serait opposée à l'essor de la culture soviétique. Peu semblent se rappeler ce qui compte vraiment : sa contribution à l'évolution de la poésie ukrainienne du début du XX^e siècle. Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, il était le seul parmi les grands poètes de son époque à ne pas être étudié et publié tant en Occident qu'en Union soviétique. Mais ce tort est en voie de redressement. Les traductions que nous offre Hélène Kassiroff ne sont qu'un des nombreux signes montrant qu'après un demi-siècle d'oubli Mykhail' Semenko (né en 1892) reçoit enfin l'attention qu'il mérite¹.

Toute la vie de Semenko tourna autour du futurisme, depuis 1914, année où il lança le mouvement en Ukraine, jusqu'au jour de 1937 où il fut fusillé par un peloton d'exécution soviétique. Le milieu littéraire ukrainien de l'époque, très conservateur, ne lui pardonna pas facilement son attachement, pas plus d'ailleurs que les critiques soviétiques ou émigrés. Il ne convient peut-être plus de qualifier les activités futuristes de Semenko de brigandage et de bredouillage stupide (termes «d'affection» utilisés en 1914 par M. Sriblians'kyj, c'est-à-dire M. Shapoval); il n'en demeure pas moins qu'aujourd'hui encore sa poésie se heurte aux réticences de nombreux critiques et lecteurs non initiés à la théorie et à la poétique futuristes.

Les débuts littéraires de Semenko s'inscrivent dans le grand courant littéraire ukrainien. Il publia d'abord dans la revue moderniste *Ukrayin-s'ka khata*, mais rompit bientôt avec les tenants de la poésie moderniste et symboliste pour devenir le propagandiste de la littérature d'avant-garde. la mission qu'il entreprit dans les années vingt se révéla difficile en raison des conditions politiques et du conservatisme culturel de son milieu, mais il ne se laissa pas décourager. Au début de la décennie, il mit ou remit sur pied plusieurs cercles futuristes, dirigea des publications qui eurent une vie

1. Sans trop entrer dans les détails, mentionnons qu'une excellente édition en deux volumes des œuvres de Semenko est récemment parue en Allemagne. Il s'agit de Mykhail' Semenko/Mychajl' Semenko, *Vybrani tvory/Ausgewählte Werke*, sous la direction de Leo Kriger, 2 vol., Analecta Slavica, vol. 23 et 23/1/1, Würzburg, Jal-réimpression, 1979-1983. Fait plus étonnant à noter : la maison d'édition Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk a publié en 1985 un recueil de poèmes de Semenko, intitulé *Poemy [Poèmes]*. C'est la première fois depuis 1936 qu'un ouvrage poétique de Semenko paraît en Ukraine soviétique.

éphémère et fit paraître de nombreux recueils de ses poèmes. Il eut relativement peu de disciples, mais il est vrai qu'à cette époque aucun mouvement d'avant-garde ne constituait un phénomène de masse. Semenko trouva néanmoins suffisamment d'adeptes pour lancer en 1927 la revue mensuelle *Nova generatsiia*. À la surprise générale, ce fut un succès retentissant. Consacrée à la littérature, à la théorie, à l'architecture et aux beaux-arts, *Nova generatsiia* devint le principal véhicule des idées avant-gardistes en Ukraine. Elle parut régulièrement jusqu'en décembre 1930, date à laquelle elle fut supprimée par les autorités.

Semenko ne fut pas seulement un infatigable impresario culturel, il fut un poète éminent. Son œuvre est vaste et variée. Outre de nombreux petits recueils, il publia deux éditions cumulatives de ses œuvres poétiques. Le *Kobzar* (1925), un recueil de poèmes écrits entre 1910 et 1922, comptait plus de six cents pages. Vers la fin des années vingt (1929-1931), commença à paraître une édition en trois volumes de ses œuvres (plus ou moins) complètes. Semenko considérait la littérature comme une activité en perpétuel renouvellement. C'est pourquoi il inclut délibérément dans ces éditions presque tous ses poèmes, les plus achevés comme les moins réussis, les poèmes traditionnels comme ceux à caractère expérimental, voulant ainsi montrer l'évolution constante de sa propre œuvre. Il était manifestement moins soucieux de présenter un produit fini que de faire voir son cheminement personnel et la transformation continue de sa poésie. Pris ensemble, les poèmes de Semenko apparaissent extrêmement hétérogènes, et donnent même l'impression qu'ils sont l'œuvre de plusieurs poètes.

Les belles traductions d'Hélène Kassiroff donnent toutefois une idée différente de l'œuvre de Semenko. On constatera aisément qu'à part «Mon incursion dans l'éternité», «6NP», «L'autoportrait» et quelques autres, les poèmes présentés ici ont pratiquement été coulés dans le même moule. Ils ne sont pas vraiment avant-gardistes; à certains égards, ils paraissent même assez traditionnels. Empreints de quiétude, contemplatifs ou impressionnistes, ils dépeignent Semenko comme un poète lyrique, un chanteur de la nature en harmonie presque complète avec l'art traditionnel. Ce n'est pas l'esprit satirique, le polémiste, le poète de l'expérimentation et l'homme révolté que l'on connaît.

Ce paradoxe apparent peut s'expliquer par le fait que la majorité des poèmes choisis par Hélène Kassiroff datent des années 1915-1918, alors que Semenko n'était pas encore vraiment engagé dans ses activités futuristes. Ces poèmes furent écrits à Vladivostok, où Semenko travailla comme télégraphiste durant la guerre, puis en Ukraine, quelques mois avant qu'il ne reprît son rôle de militant.

Les poèmes écrits au cours de cette période occupent une place à part dans l'œuvre de Semenko, mais ils ne sont pas sans lien avec ce qui a précédé et avec ce qui a suivi. Dans ses premiers poèmes futuristes, Semenko s'opposa délibérément au style mielleux, musical, élevé et artificiel des modernistes. Ce sera le signe distinctif de sa poésie. Il cultiva le ton familier, tendant vers la prose et le prosaïque, fuyant l'extraordinaire au bénéfice de l'ordinaire et donnant même à l'occasion dans la trivialité et la

vulgarité. Il avait le don de rendre le banal exotique. La plupart des poèmes choisis par Hélène Kassiroff font ressortir quelques-uns de ces traits, bien que Semenko s'y révèle dans l'ensemble plus elliptique et plus concis qu'à l'habitude.

Comme le montrent les traductions présentées ici, Semenko pouvait au besoin adopter un ton personnel et lyrique mais, contrairement à ses prédécesseurs les modernistes, il ne tomba jamais dans la mièvrerie, le pathétique ou le sentimental. Sa poésie lyrique comporte toujours une touche d'ironie, de scepticisme ou d'autocritique, comme si le moi lyrique se méfiait des émotions ou doutait de leur authenticité. Chez lui, le langage du cœur passait par celui de l'esprit. L'un de ses derniers poèmes, «6NP (À toi mon enfant qui doit avorter demain)», est à la fois bouleversant et étrangement froid.

Un dernier mot au sujet du poème expérimental intitulé «*L'autoportrait*». Semenko écrivit un certain nombre de poèmes de ce genre, mais aucun n'obtint un tel succès. Le critique Leo Kriger a souligné les accents tendres et mélancoliques de Semenko décrivant le démontage et la reconstitution de sa personne. Mais l'expérimentation que poursuivait alors le poète ne s'arrêtait pas à la seule forme littéraire. Tout au long de sa carrière, Semenko s'intéressa à la synthèse et à l'interdépendance des arts. Dans ce poème, il utilise avec succès la technique du cubisme, qui décompose une image pour la recréer. Voilà un bel exemple de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un portrait cubiste verbal.

Université de l'Alberta

M. SEMENKO

Poèmes¹

(Traduits de l'ukrainien par
Hélène Kassiroff et présentés par Oleh S. Ilnytskyj)

L'expressovent

Avec l'expressovent on se voit toujours.
On est devenu de bons copains.
J'entends sa voix muette qui court
et me perce, et tu connaîtras mon âme.

Embrasser le silence de nuit c'est encore mieux.
On n'entend que des cordes lointaines qui claquent.
Les sorcières se cachent dans tous les lieux.
Les ressacs.

1914

L'asphalte

La chaleur on n'en peut plus
l'asphalte vous rend muet
Mon petit mal ne s'est pas tu
Mon ténor léger est enroué
Voilà l'échec qui se décèle
et voilà mes espoirs qui ratent
J'ai rempli mon esprit extraexceptionnel
avec un livre de dattes.

1914

1. Ces poèmes ont d'abord paru dans les recueils *Kobzar* (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1925), et *Povna Zbirka Tvoriv*, 3 vol. (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1929-1931).

Les mémoires

Moi chanteur azur que je suis
je regarde dans les yeux des pavés
Je crochète le voile de nuit
des mémoires d'une prostituée.

Les demoiselles coquettes se promènent
en robes couleur nature morte de Van Gogh.
Elles et moi on s'entr'aime
et j'attends les griffes d'une pieuvre...

1914

L'autoportrait

Khaïl seme nkomi
Ikhaïl kokhaïl alse komikh
Ikhaï mesen mikhse okhaï
Mkhil kms mnk mikh mikh
Semenko enko nko Mikhaïl
Semenko Mikh Mikhaïlse menko
O Semenko Mikhail!
O, Mikhaïl Semenکو!

1914

L'Atlantide

Je rêve de terres éloignées
où règnent les glaciers et les flammes.
Rebecca me regarde à travers une éternité.
Des images de l'Atlantide bercent mon âme.

Je rêve de terres où demeurent
les volcans, les déserts, les oasis.
Un rayon doré de l'équateur
refroidira mon esprit.

1914

Un paysage

Je regarde une baie où des voiles chinoises
vont doucement dans le brouillard
et le monde apparaît
dans le velours du calme.

1915

Un automne dans les montagnes

L'automne se vide
dans les montagnes et plane tous les soirs
au-dessus d'une baie
Les étoiles deviennent froides.
D'où viens-tu, d'où viens-tu, le vent froid?
D'où viennent tes souffles tes souffles?
J'écoute tes ruisseaux
je vois tes couleurs
Mon âme chante une chanson de l'inconnu
de la tristesse du vent dans les montagnes
au-dessus de la baie azure aux ondes
les étoiles deviennent froides
se vide dans les montagnes.

1915

Par la fenêtre

Une bise qui a passé soudain
le bruit d'une automobile par la fenêtre ouverte.
La vie instantanée de ce bruit me fait
réfléchir.
La musique primitive des klaxons qui vient du parc.

1916

Le conducteur

Je voudrais être
un conducteur dans un train de marchandises
et toute la nuit
la nuit triste
froide et pluvieuse
rester près du frein
en touloupe
se blottir et se pencher
regarder l'abîme qui court.
Évoquer les jours passés
mais restés dans le cœur
comme des clairs rayons
évoquer de chers visages
endormis à jamais dans le cœur
à jamais
évoquer
évoquer
en cherchant dans le noir.

1916

L'interférence

Qu'est-ce que c'est
que l'amour et l'accouplement?
L'interférence spiritualisée,
les atomes, c'est ça le machin.

La jalousie, la jalousie,
c'est quoi, ce truc?
C'est la nuit et la cruauté d'Asie
et la faiblesse qui tue.

Les voilà ensemble, heureux à l'abri
de cette élégie!
Ce sont des bacchanales sous la lune pourrie.
La psychopathologie!

1917

Tresse mieux tes cheveux

Je te conduis à la torture,
à la souffrance, toi et moi,
éclatons-nous pour la dernière fois.
Il le faut, je t'assure.

Et personne au monde ne verra guère
le bolide aussi tumultueux.
Tresse mieux tes cheveux,
boutonne ton imper.

1917

Une carte

J'ai mis dans l'infini et l'éternel
d'une petite carte
ma vie argentine de gazelle
ainsi qu'un hasard.

La faiblesse et puis l'aveuglement du temps
ils réabondent
de mes péchés qui sont innocents
de mes paroles vagabondes.

1918

Les idoles

Mes idoles extraordinaires,
images de mes rêveries,
c'était rigolo comme dîner,
c'était étrange comme habit.

Vous avez parlé d'une terre
je ne l'ai pas trouvée sur le globe
le rire est tellement amer
bien avant l'aube!

1918

Ceux qui sont morts

Je suis tenté par ceux qui sont morts
J'aime tous les sévères
vous êtes toujours dans mes maux
vous qui avez quitté la terre

je ranime vos corps
et je couvre de toile vos os pourris
je vous aime ressuscités en chœur
et réapparus en rêveries.

1918

Une spirale des analogies

Les maladies et les inconvénients inconnus
dans la voie de la lutte éternelle,
les entraves, d'où sont-ils venus?
Le temps se précipite et harcèle.

L'angoisse répète son chant funèbre
et dérive loin de l'espoir ainsi que dérivent
en mourant dans les ténèbres
la spirale des analogies et l'identité naïve.

1918

Les reflets

Je rêve de saisir dans les yeux féminins
les reflets de l'infini qui me sont chers.
Mais ces signes mystiques qui n'ont pas de fin
ne sont pas mesurés par un hasard précaire.

Percé par un cordon de l'éther
et lié à l'éternité
irais-je me résigner à la terre
et aux terribles pensées ossifiées?

1918

Mets-toi en deuil

Prêt d'aller un jour au concert
dans la glace d'un trumeau
de la petite chambre verte
j'ai vu la mort.

Je suis demeuré abasourdi
J'ai eu tort d'entrer
et de te rendre confuse. Tu m'as dit:
«Oh! Je ne suis pas encore prête.»

Mais lorsqu'un jour encore
je réapparaîtrai sur ton seuil
c'est qu'il faudra que tu pleures
et que tu te mettes en deuil.

1918

Heredia

C'était un soir quand la ville s'endort
une semaine avant, c'était mercredi.
Elle me regardait d'un air rêveur,
svelte comme un sonnet d'Heredia.
Oui, c'était juste (ce jour-là).

1918

De tes tendres genoux

À travers mes chansons d'argent
je te vois partout.
Tiens, voilà un serpent.
Cache — là sur tes genoux!

Cache ton âme et ton cœur
de l'hiver triste et fou.
Je te parlerai à cette heure
de tes tendres genoux.

1918

Une ville

En clignotant comme
des lignes brillantes
comme des corps vibrants
agitent
grimpent
rampent
se déplacent
la symétrie fortuite
des déplacements muets
par moyen de dépassement
reluisent en courant
par des séries silencieuses
reluisent en silhouettes
en feux mystérieux
se dessinent comme des contours
comme des ombres pliées
comme des raies aveuglantes
la géométrie différentielle
des constructions fantasques et des angles.

[1918]

La saison

Bientôt
Les jardins s'ouvriront.

La fumée
obscurcira les corps.

La véranda
fera du bruit la musique.

Là-bas
je verrai ma folle.

1918

Un petit feu

Il attirait en mourant au loin ce petit feu.
Toute la nuit il était au sommet.
... Il était loin au delà de la rive opposée...
Il clignotait d'un rayon arrivant jusqu'à l'eau
Son inaccessibilité m'a étouffé.

Il se passait des chutes des étoiles
qui superrapides perçaient les nues.
... Il était loin au delà de la rive opposée...
Il allait disparaître dans de grosses toiles
il attirait par des sosies inconnus.

Comme un signe atavique de la joie subconsciente
Le petit feu caressait doucement la nuit.
... Il était loin au delà de la rive opposée...
Le feu attirait par une petite tache tremblante
mais il a dû se faner devant l'infini.

1918

Les maisons

Les maisons sont transparentes
par un soir d'automne
vibrent par le dessin des brise-bise
se refroidissent par les boîtes éparpillées
luisent par la vie cachée.

1918

Le CC

Le CC de mon âme
un rêve de la Patagonie lointaine
une main qui est comme une flamme
s'est posée sur mon cœur en le chauffant.

Les délégués de tous les échecs
le passé troublant avec sa musique.
Oublier Vladivostok avec
sa colère transasiatique.

1920

De mots

La tempête est plus forte que l'homme
la pluie efface la logique
les éphémères que nous sommes
nous n'avons pas connu des lettres magiques.

Un conte très ordinaire
a désigné ainsi le monde.
Mais je continue à me taire.
Je n'ai pas de mots.

1921

Repose

Le poison enflammé pénètre dans mon sang,
on n'oublie pas l'odeur du combat.
On ne peut pas empêcher son destin,
le fatal, le voilà.

Et tu n'auras jamais d'ailes,
le pays lointain ne te sauve guère.
Le passé appartient au ciel,
et toi à la terre.

Tu es loin d'être génial.
On s'en moque, c'est tout. Tiens une rose.
Mets-la sur ta pierre tombale.
Repose.

*1921****Le père***

Ne pleure pas, ne me tourmente pas
prends vite le sang de mon cœur.
Une petite lueur d'attachement va
à ma rencontre à travers tes pleurs.

Et que son petit cœur vive
au fond de moi en retentissant
dans l'espace à travers les jours et les nuits
là où erre le père turbulent.

1921

6 NP

À toi mon enfant qui doit avorter demain
À toi — il n'a qu'un mois —
À toi — tu as été conçu il j a un mois mais
 tu vis des millions de siècles dans le ventre de
 la femme que j'aime —
tu as déjà un mois et demain tu ne seras plus rien,
 tes restes seront jetés dans un seau à lavure
et tu nageras dans un tuyau de canalisation jusqu'à
 la mer Noire elle-même là où je t'ai fait

À toi —
À toi —
C'est à toi cela.
On ne sait pas et personne — ni ta mère ni moi ton père —
ne saura si tu étais un garçon ou une fille —
Tu aurais aimé ta maman et aurais dit : maman!
Tu aurais aimé ton papa et aurais dit : papa!

Tu aurais tété ta mère et cligné des yeux au soleil.
Mais les années seraient passées
et tu serais allé au jardin d'enfants
et tu aurais grandi et lutté et fait des enfants.
Sois éternel toi qui nageras dans un seau demain :
demain je chasserai ta mère,
elle ne sera plus dans mon cœur comme toi dans son corps.

Sois éternel toi, impuissant et sensé —
tu as vécu autant que tu l'as dû.
Sois éternel toi parce que moi aussi je mourrai,
et ta mère mourra et tu ne seras plus seul
à nager demain dans un seau blanc.

Mon incursion dans l'éternité

Écoutez le murmure des aiguilles des pins dans les montagnes
et le bruit des arbres séculaires.

Il ne faut pas oublier
les milliers de siècles
pour la vie moderne.

Soyez reconnaissants à l'éternité qui est en vous
faites tout
ressusciter.

Si vous déterrez le bassin d'un homme
à moitié pourri
vous êtes avec cet homme
tête —

à —
tête.

Ne soyez pas des archéologues morts,
ne transformez pas le passé
en nomenclature —

mécanique!

Regardez :

la momie d'un pharaon gît dans le tombeau,
son cure-dent
à côté.

Des cohortes nombreuses misent par millions
ils sont des futuristes comme
nous.

Eux aussi ils érigeaient des murs éternels et des arcs
et ils ont péri
dans leur lutte.

Vous voulez transformer l'homme en une idée de Platon,
tandis que de tous les hommes déborde l'éternité.

Des millions d'hommes présents et futurs
des millions d'hommes
de la mort.

La vie ne meurt pas ainsi.

Ainsi nous allons à l'éternité.

Atlantostroï,

Nilostroï, —

sont remplacé par notre Dnieprostroï.

Voilà pourquoi quand je mourrai moi aussi —
mettez mon cure-dent
et ma valise
à côté.

PHILOLOGY

Ordered Rules in Ukrainian Verbs, Standard and Dialect

This paper is predicated on the premise that it is possible to obtain all finite forms of a verb from one "basic stem" through the application of a series of rules. This has been demonstrated for Russian by Roman Jakobson in his 1948 article in *Word*; subsequently, this method was applied by others to various other Slavic languages. In this paper an attempt will be made to apply these rules in such a way as to produce the forms of Contemporary Standard Ukrainian (CSU) and of various dialects.

The premise is that all dialectal forms of a natural language can be produced from one underlying form. These various dialectal forms are obtained by

1. making changes in the lexicon/semantics:
muká — bórošno;
2. making changes in the phonology:
čohó — éohó;
3. making changes in the rules of generation:
 - A. parameters of operation,
 - B. order of rules.

Space and time limitations do not allow us to examine all divergent forms in all the dialects, so only some representative examples will be chosen from the morphology of the verb in the non-past (present) indicative.

The underlying form from which all verbal forms will be obtained will be called the basic stem. Generally, it is identical to the longer of the two traditional stems of the Ukrainian verb, i.e., the infinitive and present stems. This basic stem can have the following forms:

u+va		kupu+vá		
V+j				
	a+j	čytá+j		
	i+j	hří+j		
	y+j	mý+j		
C+V				
	+a	pys+á		
	+i ₁	xot+i		
	+o	por+ó		
	n+u	kýn+u		
C+		nes+	ved+	pek+

V+C relicta		žy+v bɔj	žb+m
C+V	+y +i ₂ +a	lub+y let+i	
	oj+a Č+a	stoj+a lež+a	
C+		bih+	

In the present indicative the desinence is always vocalic, i.e., it always begins with a vowel. It consists of a personal ending which, if it begins with a consonant, is immediately preceded by a linking vowel. The personal endings are these:

	sg.	pl.
1st person	-ú	-mo
2nd person	-š	-te
3rd person	-ť	-ť

The linking vowels come in two sets. One vowel is used in the 3rd person plural, and another is used for all other persons (except for the 1st).

	I conj.	II conj.
2 sg - 2 pl	-e-	-y-
3 pl	-u-	-a-

The linking vowel that will be used can (with a few exceptions) be predicted on the basis of the structure of the basic stem. Basic stems that end in +y, +i, +a (if immediately preceded by the cluster oj, or by a palatal consonant) and the verb bih+ all take II conjugation linking vowels; except for the athematic verbs (daty, jisty and -povisty), all other verbs take I conjugation linking vowels. A further exception to this rule are the four stems in +i (xot+i, rev+i, sop+i, and hud+i), which take I conjugation linking vowels.

The basic stem can end either in a consonant or a vowel. The former will be called closed stems, while the latter, open. Open stems truncate their stemfinal vowel before vocalic desinences, and the immediately preceding stem consonant may undergo mutation. As a first approximation this can be formulated as

VJV V > j/____V

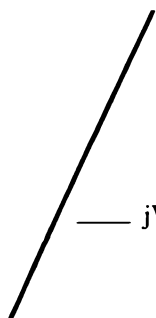
There is a special class of verbs that requires a modification of this rule, and it should precede VJV, viz:

VAJ va > j/____V

In CSU and U dialects, the j becomes an operator that effects mutations of the stemfinal consonant. This may result either in *substitutive* CČJ or (KTČJ) (PPJ), or *bare* (CČJ) softening, viz.:

CČJ
KTČJ

x > š
s > š
sk > šč
st > šč
k > č
t > č
h > ž
z > ž
zd > žž
d > žž



____ jV

V = $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voc} \\ - \text{ con} \\ - \text{ low} \end{bmatrix}$

PPJ

p > p|
b > b|
f > f|
v > v|
m > m|



____ jV

V = $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voc} \\ - \text{ con} \\ + \text{ bck} \end{bmatrix}$

CČJ

t > ʈ
d > ɖ
s > ʃ
z > ʒ
r > ɹ
l > ɭ
n > ŋ



____ jV

V = $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ voc} \\ - \text{ con} \\ + \text{ bck} \end{bmatrix}$

Toward the end of the cycle the j is deleted by the rule

JØ j > Ø / C____.

To complete the cycle the following rule is needed:

ʈØ ʈ > Ø / e____ #

CČJ (nɲJ) presents a problem inasmuch as it is applied to II conjugation verbs (I sg and 3 pl) but not to I conjugation verbs. It is possible, of course, to distinguish the phonological environment in the 2 sg — 2 pl (____e /I conj/, and ____y /II conj/); even 3 pl of the II conjugation is definable (____a), but the problem remains that in both conjugations the I sg is the same (____u) (as is the 3 pl of the I conj). Let us get around this problem by stating that

UJV u > ʃ / n____V

and that *j* does not effect any bare softening. Then *JØ* is reformulated as

JØ *j*
 ↑
 j > Ø/C_____

Accentuation Rules

In the non-past, there are three possible patterns of accentuation of CSU verbs:

1. the last accentable syllable is stressed (oxytone);
2. the same stem syllable is stressed throughout the paradigm (barytone); and
3. the desinence is stressed in the 1 sg, and the immediately preceding stem syllable is stressed in the other forms (mobile).

In our discussion, the reflexive suffix *-ša* is unaccentable.

Accentuation information is given as follows:

1. Oxytone verb stems have no accent mark. This means that the final accentable syllable is stressed.
 2. Barytone stressed verbs have the accented stem syllable marked, and this takes precedence over any subsequent marked syllable.
 - 2'. Verbs of the *u+va* group that are marked on the (truncating) *a* shift the stress to the immediately preceding syllable (*u*) and function as barytone verbs.
 3. Mobile stressed verbs are marked for accent on the truncating vowel.
- Let us now apply these rules to a few representative verbs:

	kupu+vá-ú	kupu+vá-e-ť	kupu+vá-u-ť
	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>
VAJ			
VJY			
CCJ			
CCJ			
JØ			
ŤØ		Ø	
	kupúju	kupúje	kupujuť
	čytá+j-ú	čytá+j-e-ť	čytá+j-u-ť
VAJ			
VJY			
CCJ			
CCJ			
JØ			
ŤØ		Ø	
	čytáju	čytáje	čytájuť

	pys+á-ú	pys+á-e-ť	pys+á-u-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CČJ (KTČJ)	š	š	š
CČJ			
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
ŤØ		Ø	
	pyšú	pýše	pýšuť
	kol+ó-ú-ša	kol+ó-e-ť-ša	kol+ó-u-ť-ša
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CČJ			
CČJ	l		l
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
ŤØ			
	kolúša	kóletša	kòluťša
	pros+ý-ú	pros+ý-y-ť	pros+ý-a-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CČJ (KTČJ)	š		
CČJ			š
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
ŤØ			
	prošú	prósyť	prósať
	hovor+ý-ú	hovor+ý-y-ť	hovor+ý-a-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CČJ			
CČJ	r		r
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
ŤØ			
	hovorú	hovóryť	hovórťať
	hon+ý-ú	hon+ý-y-š	hon+ý-a-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CČJ			
CČJ	ŋ		ŋ
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
ŤØ			
	hoŋú	hónyš	hónať

but:

	kýn+u-ú	kýn+u-e-mo	kýn+u-u-ť
UJV	j	j	j
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
	kýnu	kýnemo	kýnut

It is relatively easy to account for some dialectal variations in matters of external morphology. While the majority of SE dialects (and CSU) use the ending -ť in the 3 sg and 3 pl, some SW dialects depalatalise this ending, i.e., -t is used. Thus one can account for

	SE	nesút	bižýt	leťát
and	SW	nesút	bižýt	leťát

(Zhylyko 1966, 97-99)

The same principle may be applied in the 1 pl where SE had -mo, and some Carpathian (SW) subdialects (*hovirky*) have -me. Thus róbymo and róbyme are obtained (Zhylyko 1966, 98).

A more fascinating question concerns the application of various rules in a particular order. Let us examine two familiar rules that apply in CSU.

EY	e > e ^y	/	_____	or even e > y
	y > y ^e			

In other words, the +/-hgh distinction is neutralised in the environment

+	voc
-	con
-	bck
-	tns
-	acc

The other rule states that an underlying y changes to i after j, viz.:

YIJ y > i / j _____ # (applied before JØ)

e.g.,	stoj+a-ú	stoj+a-y-š	stoj+a-a-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CCJ			
CCJ			
YIJ		i	
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
TØ			
	stojú	stojíš	stoját

In CSU, YIJ is applied first, and only much later (closer to the surface) is EY applied. Thus one obtains

	hrá+j-e-š	boj+a-y-š-ša
VJV		j
YIJ		i
JØ		Ø
EY	^{e y} or y	
	hráje ^y š	bojíšša
or	hrájyš	

In the Steppe subdialect of SE U (S. Bessarabia and Dnipro), the order is reversed: (Zhylko 1966, 269)

	hrá+j-e-š	boj+a-y-š-ša
VJV		j
JØ		Ø
EY	y	
YIJ	i	i
	hrájiš	bojíšša

Consonant mutation gives different results in some SE (Steppe, Slobožanščyna and Central Dnipro) subdialects (Zhylko 1966, 268, 263 and 255 resp.). The operation of KTČJ and CÇJ is reversed, i.e., KTČJ is blocked in these subdialects before [u]:

	pros+ý-ũ	pros+ý-y-š	pros+ý-a-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CÇJ	š		š
KTČJ			
JØ	Ø	Ø	Ø
TØ			
	prošũ	prosyš	prošať

A small group of verbs have stems that end in a non-truncating consonant. If this consonant is a velar, it undergoes substitutive softening before all vocalic desinences:

KČV	k > č	_____v
	h > ž	

This rule is applied after the other consonant mutation rules. In CSU it operates as follows:

	pek+ũ	pek+e-š	pek+u-ť
KČV	č	č	č
	pečũ	pečěš	pečůť

In some Left-bank Polissian subdialects this rule is not applied in the 1 sg (Zhylko 1966, 96) while in some Carpathian subdialects this rule is also suspended in the 3 pl (Zhylko 1966, 96 and 215), i.e., before high vowels.

Here KČV is redefined as

$$\text{KČV}' \quad \begin{array}{l} k \succ \check{c} \\ h \succ \check{z} \end{array} \quad / \quad \text{---} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ voc} \\ - \text{ cns} \\ - \text{ hgh} \end{array} \right]$$

This produces the following results:

	pek+ú	pek+e-š	pek+u-ť
KČV'	pekú	pečěš	pekúť

In some subdialects (Naddnistrjans'ki, Nadsjans'ki, Pokuts'ki, Bukovyns'ki, E Hucul's'ki and partially Polissja) PP!J does not operate, and JØ must be modified to operate only in the environment ____V[- bck]. Then we obtain

	sp+a-ú	sp+a-y-š	sp+a-a-ť
VAJ			
VJV	j	j	j
CČJ			
CČJ			
YIJ			
JØ _{mod}		Ø	
ŦØ			
EY			
	spju	spyš	spjať

(cf. Zhylko 1966, 186)

Many subdialects, particularly SW subdialects, do not have the mobile stress; verbs that have this pattern in CSU have barytone stress in these subdialects. This can be obtained by changing the underlying form of the 1 sg from -ú to -u. (Zhylko 1966, 185 ff.)

As was stated at the outset, the purpose of this paper is to outline possible approaches to an examination of the relationship between the various dialects of Ukrainian (including the standard language), particularly such as can be accounted for by a modification of the rules of generation or their order. To account for all variations, it would be necessary to conduct an exhaustive study of dialectology that would far exceed the limits of this paper; therefore, only a few representative examples have been examined.

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Table 1 — Summary of Rules for Ukrainian Verbs, Standard and Dialect

VAJ	va > j /	____V		
VJV	V > j /	____V		
KTČJ	x	/		
	> š			
	s			
	sk			
	> šč			
	st			
	k			
	> č			
	t		____ jV	V = $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{voc} \\ - \text{con} \\ - \text{low} \end{bmatrix}$
	h			
	z > ž			
	zd > žž			
	d > ž			
PPIJ	Ø > / P	____ jV	V =	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{voc} \\ - \text{con} \\ + \text{bck} \end{bmatrix}$
KČV	k > č /	____V		
CCJ	t > ʈ	/		
	d > ɖ			
	s > ʂ			
	z > ʐ			
	r > ɽ			
	l > ɭ			
	n > ɳ		____ jV	V = $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{voc} \\ - \text{con} \\ + \text{bck} \end{bmatrix}$
YIJ	y > i / j	____		
JØ	j > Ø / C	____		
ʈØ	ʈ > Ø / e	____#		
EY	e > e ^y	or e > y /	____	
	y > y ^e		[- acc]	

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ANDRIJ HORNJATKEVYČ

A Note Concerning One of the St. Sophia Graffiti

In his first volume on the medieval graffiti of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev, Vysots'kyi interprets the following text

ВЪ^ΛΣΦΞ

ΜΑΡΒΖΓ

ΡΟΖΥΓΡΥ<ΔΕ>

ВЪ^ΔΥΔΗΕ

ΒΧЖЕВЪ^ΓΜ

СѢ^ΓО^ΜΥΚΑ

ΕΥΤΡΟΠΗΑ (1966, III, 1)

in this way:

“in the year 6560 [1052]
[on] March the third
routed (?)
at nine a.m.
This was [the day of the] 40th
holy martyr
Eutropius” (1966, 17)

The text could therefore be reconstructed as follows:

ВЪ Λ<ΕΤΟ> ΣΦΞ

ΜΑΡΤ<Δ> ВЪ Γ

ΡΟΖΥΓΡΥΜΕ

ВЪ Δ Υ<Δ>С<Υ> Δ<Ε>ΗΕ

БЪ ЖЕ Т(О) ВЪ Ѡ

С(ВА)Т(О)ГО М(Ж)У(ЬНИ)КА

ЕΥΤΡΟΠΗΑ

Vysots'kyi has doubts about the reading of the superscript over the У ; it might be that the letter is a fragment of the Glagolitic letter Ѡ /s/. He also states that the time is 9 a.m., but it may be that the "ninth hour (i.e., None)" is a more correct reading.

He also states that the Ѡ (40) refers to the feast of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, which is celebrated on 9 March. I believe that he may have been influenced by the Ѡ (9) of the ninth hour. This interpretation, however, is unlikely since the event in question took place on 3 March (St. Eutropius) and not 9 March (40 martyrs).

I propose that the fifth line be read as follows:

БЪ ЖЕ ВЪТ(ОРНИКЪ) Ѡ(ЦН)

Since the Т is a superscript over the ВЪ, the line can be interpreted as follows:

"it being Thursday [in] četyrdesjatnica"
[i.e., Quadragesima, or the Great Lent]

The calendar used by the Byzantine Church repeats itself exactly every 532 years, each such period being called an indiction. The current (15th) indiction began in 1941, and the one in which 1052 occurred (the 13th) began in 877. Thus 1052 had exactly the same calendar as will 2116.¹

The *Chasoslov*" (1910, 739) gives the dominical letter (ВРЦЪЛЪТО) for 2116 as Г, and the КЛЮУЪ ГРАННУНЬІЙ as Ъ. The dominical letter determines that in that year, 3 March is a Tuesday (*Chasoslov*" 1910, 527):

а	в	г	д	е	с	з
Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

The КЛЮУЪ ГРАННУНЬІЙ for the same year determines that Cheese-fare Sunday falls on 1 March. Thus the first Tuesday of the Great Lent will be on 3 March (*Chasoslov*" 1910, 775).

University of Alberta

1. 1052 - 877 + 1941 = 2116.

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