

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA UKRAINIAN STUDIES

LIVING RECORD

ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF
CONSTANTINE BIDA

EDITED BY IRENA R. MAKARYK



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ETUDES UKRAINIENNES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
УКРАЇНСЬКІ СТУДІЇ ОТТАВСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA UKRAINIAN STUDIES

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Editorial Board:

Theofil I. Kis
Irena R. Makaryk
Orest Subtelny
George Bolotenko

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To the memory of Constantine Bida (1916–1979)

*this book is dedicated by his colleagues,
friends, and admirers*

Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.
—Shakespeare, Sonnet 55

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Preface

A history of the Slavic studies program at the University of Ottawa to 1979 is essentially the history of the professional career of Constantine Bida.

For more than twenty-five years, the Slavic program at the University of Ottawa felt the influence of Dr. Bida. Arriving at the university as a lecturer in 1952 via Lviv, Vienna, Lausanne, Bern, and Argentina, Constantine Bida brought his rich heritage and multilingual experience with him. He established and developed the Department of Slavic Studies (now part of the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures), making it at one point the richest program, in terms of course offerings and numbers of students, in all of Canada. Students from North and South America, Europe, and Israel were able to pursue all three degrees in Slavic studies: the B.A., the M.A., and the Ph.D. While the Slavic program focused primarily on literature and linguistics, Professor Bida also introduced new courses in culture and history.

The first chairman of the Department of Slavic Studies (1957–1976), Professor Bida established a truly Slavic program, with courses in Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish. He was the first in Canada to publish textological studies in Slavic literature, and the first in North America to publish and to create courses in pre-eighteenth-century Ukrainian literature. Reflecting the particular interests of the University of Ottawa, Professor Bida edited and compiled the first French–Ukrainian anthology of contemporary Quebec poetry, *Poésie du Québec contemporain*, and launched the first volume of an interdisciplinary trilingual journal, *Studia Ucrainica*.

Nor did his influence and vision end here. On his sudden and unexpected death in 1979, Professor Bida left the proceeds from his entire estate to the University of Ottawa in order to support the research and publication of materials on Ukrainian studies in the humanities and social sciences. This fund now bears his name.

The author of over eighty papers and articles in various languages,

author and editor of nine books, and a contributor to proceedings at international and national conferences, Professor Bida was also the co-founder of the Ukrainian Shakespeare Association (President, 1972–1979), the Canadian Association of Comparative Literature, and Canadian Ethnic Studies; in addition, he was a member and officer of a variety of national and international professional societies, including, among many others, the Canadian Association of Slavists (President, 1960–1961), the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, the Canadian Association of Comparative Civilization, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and the Conference on Ukrainian Studies (President, 1975–1976).

In addition to teaching at the University of Ottawa, Professor Bida also taught as a visiting professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement in Rome, the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, and Harvard University.

Like all teachers of stature, Professor Bida took a great interest in his students. It was for their benefit that he established a Ukrainian publication series at the University of Ottawa, which this year publishes its fourteenth volume. The first two books in the series, Alexander Sydorenko's *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (1977) and Orysia Prokopiw's *The Ukrainian Translations of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (1976), give only some indication of the multifaceted range of interests of the late Dr. Bida.

Formidable both inside and outside the classroom (colleagues are still unable to refer to him as anything but "Dr. Bida"), just before his death Constantine Bida embarked upon a number of ambitious projects that would have immediately established Ottawa as an important centre of Ukrainian studies. One of these, a much-needed series of critical editions in the field of Ukrainian Baroque literature, has recently been taken up by the Harvard Ukrainian Institute.

Professor Bida's wide-ranging interest in Slavic literature and linguistics, as well as comparative and English studies, is reflected in the scope of the contributions to this volume, which covers various periods and genres. What constitutes a notable lacuna due to the exigencies of space is, however, the absence of articles on the social sciences and history (Mazepa studies remained an abiding interest), other significant interests of Professor Bida, to say nothing of the study of folklore, lexicography, and etymology—areas in which he also published. Like many of his European contemporaries, Constantine Bida recognized the importance of a public educator's role. The notion of *prosvitianstvo* (enlightenment) implied an active community role, a function Professor Bida carried out by way of numerous articles in non-academic journals and Ukrainian-language newspapers, articles in which he covered material on many general questions of Ukrainian culture, as well as specific literary and linguistic issues. His role as

posthumous benefactor to Ukrainian studies in various disciplines further attests to his understanding of that role of *prosvitnyk*—literally, “enlightener.”

Those who had the honour and pleasure of working with the late Constantine Bida, of studying under him, or simply of reading his books dedicate this collection to his memory.

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To the contributors, a special thank you for adhering to the strict limitations enforced by the style guide. To Deans Marcel Hamelin, Faculty of Arts, and Pierre Laberge, Graduate Studies, as well as to the members of the Ukrainian Endowments and Research Advisory Committee, many thanks for their encouragement and advice. All have helped make this a very special tribute to the late Constantine Bida.

I.R.M

Ukrainian Literature and Philology

HARVEY GOLDBLATT

Godlike "Simplicity" versus Diabolic "Craftiness": On the Significance of Ivan Vyshens'kyi's "Apology for the Slavic Language"¹

I

In chapter 3 of his *Knyzhka* (Book),² Ivan Vyshens'kyi offers his celebrated "apology for the Slavic language":³

For I shall tell you a great secret, that the devil is so envious of the Slavic language that he is scarcely alive by virtue of his anger. He would gladly destroy it utterly and has directed his entire struggle to that end, so that it might become the object of disgust and hatred. And as for those of us who blaspheme and do not love it, you surely should know that by raising him up they conduct themselves through the actions of that master and the belching of his spirit. And the reason the devil wages this battle against the Slavic language is that it is more fructiferous than all languages and beloved of God; since it is without pagan stratagems and handbooks, that is, [it is without] grammars, rhetorics, dialectics, and other vainglorious cunning devices belonging to the devil. Through simple and diligent reading and without any craftiness it leads to God, engenders simplicity and humility, and will exalt the Holy Spirit. "For into a crafty soul," said the Wise One, "wisdom will not enter" [Wis. 1.4]; and now the crafty Latin soul, blinded and satiated with vainglorious and proud pagan dogmas, is suffering, for by no means can it understand divine wisdom and spiritual knowledge, humility, simplicity, and innocence. Therefore, O Orthodox, defend your children from this poison, and thus know—I verily say unto you—that where the spirit of love [in someone] adheres to these pagan and empty dogmas, which are suitable for this world, he will err in the faith and totally fall away from piety. And you now have suffered for all to see, for when you have been seduced by Latin secular wisdom, you have lost your piety, have exhausted yourselves in faith and become infirm, have borne forth heresies and have angered the one in whom we were baptized. Is it not better for you to study the *horologion*, *psalter*, *ochtoechos*, *apostolos*, *evangelion* and other books

appropriate to the Church, and be a simple person pleasing to God and receive eternal life, than to achieve an understanding of Aristotle and Plato and be called a wise philosopher in this life and to depart unto hell? Judge for yourself. It seems to me that it is better not to know even the letter "a" as long as you make your way to Christ, who loves blessed simplicity and establishes a dwelling for himself in it and finds tranquility there. Know, therefore, that the Slavic language is more honoured before God than Greek or Latin. And this is not a fairy-tale. (23.8–24.3)⁴

In considering this "apology" emblematic of an eminently mediaeval mode of literary consciousness, scholars frequently have reacted negatively to Vyshens'kyi's highly dramatic exaltation of the Slavic tongue⁵ and wholesale rejection of the new learning that ostensibly characterized intellectual life in the Ruthenian lands. Some have claimed that the limitations Vyshens'kyi imposed on the use of a vulgar tongue proved a principal obstacle to the emergence of a national Ukrainian language in the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation,⁶ whereas others have asserted that his "irrational" language beliefs, which allegedly did not rely on Western intellectual trends, were outside the mainstream of Ruthenian culture.⁷ Indeed, largely on the basis of the linguistic attitudes presented in chapter 3 of his *Knyzhka*, Vyshens'kyi has been regarded as an "apologist for ignorance" in opposition to "defenders of learning," such as Meletius Smotryts'kyi, Zacharias Kopystens'kyi, and Petro Mohyla, who recognized the importance of mastering the cultural and linguistic tools of their rivals.⁸

There is no question but that Vyshens'kyi's views differed sharply not only from those of Polish polemicists and Uniate cultural activists, but also from those of many Ruthenian Orthodox writers at the turn of the seventeenth century. Yet one wonders whether the Athonite monk should be considered at variance with the mainstream of Ruthenian cultural trends, or whether he should be viewed, instead, as a remarkable literary figure who, as George Grabowicz rightly has noted,

both reflected the existing state of Ukrainian culture and letters and was instrumental in conserving that state of affairs. He was not so much a "retrograde" figure as the most forceful and eloquent exponent of a culture that was (and remained for subsequent centuries) entirely non-secular.⁹

Indeed, while it might be expected that—under the impact of certain well-established critical clichés¹⁰—Vyshens'kyi's "apology for the Slavic language" has hardly been studied against the full backdrop of influences and counter-influences that marked late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Ruthenian literature, it is curious that the Athonite monk's defence of the Slavic language and the Ruthenian Orthodox heritage has rarely been examined either in the larger context

of his *Knyzhka* or in light of the Orthodox Slavic heritage that helped shape his ideology. The purpose of this paper is to begin to fill this serious lacuna in Vyshens'kyi studies.

II

It is important in the first place to note that for this "mediaeval" Athonite monk, language speculation could not be regarded as an autonomous discipline or seen apart from the unity of Orthodox doctrine. As one learns from the table of contents for the *Knyzhka*, chapter 3 offers "advice on how to cleanse Christ's Church, which has been disgraced by false pastors and the unclean life of them and all who follow them" (8.21–23). Thus, in seeking to disclose the higher meaning of Jesus's cleansing the Temple,¹¹ Vyshens'kyi's "Porada" (Advice) has the goal of preserving the Orthodox spiritual tradition as it has been received, "neither adding anything from one's own imagination nor removing something in shamelessness and bringing discord through one's own opinion" (23.1–2).¹² Viewed in this context, Vyshens'kyi's "apology," which aims to defend the sanctity of the Slavic tongue and its special relationship to God, can hardly be considered a "digression" from the main subject matter of chapter 3¹³ but is, instead, a vital component in defence of a traditional spirituality.

Of fundamental importance for Vyshens'kyi here and elsewhere in his writings was the relationship between Christian devotion and Christian worship. In his obligation to provide "advice, true and firm on how to restore the piety of Orthodoxy in our Church" (22.13–15), he urged the Christian faithful "to cleanse the Church of any deceptions and superstitions" so that they might "praise God in the simplicity of the heart" (22.16–17). In other words, the Slavic language was held up to be an essential weapon in the struggle with the forces of the evil one precisely because it was the instrument by which one could celebrate God and thereby achieve a higher knowledge of Him.

In the structures of Vyshens'kyi's thought, it is essential to note the congruence between the ascetic life and sacramental spirituality. Nourished by a theological tradition in which the tenets of mysticism and Orthodox dogma intermingled, the Athonite monk was compelled to assert, as practitioners of the contemplative life had affirmed for centuries, that monastic piety was sustained by participation in the Eucharist.¹⁴ It is not by chance that Vyshens'kyi's "apology" is directly preceded by a terse yet extremely precise liturgical solution that affirmed the exclusive role of the Slavic tongue during the divine service (23.4–7).¹⁵ Indeed, one cannot overemphasize the importance of the fact that the Athonite monk's language speculation is indissolubly bound up with the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, that is, the act of public

worship that serves as an instrument by which man could be purified and made ready to take part in the incorruptible nature of the Lord Himself. Indeed, in view of Vyshens'kyi's pervasive exaltation of the contemplative life,¹⁶ as well as the distinction—made just prior to his remarks on the language of the Liturgy—between, on the one hand, the perfection of the Holy Spirit made known through revelation and, on the other hand, human imperfection and corruption (23.3–4), there are cogent reasons to believe that he drew upon an Orthodox Slavic theory of verbal expression that crystallized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the impact of the Hesychast spiritual revival.¹⁷ To judge from Constantine Kostenečki's *Skazanie iz' iavliennio o pismenekh* (Explanatory Treatise on the Letters), which unquestionably represents the most elaborate inquiry into the nature and function of language in the Orthodox Slavic Middle Ages, and whose theoretical underpinnings remained an important part of Orthodox Slavic spirituality for centuries, an essential component of Hesychast teachings involved the profound link between devotional practice and language speculation.¹⁸ Proceeding from the fundamental thesis of the reality of the divine in revelation and the doctrine of the vision of God as light, Hesychasts on Mt. Athos and in other centres of Eastern Christian spirituality, from the Balkan lands to the East Slavic territory, derived from their mystical experience the sort of doctrinal implications that elucidated the unique features of sacred linguistic media such as the Slavic language.¹⁹

It therefore seems reasonable to deduce that, like the Orthodox Slavic Hesychasts before him, Vyshens'kyi regarded the Slavic language not merely as a "symbol" of truth but rather as a direct manifestation of the divine presence that had been extended to man through the deifying action of Grace. The sacrality of this linguistic medium thus resided in its status as a perfect language of revelation, standing in sharp contradiction to the imperfect language of man, which, if used incorrectly, could serve the enemy of God and thereby lead man to perdition. Above all, the Slavic language represented the very essence of Orthodox spirituality, for it was the instrument of salvation against which the devil himself had directed his entire struggle. Indeed, in an age of unspeakable evil, when the "spiritual infants" of Rus'—as "men of flesh not yet ready for solid food"—opted for human wisdom rather than the gifts of the Spirit, in a manner similar to what St. Paul had found at Corinth in the age of the Apostles (38.28–40.6),²⁰ it was the Athonite monk's conviction that the sacred language of Rus' was the *only* medium that could offer man salvation. Even languages consecrated by tradition and claiming to be sacred, such as Latin and Greek, were not pleasing to God, for they were replete with pagan "stratagems" and "other vainglorious cunning devices belonging to the devil." According to Vyshens'kyi, the salvatory effects of the supranational and truly sacred Slavic tongue could be observed not only in Rus' but also in

Muscovy and even in the Turkish lands, where the Serbs and Bulgarians continued to remain faithful to their Orthodox Slavic language and heritage (192.6–193.1).

Vyshens'kyi's language beliefs thus differed significantly from those of earlier Orthodox Slavic Hesychast writers in regard to the status of the Greek language and its relationship to the Slavic tongue. For fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Balkan Slavic authors, such as Monk Isaiah of Serres and Constantine Kostenečki, for sixteenth-century Muscovite writers, such as Maksim Grek, and for contemporary Ruthenian writers, such as Meletius Smotryts'kyi and Zacharias Kopysten'kyi, Greek was a special object of attention and technical craft and a model to be imitated in order to raise the Slavic tongue to a higher level of perfection.²¹ In the structures of Vyshens'kyi's thought, however, the Slavic language was distanced not only from Latin but from Greek as well. Like his Ruthenian compatriots, the Athonite monk recognized the Latin tradition as the real threat and major competitor to the Slavic heritage, but, unlike them, he could not regard the "diabolically inspired" Greek language as a viable weapon in the struggle for the cause of Orthodox Rus'. One may wonder whether it is appropriate to see in Vyshens'kyi's rejection (and functional equivalence) of Greek and Latin merely a *topos* reflecting the traditional anti-Hellenic position taken by Church Fathers, such as John Chrysostom,²² or the type of fundamental and absolute opposition in which his call for repentance and hope for redemption among the Ruthenians in the Polish land were couched.²³ The Slavic language, in its capacity as singular instrument of salvation for a Rus' on the verge of destruction, could not rely on or imitate the features of Greek, Latin, or any other language but had to place all its trust in its unique relationship to God.

Vyshens'kyi's decidedly negative evaluation of the Greek language leads us to another very striking difference between him and earlier Orthodox Slavic writers. For Hesychast writers, such as the above-mentioned Monk Isaiah²⁴ and Constantine Kostenečki,²⁵ the use of *khytrosti* (or *khudozhestvo*),²⁶ understood as "art" or "technical skill" (cf. Greek τέχνη), was absolutely essential if the Slavic language was to retain its sacred status and remain as cultivated as Greek. In other words, the dignity of the Slavic tongue was dependent upon the use of the correct philological and grammatical techniques. In the sixteenth century, moreover, Maksim Grek could assert that if the Slavic language was lacking in prestige, this was because—in contrast to the situation among the Greeks—Muscovy lacked sufficient "technical expertise" (*khytrosti*) to engage in the art of scriptural correction.²⁷ Hence, while earlier Orthodox Slavic writers influenced by the spiritual theology of the Hesychasts appear to have attempted to combine the correct "techniques" or "skill" with the idea of perfect revelation, Vyshens'kyi seems to have insisted in his *Knyzhka* on a rigid distinction between the

khytrosti (i.e., insidious "stratagems" or wickedly "cunning devices") appropriate to the devil and the *khudozhestvo* (i.e., "skill" or "art") that "leads to the reigning, immortal, and eternal truth" (9.11–12/124.2–3).²⁸ According to the Athonite monk, therefore, the term *khytrosti* (and semantically related forms) meant not "craft," which assisted in the revelation of divine truth, but rather "craftiness," which totally allied itself with the evil one and sought to destroy the Word of God.

Thus, the Slavic language was not "simply another language, a vehicle of communication and a communion with men and God, but an icon of given theological truth."²⁹ Here, too, it is essential to recall the profound link established by the Greek Fathers between the purpose of the mystical ascent and the aim of the Eucharist.³⁰ It was Vyshens'kyi's belief that if one did not use the sacred Slavic tongue in all parts of the Divine Liturgy, there would be no sacrament of deification and, consequently, no salvation. And it was for the salvation of "all pious people living in Little Rus' and the Polish Kingdom" that the Athonite monk had been obliged to compile his "writing on the falsehood which reigns over truth." As he noted at the end of his introduction to the *Knyzhka*:

With regard to this writing, which has been entirely recopied, let others know about it as well, since one is dealing here not with a piece of bast or strip of leather but with the entire skin, that is, the salvation of our souls, lest we perish both on earth and eternally, away from the living God.

III

It is important to emphasize that in Vyshens'kyi's "apology," the remarks on the devil's hatred of the Slavic tongue, and his desire to eliminate it through his "cunning devices," are not meant in any figurative or metaphorical sense. A pervasive theme of the entire *Knyzhka* is the *real* presence of the organized forces of the malevolent spirit, not just in Rus' but "from all ends and parts of Christendom" (7.13). Indeed, all of Vyshens'kyi's writings—but especially the *Knyzhka*—must be seen as an eschatological response to the perceived trauma of Rus'. The Athonite monk offers the depicted wicked world of status, wealth, and persecution as part of an apocalyptic vision. Because the present age is hopelessly perverted (7.20–22), God is about to pour the vessel of His wrath upon the wicked who have been assembled for destruction (7.18–19).³¹ Yet those Orthodox Christians who would repent, acquire rule over their passions, and renew themselves would achieve Grace and deifying salvation (7.20–26). God would not betray the community of righteous believers and would overthrow the powers of evil in the satanic dimension to affirm the promise of redemption to His true community.³²

Hence, Vyshens'kyi's depiction of the "ordeal" of Rus', and of a world marked by oppression and "liminality," was also determined by the expectation of a final redemption and involved the projection into a future embodying an ideal state of being.³³ In addressing his Ruthenian compatriots in order to remind them of the presence of evil in their land and of the need to repent, he believed that he was duty-bound to concern himself not with individual salvation but with the whole Church. In other words, the "monk from the Holy Athonite Mountain" had an "apostolic" obligation not only to expose the evil that reigned over all ends and parts of Christendom (but especially in the Polish Kingdom)—that is, serve as a "prophet of disaster"—but also to proclaim the eschatological fulfillment of human history—that is, serve as a "prophet of salvation."³⁴

Nowhere is Vyshens'kyi's dual prophetic role more clearly expressed in his writings than in the short introduction to the *Knyzhka*. In this textual excerpt, which has come down to us only in a single testimony,³⁵ the Athonite monk evidently wished to reveal to his readers the "true significance" of what they would find in the ten chapters that followed. In this regard, one should note that—as Riccardo Picchio demonstrated for several Orthodox Slavic monuments that appear to serve as examples of scriptural exegesis—"because a literary work imitated the sacred and authoritative texts of the Christian tradition, it was understood by the well-trained reader or listener according to 'two levels of meaning,' which correspond to the [allegorical and historical] senses of Scripture."³⁶ What one thus uncovers in the introduction to the *Knyzhka* is the "voice of one crying in the wilderness,"³⁷ a functional equivalent of the eschatological proclamation of John the Baptist—"Repent for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand"³⁸—with its emphasis on pervasive evil, the certainty of divine retribution, and, finally, the possibility of repentance, cleansing from sin, and everlasting salvation:

I send to you a writing on the falsehood which reigns over truth in your land; and there is blasphemy against God from all ends and parts of Christendom. *And the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places (it is with them we are contending, according to St. Paul) rule over our Christian world,* whence for unbelief and barrenness we have been led into destruction together with our Orthodox faith. And if you do not realize this and acquit yourselves, you should know that our piety is being devastated, and all those who have remained in unbelief will perish. For the vessel of God's wrath is ready to be poured upon our land; flee quickly from it to God in your repentance and reform. And there is not a more godless, blasphemous, and unjust land than your land, even among the heathens. I therefore implore you to save yourselves through the example of Lot, who fled from Sodom to

Zoar—for Zoar is repentance and cleansing from sin; about this you will find here what has been said additionally about the cleansing of the Church. And when you have corrected this, I will place my trust in God's mercy, that God will look upon us once again with a merciful eye and will raise up our piety and save all who are living piously in Him and vouchsafe them to be heirs to the kingdom of Heaven, which, the Lord willing, is for all of us to receive. Amen (*italics added*). (7.12–28)

It seems, moreover, that Vyshens'kyi may have had recourse to a special compositional device that was intended to bridge the semantic gap between the spiritual and historical senses. More specifically, the Athonite monk might have made use of what Picchio has called a biblical thematic clue—placed in a structurally marked position—to ensure that the reader would not miss the higher meaning or spiritual sense conveyed by the entire *Knyzhka*.³⁹ The biblical reference in question, which is found at the very beginning of the introduction but also elsewhere in Vyshens'kyi's writings,⁴⁰ and which "should be interpreted in light of its twofold contextual function,"⁴¹ is from Ephesians 6:12, that is, from St. Paul's well-known passage devoted to God's armour and Christian warfare:

Finally, be strong in the Lord and in the strength of His might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. *For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.* Therefore take the whole armour of God, that you may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the equipment of the gospel of peace; above all taking the shield of faith, with which you can quench all the flaming darts of the evil one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Pray at all times in the Spirit, with all prayer and supplication (*italics added*). (Eph. 6:10–18)

It appears that a correct interpretation of this biblical reference, in light of its multifold contextual function and based on the exegeses of the Church Fathers, was to help the reader grasp the true meaning and intent of the *Knyzhka*. According to Vyshens'kyi, therefore, the unspeakable evil and unbelief that reigned over truth had their origins not in the temporal conflict between Catholics and Orthodox or in the worldly struggles between different rulers and ecclesiastic hierarchies, but in the power of *supernatural beings*, that is, in the *reality* of the eternal war

between God and the devil.⁴² The battle was not with mere mortal beings but with the organized forces of the malevolent spirit of "this present darkness" in a world that had been demonically perverted.⁴³

One should note, moreover, that the citation from Ephesians 6:12 and its twofold context offered an additional, extremely important level of interpretation. The battle with the devil had to be conducted not only in the external world, but also as an internal contest. It must be emphasized that this passage from St. Paul's *Letter to the Ephesians* played a significant role for many authorities on contemplative monasticism—from the early Fathers of the desert in the fourth century to Gregory Palamas and Nil Sorskii—all of whom defined the spiritual life of the Christian as a war waged, both in the body and in the soul, with hidden stratagems.⁴⁴ In other words, through his reference to Ephesians 6:12 and its biblical context, Vyshens'kyi not only sought to reveal the real nature of the evil found among the Ruthenians in the Polish Kingdom but also sought to show how to achieve true cleansing from sin and redemption—namely, through the contemplative life of the monks and through traditional devotional practices, that is, by uprooting the evil thoughts and temptations prompted by the devil and by battling against the passions and acquiring control over them. Sustained by a tradition of monastic piety in Eastern Christendom whose origins could be traced back to the "pure prayer" of Evagrius Ponticus and the "mysticism of the heart" of Pseudo-Macarius, Vyshens'kyi could assert that only the "dispassioned" Christian—that is, the one who had won the "good fight" of St. Paul—could fill his mind and heart with the presence of God and achieve deifying salvation.

IV

Clearly, Vyshens'kyi's application of a biblical passage from St. Paul's *Letter to the Ephesians* was dependent upon the exegetical schemes of the Church Fathers, for only their guidance and instruction ensured a correct interpretation of the ineffable truth contained in the Holy Writ. As the Fathers had declared at the Council in Trullo in 692:

If any controversy in regard to Scripture shall have been raised, let [the clergy and bishops] not interpret it otherwise than as the lights and doctors of the Church in their writings have expounded it and in these let them glory rather than in composing things out of their own heads.⁴⁵

One need look no further than, for example, the exegesis and moral application to this passage from Ephesians offered by St. John Chrysostom—whose writings appear to have held particular authority for Vyshens'kyi⁴⁶—to observe the importance of patristic interpretations for an understanding of *what* we are contending with "in the evil day."⁴⁷

If one examines Chrysostom's *Homilies on Ephesians*—in particular, homily xxii, which deals with Ephesians 6:5–13, and homily xxiii, which focuses on Ephesians 6:14–20⁴⁸—one can see how a knowledge of the commentary on the "good Christian fight" by one of the "classical" *auctores* of Eastern Christianity could have prepared the reader of the introduction for the higher significance of the ten chapters that followed.

Thus, for instance, in commenting on Ephesians 6:12, Chrysostom's homily xxii underscores not only the nature and significance of the battle with the devil but also the rewards that are at the root of the conflict with our fierce enemy:

The conflict lies "in the heavenlies"; the struggle is not about riches, not about glory, but about our being enslaved. And thus is the enmity irreconcilable. The strife and the conflict are fiercer when [it is] for vast interests at stake; for the expression "in the heavenlies" is equivalent to "for the heavenly things." It is not that they may gain anything by the conquest, but that they may despoil us. . . . A harder warfare this than that which is matter of sense, a fiercer conflict. Think how long [a] time this enemy is wrestling, for what it is that he is fighting, and be more guarded than ever.⁴⁹

Later, in the section of homily xxii that offers the moral application, Chrysostom reveals *how* the Christian might quench the "flaming darts of the evil one" and be saved. His answer is straightforward: "If, what they are by nature, that we become by choice, free from flesh and blood, thus shall we vanquish."⁵⁰ In other words, "wealth, possessions, and vainglory give [the devil] a hold," and it is "because we are slothful that we have to wrestle with him."⁵¹ One can overcome the power of the enemy, as St. Paul did, only by "subduing all, . . . that is, both passions, and vile lusts, and all things else that trouble us."⁵² Only the Christian who fights against the passions and a dissolute life could vanquish the devil:

Reconnoiter on all sides, fortify thyself. Not against the devil alone is the conflict, but also against his powers. How then, you may say, are we to wrestle with the darkness? How with the "spiritual hosts of wickedness"? By becoming good. For wickedness is contrary to good, and light drives away darkness. . . . Oh then, let us trample under foot the power of the devil; let us trample under foot our sins, I mean everything that pertains to this life, wrath, lust, vainglory, every passion; that when we depart to that world, we may not be convicted of betraying that power which God hath given us; for thus shall we attain also the blessings that are to come.⁵³

It therefore was by living in accordance with the ascetic quest for perfection and union with God that one could guarantee, for both the

monks and all Christians, not only victory over the devil but also the gift of salvation:

If, disregarding the Angels who have well pleased our Father and whom He hath set over us, we have our conversation with the devil, inevitably we shall be disinherited. But God grant that engaging in the war we have to wage with him, and, with the aid from which is from above, having conquered, we may become heirs of the kingdom of Heaven.⁵⁴

V

The higher "level of meaning"—as revealed in the reference to Ephesians 6:12 and its biblical context—that Vyshens'kyi offers in the introduction of his *Knyzhka* has special significance for the "apology for the Slavic language."⁵⁵ In determining the place of the "apology" in the context of the entire *Knyzhka*, two motives are of particular relevance: first, that the devil is waging a ferocious battle (*borba*) with the Slavic language, which is "beloved of God" and unique in its "simplicity" (*prostota*) and "innocence" (*bezzlobie*); and second, that the sphere of "craftiness"—that is, the application of "stratagems" (*khytrosti*) and "cunning devices" (*kovarstva*)—is indissolubly linked to the activities of the evil one. Thus, according to Vyshens'kyi, the wiliness characteristic of Latin and Greek had to remain totally apart from the Slavic language, for it was linked with the evil one in opposition to the Word of God. The only defence against the craftiness of the devil, which was being used to destroy the sacred spiritual heritage of Rus', was the feature of simplicity, understood here not as a level of linguistic expression distinct from sacred language (i.e., ἰδιώτης λόγος or γλῶσσα δημηώδης / *lingua rustica* or *sermo vulgaris*),⁵⁶ but rather as a positive ethical and religious value (i.e., ἀπλότης / *simplicitas*) and essential attribute of the Slavic tongue (*prostota slavianskoho iazyka*).

It is significant, in this regard, that the biblical passage from the *Letter to the Ephesians* elucidates not only *what* the Christians are contending with and *in what manner* they might overcome the powers of the evil one, but also—and most important for the purpose of our discussion—precisely *how* the devil attacks those who stand against him. According to St. Paul, as he indicates in Ephesians 6:11, we must put on the whole armour of God, for attempts are made to destroy us through "the wiles [or 'craftinesses'] of the devil" (πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου).⁵⁷ One should note that the term μεθοδεία (craft, wiliness, cunning devices), which is not attested before the New Testament, not only is used by St. Paul exclusively in a negative sense⁵⁸ (and almost always by the Church Fathers in reference to the devil⁵⁹), but also is often described in the patristic literature in contrast to the

concept of ἀπλότης (simplicity, sincerity, uprightness). Thus, for example, in the above-mentioned homily xxii, in his commentary on Ephesians 6:11 and definition of the term μεθοδεία, Chrysostom devotes considerable attention to the fundamental opposition between craftiness and simplicity:

[St. Paul] saith not, against the fightings, nor against the hostilities, but against the "wiles." For this enemy is at war with us, not *simply*, not openly, but by "wiles." What is meant by wiles? To use "wiles" is to deceive and take by *artifice* or *contrivance*; a thing which takes place both in the case of the *arts*, and by words, and actions and *stratagems*, in the case of those who seduce us. I mean something like this. The devil never proposes to us sins in their proper colours; he does not speak of idolatry, but he sets it off in another dress, using "wiles," that is, making his discourse plausible, employing disguises. Now therefore the Apostle is by this means both rousing the soldiers, and making them vigilant, by persuading and instructing them, that our conflict is with one *skilled* in the arts of war, and with one who wars not *simply*, nor openly, but with much *wiliness* (italics added).⁶⁰

In this homily, therefore, the semantic domain of *artificium* is totally bound up with the devil and linked to the notions of "deception" and "beguilement." Citing the *Second Letter to the Corinthians*, where St. Paul underscores the distinction between scheming "sophistry" and open "simplicity," Chrysostom asserts that even if the "Apostle to the Gentiles" had been persuaded that nothing could separate him from the love of Christ, he still was afraid of the "artifices" of the devil: "I fear lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve in his *craftiness*, your minds should be corrupted from the *simplicity* which is in Christ" (italics added) (2 Cor. 11:3).⁶¹

VI

Thus, it appears that the introduction to the *Knyzhka* served a precise purpose. The textual excerpt aimed to elucidate the spiritual leitmotif operative in the entire text of Vyshens'kyi's work—namely, that the evil that reigned over truth in the Polish Kingdom was the temporal manifestation of the eternally wicked designs of the devil. It seems, moreover, that the thematic clue (and its biblical context) that one finds at the beginning of the introduction reveals fundamental oppositions that play a decisive part in the "apology for the Slavic language," especially in the description of the battle being waged by the devil against the sacred language of Rus'. It is, therefore, precisely in the context of the dramatic struggle against "the spiritual hosts of wickedness" that the Slavic language acquired its unique role as the defender

of Ruthenian Orthodox spirituality. In a world dominated by the organized forces of the "crafty" and malevolent spirit, only the "simplicity" of the Slavic language could preserve the rituals and sacramental traditions of Orthodoxy and accord man the possibility of ascending towards the source of supreme truth.

The higher message contained in the introduction also helped clarify the nature of the warning and the type of fundamental oppositions set forth by Vyshens'kyi in his oft-cited second preface to the *Knyzhka*, entitled "Ko prochitateliu naedinî seho pisanîa" (To the One Reading This Work Alone):

First of all, I caution you against that deception, so that you might seek here not the stratagems of word-weaving styles present in Hellenic learning but the path towards the essence of truth in which eternal life is preserved. . . . Stop at each step—where it is spoken about falsity and truth—with spiritual judgement; and having seen that truth is trampled by falsity on the part of the destructive sons, be grieved, weep, and pray to God, so that He might allow all who have lost their way to return to the path of salvation and to come to a knowledge of the truth.

And insofar as I am concerned, I myself shall give you testimony that I have not studied grammatical trifles, I have not seen rhetorical games, nor have I heard philosophical bombast. My teacher is a simple man, but wisest of all, who makes unlettered men wise. My teacher is a simple man, who transforms fishermen into fishers of men. Mine is the teacher who laughs at the philosophers with simplicity. Mine is the teacher who bridles pride with humility.

Therefore, if you wish to find the path of salvation, listen to him. And if you want to discover the kingdom of Heaven, trust in him fervently. But if the spirit of the vainglory in Latin learning overcomes you and you knowingly do not believe in this simplicity of mine, be aware for certain that you will not inherit eternal life. (10.13–32)

Here, within the traditional reference to God's desire that all "come to a knowledge of the truth,"⁶² Vyshens'kyi offers what appears to be a topical condemnation of pagan (Hellenic) rhetoric and an equally topical affirmation of the superiority of Christ's simple teaching over *artificium*. Yet it would be a mistake to regard this preface merely as a *topos modestiae* similar to what one finds in the works of many other Orthodox Slavic writers—from Monk Nestor, Daniel the Exile, and Epiphanius the Most-Wise in an earlier age, to contemporaries of Vyshens'kyi, such as Hierodeacon Leontius of the Monastery of the Caves, in the Ruthenian period, up to the time of Archpriest Avvakum and other Old Believers (among the East Slavs) and Todor Vrachanski and Paisii Hilendarski (among the Balkan Slavs).⁶³ On the one hand, it is possible to identify Vyshens'kyi's anti-Hellenic position as the active defence of an

Orthodox Slavic poetics that was in accordance with the *theoretical* doctrine⁶⁴ set forth by the "simple teacher" who made "uneducated and common"⁶⁵ apostles reveal great understanding as fishers of men preaching the kingdom of Heaven.⁶⁶ On the other hand, as in chapter 3, the Athonite monk's apology for the teachings of the "simple man" also involved a precise condemnation and rejection of the *actual* state of affairs in the Ruthenian schools, which, patterned as they were on the Jesuit model, offered to their students the mediaeval *trivium* (i.e., grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics).⁶⁷

One should not forget, in this regard, that Vyshens'kyi's "apology for the Slavic language" was introduced in deliberate response to those Ruthenian cultural activists (i.e., "those among us") who would "blaspheme against the Slavic language" and thereby participated in the work of the devil (23.11–13). In other words, the Athonite monk did not direct his polemic, either in the introduction or in chapter 3, against the Polish adversaries of the Orthodox heritage of Rus', such as Piotr Skarga,⁶⁸ but rather against his Ruthenian compatriots who not only had studied Aristotle and Plato and tolerated the Latin hymns in the Church but had committed the grievous error of using a "vernacular tongue" during the Divine Liturgy.⁶⁹ As a consequence of the destruction and profanation that had spread over Rus', and "inasmuch as all the inhabitants of Little Rus' ha[d] committed heresy and removed themselves from God" (22.7–8), Vyshens'kyi was duty-bound to provide the means to "cleanse the Church of any deceptions" and restore the tradition of Orthodoxy so that "God might draw near to us" (22.9–10):

Whereupon I thus give you advice, true and firm, on how to restore the piety of Orthodoxy in our Church. First of all, cleanse the Church of any deceptions and heretical superstitions and praise God in the *simplicity* of the heart without *subtle adornments*. Drive out of the Church the Latin stench of hymns and give thanks to God by chanting with our *simple* Rus'ian canticles. Then embrace our Eastern orthodox faith without any doubt and with all your heart, soul, and thought, and reject for yourself any form of heresy and unbelief. And fervently honor the veneration of icons (italics added) (22.13–22)

The Athonite monk was thereby spiritually obliged to proclaim that only the "simple" Slavic tongue, in its capacity as a chosen instrument of Grace, could preserve the sacred Orthodox heritage by vanquishing the diabolic "craftiness" that had taken hold of a Rus' that had become "godless, blasphemous, and unjust." The "apology for the Slavic language" thus became an integral and vital part of Vyshens'kyi's call for the radical reform of Ruthenian society, of his struggle with the Anti-Christ for the purification of the Church in the face of the imminently approaching end of time.

Notes

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which I gratefully acknowledge.

2. The *Knyzhka Ioanna mnikha Vishenskoho ot sviatyia afonskia hory* . . . (The Book of Monk Ivan Vyshens'kyi from the Holy Athonite Mountain . . .) was compiled and sent to "all pious people living in Little Rus'" sometime between 1599 and 1601. The *Knyzhka*, which is a collection of Vyshens'kyi's writings produced up to that time—that is, not only the works written before the Union of Brest (1596) but several new writings composed especially for the collection—consists of an introduction, a table of contents, two prefaces, and ten chapters. To judge from the size and makeup of the final portions of the *Knyzhka*, one may conclude that Vyshens'kyi's aim was to compile a collection that would comprise precisely ten chapters. It appears, moreover, that this number was chosen with a particular model in mind—namely, another "book," also "in ten chapters" (*Knyzhitsa v desiati otdelakh*), which had been printed in Ostroh in 1598 to oppose that Union and had included an "epistle" by Vyshens'kyi sent from Mt. Athos. Unlike the Ostroh collection, however, Vyshens'kyi's *Knyzhka* did not appear in print during his lifetime; on the other hand, it is clear that—as indicated in the introduction—the Athonite monk wanted his "text" (*termina*) to be copied and spread throughout Rus' and the Polish Kingdom for the salvation of human souls. Some scholars believe that the instructions on how to read the *Knyzhka* found in the first preface, as well as the organizing principle of the *Knyzhka*—with its prefaces, *virshi*, and division into chapters—are a clear indication that Vyshens'kyi prepared the work for publication, perhaps by the Ostroh school but most likely by the Lviv brotherhood. The fact that the *Knyzhka* did not appear in print until long after Vyshens'kyi's demise has been attributed by these same scholars to a number of causes—not only to insufficient financial means or Vyshens'kyi's rejection of much of the "new learning" that characterized the educational curriculum of the brotherhood schools, but also to the fear of reprisals for publishing a work that manifested such fierce opposition to almost all aspects of intellectual and cultural life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. See, in this regard, I. P. Eremin [Jer'omin], *Ivan Vyshens'kii. Sochineniia* (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1955), pp. 292–93.

3. On this designation, see Eremin, p. 299.

4. Here and elsewhere in this study, Vyshens'kyi's writings are cited according to Eremin's 1955 edition. In all references to this publication, the first numeral indicates the page, and the second number gives the line.

5. For Vyshens'kyi's views on the "Slavic language," see, *inter alia*, A. Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie blanche, 1569–1667*, Travaux et mémoires de l'université de Lille, n.s.: Droit et lettres, 20 (Lille: Université de Lille, 1938), pp. 72–73, 259–62; B. Gröschel, *Die Sprache Ivan Vyšenskyjs: Untersuchungen und Materialien zur historischen Grammatik des Ukrainische*, Slavistische Forschungen, 13 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1972), pp. 7–26; A. N. Robinson, *Bor'ba idei v russkoi literature XVII veka* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), pp. 319–36; H. Goldblatt, "On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyshens'kyi and the Counter-Reformation" (forthcoming).

6. See, for example, O. Pritsak and J. Reshetar, "Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 2 (1963):7–8.

7. See, for instance, the concluding remarks made by Antoine Martel in reference to Vyshens'kyi's "apology": "Il y eut heureusement à la même époque quelques défenses de la langue liturgique et de la théologie qui furent à la fois plus raisonnées et plus raisonnables" (Martel, p. 73).

8. The formulae "apologistes de l'ignorance" and "défenseurs du savoir" are to be found in Martel, pp. 259–66. It is paradoxical that this negative evaluation of Vyshens'kyi's language beliefs, still influential in contemporary scholarship, has its origins in Panteleimon Kulish's exaltation of the Athonite monk's "apostolic ignorance" (P. A. Kulish, *Istoriia vossoedineniia Rusi*, 1 [St. Petersburg: "Obshchestvennaia polza," 1874], pp. 289–314). Cf. I. Franko, *Ivan Vyshens'kyi i ieho tvory* (Lviv: n.p., 1895), as published in *Ivan Franko. Zibrannia tvoriv u p'iatdesiaty tomakh*, 30 (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1981), pp. 15–17, 164–65.

9. G. Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 37.

10. I have in mind here, above all, the deeply entrenched historiographic approach which informs us that Vyshens'kyi, the patriotic defender of Orthodox spirituality, remained essentially unaffected by Reformation (and especially Counter-Reformation) models and patterns of thought: see Goldblatt, "On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyshens'kyi," esp. pp. 1–3.

11. Mt. 21:12–17; Mk. 11:11, 15–19; Lk. 19:45–48.

12. Cf. the words of St. John of Damascus, in his *On Icons*: "We do not change the everlasting boundaries which our fathers have set, but we keep the tradition just as we received it" (*Patrologia Graeca* 94:1297B).

13. Eremin, pp. 297–301.

14. J. Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)*, The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine, 2 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 256.

15. See Goldblatt, "On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyshens'kyi."

16. One should recall that the greater part of chapter 3 (25.20–43.31) is an "apology for the monastic life," in which Vyshens'kyi holds up the monks as the model for all Christians, for only they lived in accordance with the apostolic way of life, that is, a way of life that combined the ascetic quest for perfection with an insistence on preaching for the salvation of human souls. According to Vyshens'kyi, the monks were the only possible agent of restoration and salvation for Rus': "Or do you not know, you wretches, that if there were no true monks or those pleasing to God among you, you would have long ago been

reduced to ashes by brimstone and fire in the Polish land, as were Sodom and Gomorrah?" (25.7–9).

17. The detailed study of Vyshens'kyi's relationship to the Hesychast movement remains a desideratum; for the present, see Iu. V. Peleshenko, "Deshcho pro tradytsii u tvorchosti Ivana Vyshens'koho," in *Ukrains'ke literaturne barokko*, ed. O. V. Myshanych (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1987), pp. 131–43.

18. See H. Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy: Constantine Kostenečki's Treatise on the Letters*, *Studia Historica et Philologica*, 16 (Florence: Le Lettere, 1987), esp. pp. 3–9, 347–50.

19. Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, pp. 3–9, 347–50.

20. 1 Cor. 1:10–3:9.

21. See Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, pp. 21–23, 350–53, and "Orthodox Slavic Heritage and National Consciousness: Aspects of the East Slavic and South Slavic National Revivals," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10 (1986):339–40. One should note that for Ruthenian writers, such as Smotryts'kyi and Kopystens'kyi, the prestige of the Greek tongue (and, by extension, of the Slavic language as well) invariably was bound up with the idea that Latin could not convey the conceptual subtlety of Greek: see D. Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9 (1985):38–40.

22. Robinson, p. 316.

23. See G. Grabowicz, "The Question of Authority in Ivan Vyšens'kyi: A Dialectics of Absence," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12 (1988):156.

24. In his "preface" to his Slavic translation of the works of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite (1371), Monk Isaiah notes that "in the beginning the Greek language was made skillful [*khudozhen*] and complete by God, and at different times was technically refined [*ukhyshtren*] by various philosophers. And our Slavic language was made well by God, for all that God makes is exceedingly good, but in the absence of the love of learning of men zealous for the word it was not dignified with technical skill [*khytrosti*]" (partially cited after R. Mathiesen, "The Inflectional Morphology of the Synodal Church Slavonic Verb" [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972], p. 27). See Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, pp. 23–24, 208–10, 355–56.

25. According to Kostenečki, as we read in his early-fifteenth-century *Skazanie iz'javljennno o pismenekh* (Explanatory Treatise on the Letters): "For they [i.e., the Greeks] are skilled [*khudozhnyci*] and are travelers . . . who conduct trade, they know in which [ports there is] a smaller one. But because we [i.e., the Slavs] are unskilled [*nevedushte*], we can only find out from them where the pearl [of God] is to be obtained." See Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, pp. 351–52.

26. On the synonymy of the two terms, see G. M. Prokhorov, *Pamiatniki perevodnoi i russkoi literatury XIV–XV vekov* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987), pp. 91–93.

27. A. I. Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), p. 101.

28. As to the positive connotations of the term *khudozhestvo*, cf. 163.28–31.

29. Mathiesen, p. 37.

30. See J. Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)*, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 1 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 343–49.

31. Cf. Rom 9:22; Rev. 15:1–16:21.

32. As Vyshens'kyi puts it in the second preface to his *Knyzhka*: "And having seen that truth is trampled by falsity on the part of the destructive sons, be grieved, weep, and pray to God, so that He might allow all who have lost their way to return to the path of salvation and to come to a knowledge of the truth [cf. 1 Tim. 2:4]." On the critical importance of this biblical citation from St. Paul's *First Letter to Timothy* in Orthodox Slavic literature to underscore the continuity of God's redeeming intervention, see R. Picchio, "Questione della lingua e Slavia Cirillometodiana," in *Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi*, ed. R. Picchio (Rome: Editioni dell'Ateneo, 1972), pp. 34–48; H. Goldblatt, "On the Place of the Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition in Epiphanius' *Life of St. Stephen of Perm*," in *Christianity and its Role in the Culture of the Eastern Slavs*, ed. B. Gasparov and R. Hugues (forthcoming).

33. The reference here to "liminality" (i.e., a state of transition) and to "millenarian" motives points to the utility of structural anthropological models, in the manner of those provided by Victor Turner in his *The Ritual Process; Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), for the study of pre-modern authors, such as Vyshens'kyi, who operated in periods of profound societal crisis and transformation. Some of the models offered by structural anthropology have already been successfully employed in the study of modern Ukrainian literature: see George Grabowicz's path-breaking book on Taras Shevchenko, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

34. Here I am drawing certain concepts from the *Formgeschichte* school of German Protestant theology, recently of great importance for the Berlin research group "Ältere Slavische Literaturen": see Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition; The Form-Critical Method*, trans. S. M. Cupitt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), pp. 183–220.

35. That is, the seventeenth-century Lviv codex; see Eremin, pp. 272–80.

36. R. Picchio, "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of 'Slavia Orthodoxa,'" *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 1 (1977):5.

37. Lk. 3:4 (Is. 40:3): "φωνή βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ" / *hlas v"piiushchaho v pustyni*. The need to retire into the solitude of the desert, or to "go to the mountains" (τὰ ὄρη καταλαμβάνειν / *otbîgati v hory*), not only for one's self-perfection but for the salvation of other Christians, is a critical theme in Vyshens'kyi's writings. This is the principal motive of his last work, the *Pozorishche myslennoe* (Spiritual Spectacle), compiled about 1615, in which the author totally rejects the notion that John Chrysostom might ever have forbade the monks to go into the wilderness or might have rebuked them for seeking to isolate themselves from the temptations of life in the world (see Eremin, pp. 326–28).

38. Mt. 3:2. On the paradoxical "doubleness of terrestrial immanence and eschatological transcendence of the Kingdom of God," see G. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform; Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), esp. pp. 107–32.

39. Picchio, "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues," pp. 5–6.

40. See, for example, 20.35–21.1; 46.33–34; 163.13–14; 175.17–19; 180.8–13; 191.18–19.

41. Picchio, "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues," p. 19, n. 9.

42. Cf. 2 Cor. 10:3–4: "For though we live in the world we are not

carrying on a worldly war, for the weapons of our warfare are not worldly but have divine power to destroy strongholds."

43. It goes without saying that, in considering Vyshens'kyi's eschatology, with its overwhelming vision of persecution and general apostasy, it would be a grave error to underestimate the possible impact of the ideological conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.

44. G. Maloney, S. J., *Russian Hesychasm. The Spirituality of Nil Sorskij*, Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 269 (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1973), pp. 73–78.

45. For the Greek text of this canon, see J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection*, 6 (Paris: H. Welter, 1901–1927), p. 74, can. 16.

46. The great significance of John Chrysostom for Ivan Vyshens'kyi's writings deserves a separate study. It is important to recall, in this regard, that Chrysostom's *œuvre* played a central part in the cultural and educational revival that took place in the Ruthenian lands during Vyshens'kyi's lifetime.

47. Obviously, my intention here is not to assume any direct influence but rather to suggest that the writings of Chrysostom formed part of a literary canon that would have provided Vyshens'kyi with a stockroom of "pre-established" exegetical schemes, conceptual clichés, and thematic–stylistic common-places.

48. For the Greek text of the two homilies, see *Patrologia Graeca* 62:153–67.

49. P. Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 13, *Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), pp. 160–61.

50. Schaff, p. 161.

51. Schaff, pp. 161–62.

52. Schaff, p. 160.

53. Schaff, p. 161.

54. Schaff, pp. 162–63. Cf. 7.21–27.

55. One should note, in this regard, that some scholars have viewed statements made in the introduction (7.22–24) as a direct reference to the contents of chapter 3: see Eremin, p. 300.

56. In other words, in this context "simplicity" (*prostota*) has nothing to do with the "vulgar tongue" (*prostyi iazyk*) mentioned by Vyshens'kyi in connection with his remarks on the language of the liturgy (23.4–7): see Goldblatt, "On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyshens'kyi."

57. The relevant phrase in the Ostroh Bible reads: "protivu koznem diia-vol'skim."

58. The term is encountered only one other time in the New Testament, also in St. Paul, in Ephesians 4:14: "So that we may no longer be children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning of men, by their craftiness in deceitful wiles" ("ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδεῖαν τὴν πλάνης"). In the Ostroh Bible, the last part of this verse reads: "... vo lzhi chelovîchestei, v kovarstvî kozne i lshchenia."

59. See G.W.H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 961.

60. Schaff, pp. 159–60.

61. The Ostroh Bible reads: "Boiuzhesia, dane kako iakozhe zmia evvu prel'sti *lukavstom* svoim, tako istliiut i razumy vasha ot *prostoty* iazhe o Khristi."
62. 1 Tim. 2:4. See note 32 above.
63. Gröschel, p. 15.
64. On the other hand, as James Murphy has rightly suggested, "It is extremely difficult to discuss in theoretical terms a movement . . . seeking simplicity. The movement is apparently continuous with the whole history of the Church. The history of Christian preaching is filled with recurrent cycles of antipathy to rhetorical form. . . . But all the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that a purposeful choice of nontheory was regarded by many churchmen, over many centuries, as a viable way to respond to Christ's preaching mandate." J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages; A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 299–300.
65. That is, "ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται" / *neknizhna i prosta* (Acts 4:13).
66. Cf. R. Picchio, "L'intreccio delle parole' e gli stili letterari presso gli Slavi ortodossi nel tardo Medio Evo," in *Studi slavistici in ricordo di Carlo Verdiani*, ed. A. M. Raffo (Pisa: Giardini Editori, 1979), pp. 245–62.
67. For a bibliography on the curriculum of the new schools founded in the Ruthenian lands at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, see F. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine. The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 251–53, 256–57.
68. On the other hand, scholars generally accept the view that two of Vyshens'kyi's works—namely, the *Kratkoslovnyi otvît Feodula* (Terse Reply of Feodul) and the *Zachapka mudraho latynnika z hlupym rusinom* (Quarrel of a Wise Latin with a Foolish Rusyn)—were written as a direct result of the Athonite monk's acquaintance with the 1590 edition of Skarga's polemical treatise, *O rządzie i jedności Kościoła Bożego pod jednym Pasterzem i o greckim od tej jedności odstąpieniu* (On the Administration and Unity of God's Church under One Shepherd): see Eremin, pp. 316–25.
69. See Goldblatt, "On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyshens'kyi," esp. pp. 18–19.

Пісня Козака Плаhti: Перша українська друкована
баляда (1625)

Кінець XVI і початок XVII століття—час посиленого розвитку українського письменства. Якщо раніше переважала література церковників (агіографія, апокрифи, казання, проповіді чи тлумачення християнських догм), то з виникненням і поширенням козацтва появляються твори, що відображають світське життя. Значне місце займає тепер тема оборони України від татарсько-турецьких загарбників, які нищили села й міста, ловлячи людей в ясир. Із запровадженням шкіл при церковних братствах та поширенням освіти взагалі, починає розвиватися віршова творчість.

Дві головні течії характеризують віршове письменство того часу: (1) думи та історичні пісні, що їх складали живою мовою талановиті особи, мабуть, випусники згаданих шкіл. Ці твори відразу ж переходили в нарід і ставали фолкльором; (2) вірші церковників, що й далі нехтували "простою мовою," творячи книжною, церковнослов'янською, унормування якої на українському ґрунті почав Лаврентій Зизаній (кінець XVI ст.) і завершив Мелетій Смотрицький своєю *Граматикою* (1619), навіть додавши розділ "О просодіи стихотворной." У першій течії переважало силабо-тонічне віршування, а в другій—силабічне.

Найдавніший відомий нам зразок силабо-тонічного віршування—це сатира Івана (Яна) Жоравницького з 1575 року, один із найперших римованих творів, що дійшли до нашого часу:

Хто йдеш мимо, стань годину.
Прочитай свою новину.
Чи єсть в Луцку бѣлоглова,
Як та пани ключникова?
Хоча й вѣк подойшлый має,
А розпусты не встыдає,
Їбирається в форботы,
Леч не дбає про чесноты.

Нащо модлы ей, офьры?
Абы були кавальры!
Лиш малженок ьдет з двора—
Внет тут молодыков чвора!
З ними учты и беседы—
Не вертайся, мужу, теды!
Ой ты, мужу необачный!
Зробы жонь бенкет смачный:
Змаж ю лоєм з дхлого хорта,
Ачей, зженеш з шкуры чорта;
Смаруй кієм над статечность,
Нех забуде про вшетечность.¹

Хто йдеш мимо—стань годину,
Прочитай сюю новину.
Чи є в Луцьку білоглова,
Як та пані ключникова?
Хоча й вік подойшлий має,
А розпусти не встидає:
Їбирається в форботи,
Леч не дбає про чесноти!
Нащо модли їй, офіри?
Аби були каваліри!
Лиш малженок їдеть з двора—
Внет тут молодиков чвора!
З ними учти і беседи—
Не вертайся, мужу, теди!
Ой ти, мужу необачний!
Зроби жоні бенкет смачний:
Змаж ю лоєм з дхлого хорта,
Ачей зженеш з шкури чорта;
Смаруй києм над статечность,
Нех забуде про вшетечность!¹

Між іншим, автора цього вірша поляки посадили на палю після судового процесу. "Пашквіль" зберігався в архівах суду і був опублікований у журналі *Київская старина* (1889). У ньому—жива міська мова того часу, пересипана полонізмами, яких із часом наше письменство позбувалося.

Силабізм в українському віршуванні почалася *Хронологією* Андрія Римші (надруковано окремим листком) та віршами Герасима Смотрицького на герб Костянтина Острозького, що вміщені в *Острозькій біблійі*; обидва видання з 1581 року. Деякої витонченості набула вона в Касіяна Саковича понад сорок років пізніше. Тодішні поети надавали більшої ваги силабі, яку чомусь уважали за кращий

спосіб віршування. З нечисленними винятками, на жаль, протривала вона аж до Григорія Сковороди.

Оскільки тогочасне друкарство було слабо розвинене, українські видання з'являлися дуже рідко. До того ж, постійні війни проти татарсько-турецьких і польських загарбників, а пізніше проти московських утисків, зводили до нищення українських книжок, які часто гинули в полум'ї від ворожої руки. Тому тих видань дійшло до нас дуже мало.

Що віршова творчість жила й процвітала в рукописах і приносила щедрі плоди, свідчить іще й популярність окремих українських творів поза Україною. 1625 року в Кракові вийшла у світ брошура "краківського міщанина"² Яна Дзвоновського під назвою *Seynti Walnego Domowego Artykułów sześć*, а в ній наприкінці надрукована латинкою "Пісня козака Плахти." Її фоторепродукція вміщена в *Історії української літератури* (1967, I, 229). Свого часу Іван Франко написав про неї чималу статтю "Козак Плахта," подаючи широке тло, на якому виникла ця баляда, а також зробив транслітерацію кирилицею.³ Незначні поправки вніс туди Михайло Возняк у своїй *Історії української літератури* (1924). Розглядали її також Григорій Нудьга,⁴ Михайло Грицай⁵ та згадували інші сучасні літературознавці.

Про самого Яна Дзвоновського (в деяких джерелах—Дзвонковського) треба сказати, що це був другорядний польський віршар-сатирик, який "року сухомокрого" видав дидактичні

... artykuły prawne,
iako sadzić łotry i kuglarze iawne ...
Pisano... przy szynkwasie
Tak rok iakoś o tym czasie.⁶

У першому томі академічної *Історії української літератури* (1967) "Пісню козака Плахти" названо "народною."⁷ Так характеризував її І. Франко у своїй статті, надрукованій 1902 р. Думаю, що це невідповідне визначення. З погляду строфіки, передусім, цей твір не подібний до будь-якої народної пісні. Уся баляда (13 строф) побудована за дуже чіткою, нефолкльорною системою, римування суворо дотримано за певним пляном і без відхилень, які трапляються, як правило, в народних піснях. Наводжу першу строфу як зразок:

Гой, козачейку, пане ж мій,
Далек же маєш домик свій?
—При березі, при Дунаю,
Там я свою хижу маю;

Ліс зелений,
 Оздоблений
 Красним цвітом,
 Густим листом,
 То дім мій,
 То покій.

Күлина!⁸

У мене немає жодного сумніву, що перед нами не фолкльорний, а оригінальний твір автора, записаний Я. Дзвонівським від козака Плахти, який не має нічого спільного з текстом балади. Невідомий автор використав лише елементи українських народних пісень. Саме ця особливість твору і сприяла його популярності: якийсь Плахта знав баладу напам'ять і міг її проказати—можливо, речитативом—для зацікавленого поляка. І. Франко гадав, що "козак Плахта, змальований нашим автором [тобто, Я. Дзвонівським—ЯС]—се тип, а не конкретна історична фігура."

Дехто з дослідників, які писали про першу українську баладу польською, чеською, німецькою, російською та українською мовами, гадають, що вона була створена "десь у 1612 р."⁹ а уривки з неї—до першодруку в польській брошурі були цитовані не раз і не два у писаннях інших авторів. Літературознавець Олександр Брікнер, називаючи "Пісню козака Плахти" "перлиною малоросійської баладної поезії," що "витримає порівняння з найсильнішими баладами світу,"¹⁰ гадав, що автором був поляк(!). І. Франко,¹¹ Михайло Возняк¹² та інші, заперечивши цей здогад, набули переконання, що автором міг бути лише українець, освічений, "добре обізнаний з досягненнями європейської літератури, зокрема віршованої, але одночасно він добре знав і українську народну поезію, її стиль, мову."¹³

Образ козака в баладі типовий для того часу. Задовольняється він простим життям безтурботного молодика, що не збирає собі жодного маєтку. Нічого не згадано про козацький обов'язок—обороняти батьківщину. Це, треба думати, було самозрозуміле. Натомість широко показано побут. Козаків "домик"—"котерга розбитая, опанчею прикрита." А сам він має лише "сермяжку"—одяг із доморобного сукна. Як бачимо, козак із нього "небагат," але нікому й нічого "не винуват." Ясна річ, плоть у нього здорова—і він зовсім не проти того, щоб провести якийсь час із дівчиною, що прагне й собі пари в подружньому житті. Як тільки ж дізнається козак, що вона розчарована його дуже простим життям-буттям, охоче відпускає її від себе "ко чортові," бо йому, як то співається в іншій пісні ("Ой на горі та женці жнуть"), байдуже, "з жінкою не возиться." Дівчина нарікає: "Доле ж моя нещасная . . ." Кається, що піддалася спокусі, її "жене біда," вона готова

проклинати звідника. Цей сюжет поширений у багатьох народних піснях.

Козак у баладі має й деякі начебто негативні риси; ходить добувати здобич—від татарина, боярина . . . Це якийсь далекий відгук англійського *робінгудства*, що на українському ґрунті завжди процвітало й засвідчилось у пізнішому *довбушестві* на Підкарпатті чи в *кармелюцтві* на Правобережжі. Цікаво, що козак у "Пісні козака Плахти" не гребує, в додаток до чужого татарина, і своїм багатим боярином. Побут і персонажі (сам козак і дівчина Кулина) цілком українські, їхня мова типово українська, зрідка забарвлена західноукраїнськими слівцями: "гой" (гей), "козачейко," "покій," "дубровиця" (дїброва), "гормак," "сподобав ми ся," "преч," "нич," "котерга" (хижа), "ти си здобувати пійдеш," "борзо," "коньом" (конем) тощо. Не виключено, що балада могла виникнути й на Правобережжі, але набула мовного шліфування вже в Галичині. Показове, з цього погляду, слово "рубашка" (в Галичині лише "рубатка"). До речі, книжні архаїзми "живот" (життя) і "много" (багато) можуть служити додатковим доказом, що твір не фолкльорного, а літературного походження. Для визначення цього, таким чином, на допомогу строфічній аналізі приходить і лексика.

Як уже згадано, строфічна особливість "Пісні козака Плахти" така своєрідна, що немає жодного відповідника ні в українському фолкльорі, ані в тогочасному письменстві Східної Європи. Щоправда, не виключено, що такі твори були, але до нас вони не дійшли, бо не були надруковані. Мимоволі постає питання—що саме могло бути прототипом такої оригінальної, чітко дотриманої—без відхилень—строфіки? Відповідь, хоч і не повну, поспробуємо знайти в поезії вагантів. Тепер уже відомо передусім (завдяки Г. Нудзі), що протягом XVI–XVII сторіч та й пізніше багато української молоді їздило або й пішки ходило студіювати за кордоном. Мовою викладання в європейських університетах була переважно латинська. У студентському оточенні великою популярністю користувались тоді латинські вірші вагантів—мандрівних віршарів, акторів та інших пройдисвітів, які досить вільно трактували т. зв. заборонені теми, в т. ч. й статтєве спілкування. Своєю натурою герой нашої балади—надзвичайно типовий персонаж багатьох віршованих і римованих творів, що їх складали для розваги на площах середньовічні ваганти. Якщо в ранньому середньовіччі в них переважала релігійна тематика—щоправда вільна від християнських догм—то в пізньому, зокрема XVIII–XV сторіччях, дуже поширилась побутово-світська.¹⁴ Очевидно, такий персонаж, немов Еней І. Котляревського ("парубок моторний і хлопець хоть куди козак") не міг не подобатися й нашим студентам, які також бродили по Італії, Німеччині, Франції, сягаючи навіть Англії. До речі, слово "вагант" (із латинської) значить "мандрівний." Порівняння строфіки "Пісні

козака Плаhti" зі строфікою деяких віршів вагантів якраз і наштовхує на думку, що невідомий український автор міг творчо засвоїти строфічні осяги поетів осередньої чи західньої Європи.

Свого часу, в післявоєнній Німеччині, мені пощастило гортати збірник *Carmina Burana*, пісні вагантів латинською та німецькою мовами. Мене вражав тон тих пісень своєю подібністю до віршів українських мандрівних дяків—очевидно, пізнішого часу. Але тоді я цікавився згаданим збірником як читач—не як науковець. Тепер, коли мої зацікавлення змінилися навпаки, я почав шукати буранівський збірник, але ніде в американських чи європейських бібліотеках не пощастило його виявити. Усе ж таки я прибрав цитовану вже антологію *Поэзия вагантов* (Москва, 1975) М. Л. Гаспарова. Укладач цього видання—солідний дослідник і талановитий поет, який у своїх перекладах прагнув латинську поезію середньовіччя відтворити російською мовою зі збереженням "віршової форми," "архаїчності . . . й ритміки."¹⁵ Отже, можна думати, що він зберіг максимально і строфіку оригіналів.

Порівнюючи формальний бік "Пісні козака Плаhti" з віршами вагантів (у перекладах самого М. Гаспарова, Б. Ярхо та О. Румера), прямих аналогів ніби й не бачимо. Однак є деякі подібності, на що треба конче вказати, бо це може дати ширшу відповідь на поставлене вище питання щодо прототипу першої української друкованої балади. "Озорная песня" (Зухвала пісня) має таку строфіку:

В обольщенье
Вожделенья,
Без смущенья,
Без стесненья
В каждом члене
Чую жженье
Вящее!

После зною
Под росойю
Снеговою
Белизною
Краше вдвое,
Слаще вдвое
Лилия!¹⁶

Таких подібностей можна знайти більше. Хореїчний ритм, паралельне римування, винесення останнього рядка (з одного слова) поза рими,—все це заохочує до дальших дослідів. Якщо й не пощастить отримати латинських оригіналів, то й самі переклади промовляють дуже багато.

Рефрен "Күлина" повторюється в "Пісні козака Плаhti" тринадцять разів, наприкінці кожної строфи. Виконуючи літерне передавання з латинки на кирилицю, І. Франко відкидає цей рефрен, бо в пісні, як йому здавалося, він не завжди доречний.¹⁷ Не можу поділити цього погляду. По-перше, формальний бік твору треба зберігати непорушно; по-друге, слово "Күлина" в цій баладі—ніби луна від загального змісту твору, наче лиховісний омен, своєрідна осторога на адресу дівчини Күлини, що необдуманно помандрувала

з козаком, пройдисвітом, про якого й сам Я. Дзвонівський понаписував багато власних віршів, які слушно розкритикував І. Франко у статті "Козак Плахта."

Мистецькі вартості першої української друкованої балади високо оцінив уже згаданий О. Брікнер, сполонізований німець. Не можна не згодитися, що це справді перлина української літератури. Треба додати, що це також синтеза творчого поєднання осягів західноєвропейської поезії та українського віршування. "Пісня козака Плахти" не могла постати отак собі з нічого, випадково створена генієм. Правдоподібно, існувала й недрукована поетична творчість, вирувало навколо відповідне тло, жив розвинений літературний напрям, у річищі якого виникнув такий високомистецький твір. На окрему увагу заслуговують майстерні діялоги, що надають жвавості вислову. А жива мова робить його доступним і сучасному читачеві, майже й її років після його створення.

Закономірно, що близька до фолкльору балада набула значної популярності, пішла в нарід—так, як переходили туди думи та історичні пісні, створені талановитими особами, яких постачала Київсько-Могилянська Академія, братські школи тощо. Відома народна пісня "Козак і Кулина"¹⁸—це парість від балади "Пісня козака Плахти." Строфічно переінакшена, зведена до шаблону народних пісень, мовно осучаснена, вона в багатьох випадках співпадає з твором початку XVII ст.:

"Козак і Кулина"

"Ой ти, козаче, ой ти, пане мій!
Який же буде поїзд твій?"

"Не журися ти, Кулино,
бедрами,

Ти, дівчино, ти, небого:
Посаджу тя за бедрами,
Обв'яжу тя тороками,
Кулино, та й небого!"

(Строфа має 7 рядків)

"Ой ти, козаче, ой ти, пане мій!
Який же буде обід твій?"

"Не журися ти, Кулино,
Ти, дівчино, ти, небого:
Будем їсти, будем пити,
При криниці, студениці,

"Пісня козака Плахти"

Гой, козачейку, пане ж мій,
На чім же буде поїзд мій?

—Посаджу тя за

Прив'яжу тя тороками.

Бог над нами,

Кінь під нами,

Ти зо мною,

Я з тобою—

Побіжим,

Поспішим.

Кулина!

Гой, козачейку, пане ж мій,
Який же буде покорм твій?

—Будем їсти саламаху,
Козацькую затираху.

При криниці

Без тескниці

Козацькю саламаху,
Козацькю затираху,
Кулино, та й небого!"

(Строфа має 9 рядків)

Далі наводжу окремі рядки зі строф:

Войлочище під бочище,
Кульбачище в головище . . .

(Рядки з сьомої строфи)

А у степу край Дунаю,
Там я свою хижу маю:
Густим лісом обсаджена,
Красним цвітом оздоблена.
Все, що маю, то сховаю
В рукавицю на полицю . . .

(Баладні пісні, 126–27)

Будем їсти,
Будем пити,
Викрикать,
Облапять.

Кулина!

Войлочище під бочище,
А сидлище в головище . . .

(Рядки з першої строфи)

—При березі, при Дунаю,
Там я свою хижу маю:
Ліс зелений,
Оздоблений
Красним цвітом,
Густим листом . . .

(Українська балада, 59–60)

У народній пісні "Козак і Кулина" строфи то довші, то коротші (напр., друга має 5 рядків; наведена вище—7; четверта і п'ята—9; сьома—13 . . .), а в "Пісні козака Плахти," що літературного походження, суворо дотримано як строфіку, так і кількість рядків (по 11) у всіх строфах.

Лексичні зміни йдуть на користь народному слівництву. З'явилися в похідній пісні "кирниця," "мня" (у другій строфі) замість нормативного "мене," "вандруй" (у третій строфі) замість сподіваного "мандруй," "сама сь . . . що сь" (у передостанній); замість "рубашки" з'являється "сорочка," "сидлище" заступлене "кульбачищем" Рідкісне "котерга" та архаїзм "живот" пропущено Народна пісня перебирає собі тільки те, що найтипніше, найзрозуміліше, у згоді з живою мовою. Першотвір "Пісня козака Плахти" для пісенного виконання дуже довгий (може він і не призначався для цього), 13 строф по 11 рядків—разом 143! Народна пісня "Козак і Кулина" має всього 76 рядків—удвічі коротша за першотвір. Інші народні пісні значно коротші за цю. Можливо, жанр балади зумовив те, що народна адаптація все ще порівняно довга.

Існує кілька інших похідних пісень, і деякі змінені так, що першотвору не можна й доглянути без скрупульозної аналізи. І. Франко розглядає їх детально в статті "Козак Плахта,"¹⁹ подаючи різновиди Головацького, Куліша, Драгоманова тощо. У всякому разі "Козак і Кулина"—яскраве свідчення того, як літературний твір стає фолкльорним, а окремі його парості видозмінюються до невпізнання. Очевидно, мистецька вартість не втрачається—вона

набуває лише інших, фольклорних ознак, іноді навіть кращих у порівнянні з тими, що були в першотворі. В історії українського письменства є багато прикладів такого перевтілення. Напр., текст пісні про чайку-небогу, що її написав Гетьман Іван Мазепа наприкінці XVII ст., дороблено до того, що можна назвати перлиною. Порівняймо лише першу строфу.

Першотвір Мазепи:

Ой, біда, біда
Чайці-небозі,

Що вивела діток
При битій дорозі . . .²⁰

Народний різновид:

Ой, горе тій чайці,
Чаєчці-небозі,

Що вивела чаєняток
При битій дорозі . . .

Мазепин текст, у даному разі, набув нових ознак, демінутивних слів у згоді зі стилем народної пісні, і звучить тепер значно краще, ніж у першотворі.

Українські поети козацько-гетьманської доби виконали велику працю: вони запровадили живу, власне українську мову в наше письменство, наближаючи свій спосіб вислову до народної творчості, переймаючись її духом. Заслуга невідомого автора "Пісні козака Плахти" в цьому процесі дуже показове. Вона свідчить про те, що українська література, поступово позбавляючись церковнослов'янщини на українському ґрунті, асимілюючи т. зв. книжну лексику, видозмінюючи її, вбирала в себе все краще, що незабаром стало нашою національною культурою.

Примітки

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Skaz Narrative in A. Svydnyts'kyi's
Liuborats'ki

Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi (1834–1871) wrote the family chronicle *Liuborats'ki* (The Liuboratsky Family) in 1862. He submitted this novel, which depicts the disintegration of a Ukrainian family at a time of great social and political upheaval, to *Osnova* in 1862; although it was evaluated positively, it was not published until after Svydnyts'kyi's death—by Ivan Franko, in 1886, in the journal *Zoria*, the editors of which insisted on numerous omissions and changes. Thus, the complete novel as written by Svydnyts'kyi was not published until 1901 in Kiev.¹ In *Liuborats'ki*, Svydnyts'kyi uses *skaz* narrative extensively. It is the purpose of this study to establish and describe the stylistic features of the *skaz* text, in order to demonstrate Svydnyts'kyi's flexibility, innovation, and skill as a writer.

Skaz, an international literary term, refers to a "special type of narrative structured as emanating from a person distanced from the author (whether concretely named or presumed), and one [which] possesses a distinct manner of discourse."² This definition of *skaz* is derived from Bakhtin's theory of a variable "narrative voice," the "author's voice" as opposed to "someone else's voice."³

Oral features are only one of the possible signals that can indicate distance between "author's voice" and "someone else's voice," but it is precisely this quality of orality that Eikhenbaum, who first introduced the term *skaz*, stressed.⁴ These features are in keeping with the early Formalist school's views that stressed the acoustical nature of poetry and literature in general.⁵ In addition, the term *skaz* is derived from the Russian *skazat'* (to tell) and has the primary meaning of oral folk narrative in prose.⁶ Thus, it is not surprising that Eikhenbaum saw *skaz* as a technique that attempted to re-create the illusion of oral story-telling in written form⁷ and connected it to an individual personalized narrator.⁸

Ukrainian literary criticism, which also occasionally makes use of the term *skaz* in addition to *opovid*,⁹ has not contributed to the theoretical

analysis of the complex nature of *skaz*. Basically adopting the primary meaning of oral narrative in prose, Ukrainian literary criticism has equated *skaz* with oral colloquial narration by a personalized narrator. This narrow view of *skaz* leads Shamrai and Zerov to equate colloquial oral speech and personal subjective point of view with *skaz* narration, and literary standard speech, omniscient point of view and objectivity with descriptive narration.¹⁰ Because the development of the Ukrainian standard language is perceived as the goal towards which all writers writing in Ukrainian must strive, colloquial first-person narration is considered by these critics as a hindrance to the development of a literary language and is thought to be not only inferior to third-person omniscient narration but also an inevitable state in the development of such a standard language.¹¹

Zerov, adopting this view, admits that the author of *Liuborats'ki* occupies some middle position between "subjective" and "objective" narrators. Observing also that Svydnyts'kyi's narrator is not a personage, Zerov is, however, at a loss as to whom to attribute the "I" pronoun, and so he attaches it to the author Svydnyts'kyi himself.¹² Syvachenko concurs, stating, "the authorial 'I' undoubtedly has an autobiographical quality."¹³ Eikhenbaum, however, in writing about the same kind of authorial "I" pronoun, points out the fallacy of equating a fictional "I" with the author.¹⁴

The issue of the standard written Ukrainian language in the last half of the nineteenth century is a complicated one. In the 1860s, when Svydnyts'kyi was writing *Liuborats'ki*, the standard language was still in a period of formation. Even in the journal *Osnova* there were articles of a technical nature that were written in colloquial speech.¹⁵ The Ukrainian language was not standardized until the 1880s. Yet the significance of Svydnyts'kyi's novel *Liuborats'ki* is that we never get the impression that Svydnyts'kyi's narrator was in any way forced to use colloquial folk speech because of the state of the development of the standard language. On the contrary, the language is completely subordinated to the demands of the *skaz* narrative technique (as we will see below). Moreover, as I will argue, the *skaz* narrative technique is not a limiting technique and a hindrance, as Ukrainian literary criticism has it, but quite the opposite—a flexible, very creative, and at the same time highly complex narrative technique requiring great skill from the writer.

Titunik, whose definition of *skaz* is used in the present study, bases his definition on the ideas developed by Bakhtin on the opposition and relationship between author's speech and character's speech,¹⁶ and on Doležel's studies on quasi-quoted discourse.¹⁷ Titunik defines *skaz* as "a mode of narration in fiction brought about by the interpolation into the narrative structure of a reported-reporting text which is oriented toward the perceptibility of its speech event."¹⁸ Thus, *skaz* is a third speech context, which, like the reported text, has marked speech event but

carries out a reporting function.¹⁹ Titunik establishes that, of the features marking speech event,²⁰ it is the expressive, allocutional, and dialectal features that are more important for the perceptibility of *skaz* than grammatical, situational, and semantic features.²¹ By insisting on the stylistic nature of the *skaz* technique, Titunik releases *skaz* from dependence upon compositional categories such as narrative and motivation.²²

In the reporting passages of *Liuborats'ki*, the first person accompanied by expressive features, signalling *skaz*, is used: "Скільки плакало, ридало! Нема того, щоб перелічив. Топтався і я тут . . ." (p. 44). In some passages, however, in the first paragraph, for example, the addresser is indicated not by grammatical person but by the expressive features of his speech: "Коло Үмані чи, лучче, в Үманщині і було, і є сільце—хоч би й Солодьками його назвати. . . . Славний то край" (p. 25). The phrase "чи, лучче" is a correction (and also a dialectal feature), and "Славний то край" is an exclamation. The tense of reference in the above passage is the present, but only together with the expressive features does it signal *skaz*.

Another grammatical signal of *skaz* is the use of second-person forms accompanied by allocutional features such as questions, imperatives, or vocative constructions:

Бачите—наче лежанка стоїть? А серед її вмурований казан—бачите? І челюсті бачите, що наче в лежанці топиться? Коли це бачите, то гляньте ж ще вгору. Бачите, що ця—наче лежанка—вимурована під комином? (pp. 41–42)

Sometimes first- and second-person forms are combined into a first-person plural form: "Та ходімо далі . . . Тягнімо ж за той ремінець" (p. 42). Here, the addressee is asked to participate in the act of pulling.

Signalling *skaz* by the use of the present tense is a complicated process, for not only can the reporting text use the historical present to designate the past, but also the present may refer to a non-*skaz* interpolated text or a *skaz* interpolated text.²³ What complicates this issue even further is the nature of the Ukrainian language itself, for, as Shevelov points out, "Depending on circumstances and context almost any temporal or modal form may assume different temporal or modal meanings."²⁴ Dotsenko, in his study of Svydnyts'kyi's language, points out the use of the present tense in *Liuborats'ki* but does not distinguish between the present of a *skaz* text and the historical present of a norm reporting text.²⁵

It is fairly safe to assume, as in the case of the first-person pronoun, that if the present tense is accompanied by the other *skaz* features (such as expressive and allocutional), then there is a *skaz* text present. Let us look at the following passage from *Liuborats'ki*:

Всамперед ввійшов у хату Люборацький, лап за шапку жменею і жбурнув на кровать, та й тиць на стіл. Вбігає другий. Цей поскакав по кроватях. За ним третій, четвертий—одинадцятий, дванадцятий. І закипіло, як в казані. Старшого не було—тринадцятого. «Де ж вони сплять?»—подумаєте. А на тих шести кроватях—по два або й по три вкупі, тільки старший сам. Щоб не було тісно, то вони головами лягають одні до образів, а другі до порога і вночі один другому очі підбивають. Це невидовижу. І стає розуму в батьків сажать дітей по стільки в одну хату! Стало б його на те, щоб не губить своєї дитини; та чолом мурі не проб'єш: не своя воля тут грає, а смотрительська. Як Люборацька приїхала з Антосьом, то, як всі, взяла парі калачів хліба,-/ (p. 43)

In the above passage, "ввійшов," "жбурнув," "поскакав," and "закипіло" are in the past narrated tense. "Вбігає" is also narrated past tense in meaning, although grammatically it is historical present. "Подумаєте" is the *skaz* narrator's present tense, but the *skaz* text is not signalled so much by the use of the present tense as by the interjections "лап" and "тиць" and by allocutional means, such as the question after "подумаєте" and the anticipated question from the addressee, which is in quotation marks: "Де ж вони сплять?" The *skaz* narrator continues to use the present tense in "лягають," "підбивають," "стає," and "грає," together with expressive features and idiomatic expressions such as "чолом мурі не проб'єш" in the *skaz* text, until the author-narrator begins to use the past tense again: "приїхала" and "взяла" in the reporting text.

Situational features are closely connected with the grammatical; they refer to pronouns, adverbs, and adjectives that denote time-space position. Whereas the reporting text is always in a "there and then" context, the reported text is always in a "here and now" context. In a *skaz* text, the illusion of the "here and now" context can be created by the identification of the addresser and addressee with the setting; if the first-person plural is used, then it, too, functions in the same way.²⁶ This feature corresponds to what Syvachenko calls the *opovidach ekskursovod* (the tour-guide narrator)²⁷ and is found in the following example:

Та не церемоньтесь, панове! Зайдімо в бурдїй; подивимось, як воно тут в школярській стації. Тільки згинайтесь, бо будував цю хату низького зросту чоловік, і двері міряв по собі, то аби-сьмо гудза²⁸ не набили. (p. 41)

The same occurs in this next passage:

Ми себе забули і своєї мови цураємось, а ляхи,—хоч які-то вони на Поділлю: ні нашим, ні вашим,—не цураються своїх звичаїв, не

соромляться, що вони ляхи, а не хто другий. Та ще мало: вони думають, що наша правобіцька сторона—то Польща, і так діла повели, що лядщина там зовсім взяла верх. Якби в нас наука друга!—а так і не диво, бо сліпому що?—скачи, бо рів! Він і скочить, та в дуб головою (p. 35)

Here the addresser and addressee are all part of the "here and now" setting of Podillia. Needless to add, the above passages are also rich in expressive, allocutional, and dialectal features.

Semantic features refer to value judgements and point of view. All reporting-text statements are authoritative and represent an omniscient and universal point of view.²⁹ Whereas reported-text statements are always presented from a personal and subjective point of view, a *skaz* text, since it can be interpolated into a reporting or a reported text, has a wide range of point of view, stretching from omniscient to very personal, that is, a "worm's-eye view of reality."³⁰

Since the *skaz* narrator in *Liuborats'ki* is an undefined personality—a verbal mask—the point of view shifts back and forth between omniscient and personal. An example of this shift is found in the following passage. Here the narrator assumes a limited point of view: "Як же воно так, що благочестивий панотець потяг до католика? І, як видно, не за ділом, бо в підряснику пішов, а якби за ділом, то убрався б у рясу" (p. 27). Immediately after this passage, in the next paragraph, the narrator expresses knowledge from an omniscient point of view. He gives us a short summary of the background of priests such as Hevrasii and tells us about the relationship between Rosolyns'kyi and Hevrasii and the reason for the visits of the latter to the former.

All of the above features—grammatical, situational, and semantic—are present in *skaz*, but they are not its distinctive features, as has already been mentioned. The distinctive features are the expressive, allocutional, and dialectal features. Since these features are always absent in a reporting text, their presence here is a strong signal of *skaz*. All of these three particular speech event features are present to a very high degree in the *Liuborats'ki* reporting text.

Expressive features consist of the following: interjections, exclamations, self-apostrophe, rhetorical questions, parenthetical phrases, aposiopesis, praeteritio, qualifying remarks such as explanations, digressions, and resumptions, error and correction, and glosses. Svydnyts'kyi's *skaz* addresser uses many of these devices. He uses interjections, such as "Ай-ай-а! що це за диво?" (p. 42) and "вже побіг джогана шукать, і через годину—ого!—аж іскри скачуть" (p. 49). Exclamations in the reporting text, signalling *skaz*, are also very frequent in *Liuborats'ki*: "Що то за хлопець ріс!" (p. 29); "Дивна діла Твоя, Господи!" (p. 28); and "Що вже людей йшло за гробом!" (p. 95). Also abundant are rhetorical questions, such as: "Чи така вже наука, чи

такий світ настав?" and "Щастє-щастє! Та що не минає?" (p. 53). Examples of correction are the following: "Коло Үмані чи, л҃чче, в Үманщині" (p. 25) and "Ст҃пнів на два від сінешнього порога нї, не так! Бачите—" (p. 41). Often used by the *skaz* narrator is the parenthetical expression "мовляв" (so to say).

Widely used in *Liuborats'ki* are glosses, such as "Оце семінарія Подольська закону благочестія—бо там є ще католицька, де, як каже простолюддя, кн҃урики вчатьс҃я (клерики)" (p. 161). In this example, there is first of all the statement about the seminary, which is followed by the narrator's explanation, which in turn is followed by a parenthetical clause in which there is yet another explanation. Often these glosses or commentaries take the form of footnotes, which, incidentally, mark the work as written. Many dialectal regional expressions are accompanied by explanations; for example, the phrase "пїшов на Бассарабію" is accompanied by a footnote from the narrator, who writes, "По-тамошньому: пїти на Бассарабію те ж саме, що в лївобіцькій Үкраїні—в заброд" (p. 69); and "пастрами" is described in a footnote as "Таке просільне м'ясо—овечина" (p. 54). Many such glossary footnotes accompany the scenes on seminary life.

Related to these explanations, footnotes, and glosses are the numerous digressions the narrator makes throughout the text. For example, in telling us about Masia's intention to go into mourning, he digresses to tell us about the usual mourning customs of the Ukrainians:

Ү наших р҃синів в тїй стороні ось яка жалоба: по жінці та по дитині чоловік без шапки ходить скілька день, дівчата на знак жалоби не заплітають кіс, а тїльки зав'язують волосся ззаду, щоб в очі не падало; хлопці і дівчата, там скільки треба, не співають і не танцюють. Мася ж прийняла жалобу католицьку: казала пошити чорну с҃кню. (p. 96)

What is significant about this passage is that it remains a digression and does not turn into an ethnographic description for its own sake. Usually these digressions in *Liuborats'ki* are very brief and the ethnographic material is treated very superficially; it is completely subordinated to the device of digression itself. Another example of this type of superficial ethnographic digression is the following passage: "Р҃синки ж там завиваються в намітки, в коралях вся краса і багатство, ходять в запасках тощо" (p. 26). Particularly revealing in this respect is the expression "тощо" (and so forth). In speaking about the customs of the descendants of the nobility, the narrator writes in the same way: "В своїх звичаях вони задержали: цілувать дівчат в р҃ки і деякі слова: 'проше,' 'добрий вечір,' 'добридзїнь,' 'пáдам до н҃г' і ще деякі, та й годі" (p. 26). The goal of these passages is thus not ethnographic description but the illusion of a direct conversation which digresses and

then resumes again. Zerov points out that the ethnographic material never dominates in *Liuborats'ki* as it does, for example, in Nechui-Levyts'kyi's works such as *Starosvits'ki batiushky i matushky* (Old-World Orthodox Priests and Wives). Svydnyts'kyi's primary goal, affirms Zerov, is not to describe customs but to show the changes in the religious profession and the resulting moral and social consequences.³¹

Allocutional features, questions such as "Бачите—наче лежанка стоїть?" (p. 41), or imperatives such as "спогляньте на дітвору" (p. 110), frequently used in *Liuborats'ki*, signal *skaz*. Sometimes the addresser actually formulates the addressee's questions, as in "Де ж вони сплять? подумаєте" (p. 43) and "Може, подумаєте, що в нас очі погані?" (p. 42), and then proceeds to reply. Sometimes the function of addressee is personified to create a pseudo-dialogue, as in the following passage:

- (A) . . . То всі зараз і пізнали, що не мала туга в його душі завітала.
- (B) —Бач, (C) кажуть, (B) чогось зажурились наші батюшка.
- (C) Я підійшов поблагословитись.
- (D) "Га"—(C) кажуть. А я: "Благословіть,—кажу,—отче чесний!"—(D) "Боже благослови!" (C) і більше ні слова.
- (B) Адже цього не бувало?
- (C) —Таже ніт.
- (B) —Мабуть, велика туга!
- (C) —І я скажу.
- (A) Справді, на душі в о. Геврасія як в казані клекотіло . . . (p. 30)

Here, A is the author reporting text, B is the addressee speech, C is the *skaz* addresser speech, and D is the character reported speech.

Dialectal features also signal the presence of a *skaz* text in a reporting text. They include such features of colloquial speech as idiomatic expressions, diminutives and particles, grammatico-syntactic doublets, ellipses, and parataxis. Regional, vulgar, or folk speech, professional jargon, solecisms, anacoluthon, malapropisms, and neologisms are also considered dialectal features. Included in this category are also features marking speech as orally delivered, such as pronunciation, spelling, foreign accents, speech aberrations, intonation, and sounds and gestures—to the extent that they can be indicated in writing.³²

The reporting text of *Liuborats'ki* is particularly rich in dialectal features, thus indicating the presence of a *skaz* narrator. The dialectal features are used in various ways: emotively, figuratively, parenthetically. Widely used are idiomatic expressions such as the following:

- " . . . а отам пішло як по маслі." (p. 28)
- " . . . і читав, як горохом сипле,—" (p. 28)
- "і вірив в пана, як турчин в місяць,—" (p. 27)

"Нагадав, кажуть, козі смерть . . ." (p. 33)

"Та куди тут до книжки! Хай її миші їдять!" (p. 38)

"На столі лепу, хоч ріпу сій." (p. 42)

"А золота в церкві—аж капає." (p. 40)

"та серце б'ється як рибка на гачку." (p. 44)

"йшов—от як лоша за возом." (p. 112)

"А вік як маків цвіт." (p. 58)

"Чолом мурі не проб'єш!" (p. 149)

Svydnyts'kyi's *skaz* narrator uses diminutives, but sparingly, as, for example, in the sentence: "Батьки в поповичів народ все скүпенький, що дүшать копійчинү" (p. 110). Also present are augmentatives, such as "Як от үвіходить той самий канцелюра" (p. 176).

The *skaz* narrator in *Liuborats'ki* uses colloquial syntax, which consists of the use of co-ordinate as opposed to subordinate clauses, and parataxis. Details follow one another without logical subordination or emphasis. "The sentence finally ends not because it has reached a necessary syntactic conclusion, but simply because the speaker has run out of breath."³³ An example is the following:

Посередині, де вони сходяться хрестом, баня виведена зкругла-гранчаста, одна гранка більша, а друга менша, і на кожній більшій гранці вікно, а на меншій, замість вікна, маняк з чорного мармуру, кажуть, проміж вікнами по чотири стовпи, а над тими стовпами сама баня виведена; та ще не остання: на великій бані шия, тож з вікнами, вже з білої бляхи—маняки, і тож з стовпами, на шії—голова, там маленький перехват, і зверху яблуко, а на ньому хрест стоїть. (p. 40)

In colloquial syntax, words that are understood in oral speech are left out of sentences:

Як їхати з нашого боку, то, проїхавши підгорком—Польськими фільварками, спускаються вниз, так үзбіччю, бо рівно не можна з'їхати, хіба впасти та вбитись. (p. 158)

Syvachenko points out that if such a text, based on the inflections and logic of native speech, is translated, words have to be inserted.³⁴

Another dialectal feature present in *Liuborats'ki* is school jargon typical of the seminary. Often, when using these student expressions, the narrator uses glosses. "Ү них аж приповість склалась: 'Настане май, в опүки (м'яч) грай; настане юнь, на ігри плюнь; настане юль, книжки стүль та додому сүсүль!" (p. 38). The narrator also uses regional folk speech, such as "то аби-сьмо гүдза не набили" (p. 41) and "Оце—котүна, щоб єсте знали!" (p. 42). Sometimes regional ex-

pressions are accompanied by explanatory footnotes, such as "віслюк—осел" (p. 49) and "оброка—овес поміш з січкою або 'з пшеничною половою'" (p. 103). There are even substandard colloquial expressions present:

"Через годину панотець затирав сметану з свіжим сиром."
(p. 34)

"незабаром і дощ ушкварив" (p. 208)

"любив Бога хвалити, та любив і в горло лити. Так і вмер наліганий." (p. 41)

"Як же воно так, що благочестивий панотець потяг до католика?" (p. 27)

"Таки добре підопхавши кишку, він згадав і паніматку та й гук:"
(p. 35)

Although there are many such vulgar words present, they are not a dominant stylistic feature, as they are, for example, in Kotliarevs'kyi's *Eneida* (Aeneid). Like the diminutive and all the other dialectal features, the vulgar colloquial expressions are only one speech feature among many in *Liuborats'ki*.

Thus, it is evident from the above that not only is there a *skaz* text present in *Liuborats'ki*, but the *skaz* narrator employs great stylistic diversity. The undefined *skaz* narrator uses not only idiomatic folk expressions, regional expressions, vulgar expressions, and seminary jargon, but also literary standard speech, as in the following passage:

Щаслива в Бога та людина, що має сльози тугу виливати, та та щасливіша, що має серце серцю до розмови, що має пару собі до любові, що долю й недолю має з ким ділити,—що болять одного, й другого болять. Щаслива в Бога та людина! І на душі легко, та тихо, та блаженно, як в божім раю. (p. 194)

In *Liuborats'ki*, there is, in addition to the *skaz* narrator and *skaz* reporting text, also an author-narrator and an ordinary reporting text. These two reporting texts exist side by side, as do the two narrators—the unspecified *skaz* narrator, who sometimes uses the "I" pronoun, and the author-narrator. The existence of these two reporting texts further adds to the diversity of speech in *Liuborats'ki*, for the author-narrator always uses standard speech, as in the following passage:

О. Гервасій вчивсь по псалтирі і вийшов панотцем простим, людяним, почувався українцем і держався старосвітчини; та не знав більше світа що в вікні. Росолінський, загнүздавши його, і сам того не тямлючи, почав огүльну роботу: (p. 35)

Not only are there two narrators, but there are also two sets of addressees—the reader and the *skaz* addressees, who, like the *skaz* narrator, are unspecified.

It is also interesting to observe how the *skaz* reporting text relates to the reported text. The character's speech in the reported text of *Liuborats'ki*, a topic of study in itself, is exceptionally varied and rich in dialectal features, thus reinforcing the diversity of speech styles in the reporting texts. Often the reported text is placed right in the *skaz* reporting text. In such cases, the character's speech and the *skaz* narrator's speech intermingle. One such example is the following:

^AАнтосьо не знав, чого й нащо старші взяли його з собою, і йшов—^Bот як лоша за возом. ^C«Може,—^Aдумав,—^Cдо криничок». ^BВ ту сторону в полі славні кринички, і школа́ по суботах було ходять туди: бо там якось славно було посидіти: кругом пашні, а між пашнями цілина і густа розкішна трава—не жнеться, ні коситься. Славно було покачатись в цій траві! (p. 112)

In the above passage, A is the author reporting text, B is the *skaz* reporting text, and C is the character reported text.

In *Liuborats'ki*, not only is character reported speech incorporated into the *skaz* reporting text, as in the above examples, but it is also often incorporated without demarcation into the author reporting text, resulting in quasi-quoted discourse. Examples of quasi-quoted discourse are too numerous to note here.

The incorporation of the reported text into the *skaz* reporting text results in the coinciding of the *skaz* narrator's and the characters' points of view. It has already been mentioned that the *skaz* narrator's point of view fluctuates from limited to omniscient. In the example given above, the point of view of the *skaz* narrator actually fuses with that of a character. The use of this kind of point of view through a character is the basis of the dramatic method of narration, according to Wayne C. Booth.³⁵ In *Liuborats'ki*, both the *skaz* narrator and the author-narrator use this device. We learn of the father's death from the point of view of Masia, of Masia's death from the point of view of the mother, and of Orysia's death from the point of view of Antos'o. All of this information is given to us dramatically from the characters' points of view. Another example in which the *skaz* narrator chooses a limited point of view, from Antos'o's personal vantage point, is the following:

як щось іде—таке нечвидне, що й глянути гидко: на одно око сліпе, вид йому покрутило та повертіло; згорблене і все плечима зносить, наче що вбралось, мовляв, межи воші та й гризуть. Йшло воно просто до гурту. (p. 162)

The students finally inform Antos'o that this creature is Robusyns'ky. The undefined *skaz* narrator could have told us this fact right away, but he chooses to tell us from Antos'o's personal point of view, thus creating a more dramatic scene.

From all of these examples, it is obvious that the *skaz* narrative technique as used by Svydnyts'kyi in *Liuborats'ki* is neither a limiting technique nor a necessary inferior stage in the development of a standard language (as it has been traditionally perceived by Ukrainian literary criticism); on the contrary, it is a creative and dynamic narrative technique allowing not only great stylistic richness³⁶ (a feature I have concentrated upon in this study), but also narrative flexibility, particularly in the manipulation of point of view and in the narrative message, a topic which deserves separate study.

In many respects, *skaz*, writes Pearce, is a very modern fictional narrative mode:

In fact, *skaz* may be considered as an intermediate formal device or compromise that combines the realistic requirements of nineteenth century narrative norms with a growing interest in the complexities of psychological portrayal, which, in the twentieth century, results in a profusion of compositional and stylistic devices.³⁷

In fact, many modern writers, such as Remizov,³⁸ Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn,³⁹ and Mikhail Zoshchenko,⁴⁰ use *skaz* narrative technique. Indeed, in many respects, Svydnyts'kyi's *Liuborats'ki* is a very modern work that certainly deserves more attention and further study.

Notes

1. Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi, *Liuborats'ki (simeina khronika)*, in *Tvory*, Introduction and Notes by V. Herasymenko (Kiev: Dnipro, 1965), p. 348. Henceforth, all quotations from *Liuborats'ki* will be from this edition, and page numbers will be indicated parenthetically.

2. A. P. and M. O. Chudakov, in *Kratkaia literaturnaia entsiklopediia*, 6, ed. A. A. Surkov (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsyklopediia, 1971), pp. 876–77, as translated by Hugh McLean in *Handbook of Russian Literature*, ed. Victor Terras (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1985), p. 420. The term *skaz* is also included in Gero von Wilpert's *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1969), p. 713, and in Wolfgang V. Rutkowski, ed., *Nomenclator Litterarius* (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1980), p. 306.

3. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problemy poetiki Dostoevskogo* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel, 1963), transl. R. W. Rostel (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1973).

4. Boris Eikhenbaum, "Kak sdelana *Shinel'* Gogolia," in *Skvoz' literaturu: sbornik statei*, Voprosy poetiki, 4 (Leningrad: Akademia, 1924), pp. 171–95.

5. Viktor Erlich, *Russian Formalism: History-Doctrine*, 3rd ed., Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 4 (The Hague: Mouton, 1969).

6. *Handbook of Russian Literature*, p. 420.

7. Boris Eikhenbaum, "Iliuziia skaza," in *Skvoz' literaturu*, pp. 152–56.

8. Boris Eikhenbaum, "Leskov i sovremennaia proza," in *Literatura, teoriia, kritika, polemika* (Leningrad: Rabochee izdatel'stvo "Priboi," 1927), p. 214. This is also the definition held by Hugh McLean in his article "On the Style of a Leskovian *Skaz*," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954) in which he states (pp. 299–300) that the *skaz* technique, although of new stylistic dimensions, is derived from "the 'story within a story' of venerable epic traditions," and "the technique itself is familiar enough in English literature from *The Canterbury Tales* onwards." Vinogradov significantly altered Eikhenbaum's definition of *skaz*. Retaining the idea of *skaz* as the illusion of oral speech as opposed to the written, he broadened the definition to include various kinds of professional jargon and all forms of dialectal speech. As far as the narrator is concerned, although Vinogradov admitted that *skaz* from a personalized narrator was possible, the possibility of stylistic diversity of speech was much greater if the narrator was not personalized: that is, if the narrator was a mere unspecified "authorial" pronoun. Comparing *skaz* with similar constructions in the system of languages,

Vinogradov saw *skaz* as a phenomenon corresponding to one of the forms of monologue in ordinary speech and defined *skaz* as an artistic literary monologue. V. V. Vinogradov, "Problema skaza v stilistike," *Poetika* 1 (1926):24–40.

9. Mykola Zerov, "Anatol' Svydnyts'kyi, ioho postat'i tvory," in *Vid Kulisha do Vynnychenka: narysy z novitn'oho ukrains'koho pys'menstva* (Kiev: Kul'tura, 1929), pp. 92–93. V. Herasymenko, "Zhyttia i tvorchyi shliakh A. P. Svydnyts'koho," in *Svydnyts'kyi, Tvory*, p. 15, writes, "In his novel *Liuborats'ki*, he [Svydnyts'kyi] categorically breaks with the traditional form of narration [*rozpovid*] from the 1st person and uses the devices of *opovid* narration (from the 3rd person). In this lies the innovation of the novel." The term *opovid* is also used interchangeably with *skaz* by O. Bilets'kyi, "Pro prozu vzahali i pro nashu prozu," *Chervonyi shliakh* 3 (1926):137.

10. A. P. Shamrai, "Introduction to Storozhenko," in *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927); Zerov, p. 92; N. I. Zhuk, *Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi: narys zhyttia i tvorhosti* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1987), pp. 107–109; and P. P. Khropko, "Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi," Introduction, in *Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi: Roman, opovidannia, narysy* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1985), p. 24.

11. Mykola Ie. Syvachenko, *Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi i zarodzhennia sotsial'noho romanu v ukrains'kii literaturi* (Kiev: Akademia Nauk U.R.S.R., 1962), p. 158; and P. Dotsenko, "Mova tvoriv A. Svydnyts'koho: zahalnyi ohliad," in *Kurs istorii ukrains'koi literaturnoi movy*, 1, ed. I. Bilodid (Kiev: Akademia Nauk U.R.S.R., 1958), p. 414.

12. Zerov, p. 93.

13. Syvachenko, p. 285.

14. Eikhenbaum, "Kak sdelana *Shinel'* Gogolia," p. 189.

15. I. Bilodid, "Ukrains'ka literaturna mova druhoi polovyny XIX—pochatku XX st.," in *Kurs istorii ukrains'koi literaturnoi movy*, p. 274.

16. M. M. Bakhtin, *Problemy tvorчества Dostoevskogo* (Leningrad: Priboi, 1929; Michigan University Microfilms, 1961).

17. Lubomir Doležel, "Poloprímá rec v moderní české próze," *Slovo a slovesnost* 19 (1958):20–46. Quasi-quoted discourse is discourse that is not quoted but that has distinct features of the oral speech of a specific character, even though the character is referred to in the third person.

18. Irwin R. Titunik, "The Problem of *Skaz* in Russian Literature" (Diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1963), p. 45. Titunik criticizes Vinogradov for equating literature with language. Titunik points out that literature and language are two separate orders and that, whereas in ordinary speech monologue and dialogue are two distinct speech forms, this is not so in literature where dialogue is always subordinated to the "monologic" context of the author's speech. The relationship is always a subordinating–subordinated one or reporting–reported one (pp. 23–24).

19. Since *skaz* introduces a third text, a reported–reporting text, into the basic two-text structure in fiction, Titunik examines the features and functions of these two texts. He points out that the author's or the reporting message is addressed to the reader, and the characters' or reported message is addressed to persons other than the author and reader, but that the author is the controller of both messages taken together, and both are ultimately intended for the reader. According to Titunik, the reporting text is the authoritative, controlling, and subordinating text that creates the illusion of the reality of the work. The reported text, on the other hand, must always be seen within the reporting

context, for it does not create a reality but forms part of the reality of the reporting text. Although it is subordinated, it is still autonomous within the context of the reporting text. Each of the two messages in narrative fiction, Titunik states, has a speech event and a narrated event. The speech event, the addresser, and the addressee of the reporting text are all unmarked, and this text focuses on the narrated message only. The reported text, however, has a marked speech event, for it exists within the given reality of the work. Therefore, Titunik concludes, reported speech in narrative fiction can be distinguished from reporting speech by the presence or absence of marked speech event (Titunik, pp. 33–39).

20. Doležel, "Poloprímá rec v moderní české próze," pp. 20–46. See also L. Doležel, *Narrative Modes in Czech Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). The features marking speech event are grammatical, situational, expressive, allocutional, dialectal, and semantic and were first established to locate complicated quasi-quoted discourse reported messages within reporting texts.

21. Titunik, p. 65. All the features of the various categories marking speech event, including those in the present study, are from Titunik, "The Problem of *Skaz* in Russian Literature," pp. 39–42, who has adapted them from Doležel's analysis of reported speech. Grammatical features refer to person and tense. The reporting text uses only the past tense or the historical present in the meaning of the past, and all tenses are relative to the past tense position. In the reported text, all tenses are relative to the present tense. Whereas the reporting text includes only the third person, the reported text uses all three persons. When a *skaz* text is present in carrying out a reporting function, it marks the addresser by the first-person forms and the addressee by the second-person forms. However, continues Titunik, since the first person is also a feature of non-*skaz* interpolated texts, in marking *skaz* it is only effective when it is accompanied by expressive features. In fact, sometimes there are only these expressive features present to mark the "quality" of the first person (Titunik, p. 51).

22. Titunik points out that the technique of *skaz* may be realized in a variety of compositional forms. The narration can be a defined personage-narrator, undefined narrator, or author-narrator, while the narrator's addressee can be a defined person to the reader, and the setting can be explicitly oral, undefined, or explicitly written (pp. 75–76). Titunik's definition of *skaz* as a dynamic technique instead of a fixed set of devices allows for a wide variety of combinations of two simultaneous reporting–reported interrelationships, three pairs of coexistent addressers and addressees, and three different types of speech. Hence, the *skaz* technique may be used in a variety of ways depending upon the author's purpose (pp. 135–36). However, Carol E. Pearce, "Refinements on a Structural Theory of *Skaz*," in *Proceedings: Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages*, 27, Part I, Foreign Literatures, ed. P. Benseler (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 1976), pp. 150–53, criticizes Titunik for establishing a strictly stylistic model for *skaz* with purely linguistic features. Instead, she proposes a definition of *skaz* that includes compositional as well as stylistic features and distinguishes between the interpretive and reporting functions. Pearce prefers to define *skaz* as the narrator's interference with his own message. See also Martin P. Rice, "On *Skaz*," *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 12 (1975):409–24.

23. Titunik, p. 56.

24. George Y. Shevelov, *The Syntax of Modern Literary Ukrainian: The Simple Sentence*, Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 38 (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963), p. 69.
25. Dotsenko, p. 421.
26. Titunik, p. 59.
27. Syvachenko, p. 28.
28. The "h" in this word and all such others in this text has been changed to "g" in accordance with the older Soviet Ukrainian orthography. Also, "God" is capitalized.
29. Titunik, p. 60, states that "common expectations about value judgments shared by the members of any culture at any period in its existence are sufficient to constitute a universal point of view."
30. V. Erlich, "Notes on the Uses of Monologue in Artistic Prose," *International Journal for Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 1/2 (1959):226.
31. Zerov, p. 96.
32. Titunik, pp. 75–76, points out that these dialectal deviations from the standard norm, which contain marked speech event and are normally to be found only in reported texts, may exist not only in messages declared to be oral but also in messages declared to be written or left ambiguous. In *Liuborats'ki*, the oral speech event predominates, re-creating the situation of a story-teller and a group of people. At the same time, there are indications that this is a written piece of work in the narrator's footnotes and in such passages as the following: "Дарма праця виписувать те, що діялось в Антосьовім молодім серці, як під'їжджав він до свого села: от-от! от-от! і дома буде!" (p. 52).
33. McLean, p. 312.
34. Syvachenko, p. 227.
35. Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 42–49.
36. *Skaz* in Russian literature, on the other hand, has been regarded as a means of revitalizing the standard language. See Vinogradov, p. 39.
37. Pearce, p. 153.
38. Jo Ann Bailey, "Narrative Mode as a Thematic Problem in Remizov," *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 19 (1986):177–97.
39. Richard Luplow, "Narrative Style and Structure in *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*," *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 1 (1971):309–412; and David Pike, "A Camp Through the Eyes of a Peasant: Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*," *California Slavic Studies* 10 (1977):193–223.
40. I. R. Titunik, "Mixail Zoščenko and the Problem of *Skaz*," *California Slavic Studies* 6 (1971):83–96.

ROBERT KARPIAK

From *Komandor* to *Kaminnyi hospodar*: The Evolution of Lesia Ukrainka's Don Juan Drama

Remarking upon the spirit of creative rivalry often engendered by a theme of universal fame as it passes from country to country and from writer to writer, P. Antokol'skii asserts that in creating her foremost drama, *Kaminnyi hospodar* (The Stone Host), "Lesia Ukrainka polemizes with the entire tradition of Don Juan, challenging Pushkin, Byron, Mozart, and a host of others."¹ Within this "host of others" we may encounter the names of such writers as Ramón del Valle-Inclán (*El Marqués de Bradomín*), Oscar de Lubicz-Milosz (*Miguel Mañara*), Nikolai Gumilev (*Don Zhuan v Egipte*), Edmond Rostand (*La Dernière nuit de Don Juan*), and at least thirty more of Lesia Ukrainka's immediate contemporaries who were concurrently creating their own versions of the Don Juan theme. The vast majority of these attempts to re-create the legend of Don Juan now either are known only to specialists or have sunk into total oblivion. *Kaminnyi hospodar*, however, has stood the test of time and continues to stimulate interpretive and comparative investigation.

Kaminnyi hospodar was conceived in the full blossoming of the Modernist movement, a period during which the image of Don Juan reached an apogee of popularity rivalled only by the Romantics' fascination with the demonic seducer. The neo-Romantics' love of legend, epic, and myth inclined them to seek new symbolic, psychological, and philosophical depths in ancient and mediaeval themes. Don Juan became a favourite subject. And yet, even the fresh insights of the Modernists and the vigorous frequency of their strivings could not avoid profound problems in dealing with a universal theme that, after three centuries of existence, was rendering thematic and characterological innovation extremely difficult. However, *Kaminnyi hospodar*, by virtue of an extraordinarily effective convergence of poetic genius and universal *Gestalt*, resulted in the creation of a work that is outstanding from three perspectives: as the principal creation of Lesia

Ukrainka's dramatic *œuvre*, as a masterpiece of modern Ukrainian literature, and as a classic version of the Don Juan theme.

A bibliographic compilation and survey of critical literature has revealed that, out of nearly one hundred published items, not one attempts to deal with *Kaminnyi hospodar* from the standpoint of the evolution of the text.² Consequently, while the thematic, ideological, philosophical, and to some extent stylistic components of the drama have received substantial commentary, the textual progression of the work has not been examined. And yet, without at least some preliminary attention from the developmental perspective, our understanding of Lesia Ukrainka's major literary creation must remain incomplete.

The purpose of this study is to provide at least a partial response to the need for a textological analysis of *Kaminnyi hospodar*. It is intended to offer some preliminary insight into the fascinating world of Lesia Ukrainka's creative laboratory, in which she experimented with a variety of thematic, characterological, and stylistic ingredients. A process of intensive artistic refinement, accelerated by the author's rapidly declining health, wrought striking changes in the evolution of the drama. These changes are preserved and documented in several extant draft variants of *Kaminnyi hospodar*, offering textologists valuable insight into the dynamics of the creative process.³ Furthermore, Lesia Ukrainka's personal correspondence from the time of her work on her Don Juan drama also provides important commentary on the conceptual and textual evolution of the initial *Komandor* into the final *Kaminnyi hospodar*.

Kaminnyi hospodar is one of Lesia Ukrainka's last dramatic works, completed but a year before her death in 1913. The impetus to create the first original Ukrainian version of the Don Juan theme at this particular time in her creative life may well have derived from the publication in 1911 of Georges Gendarme de Bévotte's monumental study *La Légende de Don Juan*.⁴ This treatise is known to have been in Lesia Ukrainka's personal library, and it is quite probable that her reading of the intriguing history of the Don Juan theme and its migrations through the literatures of the world inspired her to create her own original interpretation of the poetic myth, which struck her as being "diabolical and mystical." She defined the result as "nothing more nor less than the Ukrainian version of the universal theme of Don Juan."⁵

The writing of *Kaminnyi hospodar* extended over a period of approximately five months. The drama was begun at the end of 1911 in the Caucasus, where Lesia Ukrainka was spending the winter. However, the most intensive and feverish work took place through April and May of 1912—the period of the most discriminating revision. Here, Lesia Ukrainka polished that "sculptural grouping" which the drama was intended to simulate. *Kaminnyi hospodar*, according to Lesia Ukrainka's own disclosure in a letter to A. Kryms'kyi, was completed on June 4, 1912:

The day before yesterday I finished a new item which I've been working on since Easter. And what a thing it is! May God forgive me! I've written a "Don Juan"! Yes, the very one—"worldwide and worldly"—without even giving him a pseudonym. Actually, the drama (indeed, another drama!) is called "The Stone Host."⁶

The drama was published that same year in the October issue of *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* and was first produced on the stage in 1914 in Kiev by the theatrical company of Mykola Sadovs'kyi.

It is instructive that in her letter to Kryms'kyi of June 6, 1912, Lesia Ukrainka refers to both "Don Zhuan" and "Kaminnyi hospodar," for these are in fact two of the three known titles she contemplated for her drama. The original title, however, was "Komandor":

. . . because the idea of the drama is the triumph of the monolithic, conservative principle embodied in the Commander over the divided soul of the haughty, egotistical Donna Anna and, through her, over Don Juan, the "knight of free will."⁷

The titular progression *Komandor–Don Zhuan–Kaminnyi hospodar* is highly significant, for it reflects the evolving shifts in thematic, characterological, and structural emphasis. Lesia Ukrainka was anxious to innovate, to show originality in her interpretation, and yet to remain faithful to the time-honoured myth of Don Juan. This is no doubt an inevitable struggle every writer must face when approaching a universal theme, and Lesia Ukrainka felt profoundly the pressure of having to reconcile innovation and tradition. She confides to her sister:

But I would rather hear censure of the manuscript and refrain from publishing it than publish an ineffectual work, and one with such a responsible theme to boot. The dishonour would not be as great for me personally as it would be for our literature as a whole.⁸

Lesia Ukrainka was apparently intent on breaking with tradition in her re-creation of several major characters and motifs of the Don Juan myth. This intention is particularly manifest in her representation of the Commander figure. Up to the time of Lesia Ukrainka's version, the Commander was almost invariably a stock character, the father of Donna Anna, who is killed by Don Juan in a duel, thereby providing the motivation for the Avenging Statue, or the "Stone Guest" of the original legend. Lesia Ukrainka wanted to invest the Commander with his own *raison d'être*, to create a flesh-and-blood character with human traits and emotions, and yet still endow him with his traditionally symbolic role and mythic significance. This preoccupation with the image of the Commander was no doubt largely responsible for the earliest choice of

the title of her Don Juan drama—*Komandor*. However, it is clear from the draft versions that Lesia Ukrainka's emphasis on the Commander waned as her work on the drama progressed. As her focus shifted to the figure of Don Juan, she changed the title of the play from *Komandor* to *Don Zhuan*. Finally, when it became clear to Lesia Ukrainka that in the resolution of the dramatic conflict the figure of the Commander and Don Juan must merge with the image of the Statue, and all three become identified with the symbol of the Stone Host, she selected *Kaminnyi hospodar* as the definitive title.

Lesia Ukrainka's draft manuscripts betray the dilemma she experienced in reconciling the human and symbolic duality of the Commander. The evident danger she perceived is that a "humanized" Commander might turn out to be *too* human. And, indeed, in the draft versions, this intended incarnation of the virtues of duty, honour, chivalry, etiquette, decorum, morality, and conservatism is seen to descend at times to the pettiness, intolerance, and shallowness of a misguided megalomaniac. The very man who is wont to speak in aphoristic dicta akin to heraldic devices ("That which fears a promise is not love," and "Rights without duties are but anarchy") is, in the draft versions, capable of banishing a page boy from the court simply for failing to retrieve a handkerchief dropped by Donna Anna:

А того пажа, що не подав вам хусточ ки, сьогодні вже видалено з двору. Се зроблено по моєму проханню, інакше я покинув би Мадрид і королівський двір. Сеньора де Мендоза не слугебка, щоб мала хусточ ки сама здійсмати, коли край неї королівський джура.⁹

Such outbursts of juvenile temper and wilful malice that we find in the draft versions would be quite inconceivable in the final redaction of *Kaminnyi hospodar*, where they would be totally out of character with the emergent figure of the Commander. While his despotic reprimands concerning Donna Anna's "insufficiently ostentatious curtsy" and spiteful observations on her servant-girl's "churlishness" are expurgated from the final text of the drama, the Commander's threatened departure from Madrid is retained. In the final version, Don Gonzago de Mendoza will contemplate not only leaving the court, but also assembling a powerful army and marching against the King himself. His motive is no longer the insolence of a simple page boy, but his own secret ambition for the crown of Spain. The thematic concept of disloyalty and challenge to authority unifies the Commander and Don Juan as incarnations of the Rebel Son archetype: Don Juan defies the power of the father-figure by usurping the Commander's authority over Donna Anna, while the Commander schemes to usurp the authority of his "father"—the King. The textual evolution of the drama, as disclosed by the drafts, underscores the gradual but calculated convergence of the Commander and

Don Juan until they become indistinguishable in the final scene of the play: Don Juan stares into the mirror but sees the Commander's instead of his own reflection. This ingenious innovation—the identification of Don Juan with the Commander—is one of Lesia Ukrainka's major thematic contributions to the progress of the myth.

The textual progress we are able to follow through the drafts of *Kaminnyi hospodar* not only is manifest in the figure of the Commander, but also extends to the other major characters of the drama: Dolores, Donna Anna, and Don Juan himself. A comparative scrutiny of the drafts discloses a distinct maturation and crystallization process, as successive revisions compress the drama to virtually half of its original length.

One of the more remarkable examples of development is to be found in the case of Dolores. It was Lesia Ukrainka's intent to incarnate in this sympathetic figure the martyr complex, the eternal sufferer for another human being or a cause. According to the author, Dolores is "of the type who must invariably suffer a martyr's death, even if she must nail herself to the cross for want of an executioner."¹⁰ The manuscripts reveal the complexities of creating a realistic character who must incarnate the instinct for self-immolation, yet avoid the pitfalls of pathological monomania and fanaticism. It is evidently out of concern for this potential danger that Lesia Ukrainka deleted from the final text the following lines, in which Dolores professes before Donna Anna her boundless love for Don Juan, for whom she would willingly sacrifice even her closest kin:

Корона—дар малий. Якби я мала
родину—я б її не ощадила,
Коли б він наказав: убий їх всіх!¹¹

Noteworthy also in the cemetery scene of Act I is the emendation of Donna Anna's reprimand of Dolores' mendacity, when the latter identifies the miniature portrait of Don Juan she wears around her neck as that of her brother. Donna Anna disdainfully reproaches her friend:

Неправда, Долорес!
Чи я ж таки не знала твого брата?
Коли не хочеш, можеш не казати
Але нащо ж обманювати? Сором!¹²

According to the role Lesia Ukrainka ultimately conceived for Dolores, she (Dolores) must stand in purity and moral virtue above all the other characters in the play. This elevated role is ill-suited to one apparently capable of falsehood and parricide.

The image of Donna Anna intrigued and preoccupied Lesia

Ukrainka no less than did that of Dolores. The composition of the play required that the two heroines balance each other as forces that vie for the soul of Don Juan. And yet, for all the author's avowed attempts to attenuate it, the role of Donna Anna is destined to overshadow that of Dolores from the very start.

In the earlier drafts of *Kaminnyi hospodar*, Donna Anna is much more aggressive, defiant, sarcastic, and power-hungry than she is in the final version. She berates the Commander when she feels her honour and conduct questioned and threatens several times to break off the engagement. Furthermore, out of self-serving interest in Don Juan, Donna Anna callously alerts Dolores to his legendary infidelity:

Донна Анна:	... наречений твій такий непевний, що може зрадити в остатній хвилі.
Дольорес:	Не може бути зради межі нами.
Донна Анна:	Та ти не зрадиш! Але він . . . він раз от-от уже був зрадив.
Дольорес:	З ким, з тобою? ¹³

As witnessed in the above dialogue, the rivalry between Donna Anna and Dolores is considerably more intense in the draft versions. There is even something vulgarly seductive in the way Donna Anna entices Don Juan to attend her ball and whispers the location of her villa into his ear.

In addition to an overbearing self-assurance and self-righteousness that stem from a pampered childhood, the Donna Anna of the earlier draft versions is infinitely more the schemer, conniver, and manipulator than the Donna Anna of the definitive redaction. For example, the supper invitation she extends to Don Juan in the final act is ultimately arranged for the purpose of signing a marriage contract with him, and by so doing to designate him publicly before the De Mendoza family as her next consort and as the next Commander. Don Juan, however, is not taken in by this scheme and has the notary who is to witness the conclusion of this agreement replaced by none other than his servant, Sganarelle. For what are probably obvious aesthetic reasons, Lesia Ukrainka refrained from incorporating this rather antiquated impersonation motif into her finalized version.

Quite striking in the transition from the extant manuscripts of *Kaminnyi hospodar* to the published version is the elimination of the only episode in the drama that might have served as a scene of comic relief. This episode, which centres on a farcical dialogue between Donna Sol and her henpecked and cuckolded husband, was ultimately deleted from the masked ball scene in the second act. Don Juan has been conducting an affair with Donna Sol, and it is an intended rendezvous

with her that has brought him to Seville at the beginning of the play. Unaware that Don Juan himself is at Donna Anna's masked ball disguised as a Moor, Donna Sol attempts to elude her possessive and jealous husband in order to keep a tryst with her lover in the cemetery. This dialogue merits reproduction here:

- Пан: Куди ти бо, Соліто?
- Д. Соль: Там так душно, а я забула віяльце.
- Пан: Я зараз його знайдучи.
- Д. Соль: Не тут забула—дома!
- Пан: Я господиню попрошу позичити.
- Д. Соль: Ні, ні! Ще скажуть: "от який скупий, вже навіть віяльця не справить жінці."
- Пан: То я поїду, зараз привезу.
- Д. Соль: Ні, ти не знаєш, я його замкнула.
- Пан: То дай ключ а.
- Д. Соль: Там віяльців багато, я ще повинна вибрати, щоб добре пристало до убрання—се ж так важно.
- Пан: Я привезу їх всі.
- Д. Соль: І ще чого! Крамницю тут розложим? Людям на сміх?
- Пан: То як же буде?
- Д. Соль: Я сама поїду.
- Пан: Ти?
- Д. Соль: А щож такого?
- Пан: А може б ти вже якось обійшлася?
- Д. Соль: Як обійшлась? Я гину від задухи! Я млію! Ой! Мені зовсім недобре!!
- Пан: Я зачепну води.
- Д. Соль: Та відчепися. Яка вода? Мене душить. Якби я мала віяльце . . . я знаю, волієш ти, щоб я тут задушилась, аби не їхала сама без тебе.
- Пан: Чому-б не поїхати удвох?
- Д. Соль: За віяльцем удвох? Невже ти хочеш усім тебе показати, як ти мало впевняєшся на мене?
- Пан: Але-ж, любко . . .
- Д. Соль: Доволі вже! Я їду. Не дивуйся, я забарюся, може там прийдеться стрічати на віяльці і перемінити, або змінити що в убранні.
- Пан: Пробі, скоріш вертайся!
- Д. Соль: (Змінила шорсткий тон на пестливий)
Скучиш тут без мене?
(Потріпую його по підборідді і цілує)
Та я ж сама спішитимусь до тебе . . .
(Вибігає, посилаючи панові поцілунки рукою)¹⁴

With the deletion of this scene, the role of Donna Sol is substantially reduced and might even appear superfluous in the definitive version. However, Lesia Ukrainka retained Donna Sol for a specific thematic purpose: she represents the motivic echo of the traditional "abducted bride" motif that was virtually *de rigueur* in the "classical" interpretations (e.g., the Zerlina episode in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*) but appears in a totally original treatment in *Kaminnyi hospodar*. Instead of the traditional abduction scene, Don Juan adjures the "bride" to seek her own freedom:

Я вам писав: "Покиньте ч оловіка,
як він вам осоружний, і втікайте."¹⁵

The philosophy of liberation and self-determination that Don Juan preaches to Donna Sol and Donna Anna is an integral dimension of Lesia Ukrainka's conception of Don Juan as the anarchical "knight of free will." Indeed, the image of Don Juan, from a characterological perspective, was the most concretely visualized and realized character of the entire drama. In a contemporaneous letter to her sister, Lesia Ukrainka writes:

I had not intended to add anything new to the Don Juan type as established in literature, except perhaps to emphasize his anarchical nature. He should, in fact, be much the same as more or less everyone has come to envisage him.¹⁶

A rather stable preconception of the legendary hero notwithstanding, Lesia Ukrainka's notion of Don Juan does reflect an evolutionary process in the textual history of *Kaminnyi hospodar*. First of all, in order to warrant his chivalrous appellation as the "knight of freedom," she had to attenuate the participation of Don Juan in the more plebeian professions of pirate, contrabandist, vagabond, and moral reprobate; accordingly, she expunged such references from the final version. The modern Don Juan, the "Don Juan of the intellect" that emerges in the definitive redaction, inherits something from his ancestor of the neo-Classical period, the "Don Juan of the blood"—a man of action and courage. He reincarnates relatively little of the "Don Juan of the soul," the Don Juan of the Romantic treatments who, transformed by a pure woman's love, is ripe for contrition, redemption, and salvation. In this regard, *Kaminnyi hospodar* represents the continuation of the "traditional" Don Juan version by preserving the thematic duality of compulsive infidelity (the legend of the seducer) and retribution (the legend of the Avenging Statue).

Although in the course of the drafts Don Juan is relieved of much of his original arrogance, insensitivity, cynicism, and cruelty, his propensity for fiery passion is retained in the final version—witness his

attempt to stab the unarmed Commander in the back after being humiliated by him at Donna Anna's ball. We can even detect in Lesia Ukrainka's drafts an unmistakable vestige of the traditional "complaint motif" in which Don Juan's servant deplores his miserable fate in serving such a perverse master. The complaint motif is, of course, admirably represented in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, when Leporello sings the aria "*Notte e giorno faticar*" (To be obliged to toil night and day) as the curtain rises. In *Kaminnyi hospodar*, the altercation between master and servant occurs as a stylistically facetious but artistically unwieldy spat, which is ultimately excised from the final version:

- Сг: Чорт бери таку прокляту службу!
 Д. Ж.: Се ще що? Що таке? Хіба ж я не плач у тобі за службу? Плач у ж я більше, ніж ти цілий вартий.
 Сг: Ви платите мені либонь за те, щоб я ніч ого був не вартий.
 Д. Ж.: Слухай, як недогода, забірайся геть, Я іншого знайду слугу.
 Сг: Та я знайшов би пана іншого хоч зараз, та річ про те, що ліпших не знайдемо, а гірших чей нема, чи варт міняти? От як би я став паном, ви—службою, то се була б хоч би видима зміна.¹⁷

As if in concession to the tradition of the complaint motif, which allows the servant to express his desire to identify with his master and "play the gentleman" (*far il gentiluomo*), Lesia Ukrainka retains its vestige in poignant laconism, as an exasperated Sganarelle concludes Act I with:

- Ех, мій пане!
 Я доказав би кращого лицарства,
 якби то я був пан, а ви—слуга.¹⁸

Lesia Ukrainka's masterful portrayal of Don Juan springs from her lifelong fascination with romantic and chivalrous heroes. In the case of *Kaminnyi hospodar*, she was clearly fascinated by the figure of the profligate knight who, in her words, "has been tormenting mankind for well nigh three hundred years."¹⁹ Constantine Bida has remarked upon a rather significant peculiarity in Lesia Ukrainka's predilection for heroic figures:

It was not . . . the proud and fortunate conqueror who defeated his enemy and thrust a spear in his heart that Lesya favoured. Instead she was captivated by the vanquished knight who, even as he felt the sharp spear of the victor in his heart, refused to give in but proudly cried: "Kill me; I will not surrender!"²⁰

It is quite probable that Lesia Ukrainka recognized an analogy between the vanquished, yet unyielding knight and the traditional Don Juan type. Here was the dauntless protagonist who fears no mortal, who invites the dead to sup with him, and who unhesitatingly offers his hand to the Stone Guest. In Mozart's opera, even as he sees the jaws of Hell gape beneath him, Don Juan perishes spiritually unconquered, shouting defiantly: "*No, no ch'io non mi penta!*" (No, no, I don't repent!).

Lesia Ukrainka spoke of *Kaminnyi hospodar* as her only "true drama," in the sense that it is "objective, concentrated, and not steeped in lyricism."²¹ Despite the feverish tempo of her work, which all but broke her health ("having finished it, I suffered more than women suffer after childbirth," she wrote),²² the drama in its final redaction is remarkably restrained, aesthetically concentrated, and stylistically concise to the point that further compression would not seem possible. The result, however, is by no means a drama without action and theatricality. A fierce duel and a violent knife-wielding ambush take place right on stage, and the final supernatural scene, when all are turned to stone, leaves a highly effective and indelible mental impression of peripeteia and imminent retribution. These have been the features of the best Don Juan plays since Tirso de Molina first introduced the hero in his *El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* of 1630.

Kaminnyi hospodar fares well in Antokol'skii's juxtaposition with the versions of Pushkin, Byron, and Mozart, particularly because of its artistic integrity. We note that Byron's *Don Juan* was left uncompleted; Pushkin's *Kamennyi gost'* is "unfinished" in the sense that it was published posthumously and edited by other hands; and Mozart's music to *Don Giovanni* must be complemented by the Da Ponte libretto. *Kaminnyi hospodar*, on the other hand, is complete, self-sufficient, finished, and finalized in every sense. The effort that went into its conception and culmination was clearly a labour of love that bequeathed to world literature a classic interpretation of a powerful legend.

Notes

1. P. Antokol'skii, *Poety i vremia* (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1957), p. 77.
2. A number of these studies are listed in Armand E. Singer, *The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography* (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), and in periodic supplements of *West Virginia University Philological Papers* 17 (June 1970); 20 (September 1973); 22 (December 1975); and 26 (July 1980).
3. The draft versions and variants of *Kaminnyi hospodar* are published in vol. 11 of B. Iakubs'kyi, ed., *Tvory Lesi Ukraïny* (New York: Tyshchenko and Bilous, 1954), pp. iii–lxxviii. All references to and quotations from the drafts are based on this edition and will be designated as *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft).
4. Georges Gendarme de Bévotte, *La Légende de Don Juan: son évolution dans la littérature des origines au romantisme* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911).
5. "To L. M. Staryts'ka," June 1912, in *Lesia Ukraïka: Zibrannia tvoriv u dvanadtsiaty tomakh*, 3 (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1979), p. 399. Subsequent quotations from Lesia Ukraïka's correspondence are from this edition, which will be cited as *Lesia Ukraïka*.
6. "To A. Iu. Kryms'kyi," June 6, 1912, *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 396.
7. "To A. Iu. Kryms'kyi," *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 396.
8. "To O. P. Kosach," October 18, 1912, *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 414.
9. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft), pp. 1–li.
10. "To O. Iu. Kobylans'ka," May 3, 1913, *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 462.
11. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft), p. viii.
12. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft), p. v.
13. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft), p. liv.
14. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft), pp. xxv–xxvii.
15. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Final Version), in *Tvory Lesi Ukraïny*, 11 (New York: Tyshchenko and Bilous, 1953), p. 63.
16. "To O. Iu. Kobylans'ka," *Lesia Ukraïka*, pp. 461–62.
17. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Draft), p. xvii.
18. *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Final Version), p. 55.
19. "To A. Iu. Kryms'kyi," *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 396.
20. Constantine Bida, "Life and Work," in *Lesya Ukraïka* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 8.
21. "To O. P. Kosach," *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 414.
22. "To O. Iu. Kobylans'ka," *Lesia Ukraïka*, p. 461.

Юда Лесі Українки в драматичній поемі *На полі крови* (До 75-річчя з дня смерті Лесі Українки)

Леся Українка любила світові теми й до них часто зверталася. На 1909 рік припадає праця поетки над драматичною поемою *На полі крови*, яка була надрукована в *Літературно-науковому вістнику* (1910). Ця поема є своєрідним зразком майстерного змалювання образу Юди, що, починаючи з початку нашого сторіччя, став знову частою темою в світовій літературі. Протягом десяти років вийшло в світ кілька значних творів з сюжетом про нього: вони були відзначені літературною критикою та помічені читачами.

Світовий сюжет про Юду, як відомо, вже тоді був "дуже значний, повний звабливих перспектив для новітнього поета—місткий і здібний до ідейно-емоціонального підновлення . . . по суті глибоко емоційний і повний сугестії, вікової уваги поколінь до особи Зрадника."¹ Це всупереч тому, що він слабо наświetлений в євангельській історії, хоч його зраду згадують у Новому Заповіті всі євангелисти, але говорять про неї дуже по-різному. "Між євангелистами," як пише Володимир Смирнів, "лише св. Матвій свідчить, що Юда одержав 30 срібняків за зраду та згадує про докори совісти, про Юдину спробу повернути гроші і твердить, що Юда повісився. Також не одноголосно свідчать євангелисти про те, що Юда видав Христа поцілунком."²

Письменники початку двадцятого століття, не зважаючи на попередні багаті традиції, підійшли до цієї теми по-новому—"з новим критерієм, з тенденцією—по-своєму переглянути церковно-канонізовану спадщину."³ Перед нами чотири твори цього першого десятка років ХХ ст.: твір шведського письменника Тора Гедберга *Юда*, п'єса німецького письменника Павля Гейзе *Марія з Магдали* в англійському перекладі Віляма Вінтера (1903), повість російського письменника Леоніда Андрєєва *Юда Іскаріот* і драматична поема Лесі Українки *На полі крови*. Перечитуючи й вивчаючи ці твори доходимо до висновку, що драматична поема Лесі Українки відрізняється від творів її сучасників. У ній

настанова на нове, оригінальне при використанні існуючих уже мистецьких образів та відповідних лексичних і фразеологічних засобів, з метою відзначити складну ситуацію Юдиної зради. Тим часом у творах сучасників Українки зустрічаємо спроби психологічної аналізи Юди, що часто "виходять поза євангельські історії та навіть висувають нову концепцію образу, пройнятого антихристиянським духом."⁴

І так повість-поема Тора Гедберга пройнята надто згущеним психологізмом і, таким чином, навіть відірвана від загального укладу життя. Ця фактично глибоко індивідуальна драма Юди увінчана трагізмом і насичена смутком. "Тенденція,"—як пише Ненадкевич,—"реабілітувати Юду, показати, через які незвичайні внутрішні страждання цей самотник і мізантроп фатально прийшов до зради. Але та зрада стала початком душевного оздоровлення і відродження."⁵

Гедберг дослівно ідеалізує Юду, зокрема, у змалюванні любови до Христа. Юда, мовляв, ревно бажає "мати Ісуса тільки для себе," він готовий йому беззастережно служити в пустелі, де немає людей, яким він не довіряє, а присутність їхня викликає в нього не тільки відразу, але й обурення. Його відданість Ісусові доходить до того, що він заявляє "хочу вмерти за тебе." Але Юда по своїй природі—душа понура, замкнена в собі, далека від людей, буквально несупільна. І тут проявляється Ісусове завдання повернути Юду до людей, відвернувши його від хворобливого себелюбства, байдужості й постійного нехтування суспільними інтересами задля особистих побажань. Ісус хоче забезпечити його внутрішньою душевною гармонією та запалити в ньому "вогонь альтруїзму." Щоб повернути його до громадського життя, Ісус обирає Юду на скарбника гурту своїх учнів. Але Юда не піддається зусиллям Ісуса. Його бурхливі вияви любови до Учителя чергуються "з нападами сумнівів, тривог, майже ненависти до Ісуса," бо він зненавидів Ісуса, як своє недосяжне щастя, що його навіки позбавлений. Також спроби покинути гурт учнів Ісусових не дають успіху, самотність і смуток повертають Юду назад до гурту: тут з'являється в нього думка про смерть Учителя, як єдиний порятunek від мук, що їх спричиняють ненависть і любов. У цьому він якраз бачить можливість звільнитися від гуртів учнів і стати вільним. Довершує цей акт поцілунок у Гетсиманії, але цей поцілунок у розумінні Юди наближає його внутрішньо до Ісуса навіть більше, ніж його особисте перебування з Ісусом. Тепер він глибоко переконаний, що, з поцілунком, Учитель у своєму погляді простив йому переживання на Голготі хресних мук. Тільки переживши це, він по-справжньому з'єднався й порозумівся з Ісусом, а дві ворожі сили, що боролися в його душі, тепер об'єдналися в одному почутті любови. Юда бачить Учителя у сні:

він "ласкавий люблячий Ісус, цілує його." "Але,—як пише Ненадкевич,—цей миротворчий фінал—лише пролог до нової драми: проклятий тими, що соратником їхнім тепер став, бо думали, що він своїм злочином саму справу Ісусову запламує. І знову для нього, хоча й відродженого, самотній шлях".⁶

Така поглиблена аналіза характеру й поведінки Юди набирає сильного внутрішнього значення, в якому ідейний зміст ніби-то зростає, в той час як форма його мистецької специфіки набирає ознак схематизму та веде до спрощеності в мисленні, а найголовніше—в зображенні. Таким чином, поетичний образ, наснажений психологізмом, стає непереконливим і робить враження комбінації гучних надуманих слів, які зовсім не сприяють духовій красі та ідейній гармонії.

П'єса Павля Гейзе *Марія з Магдали*⁷ зображає Юду як староюдейського патріота, а його бажання залишити Учителя приписується втраті віри в Ісусову здатність і намір силою звільнити юдеїв від римської залежності. А Юдина зрада Ісуса розглядається тут як наслідок припадку божевільного гніву, спричиненого зломанням любовного зв'язку з боку Марії з Магдали, яка в своєму каятті й духовному відродженні рішила віддати своє серце вищим небесним силам і залишити Юду як полюбовника. П'єса в перекладі на тлі романтичної історії підказує різні аспекти гебрейського життя в старовинному Єрусалимі та скерована насамперед на поширення впливу милосердя й натяку на небесну перемогу в людській душі, що через віру в божественну доброту перемагає гріх і горе.⁸

Юда виступає перед нами не тільки в ролі розчарованого патріота, що зазнав страшної кривди, але також у стані чуттєвої заздрости, відкиненого полюбовника. Мотиви історичні й романтичні стоять тут у центрі дії. У письменника, до речі, немає зацікавлення до посиленого психологізму, зате помітні в нього пошуки виразніших засобів змалювання дійсності. Образ Юди визначається у тісному зв'язку з його відношенням до Ісуса й до Марії. Юда заявляє:

Моє серце поранене й розбите, коли я подумаю,
Про все що я колись вірив, на що надіявся, чому довіряв,
Але я не можу зрадити його—ні, ніколи
Для цієї підлої роботи—ти мусиш розшукати когось іншого.⁹

Це яскрава картина емоційно забарвленої настанови. Юда виступає перед нами з пораненим серцем, з піднятою вгору непокірною головою, але з твердою заявою, що він не зуміє зрадити Ісуса. Зрада для нього—патріота своєї вітчизни—це підлий вчинок. Він, здається, в той час ще точно не уявляє мети людського життя,

хоч до цього поривається й намагався її віднайти. Але йшло так, що дійсне життя виявилось сильнішим за моральні міркування і він таки зрадив свого Учителя через глибоке розчарування в любові.

Справді своєрідного тут не багато, але, шануючи людську думку, хочемо її відповідно відзначити, зокрема, коли взяти до уваги, що Гейзе розв'язує питання Юдиної зради в іншій площині, ніж його сучасники.

Зображення Юди Леонідом Андреєвим далеке від зображення Гейзе, зате близьке до змалювання Гедберга. У повісті *Юда Іскаріот* ми стаємо свідками великої особистої драми, почерпнутої з євангельського оповідання. Юда з болем у серці переживає самотність як серед людей, так і в гурті учнів. Його відношення до Ісуса не пряме, а двоїсте. Більше того—в нього постійно зростає почуття недовір'я до Учителя. До того ж це проходить в час, коли він глибоко переживає своє відчуження від Ісуса та близькість і інтимність Ісуса до інших учнів. Це викликає в Юди жадобу помсти за вчинену йому, мовляв, кривду. Тим часом зрада, як та гадюка, клубочиться в його розумі та в серці, а в ній він саме бачить єдиний вихід із складних обставин свого життя. Пропорції між мотивами зради постійно зростають, щоб наприкінці довести до психологічного потрясіння, яке Ненадкевич називає "психологічним експериментом." Цього якраз і домігся Юда, "щоб перевіритися самому і всьому світові показати, що правда вища за Ісусову, та відновити таким засобом свою особисту й громадську гідність і довести, що він, об'єкт зневаги й презирства, вищий за всіх людей."¹⁰ Це справді цинічні розрахунки, що не тільки не витримують критики, а навпаки, вимагають осуду, й то суворого. Щоб здійснити свій диявольський замір, "в ці останні дні короткого Ісусового життя Юда оточував його тихою любов'ю, турбувався ним, немов би голубив його. Діяв неначе боязка полохлива панночка, що зазнала першої любови й в той час ставав дивно чутливим і готовим пізнати й вивчити усе. Він намагався побожественному відповідати на всі, навіть на найменші невисловлені бажання Ісуса й проникати до самої глибини в його почуття, зокрема, в хвилини смутку та втоми від страждань."¹¹ До краю доведена штучність дії, підсилена ніжними виявами характеру зрадника, побудована на контрастах, щоб привести до свідомої зради навіть дещо більш витонченої формою, ніж та, яку ми бачили у Гедберга, та діаметрально відмінної від зради, яку ми засвідчуємо у Гейзе. Тут віроломність доходить до найвищого ступення, бо "з невимовною ніжністю люблячи Ісуса, осудив його на смерть за недоцінення й не розуміння Юди і незглибимої любови його."¹²

У цьому добачаємо концепцію образу, пройнятого антихристиянським духом, правдоподібно, під впливом ідей Ніцше.

До речі, ще 1909 року Я. Богородський у статті "Странная апология" назвав повість Андрєєва "зверхблужнірським літературним твором."¹³

Чи можна було зробити з історії Юдиної зради якусь світову філософську проблему та, на додаток, ще й містично забарвлену? Андрєєв саме й це зробив. Він, узяв особисте за вихідну точку надав йому всесвітнього та вселюдського характеру. Таким чином, "упосліджений між людьми Юда є втіленням кінець-кінцем якоїсь найвищої сили розуміння універсальної мудрости: єдиний з усіх людей, рівний Ісусові, його антидот—двійник, його суперник-спільник."¹⁴

Як же розв'язала проблему характеру Юди та історію його зради Леся Українка? За основу своєї драми вона взяла євангельський текст і навіть заголовок у неї євангельського походження. До окремих біблійних даних підійшла дуже вибірково, добираючи лише те, що їй було найбільш потрібне для мистецького сюжету. Розробляючи його, вона не пішла ні по лінії індивідуальної психологічної драми, ні "не зробила з Юди всесвітньо-історичного релігійно-філософського символу."¹⁵ ані не старалася реабілітувати його, щоб довести, що зрада Юди стала початком його душевного відродження. Таким чином, у неї немає ні Гербергового романтизму, ні Андрєєвського символізму. Поетка пішла по лінії рішучого поєднання ознак неокласичних із неоромантичними, з перевагою перших, і обрала позицію на становищі сумлінного історизму й стриманого авторського світовідчуття. У драмі не знаходимо ні таємничості, ані недомовлення. Її мистецькі образи більше пробуджують, ніж характеризують, себто більше окреслюють Юду та прочанина в їх емоційному патосі, ніж у найтонших нюансах характерів.

Юда в Лесі Українки—це пересічна людина із здоровою простою психологією. Ось його зовнішній вигляд: "худий і зниділий, але з природи кремезний та тривкий."¹⁶ За своїм походженням він "отецький син, ще й одинак!", "... спадок мав від батька: виногради, і ниву добру, і садок, і дім, все мав в Керіоті (ст. 30).

Події, зв'язані зі зрадою, Українка змальовує коротко та стисло. Її цікавлять передусім причини, що схилили Юду до зради Учителя. І тут саме проявляється своєрідність її твору: дотримування вірогідних мотивацій і збереження життєво точних форм у зображенні вчинків Юди. Оскільки євангельські джерела дають дуже скромні відомості про мотивацію Юдиних вчинків, Леся Українка в своєму мистецькому замислі пішла по лінії підсиленої емоційної напруги сутичок Юди та прочанина, що стає засобом для розкриття характеру, до того ж засобом, вираженням яскраво.

Реагуючи на зауваги прочанина, Юда поступово розкриває

своє минуле, свої вчинки та свій світогляд, що стає добрим матеріалом до пізнання причин його зради. Юдина драма почалася на суспільному тлі, тоді посилилась психологічними мотивами й перейшла в площину розчарування особою Ісуса, його ідеалами, способом їх здійснення. Хоча й самого Юду притягли до Ісуса прагнення миру, злагоди, любови, в нього ніколи не було бажання присвятити себе повністю духовому життю. "Таким чином,—як слушно стверджує Смирнів, —ставши учнем Христа, Юда не зрікся свого матеріялістичного світогляду."¹⁷ Він сам заявляє: "се правда, я глядів у них скарбони,—бо я вважався більш від сього світа" (ст. 37). І саме матеріялістична полуда сильно стала йому на перешкоді віддатись духовим потребам, що їх так палко проповідував Ісус. А він тим часом залишався засліпленим і недобачав цього та, що більше, не дочекавшись царства Божого, про яке мріяв, почав тратити довір'я до Ісуса, вважаючи, що він його обдурив:

Не царство Боже, ні -- скоріше пекло
було в тім гурті! Яка там заздрість,
ти й здумати не можеш!

.....

І я ж, поки ще царства сподівався,
все залюбки терпів, а потім мусив
терпіти й без надії—де б я дівся?
хоч день і ніч я голову сушив,
як вирватися з того царства глуму,
де не мені народи слугували,
а я служив відметам всіх народів . . . (ст. 38)

Непорозуміння між Юдою та Ісусом зростало, щоб остаточно перейти в безнадійну прірву:

. . . І він [Ісус] мене почав
словами дошкүлять.

.....

. . . Де-далі
про зрадників почав заводить річ:
чи руку прокладу на стіл—він каже:
"ось зрадницька рука побіля мене":
чи хліб у страву я вмочу—знов слово:
"сьогодні зрадник хліб вмочає з нами." (ст. 39)

Ці Юдині докори та обвинувачення Ісуса—це ніщо інше як "палке, пристрасно-безладне виправдання своєї зради."¹⁸ Це приклад недооцінювання морально-духовних сторін науки Ісуса і переоцінка вміння людини до пізнання й засвоєння духових ідеалів.

Так само бажання залишити гурт учнів та Ісуса побудоване в Юди на матеріялістичних основах:

Нічого в світі я не мав, крім нього,—
Хіба ж не мав я права знов змінити
Його на те добро, що я втерав
з його причин? (ст. 40)

Це й стало основною причиною зради. Коріння, як бачимо, не глибокі й не ідеологічні, а часто господарсько-економічні, себто матеріялістичні, що повністю відповідає вдачі та звичкам Юди. Отже, почуття невдоволення, досади, гніву й злости на себе за нерозважливий вчинок приступлення до гурту учнів, жаль до Ісуса, що ошукав його, жаль за те, що втратив маєток і не здобув сподіваного Божого царства, привели Юду до зради. Мотиви, в цілому, прості та ясні, а головне—глибоко обґрунтовані.

Тим часом, коли в розмові з прочанином дійшло до згадки про поцілунок, то Юда натрапив великі труднощі, щоб з'ясувати це питання пристойно і зрозуміло. А прочанин, до речі, став тут ще більш настирливим:

Річ твоя!
Не хочеш—не кажи. А тільки, знаєш,
погана чутка йде про тебе в людях,
що ніби ти його поцілував,
як зраджував. (ст. 40)

Це до решти розклало Юду, якому—крім невимовного жалю—не лишилося нічого для оправдання. Але це не стримало прочанина від картання та осуду Юди:

Бо, як правда,
Що ти любив його, то те плюгавство
іще мерзенніше. Убий, заріж,
втопи, продай, та хоч без поцілунків! (ст. 41)

Прочанин, що був ладен виправдати Юду в багатьох життєвих обставинах, цього ніяк не міг зрозуміти, бо це не вміщалось в його світосприйманні. Він не міг належно з'ясувати й, не говорячи про виправдання, зрозуміти зраду. Свідомість злочину стала наявною навіть при об'єктивному розумінні психології Юди. Леся Українка, як слушно ствердив Ненадкевич, уводить "принципи соціальної зумовленості Юдиної поведінки і тим частково здійсмає індивідуальну відповідальність з Юди. Але тим не виправдує його."¹⁹

Повертаючись до нашого головного питання в темі, хочемо ствердити, що драма Лесі Українки сильно відрізняється від творів її сучасників. Її образ Юди наскрізь стилізований з максимальним збереженням історичного кольориту. У той час Гедберга і в Андреєва образ Юди пройнятий складними елементами психології, а в Гейзе—юдейським патріотизмом і романтичними мотивами. Українчин підхід до євангельських джерел наскрізь поміркований, і можливо, точний. Вона цих джерел не змінює, як це, наприклад, помічаємо в Андреєва, який кожного разу коли до них звертається, використовує їх за своїм уподобанням. Леся Українка дає цікаву власну концепцію християнства, щоправда, раціоналістичну й позбавлену містики. Таким чином, вона підходить ґрунтовніше до постаті Юди, а також до поняття зради й реабілітації. У Гедберга, як уже ствердив Ненадкевич, "злочин Юди викупляється дорогою ціною одвічного смутку, великих внутрішніх страждань і перспективою страждань майбутніх."²⁰ Андреєв, знову ж таки "гіперболізував" реабілітацію, "обернувши її в апотеозу, хоч з елементами гротеску."²¹ У Гейзе зрада вважається за підлу роботу для патріота своєї вітчизни, проте Юда виконує її, бо цього вимагає його особисте життя, яке перерішує все інше, що досі стояло йому в дорозі. Леся Українка тим часом висуває принцип соціальної зумовленості, чи залежності від походження Юди, його життєвого стану й відношення до інших. Поетка бере до уваги Юдину поведінку, що має серйозний вплив на його відповідальність за зраду, але вона Юди не виправдує. Проте вона ставить до Юдиних вчинків об'єктивно, враховуючи його психологію, а зокрема його розуміння принципів життя.

У Лесі Українки Юда—це звичайна людина, якій доводиться не тільки працювати "в поті чола," але й терпіти та зносити всі докори сумління. "Яскравим зображенням лицемірства,—як пише Смирнів,—поетка також заперечує всякі претенсії авторів про любов Юди. Так само відхиляє Леся Українка натяки на ідеалізм Юди, показує суть його матеріялістичного світогляду."²² Зраду Юди розглядає поетка з моральної точки зору, аналізуючи його поведінку з погляду основних принципів моралі, конечної потреби щирості й відповідальності за власні вчинки.

Підсумовуючи, хочемо ствердити, що змалювання образу Юди в світовій літературі—це дуже складна справа, а ще складнішим стало питання розв'язання й висвітлення мотивів його зради. Тому тільки деяким письменникам пощастило досягти високої історичної й мистецької правдоподібності в змалюванні цього складного образу. До них, без сумніву, належить Леся Українка, яка своєю драматичною поемою *На полі крови* створила твір, гідний якнайпильнішої уваги світової літературознавчої науки.

Примітки

1. Е. Ненадкевич, *На полі крові*, Леся Українка, *Повне видання творів у 10 томах*; за ред. Б. Романенчука (Львів: Українська книгоспілка, 1939), т. IV, ст. 246.
2. Володимир Смирнів, "Етюд Юди Іскаріотського в поемі *На полі крові*," *Леся Українка 1871–1971, Збірник праць на 100-річчя поетки* (Філядельфія: Світовий комітет для відзначення 100-річчя народження Лесі Українки, 1971–1980), ст. 233.
3. Ненадкевич, ст. 248.
4. Ненадкевич, ст. 249.
5. Ненадкевич, ст. 251.
6. Ненадкевич, ст. 253.
7. Павль Гейзе (1830–1914)—відомий німецький письменник, який 1910 року перший з німців здобув Нобелівську премію з літератури. В німецькій літературі він вважається представником старої класично-романтичної культури й майстром новели. Він писав також і п'єси, але вони не дуже успішні й не принесли йому слави. П'єса *Марія з Магдали* (*Maria von Magdala, Drama in fünf Akten* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1899]), як стверджують деякі літературні критики, в перекладі Вільяма Вінтера, є набагато кращим драматичним твором, ніж її першотвір.
8. Німецький оригінал, з яким ми на жаль не змогли ознайомитися, на думку його англійського перекладача Вільяма Вінтера, написано "по-людському та в співчутливому дусі" (Див. William Winter, "Preface," *Mary of Magdala, an Historical and Romantic Drama in Five Acts. The Original in German Prose by Paul Heyse* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1903], pp. 5–6). Переклад, на думку Вінтера,—це вільна переробка першотвору, переданого у віршованій формі.
9. *Mary of Magdala*, ст. 84. Переклад з англійської—мій.
10. Ненадкевич, ст. 254.
11. Leonid Andreyeff, *The Crushed Flower and Other Stories*, trans. from the Russian (London: Duckworth, 1917), ст. 218. Переклад із англійського перекладу—мій; без наявності оригіналу.
12. Ненадкевич, ст. 254.
13. Див. *Православний собеседник*, ч. 2 (Казань, 1909), ст. 234.
14. Ненадкевич, ст. 255.

15. Ненадкевич, ст. 256.

16. Леся Українка, *Твори* (Нью Йорк: Тищенко і Білоус, 1954), т. VIII, ст. 25. Всі інші цитати, наведені за цим виданням, поміщено в тексті з поданням сторінки.

17. Смирнів, ст. 236.

18. Ненадкевич, ст. 258.

19. Ненадкевич, ст. 261.

20. Ненадкевич, ст. 261.

21. Ненадкевич, ст. 261.

22. Смирнів, ст. 241.

ROMAN WERETELNYK

Romanticism Revisited: Lesia Ukrainka's *Lisova pisnia*

Lisova pisnia, Lesia Ukrainka's highly poetic creation of a mythical-fantastic world, is by general consensus considered her *chef-d'œuvre*. It is the only drama she wrote that both met with immediate enthusiastic critical response and subsequently remained a favourite of scholars and audiences alike.

Her third last play, *Lisova pisnia* represented a bold departure for the author, who had determinedly avoided the utilization of Ukrainian folklore in her dramas. Whether the play's folkloric base constitutes Ukrainka's reconciliation with the folkloric tradition of Ukrainian literature or whether it presents a complex challenge to that tradition remains a contentious issue.

Regardless of their views, scholars have concentrated their efforts on proving that *Lisova pisnia* is part of a larger tradition, be it Ukrainian ethnographic or Western modernist. Although both these views allow for Ukrainka's originality, it is an originality circumscribed in scope and significance. Assumptions that the play belongs to a given tradition have precluded an examination of it for its departures from these traditions. From a feminist standpoint, for example, it is instructive to view the play as a departure from the practices of male Romantic writers in their depiction of folklore and nature.

In the play, Mavka, a forest-nymph, falls in love with Lukash, a young man who has ventured into the forest with his uncle. Mavka becomes enchanted with Lukash's beautiful playing of the flute and joins him on his homestead, where she encounters the pettiness and baseness that typify everyday human life. Mavka suffers, having lost the innocence and freedom of her former existence. Not only does Lukash not return Mavka's love, but, through the scheming of his mother, he marries a coarse peasant-woman, Kylyna. Mavka, offered the "power to forget" by the character called "He Who Sits In a Rock," initially declines but then, in desperation, accepts. Kylyna, jealous of Mavka, has her transformed into a tree through a magic formula, a tree that is eventual-

ly destroyed in a purifying fire that finally releases Mavka. Out of revenge, Mavka's demonic friends transform Lukash into a wandering werewolf. At the end of the play, Lukash realizes his mistake and, in a dreamy state of bliss, sees the ghost of his Mavka one more time, then dies amidst the gentle falling of snow in the forest.

In *Lisova pisnia*, Ukrainka challenges patriarchal Romanticism's views of women (as expressed in its image of the woman-monster) through her creation of Mavka (the gentle forest-nymph) and also reassesses traditional patriarchal Romanticism's association of men with art and creation, and women with nature and passivity.

Lisova pisnia may be viewed as representing Ukrainka's duality in her relationship with the Romantic tradition. Having begun writing in the tradition of Romanticism, Ukrainka later altered her literary course and began to experiment with new themes and techniques, even foregoing the most Romantic of genres, poetry, for drama. Ukrainka's movement away from her Romantic roots was partly motivated by her sense of isolation from a tradition of which she could not fully feel a part. In her fairy-drama, Ukrainka returns to her literary roots. Through her portrait of a nymph, and through her return to verse (albeit in a poetic drama), she revisits the Romantic images that dominated her youth, this time, however, from the perspective of a mature author.

Lisova pisnia, although apparently a panoramic vista of Ukrainka's Romantic world, represents at its core a gender-based confrontation of both Ukrainian and Western Romantic views on womanhood. That there is no doubt as to the importance of this aspect of the play is evident in Ukrainka's own observation (commenting on what distinguishes the play from other neo-Romantic works of her contemporaries): "The story of Mavka can only be written by a woman."¹

Ukrainka subtitled *Lisova pisnia* a "fairy-drama" but thought of it more precisely as a *Märchen*drama, thus clearly placing it in the German Romantic *Märchen* tradition. This favourite narrative form of the German Romantics (exemplified by the tales of Hoffman and Novalis), writes Lilian Furst, "denoted any tale that entered into the realm of the imagination. Hence their strong preference for this genre with its musical form of composition and its scope for individual phantasy."² Although in concept *Lisova pisnia* takes a German model, in content it is rooted in Ukrainian folklore.³ The play's Ukrainian subject, however, is native only to the extent that Ukrainian folklore, with its images of forest-nymphs, water-nymphs, and various demons, is part of a broader European folkloric tradition. Ukrainka's *Lisova pisnia*, with its Western form and more universal mythical base than some scholars acknowledge, is therefore thematically quite consistent with Ukrainka's other "exotic" subject matter.

The play's central character is Mavka, a demonic female variant of a folkloric figure prevalent in the works of many Romantic authors.

Mavky and their cousins *rusalky* and *lisni* are well known in Ukrainian folklore.⁴ They are believed to be either the spirits of unchristened children (*mavky*) or the souls of drowned girls (*rusalky*). Although *mavky* can be male, they are usually female. Hibernating in caves during the winter, these nymphs emerge in the spring, looking for their victims. Although their prey may be women, it is mostly young men that they seek out, enticing them into the forest with promises of blissful sexual encounters. Having seduced their prey, they either tickle them to death or suck out their blood, since they are by nature vampires. Generally, however, *mavky* and *rusalky* avoid contact with humans and spend most of their time engaged in wild games and dances, sometimes with male demons.

Mavky and *rusalky* are specific forms of a broader concept of the female monster, a mythological image of woman that male culture has placed opposite the image of the angel. Unlike the mythological angel–Virgin Mary figure, who exemplifies proper feminine behaviour through passivity and sacrifice, the female monster is active, exhibiting male-like behaviour. The prototype for the female monster is, in part, Eve, who through her demonic sin of temptation causes the fall of Adam, God's creation. Eve, as Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar suggest, falls because she wants to be like the gods, to equal both Adam and Satan.⁵ In her failed attempt to transcend her inferiority, Eve is punished and transformed from an angelic being into a monstrous creature.

Whereas Satan is a tragic figure who figures prominently in the Romantic imagination as a prototype for the Romantic hero, Eve, despite her similar search and fall, becomes a pathetic figure. The Romantic implications of the story of the fall of Lucifer are that men are encouraged to be truth-seekers and demi-gods; theirs is a noble, if tragic, journey. In literature, the Byronic hero represents the ultimate development of such a hero. Women, however, are inferior beings; their attempt to gain knowledge is both futile and pitiable, arousing hate and contempt.

The female monster in literature is like Eve, a seducer and entrapper, a witch or vampire who destroys men. A prime example of such a witch in Slavic folklore and literature is Gogol's female monster in "Vii" (The Long-Eyelashed Gnome). Appearing in the guise of a beautiful young girl, the witch seeks out a young man, seduces him, has wild sexual encounters with him, then kills him. More common in Ukrainian literature than witches, however, are forest-nymphs and water-nymphs, who, like witches, appear as beautiful girls in order to deceive and destroy their prey.

Water-nymphs figure prominently in Shevchenko's ballads. Although Shevchenko is, as George Grabowicz convincingly argues, an original myth-maker, his world of nymphs and magic is nevertheless one that is deeply rooted in Ukrainian folklore.⁶ Like Eve, Shevchenko's

water-nymphs are punished for a sin, although in their case it is not their sin that condemns them but that of their mothers and fathers. "Prychynna" (The Bewitched Woman) and "Rusalka" (The Water-Nymph) both show nymphhood as the tragic fate that awaits women as their punishment for sin and immorality, a fate that is harsher for the victims (women) than for the perpetrators (men). Although women are innocent victims in Shevchenko's world, it is their fate ("taka ii dolia") to pay for the sins of others through their transformation into monsterhood, and through banishment to life in hell.⁷

Ukrainka's "The Water-Nymph," despite similarities in style to Shevchenko's "The Water-Nymph" and "The Bewitched Woman," differs significantly from these poems in its interpretation of the image of a nymph. Whereas Shevchenko's Prychynna is fated to drown and become a nymph out of guilt and shame as submissive punishment for her sin, Ukrainka's Ksenia becomes a nymph as an escape from reality. Her new demonic life frees her from the pettiness of society and the treachery of love which oppresses her in the real world.

For the heroine of *The Forest Song*, Ukrainka chose a forest-nymph rather than the much more popular (both in folklore and in literature) water-nymph. Mavka, however, shows few of the properties associated with forest-nymphs in folklore. She is of a serious disposition and shows little tolerance for the frolics and games of her demonic friends. Mavka's is not a world of guilt and evil, but rather one of innocence. Neither is Mavka the folkloric trickster and seducer. In contravention of the belief that nymphs seduce young men and then kill them as a form of revenge, it is Mavka who is awakened and "seduced" by the music of Lukash.

Lukash's seduction of Mavka ironically mirrors the folkloric deceit of her prey by a nymph. He appears in the guise of an artist, his beautiful playing of the flute awakening Mavka from a long winter's sleep. Through the phallic symbol of a flute, Lukash begins a symbolic rape of Mavka, as Mavka tells him, "How sweetly it plays, how deeply it cuts, cuts open my white breasts, and takes my heart out!"⁸ Lukash's role reversal with the forest-nymph continues when he tells her, "I will kiss you to death!"⁹ In the final scene of *The Forest Song*, Lukash, feeling guilty because he has destroyed Mavka, expects her to play out her revenge upon him: "You have come as a vampire, to drink my blood? Drink it! Drink it! Live through my blood! So it should be, because I have destroyed you. . . ."¹⁰ Mavka answers by telling Lukash, "No, my dear, you gave me a soul, as a sharp knife gives the willow branch a voice."¹¹ Lukash has misunderstood Mavka from beginning to end. Despite the warnings of his wise uncle Lev, he has entered into the magical world of the forest expecting trickery and deceit, only to find innocence and beauty, which he neither recognizes nor understands.

As the exemplar of innocence, Mavka appears in contradiction to the monster image of the nymph in literature and folklore. Her

innocence separates her both from the concept of the sinful Eve and from the hellish and guilt-ridden world of Shevchenko's unfortunates.¹² Unlike the nymphs who are condemned to a monstrous existence as far away from the existence of love as is possible, Mavka, like all of Ukrainka's heroines, is a seeker of love. By endowing Mavka with the power to love, Ukrainka transforms a monstrous image into one of beauty. Conversely, Lukash is symbolically introduced to the suffering that has been reserved for the female by his transformation into a werewolf. Hence, the male is sent to hell in *The Forest Song* to experience the state of helplessness that has hitherto been reserved for the female double victim.

Ukrainka destroys the inhibitive folkloric and Romantic image of the monstrous nymph at the same time as she rejects the patriarchal Romantic cult of the poet as male-genius. Lukash, despite his ability to play beautiful music, is neither a poet nor a seeker. He is an average, even pitiful, man trapped in the quagmire of life's pettiness. His tragedy is that he is unable to appreciate his gift and therefore does not understand how his music has awakened the important emotion of love in Mavka, an emotion she never knew she had. Mavka pleads with Lukash to recognize the beauty within his soul: "Don't disdain the essence of your gift, because it has caused our love to flower! Your gift is a flower more magical than the flower of a fern—it *creates* treasures"¹³ Realizing that Lukash cannot understand the profundity of his gift, Mavka tells him: "I am sad that the way in which you live is beneath you."¹⁴

As a parody of the Romantic hero, Lukash represents Ukrainka's refutation of her understanding of the highest development of this type, the Nietzschean superman.¹⁵ Her deflation of the Romantic hero who exercises power over nature is especially striking when Lukash is compared with Heinrich, the strongly Nietzschean hero of Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke*. In his study of the two plays, Walter Smyrniw finds that the main difference between them is in Ukrainka's development of "a strong antithesis to the Nietzschean superman philosophy," and he concludes, "From this it follows that *Lisova pisnia* is not a thematic variation, but a thematic inversion of Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke*."¹⁶

That Ukrainka would choose Hauptmann's play as the focal point on which to base her anti-Nietzschean position is significant. In the German play, Heinrich is inspired to strive for greatness in order to become a superman through his involvement with the nymph Rautendein. He thus assumes the traditional patriarchal role as the superior artist inspired to greatness by a female muse. "If the Romantics assumed the poet to be a mental 'hero,'" writes Joanne Fieht-Diehl, ". . . then the role of the woman was to wait, to taunt the poet with visions of bliss . . . possibly to lead him beyond the confines of the human. . . ."¹⁷ In *Lisova*

pisnia, it is Lukash, however, who becomes Mavka's muse and who inspires her to embark upon a search, and it is Mavka's tragedy that consequently unravels, not Lukash's.

Although Mavka and Lukash trade positions with Heinrich and Rautendelein, Mavka is not a female equivalent of a male superman. The crucial difference between Mavka and Heinrich lies in the differing purposes of each one's search. By leaving his wife and the lowlands, and through Rautendelein's inspiration ascending the mountain to a higher plateau, Heinrich symbolically strives to reach a higher realm than the earth-bound trivial one he leaves behind. Although Mavka is tempted by the character called "He Who Sits In a Rock" to ascend to a higher plateau and achieve serenity through the "ability to forget," she ultimately rejects "His" sanctuary. Mavka's, unlike Heinrich's, is not a solipsistic, vertical search for ascendancy. It is, like that of other Ukrainka heroines, a search for love. It is a process that, as Lisovyk reminds her, rather than raising her higher, instead humbles the once-proud Mavka: "You have forsaken the heights and tumbled low, into petty paths. Whom do you resemble? A servant-girl, a hireling. . . . Remember what you were like that night when you fell in love: you were like a forest queen . . . to whom fortune extended its hands and brought you gifts!"¹⁸

Clearly, such a fundamental difference in philosophy as is evident between *Die versunkene Glocke* and *Lisova pisnia* indicates that, despite its close similarities in form, Ukrainka's play cannot be considered an adaptation of the German play. In addition, Ukrainka's refutation of Hauptmann's Nietzscheanism suggests that in choosing to partly model herself on Hauptmann, Ukrainka was not motivated solely by her admiration for his *Märchendrama*, but also by a need to polemize with it.

As a searcher, Mavka embarks upon a voyage that takes her from innocence to experience and knowledge, her quest becoming that of a *Bildungsroman* protagonist. Lukash's music intrudes upon Mavka's world of innocence. Hearing it, Mavka realizes that, despite her happiness and the harmony that exists in her life, she has been missing something. Experiencing feelings of love for the first time, Mavka realizes the void within herself and expresses it as a longing for a soul. Mavka, resembling Adam rather than Eve, bites the fruit of knowledge and becomes a seeker. By opening herself to experience Lukash's art, Mavka is inspired to allow her love to grow for him despite his mortal and therefore incompatible nature, a tragic love that eventually causes her death.

In embarking upon her adventure, Mavka does not "betray" herself as Lisovyk, her inhibitive advisor, claims.¹⁹ Through her realization of the existence of art and love, Mavka loses her innocence and cannot retreat into her past state. She embarks upon her quest believing in the Romantic notion of the transforming powers of love and art. Like other

Ukrainka heroines, Mavka soon finds that the fall from innocence to knowledge is a journey of tremendous cost. Ultimately, however, she does not regret her decision. Although disappointed, she is not disillusioned. That woman, like man, can initiate a journey of discovery, can suffer the tragedy of a great fall as the result of that journey, and can emerge wiser at the end of her ordeal is a major development in the evolution of the heroine in Ukrainian literature. Ukrainka's Mavka represents more than just a major transformation of an important folkloric figure.²⁰ Her character constitutes a redefinition of an important inhibitive patriarchal myth about women that had been strongly perpetuated in Romantic literature.

In conjunction with her demystification of the female monster, Ukrainka confronts another folkloric stereotype, that of family life in the Ukrainian village. The failure of the family unit in *Lisova pisnia* continues the pattern set in *Blakytna troianda* (The Azure Rose). As in *Blakytna troianda*, so here the breakdown of the family unit is most vividly expressed through a lack of father-figures. There is no mention of Lukash's father. Uncle Lev and Lukash are both childless. Nor are there effective father-figures in the world of the demons. The play's opening scene portrays two *poterchata*, who sing: "Poor is our home, because we don't have a father"²¹ Mavka, who calls a willow tree her "mother," considers no one or no thing her father. The two father-like figures among the demons, Lisovyk and Vodianyk (the forest-demon and water-demon, respectively), act as limiting patriarchs toward their charges, Rusalka and Mavka.

In the absence of a patrilineal order, no matrilineal order fills the void. Lukash's mother and Kylyna appear as caricatures of the image of the virtuous woman in Ukrainian folklore and literature. Both are scheming, petty, and evil. Kylyna, although a Shevchenkian victim of circumstance, has nothing in common with his heroine of the Kateryna type. Instead, she becomes a monster image, thus trading places with Mavka, the traditional monster who in this play is the paragon of virtue. Kylyna's base, coquettish game to seduce Lukash parallels the trickery traditionally reserved for nymphs in the stalking of their prey. Conversely, Mavka's initial meeting with Lukash is pure and devoid of any of the hypocrisy practised by Kylyna in her sexual mating ritual. Lev, the play's *raisonneur*, defends Mavka when Lukash's mother terms her a witch: "Where are the witches in the forest? It is in the village where witches are found"²²

Kylyna's and Mavka's reversal of roles is made complete when Mavka, in her attempt to adapt to Lukash's world, dresses herself in an embroidered costume. Even Lukash notices the incongruity of the once-proud Mavka, now symbolically restrained, and laughs: "Really, it's kind of funny. . . . Dressed so ordinarily, but she speaks to me, as though preaching on a holy day!"²³ For the embroidered shirt—the

symbol of virtue in peasant dress—to be considered a confining uniform is a shocking turn. Ukrainka's deflation of the idealized virtuous peasant-woman of the Ukrainian village completes her attack on the polarity of the Romantic images of Ukrainian women as monsters or suffering angels.

The breakdown of the family unit in *Lisova pisnia* does not take place for traditional reasons. The absence of a normal functioning family unit in Shevchenko's poetry, finds George Grabowicz, gives rise to a dysfunctional society: "The family is crippled and shows in microcosm a crippled and abnormal society. Its dysfunction is dramatically presented in terms of 'crimes against nature' and illegitimacy."²⁴ Among the "crimes against nature" within the Shevchenkian family are frequent occurrences of incest and murder. Victims of these crimes, *pokrytky* (unwed mothers), their bastard-orphan children, and nymphs symbolize the tragic cost of the breakdown of the family unit. Full Shevchenkian happiness can be achieved only within a harmoniously functioning family, as Volodymyr Ianiv finds in his study of the family in Shevchenko's work.²⁵

Ukrainka shows little of Shevchenko's lament and desire for the family as the necessity for a normal state of affairs. Although the family unit in *Lisova pisnia* does not function properly, and its victims include Lukash, his mother, his son, and Kylyna, Mavka does not suffer because of its dysfunction. In Ukrainka's world, the family is not as essential for happiness as it is in Shevchenko's world.

Apart from her confrontation of the Romantic use of folklore, Ukrainka addresses the Romantic concern for the individual's (poet's) relation to nature. The temptation exists to regard Ukrainka's portrayal of "living nature" in *Lisova pisnia* as a typical neo-Romantic remanifestation of the Romantic belief that nature is a "dynamic, organic character with an ever-changing life of its own, as varied in mood as man himself."²⁶ Such is the view of Viktor Petrov, who writes: "Lesia Ukrainka through Mavka . . . paints nature in *Lisova pisnia* as a live person. . . . taking her example from the Romantics who viewed nature as a living and organic entity" ²⁷ "Nature and its life are beautiful, but man has stood apart from nature, made his own laws in his own world—a boring, impoverished, and unimaginative world": such is Mykola Zerov's interpretation of Ukrainka's understanding of the place of nature in the play.²⁸

The Romantics interpreted nature as a mysterious and hidden force. They believed, writes Čyževs'kyj, that nature was a life force that was "mysterious, hidden, unknowable. . . . 'the night side of life.' "²⁹ "The conception of a *living* nature that was seen as organically related, particularly to the poet, was a general one, for it is literature that stands closest to nature's creative powers too. Nevertheless, nature is also a force hostile and destructive toward humans."³⁰ A prime example of the

volatility that Čyževs'kyj identifies in Romantic nature is found in the verbal landscapes of Shevchenko, in his howling wind and stormy sea images.

Along with the Romantic identification of the poet with nature runs a competing current of the artist as the magician with power over nature. Such is Novalis's Romantic image of Orpheus in Greek mythology, who, through beautiful songs played on his lyre, is able to awaken nature, draw it to life, and ultimately order it. Thus, although nature is considered a living creative entity in Romanticism, it must be subdued by the superior poet: "The man who reaches out to Nature to engage his basic physical and spiritual needs finds himself reaching out with the hands of the predator to possess and subdue, to make Nature serve his own needs."³¹ Simone de Beauvoir explains man's need to subdue nature as his method of confronting the superiority of the feminine principle: "Man is in revolt against the carnal state; he sees himself as a fallen god: his curse is to be fallen from a bright and ordered heaven into the chaotic shadows of his mother's womb."³² In its need to subdue nature, Romanticism is associated with the broader cross-cultural mythological stereotype that identifies nature with women: "Women . . . are typically situated on the side of irrationality, silence, nature, and body, while men are situated on the side of reason, discourse, culture, and mind."³³ Seeing both the rhythms of nature and femininity as overwhelming and irrational, man must master and subdue them.

Nature in *Lisova pisnia* is not the insanely tempestuous nature of Shevchenko. Mavka closely identifies herself with nature, regarding trees as her mother and her sisters. Although nature in the play is identified with the feminine—through Mavka and through its rhythms of birth, growth, death, and rebirth—it is a nature that is, above all, rational. The rape of the forest is represented by the cutting down of Lev's favourite ancient oak tree for financial gain.³⁴ Such a destructive act is indicative of the disharmony that civilization has brought to the world. Man's attempt to structure nature, as symbolized by the confining practices of village life in the play, contrasts with the native harmony of nature.³⁵ Ironically, the attempt to structure nature leads to irrationality and the loss of the ability to function normally. It is Lukash and Kylyna who are the victims of irrationality rather than Mavka, who in traditional folklore would be the victim imprisoned by the magical and irrational powers of nature.

Although Ukrainka retains the identification of nature with femininity, she understands the relationship as one of strength, rather than one of weakness. Nature in *Lisova pisnia* represents neither the "dark side" of humanity nor feminine irrationality and vulnerability. Instead, it is presented as a momentous force that cannot be destroyed by encroachments on it by the *Übermensch*. The oak tree may be cut down, Mavka may perish as an individual, but the eternal change of the

seasons continues in its unstoppable course, everything at the end returning to its natural order. "He [man] exploits nature, but she crushes him, he is born of her and dies in her . . . nature . . . is the supreme reality."³⁶ Mavka's most profound development in *Lisova pisnia* is her realization that she is but a small part of this much larger reality, and it is from here that she must draw her strength. Mavka, who at first wants to believe only in love as the eternal ideal, realizes that it is through her organic connection with nature that she can reach the eternal: "No! I am alive! I will always live! I have in my heart that which does not die."³⁷

Patriarchy, which has pointed to the woman's body, to woman herself, as "the other," an imperfect male, the Eve created from Adam, has done so because of its fear of the natural power of the female. Her power to give birth was controlled, and the natural rhythms of her womb were made to seem unclean and uncontrollable. It is from the womb that sprang the concepts of irrationality and madness. Man's fear of nature has led to similar attempts to control it, a control that he has been able to achieve within the perfectly structured world of literature, if not in reality. Ukrainka's demystification of the powers of nature and her association of it with harmony in life present a challenge to the Romantic conception of nature as a volatile "night side" of existence.

Ukrainka trusts her attraction to Romanticism but is not afraid to confront it. When she finds that the Romantic imagination contributes towards a confining and inhibitive image of women in literature, Ukrainka reconstructs those images. In Ukrainka's feminist Romanticism, intellectualism and passion are not the diametrically opposed solitudes that they are traditionally believed to be.

Ukrainka's redefinition of two powerful patriarchal Romantic fallacies about the inferiority of women constitutes a triumph of great magnitude for the author. Through *Lisova pisnia*, she proved to herself that she could revisit the tradition in which she was brought up and which she loved, yet one from which in many ways she felt estranged. In the process, she showed Ukrainian literature how liberating a challenge to tradition can be.

Notes

1. Lesia Ukrainka, "To Ol'ha Kosach (mother)," July 1912, letter 238, in *Zibrannia tvoriv u dvanadtsiaty tomakh*, ed. Ievhen Shabliovs'kyi, 12 vols. (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1975–1979), 12, p. 405.
2. Lilian Furst, *Romanticism* (London: Methuen, 1976), p. 58.
3. In her study of *Lisova pisnia* and Gerhardt Hauptmanns's *Die versunkene Glocke*, Mahdalyna Laslo-Kutsiuk finds that each author's unique implementation of his and her own folkloric tradition gives each play its originality. Hence, the use of folklore by both authors is not so much a mark of similarity as it is a distinguishing feature of their work. See Mahdalyna Laslo-Kutsiuk, "Lesia Ukrainka i Herhart Hauptman," in *Velyka tradytsiia: Ukrains'ka klasychna tradytsiia v porivnial'nomu vysvitlenni* (Bucharest: Kryterion, 1979), p. 253.
4. The characteristics of demonological figures that follow are based on the following sources: I. Dzendzelivs'kyi, "Leksyka demonolohii u dramy-feierii Lesi Ukrainky *Lisova pisnia*," in *Lesia Ukrainka: Publikatsii, staty, doslidzhennia*, ed. O. Zasenka (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1973), pp. 155–77; Filaret Kolessa, "Folkl'orni elementy v poezii T. Shevchenka," in *Studii nad poetychnoiu tvorchistiu T. Shevchenka* (Lviv: Ukrains'ka Mohylians'ko-Mazepyns'ka Akademiia Nauk, 1939); P. Ponomar'ov, "Fol'klorni dzherela *Lisovoi pisni* Lesi Ukrainky," in *Materialy do vyvchennia istorii ukrains'koi literatury*, ed. Oleksandr Bilets'kyi, 5 vols. (Kiev: Radians'ka shkola, 1961), 4, pp. 201–18; and Bohdan Rubchak, "Notes on the Text," in Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, trans. Marco Carynnyk (Littleton: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1981), pp. 43–75.
5. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 196.
6. See George Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).
7. Taras Shevchenko, "Prychynna," in *Tvory*, ed. Pavlo Zaitsev, 15 vols. (Chicago: Denysiuk Publishing Company, 1959), 1, p. 134.
8. Lesia Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 5, p. 219. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are the author's.
9. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 234.
10. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 292.

11. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 292.
12. That Mavka is an "anti-Miltonic" Eve and that *Lisova pisnia* can be considered an "anti-Miltonic" confrontation of *Paradise Lost* are conceivable, if perhaps farfetched, ideas. Ukrainka knew Milton's poem well and planned to write a major work on the English poet, which she started but never completed. Lesia Ukrainka, "Dzhon Mil'ton," in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 8, pp. 203–14.
13. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 249.
14. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 250.
15. Ukrainka indicated her staunch anti-Nietzscheanism in her letters and articles, as well as through such works as *Lisova pisnia* and *Kaminnyi hospodar* (The Stone Host). See Lesia Ukrainka, "To Ol'ha Kobylans'ka," May 20, 1899, letter 69, in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 2, p. 111, and "Dva napravleniia v noveishei ital'ianskoi literature (Ada Negri i d'Annuntsio)," in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 8, p. 44.
16. Walter Smyrniw, "Man and Superman in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke* and Lesia Ukrainka's *Lisova pisnia*," *Germano-Slavica* 4, no. 2 (1982):69.
17. Joanne Fieht-Diehl, *Dickinson and the Romantic Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 21.
18. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 265.
19. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 264.
20. See, for instance, the articles of Dzendzelivs'kyi and Ponomar'ov, who, although they strongly argue that Mavka is unlike her folkloric and literary prototypes, do not raise the argument beyond the realm of a folkloric discussion.
21. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 203. *Poterchata*, like nymphs, are the spirits of unchristened children.
22. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 246.
23. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 250.
24. Grabowicz, p. 64.
25. Volodymyr Ianiv, "Ukrains'ka rodyna v poetychnii tvorchosti Tarasa Shevchenka," in *Taras Shevchenko: Zbirnyk dopovidei Svitovoho kongresu ukrains'koi vil'noi nauky dlia vshanuvannia smerty patrona NTSH*, ed. V. Stetsiuk and V. Kravtsiv (New York: Naukove Товариство Ім. Шевченка, 1962), p. 179.
26. This is Furst's description of nature as it appears in the early Romantics, such as Thomson and Rousseau (Furst, pp. 32–33).
27. Victor Petrov, "*Lisova pisnia*," in Lesia Ukrainka, *Tvory*, ed. Borys Iakubs'kyi, 12 vols. (Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927–1930), 8, p. 158.
28. Mykola Zerov, *Do dzherel: Istorychno-literaturni ta krytychni staty* (Krakow: Ukrains'ke Vydavnytstvo, 1943), p. 182.
29. Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century*, trans. Dolly Ferguson, Doreen Gorsline, and Ulana Petyk, ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Littleton: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1975), pp. 439–41.
30. Dmitrij Čiževs'kij, *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, trans. Richard Noel Porter and Martin P. Price, ed. Serge A. Zenkovsky (Baltimore: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), p. 143.
31. Albert Gelpi, "Emily Dickinson and the Deerslayer: The Dilemma of the Woman Poet in America," in *Shakespeare's Sisters: Feminist Essays on Women Poets*, ed. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), p. 125.

32. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Knopf, 1953), p. 146.
33. Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York: Penguin, 1987), pp. 3–4.
34. The forest may be seen as a symbol of virginal territory. See de Beauvoir, p. 154.
35. For a conservationist interpretation of nature in Ukrainka's play, see V. Ianiv, "Le problème de la famille Ukrainienne à travers le *Chant de la forêt* de Lessia Oukrainka et les *Ombres des ancêtres oubliés* de Mychailo Kotsioubyns'kyi," in *Actes du colloque Lessia Ukrainka* (Paris: Université Ukrainienne Libre, 1983), p. 76.
36. de Beauvoir, p. 144.
37. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia*, p. 269.

Доля *Мини Мазайла* (до 100-річчя народження
Леся Кūrбаса)

Вісімнадцятого квітня 1929 року Леся Кūrбас дав свою нову прем'єру, комедію Миколи Кūліша *Мина Мазайло* в сценографії Вадима Меллера та з музикою Юлія Мейтуса. Їй не судилося жити довго на сцені. Всупереч, скажімо, відгук, де названо цю комедію Кūліша "надзвичайною краси річчю"¹ (Остап Вишня в *Літературному ярмарку*, ч. 6 за 1929 р.), офіційний партійний критик того часу Микола Новицький (псевдонім Іона Вочревосущий) у спеціальній брошурі *На ярмарку*² визначив її "зоологічно-націоналістичною, міщансько-шовіністичною пропагандою, антипартійним фальсифікатом." На боці його стала вся центрально-русифікаторська та партійно-бюрократична машина КПБҮ. Ці антиукраїнські сили не могли потерпіти довго на сцені проти них спрямовану сатиру. І в 1931 році вона зникла зі сцени Березіля...

Від того часу ім'я цієї вистави Леся Кūrбаса замовчано в офіційних джерелах... Так, нема згадки про *Мину Мазайла* в біографіях Кūrбаса, ані в першому накладі Української Радянської Енциклопедії 1962 року,³ ані в спеціальній Театральній Енциклопедії 1964 року,⁴ ані в першому виданні Українського Радянського Енциклопедичного Словника 1967 року,⁵ ані в другому накладі Української Радянської Енциклопедії 1981 року (т. 6, ст. 22)⁶ ані в другому накладі Українського Радянського Енциклопедичного Словника 1987 року.⁷ Більш пощастило так само критикованій другій виставі Кūrбаса п'єси Кūліша *Народний Малахій*. Принаймі, текст цієї драми перевидано (хоч і російською мовою).⁸ *Мина Мазайло* і того не мав. Над цією комедією висіло постійно партійне "табу," і лише з проголошенням "гласности" її обережно почали згадувати.

Задум комедії сам Кūліш схарактеризував як тему про міщанство та українізацію. В ній прагнув зрозуміти, як відбиваються в побуті міщанства важливі події суспільного життя того часу. В зв'язку з цим постав і сюжет комедії, що багатьом здавався як анекдот про службовця, що мешкав на Н-ській вулиці Холодної гори

в Харкові і який вирішив змінити своє прізвище на Мазєнін та брався за вивчення літературної російської мови. Проте, за такою анекдотичною ситуацією Куліш ставив проблему значно ширше: про ворожість міщанства до українізації, що, будучи саме українським з походження, було пройняте протягом багатьох років тупим презирством до української культури, як до нижчої, меншвартісної, "мужичої."

Центром конфлікту *Мини Мазайла* Куліша стояла дискусія про зміни прізвища, в якій взяли участь усі дійові особи комедії. Малорос Мина Мазайло знаходить цілковиту підтримку у своїй дружини й доньки Рини. Сильну підтримку йому дає російська шовіністка Тьотя Мотя Розторгуєва, що прибула з Курська, принцип якої—"краще бути згвалтованою, аніж зукраїнізованою."⁹ Їй протиставлений український націоналіст Дядько Тарас та однобоко закоханий в українську мову син Мини Мокій. Ансамбль доповнюють зрусифікована міщаночка Їля, російська аристократка Баронова-Козино та троє схематично окреслених комсомольців.

Над самою комедією Куліш працював від квітня 1928 року. В записнику його від 3 до 9 квітня нотатка говорить про його подорож з Лесем Курбасом до Ленінграду через Москву, про нові образи для п'єси *Мамаї* та нові образи для *Мини Мазайла*.¹⁰ (4-го червня він повторює: "Нові образи для *Мамаїв*."¹¹ 7-го липня, під час перебування в Одесі, занотовує: "Нові образи й компонівка Зизанія Мазайла (*Мини Мазайла*)."¹² Повернувшись до Харкова 8-го серпня, записує, що "читає й студіює Мольєра,"¹³ 28-го серпня пише про "нові образи до *Мини Мазайла*"¹⁴ і, нарешті, 3-го вересня: "Компонування *Мини Мазайла*. Читання й студіювання Мольєра."¹⁵ Саме вплив Мольєра й привернув увагу рецензентів *Мини Мазайла*. Відомий український театрознавець Петро Рудін писав, що "ситуаційність п'єси, підкреслений, а втім позбавлений всякого шаржування типаж, нарешті й добірна словесна форма—все це дозволяє говорити про певний і дуже щасливий вплив Мольєрівської комедії."¹⁶

На появу окремих характерів (зокрема, Тьоті Моті) поза всяким сумнівом, вплинула на Куліша драма російського драматурга Михайла Бєлґакова *Дні Турбіних*; перероблена ним з роману *Біла гвардія*, яку Куліш міг бачити в Московському Мистецькому Театрі, подорожуючи до Москви з Лесем Курбасом. Антиукраїнське спрямування Бєлґакова було настільки сильне в *Днях Турбіних*, що стимулювало Куліша до відповіді. Антиукраїнізм Бєлґакова був настільки сильний, що це відчували навіть такі особи, як нарком освіти РСФСР Анатолій Луначарський, що відзначив "розлюченість," з якою Бєлґаков малював петлюрівців.¹⁷ Про це також писав відомий російський письменник Вікентій Вересаєв в листі до Бєлґакова, а російський драматург Володимир Кіршон побачив в драмі Бєлґакова глузування російського шовініста над українцями.¹⁸

На початку 1929 року Күрбас оголосив виставу *Мини Мазайла* в репертуарі Березоля під його режисурою. Перед прем'єрою *Мини Мазайла* Күрбас схарактеризував Күліша як драматурга, що росте на очах. "Ми не помилимось,—сказав він,—якщо відведемо йому перше місце серед сучасних драматургів не тільки України, але й всього Союзу."¹⁹ Він вважав, що *Мина Мазайло* серед п'єс репертуару радянських драматургів "яскраво визначається своєю волею до форми, цебто, автор прагне в ній утворити міцну, сконденсовану форму нової радянської комедії."²⁰

Однак, комедія Күліша—одне, а вистава *Мина Мазайло*—абсолютно інше. І рецензенти на виставу відразу спостерегли розходження між п'єсою й виставою. Режисер повернув матеріял комедії Күліша у потрібний йому бік. "Күрбас прагнув до утворення романтичної комедії,"—писав критик Семен Гец,—"тим часом як Күліш дав матеріял лише для побутової сатири."²¹ Другий критик писав, що "вистава в цілому цікава, здебільшого своєю оригінальною сценічною формою, і являє собою досвід подолання літературного матеріялу високою і поглибленою майстерністю театру."²²

Найбільш детально в справі самої вистави Күрбаса висловився Шевченко який сказав, що

кожна нова Күрбасова робота—це вперте, пройняте глибокою культурою і таким самим глибоким прозиранням у природу театру, шукання й відкриття особливо місткої форми. Режисер майже завжди іде далі від автора п'єси. Так склалося і з *Миною Мазайлом*, і там, де автор натякає—у режисера повне слово; коли у автора побут—режисер бере автора, веде його на гору й показує йому широкі обрії символістичної романтики, соціального символу. Автор ніби бавиться словом і неекономно заливає ним усю сцену—режисер (через майстерне оброблення авторське) показує способи точної композиції. Побутову повною мірою п'єсу він подав, як романтичну комедію, але винувати за це режисера ми ніяк не наважилися б. Коли вище ми сказали, що т. Күліш змагається за перебудування форм і жанрів традиційної драматургії, то перспективи в такій роботі йому, як і кожному акторові, може допомогти знайти режисер, що працює за методами аналогічними до Күрбасівських.²³

Цей критик констатував далі, що Күрбас робив з *Мини Мазайла* сильну виставу, що її розмах і значення переростали рамки просто чергової прем'єри. Настановлення на романтичне трактування п'єси призводило до того, що кожен з персонажів виростав у велетенську постать, хоч вона сама виросла з реальності, але являла собою вже такий великий зміст, що тут бачиш багато більше, ніж у "реальності." В сатирі людина все-таки лишається людиною; карикатура—це тільки перебільшення негативних рис. *Мина Мазайло* в

інтерпретації—це щось більше за карикатуру, вище за сатиру,—це виявлення далеке від "життя," від реальності що тут просто неможливо уявити собі якусь обстанову.²⁴

Курбас, властиво, підтягав комедію Куліша до гротеску, де образи були загострені й піднесені до значення вселюдських символів.

Весь цей звіринець подається на кону так,—писав Й. Шевченко,—що в кожному з них бачиш уже більше, ніж звичайну, реальну людину. Особливими засобами акторської гри й декоративного оформлення, всією будовою спектаклю театр надзвичайно поглиблює, загострює типи і тим побільшує їхнє художнє й суспільне значіння. Все тут взято у великих дозах, мистецькими засобами доведено до перебільшення й глибокого загострення.²⁵

У самій виставі Курбас з надзвичайно пильною увагою фіксував інтонації і кожен жест, що ставав дійсно перетвореним, тобто, набував символічного виразу. Працюючи тісно з Курбасом, сценограф вистави Вадим Меллер прямував також до узагальнення. З двох боків сцени були встановлені великі трюмо, а посередині—чотири ширми, що схилялися до ромбічної форми. Стіл, канапа й м'які стільці становили усе умеблювання помешкання Мيني Мазайла. Над усім простором сцени, схоплені еліпсом, пересікалися ряд жердин, ніби символізуючи своїми перетинами дискусії дійових осіб підчас зміни прізвища. В. Меллер саме в тому умовному сплетінні жердин угорі й вирішував основну ідею своєї конструкції, а сцена лишалася майже голою. І тому увага глядача концентрувалася на майстерності акторів, в ній режисер бачив найважливіше у виставі.

Сама вистава Курбаса мала бездоганний ансамбль. Це, в першу чергу, стосувалося чотирьох головних дійових осіб—Мини (Йосип Гірняк), Дядька Тараса (Маріян Крушельницький), Тьоті Моті (Наталя Ужвій), Мокія (Олександр Сердюк). Їх активно підтримували Рина (Надія Титаренко), Уля (Олександра Даценко), Мазайлиха (Наталя Пилипенко), Баронова-Козино (Ганна Бабіївна). В епізодичних ролях комсомольців виступали Федір Гладков, Аркадій Шутенко та Роман Черкашин. Про Й. Гірняка-Мазайла писав Петро Рудін:

Гірняк—виключний майстер мізансцени, він уміє знайти такі лінії рухання, вміє так добрати потрібні для своєї гри речі, щоб глядач дістав максимальне враження. З таких моментів треба відзначити оповідання Мيني про свої відвідини загсу, добре розподілене на три частини маніпуляціями з галошами, що він їх в захопленні забув скинути. Так само шедевр акторської сцени, коли, залишивсь на

самоті, Мазайло вітає сам себе перед дзеркалами, репетуючи сцени свого майбутнього щастя.²⁶

Той же Рґлїн аналізував і другий образ комедії, Дядька Тараса у виконанні Крушельницького:

Актор подав цього типа відмінним від Гірняка способами; старанним опрацюванням Крушельницький досяг максимальної зосередженості над дрібними деталями, що виявилися далі у всій поведінці актора на сцені. Широкі штани, короткий зріст, широкі кроки—все це створювало враження якоїсь безпорадності, кволої нікчемності поруч з максимальною роздратованістю. Особливі загостреності досягли сцени, де Дядько Тарас готується виступати на родинній дискусії, розкладаючи свої зшиточки та папірці й довго вишукуючи в них потрібні назви; варт згадати також сцену, коли Дядько Тарас малпуге Тьотю Мотю виявляючи максимум злості проти неї, а все ж таки підкорюючись їй на дискусії.²⁷

Відносно ролі Тьоті Моті у виконанні Наталі Үжвій, то Курбас надав цьому образу "риси хитрості, елементи загарбного, пожадливого характеру, що добре характеризують її великодержавність з несподівано швидкими, гострими поворотами."²⁸ Свідки її виконання зазначали безмежну нахабність і самовпевненість цього яскравого представника заскоруглої українофобії, якій слово "Україна" не переходило через горло, якій вічно вважалися не українці, а лише "мужики-хохли." Үжвій так передавала різnorodними інтонаціями різні передбачення в суспільному житті України, що вони викликали нестримний регіт глядача. В таких випадках її Мотя вживала для цього, за браком доброї аргументації, лише свою надзвичайну впертість і беззмістовні фрази. Для прикладу: "Та цього не може бути, тому що цього не може бути ніколи."²⁹

В образі молодого Мокія, сина Мيني (актор Олександр Сердюк) Курбас передав його почуття до широти й чарівності української мови. Свідки вистави зазначили, що це був образ широкого юнака 20-ох років, закоханого в неї, в твори Тичини та Хвильового. У Мокія в виконанні Сердюка не було того, щоб твердити, що він буде активним в комсомолі, а натомість гостріше були підкреслені погляди його супроти вузько-шовіністичної ментальності, як і вузьколобого Дядька Тараса, так і дурноверхої Тьоті Моті (якій він час від часу підчас дискусії посилав іронічні посмішки на її теревені), а свого батька з сарказмом називав "Валуєвським асистентом."³⁰ Сердюк, згідно свідків, мав успіх в цій ролі, хоч він ніде не зазначає, що грав її.

Три дні по виставі *Мини Мазайло* в Березолі показав її і Київський Театр ім. Франка. Авторів цього нарису пощастило

бачити її на сцені. Вона мала величезний успіх, а серед учнів профшколи (хоч би й на курсі автора) відразу деякі жартівливо окреслили співкурсників Миною, Дядьком Тарасом, Тьотею Мотею та Мокієм. Звичайно, сама вистава була відмінною від вистави Кірбаса в Березолі. "Постановник п'єси Гнат Юра,—писав Йона Шевченко,—ніколи не веде автора, здебільшого він сам іде за ним. Коли Березіль захотів тут більше за автора, то Театр Франка дає рівно стільки, скільки сам може взяти в нього, хоч і з певним відхиленням від автора. Коли у Березолі всю п'єсу й центральні персонажі піднято на котурни театралізації—збільшено в багато разів, як скульптурну постать на великому майдані, то в Театрі ім. Франка *Мина Мазайло*—комедія про міщан і про оте шовіністичне біговисько, комедія про маленькі інтереси і дріб'язкові сварки дрібненьких людей, яких тут показано в "натуральну" величину. І в цьому факті, між іншим, лежить причина того, що, як відзначала вже критика, комедія в інтерпретації франківців політично стала яснішою. *Мина Мазайло* у франківців стає просто не таким дражливим, як у Березолі. Березіль показує шовіністичну гризню, як дуже активне темпераментне змагання, як війну двох таборів—він відтворює гострі ікла націоналізму—тому в Березолі *Мина Мазайло* збурює, він нагадує про те, що це не така вже безпечна річ, з якої можна тільки пореготати—він гостро заражає. Навіть неначе з музею витягнена Баронова-Козино в Березолі—колюча й зубата. Навпаки, франківський *Мазайло*—легка іронічна насмішка над ніби випадковим збіговиськом, над дрібними, такими обмеженими людьми, тому й Баронова-Козино тут тільки нікчемна маленька "приживалка," незначна, малопомітна постать."³¹

Вистава *Мина Мазайла* пішла відразу і в інших театрах. Дніпропетровський Театр ім. Шевченка навіть показав її на місяць раніше від вистави Березоля, а місцева преса писала тоді, що "приміщення театру довго не бачило в себе такого захоплення, здорового, бадьорого сміху."³² Театр (режисер Дмитро Ровинський) розглядав твір Куліша, як сатиричну комедію міщанського животіння... Цього ж року *Мина Мазайло* виставлявся в Одеській Держдрамі (режисер Михайло Тинський поставив її, як виставу машкар). Цей театр виставляв *Мину Мазайла* на гастрольях у Миколаєві, а деякі актори цієї вистави 1930 року брали участь в ній на сцені пересувного Вінницького театру СОЗ під режисурою Івана Терентьєва. *Мина Мазайло* виставлявся в Ленінграді 1930 року (режисер М. Михайловський) на сцені Молодого українського театру, що працював, як пересувний театр спілки "Робмис." Ураховуючи у п'єсі Куліша госте викриття великодержавного шовінізму, режисер пішов на компроміс з глядачем і подав виставу, як майже водевільний твір. Комедія Куліша привернула й увагу відомого українського актора, режисера й короткочасного члена

Березоля Володимира Блавацького. Він виставив *Мину Мазайло* на сцені Театру ім. Тобілевича 1930 року і зазначав, що "театр намагається дати виставу, в якій реальність не буде метою постановки, а засобом для досягнення повного ефекту,"³³ а саме—виступом проти русифікації України.

Закінчуючи свою знану статтю "Ножиці в театрі" (що була присвячена *Мині Мазайлу*), в фінальній частині критик Йона Шевченко стверджував, що вистава цього твору Куліша в Березолі—це вистава "значних негативних характерів нашої доби—це спектакль, що одкриває в театральній формі і, зокрема, в засобах акторської гри, змістовні й широкі перспективи."³⁴ Перспективність *Мини Мазайла* вже стала цілковито очевидною, коли п'єса була виставлена в щойно згадуваному Театрі ім. Тобілевича під польською окупацією. Це був лише початок. В роки Другої Світової війни, під німецькою окупацією, вона йшла у Києві та Львові (в останньому випадку—в режисурі березільця Й. Гірняка, а він сам з другим членом Березоля, Олімпією Добровольською, грали ролі Мيني та Баронової-Козино). В часах війни п'єса з'явилася у Празі (там перед постановкою її на сцені 1940 року видавництво "Колос" навіть видрукувало текст *Мини Мазайла*), а назовну роль у виставі грав знаний український актор Роман Кирчів. Ансамбль Українських Акторів під керівництвом Блавацького виставив *Мину Мазайла* в Німеччині в його режисурі. Український Театр в Америці виставив *Мину Мазайла* з Й. Гірняком у названій ролі і в режисурі О. Добровольської. До *Мини Мазайла* звернувся й Театр "Заграва" в Канаді, виставивши її в режисурі Юрія Бельського, де він грав і назовну роль.

Похід комедії Куліша воїстині величний. Він приніс ряд цінних режисерських вирішень, проте першість залишалося за режисурою Курбаса. Як згадувалося на початку, *Мину Мазайла* почали згадувати в УРСР з проголошенням "гласности" і часопис *Культура і життя* від 13 грудня 1987 року навіть видрукував один акт її. Передбачаючи, що "табу" знято з комедії, головний режисер Київського Молодіжного Театру Лесь Танюк, учень М. Крушельницького, вирішив поставити її. Вона мала бути показана прем'єрою на гастроліях Київського Молодіжного Театру у Львові. Проте, начальник Міської Ради Микола Безверхий наказом від 18 лютого 1988 року відмінив гастролі до Львова з прем'єрою *Мини Мазайла*.

На знамениту комедію впало знову партійне "табу." Адже ж і комедія, і вистава йдуть врозріз з наполегливою русифікацією. В образі галасливої Тьоті Моті (вже не з Курська, а з Москви), що з нахабністю й самовдоволенням паплюжить надбання великої української культури, партійні начальники побачили самих себе. Це дякуючи їх політиці плодяться численні Мазайли-Мазайніни, що міняють свої українські прізвища на російські, як, наприклад, у

випадку народного артиста УРСР Анатолія Решетченка, що змінив своє прізвище на Решетнікова "для благозвучия" і для більш успішної кар'єри в провінційнім Київському Театрі Радянської Драми. Але такі зміни мають місце і серед членів вищої партійної ієрархії. Як згадує у своїх спогадах покійний генерал Петро Григоренко, що зустрівся з наркомом оборони і членом Політбюро ЦК ВКП (б) Климентієм Ворошиловим та виявив, що справжнє прізвище того було Ворошило.³⁵

Вистава *Мини Мазайла* перейшла через Європу на американський континент. Це сталося не тільки тому, що її частково поновили березільці Й. Гірняк і О. Добровольська. *Мина Мазайло* виявився актуальним в проблемі пристосування і на американському континенті, де люди з комплексом української меншовартости численно приймали "для благозвучия" англомовні прізвища, трансформуючись з "Герасимів" в "Гаррісів," чи навіть з "Ковалів" на "Смітів." Запам'ятався вислів одного визначного українського діяча з Торонто, що, продивившись виставу *Мини Мазайло* у виконанні акторів Українського Театру в Америці, сказав: "В Канаді ми мали безліч таких випадків."

Твір *Мина Мазайло* Купіша названо в деяких джерелах "філософською п'єсою."³⁶ В цьому відношенні вона дійсно має великі досягнення, показуючи чарівність і надзвичайне багатство української мови. В сучасний момент, коли "по тому боці" українські письменники апелюють до широкого застосування її і пишуть статті про заневищення української сценічної мови, ця комедія Купіша робиться навіть певним символом на захист її. "Табу" ж над *Миною Мазайлом* на сьогоднішній день показує яскраво, що проклямована "гласність" лишається лише бутафорією.³⁷ Створена генієм Купіша, підсилена його творчими контактами з генієм Курбаса, *Мина Мазайло* увіходить до вічно живих перлин української драматургії. Студії над нею будуть продовжуватися і в майбутньому.

Примітки

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The Short Stories of Ievhen Hutsalo

Western readers who work their way through Ievhen Hutsalo's short stories in chronological sequence have every right to be puzzled, for, to speak in the convenient phrases of subjective judgement, the early collections are excellent, while the later stories, although written by an author with substantial experience, are mediocre and at times embarrassingly incompetent. The aesthetic accomplishment of the early stories makes them worthy of description and interpretation for their own sake. This, indeed, is a major purpose of this essay. But Hutsalo's decline as a writer of short stories—a development, paradoxically, that ran parallel to the growth of his fame—is a phenomenon of perhaps even greater interest. It is a secondary aim of this study, therefore, to seek an understanding of Hutsalo's regression within the context of the cultural situation in Ukraine from the 1960s to the early 1980s.

Ievhen Hutsalo is one of the most prolific and widely acclaimed Soviet Ukrainian writers, although Soviet critical opinion is not unanimous in its approval of him.¹ Born in 1937 near Vinnytsia, Hutsalo began writing in the early 1960s. With such writers as Hryhir Tiutiunyk, Volodymyr Drozd, and Valerii Shevchuk, he was hailed by Soviet critics as introducing a new spirit into Ukrainian prose. This view was subsequently canonized by the *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature), the relevant eighth volume of which was published in 1971.² Émigré criticism was no less favourable: Ivan Koshelivets' included three of Hutsalo's stories in the *Panorama nainovishoi literatury v URSS* (Panorama of the Most Recent Literature in the Ukrainian S.S.R.), an anthology of those works of the post-Stalin thaw that were most likely to appeal to the sensibilities of a Western reader. Hutsalo was named by Koshelivets' as one of the writers determined to "modernize our literature" and rescue it from the backwardness that Stalinism had inflicted upon it.³

Since 1962, when *Liudy sered liudei* (People Among People) was published, Hutsalo has produced a new collection of stories every year

or every second year;⁴ some of these have been classified as books for children and published by such houses as "Veselka," which specializes in children's literature, or the Komsomol's "Molod'." It would be wrong, however, to regard them as children's literature in any sense other than that they have children as their main characters. The early "children's" stories are among Hutsalo's best-contrived and most aesthetically satisfying.

It is a measure of the success of Hutsalo's career that he is a laureate of the Shevchenko State Prize for literature. He also received the Iurii Ianovs'kyi prize for his collection *Poliuvannia z honchym psom* (Hunting with a Hunting Dog, 1980). This book, however, is a characteristic product of Hutsalo's decline: it is sentimental, bathetic, sententious, and overwritten. Perhaps in the belief that his high status among writers obliged him to make a contribution to the premier genre of Soviet literature, Hutsalo began publishing novels in the 1980s. His *Pozychenyi cholovik* (The Borrowed Husband, 1980) grew first into a "dilogy" and finally into a trilogy, swelling the ranks of the so-called "whimsical novel," a subgenre that achieved a degree of fashionableness in the 1970s and early 1980s.⁵

Hutsalo observes the division of narratives, customary in East Slavic critical terminology, into *opovidannia*, *povisti*, and *romany*, corresponding to short, medium-length, and long fictional works. Within the category of *opovidannia*, however, Hutsalo unites three distinct kinds of short prose, only the first of which is fictional narrative: the short story proper, the sketch (a rendering, without plot or character development, of some situation or mood), and the descriptive essay. Of the three subcategories, the first is the largest, although in the course of Hutsalo's career, from his early to his later works, the centre of gravity shifted towards the sketch and the descriptive essay. (In this paper, the stories written before 1970 shall be called "early," and those written afterwards, "late.")

Let us begin by describing the significant constants in Hutsalo's work and the development that may be observed in it. The most pervasive continuity in Hutsalo's writing is that of spatial setting. With very few exceptions, Hutsalo's works are set in the country. In the early prose, the country is merely background, occasionally coming to the fore in brief lyrical passages that are necessitated by the action or are part of an inner monologue. Landscapes, geographical features, flora and fauna, agricultural processes, and the weather at this stage are still incidental to other concerns. In "Obmorozheni zhuravli" (Frostbitten Cranes, 1967), for example, two children walk to a frozen forest pond:

So they went. In the gardens the snow had gone black; there were nostrils in it. The moment you take a step, water flows in. There are snowdrifts among the birches; you can't run through them, you have to make your way along the hummocks.⁶

The late prose, on the other hand, comes to treat such set-piece description as a feature of beautiful writing, which, in turn, appears at this stage to be for Hutsalo an aesthetic end in itself.⁷ It comes as no surprise that Hutsalo allows such episodes to burgeon as independent works, which form the bulk of the third category of *opovidannia*—the descriptive essays. In many of these, the countryside becomes subject to protracted and excessive exercises in enthusiasm and overwrought style:

October is the most dramatic period of autumn.

It is all made of unresolved contradiction, of grandeur and the grotesque, of colourful paradoxes. The month of October is a brilliant, unsurpassed aphorism, but how masterfully encoded! Encoded in those heathen webs of Indian summer, in the ancient southward flight of birds to warmer climes, in the apocalyptic riot of colours, and in the fearsome, hopeless bellow of red deer in the thicket⁸

The countryside determines the social class and occupational background of the characters in Hutsalo's stories. On the whole, they are collective farm workers, or country tradespeople, or teachers in small country schools, or minor rural officials, or the *did i baba* (grandma and grandpa) who remember a more distinctly peasant life-style.

But the country, although omnipresent, is seldom more than country pure and simple. One hesitates to dignify it with the appellation of "Nature." Whether as matter-of-fact backdrop or the object of rhapsodic eulogy, the country rarely has any meaning other than itself. Even abstractions can become metaphors for aspects of the country (October as "unsurpassed aphorism" in the passage quoted above), but the country is not itself a metaphor. The pantheistic, romantic view of nature, rediscovered by such dissident writers as Oles' Berdnyk and Mykola Rudenko, has no place in Hutsalo; nor does the contrast between the country and the city, which in Western literary tradition often has a culturally critical significance.

Indeed, the ubiquity of the country has the consequence that the city, and its corollary, modernity, are absent from Hutsalo's prose. In exceptional cases, where representative elements of modernity do appear, they are subject to satire. Hutsalo is not aware of the country as an idyll that is protected from the "real" world of modernity. In his prose, the country is the real world. The archaism of this standpoint becomes a major aesthetic problem in Hutsalo's novel *Pozychenyi cholovik*, in which a satirical attempt is made to confront the culture and life-style of New York with that of the imaginary Ukrainian village and collective farm of Iablunivka.

If the spatial setting of Hutsalo's stories is largely fixed, the temporal setting is only slightly less so, embracing the period between the start of the Second World War and the "present"—that is, the time

of writing. The Second World War, part of the obligatory repertoire of Soviet prose, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, appears frequently in the early stories. On the whole, Hutsalo pursues the standard Soviet purpose of the war theme—to stimulate the reader's patriotic nerve and to regenerate the pathos of outrage—more subtly than most of his peers. Perhaps his understatement is compensated, however, by the use of such affective subject matter as the plight of children in war. Several stories in the collection *Z horikha zernia* (Kernel of the Nut, 1967) are cases in point.

But Hutsalo's interest in the war theme derives in the first place from the fact that war is an extraordinary human condition that justifies the depiction of the unexpected as part of human experience. It is the Second World War that is the setting for Hutsalo's few stories that are constructed around the "unprecedented occurrences" ("unerhörte Begebenheiten") regarded by many theorists of the novella as fundamental to the structure of that genre. The plot in "Sutinky" (Twilight, 1966) presents a situation of such extremity that it could well have come from the German master of the novella, Heinrich von Kleist: a youthful deserter faces a firing squad consisting of his fellow partisans. It is winter, and he falls into his shallow grave to be covered with a few shovelfuls of earth and snow. Only one bullet has touched him, however, and that only slightly; when he recovers consciousness, he makes his way back to the partisan dugout and reports for duty. Accepted without further discussion, he is killed in action a few days later.

War, however, is more frequently the setting than the theme of Hutsalo's stories. Hutsalo's themes—if we define "theme" as the general human situation that is the main subject of a given work—include the balance between joy and misery in the average person's lot, the nature of righteousness, the inevitability of suffering and injustice, the mechanism of alienation within the family, the relationship between laughter and death, and, most importantly, childhood.

Childhood encompasses two major thematic complexes: immaturity, and the process of achieving maturity. The many stories, especially early ones, that deal with children do much more than hold up a psychological mirror to childhood, thereby providing the reader with the aesthetic pleasure of recognizing and confirming the truth of the imitated. They contain Hutsalo's theory of human experience as a whole and allow us to draw into focus not only the absence from his work of the symbols of modernity (the city in particular), but also the apparent decline of his aesthetic competence. Let us consider the subthemes of childhood in turn.

Immaturity takes shape in Hutsalo's stories in the first place as a lack of socialization and as an enforced outsiderdom. The excellent story "Liudy zrostaiut', nache sady" (People Grow, As Do Orchards, 1966)

tells of a boy, labelled by his school as an incorrigible rebel, who is twice reproved for stealing apples: once by the principal (whom he dislikes), and once by his favourite woman teacher. The latter calls on the boy to help tend a garden and gives him to understand by her attitude and example that stealing apples is poor morals. The boy, who had previously not understood society's prejudice against stealing, is grateful for the lesson and its intention and wishes to express his gratitude, but he can do so only through yet another immature and antisocial act—by stealing his father's apple tree saplings and planting them around the teacher's house. The story's pathos rests, in large part, on the demonstration that, in order to achieve maturity, the boy must overcome his native logic: there are many apples, and the satisfaction of an individual's needs would cause no ill effect for the social whole. The imperative of socialization, the story wistfully argues, at least in this case involves the unlearning of a natural wisdom that may well be superior to that of social rationality. It is part of the story's aesthetic virtue that Hutsalo does not stress the fact that the boy's instincts confirm the familiar maxim, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Nor does Hutsalo needlessly belabour the symbolism of devouring forbidden fruit and planting the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Such restraint is a feature of the early prose.

Immaturity as a permanent state is an attractive condition in Hutsalo's stories. The shell-shocked war veteran, the central figure in "Khustyna shovku zelenoho" (A Scarf of Green Silk, 1966), is a modern holy fool whose freedom from responsibility and freedom to exercise his imagination unconstrained by reason bring joy to the workaday world of collective farmers. Animals, too, in their instinctive and unreflected reactions to the world, approximate the condition of permanent childhood and therefore command Hutsalo's interest.

The romantic glow, then, that suffuses Hutsalo's early stories enters them through the theme of childhood. The prerogative of childhood that is most prized by romanticism, of course, is imagination, the fortress against reality, the seat of the world-as-ideal, and the sole locus of a world tailored to desire. "Olen' Avhust" (Reindeer Augustus, 1965), the title story of what is probably Hutsalo's finest collection, formulates the triumph of the child's imagination over the world of the adult. A boy sees a film crew at work. He waits, and, when shooting is over, the director, who previously had brusquely ordered him out of the way, invites him for a drive in his car by way of compensation. But the director, a vain and egocentric man, tries to impress the boy and simultaneously to play a hurtful game with him: he offers the child a part in a new movie, *Reindeer Augustus*. The proposal is a deceit. No plan for such a film exists. But the boy, possessed of the idea, quickly expands it into a rich private world of fantasy of which the director, whose profession it is to be imaginative, is envious. He disabuses the

boy roughly of his illusions, but the lad, although hurt by the mischief of the adult, is not deeply disappointed: *Reindeer Augustus*, once given to him, can never be taken away again.

The second subtheme of childhood, that of passage into maturity, is the core of Hutsalo's early work. It embraces learning, disillusionment, abandonment of imagination, acculturation to suffering, and, above all, love. Love frequently takes the form of indistinct and unformulated erotic desire, not understood by the child participants, but recognizable to the readers and therefore the subject of structural ironies, which Hutsalo in his early work manages with finesse. For the child heroes, love is a vague desire whose socially predestined non-fulfillment causes pain. This is the kernel of such stories as "Ty ne matymesh zhodnoho kraba" (You Won't Get a Single Crab, 1965), which is interpreted in detail below, and "Chornohoriia" (The Black Mountain Region, 1965).

The same brusque intrusion of reality, which destroys cherished images and memories, is the point of stories about the remarriage of a child's father or mother, or about injuries inflicted when an act of unfairness disrupts the child's faith in the righteousness of the world order. Possibly the finest such story is "Mel'nyk i ioho dochka" (The Miller and His Daughter, 1965). The miller's daughter lives in a world defined by folklore, especially by the tale of Ivasyk Telesyk. Confronted one day by a belligerent boy, one Tyzunets', she extends the hand of friendship and reveals to him her greatest secret: the place in the depths of the mill, close to the mill-race, where the water may be heard mysteriously to sing. She next meets Tyzunets' in the mocking company of other boys, from whose jeers it is clear that they are all party to the secret of the singing water and—worse—regard it as a lie. She is both pained and changed by Tyzunets''s betrayal: at the story's end, she has discarded the fairy-tale world of Ivasyk Telesyk and starts working hard at her homework instead. Here, as in Hutsalo's other stories of maturation, the implication is that the business of childhood is to conquer immaturity, painful though this may be: to accept responsibility and to recognize the world for what it is, or, more accurately, for what other mature people take it to be.

It is when Hutsalo attempts to confront the issue of maturity—and he does so frequently in his later stories—that his ingenuity appears to desert him. The "real" world, that of the adult, of society, and of work, is so unattractive, it appears, that it defies aesthetically satisfactory representation. There is, for Hutsalo, no alternative between the sentimentalized treatment of the adult hero who strives to recover a lost childhood and the grotesque, satirical rendering of the adult world as a moral desert. Either travellers come from the adult world of the city to the country in order to sift sentimentally through the effects of deceased grandmothers or to imbibe the regenerative atmosphere of the

forest, striving vainly to recover their lost childhoods; or they come with warped city notions to disrupt the organic quality of country life. On the other hand, even the country, when viewed as a habitation of adults, loses its allure. The responsibility, moral rectitude, and wisdom towards which the child is supposed to be developing exist only as their own negation or caricature. "Vyizdnyi tovarys'kyi sud" (The Travelling People's Tribunal, 1981) rather laboriously pokes fun at a committee of rural worthies that admonishes an unwed collective farm woman for lax morals. Social responsibility has degenerated into prying into the private life of a fellow citizen, while wisdom has given way to legalistic jargon. Examples of similar inversions of adult values proliferate in Hutsalo's late stories.

It was suggested at the beginning of this essay that in these later works Hutsalo's aesthetic competence collapses. It is not our intention here to address the large question of literary quality in general, but to draw attention to the presence in the early stories of narrative virtues that are lost in the later works. These virtues include that high degree of organization and control in the management of theme and form that is often called "unity"; such unity is accompanied in the early works by a sense of tact and balance that ensures that the reader's emotions are engaged in a measure appropriate to the meaning of the story.

Unity is an attribute whose presence may be demonstrated only through the analysis of individual works. In the following discussion, "Ty ne matymesh zhodnoho kraba," a story of great beauty and originality, must stand for many works of almost equal accomplishment. Its construction is characterized by the subtle and economical evolution of three structural relationships: between plot and emotional tension, between character and action, and, finally, between information and time.

The story is in four short parts. (1) A boy aged five, while playing on a beach, sees a girl of seventeen. He likes her, "bo ty harnen'ka" (because you're nice),⁹ gets her attention with an interesting pebble, and exchanges a few words with her before being called to lunch. (2) Next day he brings her a small crab, speared on a steel pike. She tells him that his behaviour is cruel and asks him, if he likes her (the word used is the ambiguous "liubyty"—to like or to love), to bring her another crab, alive and unspeared. When the child returns with the offering, however, the girl is accompanied by a grown-up boy, who jeers at the gift, alleging that the crab is dead. The child protests against this injustice, but the girl is only amused. The child throws the crab away and departs, hurt. (3) The girl seeks out the child and, by way of reconciliation, accepts his offer to catch her a fish. (4) The child catches the fish, but when he brings the gift, the girl is again accompanied by the elder boy, who on this occasion is full of admiration for the unimpressive little catch. The child hands the fish over but vows to the girl that he shall never catch anything for her again.

The emotional content of the story communicates itself imperceptibly: the reader begins to experience a mood of amused sympathy. There are five encounters between the child and the girl, each producing some new version of frustration of the child's desire to appeal. Every sacrifice (pebble, crab, fish) is rejected by the goddess. On the other hand, the necessity and inevitability of that rejection (how can a five-year-old be a suitor, after all?), in combination with the child's obliviousness of this necessity, elicit the effect of amusement. The feeling is evoked, it is important to add, by the plot itself. There is no need for intensifying stylistic devices: the situation is so artfully conceived as to seem lifelike and therefore commands the reader's emotional response as might a situation in life itself.

Hutsalo's ability to derive emotion effortlessly from plot later disappears. The title story of *Poliuvannia z honchym psom* relates how holiday-makers on an island of the Dnieper rescue and treat an injured dog left by his owners to die. But rather than be taken back to Kiev for treatment, the dog tries to swim back to its unfaithful master and drowns. As if this were not sentimental enough, the narrator informs us that he is "filled with sympathy" as he contemplates the dog's wound;¹⁰ a visit to the rescuers by a girl from the dog's master's holiday party is contrived in order to provide a target for righteous indignation. The devices for extracting emotion are in disproportion to the situation, and the result is, not to mince words, distasteful.

The second relationship which we promised to investigate in "Ty ne matymesh zhodnoho kraba" is that of action to character. The reader is scarcely aware of character, so completely is it expressed in action. We know that the central figure, the child, is ready to learn values, proud of his prowess and initiative, and sensitive to mockery. The action shows this without need for further comment. The girl's inaccessibility is embodied in her manner of sitting with her knees tightly clasped. Her character, expressed by the fluctuation of her motivations between the desires to injure and to reward, is that of the amorous strategist, and her unease during encounters at which both of her male admirers are present is adequate to appraise the reader of her awareness that the tactics that are applicable to her black-haired peer are misapplied towards a child. This quite complex feat of psychological exposition is achieved by implication only.

The late stories, on the other hand, have lost the art of characterization. To convey character, Hutsalo must have recourse to such crude measures as evaluative epithets. As the critic Mykola Riabchuk complains, if a character appears in a *funereal* black suit, while his wife "carries her *jelly-like* body in a woollen dress and *rolls* from one leg to the other in lacquered shoes," then there is little more to be said of them: their (uncomplicatedly negative) qualities, fixed by caricature, can be no further developed, but merely illustrated through action.¹¹ Hutsalo's

characterization tends more and more towards the use of such external devices as leitmotifs, attributes, and hyperbole, which identify a schematic figure rather than reveal a character.

Perhaps the most admirable feature of the story "Ty ne matymesh zhodnoho kraba" is its subtlety of timing. While the general outcome of the characters' interactions is perceived by the reader as a matter of necessity, the order in which information is ceded is artful and playful and makes in one place for a delightfully neat twist.

The opening strikes a note suggestive of kitsch: "When he first saw her, she was sitting on a black rock and reading a book."¹² We are entitled to expect further clichés from popular "romantic" narrative: "their eyes met," perhaps. Instead, the male hero acts in a way that is, if not implausible, certainly unexpected. Why does he throw pebbles? Why is the dialogue so simple? It is only after Hutsalo has continued this game with the reader for about a page that all is explained:

"My name is Borys How old are you?"

"Seventeen. And you?"

"Five. And then I'll be six, right?"¹³

The revelation comes as a surprise. By now, however, the reader has become so accustomed to regarding the situation as erotic in a conventional sense that he or she cannot overlook the erotic quality of the wholly unconventional situation that will now unfold.

By a deliberate control of time—more accurately, the place in the story—at which particular information is released, Hutsalo has conducted the reader through a series of thrills: the reader has been first intrigued, then surprised, then informed, and, all the while, prepared. The beginning of the story is a minor masterpiece, and the later works have nothing that can compare with it. One could continue to list the virtues of "Ty ne matymesh zhodnoho kraba," including its brevity, the lucidity of its language, and the subtlety of its irony. One could illustrate the corresponding vices in the late stories. But the point has been made already: the qualitative decline in Hutsalo's short stories is undeniable.

It is time to return to the question: Why? It is a question that admits only of speculative answers, causal links between literature and life being notoriously difficult to establish. It might, however, be useful to entertain three different explanatory models.

The first sees the cause in a combination of external mechanisms. Hutsalo was unfortunate in his critics: most of them praised his tendencies towards static lyrical description and decorative style, while few encouraged compactness and simplicity.¹⁴ Ivan Koshelivets' has written convincingly of the conventionalization of other promising writers through the institution of Soviet criticism.¹⁵ Furthermore, growing prestige, greater demand for his works, less time for dis-

ciplined composition, greater pressure on the imagination—all of these might be built into a portrait of Hutsalo as a victim of his own success (success, that is, within the parameters of the official definition of the successful writer).

The second model is somewhat old-fashioned in that it assumes some psychological continuity between the author and his texts. This is the model that is suggested by our discussion of Hutsalo's range of favoured themes. There is a certain inner logic in Hutsalo's decline. We could speculate that the early 1960s' promise of social maturation for Soviet society made childhood, almost inevitably, an important theme for Hutsalo. However that may be, it is certain that Hutsalo's concern with maturation in his treatment of childhood constantly confronts him with the obligation to come to terms with adult society, which, after all, is the goal of growing up. But the adult world is that of Soviet society, in which Hutsalo survived the crackdowns on Ukrainian cultural figures in 1965 and 1972, but not, as has since become clear, without harassment.¹⁶ It is a world so warped, unattractive, and disappointing that Hutsalo can only write about it satirically or formulate escape from it; it fails to engage his creative energies, yet his professional position demands that he continue writing about it and fulfilling the social duty imposed upon him as a Soviet writer. According to this second explanatory model, Hutsalo is the paradoxical victim of the literary industry that supports him and, more broadly, of society in the perverted form in which he experiences it.

The third model has the distinction of being less gloomy, if not more plausible, than its predecessors. It is possible, appearances notwithstanding, that no creative break has occurred in Hutsalo's creative powers; that he could write again as he did in 1965; but that middle-brow writing, the overproduction of bland and mediocre works, and unmistakably orthodox authorial intentions are more expedient. There might even be signals to this effect hidden discreetly between the lines. We referred earlier to the title story of *Poliuvannia z honchym psom*, the book that won Hutsalo the Ianovs'kyi prize. The story, it will be recollected, takes the motif of the Dog Faithful to his Master and wrings it for its last ounce of sentimentality. It is almost as though the story were deliberately bad, or as though it suffered from an aesthetic death-wish. There is at least a hint that this might be so. The dog, after all, bears a speaking name: it is called "Albatross."

Notes

1. See, for example, the enthusiastic appraisal by Mykhailo Strel'byts'kyi, "Tsykl 'pisen' Ievhena Hutsala," *Zhovten'* 429, no. 7 (1980):134–42. But even Mykola Zhulyns'kyi, who places Hutsalo among the nine writers whom he singles out for attention in his collection of review interviews, *Nablyzhennia* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1986), readily concedes that his opus contains repetitions and weak works (p. 93).

2. Ie. S. Shabliovs'kyi, ed., *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, 8 (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1971), p. 425.

3. Ivan Koshelivets', introduction to *Panorama nainovishoi literatury v URSR* (Munich: Suchasnist', 1974), p. 14.

4. This article is based in particular on the short narratives included in the following collections: *Liudy sered liudei* (Kiev: Molod', 1962); *Iabluka z osinnoho sadu* (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oi literatury, 1964); *Olen' Avhust* (Kiev: Veselka, 1965); *Khustyna shovku zelenoho* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1966); *Z horikha zernia* (Kiev: Veselka, 1967); *Novely* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1969); *Vesna vysokosnoho roku* (Kiev: Molod', 1973); *Orlamy orano* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1977); *Poliuvannia z honchym psom* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1980); and *Shkil'nyi khlib* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1981).

5. I. Hutsalo, *Pozychenyi cholovik. Pryvatne zhyttia fenomena* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1984). For a discussion of the whimsical novel, see my article, "National Idioms in Soviet Literature? The Case of the Ukrainian Whimsical Novel," in *Literature and National Cultures*, ed. Brian Edwards (Geelong: Centre for Studies in Literary Education, Deakin University, 1988), pp. 109–16.

6. Hutsalo, *Z horikha zernia*, p. 157.

7. This is noted, albeit favourably, by Kira Lomazova in "Vydobuty krasu iz zvychainoho," *Zhovten'* 400, no. 2 (1978):138–40 (here p. 139).

8. I. Hutsalo, "Kontsentrychni kola oseni," in *Poliuvannia z honchym psom*, p. 29.

9. Hutsalo, *Olen' Avhust*, pp. 100–105 (here p. 102).

10. Hutsalo, *Poliuvannia z honchym psom*, p. 82.

11. Mykola Riabchuk, "'Osiaiannia' i siaivo prozy," *Zhovten'* 440, no. 6 (1981):131–37 (here p. 132).

12. Hutsalo, *Olen' Avhust*, p. 100.

13. Hutsalo, *Olen' Avhust*, p. 101.
14. See, for example, Lomazova, p. 140.
15. Ivan Koshelivets', "Pro Sobor Olesia Honchara: Literatura; istoriia; styl'," *Suchasnist'* 92, no. 8 (1968):62–74; and 93, no. 9 (1968):45–53 (here no. 9 [1968]:49–50).
16. Vitalii Donchyk and Anatolii Pohribnyi, "Iak my zhyvemo i pratsuiemo?" *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 42 (October 16, 1986):3.

Some Aspects of Soviet Ukrainian Historical Fiction:
The Novels of Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi and Roman Ivanychuk

The development of Soviet Ukrainian historical fiction has been rather uneven.¹ Originally, it followed the general inclination of early Soviet literature to engage in experimentation and improvisation. Traditional views and values were re-examined and often discarded, and special attention was paid to the incidents and episodes of the past that supposedly contained some elements akin to the revolutionary upheaval of 1917. At the same time, attempts were made to discredit many events and historical figures of the pre-revolutionary period and to repudiate the tendency to romanticize the history of Ukraine, especially its Kozak period.

It was only in the mid-1930s that the first representative Soviet Ukrainian historical novel, Zinaida Tulub's *Liudolovy* (Mencatchers), was published.² This literary event marked a major turning point in the development of Soviet Ukrainian historical fiction. While Tulub's predecessors were still struggling to overcome the influence of the ethnographic school of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she created a work that, in spite of the author's obvious attempts to make it fit the Procrustean bed of Marxist ideology, remains an eloquent proof of both her creative ability and her maturity as an artist.³

The approach of the Second World War proved to be a mixed blessing to Soviet Ukrainian literature in general and to historical fiction in particular. On the one hand, it was now more respectable to acknowledge the merits of certain historical figures who, until then, had been dismissed as ideologically hostile or at least suspect; on the other hand, certain stereotypes were created and imposed that narrowly circumscribed the writers' artistic freedom and originality by transforming specific historical leaders—notably Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi—into national cult figures, immune not only to criticism but to any fresh, unconventional interpretation.

The experiences and memories of the war have become, in the words of a prominent Ukrainian poet, an intrinsic part of the

"hereditary, genetic code" of Soviet citizens, having a tremendous impact on both their political and ideological views and their everyday moral and ethical criteria.⁴ The victorious end of that momentous struggle brought about an attempt to perceive more clearly its meaning and implications through a systematic study of the history of the country from its very beginnings. As a result of this development, the Soviet Ukrainian historical novel expanded from the thematic point of view to embrace the epoch of Kievan Rus', practically ignored during the interwar years but restored to a position of prominence by Semen Skliarenko's dilogy on Sviatoslav and Volodymyr the Great.⁵ Skliarenko's two novels close the first, early phase in the evolution of Soviet Ukrainian historical fiction and open a new period of increasing complexity, maturity, and sophistication—the coming of age, which, during the last two decades, has found its most forceful and striking expression in the novels of Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi and Roman Ivanychuk.⁶

Among contemporary Soviet Ukrainian historical novelists, Zahrebel'nyi occupies a pre-eminent position, with regard to both the range of his creative imagination and the artistic quality of his works.⁷ Born in 1924, he joined the Red Army as a volunteer at the beginning of the German–Soviet war in 1941, and his experiences as a soldier and as a prisoner of war served him well when he embarked on his first major undertaking as a novelist—*Ievropa 45* (Europe 45) and *Ievropa. Zakhid* (Europe–West), describing the exploits of a Soviet intelligence officer during the last year of World War II and its aftermath.⁸ It was only in the late 1960s that Zahrebel'nyi started working on his Kievan cycle, consisting of the novels *Dyvo* (Marvel), *Smert' u Kyievi* (Death in Kiev), and *Pervomist* (The First Bridge), written between 1968 and 1971, and followed in 1974 by the thematically close *Ievpraksiia* (Eupraxia).⁹ In his trilogy—or, to use his own term, triptych—Zahrebel'nyi tries to shed light on the social life and cultural growth of Kievan Rus' during the period beginning with the reign of Volodymyr the Great and ending with the Mongol invasion.

It is quite understandable that individual parts of Zahrebel'nyi's Kievan cycle differ from one another not only with regard to their artistic conception, but also in the degree to which the author has succeeded in realizing his creative design, and most critics agree that the novel *Dyvo* is by far the most accomplished part of the triptych. The theme of the novel is the construction of the most monumental creation of Kievan Rus'—St. Sophia's cathedral in Kiev—during the reign of Iaroslav the Wise. Zahrebel'nyi uses the novel to refute the theories that overemphasized the importance of Byzantine civilization and of Christianity itself in the development of Kievan culture. At the same time, he tries to prove that local forces and traditions gave the main impetus to the unprecedented flowering of arts, letters, and educational pursuits usually associated with the so-called Iaroslavian age. According

to Zahrebel'nyi, the age derived its inspiration primarily from native soil, native artists, who not only assimilated cultural values from other countries but were also able to create an original and viable synthesis, incorporating both foreign and indigenous elements. The main protagonist of *Dyvo*, Syvook, is an embodiment of this idea, and his childhood and youth, full of various hardships and ordeals, in a way prepare him for the greatest challenge of his life—the building of St. Sophia's Church. As an artist, he is the sovereign of his realm, equal to Prince Iaroslav, whose masterful portrayal represents one of Zahrebel'nyi's greatest achievements as a writer.¹⁰ A supposedly wise, judicious, and humane monarch, depicted by Ivan Kocherha in his dramatic poem as a man of the people,¹¹ he emerges from Zahrebel'nyi's novel as an immensely complex and controversial personality, full of internal contradictions and conflicts. While some of his accomplishments have a positive impact, he is also guilty of despotism, deceit, and sheer cruelty, and his occasional generosity and magnanimity are equalled by his callousness and ruthlessness.¹²

In addition to presenting a colourful and artistically convincing picture of life in Kievan Rus', Zahrebel'nyi also pays considerable attention to contemporary Bulgaria and Byzantium, where Syvook spent many years of his life; his depiction of life in Constantinople, the capital of the vainglorious empire, which, in spite of its outward splendour, is dying from spiritual emptiness, represents one of the most successful episodes of the novel. One should also mention Zahrebel'nyi's attitude towards Christianity, which, notwithstanding its generally positive significance as a vehicle for spreading knowledge and education, also had some negative aspects, since the attempt to impose the new religion violated human conscience and unleashed a destructive force that swept away many cultural and artistic accomplishments of the past.¹³

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the novel *Dyvo* is the fact that about a third of it takes place not in the eleventh century but in modern times—four chapters in the 1940s and six in the 1960s; in other words, there are three different levels of action. This structural device is, of course, not unfamiliar to modern writers, in whose novels chapters taking place in the distant past are occasionally interspersed with those occurring at the present time. As Zahrebel'nyi himself has stated, he has used this unusual composition in order to demonstrate that the past and the present are joined together by unbreakable bonds, that our historical and cultural heritage influences our thinking, stirs up our emotions, and even determines our actions.¹⁴ In any case, by directly connecting the main theme of his novel with the present, the author has brought it much closer to his audience and has succeeded in involving the audience emotionally with the plot, which at first appears to be rather distant and abstract from a modern reader's point of view.

The second volume of Zahrebel'nyi's Kievan triptych is *Smert' u Kyievi*, which opens a century after the events described in *Dyvo*, and whose main character is Prince Iurii Dolgorukii (1090–1157), a great-grandson of Iaroslav the Wise and the founder of Moscow. Like his famous ancestor, he strives towards the unity of all the principalities of Rus', but his task is immensely more difficult, for the period in which he lives is one of feudal disintegration and internecine warfare among the princes. In writing his novel, Zahrebel'nyi has more or less discarded the accounts of the chronicles, according to which Dolgorukii was a greedy adventurer and schemer, deeply involved in conspiracies against his fellow princes. Instead, the author has presented to the reader an idealized picture of his hero, who always shows goodwill and magnanimity towards his foes, hates violence, and is idolized by the common people; he tries, however, to keep his boyars under control and is eventually poisoned by them. Dolgorukii's antithesis is his main opponent, Prince Iziaslav Mstyslavych, who becomes the villain of the story, but he is no more than a stooge of the boyars, who use him as the front man for their own criminal dealings.¹⁵ Another major protagonist is Kuz'ma Dulib, a physician, researcher, chronicler, and the chief intellectual of his epoch, who, like Syvook, represents the popular masses and their yearnings for truth and justice.

The concluding volume of Zahrebel'nyi's Kievan cycle is his novel *Pervomist*, actually written before *Smert' u Kyievi* but describing the events of a later century. It deals primarily with one of the greatest structures of Rus', although its existence is attested only by one meagre sentence in the chronicle—the wooden bridge over the Dnieper, built during the reign of Volodymyr Monomakh and destroyed at the time of the Mongol invasion. The idea of making a bridge the focus of a novel is, of course, hardly original—as in the well-known *Na Drini ćuprija* (Bridge on the Drina, 1945) by the Nobel-prize-winning Serbo-Croatian author, Ivo Andrić. Zahrebel'nyi's novel is different, however, since the events described by him are called to life by his creative imagination in an attempt to bring about "an artistic reconstruction of a small part of a world that has been lost forever."¹⁶ Moreover, the author argues that many things—structures erected by men, good deeds and exploits, all achievements of human spirit—eventually transcend the boundaries of the physical world and enter a new dimension that does not disappear and has no end, thus becoming an acquisition of time and a part of the heritage of future generations.¹⁷

The next three of Zahrebel'nyi's novels bear the names of their main protagonists: *Ievpraksiia*, *Roksolana*, and *Ia, Bohdan*. Especially remarkable is what could be called the romantic dilogy or diptych about the fate of two women: the first, the Kievan princess Ievpraksiia-Adelheid, the wife of German emperor Henry IV of Canossa fame; and the second, the daughter of a Ukrainian priest from Galicia,

Anastasiia Lisovs'ka, who became famous as Roksolana—the favourite wife of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent of the Ottoman empire. The life stories of these two women were so strange and unusual that their names became associated with legends, many containing distortions or misunderstandings. Zahrebel'nyi reinterpreted all available historical and factual evidence in order to discover what he regarded as historic truth. On the basis of his research, he arrived at certain conclusions and developed certain hypotheses, which, in his own words, aim at returning his heroines from the realm of legend and mythology to that of psychology.¹⁸

The melancholy, tragic story of Ievpraksiia is told by Zahrebel'nyi with great sympathy and sensitivity, although some features of her mental outlook—especially the growth of her social consciousness and her hatred of both secular and spiritual rulers—are shown in a manner that is not entirely convincing. On the other hand, *Roksolana* is one of Zahrebel'nyi's greatest achievements: it demonstrates very clearly and convincingly the strongest aspects of his ability as a writer in general and as a historical novelist in particular. It shows, first of all, the amazing facility with which he can switch from one century, country, and culture to another, for the problem with which he is chiefly concerned, namely the relationship between the human individual and society, can be investigated quite independently of such secondary factors as time and place.

Secondly, one of the most characteristic features of Zahrebel'nyi's novels, which is also displayed very prominently in *Roksolana*, is their moral and psychological content. He focuses on his heroine's sufferings and hopes, her triumphs, and her bitter defeats and disappointments in order to make more tangible for the reader her striving for love and happiness—an aspiration that she shares, of course, with the rest of humanity. In addition, the novel, because of its foreign, exotic setting and the colourful historical epoch in which it takes place—the era of great geographical discoveries and of Humanism, the Renaissance, and the Reformation—allows the author to display his amazing erudition, without, however, overwhelming the reader with trivial facts and data, and gives him [Zahrebel'nyi] a unique opportunity to excite and entertain his audience with an infinite variety of events—military campaigns and court intrigues, personal tragedies and national disasters, religious wars and individual searches for the truth—a quest that never ends. Zahrebel'nyi's language and style are also well suited to reflect the grandeur of the historical epoch represented in his novel: they are rich and involved, but never pompous or convoluted; ornate, but at the same time smoothly flowing and graceful.¹⁹

In his next major historical novel, *Ia, Bohdan: Spovid' u slavi* (I, Bohdan: A Confession in Glory),²⁰ Zahrebel'nyi tries to meet what was probably the greatest challenge of his career as a writer: to present a

vivid and psychologically convincing picture of the central and at the same time most controversial figure of Ukrainian history, a picture that would be both ideologically irreproachable and innovative from the artistic point of view. To be sure, many Ukrainian authors have attempted to come to terms with Khmel'nyts'kyi: indeed, even the official Soviet opinion about him has changed drastically, eventually transforming him from a traitor and enemy of the Ukrainian people into an outstanding statesman, military leader, and diplomat, who realized the age-old dream of his countrymen about the reunification of Ukraine with Russia.²¹ However, while his predecessors tried to rehabilitate Khmel'nyts'kyi in a rather crude and unsophisticated fashion, Zahrebel'nyi accomplished the same purpose with considerable intellectual subtlety and finesse, although his final conclusion is hardly original: Ukraine, after her separation from Poland, was not viable as an independent nation, and a union with Russia was her only salvation.²²

To write a book about a leading historical figure in the form of that person's memoirs, as Zahrebel'nyi has done, is a time-honoured artistic device—as in such well-known novels as *I, Claudius* by Robert Graves (1934) and *Mémoires d'Hadrien* by Marguerite Yourcenar (1951), in both of which history and fiction are masterfully intertwined. However, Zahrebel'nyi did not merely borrow his title from Graves and some of his technical devices from Yourcenar. While Khmel'nyts'kyi is the narrator of the novel, it is nevertheless difficult to establish his precise identity.²³ Actually, there are several images of the Hetman involved in telling the story of his life: that of the dying Khmel'nyts'kyi, reminiscing about his experiences; the mounted bronze statue on the pedestal in front of St. Sophia's Church in Kiev; and, finally, the mythical Bohdan, who exists beyond the concepts of time and place and is, therefore, immortal. *Ia, Bohdan* presents us with a fascinating and discerning picture of one of the crucial periods in the history of Ukraine, interspersed with a thoughtful discussion about the future of the Hetman's "glory"—in other words, his historical reputation and his appraisal by posterity. The language and style of the novel are highly artistic, and its melancholy, tragic, gentle, but sombre tone reminds one of the recitativo of the *dumy* and of some poetic passages in the Kozak chronicles.²⁴

To sum up: Zahrebel'nyi is an unusually insightful, thoughtful, and original writer, endowed with a true intellectual perception, as well as an accomplished and sophisticated craftsman of the word, whose works represent perhaps the highest point in the development of Soviet Ukrainian historical fiction. At the same time, however, his manner of writing occasionally shows a certain inclination towards pretentiousness, and some critics have even accused him of artfully disguising the lack of substance in his novels with "false profundity."²⁵ Equally objectionable is what appears to be his conscious attempt to make his artistic conceptions and images fit the ideological line of the Party. It is

especially evident in *Ia, Bohdan*, but it is also present, in a more or less camouflaged form, in his other novels.

A writer no less talented and no less given to experimentation than Zahrebel'nyi, but more straightforward and outspoken, is his younger contemporary (born in 1929), Roman Ivanychuk. A native of Western Ukraine, Ivanychuk graduated from the Faculty of Philology at the University of L'viv and worked for a time as a teacher before devoting his full energy to literary work. He gained fame with his trilogy *Krai bytoho shliakhu* (Near the High Road, published in book form in 1962), focusing on the dramatic period of changes in Galician society during the Second World War and its aftermath.²⁶ However, his first historical novel, *Mal'vy* (Hollyhocks),²⁷ created a controversy and was the subject of a heated discussion because of its allegedly non-Marxist approach to history.²⁸ Indeed, there is very little in it that would mark it as the work of a Soviet writer; in a way, it may be regarded as the continuation of the literary traditions of the interwar period in Western Ukraine. The central figures of the novel are Mariia, the widow of a Kozak colonel, and her three children. The plot of the novel unfolds against the colourful background of the Sultan's court in Istanbul and the exotic landscape of the Crimea, culminating in the uprising of Khmel'nyts'kyi of 1648. The great cataclysm in Ukraine agitates the minds and hearts of Mariia's children and eventually shapes their individual destinies. In describing their attitudes and actions and in analyzing their mental processes, Ivanychuk proves himself not only an accomplished artist but also a subtle psychologist. Both the historical and the imaginary events are logically intertwined, and the author's interpretation of history, while at times highly subjective, seems generally sound and convincing.

Ivanychuk's next published novel, *Cherlene vyno* (The Red Wine), deals with the history of Galicia and Volhynia during the first half of the fifteenth century.²⁹ The events described by the author take place mostly in Luts'k, L'viv, and the town of Oles'ko, but Ivanychuk tries to show how these happenings are influenced by international developments. The novel contains several plots and subplots, but the author's main attention is focused on the struggle of the popular masses of Galicia and Volhynia against the colonization and Polonization of their country. The climax of the novel is the description of the defence of the castle of Oles'ko, besieged by the Polish army in 1431—actually, an episode of only marginal importance, which, however, is presented by Ivanychuk as a major event whose repercussions will be felt for centuries—a harbinger of the victory that will eventually follow.

Some of the ideas touched upon by Ivanychuk in *Cherlene vyno* have been developed more fully in his *Manuskrypt z vulytsi Rus'koi* (Manuscript from Rus'ka Street), acclaimed by Soviet critics as his greatest achievement to date.³⁰ Here, the author seemingly departs from his accustomed writing manner and begins experimenting with a new

style, applying fresh artistic devices. The novel is replete with psychological and philosophical problems and at the same time employs various literary forms—songs, proverbs, grotesques, and anecdotes—in order to delineate more clearly and precisely distinct social types and characters. Generally, Ivanychuk's narrative introduces us to the old L'viv at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries and is so full of contemporary happenings, problems, and personalities that, in a critic's words, the reader can almost identify with its protagonists and experiences various events described by the author as their eyewitness or even as an active participant.³¹ Thus, in spite of Ivanychuk's subjectivity and some rather whimsical mannerisms, one can accept and perceive his characters as real persons and feel at home in the city that they inhabit, especially since many of the emotions evoked by him are timeless and universal—for example, his masterful description of an Easter morning, dominated by the ringing of church bells, announcing not only the news of Christ's Resurrection, but also the triumph of the indomitable human spirit over everything that is base, mean, and evil.³²

Of special interest is Ivanychuk's subsequent venture into the field of the biographical novel, in which he achieved two notable successes—*Chetvertyi vymir* (The Fourth Dimension)³³ and *Shramy na skali* (Scratches on a Rock).³⁴ In the former novel, he focuses on the dramatic life story of Mykola Hulak (1822–1899), one of the organizers of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, who spent a long term of imprisonment in the infamous Shlissel'burg fortress and was never allowed to return to Ukraine. A polyglot and polyhistor as well as an outstanding mathematician, he interests Ivanychuk primarily because of his steadfastness, which prompts him to reject any compromise and any dishonourable concession to his tormentors. His attitude is contrasted with that of some of his associates who are only too willing to repent and to show contrition for their past conduct but eventually have to come to terms with their conscience and suffer pangs of remorse for having betrayed their youthful ideals and beliefs. In addition, Ivanychuk also stresses the ties of affection that bound Hulak to his many friends in Georgia and Azerbaijan, where he spent most of his years of exile.

While *Chetvertyi vymir* takes the reader to the times of Shevchenko, who actually appears in some of the novel's flashbacks, *Shramy na skali* deals with the declining years of Ivan Franko's life and at the same time gives a broad, panoramic view of Ukrainian society in Galicia on the eve of World War I, especially its literary and artistic circles. In addition, the author acquaints us with political and social developments and allows us to see this Galician microcosm against the background of contemporary events on the world scene. He also introduces, rather out of joint, a subplot involving the conflict between Prince Danylo of Galicia–Vol-

hynia and the popular minstrel Mytusa, taking the reader back to the middle of the thirteenth century. More appropriately, Ivanychuk brings in some autobiographical elements, projecting the story into the early 1960s and establishing a tenuous connection between the main protagonist and himself. In this novel, rich with metaphors and symbolism, full of imaginative power and beauty of language, Ivanychuk provides a deep insight into Franko's private world, making some challenging assumptions and proposing new and original interpretations of certain events in the poet's life, which add up to an important, if somewhat unorthodox, contribution to the branch of literary study known in Ukraine as *frankoznavstvo* (Frankology).

To the surprise and delight of Ivanychuk's many admirers, another of his historical novels, *Zhuravlynyi kryk* (The Cry of the Cranes), has appeared recently in the monthly *Zhovten'*.³⁵ Although it was originally written in 1968–1973, the conditions prevailing in Ukraine under Brezhnev's oppressive regime made its publication at that time virtually impossible. Now, taking advantage of Gorbachevian *glasnost'*, Ivanychuk has finally made available to the reader his thought-provoking novel, which discusses with considerable candour a touchy subject—the end of the Ukrainian autonomy and the consolidation of Russian rule in Ukraine during the reign of Catherine II. Its protagonist, French-educated Pavlo Liubym's'kyi, a scion of an old Kozak family, tries, after his return home, to defend the constitutional rights of Ukraine but is arrested for his allegedly subversive activities and imprisoned on the Solovetsky Islands. After a dramatic escape, he makes his way back to France and eventually reappears in Russia under the assumed identity of a French émigré. The action of the novel moves with great speed from Ukraine to Moscow, St. Petersburg, the Solovetsky archipelago, revolutionary France, and finally Galicia under Austrian rule. In all, *Zhuravlynyi kryk* covers, with the help of numerous flashbacks, the time span from 1762 to the first years of the new century, reverberating with the sound of Napoleonic victories. Ivanychuk, with his unerring historical sense, shows that even the peoples living on the peripheries of Europe were profoundly influenced and affected by the revolutionary ideas that spread across the boundaries of the continent and brought with them the promise of personal freedom, national liberation, and, generally speaking, a new and better world. His heroes are not only outspoken but also outright defiant in their uncompromising stand against the oppressors of Ukraine, and they have only contempt for those of their compatriots who, through their sycophantic behaviour and lack of self-respect, are helping an alien regime to dominate and exploit their country.

Obviously, Ivanychuk's novel is not only a work of art, but also an important social and even political document. Appearing at a time when the talk about openness, restructuring, and democratization is stirring

up all the peoples of the Soviet Union, it poses some crucial questions concerning the future development of Soviet Ukrainian historical fiction and of Soviet Ukrainian literature in general. Does it represent the wave of the future, is it the harbinger of a literary and intellectual revival, or is it merely a flicker of hope, destined to be extinguished by an adverse wind? Certainly, it would be futile to speculate, but the mere fact that an author of Ivanychuk's stature has not hesitated to discuss some of the most delicate issues of Ukrainian history with frankness and integrity fills one with hope and expectation.

In this paper, I have tried to outline the highlights of the careers of two prominent historical novelists, one of them a leading member of the Soviet literary establishment and another who, in spite of his formal membership in the Communist Party, is known for his independent and often nonconformist views. Both Zahrebel'nyi and Ivanychuk have illuminated history by their imaginative reconstruction of events, societies, and personalities of the past, and their novels are distinguished by their attention to factual details, their positive heroes, and their ingenious plots, as well as by their polished and graceful language. They are innovators not only with regard to their subject matter, but also in their depiction of events and characters, in the structure of their novels, and in their skilful handling of the element of time, which enables them to incorporate and absorb into the fabric of their stories both authentic and legendary components and to achieve a synthesis of historical and artistic truth.³⁶ In portraying their characters, they attain considerable psychological depth, and occasionally historical disguise enables them to express views of a politically or socially controversial nature, views that they would have been unable to state in a contemporary setting. What distinguishes the two authors is Zahrebel'nyi's tendency to ornamentality and monumentality, combined with his inclination to speculate and theorize, which sets him apart from Ivanychuk's more spontaneous and impulsive manner of writing. However, both authors are endowed with an intuitive poetic vision that gives them an almost uncanny power to re-create the historic atmosphere of an era, and both have been following, consciously or subconsciously, the precept expressed best by one of Poland's leading historical novelists: to achieve "a truthful portrayal of a man submerged in the changeability of history, so that through that changeability we discover in him—in ourselves, that is—what is stable, unchangeable, human."³⁷

Notes

1. For a detailed discussion of the genre of historical fiction in Soviet Ukrainian literature, see Mykola Syrotyuk, *Ukrains'ka istorychna proza za 40 rokiv* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1958), and *Ukrains'kyi radians'kyi istorychnyi roman. Problema istorychnoi ta khudozhn'oi pravdy* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo AN URSS, 1962). The developments of the 1960s and 1970s are examined in Syrotyuk's *Zhyvyi perehuk epokh i narodiv. Idei internatsionalizmu v ukrains'komu radians'komu istorychnomu romani* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1981), as well as in Vasyl' Chumak's *Mynule—ochyma suchasnyka. Literaturno-krytychnyi narys* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1980).
2. Zinaida Tulub, *Liudolovy*, 2 vols. (Kiev: Molodyi bil'shovyk, 1934–1937).
3. Tulub's contribution to the development of Soviet Ukrainian historical fiction is explored in Syrotyuk's monograph *Zinaida Tulub. Literaturno-krytychnyi narys* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1968).
4. Borys Oliinyk, as quoted in Chumak, p. 3.
5. Semen Skliarenko, *Sviatoslav* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1959), and *Volodymyr* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukrainy, 1962).
6. Chumak, pp. 17–18.
7. For a comprehensive discussion of Zahrebel'nyi as a historical novelist, see Semen Shakhovs'kyi, *Romany Pavla Zahrebel'noho. Literaturno-krytychnyi narys* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1974), and Vasyl' Fashchenko, *Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi. Narys tvorchosti* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1984).
8. Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi, *Ievropa 45* (Kiev: Molod', 1959), and *Ievropa. Zakhid* (Kiev: Molod', 1961).
9. Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi, *Dyvo* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1968), *Smert' u Kyievi* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1972), *Pervomist* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1972), and *Ievpraksiia* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1975).
10. Shakhovs'kyi, p. 89; Fashchenko, p. 111.
11. Ivan Kocherha, *Iaroslav Mudryi* (Kiev: Ukrderzhvydav, 1946).
12. Shakhovs'kyi, pp. 89–91; Fashchenko, pp. 121–27.
13. Shakhovs'kyi, p. 92; Fashchenko, pp. 115–16.
14. Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi, "Sproba avtokomentaria," *Ukrains'ka mova i literatura v shkoli* 11 (1975):22.
15. Shakhovs'kyi, p. 102.

16. Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi, *Nelozhnymy ustamy. Statti, esei, portrety* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1981), p. 457.
17. Zahrebel'nyi, *Pervomist*, p. 296.
18. Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi, *Roksolana* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1980), p. 567.
19. Fashchenko, p. 205.
20. Pavlo Zahrebel'nyi, *Ia, Bohdan: Spovid' u slavi* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1983). For an astute analysis of this novel, see Marko Pavlyshyn, "'Ia Bohdan (Spovid' u slavi)' Pavla Zahrebel'noho," *Suchasnist'* 9 (1985): 17–35.
21. In this connection, compare the article on Khmel'nyts'kyi in the first edition of the standard *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* (59 [1935]:816–18) with that in the second edition of the same work (5 [1950]:340–42).
22. Pavlyshyn, pp. 30–31.
23. Pavlyshyn, p. 29.
24. Fashchenko, p. 205.
25. George S. N. Luckyj, "Ukrainian Literature," in *Discordant Voices: The Non-Russian Soviet Literatures, 1953–1973* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1975), p. 132.
26. Roman Ivanychuk, *Krai bytoho shliakhu* (Kiev: Molod', 1962).
27. Roman Ivanychuk, *Mal'vy* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1969).
28. N. Ravliuk, "Istoricheskii roman bez istorii," *Pravda Ukrainy* (Kiev), February 7, 1970, p. 4.
29. Roman Ivanychuk, *Cherlene vyno* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1977).
30. Volodymyr Iavorivs'kyi, "Zrilst' talantu," in Roman Ivanychuk, *Manuskrypt z vulytsi Rus'koi* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1981), p. 11.
31. Iavorivs'kyi, p. 10.
32. Ivanychuk, *Manuskrypt z vulytsi Rus'koi*, p. 302.
33. Roman Ivanychuk, *Chetvertyi vymir* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1984).
34. Roman Ivanychuk, *Shramy na skali* (L'viv: Kameniar, 1987).
35. Roman Ivanychuk, *Zhuravlynyi kryk*, *Zhovten'* 1 (1988):18–56; 2 (1988):17–68; 3 (1988):14–73.
36. Chumak, p. 182.
37. Antoni Gołubiew, as quoted in Xenia Gasiorowska, *The Image of Peter the Great in Russian Fiction* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), p. 10.

Інтерпретація християнських тем у модерній українській поезії

Християнські теми й мотиви в українській поезії двадцятого століття торкаються різних релігійних аспектів, а особливо —питання відношення поета до Абсолюта, до особи Христа, Богоматері, до метафізичної справедливості та до теологічного тлумачення християнських засад віри.

В основному, це вияв вічного людського шукання ключа до таємниць Божої природи, до загадки Божого відношення до людини, до джерел людського щастя й терпінь та доцільності всього існуючого. Це, врешті, спроби сучасного інтелегента розумом збагнути таємниці людської й своєї власної алогічної поведінки в мезових екзистенціальних ситуаціях, проаналізувати спроможності й обмеження людського інтелекту в його пошуках відповіді на абстрактні концепції вічності, безконечності й безсмертя людини та знайти причини людської тривоги, почуття самотності й моральних протиріч.

Цей етичний, естетичний і розумовий неспокій нової української релігійної лірики випливає з двох головних джерел: з емоцій мистця і з його інтелекту. Поети чуттєвого психологічного складу виходять переважно з позицій християнського-ідеалістичного світосприймання, визнаючи інституційну церковну інтерпретацію суті християнської віри й філософії, а поети з домінантним раціональним світобаченням і підходом до християнського вчення виходять із позицій екзистенціального сумніву, діалектики й скепсису. Рухливим стимулом для цих останніх є вічна потреба людини переглядати давні істини з позицій нового часу, але найважливішою причиною такого перегляду цінностей є травми й трагедії людини, спричинені обома світовими війнами, що захитали основи людської віри в надприродну законність і справедливість.

Ці пошуки серця й розуму в поезії двадцятого століття оформлюються в певні течії і школи—від футуризму й символізму до

найновішого екзистенціалізму, часто борсаючись у сітях поляризованих крайностей—богоствердження й богозаперечування, беззастереженого приймання релігійних і суспільних норм і такого ж категоричного відкидання їх, або спроб синтези християнства з раціоналізмом, з лібералізмом і навіть з марксизмом.

Християнські теми й мотиви в новій українській поезії виконують дві основні функції. Вони є або відзеркаленням релігійного світосприймання автора, або стилістичним засобом і поетичною ідіомою-кодом для відображення поетової і людської долі, мислення епохи та символічного узагальнювання історичних феноменів століття. В психологічно-культурній площині ці теми є рефлексією національного етосу, себто, ілюстрацією думки, що віра й Бог народу є такими, якими є сам народ.

Методологічний підхід до перелічених вище тез у цьому есеї базується не на хронологічному, а на тематичному принципі. Він зосереджується на поетичних інтерпретаціях Бога, Христа, Богоматері, церковних персонажів, творів релігійного мистецтва та християнських реалій. Кожна з тем починається розглядом творів світоглядно релігійних авторів, а кінчається інтерпретацією поезії екзистенціально-діалектичного світобачення.

* * *

Зображення Бога в сенсі онтологічному, себто, Бога, як синтези найвищих людських ідеалів, Буття абсолютної довершеності, першопричини й рушійної сили всього існуючого та джерела людського щастя, найчіткіше виступає в поезії Василя Барки. Барка репрезентує ту ланку українських поетів нової доби, які беззастережно визнають існування християнського Абсолюта та приймають теологічне вчення про Його совершенну досконалість і справедливість. Для Барки Бог є джерелом моральної сили людини, її етичності, творчого надхнення та післанництва поета й поезії. Творчу інспірацію поет називає "особливим законом" Бога Саваофа, законом, який, на думку Барки, potwierджено в біблійних книгах Царств. Будь-яке відхилення від Саваофа, або зневаження Його, свідчить про поетову втрату почуття "богонадхненної краси," що в теологічному сенсі є втратою Божої ласки, необхідної для людського морального оновлення. На землі, на погляд Барки, існує дві протилежні сили—зло зі своїми жертвами та "добропромісний" і "всесвятий" Бог, який має реформувати людину і світ. Людські трагедії на землі є ознакою переваги зла, від якого людина може звільнитись тільки всесильною вірою в Бога й молитвою.¹

Антоничеве відношення до Бога в збірці "Велика гармонія,"² якої, до речі, поет ніколи не віддав до друку, хитається між двома

полюсами—між богоствердженням і сумнівом. З одного боку, Богдан Ігор Антонич апріорно визнає онтологічного Бога й "гуторить з Богом . . . самна-сам," а з другого—ставить під сумнів Божу спроможність задовольнити людські потреби. Така антитетичність позицій поета свідчить не про "велику гармонію," а про внутрішню поетову дисгармонію-конфлікт, у якому зіткнувся світ Антонича-традиціоналіста, вихованого в родинному священичому середовищі, з світом Антонича-життєлюбця, якого диявол—теж "самотній" і "нещасливий"—намагається звести й завести в життєву шалену й гарячу розкіш. Поет, отже, стоїть перед дилемою вибору між суворим Саваофом, що вимагає від нього самозречення, і тим богом, що уособлений в сонці й життям пульсуючій природі. Антонич остаточно піддається своєму спокусникові й вибирає Сонце й "зелену Євангелію." В своїй збірці "Привітання життя," яку він писав одночасно з "Великою гармонією," поет декляративно заявляє:

Тепер—де б я не був і коли-небудь,
я все—п'яний дітвак із сонцем у кишені.
.....
Мої пісні—над рікою часу калиновий міст,
я—закоханий в житті поганин.³

По цій же лінії розвивається концепція Бога в Павла Тичини. Тичинин Бог—"Не Зевс, не Пан, не Голуб-Дух," а "Сонячні Кларнети." Як і в Антонича, його Бог—це витвір поетового емоційного й естетичного піднесення, повного внутрішнього узгодження й екстатичного захоплення. В Антонича краса природи, сонце і всепроникаюча енергія викликають існування Бога, а в Тичини та ж краса й національне відродження створюють бога пангармонії і всещастя. Тичина в екстазі збудження й відчуття абсолютних акордів містично зливається з своїм богом—універсальним ритмом і всекеруючим Духом:

Навік я взнав, що Ти не Гнів,—
Лиш Сонячні Кларнети.⁴

Але з моментом, коли "вітер"—символ хаосу—порушує цю гармонійність у душі поета, світлий бог зникає, а на його місці з'являється Чорнобог—бог розчарування й розпачу.

Ото ж, Тичинин бог мінливий і дочасний, а його поява в ясному або чорному виді залежить від поетової психологічної й естетичної настанови.

Більш загостреним і драматичнішим є богошукання Богдана Бойчука, яке впливає з двох протилежних внутрішніх стимулів: з

людських ірраціональних потреб Божого існування та з діалектичного розумового скепсису. З одного боку, людська "чорна підсвідомість" підказує необхідність існування Бога, а з другого, критичний ум постійно питає: "і хто ти, Господи, і де ти?" Ця богошукацька дихотомія впливає з поетового світовідчуття й світорозуміння. По-сартрівськи Бойчук не вірить в "універсальні ідеї релігії," в "індивідуальну релігію," в особисте відношення до Бога, в самотнє шукання його та в "вічний сумнів." Бойчук заперечує здатність людського розуму дійти до метафізичної суті Бога й зрозуміти, чому "досконалий" Бог сотворив у людині язву зла, чому самовистачальному Богові потрібне людське терпіння, та чому Він не об'явиться людям у виді, доступному людським чуттєвим та розумовим спроможностям, бо людина не вміє любити, не пізнавши.

Свою поему "Діалог знизу"⁵ Бойчук кінчає гіпотетично: якщо Бог присутній у навколишній природі і, якщо він піклується людиною й кормить її своїм тілом-хлібом та напуває її своєю кров'ю-соками рослин, тоді людина визнає й прийме його існування. Слід, однак, відмітити, що, хоч Бойчук "секуляризує" й "матеріалізує" свого Бога, він не відкидає його нематеріальності.

Схожим на Бойчукове є богоуявлення Василя Стуса, з наголосом на естетизмі і містицизмі. Сприймання й відношення до Бога в Стуса впливає з поетичного болю, з дна тюремного жаху й безперспективної самотності. Його ляментация-протест часто переходить з особистого в національний біль. Тоді Стус благає в Бога сили й "гніву пречистого," а коли Господь і поета, і його народ "оком поминає" й тікає, "аби не бачити нелюдських кривд," він заперечує Бога:

Немає Господа на цій землі . . .
Пан-Бог—помер.⁶

Стусів Бог воскресає, коли наближається "немилосердний день"—поетова смерть. Він гасить у поетові, "стомленому од люті," "свічку болю" й приносить "передсмертну радість." Поетова душа, що, боячись мук тіла й небезпеки самозради, покинула була поета, в хвилину надходячого кінця повертається назад і вносить світло в поетове тіло. В переносному сенсі, це світло є радістю людини, яка в боротьбі зі злом не впала перед ним навколішки; воно є почуттям перемоги високих принципів правди, які, з поетовою смертю, стануть прикладом і розпочнуть у нащадках своє оновлене, жертвою підтверджене існування.

Благослови мене, мій певний дню,
початись там, де щойно закінчився.⁷

Бажанів богошукач іде далі від попередніх. Він, зневірений байдужністю метафізичного Бога до людських молитов і благань, шукає іншого бога і знаходить його в надпересічній людині. В Бажанових "Чотирьох оповіданнях про надію"⁸ таким людино-богом є мітизований кобзар, що в стані повної людської безнадії й безвихідної розп'яття приносить людині життєдайну пісню—героїчну думу.

Бажанова поема, що є варіантом "українських" оповідань Райнера Марії Рільке, відстороняється від Рільчиного богорозуміння й шукання доріг до остаточного містичного злиття з онтологічним Богом. Бажан, натомість, підкреслює божеську роль Слова в людській безнадії, силу,—що закована в національному етосі, і цю евхаристію оновлення приносить господареві заметеного "суховієм" поля й криниці співець.

Господар звівся і, роздерши тишу, . . .

Він проказав:—Оце й приходив бог.

У декого з найновіших поетів стрічаємо також пародизацію Бога, як немічного володаря всесвіту, що є метафоричною аналогією або антитезою земних владолюбців.

У Юрія Тарнавського Бог—"явно нещасливий" і безсильний порадити цьому,⁹ а в Івана Драча "зоряні механізми" надземного Бога працюють справно тільки тому, що Він "справжній марксист" і сумнівається у своєму творі й людському культі Його особи.

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Образ Христа пройшов в українському культовому й поетичному мисленні певну трансформацію, що була зумовлена історичним і національним світорозумінням. З візантійського Пантократа, що відзеркалював характер держави й володарів Київської Русі, цей образ перевтілено в Христа-Чоловіколюбця, що згодом став також синонімом національної трагедії, людського донкіхотства та жертви в ім'я людських ілюзорних ідеалів.

Павло Тичина втілює в постаті Христа, перш за все, трагічний дуалізм воскресіння-розп'яття, що став алегорією мертво-народженої надії народу на національне відродження початку двадцятого століття. В поемі "Скорбна Мати" характерна добрість і наївність народу, у вигляді природи, співає Христові воскресну, а біль і глузд, в образі Марії, що не бачить в воскресіння Христа-Хкраїц, голосить над Христовим розп'яттям, на тлі повної надземної байдужности й болючої іронії:

Над Нею колосочки

"Ой радуйся!"—шептали.

А янголи на небі—
Не чули і не знали.¹¹

Це алегоричне узагальнення особою Христа передає всю суть трагізму національних подій та аспірацій початку нашого століття.

Немов продовженням цього феномену є поема Ігоря Калинця "Тренос над ще однією хресною дорогою,"¹² в якій немає прямої зладки, а тільки поетичний натяк на особу Христа. Він тут наявний у контексті біблійних подій і низки головних свідків Христових страстей. Суд над Христом і Христове терпіння перенесені на узагальненого героя, якого судять беззаконні судді у присутності декількох плакальниць, новочасних "пилатів," повної байдужості глядачів та на очах безсильної матері—усоблення сучасної України.

Ціллю жертви усамітненого героя є відкуплення народу від його найбільшого сучасного гріха—"байдужості до вогню," а воскресіння героя наступить тільки в результаті самоусвідомлення й самообнови пасивних глядачів дійства.

Подібну інтерпретацію Христової Голготи бачимо в Богдана Рубчака. Як антитезу усамітнення Христа в Гетсимані, Рубчак ставить людську кволість, злобу "крикливих крамарів," Петрову гординю та колективну зраду Учителя. З болючим сарказмом поет підказує учням Христа піднести терплячому Учителеві гроно отруєного винограду "на оздобленій порцеляні," аби життя здалось їм "яркокриким."¹³

У тому ж дусі і Юрій Тарнавський ставить під сумнів доцільність Христових мук і жертви, яка, з перспективи тисячоліть, не змінила людства. Поетів Христос на хресті— це трагічний творець, розп'ятий на своєму власному творі та на своїх уявленнях про потребу жертви для людського оновлення; творець, розп'ятий на своїх ілюзіях, які сам усвідомлює собі в останні хвилини свого життя.

Коли вже висів на хресті, водив очима,
широко відкритими, немов бачив уперше
щось у світі, чого не міг бачити,
заки ступив на це підвищення, на яким знаходився.

Перед Христом відкрилась неочікувана реальність, у момент його найбільших страждань задля людей "Спить земля і Єрусалим, і тільки чути хропіт, розкиданий довкруги, мов на узбіччях, каміння,"¹⁴ але він гамує цю свідомість, щоб себе переконати, що "варто терпіти, бо біль, як добрий вчинок, не лишиться забутим."

Богдан Бойчук стрічає свого Учителя-Христа в бучацькій церкві й іде з ним у мандрівку по людських драмах Другої світової війни.

Центральною віссю Бойчукового діалогу з Христом є суперечності між ученням Христа й людськими долями, між життям і смертю, а особливо—передчасними смертями. Ці парадокси доводять Бойчукового героя до стану повного розчарування й зневіри:

Я віру загубив . . .
Бо джерело всевишне і велике,
прибіжище для спраглих і приплив,—
було рожевим витвором уяви,
чарівною легендою людей,
бо як тоді збагнути зло лукаве,
бо як тоді приймати смерть дітей?¹⁵

Бойчуків Учитель безсильний зупинити зло і, або прощає все і всім, або тікає від зла в своє "неземне царство."

Поет дорікає Христові за недосконалість людини, якій Творець дав "вільну волю," але позбавив її повного знання, обтяжив її природу пороками, невідлучною тривогою й сумнівами. Створив людину самотньою і зданою на власні сили, а щастя зробив короткотривалою випадковістю.

Свою поему "Подорож з учителем" Бойчук кінчає остаточною синтезою вічного й проминального—хвалою земному життю й вірою в "дочасну вічність і відносність."

Трактування образу Христа в Миколи Руденка формально й жанрово наближене до Бойчукового, а концепційно—до Бажанової інтерпретації суті Бога. Як Бойчуків, так і Руденків герой, Мирон, веде діалог з Христом, якого він знав з ікони материнської хати, та докоряє йому за байдужість до людських страждань і до важкого досвіду героєвої батьківщини. Руденко, як і Бойчук, вказує на однобічність учення Христа, який на чільне місце ставить "вічні блага раю," але байдужий до поцейбічних людських потреб. Паралелізм Руденкового й Бажанового підходів до онтологічних питань полягає в тому, що Руденків Христос і Бажанів Бог трансформуються в земне божество—в іпостась кобзаря. В центрі Руденкового й Бажанового твору поставлена проблема несвідомості й байдужості до джерел духовної сили людини, сили, що криється в надрах народу, в його спадщині. Руденків Христос, прийнявши докори Мирона, звинувачує його в нездатності відкрити це джерело:

Нарід—це Бог.
А люди—це клітини
У тілі вищому, якого ти
Не здатний бачити.¹⁶

Христос закликає Мирона пізнати Бога-народ і усвідомити собі, що його народ етично зрілий, що зло не від Отця-народу, а від "лукавих," які відкинули його Слово. З цими словами наступає в поемі переображення Христа в постать "сліпого кобзаря," з яким оновлений Мирон, з хрестом на раменах іде ширити Слово.

З перелічених вище символіки й алегорій стає очевидною центральна теза Руденкової поеми "Хрест,"—ідея необхідності самопізнання, терпіння й витривалості в боротьбі проти зла.

* * *

Третім частим персонажем у новій поезії є Марія-Богоматір, яка з'являється в різних алегоричних ролях—від Антоничевої "Регіни" до Драчевої "Чорнобильської Мадонни." Це образ, що розвинувся в українській літературі й культовому почитанні з дохристиянської "Великої Богині," перевтілюючись у християнську "Оранту" й "Покрову," а в двадцятому столітті—в синонім людської любові й терпіння і, в вужчому розумінні,—в символ національної долі.

Антоничева Марія виступає в кількох зображеннях, які, в основному, є витвором поетових психічних станів і настроїв. Вона з'являється йому або як небесна княгиня й об'єкт почитання, або як відзеркалення його морального болю. Це елегійні спалахи почувань усамітненої людини, яка шукає материнського захисту. Тому в стані душевного піднесення Антонич співає оди на честь Марії-Регіни, а в моменти психічного спаду просить у неї ліку на свої, свого народу й людські рани й мандрує з нею самотнім шляхом, "із серцем Сина, що пробите терном."¹⁷ Вона в Антонича часто перевтілена в регіональну лемківську, або національну Мадонну, що своїм серцем, як Шевченкова Марія, передчуває Голготу свого Сина.

Найдраматичніше, з трагедійним звучанням, проходить мотив опіки й терпіння в Тичининій "Скорбній Матері" і в "Божій Матері" Юрія Клена, що є наче завершенням поеми Тичини. В Тичини вона безсила відвернути свою трагедію, падає на обніжок, "хрестом розп'явши руки," а в Клена Марія божеволіє від вістки про Синове розп'яття.¹⁸

В Павла Тичини християнська Мадонна Марія є теж антитезою нової земної Мадонни—"діви гріховної," що несе невідоме й чарує своєю зовнішньою привабливістю. Вони символізують внутрішнє поетове роздвоєння, дилему вибору між "пречистою" і "гріховною" дівами, між "лелією" і "рожею," себто, між старим і новим, які Тичина намагається поєднати в собі:

Замість лелії рожу
цілують уста.

А все ж, як Петро від Христа,
відректись від тебе не можу.¹⁹

В українській радянській поезії і, зокрема, в повоєнній, мотив терпіння Богоматері закований у образах світських матерів, у війною покривджених "мадоннах нашого часу,"—мотив, що не обминув жодного поета.

Найновішою ілюстрацією цього літературного й національного феномена є поема Івана Драча "Чорнобильська Мадонна,"²⁰ яка сплавляє в собі християнську Богоматір, Шевченкову "Марію" й Тичинину "Скорбну Матір" з загальнонаціональною сучасною матір'ю, прогнаною з своєї господи власними синами. Драчева Мадонна є символічним схрещенням двох глибинних сучасних трагедій нації—терпіння й відкинення матері, що самотня, з тріною в кутку хати й горою воскових свічок, жде свого кінця. Відвернути її смерть може тільки усвідомлення й покаяння злих і заблуканих синів.

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Християнські культові й мистецькі об'єкти й побут служать сучасним поетам матеріалом для відображення своїх естетичних і філософічних пошуків, або є аналогіями й антитезами сучасних українських культурних і політичних реалій.

Ігор Калинець відкриває в релігійному мистецтві джерело самопізнання, самообнови й точку духовної опори. Він містично зливається з красою й духовною суттю цих реліквій та в зачарованій екстазі затирає границю між учора, сьогодні й завтра. Його контакт з творами краси дозволяє проникнути крізь їх зовнішню матеріяльність і відкрити в фізичному надчасове й незмінне.

Я був усім на всіх і вся:
величчям, вірою і болем . . .
Я вийшов з церкви—
і засяв
тисячолітнім ореолом.²¹

А коли поетова навколишня реальність виступає проти людини і її етичних ідеалів, поет з трагічним болем і безсиллям стає на захист краси:

Тріщали предвічні зруби,
Летіли гонти, як пір'я:
руйнували дерев'яне чудо
людської праці та віри.²²

Богдан Бойчук шукає в європейських та інших старовинних християнських храмах слідів понадчасової людської любови й кохання, щоб, як і Калинець, "розп'ястись" на них, влитись у молитви "голубих померлих" та подивитись у "потойбіччя"

надгробних плит Монмартру. Шукаючи тривалої суті любови й життя в видимих залишках минулого, Бойчук бажає відкрити для себе земну вічність людських почувань, їх тяглість та перевагу життя над смертю. Ці мотиви домінують у його поемі "Довга подорож I."²³

У другій частині цієї поеми, в "Довгій подорожі II,"²⁴ поет наголошує темі безпереривності людського терпіння, що втілене в настінних ликах Христа та в зображеннях Богоматері, які продовжують страждати за людей, "призначених у дочасність."

Цю тему й тему людського призначення підсилює весь навколишній ландшафт поеми, вкритий камінням і самотніми кущами на сонцем пропеченій глині, по якій, як по житті, мандрує Бойчуків герой. Візуальність і психологічна насиченість декору поеми створює моторошне почуття беззахисності і всюдисущої смерті, а понад цим пустирем боляче ячить вічне питання людини: хто я?!

В Ліни Костенко християнські об'єкти й реалії наводять на суб'єктивні етично-філософічні роздуми над сенсом людського існування, але й одночасно викликають суспільно обумовлені асоціації, з наголосом на громадській стійкості та інтегральності мистця, який повинен служити високим стандартам краси й нею збагачувати свій народ і все людство.

Костенко зосереджується на негативному феномені епохи—на втечі від названих вище завдань мистця. Темі втечі від боротьби, від народу й від свого таланту втілює Ліна Костенко в своїй драматичній поемі "Сніг у Флоренції."²⁵

Ця сюрреалістична містерія відбувається в глухому закутку монастирського саду, в старовинному французькому містечку Түрі у шістнадцятому столітті. Сюжет поеми—це драматичний монолог "Старого" флорентійця, колишнього талановитого мистця італійського Ренесансу, який, не витримавши випробувань на своїй батьківщині, покидає її й продає свій талант французькому володареві. В результаті надвірних інтриг і смерті свого мецената Рустічі тратить свої привілеї і, з ласки одного приятеля, знаходить затишшя в старому монастирі, де на схилі віку зустрічається з своїм "альтер его"—"Молодим" флорентійцем.

Поема Ліни Костенко "Сніг у Флоренції," починаючи з її назви й імени героя та кінчаючи монастирською обстановкою, побудована на метафорах, символах і алегоріях, які можна звести до двох основних категорій-значень: "камінності" і втечі. Першу відображує Джованфранческо Рустічі,²⁶ а другу—монастир. Ці узагальнення Костенко переносить на свій національний ґрунт і в свій час. Тут тема невинної матері-батьківщини, тема самозради, питання "танучого" й "нетанучого" мистецтва, проблема мистця-"вигнанця," якого уособлює Данте, і мистця-"втікача," втіленням якого є герой

поєми, та тема ірраціонального людського страху, спричиненого зовнішніми ворожими силами.

Внутрішній конфлікт "втікача" Рустічі Ліна Костенко розв'язує поетичним містифікованим натяком. Героєва внутрішня боротьба кінчається усвідомленням свого гріха й "розпачливим" бажанням повернутись до своєї батьківщини, щоб спочити під її тернами.

Окам'янілий і непридатний своїй батьківщині Рустічі "розтанув" у мрячній ночі монастирського саду й "розтануло" його мистецтво. Його бажання повороту на батьківщину—це ляментация останніх хвилин мистцевої "безвиході." З батьківщиною він з'єднується, як і Франків Вишенський, у своїй смерті.

* * *

У кінцевому підсумку розглянутих вище інтерпретацій релігійних тем і мотивів у новій українській поезії хочемо відзначити, що цей огляд не включив значного числа відомих поетів останнього століття, які вдавалися до релігійного матеріялу. Так само не інкорпорує він усіх аспектів проблеми, а зосереджується на центральних питаннях релігійно- поетичного мислення епохи.

Головні висновки цього есею щодо характеру, концепцій та стилістичної функції релігійних елементів, можна звести до трьох основних категорій: елементів, що є відзеркаленням ідеалістично-релігійного світовідчуття авторів і засобом символічних узагальнень історичних явищ століття; елементів, що служать творчим матеріялом для поетів раціонально-діалектичного світорозуміння; і тих елементів, що є вихідною точкою або аналогією сучасних реалій і національного етосу.

В першій групі переважають поети початку й середини двадцятого століття, в другій—поети Нью-Йоркської групи, а в третій—сучасні українські поети на материк.

В основному, українська релігійна лірика цього століття є продуктом національного історичного досвіду, інтелектуальних пошуків та особистих і колективних травм і трагедій, спричинених обома війнами. Тому ця лірика тяжіє до історизму, філософізму й етичності.

Не зважаючи на ці підсвідомі тяжіння, модерна українська релігійна поезія не є сухим підрахунком історичних драм століття, ані автобіографічним катарсисом, філософічним Сократівським діалогом, або дидактичною проповіддю: вона є мистецьким надчасовим узагальненням історичних феноменів доби, людських доль та борсань ума освіченого, етично сформованого небезстороннього інтелігента нашого століття.

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Glasnost' in the Sixties: Ukrainian Literary
Criticism 1957–1965

The years 1961–1962 were a time of great hope for the post-war generation of Soviet Ukrainian writers. In the span of two years, innovatory works by a group of young authors appeared in the leading literary journals, and critics began an attempt to come to grips with a new aesthetic. Poetry by Lina Kostenko, Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi, Ivan Drach, Vitalii Korotych, Ievhen Hutsalo, Mykola Synhaivs'kyi, Petro Skunts', and Robert Tretiakov appeared at this time, stirring considerable controversy. Simultaneously, *Literaturna hazeta* (Literary Gazette) announced with some fanfare the existence of a new prose by demonstratively printing, on January 23, 1962, works by six representatives of the new generation: Ievhen Hutsalo, Ivan Drach, Valerii Shevchuk, Volodymyr Drozd, Iuriy Koval', and Fedir Boiko. During the months that followed, several more short prose works by the young writers appeared, and the republican reader was soon presented with the first book-length collections.¹

As the new literature burst upon the scene, it received support from a circle of sympathetic critics who provided it with a spirited defence and began to probe deeper into the meaning of the new literary movement, to examine its aesthetic, cultural, and political roots. Critics such as Ivan Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dziuba, Ievhen Sverstiuk, Ivan Boichak, Viktor Ivanysenko, Stanislav Tel'niuk, and Marharyta Malynovs'ka all contributed to a consistently argued critique of the contemporary condition of Ukrainian writing and a justification of the new. These positions in turn exerted an influence upon some established critics, such as Leonid Novychenko, Stepan Kryzhanivs'kyi, Semen Shakhovs'kyi, Ielyzaveta Starynkevych, Petro Kolesnyk, and Mykhailo Lohvynenko, who also began to insist upon the merits of what the younger generation was attempting.

The new literature was at this time scrutinized at the highest government levels; at the Third Plenum of the Writers' Union of Ukraine in January 1962, a clash of opinions between various factions

took place, from which advocates of the new seemed to emerge the victors: they were granted a greater degree of recognition and acceptance. The movement remained in the ascendant until June 1963, when a special ideological plenary session of the Party's Central Committee in Moscow put a ban on liberal tendencies in the arts, demanding a more cautious approach to change and experimentation.

When one surveys the articles written at this time in support of the new writing, it becomes clear that there is a continuity with positions articulated as early as 1957. In fact, the body of critical opinion produced between 1957 and 1965 by Svitlychnyi, Dziuba, Sverstiuk, Boichak, Malynovs'ka, and others develops a clear line of argumentation and forms a distinct phase in the history of Ukrainian criticism.

Of course, there are differences of emphasis among these critics, and they did not reach consonant positions simultaneously: Svitlychnyi, for example, began by being much more suspicious of all forms of "modernism" and "formalism" than was Dziuba;² Boichak had attacked Dziuba's more radical demands in 1958 but was fully in agreement with the latter by 1962; Ivanysenko had accused Lina Kostenko of "formal tinkering" in 1957 but was singing her praises by 1961; Marharyta Malynovs'ka began writing only in 1963 when it was clear that the atmosphere had changed and the old guard would not be dislodged so easily—a fact that explains the more circumspect tone of her criticism. Nevertheless, quite insistently, the same themes were being repeated by this group, the same complaints voiced, and the same demands made upon literature.

To fully grasp their position, one has to be aware of the context in which they emerged, the literary arena into which they were thrown. During the period of the "thaw," and particularly in 1961–1962, three basic camps took up positions in the literary debates, which could be described as conservative, reformist, and radical.

The conservative reaction, expressed by such figures as M. Sheremet, P. Zahrebel'nyi, N. Nastiuk, M. Chabanivs'kyi, V. Romanenko, and P. Tychyna,³ were unwilling to accept changes in the status quo. Among other things, this meant that they wished to retain the literary commonplaces or "formulas" that had been developed over the last thirty years and which were codified in the patristic texts of Socialist Realism. In prose, this often meant reducing literature to a "master-plot" (a "Party activist convinces the backward masses" stereotype), which had been canonized since the appearance of such works as Petro Panch's *Heroi nashykh dniv* (A Hero of Our Time) in 1927. In poetry, the hallmarks of the Stalin period were the *agitka*, a versified exhortation devoted to a topical issue, and the pompous ode extolling the virtues of the state.

After the statements of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Party Congresses, a reiteration of the old political dogmas clothed in the literary conventions of the past became more difficult; not only was there a different

wind blowing within the Party, but the new literary movement exhibited an extraordinary vitality. The younger generation was, of course, educated by the great social changes that were taking place in the U.S.S.R.: the return of millions of political prisoners from the camps, the rehabilitation of writers, the rediscovery of history (particularly of the twenties), and renewed contact with the outside world. This generation felt the need to overthrow the old gods and to come to grips with the meaning of the last forty years. The dictator had been exposed, his image toppled; now, they felt, it was time to expunge his likeness from the arts he had patronized.

From about 1957, in fact, Svitlychnyi, Dziuba, Lohvynenko, Ivanysenko, and others had in their criticism ridiculed the conventions of the old literature, steadily undermining the literary "formulas" that constituted the Socialist Realist canon. By 1961, the literary establishment was searching for examples of a literature that could replace the discredited schemes of the last decades and yet remain acceptable to its tastes. It found such an example in Mykhaylo Stel'makh's *Pravda i kryvda* (Truth and Falsehood), which appeared towards the end of the year. This book, which—as the title implies—purported to tell the whole, unadulterated truth about the past, constituted the second, "reformist" position that crystallized at this time. Unable to cast off the conventions of the past, the literary (and Party) establishment tried to substitute a new scheme for the old one.

Official criticism seized upon the book, extolling it as a great achievement of post-war literature and as an example to be emulated. It was published in very large runs and immediately joined the list of Soviet "classics." In fact, however, there was little fundamentally different about this latest work; Stel'makh had merely made certain adjustments to the old plot structure in order to make it more compatible with the new Party line.

According to the conventional "master-plot" of the thirties and forties, a strong and proven Party activist is sent to a disorganized factory or backward rural area; he cajoles or browbeats the masses into accepting his far-sighted plan or project (which could be the restoration of a factory, a new electrification works, a gigantic dam, or something similar). Although the people at first exhibit scepticism and resist his ideas, they are eventually won over by his single-minded determination and prophetic vision. Usually the confused masses are victims of their own backwardness and of subversive agents working in their midst. After their prejudices have been overcome and the agents exposed, however, the situation is happily resolved and the project is an unqualified success. Such a plot originally appeared in P. Panch's *Heroi nashykh dniv*, Ivan Le's *Roman mizhhir'ia* (A Novel of the Lowlands), Ivan Kyrylenko's *Kursy* (Courses), and other works of the late twenties.⁴ Since then, it had become a standard feature of Soviet prose.

In *Pravda i kryvda*, Stel'makh adapts this scheme to the new line by elaborating the idea of "good" and "bad" leaders. Malicious characters had worked their way into the Party, and they, according to the author, are the cause of the people's sufferings. The instructions of the Party, we are told, were not at fault as much as the selfish careerists, time-servers, and bureaucrats who twisted these instructions to their own benefit and who exhibited ruthlessness and contempt in their treatment of the populace. Although Stel'makh's novel allows some outspoken criticism of social problems, it ends by replacing "bad" leaders with "good" ones and conveniently ignores the Stalinist terror, shifting the blame for economic hardship and personal suffering to the desolation wreaked on the country by the Second World War and foreign invasion.

This kind of literature can be read as a ritualistic legitimization of the new Khrushchevite line, a celebration of the new leadership's wisdom and sensitivity to popular concerns, in contrast to the authoritarianism of the preceding years. The hero of Stel'makh's book, for example, differs from the paternalistic, stern, and unbending strong men of previous decades by showing a much greater sensitivity to personal suffering: he worries about the villagers' well-being and expresses outrage at the conditions in which they have been compelled to live. Nevertheless, he still remains the hackneyed "good" leader who arrives in the village to defeat the gang of evil-doers and to set things right. In spite of the acclaim the book received as an "affirmation of lofty positive principles," a closer examination of the text reveals many *topoi* of preceding decades in the plot, characterization, diction, and literary devices.

The new generation of critics, however, was not to be satisfied with the substitution of one formula with another; in their writings of 1961–1962, they accurately indicated the stereotypes and conventions that abound in Stel'makh's book⁵ and demanded that literature make a complete break with such a schematic resolution of political and social issues and that it do away with political cliché.

Since the entire young movement began by opposing both the conservative and reformist camps, by rejecting what had hitherto existed in Soviet literature, an examination of its position must begin with a glance at what was abhorrent in the writing of their contemporaries.

In very outspoken terms, the younger generation criticized the pompous, dogmatic tone of most poetry, its lumbering rhetoric in praise of the latest Party decisions, and its mind-dulling repetition of the same odes: to the Party, to the Revolution, to Lenin, and so on. At the same time, they lambasted another tendency, what one writer called "botanical lyrics":⁶ those scientifically accurate renderings of the self-evident and banal, naïve descriptive techniques, illustration for its own sake with no attempt to grapple with a profounder comprehension of the world. And, finally, they castigated all examples of the undemanding, the provincial, and the anti-intellectual.

In prose, these critics rejected the conventional plot, the stereotyped positive hero, the rigid, hierarchical distribution of roles that made characters into allegorical figures representing abstractions such as "good" and "bad" leaders.

Although it was not possible for writers to question the tenets of Socialist Realism openly, this kind of critique effectively undermined its foundations, since this form of writing over the last decades had been built upon the imitation of certain canonical exemplars which exhibited these conventions. Still less, of course, was it possible for the radical position to suggest that Socialist Realism's grasp of "reality" was problematic. If they could, they would perhaps have agreed with Andrei Siniavskii that the literature of the Stalin period would better have been defined as a kind of pseudo-classicism. The characteristic features of such a school are evident in the rigid structures, the pedantically defined canons, the hostility to experimentation, and, as Siniavskii pointed out, the whole tone of this literature: its sense of superiority, its conceitedness, its lack of humour, and its hostility to irony.⁷

The literary credo of the sixties, as expressed in the key critical statements of this period, begins to fit into a coherent picture if we view it as a rejection of a rule-bound and oppressive Soviet pseudo-classicism. Consider, for example, Svitlychnyi's attack on the hackneyed plot. In "Liudyna pryizdyt' na selo" (An Arrival in the Village), he analyzed the "new formula" novels being produced at the time, revealing the identical and profoundly undemocratic structures that appear in all of them. Svitlychnyi showed that ten books published around 1961 all have the same plot: the Party is informed of a weak and backward collective farm; to set things right, it dispatches an exemplary activist

who is fated to struggle with local bureaucrats, shady dealings and drunkards, disorganization, apathy and despondency. Finally, this person wins out and the backward collective farm or machine-tractor station either becomes a leader, or at least makes such an about-face that the overcoming of backwardness becomes a simple and indubitable affair.⁸

This critic pointed out that the sudden success is not attributed to the work of the farmers but is inevitably a result of the activity of the new chief. The farmers are merely the raw material for his plans. The new chief receives all the author's attention and is portrayed mostly in conversation with other chiefs and officials. The peasants, ironically, hardly figure in the stories at all. Svytlychnyi exclaimed:

Everything depends only on the head of the *artil*; the heroes of the novels insist in unison. And what about the collective farms? And the collective farmers? we ask. Perhaps they have some role in this? And if, in the given

instance, nothing does depend on them, then new questions arise
When and how did they become obedient play-things . . . ?⁹

Dziuba made exactly the same point with reference to another novel of the period, when he complained that

according to the author's logic, the people, the collective farmers, are some kind of passive, inert mass, the suffering material for the leaders: if they get a "bad" chief, they will waste away in deprivation and grief, if they "are sent" a "good" one, they will immediately live in happiness.¹⁰

Alongside a democratization of political life, these critics wanted to see a democratization of the structures of art, a portrayal of the "creative initiative of individuals" and the rights of the individual personality.

Dziuba and Svitlychnyi set about dismantling conventional characterization, which divided its heroes carefully into the good and bad, compelling each to speak in the required voice and the required style, thus making characters personified abstract ideas, faults, or passions. Two concepts lay behind such a view of character. One was the classical idea that human beings were basically the same and that only differing conditions and history effect changes in the common substance. Hence, the individual was much less important than the general or universal, and the unique or idiosyncratic was seen as an insignificant deviation from the norm. The second concept was the idea that the typical could be constructed by collecting and generalizing what can be observed in many individuals. Thus, an abstract preconceived idea, a sociological norm, could be suitably presented in literature by synthesizing bits of observed reality: the wisdom and humanity of Soviet leaders could be portrayed as a collage of noble and dignified qualities, the image of the enemy constructed from observed instances of inhuman behaviour, and so on.

Dziuba and Svitlychnyi hammered away at this form of characterization based either upon the statistical average or upon the edifying abstraction. In 1962, Dziuba wrote of Stel'makh's *Pravda i kryvda*:

It would be vain to search in the novel . . . for a deep psychological analysis For it would be a very careless person that could not distinguish the objective study of human psychology from a subjective authorial conception of a person . . . or could not notice how little M. Stel'makh is often concerned with the psychology of his heroes, how he tends to portray the spiritual history of his heroes in excessively general formulas¹¹

This attack on the old and "reformist" plot structure and characterization led to a demand for a more honest assessment of poor work.

Although the number of works published was growing, argued the critics, the number of genuinely talented authors was just as small as before. It was therefore a critic's responsibility to inform a writer if he lacks talent. Furthermore, adherence to a formula could not be the basis of assessing a writer's work; this led only to the chemist's approach to literary judgement. As Marharyta Malynovs'ka put it:

Some critics behave in their articles like chemists. They scrupulously weigh the exact insurance grams of "positive traits," separate the "faults," sum up the "moral," add a little for the theme or conscientious spirit of service of the author. After this system of grading you could probably find flashes of poetry in the authors of *A Song is Born* [an anthology of young poetry under review]. However, it seems to us that this gives more grounds for a discussion of critical-editorial philanthropy and rhymed microversification.¹²

Although the solution could only be hinted at, the critics were in fact suggesting that the only real standard was the best in world literature and that writers who could not find their own voice but instead required a formula to work with were not worthy of publication, were not really writers at all. "Today," wrote Boichak, "every genuine artist of the word must measure himself or herself against the artistic experience of all humanity."¹³

Formulaic writing presented a ritualistic resolution of conflicts and a validation of the system: the reader was compelled to relive over and over again a fictional portrayal of the masses finding salvation under the Party's strong guiding hand. It was a literature designed to give the reader a sense of security, to illustrate the leadership's industriousness and wisdom. Its ultimate message was profoundly conservative, since it represented a thorough defence of the status quo.

The purpose of genuine literature, argued Boichak, was precisely the opposite; it was to shake people from their slumber, to tear away the veil of preconceived notions: "A real artist is a raw nerve, is a heart completely exposed to people's sufferings and joys."¹⁴ Far from seeking a resolution of petty problems, the artist ought to tackle the "great themes," the "great concepts," the imponderables that have attracted the finest literary talents throughout the ages. If, therefore, the first plank in the new generation's literary platform was a debunking and demystification of rigid canons, the second was a concern for the human predicament as manifested in the best of world literature. Much of the literature of the early sixties spoke to such a wider concern.

Among contemporary prose works, Svitlychnyi and Dziuba highly praised Hryhorii Tiutiunyk's *Vyr* (Whirlpool) and Borys Antonenko-Davydovych's *Za shyrmou* (Behind the Screen). In poetry, of course, there were works of Lina Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi,

and Vitalii Korotych; but the critical focus fell in particular on Drach's "Nizh u sontsi" (Knife in the Sun) and "Smert' Shevchenka" (Death of Shevchenko), and on Kostenko's "Paporot'" (Fern).

Tiutiunnyk's *Vyr* concerns itself not with positive heroes and difficulties successfully overcome but with the turning of the grand wheel of life; it is essentially about the irreducible complexity and beauty of life. The vortex of war catches people up in itself and throws them from one experience to another, from one chance encounter to another. Paths and destinies cross and recross throughout the book, weaving a texture that confounds any preconceived schemes the reader might have and produces a sense of a profound artistic reality, of the mystery of fate.

Here was a book that, because of its authentic characterization, its more honest exposure of the political evils of the age, and, above all, its higher artistic purpose, could be put forward as a genuine achievement of the creative imagination, one that challenged and far surpassed made-to-order works like Stel'makh's *Pravda i kryvda*.

Antonenko-Davydovych's *Za shyrmou* was perhaps singled out because it portrays the superiority of vision over sight. It argues that until humanity relearns the emotions of pity, compassion, and love, it will never be able to pierce the screen of appearances that surround it and will never penetrate to a deeper understanding of the meaning of existence.

The same themes were also central to the artistic credos of several poets who were writing precisely at this time: to Vasyl' Symonenko's "Ty znaiesh shcho ty liudyna" (You Are a Person, You Know) and "Ia" (I), to Ivan Drach's "Balada pro soniashnyk" (Ballad of a Sunflower), to Leonid Pervomais'kyi's "Kazka" (Fairy Tale), Lina Kostenko's "Estafety" (Batons), and others. All the above poems, and many others from this period, speak a language of compassion, innocence, and joyful creativity. They place the highest value on the life of the imagination. This is also why many of them also deal with the other side of the coin, the great crime of crushing the imagination, of breaking its free spirit and forcing it back into fear.

Faith in the regenerative powers of the imagination was closely linked to a belief in the value of the individual self. An entire generation was educated on poems such as the above, which stressed the dignity and worth of the individual's unique view of the world. If the active imagination, founded upon personal integrity, is the artist's supreme gift, then it ought to be fully engaged in any creative effort—hence, the constant encouragement of writers by the younger generation of critics to "burn" with a passion, to "dare" reach the heights of their craft.

The early sixties were a time of experimentation in literature and the arts in general. The grotesque, the paradoxical, the fantastic, and the absurd began to reappear in Ukrainian literature. Perhaps as a revolt

against the pretentious and overweening rationalism, scientism, and empiricism of their age, the new writers began to distort perceptions; this is evident in Mykailo Osadchyi's *Bil'mo* (Cataract) and other works, but also in the surrealist and cubistic art produced in Ukraine during this time. The younger generation publicly admitted its infatuation with "Picasso and other leading representatives of Western art," such as Van Gogh, Gauguin, Monet, and Cézanne. In literature, the younger generation was accused of imitating modern Western authors like Faulkner and Salinger.¹⁵

Like the Romantics, the generation of the sixties also searched for a new point of view, reaching out into the cosmos and into the future in order to contemplate human civilization from that perspective (Drach), or into the mind of the child, or into the world of the past with its pre-Christian mythology and symbolism (Vasyl' Holoborod'ko, Hryhorii Chubai, and others). Each such shift in the point of view was, perhaps, an attempt to view civilization from a new vantage point, to gaze upon the supposedly rationally ordered universe from the outside and with the special insight afforded such extraterrestrial visitors as the Little Prince of Saint-Exupéry, another Western author who became extremely popular at this time.

The best critical analysis of this kind of cosmic perspective is to be found in Ivan Boichak's "Na pul'si epokhy" (On the Epoch's Pulse), which appeared in 1961.¹⁶ Here the critic claims that the modern individual has to have a sense of responsibility for the entire planet, for all humanity. The atomic age demands that we develop a new kind of imagination, one that allows us to think and feel for the whole world. Poets have once again become Shelley's "unacknowledged legislators of mankind"; they alone are "capable of living the life of many hundreds, thousands, millions," and they have to teach people a sense of responsibility not only for their own country but also for the planet.

The best defence of the second, primitivistic current that tried to see the world through the mythology of past ages was Ivan Dziuba's essay on Holoborod'ko entitled "U dyvosviti ridnoi khaty" (The Marvels of One's Own Hearth), which was published in 1965. The critic stressed the importance of the rediscovery of the intuitive side of life as a necessary counterbalance to the emotional impoverishment and the rationalistic aridity of contemporary civilization. He suggests that the movement to primitivism, pre-Christian mythology, and ancient traditions and beliefs was evidence of a profound spiritual crisis in the post-war generation.¹⁷

All the qualities briefly described above are elements of Romanticism: the celebration of the life of the heart and the imagination, the faith in the special insight afforded by compassion and intuition, the belief in the supreme gift of creativity, and the flight from a pedestrian rationalism to the splendours of myth and metaphysics. Typically

Romantic also was the elevation of the artist once again to the status of prophet and seer, the suggestion that the poet's insights were more valuable than the judgements of politicians and governments. The generation of the sixties exhibited the Romantic preoccupation with tearing asunder the veil of superficial impressions to get at the more profound reality beyond. To do this, one required the gift of vision. Osadchy included a defence of this idea in his *Bil'mo*:

Who wants to write about a streetcar that goes back and forth on its route without derailing even on the iciest days? There must be another world, created independently, which bears a message and tells you something, a personally conceived model of the world The artist does not faithfully reproduce nature, depicting beautiful sunsets and people silhouetted against them. That's the artisan's job. The real artist leads man through nature, through the sunsets to what lies beyond Like Democritus, he must gouge out his eyes in order to gain an insight into the very essence of being.¹⁸

Perhaps the rehabilitation of the national character of literature also links this generation with the Romantics. Writers, artists, and even film directors at this time began to insist upon the national dimension of their work and upon their interest in national traditions. The primitivism of folk art and Ukrainian monumentalism—both in its Byzantine originals and in its revival in the twenties—was discussed by painters like P. Zalyvakha and A. Hors'ka. Two films produced at this time by the Kievan film studios, *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors) and *Son* (Dream), focused on national traditions and symbols and moved Dziuba to suggest in a review that a revival of a national film art was under way.¹⁹

This "national" in the art of the time was, according to the critics, not to lead to ethnographism or archaism, was not to be an external decorativeness, but was to express itself in the very essence of the work produced . . . in the fate of characters. In the above review, Dziuba suggests that the tragedy of Ivanko and Marichka in *Tini zabutykh predkiv* is more than a personal one, it is a parable of the nation's fate: Ukraine, too, is searching for its soul and must recover it to find happiness.

The critics also showed a revived interest in the nineteenth-century Romantics, particularly in Shevchenko. Ievhen Sverstiuk wrote extensively on Shevchenko at this time, and his "Slidamy kazky pro Ivanovu molodist'" (Following the Story of Ivan's Youth),²⁰ which could be considered the writer's literary credo, is a passionate defence of the Romantic sensibility.

The literary revival of the sixties began with a message that was positive and life-affirming. The glorification of the naïve, childlike, and

primitive carried with it an optimistic faith in the basic goodness of humanity—perhaps a necessary response to the spiritual traumas of preceding decades. The suppressed psychic anguish in older writers such as O. Dovzhenko, M. Ryls'kyi, and B. Antonenko-Davydovych burst forth in a gospel of love, joy, and delight in art. Ryls'kyi's essays in particular, written during 1961–1962, are a moving defence of finer feelings, of noble impulses, of a life devoted to poetry.²¹

Behind such sentiments, however, there lay in most of the writings of this period a darker note—the rejection of a fatally flawed civilization. As the sixties wore on, this view of modern civilization as a corrupting and enslaving force was voiced with greater power and conviction—in Chubai's "Vertep" (Puppet Theatre), Moroz's essays, and other polemical tracts.

A sense of unexplained evil attaches itself to several works. Drach's central image in "Nizh u sontsi" deals with this idea of original sin; in *Vyr*, the war stands as a metaphor for evil. Whether they travelled forward in time to contemplate a future utopia or back to search for the origins of man, writers were concerned with the sickness of the present.

Perhaps the failure of the Communist revolution to humanize existence prompted an investigation into the subjective conditions that led to the imposition of a totalitarian system, into the deep-seated psychological barriers to liberating change. Certainly the generation of the sixties, like the Romantics before it, tried to expose the psychological roots of the domination-subjection complex—in particular, through its assault on authoritarianism in literary structures, and in an increased interest in the psychology of Everyman.

Above all, however, the critical writing of this period strives to rehabilitate art and to explain its importance to a readership for whom it was often merely the illustration of political dogma.

After 1965, the political situation in Ukraine began to change: repression was followed by arrests and long sentences. Svitlychnyi was one of the first to be arrested in 1965. A different kind of mood dominated writers and critics. Yet, from about 1957 to 1965, in the wake of the de-Stalinization movement, a new literature was produced, and an attempt was made to forge a new aesthetic. Although prematurely cut short, its contours were beginning to take shape in the key critical statements of a generation in revolt.

Notes

1. See Ie. Hutsalo, *Liudy sered liudei* (Kiev: Molod', 1962); I. Drach, *Soniashnyk* (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Khudozhnoi literatury, 1962); Valerii Shevchuk, *Sered tyzhnia: opovidannia* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1967); V. Drozd, *Liubliu syni zori* (Kiev: Molod', 1962); and Iu. Koval', *Vidnaidena feia: novely ta opovidannia* (Kiev: Molod', 1965).
2. In his "Advokaty fal'shyvykh tsinnosti," *Vitchyzna* 11 (1958):170-83, Svitlychnyi had argued forcefully against expressions of "modernism" in the arts.
3. See, for example, A. M. Sheremet, "Neproste i shtuchne buty harnym ne mozhe," *Literaturna hazeta*, June 14, 1961; and N. Nastiuk, "Manera khudozhnyka i pohliad krytyka," *Literaturna hazeta*, February 6, 1962, pp. 2-3.
4. See my "Fiction By Formula: The Worker in Early Soviet Ukrainian Prose," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 13 (Fall 1982):47-60, for an analysis of these works.
5. See, in particular, I. Svitlychnyi, "Bohy i navolochi," *Vitchyzna* 12 (1961):159-66; and I. Dziuba, "Pravda zhyttia i maisternist' khudozhnyka," *Literaturna hazeta*, January 9, 1962, pp. 2-3.
6. O. Honchar, "Za pravdyve i vysokokhudozhne vidtvorennia zhyttia narodu," *Literaturna hazeta*, January 12, 1962, pp. 1-3.
7. See Abram Tertz (A. Siniavskii), *On Socialist Realism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960). Iurii Tynianov perhaps first suggested such an analogy with Russian Classicism while analyzing the verse of Maiakovskii and Khlebnikov. See his *Arkhaisty i novatory; Stat'i* (Leningrad: Priboi, 1929), p. 553.
8. I. Svitlychnyi, "Liudyna pryizdyt' na selo," *Vitchyzna* 4 (1961):162.
9. Svitlychnyi, "Liudyna pryizdyt' na selo," p. 168.
10. Dziuba, "Pravda zhyttia i maisternist' khudozhnyka," pp. 2-3.
11. Dziuba, "Pravda zhyttia i maisternist' khudozhnyka," pp. 2-3.
12. M. Malynovs'ka, "Vidkryvachi universal'nykh mifiv," *Vitchyzna* 11 (1964):136.
13. I. Boichak, "Na pul'si epokhy," *Dnipro* 12 (1962):147.
14. Boichak, p. 143.
15. See "Obhovorennia dopovidi Olesia Honchara 'Za pravdyve i vysokokhudozhne vidtvorennia zhyttia narodu,' na III plenumi pravlinnia Spilky pys'mennykiv Ukrainy," *Literaturna hazeta*, January 16, 1962, pp. 1-3.
16. Boichak, pp. 134-52.

17. I. Dziuba, "U dyvosviti ridnoi khaty," *Dnipro* 4 (1965):145–52.
18. Mykhailo Osadchy, *Cataract* (New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 114–15.
19. Ivan Dziuba, "Den' poiska," *Iskusstvo kino* 5 (1965):80.
20. Ievhen Sverstiuk, *Vybrane* (n.p.: Suchasnist, 1979), pp. 158–69.
21. See especially his *Pro mystetstvo* (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd. obrazotvorchoho mystetstva i muzychnoi literatury URSR, 1962).

Lina Kostenko's Allegorical Fairy-Tales

From its very beginning, the Soviet regime did not dissuade its authors from writing fairy-tales. In fact, it encouraged them to contribute to this genre by stressing that "Soviet fairy-tales reflect the heroic struggle of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party at the time of the great October socialist revolution and civil war, during the great fatherland war and the peaceful building of socialism and communism . . . ," and also by pointing out that V. I. Lenin is portrayed as "the greatest heroic figure" in such Soviet fairy-tales as "Lenins'ka pravda" (Lenin's Truth) and "Zolota hramota" (The Golden Decree).¹ For reasons unknown, no one was keen to receive credit for writing the fairy-tales about Lenin, and hence they are usually included among the collections of Ukrainian folk-tales (*narodni kazky*). However, there was never a shortage of authors specializing in socialist fairy-tales. For example, in Soviet Ukrainian literature, such promulgators of the genre as Natalia Zabyla, Oksana Ivanenko, Platon Voron'ko, and Iurii Iarmysh, to mention but a few, produced such a copious volume of Soviet fairy-tales that it exceeds the number of popular fairy-tales collected by ethnographers and folklorists. Moreover, not only minor authors and specialists in children's literature but also such acclaimed poets as Pavlo Tychyna and Leonid Pervomais'kyi felt inclined to compose ideological fairy-tales.²

On the whole, there were no major deviations in the treatment of this genre in Soviet Ukrainian literature. Even with the advent of the Thaw in the 1950s, most authors continued writing fairy-tales in order to inculcate children with the tenets of socialism. A major exception to this trend were the fairy-tales of Lina Kostenko and Vasyl' Symonenko. Composed in a light and humorous mood, Symonenko's fairy-tales were intended for pre-school children.³ Conversely, Kostenko's fairy-tales were aimed mainly at mature readers and were included in her collections of verses. The first was "Kazka pro Marú" (A Fairy-Tale

about a Phantom), which appeared in a collection entitled *Vitryla* (Sails), published in 1958; the second work provided the very title of Kostenko's next collection of poems: *Mandrivka sertsia* (The Journey of a Heart), which came out in 1961.

Even a cursory glance at Lina Kostenko's fairy-tales reveals that they are obviously not intended for children, and that they have no direct bearing on Soviet history, on the way of life, or on the task of building a future socialist society. Upon examining these fairy-tales further, one can discern without difficulty that the poetess refrains from all facets of Soviet ideology but expounds certain notions that pertain to the problems that confront all mankind in the contemporary world. It is also quite apparent that in order to convey abstract ideas in a concrete form, Lina Kostenko has recourse to allegory, a literary device that is at least as old as the fairy-tale itself. In keeping with the precepts of the genre, Kostenko presents a small number of characters, most of which are personifications of abstract ideas. Although this is an ancient and a conventional allegorical device, Kostenko utilizes it with great skill in order to develop dynamically and dramatically the complex notions that are camouflaged by the rather innocuous titles of the fairy-tales.

At first sight, the title "Kazka pro Marú" may strike one as a mere ghost story. From the very beginning, however, it is plain that such presumptions are unwarranted, inasmuch as Kostenko alludes to other meanings of the word *mara*. In Ukrainian, in addition to phantom, ghost, or spectre, the term also denotes an evil force or the personification of a demon in female form. The notion of a she-demon is not, of course, a uniquely Ukrainian phenomenon.

The origin of demonology has been traced to Mesopotamia, from where it spread to various peoples of the Near East and eventually to the Hellenistic world and to various parts of Europe. In the oldest depictions that can be found in Sumerian and Akkadian literature, both male and female demons occur, and the physical form of most demons entails "a mixture of human and animal features: a lion's head, a woman's body, dog's teeth, and eagle's claws on hands and feet."⁴ The physical attributes of various demons changed in the course of time, but, in the main, the dualistic image of demons was retained, as was the mixture of human and animal features.

Lina Kostenko was evidently well aware of these basic demonic attributes and included them in the depiction of the main character of her "Kazka pro Marú," who was born with a "dual visage" (*dvoelykoiu narodylas'*). The rendition of this dualism is both succinct and striking:

Як поглянути з правого боку —
то добре дитя, нівроку.
Личко біле, наче намітка.
Око — сонцем погріта квітка.

А брова — як тонкий листочок.
А щока — ясний пелюсточок.
А вуста — лісова полунія.
А волосся — яра пшениця.

Як поглянеш з лівого боку —
ой, потворне ж дитя, нівроку!
Рудувата пляма на скроні.
Ніс без ніздрі.
Повіки червоні.
Око вовче, а зуби щучі,
а вуста — мов змії повзучі.
А волосся над головою —
як пустир, що заріс кропивою.

.....

З цього боку — мов квітка леліє.
З того боку — мов звір визира . . .

Охрестили дитину — Марія.
А прозвали її — Марá.⁵

In the above stanzas, the dyadic make-up of the heroine is conveyed by means of her diverse physical attributes, as well as by the names that she was given. Thus, both her appearance and the nickname Mara represent concretely an abstract notion of evil.

Although Lina Kostenko employs a familiar personification of evil, she does not intimate thereby that the heroine of the fairy-tale should be conceived as an outright she-demon. In her childhood, Mara was in all respects a human progeny. Both of her parents are human beings; she is baptized; she is loved by her mother, who affectionately calls her Marysia. She feels deeply hurt by the comments about her facial deformity, but she jeers at a frog and throws a stone at it because it is an ugly creature. However, Mara quickly realizes that she should not blame the frog for her own misfortune. From these and similar details, it is evident that in the beginning of the fairy-tale, Marysia is not portrayed as an incarnation of evil. At the same time, it is apparent that Marysia is intended as a personification of abstract ideas, namely, the inverse notions of beauty and ugliness. Furthermore, it is clear that, allegorically, the heroine represents an emotional suffering that ensues from a convergence of these attributes in one person.

In keeping with the convention of the genre, the main plot of "Kazka pro Marú" entails Marysia's quest for a magical remedy for her physiological dualism. First she goes to a sorceress, known as a "Wise Woman" (*Mudra Baba*), and asks her to erase the ugliness from the left side of her face. The response from the Wise Woman comes as a complete surprise:

— Я Мудра Баба.
 Ү-Ү-Ү, я дуже мудра!
 Я знаю все, що робиться в природі.
 Але тобі не стану я в пригоді.
 Така вже в мене сила споконвіку —
 я можу зло зробити чоловіку.
 біду накликать,
 горе замісити,
 верстов за двадцять вікна перебити.
 Коли захочу, —
 кожного зурочу.
 Коли захочу, —
 лиха напропорочу.
 Камінний град на голови накличу.
 Святого з'їм і чорта возвеличу.
 В ділах недобрих я всевладна.
 А у хороших безпорадна.⁶

By way of this surprising revelation, Lina Kostenko introduces a touch of irony into the allegorical design of the work. The Wise Woman does not represent an embodiment of wisdom; she has only the knowledge of a narrow specialist: an ability to practise evil for evil's sake. As she is not capable of doing anything virtuous and does not understand the notion of goodness, the Wise Woman cannot differentiate between right and wrong and lacks, therefore, the capacity for sound judgement, an essential trait of wisdom. From all this, it follows that Kostenko intended to cast the Wise Woman not as a sage, but as an ironic personification of a wicked witch.

In the ensuing narration, irony becomes an important architectonic feature of the work and recurs so frequently that at times it is even accentuated by the protagonists. For example, when the Wise Woman tells Marysia that she cannot help her, and that only the Fool (*Durnyi Cholovik*) can dispel her ugliness, Marysia retorts in amazement:

— Чого б я пішла?
 Ваша рада на посміх схожа.
 Мудра Баба не допомгла,
 а дурний чоловік допоможе?!⁷

The Wise Woman responds by pointing out that he is no ordinary fool, for "his folly is incomprehensible" (*hlupota ioho nezbahnenna*). Since the man in question gave away all his possessions to the needy, never offended or harmed any man or beast, became a recluse in the forest, and was an obsessive ecologist, both the Wise Woman and the common

people regard him as an utter fool.⁸ They hold this opinion because they are incapable of understanding the profound altruism, pacifism, and acumen of the Fool. Moreover, these people do not comprehend the irony and the folly of their perception: the Fool is not a foolish but a wise man; and, conversely, they are all utter simpletons, because they cannot grasp the paradox of this situation. The incongruity between the name and the real idiosyncrasy of the Fool further highlights the role of irony in Lina Kostenko's allegorical fairy-tale.

The sagacious nature of the Fool is fully revealed during his meeting with Marysia. He immediately realizes that Marysia's foremost desire is to get rid of her hideous looks and tells her that he can do it with a mere touch of the hand. He also points out the limitation of his knowledge: although he can relocate her ugliness, he cannot eradicate it, and he warns her that, displaced into different spheres, ugliness tends to assume other monstrous and evil forms. As he puts it,

Руку лише до лиця прикладу —
в жмені затисну твою біду.
Всю цю потворність зніму за годину.
Тільки куди ж я її подіну?

В землю зарию — зросте будяк.
Кину в дупло — оживе хробак.
В річку — підніметься каламуть.
А розмахнуся, закину в море —
виникне в морі страшна потвора.
Буде топити човни й кораблі.
Буде лякати людей на землі.⁹

In the above elaboration, the Fool equates ugliness with evil in general terms and then goes on to tell Marysia about the particular evil consequences that would come as a side-effect of the cure that she is seeking:

Значить, я можу,
Значить, я мушу
всю цю потворність
загнати в душу.

Тільки тоді не лякайся змін —
будеш прекрасна з обох сторін.
Тільки душа в тебе буде потворна —
зла,
завидюща,
підступна
і чорна.

Або як хочеш —
 красу твою змущу
 переселитися навіки в душу.¹⁰

As her ugliness can only be transferred from a physical to a psychological dimension, the Fool offers Marysia the choice of having either a beautiful countenance and a hideous psyche, or a completely deformed face but a beautiful soul.

It takes Marysia seven days to make up her mind, but in the end she decides in favour of a beautiful body, in spite of the knowledge that her psyche will be hideous. By way of this transformation, Lina Kostenko adds the final touches to the ironic portrayal of the main heroine. In the beginning of the tale, she is endowed with demonic physiological traits (a combination of human and animal features) and with a human soul, but by the end of the work she appears as a demonic spirit housed in a beautiful human body. It is also noteworthy that in both instances there prevails a disparity between the physical and the spiritual traits of the heroine.

On portraying the major protagonists in "Kazka pro Marú," Kostenko indicates by way of the names and other concrete details that the characters are meant to personify abstract concepts. But as soon as she conveys allegorically a given abstract notion, Kostenko begins to introduce other information that either contradicts or completely alters the initial allegorical meaning. The end result of this literary technique is a series of theses and antitheses that comprise, of course, the essence of the ironic allegorical schemata that prevail not only in the depictions of the major characters, but also in the dénouement of the work.

Having become a beautiful woman, Marysia at first attracts whole hordes of admirers, yet the handsomest man is not among them. He is courting Halia, a very ordinary, almost a homely girl. Feeling slighted and jealous, Marysia does her utmost to lure him away from this girl, but neither her striking beauty nor her amorous intrigues avail Marysia. Even the love potions prepared by the Wise Woman prove ineffective in permanently attracting the man whom Marysia desires. Repulsed by her hideous psyche, eventually all men begin to shun Marysia in spite of her ravishing looks. In the end, she is a vanquished and a lonely beauty queen:

Поїхала Марися у місто.
 Купила півпуда намиста.
 Цілу купу всяких сережок.
 Оберемок тонких мережок.
 Прибиралася,
 чепурилась,
 наче муха в окропі крутилась,

І нарешті, в вечірню пору,
наче кралея,
випливала з двору.

А на вулиці музики,
танці,
жарти,
заковіки.

Гарні хлопці проходжають,
біля милих упадають.

На Марисю ніхто і не глянув.¹¹

The ending of the fairy-tale is as ironic as its beginning. The heroine is still afflicted with a dualism that is repugnant to the society at large. She was ostracized at first for a physical deformity, and now for hideous psychological traits. Marysia's cure thus becomes another kind of malady.

Whether it is employed as a literary device or as a genre, allegory has its limitations, particularly traditional allegory with its inherent one-to-one relationship, which confines the writer to a representation of single analogies. Quite the contrary are the potentials of irony. The incongruities, contrarities, inversions, and antitheses that can be conveyed through irony have proven a very useful resource for authors who endeavoured to depict complex and contradictory phenomena or to raise poignant questions in a literary work.

Lina Kostenko was evidently well aware of the creative potentials of allegory and irony when she chose to utilize both in "Kazka pro Marú." Without recourse to irony, the poetess would have been restricted to portraying the major protagonists of the work as personifications of single abstract notions, such as beauty or ugliness, wisdom or folly. But by utilizing irony, Kostenko endows the personages with diametrically opposed concepts and prompts the reader to consider both notions. As a result, in the case of Marysia, the reader has to query whether she is intended as a personification of the contradictory traits of human nature, which include such notions as beauty and ugliness, goodness and evil. Therefore, by means of irony, Kostenko touches on the basic philosophical questions about the good and the beautiful, which serve as the crux in the formulations of such constituents of philosophy as ethics and aesthetics.

Whereas Lina Kostenko makes no attempt to expound in "Kazka pro Marú" either a given *Weltanschauung* or a philosophical system, she introduces by way of irony some basic philosophical questions and issues. Among them is a major ontological problem: namely, how to differentiate between what exists and what merely appears to exist within the realm of one's perception. Thus, as a deformed child and

later as a ravishing beauty, Marysia is not at all what she appears to be. From the previous discussion, it is plain that in the first instance she is not a demonic creature but a human being, and that later she only appears to be a beautiful woman but in essence is a vile creature. Similarly, the Wise Woman has the reputation of being wise, but in reality she is not; and the Fool is, in the final analysis, not a fool but a sage. Only obliquely relevant to the ontological notions of appearances and reality, but no less significant, is the problem of value judgement, which is also underscored in the fairy-tale. Because of her predilection for physical beauty, Marysia disregards the significance of spiritual values and, consequently, lives unhappily ever after.

It is indicative from both the structure and the contents of "Kazka pro Marú" that the composition of the work was most likely motivated by Kostenko's desire to examine in a concrete form certain abstract problems that pertain to human life. This very objective can also be discerned in her second fairy-tale, "Mandrivka sertsia." Although there are some similarities in the plot patterns of these works, the design and the thematic scope of "Mandrivka sertsia" are more expansive and more complex. Moreover, in this fairy-tale the poetess does not confine herself to an ironic mode or to a small number of allegorical figures.

"Mandrivka sertsia" also begins with the birth of a deformed child, a boy "with an incredibly large heart." When this nameless boy grows up, he becomes aware of a strange emptiness in his heart and seeks various means to alleviate this feeling. But he soon discovers that pleasure, friendship, pursuit of knowledge, and the love of a woman do not suffice to fill the void in his heart. Consequently, he decides to journey into the wide world to find somewhere a remedy for his affliction.

The allegorical design of the work can be surmised without difficulty from the very beginning of the plot. At the same time, one cannot avoid noticing that Kostenko does not reveal what the allegorical significance of the heart is, inasmuch as she provides neither the name nor the occupation of the central figure and simply refers to him as the Wanderer. As a result, she establishes what may be termed an open-ended allegory, consisting of a concrete image that does not convey an explicit abstract notion. She creates thereby a sense of suspense and prevents the reader from jumping prematurely to a conclusion about the significance of the central figure and the work as a whole. The pilgrimage of the Wandering Heart becomes, therefore, a process of discovery for the main hero and for the reader as well.

Quite the contrary are Kostenko's renditions of other allegorical figures in this fairy-tale. Their allegorical significance is established as soon as the Wanderer encounters them, and often through self-revelation. Thus, the first figure is the Shadow of the Fields, which personifies the toil and the suffering experienced by peasants for many centuries

while tilling the land. The second figure is the Bleeding Granite, or, rather, a granite statue of a soldier whose bleeding wound represents those who have experienced the agony of war as well as those who are still enduring it. At this point, Kostenko draws the reader's attention to the differences between allegorical and realistic representation of the victims of war. When the Wanderer wants to bandage the bleeding wound of the statue, the statue replies:

То не pomoже, всі бинти малі.
ІЗ НЕЇ КРОВ ІТИ НЕ ПЕРЕСТАНЕ,
АЖ ПОКИ БУДЕ ЗБРОЯ НА ЗЕМЛІ.
Аж доки хтось на світі хоче
комусь у груди цілитись в боях, —
буде рана моя кровоточити,
буде ятриться рана моя! . . .¹²

This statement is immediately followed by an authorial comment in which the poetess underscores the diverse perception and representation of reality:

Це було в казці.
Це побачив Мандрівник серцем.
А просто очима — це виглядало так:
до братської могили
привезли гранітний пам'ятник —
погруддя, руку з шапкою, постать
в солдатській шинелі.
І лежало окремо все це
серед трав і дмұхняної м'яти . . .¹³

Also explicitly identified are the allegorical figures in the next two chapters. One is called the Eternal Mother, who "smiles to those who are not yet born and weeps for those who have perished."¹⁴ She personifies the procreative force, without which human existence could not be sustained. In spite of its unusual designation, The Almighty of the Earth (*Vsederzhyteli zemli*), the next allegory in this fairy-tale, collectively represents the creative and productive forces of mankind.

To readers who are not accustomed to being confronted with a whole gallery of allegorical portraits, Lina Kostenko promises that the "next chapter shall be realistic" and will be entitled "A Licentious Woman."¹⁵ But what follows has no semblance of literary realism, for the realistic setting and narrative mode culminate in an ironic and allegorical presentation of the limitations of human perceptions: even when the neighbours perceive the widow as "shameless and debauched," she is in fact both pure and virtuous.

While the allegorical depiction of Loneliness is quite conventional and self-explanatory, much more complex and perplexing is the allegorical figure called the Black God, rendered, as Kostenko puts it, "symbolically." Despite his name, the Black God is not a personification of a god, but rather a representation of both man's ability and limitations in understanding the nature of a deity. The perception of this notion varies with each race:

Багато людей у цілому світі.
 Під сонцем люди — теж розмаїтні.
 Біла раса — світу окраса.
 Жовта раса — світу окраса.
 Чорна раса — світу окраса! . .
 Котра й підкорена — невпокорена.
 Добре, мабуть, на душі наболіло:
 негри бога малюють чорним,
 негри чорта малюють білим.¹⁶

Such episodes as the crucifixion of the Black God by the White Devil and the struggle of the Wanderer with this devil are meant to convey the notion that mankind's anthropomorphic conception of a deity is relativistic and verges on the absurd.

In view of the prevailing patterns of allegorical self-revelations, by the time the reader reaches the chapter entitled "The Eyes of the Basilisk" he could expect that the significance of this figure would be duly explained. And, indeed, in the same vein as the presentation of the other personages, the Basilisk discloses his allegorical role by saying: "I am Grief—I am the Basilisk."¹⁷ As the Basilisk is the source of much grief and misfortune for the Wanderer and other people as well, there is no reason to doubt the validity of his assertion. But a closer examination of his name reveals a further significance of this personage. The term Basilisk denotes a legendary reptile that had a fatal breath and glance, and its etymology stems from *basilikos*, a diminutive form of the Greek word *basileus*, meaning king. In view of this secondary meaning, it is not surprising that in "Mandrivka sertsia," Basilisk personifies not merely grief, but also the grief that emanates from an absolute political authority.

Those who are subjugated by the Basilisk experience this grief either by obeying or by challenging his authority. Being obedient, the people are reduced to "half-humans" (*napivliudy*) and must live like dogs who are rewarded with pieces of meat thrown by their sovereign. Those who defy the authority of the Basilisk are either burned to cinders by his phosphorous glance or forever incarcerated.

In the name of those who have perished by challenging the authority of the Basilisk, the Wanderer dares to look directly into his

eyes and would have been victorious if it were not for the loyal "half-men" who come to the aid of their ruler. Defeated and jailed by the subhuman creature, the Wanderer decides to die rather than yield to the beasts. At the hour of death, the Wanderer meets his alter ego, or, one should say, his alter image.

The ensuing discussion between the two alter selves of the Wanderer contains vital clues to the complex open-ended allegory that is conveyed by this figure. From these clues, it follows that the Wanderer or the Wandering Heart is an allegorical representation of a wide range of human experiences, whereas the other self represents an abstraction of these experiences or, as Kostenko puts it, is the "Spirit of the Wanderer." This unusual allegorical formula entails a concrete image engaged in a discussion with the abstract idea that represents it. This is certainly out of the ordinary, but not necessarily ineffective.

Articulating the abstract notions of the real experiences of the Wanderer, the Spirit proposes quick and easy solutions to the grief and all the other problems that the Wanderer had endured and claims that he is representing the very same conclusions reached by the Wanderer. Therefore, the Spirit declares that he has finally understood what can fill the void in the heart of the Wanderer:

Людина — вінець природи.
 Ти заглянув їй у саму душу.
 Немає краще — людської вроди!
 Немає вище — людського духу!

Якою людство зробило планету! —
 бо щось майструє на світі кожний.
 Значить, Люди —

великі поети.

Значить, Людина —

великий художник!¹⁸

Furthermore, the Spirit claims that he knows how to eradicate all grief and misfortune:

Ех ви ж, люди!
 Тисяча літ
 підкоряли собі природу.
 Є, наприклад, громовідвід . . .
 ЧОМ НЕМАЄ ГОРЕВІДВОДУ?

 Працювати десятки літ,
 пересилити слабість і втому —
 І ПОСТАВИТИ ГОРЕВІДВІД
 НА ЗЕМЛІ БІЛЯ КОЖНОГО ДОМУ!¹⁹

about man's quest for meaning in life—the Wanderer's desire to fill the "large void in his heart." Then there is evidence of man's creative and destructive potentials. Further, it is also plain from the tale that man lives in a universe that is hostile and without an apparent purpose. God provides no help whatsoever. Indeed, man is even incapable of understanding the nature of the deity. Yet, in spite of all these obstacles and calamities, man strives to exercise his free will by opposing the hostile forces in his environment.

The further one reflects on the experiences of the Wanderer, the more obvious it becomes that, allegorically, they comprise a thorough synopsis of human existence, an existence that is not restricted to a particular nation, culture, or time. Moreover, on comparing this depiction with the analyses of existence that have emerged in Western literature after World War II, one can surmise that Kostenko's fairy-tale contains a reverberation of the very problems that have been discussed by the promulgators of existentialism.

A discussion of philosophical questions in fairy-tales is in itself an extraordinary development in Soviet Ukrainian literature. But even more remarkable is a fairy-tale that contains the reflections of two diverse philosophical currents, secular humanism and existentialism, and embodies both modes of thought within the central character.

To date, Lina Kostenko's utilization of the fairy-tale genre remains unsurpassed in respect to both its form and contents. Thanks to her remarkable poetic talent, Kostenko manages to modify the conventional devices of this genre in order to convey complex notions and to present in the guise of allegories several philosophical concepts that have been proscribed for Soviet authors.

Notes

1. *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia* 6 (1959): 74; see also V. M. Lesyn and O. S. Pulynets', eds., *Slovnyk literaturnykh terminiv* (Kiev: Radians'ka shkola, 1965), p. 159.
2. In 1929, Tychyna rewrote the popular fairy-tale "Ivasyk-Telesyk," turning the main character into a young pilot flying a Soviet airplane; Per-vomais'kyi published the fairy-tale "Kazka pro Ivana Holyka" in 1939; see *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: bio-bibliohrafichni slovnyk*, 5 (Kiev: Dnipro, 1965), pp. 267, 589.
3. During his brief literary career ranging from 1952 to 1963, Symonenko wrote only two fairy-tales, "Tsar Plaksii ta Loskotun" (published in 1963) and "Podorozh v krainu Navpaky" (published in 1964); see Vasyl' Symonenko, *Poezii* (Kiev: Molod', 1966), pp. 161–76.
4. John L. McKenzie, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: MacMillan, 1965), p. 191.
5. Lina Kostenko, *Vitryla* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1958), pp. 62–63.
6. Kostenko, *Vitryla*, pp. 69–70.
7. Kostenko, *Vitryla*, p. 72.
8. Kostenko, *Vitryla*, p. 72.
9. Kostenko, *Vitryla*, p. 82.
10. Kostenko, *Vitryla*, p. 82.
11. Kostenko, *Vitryla*, pp. 91–92.
12. Lina Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1961), p. 80.
13. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 80.
14. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 82.
15. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 85.
16. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 94.
17. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 96.
18. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 106.
19. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, pp. 106–107.
20. *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury*, 8 (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1971), p. 300.
21. Kostenko, *Mandrivka sertsia*, p. 106.

Головні аспекти світогляду Євгена Маланюка

Вже від найдавніших часів філософи розглядали—і все ще розглядають—питання духового життя людини, її окремішності, неповторності. В Платона це окреслено як "мікро-світ"; Жан-Жак Руссо говорить, що кожна людина має своє коло, у якому вона є центром; ідеалісти-романтики (Віліям Блейк, Йоганн-Готліб Фіхте, Фрідріх-Вільгельм Йозеф Шеллінг) дійшли до висновку, що людина є одночасно і колом, і центром; Артур Шопенгауер і Фрідріх Ніцше вбачали вплив центру на коло, тобто, вплив людини на її оточення, а психологи (Зігмунд Фройд, Карл-Густав Юнг)¹ та мислителі (Мартин Гайдеггер, Госе Ортега і Гассет) уділяють таку ж саму вагу впливові оточення на людину, як і навпаки. Ці загальні спостереження підказують думку, що кожна людина посідає свій внутрішній духовний, "власний" світ.

Євген Маланюк створив свій "власний світ," що містив у собі явища не тільки особистого, але й національного, та навіть універсального характеру, себто, і центру, і кола. Цей "власний світ" Маланюка ми назвемо його світоглядом і на підставі творів поета спробуємо з'ясувати його погляди на основні проблеми життя як людини, поета, члена свого народу та його відношення до Бога, до людства, до своїх рідних, до інших поетів тощо.

Світогляд Маланюка формувався у бурхливі часи не лише української, але й світової історії. Революція, змінивши вигляд Європи, одночасно похитнула і поставила під сумнів багато усталених і загально прийнятих істин у житті тодішнього суспільства. В ті роки Маланюкові, як воякові, довелося перевірити, а то й кілька разів змінити свої позиції. Спершу—перехід з російської армії в українську, потім—Центральна Рада, Гетьманат і Директорія, які скристалізували його погляди на українську історію. А програна боротьба, табір інтернованих в Польщі й еміграція дали поштовх його особливого роду творчості. Ці всі події відбувалися в найбільш формативні роки Маланюкового життя,

коли йому було двадцять-двадцять п'ять років. Ставши тоді на певні світоглядні позиції, Маланюк пізніше не тільки не сходив з них, але навіть і не хитався в своїх переконаннях. Це твердження стосується, в основному, його творів з суспільно-громадською і національною тематикою, що торкаються історіософії українського народу, його психіки, прагнень до визволення і причин невдачі в боротьбі за державність.

Цим питанням присвятив Маланюк дуже багато уваги, у результаті чого з'явилися відповідні його есеї. Його концепція формування української нації—не народу—це одна з основних підвалин його світогляду. Найголовнішим завданням—і своїм, і кожного українця—він уважав сократівське "Пізнай себе," одною з передумов чого є пізнання своєї історії і культури.

Маланюк погоджувався з теоріями розмежування понять культури і цивілізації, які твердять, що культура—це все, що *створив* народ на протязі довгих віків, тоді як цивілізація—це те, що в галузі техніки людина створила механічно. Пояснював він це також і походженням обох понять: *культ*—обряд, *цивітас*—місто. Пропонував тезу, що:

Безнаціональної культури немає. Безнаціональною може бути лише "цивілізація," але й тоді треба пам'ятати, що і за паротягом, і навіть за рефреджірейтором тягнеться певна генетична лінія.²

Продовжуючи цю тезу і взявши за приклад слова Франтішека К. Шальди, чеського літературознавця, що "кожна велика поезія—це діалог між поетом і нацією,"³ Маланюк вірив, що поет тільки тоді дає повноцінні твори, коли існує зв'язок між ним і культурою його народу. Він доводив, що заперечення своєї національності і мови приводить мистця до декадентства в творчості. За приклад він подає творчість композитора Ігоря Стравінського та скульптора Олександра Архипенка.

У статті "Творчість і національність (До проблеми малороссизму в мистецтві)" він розвиває думку, що малороссизм не мусить бути тільки у відношенні Росія—Україна, означає всі іші вілстунцтва. Наприклад, Бернард Шов—ірляндський малорос, Еміль Вергарн—флямадський малорос, і так далі.

До проблем культури взагалі і культури українського народу зокрема Маланюк мав свій власний обґрунтований підхід. Часто він обмежував поняття культури до так званої "геокультури," бо говорив він про культуру автохтонного, не кочового населення земель України, і про те, що впливало на формування цієї культури. Найважливішим чинником впливу Маланюк уважав приналежність, від VII сторіччя до Христа, земель теперішньої України до

середземноморського культурного обширу античної Еллади. Україна становила північну частину країни, від якої (Маланюк уважав) походить пізніша римська і західно-європейська культура і цивілізація. Жодна з інших сусідніх з Україною країн не належала до цього засягу впливів. Доказом культурних впливів Еллади були грецькі колонії на північному побережжі Чорного моря, як і записки грецького історика Геродота, що називав землі теперішньої України—Гіпербореєю. Маланюк уважав, що ця гелленська культура залишила сліди в психіці українського народу. Ці сліди мали і позитивний, і негативний вплив на українську людину. Позитивним вважає Маланюк прив'язання до краси, що виявляється у народній творчості—одягу, вишивках, писанках, танцях, піснях і т. п., глибоке почуття моралі, виявлене в родинних традиціях та пошана до людської особистості, на відміну від тих культур, де в центрі стоїть володар-автократ, а його люди—це "безоблична маса."⁴

Одночасно ці ж самі позитивні елементи мали негативний ефект, як на населення Еллади, так і на автохтонне населення тодішньої України. Надмірне захоплення красою вносило "лагідну душевну мирність і мудру примиренність, що виключало момент боротьби і мілітарної готовності." До цього слід додати ще й культ людської індивідуальності в осередку світогляду, що часто приводив до негативної форми "індивідуальності," в часах, коли вимагалось одностайності. Отже, Еллада внесла зовсім не державотворчий елемент в психіку українського народу.

Таким державотворчим елементом у психіці народу, вірив Маланюк, міг би був стати "Рим, з його культурою, в якій осередку був войовник і правник, а ніколи філософ, чи мистець."⁵ Але впливи Риму ніколи не досягали України до такої міри, щоб залишити сліди на психіці народу. Інші чинники, *на думку Маланюка*, відіграли роль надання бойових і мілітарних елементів гіперборейцям, себто давнім українцям. Цими чинниками, поза готами та пізнішою Візантією, були варяги. Третій розділ у збірці *Земля й залізо* називається "Варяги," і в ньому розвиває поет свою теорію про впливи варягів на формування психіки українського народу. Добрим прикладом цього вважаємо таку строфу:

Став на землю варяг. І загорілась відвага—
Бористенського плеса обабіч—на дикий степ,
І у скитських Атенах Русі великий каган
Степовою потугою широко й сяйвно росте.⁶

Маланюк був прихильником т. зв. "норманської теорії" і не бачив у ній нічого понижуючого, на відміну від історика Михайла Грушевського, який зовсім відкидав її. Докази Маланюка були такі: якщо варяги "заклали підвалини Бритійської імперії, залишили своє

ім'я в Франції (Нормандія), заснували державу Сицилії,"⁷ то цілком зрозуміло, що дійшли по Дніпрі до Чорного моря шляхом, який називається в літописах "путь із варяг у греки."

На його думку, вислідом цього поєднання лагідної еллінської культури і войовничої варязької була Княжа Русь. Але варяги, що були лише народом-завойовником, не спромоглися дати державі конституційно-правного, державотворчого підґрунтя. Причину роздрібнення, а пізніше й занепаду Київської Русі, Маланюк бачить якраз у цьому, а не в навалі кочових племен зі сходу, як звичайно інтерпретується в історії тих часів. У поезії Маланюка це відобразилося так:

Коли ж чорною хмарою сунула чорна Азія,
 Табунами і гарбами рушила татарва,
 Не єдиний варязький стяг, а окремі стязі
 Димний вітер жорстокого бою хитав і рвав.⁸

Дивлячися на дальший розвиток історії України очима Маланюка, треба було б сказати, що і всі інші невдалі спроби створити і втримати українську державу, починаючи від Хмельницького аж до Мазепи включно, пояснюються саме браком того, що називає Маланюк "Римом" у психіці українського народу.

Визвольні змагання 1917–1920 років наступили після двох століть неволі. Ця "ніч бездержавности," як називає цей період Маланюк, додала ще один негативний елемент до психіки народу, а саме—тавро невільника. І це, на думку Маланюка, відіграло вирішальну роль у ситуації тих років.

Маланюк вірив, що найважливіше завдання провідної верстви народу—це змаг до того, щоб знищити в народі почуття раба й зробити його сильним, певним себе і певних своїх прагнень, а саме—побудови української держави. Його поезія була виразником цих прагнень:

Не хліб і мед слов'янства: Криця! Кріс!
 Не лагода Еллади й миломовність:
 Міцним металом наллята безмовність,
 Короткий меч і смертоносний спис.

Щоб не пісні—струмок музичних сліз,
 Не шал хвилевий—чину недокровність,—
 Напруженість, суцільність, важкість, повність
 Та бронза й сталь—на тиск і переріз.

Бо вороги не згинуть, як роса,
 Раби не можуть взріти сонця волі,—
 Хай зникне ж скитсько-еллінська краса

На припонтійським тучнім сүходолі,
Щоб власний Рим кордоном вперізав
І порүч Лаври—станүв Капітолій.⁹

Поет хвилювався, благав і проклинав своїх земляків, щоб повернути їм варязьку мужність і викресати римську державнотворчу мудрість. В одній із своїх поезій він так і запитує:

Коли ж, коли ж знайдеш державну бронзу
Проклятий край, Елладо Степова?!¹⁰

Ця історіософічна концепція минулого, сучасного поетові, та його прогноз на майбутнє, лягли в основу всіх його творів з національною тематикою. В зв'язку з цією концепцією він висуває і наголошує ролю державних провідників, які, на його думку, були справжніми будівничими державности України. Це такі постаті як король Данило Галицький, гетьман Іван Мазепа і, в новіших часах, Симон Петлюра. В кожного з них наголошує Маланюк риси сильних характерів і незламного дүху.

Про короля Данила говорить Маланюк як про останнього з роду Рюрика, отже, останнього з династії варязького походження, що, на думку Маланюка, було основою психіки цього грізного воїна, великого дипломата і розумного володаря, який помер, "стрүджений надмірнотворчим і надмірнотрудним життям, гнүтий і ламаний іспитами долі, але ніколи не зламаний нею."¹¹

Гетьман Іван Мазепа, у світоглядному аспекті, цікавить Маланюка як творець ідеї "мазепинства," що, в свою чергу, означає продовження ідеї Ренесансу, започаткованого цим великого інтелекту державним мужем і меценатом у сфері мистецтва і освіти. В цьому культурному будівництві бачить Маланюк політичну ідею і політичний сенс, бо ідея "мазепинства" і "мазепинців"—це був елемент державнотворчого дүху в народі. Шүкаючи причин програшу у визвольній боротьбі 1917–1920 років, він приходить до висновку, що:

Обүдилось тіло—і схопилось до зброї, обүдилась дүша—і залүнала козацька пісня, але історична пам'ять, свідомість тяглости національної історії і свідомість її політичного досвідү—поверталися повільним ритмом Отже, інтелектуальне мазепинське опритомлення, відчүття дүху і стилю Мазепи—верталися лиш частково . . . і, назагал, спізнено.¹²

У царині мистецтва початку 20-століття продовжувачами дүхового "мазепинства" уважав Маланюк Юрія Нарбүта в малярстві і Миколу Зерова в літературі. Що ж спільного знаходив поет між поста́ттями Мазепи, Нарбүта і Зерова? Рим. Поет так і називає

Мазепу—"Риму козацького сивий Марсе!"¹³ Юрій Нарбут, який називав себе "мазепинцем," у своїй творчості переходить від стилізованого "козацького барокка" до римських шоломів в ілюстраціях "Енеїди," "нічого не втрачаючи з своєї національної природи."¹⁴ Микола Зеров—провідник групи неокласиків, що закликав звертатися до джерел "несмертельної й невичерпальної греко-римської Антики, цілющого ліку на всеросійську барбарію і найпевнішої зброї проти неї ж."¹⁵

З цілого ряду постатей часу боротьби за державність вирізняє Маланюк постать Симона Петлюри, який викристалізував і оформив своєю національною волею, волею вождя, ідею боротьби за державність. В чверть-століття після його трагічної смерті поет пише:

Він невинно росте.

Його постать роки одягають у бронзу і мармор.

.....

Тільки цезар майбуття вдивляється у далечінь

У незбагнений степ,

У трагічний безкрай України.¹⁶

Маланюк пояснював, чому окреслення "петлюрівець" стало пострахом для ворогів і причиною переслідування багатьох невинних людей. У розумінні поета назва "петлюрівець" стала ніби продовженням визначення "мазепинець," означала й далі означає те ж саме: боротьбу за українську людину і за українську державу.

У літературному світі творцем пробудження української національної мислі вважає Маланюк Тараса Шевченка і, до деякої міри, Пантелеймона Куліша. Творчість Куліша дуже мало опрацьована в українському літературознавстві. Він залишився майже забутим поетом і письменником, не зважаючи на його великий вклад в українську літературу. На думку Маланюка, це тому, що Куліш, побачивши всю безнадійність своїх намагань піднести націю на відповідний рівень духового і національного життя, зневірився й у вірші "Псалтирна псальма" написав: "Народе без пуття, без чести, без поваги." (Цей рядок Маланюк цікаво використовує в своєму власному вірші "Куліш.") Ці намагання Куліша з інертної маси етносу створити державотворчу силу-націю порівнює Маланюк з боротьбою героя драматичної поеми Генрік Ібсена "Пер Гинт" з пересічністю. Маланюк, на нашу думку, трохи перебільшує, коли твердить, що "державною була вся діяльність Куліша,"¹⁷ особливо у відношенні чи протиставленні до народництва того часу. Проте опрацьовані Кулішем питання про різницю між тим, що становить націю в розумінні етнографічному і розумінні політичному, висуюють Куліша в перші ряди своїх сучасників.

З усіх постатей, що допомогли Маланюкові викристалізувати свій світогляд, безперечно, найважливіше місце припадає Шевченкові, якого називав поет "духовим Мойсеєм нашої нації."¹⁸ Називаючи Шевченка пророком, він, одначе, пише, що Шевченко був лише Гонтою, а не Мазепою,¹⁹ недооцінюючи потужного державотворчого елементу в поезії Кобзаря, такого як: "В своїй хаті своя правда, і сила, і воля." В іншому місці, обговорюючи Франка, він пише, що той у своїй поезії був виявом національного інтелекту в протиставленні до Шевченка, який був виявом національної емоції.²⁰ Тому Маланюк вірив у величезну силу Шевченкового слова у боротьбі за волю. Він твердив, що: "Динамізм революції був даний Шевченком. Ту частину йї-мільйонового народу, що хопився зброї, повела в бій його волева, його електризуюча поезія."²¹ Але повного зрозуміння ще не було, бо нація ще не доросла до Шевченка, і тільки здобуття власної держави буде виявом повного зрозуміння Шевченкового слова. "До того часу, Шевченко завжди буде силою, що змусуватиме рости,"²² каже Маланюк. Не дивно, що поет у своїй творчості має так багато від Шевченка. І його історіософічні роздуми над істинами життя і буття народу, і його заклики до народу на подібу Шевченкового "Схаменіться, будьте люди," і навіть образ України у постаті жінки, як у Шевченка ("Обідрана, сиротою, понад Дніпром плаче"), повторюються у Маланюка, хоч у набагато гострішій формі.

З числа сучасних йому істориків та ідеологів вплив, у світоглядovому відношенні, мали на Маланюка Вячеслав Липинський, Дмитро Донцов і, до деякої міри, Юрій Липа.

Про вплив історика Вячеслава Липинського пише сам Маланюк: " . . . стався переломовий момент у процесі обудження моєї 'історичної пам'яті'." Пояснює він це так: " 'Історична пам'ять' — то не лише знання історії То є живе відчуття самого струму історії." Сталося це "обудження" в 1922 році, коли, відвідуючи Варшаву, він одержав книжку В. Липинського *Z dziejów Ukrainy*. Про цю книжку Маланюк пише:

Книга ця стала нерозлучним супутником в моїм таборovім житті—з нею і їв, і спав. Але не її багатющий зміст, не блискучі пера її співавторів з незрівняним В. Липинським у центрі . . .—вразило мене. Вразив дух цієї вікопомної в нашій історіографії книги, вразив стиль її змісту, розпляновання й оформлення, стиль, що змусував перед читанням тої книги, якби мисленно "зняти шапку." З книги віяло, "бұхало" історизмом, справжнім, реальним, майже намацальним. . . . Ця книга променювала, радіувала, заражала . . .²³

Безперечно, основу історіософічного первня Маланюкового світогляду треба виводити від Липинського і збудованої ним

клясократичної системи у формуванні народу і держави, розвиненої у пізніших *Листах до братів-хліборобів*.

Публіцист та ідеолог Дмитро Донцов, з яким, як редактором *Літературно-наукового вісника*, співпрацював Маланюк довгі роки і якого він шанував, безумовно, вніс свій вклад у формування Маланюкового світогляду. Про перші враження від статей Донцова, та причини їх великого впливу пише Маланюк так:

... табори інтернованих ... Ми старалися знайти відповіді на ... питання ... , що поставила перед нами сама історія. ... Як це сталося, що ми ... опинилися в таборах? Як це сталося, що ми ... тепер переможені й безсилі? ... Аж ось несподівано опиняється серед нас р. 1922 перше число відновленого ЛНВ. Ім'я редактора—"Др. Д. Донцов"—ми вже чули. ... Але від того першого числа ЛНВ—вже дихнуло на нас першим передчуттям можливої *відповіді*. Це вже було щось якби прорив облоги, якби вихід в широкий світ, якби відзискання вільного тху і вільних рухів—після довгого спаралізування.²⁴

Маланюк підкреслював велику вагу впливів Донцова на тодішню молодь, коли писав: "Часом аж страшно стає на саму думку: а що, якби отого "чорнявого студента" з Таврії забракло у нас на початку 20-их років ХХ століття."²⁵

Вячеслав Липинський і Дмитро Донцов були, як визнає і сам Маланюк, цілком протилежними особистостями. Липинського окреслює Маланюк як "цього Канта нашої політичної мислі," у якого "скептично-іронічний, часом не без цинізму розум, розум історика й політика, холодна ерудиція вченого."²⁶ Донцова, натомість, характеризують "гарячий таврійський темперамент, жагуча пристрасть бійця і неподільна любов-ненависть південного українського серця," пише Маланюк, підкреслюючи, що ні освіта, ні інтелект не могли змінити цього: "І цього не злагодили ані велика формальна ерудиція, ані часами максимальне напруження інтелекту."²⁷ Донцов був речником ідеї волюнтаризму, на основі якої керівну роль у житті і одиниць, і народу приписується ірраціональній волі. Особливо це наявне в його книзі *Націоналізм*.

Юрій Липа у своїх публіцистичних творах, таких, як *Призначення України*, поєднував холодний розум аналітика з ідеями, пропагованими Донцовим.

Вплив цих трьох людей виявляється в тому, що, окреслюючи Маланюка людиною націоналістичного світогляду, треба мати на увазі засяг того світогляду від монархіста Липинського, через ідеолога воюючого націоналізму Дмитра Донцова, до поміркованого націоналіста, прихильника УНР Юрія Липи.

Шевченко та всі вище згадані постаті були співтворцями

Маланюкової історіософічної концепції, спрямованої на переродження народу, що становило найголовніший елемент Маланюкового світогляду.

З цього випливає і Маланюкове розуміння ролі поета: "Як в нації вождя нема, тоді вожді її поети" (КС, II, 470), пише Маланюк, перефразовуючи англійського романтика Персі Биш Шеллі. Маланюк вірив у силу Логоса—як життєтворчого і світотворчого слова. Його поняття Логоса веде свій родовід від християнського поняття "і Богом було слово," через Шевченкове: "Я на сторожі біля них поставлю Слово," аж до твердження Лесі Українки: "Слово—моя ти єдина зброя." Стилєт і стилос Маланюкового слова був його єдиною зброєю, і він поставив його на сторожі української культури та прав української людини. Вже в його ранній творчості, в 1928 році, знаходимо такий вислів: "І все ж таки в началі було—Слово" (*Поезії*, 180), це—перефразовані слова євангелиста св. Івана.

Тут виринає питання: яким було, у світоглядному аспекті, відношення Маланюка до Бога? Вже в 1925–26 роках, у своєму "Посланні," ствердивши, що "в Росії слово 'Бог' не в моді" (КС, II, 465), він пояснює, чим для нього є Бог:

Вікно в блакить, в буття, в світи,
Зір неба над скаженим виром,
Побідний поклик висоти
І благодать—не бути звірем!²⁸

Треба, однак, зазначити, що навіть віра поетова була основана на його політичному світогляді. У його інтерпретації діла Божі—це не діла Христової ласки, а сам Христос у нього—це поєднання старозавітного пророка Мойсея, старогрецького бога війни Марса, поганського Дажбога і ніцшеанського вольового героя:

Христос не мрія й не мара
.....
Христос—то чинна путь до Бога,
.....
Це не безсилий плач у злі,
А понад злом крилате: можу!²⁹

Маланюків Бог того часу додає певности і мужности людині.

Довгі роки еміграції, самота, старість і наближення смерти злагіднили войовничий дух поета. У пізніших роках Маланюкова віра поширилася і поглибилася. Релігійні мотиви знаходимо в описуванні різних явищ. І ці мотиви вже мають чисто християнське значення. Природа, як вияв існування Бога, доля й недоля—призначення від Бога, замість ранньої вольовості, життя

людини—дарунок Божий, марність життя і змагання людини в обличчі неминучої смерті, непохитна віра в позагробове життя тощо—це вже цілком християнські погляди на існування людини, в контрасті до ранньої його творчості. Навіть пізніші докази на право українського народу на свою землю впливають з християнського світовідчуття:

Бо ті, що плугом тут орали переліг—
Віддали Богу—дух, а тіло—цій землі.
І так із роду в рід триває тяг великий,
І *нашою* стає оця земля навіки.³⁰

Моменти особистого горя поета-емігранта підсилювали й без того гострі почуття ненависти до тих, що були причиною невдач у національних прагненнях поета.

Також вважав він найбільшим нещастям України виникнення типу людини-малороса, який постав у наслідок неволі й почуття неповноцінності. Про це написав він есей "Малоросійство," де показує причини й наслідки цього явища. Найтрагічнішим прикладом малороса уважав він Миколу Гоголя, "тієї спочатку національно—недокровної, згодом хворої, врешті національно-відумерлої душі."³¹ Малоросійство перекреслює всяку особистість і створює тип малороса—людини національно-дефективної. Маланюк твердить, що "воно є еквівалентом нашої окраденості" і впливає із здійснення пророчих слів Шевченка "її окраденую збудять."³²

Антитезою цього типа вважав Маланюк згаданий вже тип "мазепинця," людини, певної свого походження, своєї культури й своїх завдань. Розумів, що цього типу українцеві припало на долю бути переслідуваним і нищеним сучасним режимом в Україні. До цієї категорії людей, безперечно, належав і сам Маланюк, що був приневолений жити поза Україною. Пропагуючи введення у психіку народу елементу римської "державної бронзи," цебто, державнотворчого елементу та відродження варязького завзяття у поєднанні з еллінськими прикметами добра і краси, закоріненими в давньому минулому, він надіявся бачити народ оновленим готовим змагатися і здобувати те, що йому давно належить—власну державу. За життя поета цього не сталося і це одна з причин того що його твори останніх років пройняті песимізмом.

Щоб визначити особистий світогляд Маланюка, в протилежність до громадського, треба розглянути такі аспекти його індивідуальності: Маланюк як син, муж, батько, вояк, поет. Це могло б бути темою окремої студії, але тут ми тільки згадаємо найбільш суттєве в загальних обрисах. Найбільше виявив поет особисті аспекти своєї індивідуальності в останніх збірках, а саме:

Проща, Остання весна, Серпень і Перстень і посох. Цими збірками зарекомендував себе поет ніжним ліриком і глибоким мислителем. У цих збірках виявляється велика прив'язаність поета до свого роду, особливо до матері. Вже в похилому віці вертається він знов і знов до описів свого роду, згадує діда, бабуну, батька, братів і сестру, а понад все матір. Описує родинні традиції, довколишню природу тощо. Відчувається велика пошана поета до своїх рідних. Як муж і батько, тяжко переживає розбиття родини і той факт, що його син виростає без батька. У світоглядovому аспекті це означає, що йому характерне глибоке закорінення того, що в українців передавалося з роду в рід.

Якщо говорити про Маланюка-вояка, то треба ствердити, що, хоч він фактично склав зброю ще в 1920 році, духово він не перестав бути вояком до кінця життя, і це відбилося на його світогляді.

Маланюк-поет, в розмові про різницю між поезією і віршем, і про те, як відрізнити справжню поезію від звичайного віршування, пише: "Поезія—це вірш, наладований енергією, подібною до електричності. Коли тієї наладованості немає, тоді вірш, хоч як технічно досконалий, . . . залишається лише віршем."³³ У вірші до Юліана Тувіма він описує це так:

Ми знаєм більше, ніж вони—
Ті, що руками роблять слово.
Ми носим ваготу весни
І мускуляста наша мова
Народжена з багряних мук,
Що ними корчить лоно Мүзи.³⁴

У статті "Лист до молодих," з 1966 року, він зупиняється над питанням, як народжується поет. Вирішальну роль, на його думку, відіграє покликання. Пізніше приходить труд і праця над собою з виключенням всього іншого. Він це пояснює так:

Кожне мистецтво (у властивім, отже, високім значенні цього слова) є річ небезпечна. Бо у мистця воно—через покликання—сполучується з Долею і часом Долею його стає, зі всіма трагічними чи лише трагедійними перспективами.³⁵

Ці поради молодим поетам брав Маланюк з досвіду власного життя з усіма "трагічними" і "трагедійними" наслідками, що, в свою чергу, відбилося на його світогляді. Тому, що він був поетом з покликання—не писати він не міг. Виступаючи речником поневоленої нації, про своє особисте скалічене життя сказав він найбільше аж на схилі літ. З цих останніх його творів виринає перед нами постать людини тонких почувань, наболілої душі та глибокої

віри. З його історіософічних і суспільно-громадських творів виступає чітко накреслений світогляд поета і громадянина, людини непохитного характеру, великого чуття і незламної волі, що пройшов життя з високо піднесеною головою.

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Slavic and Comparative Literature

RICHARD MARSHALL

The *Skazanie o golom i nebogatom*: A Case of Mistaken Identity

Of all the manuscripts on the shelves of the curiosity shop of seventeenth-century Russian literature, there are few that hold more interest for both the cultural historian and the literary scholar than the group of works customarily referred to as the "democratic satires." For over a century, historians have turned to these compositions, individually and, occasionally, collectively, in their efforts to isolate the quintessential innovative features of a new era in Russian culture. Indeed, the second half of the seventeenth century did see new modes of life and expression take hold in Muscovy as a direct result of a combination of diverse factors, ranging from the union of left-bank Ukraine with Moscow to the schism in the Russian church, and including many other social, economic, and cultural factors, all of which are well known to the student of Russian history and culture.

Concerning this particular group of literary works, Russian scholarly opinion has shown a remarkable unanimity as to their origin or the degree of acerbity of the satiric thrust of one story or another; the consensus has consistently been that they were a clear reflection of the changing structure of the social order in their period of origin, and that they constituted a realistic expression of the discontent with and antagonism towards existing institutions on the part of their creators. In this connection, there is surprisingly little difference between the prevailing opinion of the pre- and post-1917 periods. Tikhonravov, Pypin, and Arkhangel'skii on the one hand, and Adrianova-Peretts and her colleagues on the other, take fundamentally the same approach to these works.

As I have shown in a larger work, to be published in the near future, this philosophical and methodological unanimity has resulted in a very unbalanced and therefore misleading interpretation of the so-called satires. Past scholarship of the extrinsic sort, while providing some useful cultural and historical information, has failed to provide researchers of seventeenth-century literature with any solid or

valuable insights into the true nature and literary value of this group of works.

This historical imbalance of analysis, which has neglected the intrinsic assessment almost entirely, has had two serious, deleterious results. First, the exciting developments in the areas of language, stylistic devices, narrative structure, characterization, and genre—so important for the later development of Russian *belles-lettres*—have remained unexamined. Second, the one-sidedness of past investigations has, in the case of several of these works, led to a totally erroneous interpretation of their purpose and mode of existence. This is precisely the case with the *Skazanie o golom i nebogatom* (The Story of a Naked, Poor Man) in its several variants. It is my purpose here, through a careful study of the stylistic properties of the work and a comparison with several other works of approximately the same period, to explain what the misconception was and to offer a reassessment, based on my analysis.

At present, seven copies of the text of this work are known. The list of these manuscripts, together with the current location of each, was published in 1954 by Adrianova-Peretts.¹ (The possibility of an eighth exists, but I have not been able to verify this as yet.²) Of the seven variants, ranging from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth century, five have been published. In her 1937 work, Adrianova-Peretts included copies of the *Istoriia o golom po alfabetu* (The Alphabet of a Naked, Poor Man) (AZB-1) and the *Skazanie o golom i nebogatom* (AZB-2).³ The text of the *Azbukovnik* (A Primer) (AZB-3) was also included, but in the form of footnote variants to AZB-1.⁴ In her 1954, expanded version of the earlier monograph, Adrianova-Peretts republished AZB-1 and AZB-2 and portions of AZB-3 (as an addendum to the section containing information on the various manuscripts of the work). She also included the text of the *Skoropisnaia azbuka* (The Cursive Alphabet) (AZB-4), first published by Zabelin in 1915.⁵ A fifth text, dating from the late nineteenth century and in many ways quite similar to the earliest texts, was published by Malyshev in 1965.⁶

The four manuscripts I have elected to work with most closely were chosen primarily because of their age.⁷ All are copies from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The text of the Shchukin collection also dates from the eighteenth century, but it is less interesting; in the second half of the manuscript, it degenerates into an unrelated series of rhymed *zharty* (witty anecdotes), similar to the last eight lines of AZB-3. Finally, the *Skazanie o golen'kom nebogaten'kom* (The Story of a Poor Little Naked Fellow) dates from 1775, and its rather laconic style lessens its interest for the present study.

The four versions of the "Alphabet" are similar in structure and, for the most part, in style. The monologue of the narrator is composed of alphabetically arranged exclamations. This work follows the pattern

of the *tolkovaia azbuka* (explanatory primer), known in Russia from the twelfth century.⁸ The first such works probably came from the South Slavic area and included translations of Byzantine poems, those composed by the southern Slavs, and, of course, those samples of such verse that are found in the Old Testament.⁹ Until the sixteenth century, the acrostic form was used in Russia only for specifically religious purposes. Then, as Adrianova-Peretts points out, it came to be utilized for general moral instruction, in the spirit of the *Domostroi* (The Book of Domestic Behaviour), at a time of widespread deterioration of traditional morality.¹⁰ In the early seventeenth century, this secular, tendentious use of the form was extended to such divergent compositions as anti-alcohol tracts (e.g., the *Azbuka o khmele*—Alphabet of the Hop) and those setting forth the principles of pedagogical methodology (e.g., *Shkol'noe blagochinie, vsespasitel'noe uchenie*—Scholastic Order of Things, the All-saving Instruction).

One may note that the appeal of the acrostic continued into the eighteenth century and beyond. V. F. Pokrovskaia has published the text of a rhymed autobiography written by an eighteenth-century chancery clerk.¹¹ The *Roman v stikhakh* (Novel in Verse) and the *Azbuka o prekrasnoi devitse* (Alphabet of the Beautiful Maiden), also of the early eighteenth century, illustrate how far the acrostic had come from its original use in Russia in only two centuries. L. V. Krestova has further pointed out that N. I. Novikov used the form in his satiric journal, *Zhivopisets* (Painter);¹² in *Truten'* (Drone), too, he used passages from the "Alphabet" to characterize Filatka, the peasant.¹³ D. A. Rovinskii published an early-nineteenth-century acrostic, illustrated by the caricaturist Terebenev, which concerned Napoleon's defeat.¹⁴ The author must likewise have known the "Alphabet," as witness one of the lines: "Teper' khotia ia nag, prishel domoi i bos" (Then naked though I was, I returned home barefoot).

Unlike many of the other works of the seventeenth century with which it is commonly associated, the "Alphabet" did not elicit much scholarly comment prior to 1936. Indeed, during the preliminary phase of my research, to establish past scholarly opinion of the work on such matters as dating, milieu of origin, foreign influence, and authorial purpose, the only substantial commentary encountered was that of Adrianova-Peretts. (Numerous other Soviet scholars have referred to the "Alphabet" in their own research, but without exception their observations amount to a simplified restatement of Adrianova-Peretts's view.¹⁵)

It is necessary at this point to look at the specifics of this authoritative and unchallenged interpretation of the "Alphabet." Concerning the time of composition of the work, Adrianova-Peretts says that the original was written during the second half of the seventeenth century. Curiously, she does not offer any direct evidence

of this view (such as the type of script used, watermarks, or lexico-grammatical analysis), other than to say that the work is a popular satire and that this was the period in which most comparable works were written. Despite the fact that the earliest manuscript that has survived is from the eighteenth century, and that many features of the original would seem to have been altered, I would agree that the archetype belongs to the seventeenth century: more precisely, about mid-century. I base this view on my examination of the manuscripts in the first instance. The underlying language of all four texts is clearly of that period, with a few features suggestive of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the unavoidable result of later recopyings. It was also at this time that the acrostic form ceased to be used solely for religious purposes; it had achieved the status of a neutral literary form or vehicle, to be used at will for any purpose of the author's choice. Finally, as I shall show presently, the rather secular, common-sense morality of the work first assumed widespread acceptance about 1650.

Adrianova-Peretts feels that the incomplete AZB-4 is the closest to the original. Her view is based on the belief that the hero's biography is presented in much greater detail here than in the other copies, in which, as she says, many particular features have become blurred.¹⁶ She adds that the object of satire is most poignantly felt in this variant.¹⁷

Indeed, the central consideration of Adrianova-Peretts's research on the "Alphabet" has been to establish the object of satire in it. First of all, she sees it as a parody of the older religious acrostics, this form having been deliberately chosen to stress the contrast between the wealth of those classes that upheld the feudal structure of society (partly by means of religious propaganda) and the poor hero who has been ruined by them.¹⁸ This biography, in her view, vividly shows the plight of a man robbed of his birthright. The mood of the writer in creating this satire progresses from a bitter lament, bordering on despair, to sharp thrusts at the poor man's tormentors.¹⁹ In sum, she sees the "Alphabet" as a "weapon of criticism in the sharpening class struggle, directed against the reigning ideology,"²⁰ and a "sharp condemnation of the feudal, serf-owning structure of society."²¹ This view of the "Alphabet" as a protest against social inequality and the victimization of the poor by the wealthy is reflected in the comments on the work by other Soviet scholars.²² What at first seemed to be a qualified objection to this assessment appeared in an article written by I. P. Lapitskii in 1949. While agreeing that the "Alphabet" was a product of the progressive sector of Muscovite urban society, he disagreed with Adrianova-Peretts on the question of the degree of realism one can find in the work. In his opinion, the amount of *byt* (everyday life) detail here was minimal.²³ Also, while conceding that

this and similar works of the time were ideologically progressive, he saw them as politically immature. That is, the writers saw social injustice all around them, but they did not fully comprehend against what they were protesting. Lapitskii's comments were adduced in support of one of the two contending factions that continued for some time. It is interesting to note that in 1954, writing on several of the "satires" in a volume edited by M. O. Skripil', Lapitskii made a full recantation of his earlier remarks and accepted Adrianova-Peretts's evaluation without reservation.²⁴

I agree that the intention of the author of the "Alphabet" was to satirize. I also feel that the particular satiric mode employed was severe and Juvenalian, at times bordering on pure rhetorical denunciation. This is best seen in the extreme pathos (or, as I submit, mock pathos) of many of the principal sections of each of the four works. However, I strongly disagree with Adrianova-Peretts and her colleagues concerning the object of satire and, hence, the author's purpose. Far from being a "progressive" protest against social inequality, I contend that the original work was of a didactic nature and was meant to embody a condemnation of the evil of excessive drinking. It is true that in the surviving copies the mood of the work is often ambiguous, both within each version and from one copy to another; in one place the tone is stern and pathetic, in another it is downright playful and almost seems to betray a primary concern for cadence and rhyme over matters of content. Still, overall the purpose of the original author shines through with ample clarity, despite the amendments of later copyists. His object was simply to denounce overindulgence (not necessarily drink as such) by way of caricaturing the dismal lot of a drunkard. As is proper with caricature, the central satiric device is exaggeration or overstatement. Concerning the "details of biography" that Adrianova-Peretts claims to see here, one must say that such a statement is absurd in itself and runs counter to the very nature of satires of this sort, in which generality prevails over individuality, and types without personal definition seek to achieve universality of reference.

The remarks that follow will, I hope, provide the justification for my interpretation. Before turning to them, I would like to examine one extrinsic factor that provides a clue to the nature and purpose of the archetypal "Alphabet." The general character of a collection in which a given work is found occasionally provides some indication as to how it was viewed by the compiler. In the case of the "Alphabet," the picture, although not completely unambiguous, offers just such assistance. AZB-1 was found in a collection of secular works, including several translated and original *povesti* (novellae) and a number of transcriptions of *byliny* (heroic epics). AZB-2 was included in a group of instructive and religious works (a *pis'movnik*—an epistolary manual,

the *Beseda trekh sviatitelei*—Discourse of the Three Hierarchs—a register of the churches and monasteries of the synodal jurisdiction, and parts of the *Anfologion* on the seven deadly sins, the seven sacraments, and the fourteen virtues), plus the *Kaliazhinskaia chelobitnaia* (Kaliazin Petition). AZB-3 was found together with the humorous *Azbukovnik o prekrasnoi devitse* and the *Instruktsiia ot dannaia, ponezhe zhena muzhu poddannaia* (The Instruction a Husband Gives to His Wife, Since She Is Subordinate to Him), as well as two copies of the *Povest' o Ersh Ershovicha* (The Tale of Ersh Ershovich) and one of the *Povest' o Fome i Ereme* (The Tale of Foma and Erema).²⁵ (As noted, it is AZB-3 which contains a number of humorous and irrelevant proverbs or nonsense lines in imitation of the proverb.) Although it is not possible to establish with complete certitude the sequence in which these collections were put together, it is likely that their general character reflects the different stages in the evolution or adaptation of the archetypal "Alphabet." In my view, the oldest variant is AZB-2, with AZB-1 a close second. This dating, although based on the content of the variants themselves, would appear to correlate closely with the nature of the collections in which they were discovered.

Throughout the seventeenth century, many works were composed that centred on the problem of vodka and excessive drinking. In some of these, there was an explicit religious orientation. In others, the moral drawn was not so much religious as it was expressive of a new, practical, and common-sense counsel in favour of moderation. The tale of *Gore-Zlochastie* (Misery–Luckless Plight) is something of a combination of both of these approaches and is not atypical. The overall context (notably the prologue) is very religious, as is the ending, although to a lesser extent. The agency of the youth's downfall is unequivocally compulsive and uncontrolled drinking. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the situations and much of the wording of particular passages very closely approximate the usage of the "Alphabet." Conceivably it was there in the original, but more likely the "biography" was simply an attempt to depict the fate of one who gave himself over to bouts of drinking, with the well-known tradition of such works providing sufficient clues about the author's intention. (There is one concrete reference to drinking as the key to the hero's problems. It is in AZB-1, line 25: "My father left me his property, but I drank it all up and squandered it.")

Such indirection was not unknown in contemporary works of this sort. For example, in the *Slovo o vysokoumnom khmele* (Sermon on the High-minded Hop), a considerable portion of the text simply describes the condition of a drunkard in various stations of life: thus, "ochi sveta ne vidiat, a um ego ne idet ni na chto zh na dobroe" (his eyes see not the light, his mind can grasp nothing worthwhile); or "uchiniu ego bezumna, liuta na liudi i nesmyslena" (I shall make him a madman,

cruel toward people and senseless); or "selo ego pusto, i samogo vzlykh dnekh, a zhena i deti ego po rabotam" (his village is a wasteland; he has fallen on evil days; his wife and children he has hired out); etc.²⁶ In sum, the description accomplishes the purpose with little or no overt didacticism.

The following passages from a seventeenth-century anti-alcohol tract entitled *O bezmernom pitii i o bezmernom zapoistve dvoestrochiem prostobrazno schineno* (On Unbridled Drinking and Limitless Drunkenness Given in Rhymed Couplets) afford the most conclusive evidence to substantiate the interpretation of the archetypal "Alphabet" as a satire on drunkenness.²⁷ Every one of the lines below is echoed in one or more of the variants of the "Alphabet."

First, there is the theme of the impact that drinking has on family life:

Egda chelovek bezvremenno i bezmerno vina ispivaet, (1)

(When a man drinks liquor in an unbridled and untimely way,)

togda on vse svoe domovnoe radenie zabyvaet. (2)

(he forgets all his domestic responsibilities.)

Pesnmi i koshchuny veseliatsia, (9)

(They make merry with songs and blasphemies,)

i za to pogibeli v domy ikh vseliat'sia. (10)

(hence ruination is visited upon their homes.)

Piian'stvo otluchit muzha ot zheny, a zhenu k chiuzhemu muzhu. (140)

(Drunkenness estranges a man from his wife and propels a woman to another man.)

In the end, the drunkard is forced to leave home and wanders aimlessly:

I is sramu dom i zhenu svoiu pokinet. . . . (57)

(From shame he quits his home and his wife. . . .)

Uchnet po dalnim stranam volochitisia. (59)

(He takes to wandering about in foreign parts.)

As he wanders, his situation becomes increasingly difficult, and what little money he has left he squanders:

A ostatochnoe svoe zhitie uchnet izzhivati. (46)

(The rest of his property he sets to getting rid of.)

I egda on ostatki zhitiia svoego propiet (47)

(When he has drunk up the remainder of his goods)

He tries to borrow money from friends or even to beg, if he can, but in this he is unsuccessful:

I uchnet vzaem u liudei prositi, (53)
 (He begins to ask people to lend him money,)
a liudie ego uchnut velmi ponositi. (54)
 (and people start to revile him heartily.)
I nikto emu vzaim ne uchnut davati, (55)
 (No one will make him a loan,)
i piianica uchnet o tom velmi toskovati. (56)
 (and the drunkard begins to fret mightily about this.)

At first his chief discomfort is hunger:

I utrobu svoiu dupliti. (88)
 (His belly grows gaunt.)
Piian'stom z gladu pimiraiut. (163)
 (People die of hunger in drunkenness.)

In time, however, he begins to suffer from all manner of physical ailments:

Telu rastlenie, a dushe paguba byvaet, (25)
 (Corruption of the body, destruction of the soul,)
mudrosti pogibel' piian'stvo zhe byvaet. (26)
 (the ruination of wisdom—all result from drunkenness.)
Mnogiia bo bolezni ot piianstva byvaiut, (91)
 (For many illnesses arise from drunkenness,)
velmi vsia udy s nego rastlevaiut. (92)
 (all one's members become mightily corrupt from it.)
Kosti sokrushaiutsia, (95)
 (The bones are shattered,)
zhily istonchevaiutsia. (96)
 (the muscles grow thin.)
Khrebet pogorbliatsia, (97)
 (The back becomes hunched,)
um velmi pogubliatsia. (98)
 (the mind is greatly destroyed.)
Pamiat' zabyvaetsia (99)
 (The memory grows dull)
Rutse velmi trasutsia (101)
 (The hands tremble greatly)
Noze ne khodiat, ochi ne vidiat, persty ne gnutsia. (103)
 (The legs do not work, the eyes do not see, the fingers do not bend.)

He has no place to turn; he has been stripped of everything:

I uvidit, chto v domu ego ne za chto sia priniati. (50)

(He sees that there is nothing in his house to lay his hands on.)

Dom zhe ego ves', komu dolzhen, i te razgrabiat (63)

(Those to whom he owes money will plunder his entire house)

When he is unable to think for himself any longer, the Devil puts evil ideas into his head:

I um i mysl' teriaetsia. (139)

(Reason and thought disappear.)

Razboi i tat'bu ot zapoistva zhe byvaiut, (21)

(Brigandage and thievery also result from drinking,)

smertnaia uboistva v tom zhe obretetsia. (22)

(in this is murder to be found as well.)

I vsiakiia zlye dela ot piianstva rozhdaiutsia, (23)

(All manner of wicked deeds are called forth by drunkenness,)

a blagiia dela ot piianstva pogublautsia. (24)

(drunkenness is the undoing of all good deeds.)

A diavol emu pomysly zlyia nalozhit. (44)

(The Devil inspires him with wicked designs.)

Togda diavol zloi iazeiu ego ubiet. (48)

(The Devil will strike him with an evil wound.)

His final state is one of utter ruination:

Piian'stvo vvodit v vechnuiu muku, ot piian'stva bogatii nishchetoiu postupisha. (134)

(Drunkenness leads to eternal torment, in drunkenness the rich enter poverty.)

He is racked with illness, his looks are gone, his belly is empty, and he goes about in rags:

Piian'stvo nogam bolezni tvorit, ruki drozhat, zrak ochima pogubliaetsia. (141)

(Drunkenness causes illness in the legs, the hands quiver, the vision of the eyes is ruined.)

Piian'stvo krasotu iz litsa vyvodit (147)

(Drunkenness obliterates the beauty of the face)

Piian'stvom serdtse razhizaetsia, (157)

(The heart melts in drunkenness,)

i utroba velmi raspaliaetsia. (158)

(and the guts are greatly inflamed.)

Komu sokrusheniia telu, komu gore? Piianitse. (167)

(Whose body wastes away, whose fate is misery? The drunkard's.)

Kto v khude rize? Piianitsa. (17)

(Whose cloak is threadbare? The drunkard's.)

Kto v pogibeli? Piianitsa. (172)

(Who is ruined? The drunkard.)

Finally, one last bit of evidence is to be found in the context in which Zabelin located the text of AZB-4 in his 1915 book. It appears there immediately following a quote from St. John Chrysostom in support of water as a drink that will not muddle man's mind.

In its later stages of development, it is possible that the "Alphabet" was adapted for other satiric purposes, that is, that it became a burlesque of the older anti-alcohol works, but this is far from certain. It seems quite clear, however, that Adrianova-Peretts's notion of the work as a parody of older, religious works is inaccurate. In any case, the evolution of the "Alphabet" undoubtedly accounts for the enigmatic mixture in our four texts of apparently pathetic elements with those of incontrovertible humour. W. E. Harkins is right in speaking of the original "Alphabet" as a serious work to which burlesque elements were later added, although I disagree with his acceptance of Adrianova-Peretts's version of the author's intention.²⁸ Likewise, given the purpose of the original, it seems more appropriate to speak of the hero as mock-pathetic, rather than pathetic, since he and his habits are held up to ridicule.

To summarize, the "Alphabet" began as a didactic work, designed to illustrate the squalor of a life of drunkenness. Even in its most debased later variants, this intention can still easily be seen through a comparison with works of the period whose purpose is not open to question. Although the tone changed and became less serious in subsequent versions, the work never took on the socio-political connotations imputed to it by Soviet scholarship at large. The frequent references to the comfortable life of the wealthy and their selfishness vis-à-vis the drunkard were most likely meant to be seen as the imbibers' chronic, self-pitying rationalization of his plight.

In 1970, three Soviet scholars (N. S. Demkova, A. M. Panchenko, and D. S. Likhachev), speaking of Adrianova-Peretts's work on the satires as a group, took her to task for so easily dismissing Zabelin's view of these works as more humorous than politically satiric. Furthermore, they denied that there was any direct satiric denunciation of the sort she mentioned in the "democratic prose and poetry of the seventeenth century."²⁹ Their refusal to accept the primitive view of these works, the "Alphabet" among them, as class-conscious literature should go a long way towards creating an atmosphere in which the myriad problems of seventeenth-century literature can be explored objectively. It should also permit us to find a greater appreciation of the skill of the writers of these works. Certainly, the writer of the "Alphabet" has made imaginative use of the oral tradition (drawing heavily on the resources

of the proverb and the *pribautka*—nonsensical additions) and utilized an older literary form for his thoughtful creation. It is to be hoped that with the problem of its purpose resolved, scholars can now turn to its other properties, both for themselves and for the light their study will shed on this most fascinating period of Russian literature.

Notes

1. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts, *Russkaia demokraticheskaia satira XVII veka* (Moscow–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1954), p. 196 (hereafter cited as *Satira*). Only the first five of these were noted in her 1937 work, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi satiricheskoi literatury XVII veka* (Moscow–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1937), pp. 14–15 (hereafter cited as *Ocherki*). Concerning the locations of the manuscripts, there are two errors in her notes. The *Skazanie o golen'kom nebogaten'kom*, said to be in the Central State Literary Archive (Tsentral'nii gosudarstvennii literaturnii arkhiv), no. 185, 11. 14–15, is today in the Central State Archive of Ancient Records (Tsentral'nii gosudarstvennii arkhiv drevnikh aktov), f. 187, ed. xr. 185, 11. 14–15 ob. in the Manuscript Division of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Akademii Nauk SSSR, and it is now listed as being in the Ust'-Tsilemsk collection, no. 74, 11. 15–19 ob. (cf. V. I. Malyshev, *Drevne-russkie rukopisi pushkinskogo doma: obzor fondov* [Moscow–Leningrad: Nauka, 1965], pp. 109, 184–86). In all other cases, the locations are correctly given.

2. L. N. Pushkarev, in his article "Rukopisi zhitiinogo sodержaniia tsentral'nogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva literatury i iskusstva," *TODRL* 13 (1957):554, speaks of a manuscript of the eighteenth century (f. 1338, op. no. 61, 11. 158–165 ob.) on the subject of drunkenness, which consists of sentences arranged in alphabetical order. The beginning of the manuscript is missing; it begins with the letter "e."

3. *Ocherki*, pp. 21–24 and 24–26, respectively. Cf. also "Ocherki iz istorii russkoi satiricheskoi literatury XVII veka," *TODRL* 3 (1936):153–93, which is essentially the same as the chapter in the 1937 book. Zabelin's 1915 publication of AZB-4 (see note 5) was the only earlier publication of any version of this work.

4. *Ocherki*, pp. 21–24. This apparent slight is due to the fact that AZB-3 is quite far removed from the archetype and is defective in its final lines.

5. *Satira*, pp. 30–32, 34–36, 196–97, and 32–34, respectively. The 1915 edition of Zabelin (*Domashnyi byt russkago naroda v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh*, Pt. I, *Domashnyi byt russkikh tsarei v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* [Moscow: M. Grachev, 1872]; Pt. 2, *Domashnyi byt russkikh tsarei v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* [Moscow: A. I. Mamontov, 1915], pp. 622–23) was based on a manuscript that has since been lost.

6. *Satira*, pp. 184–86. Note such lines as B—Buki, *daite mne deneg v ruki, ia sam rasporiazhus' i za vodochkoi otnushchush'*, or Zh—Zhelal *byt ia dlia prazdnika vypit', da ne na chto vodochki vziat', a zakusit' i ne podumat'*.

7. I am indebted to both the staff of the University of Toronto Library and those in charge of the archives in the Soviet Union in which the manuscripts I required are kept, for their co-operation in making them available to me.

8. For a discussion of the early manifestations of the acrostic among the Slavs, see N. S. Demkova and N. F. Droblenkova, "K izucheniiu slavianskikh azbuchnikh stikhov," *TODRL* 23 (1968):27–61.

9. In his 1952 translation of the Old Testament, Ronald Knox has attempted to preserve the acrostic form of several sections, notably the Psalms (e.g., Ps. 24, 33, 36, 110, 111, 118, and 144). *The Old Testament* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1952).

10. *Ocherki*, pp. 12–13.

11. "Stikhotvornaia avtobiografiia pod'iachego XVIII veka," *TODRL* 2 (1935):283–300. The theme of this work is quite similar to that of the "Alphabet." The writer speaks of having lost both his money and his friends through drinking. Pokrovskaja correctly notes that the form of the acrostic carried no particular overtones, that it was a neutral framework for the story. Note that this article was published just one year before Adrianova-Peretts's first discussion of the "Alphabet" in which she says the form was regarded as religious, making the "Alphabet" a parody.

12. L. V. Krestova, "Traditsii russkoi demokraticeskoi satiry v zhurnal'noi prose N. I. Novikova ('Truten', 'Zhivopisets')," *TODRL* 14 (1958):489.

13. Krestova, p. 491.

14. D. A. Rovinskii, *Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki* (St. Petersburg: R. Golike, 1900), pp. 456–57.

15. N. K. Gudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949), pp. 484–85; A. A. Kaiev, *Russkaia literatura* (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1958), p. 400; N. V. Vodovozov, *Istoriia drevnei russkoi literatury* (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1962), pp. 321–22; and others.

16. *Ocherki*, pp. 15, 17. One wonders why, if she felt it was the oldest text, she did not include it in her 1937 work. Even though it is incomplete, this omission appears illogical.

17. *Ocherki*, p. 17.

18. *Satira*, p. 233.

19. *Satira*, pp. 228, 231.

20. *Ocherki*, p. 13.

21. *Satira*, p. 229.

22. See, for example, Iu. N. Sidorova, "Satiricheskaia literatura XVII v.," in *Istoriia russkoi literatury XVII–XVIII vekov*, ed. A. S. Eleonskaia et al. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Vysshaia Shkola," 1969), pp. 91–112. (See also note 15 above.)

23. I. P. Lapitskii, "Russkaia demokraticheskaia satira XVII veka," *Uchenie zapiski leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Seriia filologicheskikh nauk*, 16, no. 122 (1949):80–96 (here p. 95 in particular).

24. M. O. Skripil', comp., *Russkaia povest' XVII veka* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1954).

25. Information concerning the composition of these collections is drawn in part from *Ocherki*, pp. 14–15.
26. V. N. Peretts, "Iz starinnoi satiricheskoi literatury o p'ianstve i p'ianitsakh," in *Sergeiu Fedorovichu Platonovu* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia glavnogo upravleniia udelov, 1911), pp. 433–34.
27. I. F. Golubev, "Virshi o smerti i p'ianstve," *TODRL* 21 (1965):84–87.
28. W. E. Harkins, "The Pathetic Hero in Russian Seventeenth-Century Literature," *American Slavic and East European Review* 1955 (December):521.
29. Ia. S. Lur'e, ed., *Istoki russkoi belletristiki: Vozniknovenie zhanrov siuzhetnogo povestvovaniia v drevnerusskoi literature* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1970), pp. 555–56.

The Poetic and Formal Structure of Mediaeval East Slavic Eschatological Apocrypha

Of all the translated works of apocryphal literature that flourished in Kievan Rus' after the adoption of Christianity in A.D. 988, none enjoyed a wider circulation than the eschatological apocrypha, as numerous extant copies bear witness. The popularity of visionary journeys to heaven and hell with the opportunity for moralizing and didacticism was long-lived. Apocryphal visions flourished in mediaeval Orthodox Slavdom¹ for over a thousand years, finding expression both in iconography and in literature.

The purpose of this study is to illuminate the literary features of three of the most popular mediaeval East Slavic eschatological apocrypha: *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* (The Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments);² *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam* (The Journey of the Apostle Paul Through the Torments);³ and *Slovo o sviatom Avraame* (The Discourse of Saint Abraham).^{4,5} I will focus on the poetic and formal structures of the apocrypha and the correlation between the theme of the texts and their compositional patterns. The basic motifs and narrative patterns play a dominant role in the story and are a key to the construction of the apocrypha.

An analysis of the three East Slavic apocryphal writings shows an astonishing degree of uniformity in composition, suggestive of a general dependence on the same poetic world of ideas. The presence of such similar motifs as three sets of characters, a guided angelic tour, a question-and-answer dialogue, judgement by fire, the theme of the correspondence of sin and punishment, external characterization, and the contrast between light and darkness clearly points to a larger spiritual and literary tradition. Moses Gaster suggests that the *Revelation of Moses*, an Old Testament Hebrew apocryphon, may have been the fountainhead of this ecclesiastical tradition: "This oldest extant Old Testament Revelation must have served as a source to the Christian revelations of Peter, Paul, Ezra, Abraham, Isaiah, the Virgin Mary, St. Macarius, and the host of others down to Dante and St. Patrick."⁶

Similarly, Montague James's publication of the Akhmin and Ethiopic fragments of the *Apocalypse of Peter* has shown the *Apocalypse of Peter* to be the oldest Christian vision dating to the second century A.D.⁷ Both the *Revelation of Moses* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* deal with the tradition of journeys to heaven and hell and have many direct points of affinity with such Orthodox Slavic apocrypha as *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, and *Slovo o sviatom Avraame*. By combining our knowledge of the compositional features of these earlier Christian and Hebrew thematic sources with those of the above-mentioned East Slavic apocryphal texts, we can gain an understanding of the literary models that may have constituted the foundation of this apocryphal tradition.

The compositional pattern of each apocryphal writing is based on an elaborate scheme to which the apocryphal writers attached great significance. The world of an apocryphal work may be likened to an icon that "possesses several layers of meaning which makes the interpretation difficult, but, at the same time, enriches the work of art."⁸ It matters not where or when the apocrypha were written; what matters is their verbal communication. For the apocryphon, like the icon, is both a medium of influence and a mode of communication. For this reason, apocryphal visions have a clearly delineated narrative form, logically constructed and presented in accordance with the theme of the story. Each vision is organized into three registers of scenes, with three sets of characters (the angels, the seer, and the sinners) representing the three realms of heaven, earth, and hell, respectively. This compositional feature serves to give structure to the story on the thematic level. The three scenes represent the three directions or movements of the soul's progress towards God. The first scene is what Francis Ferguson calls the *extra-nos*, whereby man turns outwards toward the delights of the natural world. Scene two is the *intro-nos*, where man turns inward to the torments of his soul. The third scene represents the *super-nos*, where man turns upward to God.⁹

Within this allegorized structure, the themes of repentance and salvation, mercy and forgiveness, good and evil are expressed through the narrator and the *dramatis personae*. The main contents of the visions could be divided into the following three scenes, which provide a starting point for a study of the poetic and formal structure of apocryphal visions:

Scene 1

- (1) A prologue, the introduction of the *dramatis personae*.
- (2) A request, command, or both; the announcement of the *actio-dramatica*.
- (3) The earthly realm or a view of the heavenly court of angels.

Scene 2

- (1) The journey to the underworld and the revelation.
- (2) The classification of the sinners.
- (3) The judgement of the sinners.
- (4) The seer's indignation and admonishment.

Scene 3

- (1) An epilogue, man's earthly fulfillment.
- (2) The seer's journey to heaven.
- (3) Prayers and pleas for mercy.
- (4) Reprieve granted; the glorification of the Lord.

It is clear from the above outline that each scene has its own location, pace, and tone. The plot line moves through the three scenes, from God's initial granting of a request to his final granting of a reprieve in scene three. The structure of the plot is built upon the principle of good and evil and is marked by a series of repeated contrasts: the creative forces of God and the destruction of man; the relationship between the celestial angels and the earthly seers; the sombre portrayal of hell and the glorious portrayal of heaven; the correspondence between sin and punishment, justice and mercy, repentance and compassion; the idealization of the seers and the sinfulness of mankind. These contrasts are essential to the structure of the visions, for they preserve the symmetry of form and harmony, reminding us of the necessity of maintaining balance and order in a world where every movement gives rise to countermovement.

The most prominent feature of the opening scene is the visionary-auditory discourse between the seer and the angelic intermediary or the *angelus interpretes*, who is an exalted representative of the heavenly hierarchy. This feature brings us at once into the atmosphere of the journeys, setting the scenes, introducing the characters, and announcing the purpose and theme of the story. The visions take as their starting point the journey of the seers to the heavenly abode to see the heavenly court of angels, as in *Slovo o sviatom Avraame* and *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, or to pray on a sacred earthly mountain, as in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*. The setting is some unspecified time after death in which the souls are suffering in hell. The visions begin either with a request, a command, or both, which evoke the appropriate atmosphere and are a prelude to the contents of the narrative. The wording of the request suggests a journey of considerable scope. In *Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, God sends Archangel Michael to Abraham to bid him prepare for death: "Go to Abraham and say to him: 'Let him depart from this life and let him set his house in order'" (p. 104). Abraham, however, refuses to die. He wishes to see the heavenly abode before he dies, and he says

to Archangel Michael: "let me not depart from my body until I have seen the works in heaven and on the earth before death" (p. 106).

In *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, the action begins on the sacred Mount of Olives, long regarded as the place of messianic disclosures and fulfillment. It was on the Mount of Olives that Christ spoke with his disciples about the end of the world (Matt. 24:3). *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* opens on the Mount of Olives with the Mother of God praying for an angelic revelation. She wishes to see the suffering of the Christians in hell. The journey is granted in response to the request. The appearance of Archangel Michael in the company of four hundred angels begins the eschatological plot. Hell is opened, and the Mother of God, like Moses, Peter, and Paul earlier, now becomes the subject of a divine revelation. She is shown the mysteries of hell. To her it is granted the power to look upon those who are tormented in the place of darkest anguish. Her descent begins with the lifting of the veil of darkness. "And she saw in the evil darkness a multitude of people and heard much weeping: 'What is this darkness and who dwells therein? Let this darkness be lifted so I can see those who are suffering'" (p. 125).

A similar request occurs in *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*. Paul, after having seen the heavenly realm of the angels, and having been told of the complaints the creation has brought against sinning mankind, is taken by the angelic guide from the region of happiness to the region of gloom and suffering. "Come follow me, and [Archangel Michael] will show you the place of the saints and you will know the place of the righteous . . . and thereafter I will take you to the bottomless pit where there is darkness and hell" (p. 42).

The above passages have a comparatively large number of direct points of affinity with the *Revelation of Moses* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Although a specific request is absent in the Akhmin fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, in the Ethiopic version, the vision begins with the disciples requesting Jesus Christ, who is seated on the Mount of Olives, to reveal to them the signs of the end of time (p. 505). In the *Revelation of Moses*, the action begins with a command rather than a request. "At that hour God sent the Angel Gabriel and said to him: 'Go with my beloved servant Moses and show him hell.' Immediately he [Gabriel] went with Moses, like a pupil before his master, and entered hell with him. Moses saw there men tortured by angels of destruction" (pp. 133-34).

Each divine visionary disclosure begins with the conventional expression "hell was opened" or "the heavens opened," revealing the awesome destiny of man. The seers are then conducted over the higher or lower realms by an angel, who reveals and explains the journey to them. The words "see" and "saw," which form part of the initial request, are used repeatedly in the visions (ten times in the *Revelation of Moses*, and over thirty times in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* and *Khozhdenie*

Apostola Pavla po mukam) to emphasize the visual aspect of the narrative and to begin what Vladimir Sakharov terms *circulus visionis*:¹⁰ one sees what one believes, and one believes what one sees. Since the seers are operating in the field of eschatology, the apocryphal writers use these words to describe the act of having knowledge of this spiritual world. The metaphor "to see" thus becomes a movement across semantic fields.

The choice of a seer in apocryphal visions is in no way arbitrary and is linked with those biblical figures to whom such experience was attributed by either the Holy Scriptures or tradition. For example, Moses is the first lawgiver, the master of the prophets, and the servant of God (*Revelation of Moses*, p. 132); the Blessed Virgin is the Holy Mother of God and the spiritual mother of all mankind (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 126); Apostle Paul is the Lord's beloved, who was taken to the third heaven (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 132); Abraham is blessed by God for his righteousness through faith (*Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, p. 105); Peter is the first apostle of Christ. Thus, the seers are the main heroes, the central figures of the apocrypha, the instruments of divine salvation. They take up the biblical roles of mediators and intercessors, "for power hath been given to them to see the torments of hell" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 54).

The belief in an exalted celestial angel also plays a significant role in apocryphal visions and must be seen within the context of biblical angelology, where angels function as God's spiritual emissaries as transmitters of decisions and requests, interpreters of dreams and visions, intercessors, or angelic guides. Apocryphal writers use the functions of these angels to develop their story. In *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, angels are assigned to people as messengers to record the good and evil deeds of man: "They bless the Lord God without ceasing at all hours and on all days, but especially when the sun sets, for in that hour all the angels go unto the Lord to worship Him and to present the deeds of man" (p. 41). In *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, the angels have been appointed to watch over the torments of the sinners (p. 130). In the *Revelation of Moses*, the sinners are punished by the angels of destruction (p. 134); the souls are taken away by the angel of death (p. 138).

While Michael and Gabriel are the two exalted angels and frequent emissaries of God in Orthodox theology, Archangel Michael alone, the chief of princes, is the frequent *angelus interpres* in the East Slavic apocryphal visions. His role is that of mediator and merciful intercessor, the protector of Christians (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 124), a function consistent with his role as defender of the faithful in Orthodox theology. Michael joins in the prayers for the sinners (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 133); he weeps and intercedes for man (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 55); he is sent to Abraham to bid

him prepare for death (*Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, p. 106); he eats and drinks with Abraham and is given the role of interpreting Isaac's dream of the sun and the moon (p. 108); he shows Abraham the heavenly realm, and, when Abraham dies, Michael transports his soul to heaven (p. 109); Michael accompanies the Holy Mother of God to hell and explains to her the correspondence of sin and punishment (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, pp. 125–31). On the other hand, Gabriel, the messenger of joy in Christian theology, is given the role of an angelic guide and interpreter in the *Revelation of Moses*. Thus, the *angelus interpres* is a standard feature of all eschatological visions.

The crucial drama of the revelations is enacted in scene two, with the journey to the underworld and the portrayal of the torments of hell. Pervaded by an atmosphere of the supernatural, the judgement scenes are filled with a description of the horrors of hell of the most extravagant kind. In analyzing the significant aspects of the judgement scenes, two points are important. First, the description of the elaborate judgement scenes and the portrayal of sinners were not intended to convey eschatological information for their own sake; they played a crucial didactic role. Their key function was to show justice, retribution for the sinners, and vindication for the persecuted. The plot reveals that man's destiny is in the hands of God and none can resist it. What God has created, He can also destroy. Second, the plight of the sinners and the actions of the seers were a means by which God was brought from indignation to compassion.

The following outline reveals the structure of the judgement scene that is central to all the texts:

- (1) The description of the functionaries and their actions, beginning with the sentence "And I saw there"
- (2) The demonstrative question. The seer inquires about their identities. Who are these people, and what is their sin?
- (3) The demonstrative explanation. The angelic guide explains the correspondence of sin and punishment.
- (4) The reaction of the seers. They weep, sigh, grieve, admonish, and, in the end, intercede for the sinners.

The episodes in the judgement scene unfold chronologically. Even the terrifying landscape of hell has its order. The action that takes place in hell is plotted not as a single dramatic process with a beginning, middle, and end, but rather as a series of actions, an episodic, simultaneous narrative, offering the reader a view of the judgement process. The common motif in all judgement scenes is the description of different categories of sinners enduring torment according to the nature of their sins in their respective spheres. If we examine the scheme of torments in the texts considered, we find the following elements:

- (1) Class of sinners: adulterers, murderers, slanderers, gossipers, unbelievers, spendthrifts, thieves, sorcerers, and sowers of discord, all wallowing in the mire of the seven deadly sins.
- (2) Type of punishment: fire, hanging, serpents, stench, worms, bitter darkness, and alternating degrees of heat and cold.
- (3) Degree of punishment: sinners suspended by their ears, eyebrows, feet, hair, hands, and tongue; sinners immersed in a blazing river to their knees, waist, chest, neck, and hair.
- (4) Sphere of punishment: beds of flames, a blazing river, a lake of flames and fire, a burning cloud, an abyss of fire, a well of stench, bottomless pits, and mire.

The sins in the judgement scenes range from murder to idle chatter in church. Little, however, is said about the actual sin whose punishment we are witnessing. There is no moralizing, only a brief description of the condition in which the sinners find themselves. The images tell the rest. For example, "hanging by a sinful limb" is found in both *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam* and *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*: "And I [Paul] saw other men hanging by their eyebrows and by their hair, and a river of fire drew them" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 49); "And the Mother of God saw a man hanging by his feet and worms were devouring him" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 137). In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the first extant Christian attempt to portray hell, we find a parallel description of hanging sinners: "And there were hanging by their tongues and these were they that blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was laid fire flaming and tormenting them" (p. 509). In the *Revelation of Moses*, hanging is a characteristic form of punishment for adultery, greed, and verbal sins: "Some of the sinners were hanging by their eyelids, some by their ears, some by their hands, and others by their tongues, and they cried bitterly. And Moses asked the Lord of Hell, and said: 'Why are these hanged by their eyes and by their tongues and are so fearfully tortured and so sorely punished?' And the Lord of Hell answered: 'Because they looked with an evil eye at fair women, and at married women, and at the money of their friends and neighbours and gave false witness against their neighbours'" (p. 134). While hanging forms an eye-for-an-eye type of punishment, it is never in itself a final form of punishment. It is often combined with other forms of torture, such as fire, worms/serpents, and stench.

Fire is the principal torment of hell in all the apocryphal visions. While one group of sinners is "sunk up to their knees, and others up to their navel in a river of fire for fornication" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 49), others are "immersed to their chest, neck and mouth in a blazing river for slander and blasphemy" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 126). The fire motif appears in all scenes of hell and in many variations, depending upon the dramatic necessities of the story. Fire,

like the punishment of hanging, has a long history of association with retribution in the Bible (e.g., Gen. 19:22, Deut. 31, and Matt. 13:36).

Among the unnumbered torments of hell is also that of the immortal, insatiable worm, a common motif of the Holy Scriptures (e.g., Isa. 66:24, Mark 9:48). Isaiah's and St. Mark's poetic expression of "undying" or "constantly gnawing and consuming worms" is changed to the "never sleeping" or the "never resting" worms in the East Slavic apocryphal visions. In *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam* and *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, the "worm that sleepeth not" (pp. 54 and 129, respectively) appears. In the Akhmin fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, there appears the "worm that rested not" (p. 509), while in the *Revelation of Moses*, we encounter black worms: "Moses went further and saw two sinners hanged by their feet with their heads downwards . . . and their bodies were covered with black worms, each worm 500 parasangs long" (p. 135). Serpents, synonymous with evil, are also found in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*: "And she [the Blessed One] saw a woman hanging by her teeth, and various serpents issued forth from her mouth and devoured her body" (p. 129).

The torment of stench, the worst of all torments, is given a prominent place in *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*: "When the well was opened there arose out of it a stench hard and exceedingly evil, which surpassed all the torments" (p. 54). In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, we find a similar description of this unbearable torment: "And hard by that place I saw another strait place wherein the discharge and the stench of them that were in torment ran down and there was as it were a lake there" (p. 509). Stench as a form of punishment is important to the visions, for it suggests the impure appropriately wallowing in impurity.

In addition to the physical torments, there are also numerous psychological torments that the sinners have to endure. We find here the biblical weeping, wailing, groaning, and gnashing of teeth. "And I saw them groaning, weeping and saying, 'Have mercy upon us Lord.' And no man had mercy on them" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 45). Pleas for mercy are also found in the *Revelation of Moses*: "'Woe unto us, woe unto us,' lamented the sinners, 'but nobody takes pity on us'" (p. 136). One of the most striking torments the sinners have to endure is the inability to look upon the bliss of the blessed, for their eyes have been blinded by eternal, impenetrable darkness. The sinners in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* cry out to the Holy Mother of God: "Blessed One, for all eternity we have not seen light, and we cannot look up" (p. 126). The account of time is carried out from the point of view of the state of sinners, who reckon time from the moment they have not seen light: "When Paul came to the place of punishment, he looked and saw there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 49). Darkness represents woe, insecurity, and alienation from God, while light is a symbol of inward and spiritual

illumination. This contrast between light and darkness is central to all visions and serves as a feature distinguishing the earthly from the heavenly spheres, good from evil.

The sinners are portrayed not as individual characters, but as parts of the narrative sequences developed in detail, and they function as an integral part of the structure and plot of the story. Attention is focused not on one soul, but on groups of sinners. That no man stands alone as a member of a particular race or colour but as a member of the Christian race is evident in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*: "Come, Most Holy One, and I will show you the lake of fire, so that you can see where the Christians are suffering" (p. 131). The continuous use of the third-person plural indicates that all mankind has sinned and comes short of the glory of God. For example, the sinners in *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam* cry out for mercy and deliverance: "Have mercy upon us thou Archangel Michael, for it is by thy prayers that the Earth standeth." And Michael answered ". . . I cease not for one day nor one night to pray continually for the race of men" (p. 55). The sinners in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* cry out to the Mother of God: "Have mercy upon us for we alone suffer the most grievous torments" (p. 130). Abraham heard the cries of those in hell: "Have mercy upon us Lord and save us" (*Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, p. 107). Similar pleas of mercy and deliverance come from the sinners in the *Revelation of Moses*. When Moses went up to heaven, he said: "May it be Thy will, O Lord, that Thou mayest save me and Thy people Israel from those places which I have seen in Hell" (p. 138).

The sentence imposed upon the sinners is not definitive; nor is there any evidence that judgement is preliminary. The continuous use of the present tense indicates that judgement is going on now (e.g., "And where do the Christians suffer?" or "Many souls dwell in that place" [*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 125]). The frequent use of the Church Slavic imperfect tense and the present active participle conveys a feeling of continuity, everlasting suffering, and endlessness, as seen in the following example: "And the Most Holy One saw women hanging by their fingernails and fire flowed forth from their lips" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 129). Everlasting suffering, a characteristic feature of the eschaton, is also evident in other visions. In the *Revelation of Moses*, the sinners cry out: "'Woe unto us, for the terrible punishment of hell. Would we could die.' But they cannot die. They long for death, but death cometh not" (p. 135). In *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, the sinners pay without ceasing the due penalty of their crimes (p. 53), while in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, we encounter the theme of the human inability to relate adequately the number of hell torments: "'How many torments are there?' inquires the Holy Mother of God 'Ineffable are the torments of mankind,' answers archangel Michael" (p. 125).

Although the images of the torments of hell are both intriguing and revolting, they are also important, for they carry a double meaning, both descriptive and allegorical. Descriptively, they provide an artistic framework and invoke a mood of gloom and despair. Symbolically, they reveal the many faces of evil. They provide an analysis of the state of the individual, of his spiritual and moral failure, where hell is less a place and more a timeless state of the utter loss of God and His love. It is important to consider here the parallel that is maintained between the descriptive and the spiritual conditions that the images symbolize.

Significantly, all five apocryphal visions are constructed on two planes: the first plane represents the plot itself, the level of direct narration; the second, the allegorical plane, represents the level of exegesis (the higher level of meaning). The apocryphal writers make use of two narrative techniques to achieve this result: direct narration in the third-person singular (the omniscient narrator who knows what God says to people in private), and biblical allusions. The use of the third-person-singular narration is not uncommon in writings that claim to be the eyewitnesses of God, for to talk about life thereafter one must have seen that life or heard of it from someone who had been there. Moreover, third-person narration plays a mediating position between these two planes, between ordinary discourse and mystery, between the known and the unknown, and between the certain and uncertain. The questions raised by the narrative elements cannot be avoided, and the answers they receive cannot be verified. In this way, both the literal and the spiritual become inseparably merged in the writings.

The theme of the seers' intercession for the lost souls and the obtaining of temporary reprieve from suffering holds a central place in the internal structure of apocryphal vision literature. The power of prayer and repentance, the intercession of the seer, and the compassion of God are the three main elements that bind the structure together. Through the motif of intercession, the reader becomes aware of God's benevolent mercy. In the fixing of time for repentance, God grants to His people a final hour of grace. The sinners are redeemed; the plot is resolved. It is in this timelessness that the opposites are reconciled—good and evil, light and darkness. In *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, "the sinners are not worthy of forgiveness, for by their deeds they have sinned, but because of Paul, Christ's beloved, God grants to the sinners rest from suffering on Sunday" (p. 56). The veneration of Sunday was very important to the Eastern Orthodox Christians, for it was the "praise of the Christians" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 132) and the day on which Abraham's soul was taken to heaven (*Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, p. 106). In *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, the sinners receive a reprieve from suffering from Holy Thursday to Pentecost, while in the *Revelation of Moses*, the emphasis is on the Sabbath and Festival days. "Moses went and saw how the wicked were

punished by fire, being half in fire and half in snow, and having no rest except on Sabbath days and festival days" (p. 137).

There is, naturally, a striking correspondence between the motif of God's mercy in the visions and those in the Holy Scriptures. The idea of intercession first occurs in Genesis 18:23, when Abraham intercedes for Sodom. In Psalms 86:13, we find: "For great is thy mercy towards me and thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell." Through the use of biblical thematic allusions in the apocrypha, the reader becomes aware of the continuity of God's grace and mercy.

A common feature of Christian apocryphal visions not found in the *Revelation of Moses* is the emotionalism of prayer. George Fedotov, in *The Russian Religious Mind*, reminds us that "the grace of tears and deep emotional prayer is a symbol of a deep religious experience, a dominating ethical attribute of Christian humility."¹¹ The effect of tears is to melt away sin, and from the joyous tears of the repentant sinner arises a new man. Through the spiritual turmoils of the seers, their lyrical supplications, and the penitential tears of the sinners, the writers convey to the reader the message of repentance and God's grace. We are touched by the humility of the seers: we are moved by their weeping, which is in sharp contrast to God's harsh punishment. The terrors of hell move Paul to bitter tears of distress: "Woe unto the race of man; woe unto the sinners. Why were you born?" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 54). The Mother of God sees the suffering of the Christians and weeps bitterly. She expresses a mystical desire to share the pains of the sinners: "Have mercy O Lord, upon the sinners, for I have seen them and I cannot endure. Let me suffer together with the Christians" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 132). Abraham, having seen the two gates, the narrow one leading to life and the broad one leading to destruction, begins to weep: "Woe unto me, what shall I do, for I am a sinful man and how can I enter through the narrow gate?" (*Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, p. 106). Apostle Peter weeps for many hours and is at last consoled by an answer, which, although exceedingly vague, does seem to promise ultimate pardon for all (*Apocalypse of Peter*, p. 520).

Central to all eschatological apocryphal visions is the complete absence of any detailed physical characterization of the principal characters. We have no idea whether they are young or old, ugly or beautiful. We know only how they feel. Apocryphal writers were indifferent to detail, to the individual description of their characters. Instead, they were interested in portraying the universality of experience, the tale of Everyman. The emphasis is on feeling, on spiritual characterization, which is conveyed through both external manifestations and the language of love. We feel the movements of their hands and eyes. The Holy Mother of God gently and tenderly lifts her hands to God, as if in prayer or in witness to the suffering of her children: "And the Holy Mother of God was saddened, and she lifted her eyes

and looked at the invisible throne of her Father" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 125). "Apostle Paul, after having heard of the excessive cold of that place, which even the seven suns could not warm, sighed, and wept bitterly. Archangel Michael, seeing Paul weeping, came down from heaven with the heavenly host, and prayed together for the mercy of the sinners" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 55). "Moses lifted up his eyes and beheld Gabriel. He fell down and bowed himself before him" (*Revelation of Moses*, p. 138). We are conscious of the seers' grief and sorrow, and we grieve together with them. Their experience becomes an element of our experience. The movement of the eyes and hands, the bowing down in penitent prayer, is in no way arbitrary. In this iconographic portrayal is evidenced a spiritual movement conveying to us the mediation of grace and salvation.

The symbolism of numbers is another common feature of apocryphal visions. The numbers three, four, seven, and twelve and their multiples are employed symbolically as image signs that do not define but imply the subject. The number three, symbolizing the Holy Trinity, is built into the structure of *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*. Here we find three scenes, three realms, three characters, three requests, and three denials. The number four, the conception of totality and the number of perfection, comes into prominence in both *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* and *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*. In *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, "the 400 angels descend from the four corners of the earth, 100 from the East, 100 from the West, 100 from the North and 100 from the South" (p. 124). Paul is taken to the third heaven where he sees the four rivers of Christ (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 56). Seven, an indefinite number symbolizing completeness, the totality of time and events, keeps recurring in both the Christian and pre-Christian visions. In *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, everything is reckoned by sevens: seven suns, a well sealed with seven seals, seven flames, and seven pains (pp. 52–56). In *Slovo o sviatom Avraame*, Isaac comes to Abraham on the seventh hour of the night (p. 105). In *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, "the appearance of Christ is brighter than the seven suns" (p. 125); "the angels praise God seven times a day and seven times a night" (p. 131). Moses ascended the seven heavens and saw the abode of the angels. In hell he saw a fire which burned more than all the seven hells (*Revelation of Moses*, p. 133).

In portraying hell, no attempt is ever made to specify any definite geographical location. Hell in the Orthodox East Slavic visions has no gates of bronze or doors with iron locks and indestructible chains. Instead, hell is shown in a variety of representations: from a blazing river to a burning cloud, from a well of stench to obscure evil darkness; it stretches from the east to the west, from the north to the south, from "the left, where there are the greatest torments, to the right into paradise" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 130). All these represen-

tations are intended to reveal the great spaciousness of hell and its abundance of evil. The imagery of depth is conveyed by "deep pits" and by "an abyss exceedingly deep with many souls together" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 49).

In contrast to this vastness and depth is also the idea of limitation, narrowness, and confinement, which reflects the oppression of hell. For example, "Paul looked and saw a well of an abyss with the straitness in the mouth of the pit so as to take but one man in" (*Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, p. 54). "And the Cherubim and Seraphim and the four hundred angels turned around and led the Most Holy Mother of God to the left side, and near that river was obscure darkness and here was a multitude of men and women lying as in a cauldron and tossed about like the ocean waves" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 130). This juxtaposition of vastness and confinement is necessary, for the spaciousness of hell is to be interpreted literally, while the narrowness metaphorically portrays a sense of oppression. Confinement is equated with immobility, and immobility is equated with death. Here the external mobility of the angels and the seers is contrasted with the physical and inner mobility of the sinners, who are bound to a particular place and cannot change their state or their environment. Since hell represents the eternity of damnation, the writers have placed it outside time and place. They have deprived it of all sights and sounds that would give the sinners their bearings in time and place.

Scene three is the epilogue of both the story and the whole human experience. The ascent signifies the suspension of torment for a brief period and serves as a psychological contrast between the joys of heaven and the tribulations involved in attaining this joy. The journey from the foot of the Mount of Olives (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 124) to heaven represents the process whereby man begins to move towards what he himself can see as good, as described in the *Revelation of Moses* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*: " 'I will show thee paradise,' said the angel to Moses. So Moses went with him to paradise to see the mighty deeds of God, and the reward of the pious in paradise 'What is the width and length of paradise?' Moses asked the guardian angel. 'There is none who could measure it. No angel of Seraphim can ever know the length and width, for it is unlimited and boundless and immeasurable,' answered the angel" (*Revelation of Moses*, p. 139).

In describing paradise, the Orthodox apocryphal writers deliberately refrain from describing God and His throne. For example, the Mother of God begs the angels to carry her "to the heights of heaven and place [her] before the throne of the invisible Father" (*Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, p. 131). The spaciousness of hell with its abundance of evil has now given way to the spaciousness of heaven with its abundance of goodness, as seen in the *Apocalypse of Peter*: "And the Lord showed me [Peter] a very great region outside this world, exceedingly

bright with light, and the air of that place illuminated with the beams of the sun" (p. 509). These examples illustrate the varied dramatic forms the writers use to illuminate the analogy between the two timeless realms of human experience—the human and the divine. The human realm represents the reality of the lost souls out of touch with the world of time, whereas the brightness of the divine realm symbolizes spiritual and intellectual enlightenment, the conversion of the soul from the grief and misery of sin to the unfathomable grace of God.

In these heavens, the reader meets all the righteous fathers of the Old and New Testaments. In *Khozhdenie Apostola Pavla po mukam*, the angel urges Paul: "Follow me and I will bring thee into paradise that the righteous which are there may see thee" (p. 57). In *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam*, the Holy Mother of God calls upon Moses, Paul, John the Theologian, all the angels, and the Church Fathers to pray for the mercy of the sinners (p. 134). The Apostle Peter meets Moses and Elias and asks: "Where then are Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous fathers?" (p. 519). Moses, on the other hand, meets the guardian of paradise, who shows him the thrones of Abraham and Isaac (*Revelation of Moses*, p. 139). This compositional device of bringing together all the biblical figures in heaven underlines a fundamental motif—the continuity of God's grace throughout the centuries. All the angels and the saints represent the assembly of the blessed who pray to God on behalf of mankind.

Although there is much pessimism and despair in the apocryphal visions, it is never a prevailing feature in either the Christian or Hebrew visions. The visions always end on a jubilant note. When the sinners in *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* receive a reprieve of fifty-two days from their suffering, they rejoice, saying: "Glory be to Thy goodness. Glory to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and forever unto the ages of ages" (p. 134). When Moses sees all those godly and pleasant things, he feels great joy and exclaims: "Oh, how great is Thy goodness which Thou hast wrought for them that put their trust in Thee" (*Revelation of Moses*, p. 141).

In summary, the mediaeval East Slavic apocryphal visions presented here, although obviously based upon a much earlier ecclesiastical tradition, constitute an art form in which nothing is accidental. The special relationship of space and time, the use of biblical allusions to convey the theological message, the use of numerical symbolism and imagery of movement, the language and style are all characteristic of the rich monastic and ecclesiastical heritage of Kievan Rus'. When studied against their Orthodox tradition, the apocryphal visions become, as Leonid Ouspensky describes them, a form of theology in images rather than a series of sterile abstractions.¹²

Notes

1. Riccardo Picchio, in his article "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of Slavia Orthodoxa," *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 1 (1977):2, defines Orthodox Slavdom (*Slavica Orthodoxa*) as a "spiritual community sharing a common heritage as opposed to a territorial and administrative unit."

2. Discovered by Ismail Sreznevskii in an anonymous ecclesiastical miscellany entitled *Sbornik pouchenii XII veka* (A Miscellany of Homilies of the 12th Century) in the library of the Troitsko-Sergieva Lavra at Zagorsk, this twelfth-century Church Slavic copy of *Khozhdenie Bogoroditsy po mukam* is the oldest extant Church Slavic translation of the Greek prototype *The Apocalypse of the Virgin*. It was edited by Ismail Sreznevskii and published for the first time in "Drevnie pamiatniki russkago pis'ma i iazyka X–XIV vekov" (Ancient Monuments of Russian Literature and Language of the X–XIV Centuries), *Izvestiia vtorago otdeleniia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* (Transactions of the Second Section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences) 10 (1863):551–77, and reprinted by Ivan Franko in *Pamiatky ukrains'ko–rus'koi movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrains'kykh rukopysiv* (Monuments of Ukrainian–Russian Language and Literature: Apocrypha and Legends from Ukrainian Manuscripts), 4 (Lviv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Shevchenka, 1906), pp. 124–34. A text of the manuscript was published by Nikolai Savich Tikhonravov in *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury* (Monuments of Prohibited Russian Literature), 2 (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1863), pp. 23–30. The Greek text of the *Apocalypse of the Virgin* was published by Montague Rhodes James in *Apocrypha Anecdota, Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, 2, no. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1893), pp. 110–11.

3. This fifteenth-century manuscript, no. 1264, folios 166–80, of the collection of Saint Sofia Cathedral in Novgorod, was published by Tikhonravov in *Pamiatniki*, 2, pp. 40–58. A later undated variant (probably of the sixteenth century), entitled *Pavlovo videnie* (The Vision of Paul), was discovered by Aleksandr Pypin in the *Pogodin sbornik*, no. 947, folios 56–59, and published in *Lozhnyiia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny* (*Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury*) (False and Prohibited Books of Russian Antiquity [Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature]), 3rd ed., ed. Grigorii Kushelev-Bezborodko, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1862), 3, pp. 129–33. An English translation from a Latin version

of the *Apocalypse of Paul* was published by Montague James in *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 505–64.

4. This eighteenth-century Ukrainian Church Slavic manuscript (the Ungvarskii Manuscript), discovered in Uzhhorod, was published by Franko in *Pamiatky*, 4, pp. 104–109. The text has only a subtitle, which reads *Slovo o sviatom Avraame, egda emu iavisia arkhistratig Mikhail* (The Discourse of Saint Abraham, when Archistrategos Michael appeared to him). According to Franko, the ancient Hebrew apocryphon the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, about which Epiphanius and Origen write, did not come down to us. In its place, the apocryphon *Zapovit Avraama* (Testament of Abraham), a Christian reworking of the Hebrew apocryphon the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, was preserved in several Greek and Church Slavic versions (p. 108).

5. Donald S. Cooper and Harry B. Weber, "The Church Slavonic Testament of Abraham," in *Studies on the Testament of Abraham*, ed. George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr. (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), pp. 308–26. The authors provide a list of all surviving Church Slavic manuscripts of the *Testament of Abraham* from both the East and South Slavic sources.

6. Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), pp. 124–41. An English translation of the *Revelation of Moses* appears here for the first time.

7. Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 505–21. According to James, "the *Apocalypse of Peter* is not a pure and complete text of the book, but a fragment in Greek called the Akhmin fragment, which was found with the passion fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* in a manuscript known as the Gizeh MS (in a tomb), now in Cairo, Egypt in 1887" (p. 505).

8. Kurt Weitzman, *The Icon* (London: Evan Brothers, 1982), p. 242.

9. Francis Ferguson, *Dante* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 242.

10. Vladimir A. Sakharov, *Eskhatologicheskiia sochineniia i skazaniia v drevne russkoi pis'mennosti i vliianie ikh na narodnie dukhovnie stikhi* (Eschatological Works and Legends in Early Russian Literature and Their Influence on Religious Folk Poetry) (Tula: n.p., 1879), p. 33.

11. George Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 213.

12. Leonid Ouspensky, *Theology of the Icon* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978), p. 45.

East Meets West: Indian Literary Influences
in Ivan Franko's *Mii Izmarahd*

Indian literary influences are a significant factor in shaping some of Ivan Franko's best poetic art, especially his collection of poetry entitled *Mii Izmarahd* (My Emerald). In such poetical works as "Tsar i asket" (The Tsar and the Ascetic), "Prytcha pro zhyttia" (Fable About Life), and "Prytcha pro pravdyvu vartist'" (Fable About True Worth), Franko draws upon philosophical and religious motifs of Indian literature in order to create poetry that is highly introspective and reflective. While offering countless sources of inspiration, Indian literature—its themes and subjects—is transformed by Franko in order to popularize it among Christian peoples. Thus, Franko's interpretation of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy is, in the final analysis, one that is more occidental than oriental.

In his autobiography, Franko mentions that he was fascinated by the East.¹ Although he did not know Sanskrit, Franko had a thorough knowledge of German, and he acquired for his own personal library a German translation of the great Indian epic poem, the *Mahabharata*, by the renowned German scholar Franz Bopp.² In the nineteenth century, German philological scholarship was very much interested in studying oriental literatures. Through the study of Indian literatures, German scholars established common links between Indian and European languages. As a result of the ground-breaking work of the Germans, Slavic scholars followed suit and established the study of Indianistics.³ Thus may be perceived a steady increase in the number of Slavic translations of Indian literary texts either from the original Sanskrit or Pali, or, more frequently, from German or English. The first scholar of Indianistics in Ukraine, K. A. Kossovych (1815–1883), established its importance in the 1870s and 1880s.⁴

Franko's first translation of an Indian tale, "Death of Gidima," one of the episodes from the *Mahabharata*,⁵ was made around 1875. Not long after, in 1883, Franko founded a study group composed of young people who investigated the culture and heritage of various civilizations

through a comparative, historical perspective.⁶ Indian folklore was among the many topics studied. According to the critic O. Bilets'kyi, Franko's mentor and colleague, Mykhailo Drahomanov, discouraged Franko from studying Indianistics, arguing that Franko's plans were too wide in scope.⁷ Franko, however, disagreed with his friend and felt that Indian literature should be regarded of world importance. He believed that in order to understand the true human elements of Indian literature, it was necessary first to understand the fantastic elements of Indian imagery.⁸ Hindu and Buddhist mythology and folklore are saturated by gods, mortals, and animals endowed with superhuman and subhuman traits. Each character, regardless of type, may exhibit both glorious, heroic abilities and petty, human emotions. Physically, each character is depicted by features that combine natural human characteristics with animal traits. For example, one god may have three eyes, a demon may have a hundred heads, or both may appear to have regular human features. Some characters may also exhibit supernatural powers. Gods, sages, and demons have abilities to put curses or spells on lesser beings. Gods may have supernatural weapons with which they may help mortals, or demons, by having committed some great deed, may have acquired mastery over such weapons for their own purposes. Such supernatural elements in Indian literature are usually given some explanation. Many explanatory stories can be found in the epic poems or in the *Puranas*.⁹

Franko shows his knowledge of Puranic material in the introduction to his poem "Tsar i asket" (1892–1893), based on the legend of the noble king Harishchandra and the Brahman sage Vishvamitra from the *Markandeya Purana*.¹⁰ In the introduction to his poem, Franko states that he became acquainted with the tale of Harishchandra through a German translation by F. Rückert, published in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Franko maintains that he did not make a literal translation of Rückert's version, but rather that he retold the story in his own way, while attempting to preserve the Indian spirit of the whole. Thus, in "Tsar i asket," which is dedicated to S. I. Shcherbatskii, a prince whom Franko met in Vienna and who introduced him to Indian literature, Franko changes the ending of the ancient Puranic legend by dismissing the important role played by the gods.

In the original Indian version,¹¹ the two great sages, Vishvamitra and Vashishtha, in eternal competition with each other, are always looking for ways to test each other's will. Harishchandra, Vashishtha's disciple, becomes the innocent victim of the sages' competition. While performing austerities in order to become more powerful, Vishvamitra is disturbed by Harishchandra. Harishchandra is forced to be obligated to Vishvamitra in order to avoid being cursed. Vishvamitra demands that Harishchandra give him whatever he desires. The king, following the path of *dharma* (duty), agrees. The next day, Vishvamitra appears in

the king's court, reminds him of his promise, and demands his kingdom. Harishchandra gives it to him, but Vishvamitra, still not satisfied, asks for more. As a result, Harishchandra is forced to sell his wife and son into slavery and must work as a cremator. One day the son dies, and the mother brings him to the funeral pyre where Harishchandra is working. Recognizing his wife and son, he is overcome with grief. Because of Harishchandra's great piety, the gods intervene: his son is reborn, and all three are awarded a place in heaven. But Harishchandra refuses to go without his loyal subjects. Thus, Indra, the lord of the gods, grants the people a place in heaven and reprimands Vishvamitra for his harsh treatment of Harishchandra. Finally, Vashishtha, hearing how badly Vishvamitra has treated his disciple, is greatly angered. The two sages put a curse on each other, turning each other into birds. The conflict between the two sages continues.

Franko's most significant change to the Indian tale occurs in his reshaping of the ending of the story. In a letter to Drahomanov, Franko writes that he changed the original in order to show that the Brahmins were losing their humanity because of their over-zealousness in the pursuit of power through spiritual enlightenment.¹² How Franko reached this conclusion is unknown. As an example of such priestly over-zealousness, Franko invents detailed descriptions of the austerities performed by Vishvamitra, such as the sage's self-flagellation or his hanging from a tree over a fire. Such detailed descriptions are not found in the original.

Moreover, the Indian spirit is lost when the gods do not play an intrinsic role in influencing the course of events. Franko replaces the gods with a man, the former king of Ayodhya, Devadutta. Hindu and Buddhist religions are intricately involved with Indian mythology to even a greater extent than religion was involved in ancient Greek or Roman mythologies. The *Puranas*, from which Franko gathered the theme and plot of the poem "Tsar i asket," were materials purposefully created to teach the concept of Vedic philosophy to the common man.¹³ The *Vedas*¹⁴ are composed of four books that are the oldest monuments of Indian literature. *Veda* means knowledge in Sanskrit, and the contents of the *Vedas* are said to be of divine revelation. Each book contains prayers, rituals, hymns, and litanies, as well as philosophical concepts. Thus, gods, men, and other creatures are used to demonstrate certain philosophical concepts through allegory. Each character has certain roles to play within the plot of the story. For instance, each god helps those mortals, demons, and animals who are his devotees. Sages are wise, learned men who also look after the welfare of their own disciples. Mortals usually ask for assistance from gods they worship in order to obtain their aid in exploits undertaken or in times of hardship.

If characters were consciously omitted, the story's emphases and the consequences of the action could be significantly altered and thus

distorted. In the original story, the gods make Vishvamitra understand that he is not truly a sage if he allows his passions and jealousies to overcome him, for in Hindu doctrine the sage is one who has gained complete control over his senses and is almost equal to the gods. In Franko's version, the gods play no role, although Harishchandra constantly prays to Indra for help. Without any prior reference in the poem to Devadutta, Franko accords him the role of divine saviour to Harishchandra. It is Devadutta who convinces Harishchandra that the time has come for his death and who asks the people to extinguish the fire of the funeral pyre where Harishchandra is sitting.

Not only does Franko dilute key aspects of Hindu thought, but also key aspects of his poetical works that are based upon Hindu and Buddhist texts in many respects carry Christian overtones. For example, in the poem "Poklin tobi, Buddo!" (A Hymn to Buddha) in the collection *Ziviale lystia* (Withered Leaves), Franko's Buddha resembles a Christ figure. The Buddha is described by Franko as the "light" that has come to save us, as Christ came to save mankind. Franko spends three stanzas praising the Buddha for giving up his riches and his throne. This notion of a rejection of material goods is more prevalent in Christianity. For Buddhism, the conflict between materialism and non-materialism is not central; it is the ability to attain enlightenment that is important. It is an indescribably difficult process, and one in which the soul needs to be reborn many times in order to acquire enough knowledge to attain Nirvana. Through enlightenment, material wealth is discarded.

Also, Franko's concepts of Nirvana resemble Christian ideas of heaven. Yet Nirvana is conceptually far removed from a Christian heaven, which is often depicted as paradise or utopia. Nirvana signifies release from the cycle of rebirth and ultimate oneness with the Supreme Being. In the last stanza of Franko's poem, the poet claims that he is about to depart for Nirvana.

O Buddha! I greet thee,
Who am about to leap
From out Sansara's whirl
Into Nirvana's sleep.¹⁵

But Franko does not seem to show a clear enough understanding of the philosophical thought behind Nirvana, and thus the reader is left confused, believing it to be just another word for "heaven."

"Tsar i asket" and "Poklin tobi, Buddo!" depict Franko's attempts at philosophical writing, a general mood that is also established in the collection of poetry entitled *Mii Izmarahd* (My Emerald, 1898). Here, Franko emerges as a highly serene philosopher-poet. He is the sage, the omniscient teacher, the guru who educates his audience about the meaning of life. *Mii Izmarahd* marks a complete departure from his other

collections of poetry, in which Franko is the social watch-dog and active political participant, the freedom fighter for Ukraine. In *Mii Izmarahd*, his message is one of love, tolerance, and virtuous behaviour: it is a Christian message, although one informed by Hindu and Buddhist imagery. About this collection Franko wrote:

It may be that my physical and spiritual condition is reflected in this book. In sickness one feels that one should be treated gently, mildly, and one's own state also tends to render one gentle, mild, and tolerant I do not know how far I have reflected these feelings in my book, but I do know that I wanted to make it a gentle teacher of morality throughout If from any of these poems there comes in the reader's heart a drop of kindness, of gentleness, of tolerance for the differing views and beliefs, then my work will not have been in vain.¹⁶

Indeed, *Mii Izmarahd* contains such themes as love, brotherhood, and respect and tolerance for mankind—themes intrinsically philosophical and moral. The poems, which Franko titles "parables," contain ideological values that very much resemble the Indian literary genre known as the *Niti-shastra*.¹⁷ *Niti* has no equivalent word in English and therefore must be translated loosely as the learning of worldly wisdom or the wise conduct of life.¹⁸ To this *shastra* or science belong many genres of Indian literature, such as tales, moral narratives, parables, and fairy stories. The *Niti-shastra* teaches morality as well as ethics and, in some instances, such as in the *Pancha-tantra*, political strategy and public administration.¹⁹ In a general sense, didactic tales may be found in areas of Indian literature other than the *Niti-shastra*, such as in the *Upanishads*, the Buddhist texts, the *Mahabharata*, and the *Puranas*.²⁰ These works serve different functions in Indian literature: from the renunciation of all worldly pursuits to the philosophy of the survival of the fittest. Yet the *Niti-shastra* in the form of didactic tales is present throughout these literatures. For example, the nucleus of the original stories of a text such as the *Mahabharata* has didactic fables surrounding it.²¹

Many of the fables and parables that are universally known belong to the didactic books of the *Mahabharata*.²² The same or similar fables may be found in Buddhist sources. One major example of this occurrence is the ancient Christian tale known as *Barlaam and Josaphat*,²³ which Franko researched as his doctoral dissertation topic at the University of Vienna. This Christian tale emphasizes the notion of asceticism and the renouncing of worldly materialistic life in order to obtain access to God. The last chapters in Franko's work deal with Eastern influences on *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which is said to come from a Buddhist source.²⁴ There are thematic similarities between Franko's conclusions in *Barlaam and Josaphat* and his collection of parables in *Mii Izmarahd*,²⁵ especially concerning the theme of asceticism. In both his research on *Barlaam and*

Josaphat and poems such as "Prytcha pro zhyttia," Franko deals with themes related to the renunciation of worldly life in order to get closer to God.²⁶

"Prytcha pro zhyttia" and other poems in *Mii Izmarahd* draw directly from Indian sources. "Prytcha pro zhyttia" comes from the tale "A Man in the Well" in the *Mahabharata*.²⁷ Vidura, who is the uncle of the Pandavs and the Kauravas and who is the wise counsellor to both families, tells the story to his brother, the blind king Dhrtarashtra:

A Brahman loses his way in a dense forest full of beasts of prey. In great terror he runs here and there, looking in vain for a way out. "Then he sees that the terrible forest is surrounded on all sides by traps and is embraced by both arms of a dreadful-looking woman. Great and terrible five-headed dragons, which reach up like rocks to the sky, surrounded this great forest." And in the middle of this forest, covered by underwood and creeping plants, there is a well. The Brahman falls into it and is caught on the intertwined branches of a creeper. "As the great fruit of a bread-fruit tree, held by its stalks, hangs down, so he hung there, feet upwards, head downwards. And yet another even greater danger threatens him there. In the middle of the well he perceived a great, mighty dragon, and at the edge of the lid of the well he saw a black, six-mouthed and twelve-footed giant elephant approaching." In the branches of the tree which covered the well, swarmed all kinds of dreadful-looking bees, preparing honey. The honey drips down and is greedily drunk by the man hanging in the well. For he was not weary of existence, and did not give up hope of life, though white and black mice gnawed the tree on which he hung. The forest, so Vidura explains the metaphor to the king who was filled with pity, is the samsàra, existence in the world: the beasts of prey are the diseases, the hideous giantess is old age, the well is the body of beings, the dragon at the bottom of the well is time, the creepers in which the man was caught, the hope of life, the six-mouthed and twelve-footed elephant, the year with six seasons and twelve months: the mice are the days and nights, and the drops of honey are sensual enjoyments.²⁸

According to Winternitz, this tale is representative of Hindu ascetic poetry, although some scholars have suggested it is Buddhist in origin. The tale apparently reached the West through such books as *Barlaam and Josaphat*.²⁹

Franko's "Prytcha pro zhyttia" is almost a copy of the *Mahabharata* tale "A Man in the Well." In the introduction to the translation of the poem, Percival Cundy notes:

This particular parable was adapted from a Buddhist source. In it, by allegory, the poet points out the weakness and frailty of the human body which may at any moment refuse its service, the many dangers

which menace the life of man, and then concludes by emphasizing that the only thing which sweetens existence is fraternal love, a theme which was paramount with him [Franko] all his life.³⁰

Although much of the symbolism and imagery are the same, Franko's interpretation differs considerably from its Hindu/Buddhist counterpart. Whereas the original story views the drops of honey as sensual enjoyment, which, according to Hindu/Buddhist thought, is the prime target of renunciation, Franko actually uses the honey as a symbol of brotherly love, a notion fundamental to Christianity. The original story functions as a symbolic representation of the Hindu/Buddhist principle of reincarnation: the idea that this world is not stationary and that therefore there is no permanent reality. The story contains the message of non-attachment. The universe, like the body, is not static. It is created and destroyed. It is necessary to escape this cycle of rebirth, and therefore we must not emphasize too much the importance of life. In Franko's poem, the theme of reincarnation is, naturally, absent. Instead, he emphasizes worldly existence through the Christian notions of love and brotherhood. Believing that the sweetness of honey is akin to the sweetness of brotherly love, he concludes that by means of love man will gain access to heaven.

Franko's "Prytcha pro nerozum" (Fable About Folly) also draws from the Indian genre of *Niti-shastra*. Highly didactic, "Prytcha pro nerozum" uses a bird to teach a lesson to a foolish man. Thematically and structurally, it closely resembles the stories in the Indian book the *Pancha-tantra*. The bird uses its wit to escape from the hunter who entraps it. Bargaining with the hunter, the bird promises him three invaluable pieces of advice for the price of its freedom. The hunter agrees, and the bird teaches him the three lessons, but the hunter does not comprehend them. Through his wit and strategy the bird gains its freedom, while through his stupidity the hunter is made to look like a fool.

Franko's two other poems, "Prytcha pro pravdyvu vartist'" and "Prytcha pro smert'" (Fable About Death), are similarly didactic in purpose. In the first poem, King Ashok proceeds to teach his ministers a lesson. He shows them two boxes—one is beautifully decorated on the outside, and the other is very plain. He asks them the worth of each box. The ministers reply that the beautifully decorated box must be more valuable. Ashok opens the first box, which contains foul-smelling carrion. The plain box, on the other hand, is shown to contain jewels, perfumes, and pearls. The king tells his ministers that the richly decorated box represents them, while the plain box is like the hermit. A hermit's inner soul is pure and good because he has conquered his passions and petty emotions.

In the second poem, Ashok and his brother (Vitashoka) are hunting when they spy a hermit. Ashok kneels at the hermit's feet, while

his brother rebukes him for his subservience. The next evening the king sends a trumpeter to the brother's house, a custom that indicates that the king has pronounced the death sentence on the head of the household. The brother thinks that he will die in the morning. The next day he tells Ashok that he is ready for death, but Ashok explains that he sent the trumpeter to teach him a lesson about death. Ashok tells his brother that he displayed ignorance when he did not fall at the hermit's feet. The hermit, states Ashok, serves as a reminder to man of his mortality and impending death because he, having renounced materialism, is close to God. Thus, he should be respected in order that the brother also reach heaven—the ultimate reward.

Legends of King Ashok are usually Buddhist in origin. Although born a Hindu, Ashok adopted Buddhism and brought all of India under its auspices in the third century B.C. In Franko's version, both poems contain a distinctly Christian theme—the notion of sin and man's conduct on earth. Asceticism and the rejection of worldly goods are values that are given an elevated status. If man, like the hermit, behaves in an upright, moral fashion, he is assured of a place in heaven. Yet the original legend's intent was to promote the conversion of India to Buddhism. Ashok was regarded as a teacher of Buddhist philosophy and as the main instigator for massive conversion.³¹ Moreover, the original legend also contains a distinctly anti-Hindu, anti-caste message, when Ashok chastises both his brother and his ministers for wrongly judging the hermit, or judging him by his caste.³² (Buddhism developed in India as a reaction to the caste system, which was an inherent dimension of Hinduism.) Franko omits these complex problems associated with Hindu/Buddhist philosophies in favour of a more familiar Christian message.

In his correspondence, Franko notes that he introduced Ukrainian (i.e., Christian) elements into the Indian sources in order to encourage their popularity with Ukrainians.³³ Certainly his didactic poetry reflects that intent. In addition to his poetic endeavours, Franko also wrote a prose work called *Koly shche zviri hovoryly* (When the Animals Still Spoke, 1899), which contains nineteen fairy-tales, all based upon Indian folklore of the third and fourth centuries and derived particularly from the Indian book the *Pancha-tantra*.³⁴ Here, once again, Franko made many changes to the original, so that the stories seemed more Ukrainian in origin than Indian.³⁵ Despite these transformations, Franko must be considered one of the pioneers of the study of Indianistics in Ukraine, and the first to introduce Hindu and Buddhist folklore to a popular audience.

Notes

1. O. I. Bilets'kyi, "Franko i indii's'ka literatura," in *Zibrannia prats' u p'iaty tomakh*, 2 (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1965), pp. 502–20, 507.
2. Bilets'kyi, p. 507.
3. F. Bopp (1791–1867), T. Benfey (1809–1881), and F. Max Müller (1823–1900) are only a few of the renowned German scholars to contribute to Indianistics. See Sures Chandra Banerji, *A Comparison to Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi, Varanasi, Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), pp. 559–75.
4. Bilets'kyi, p. 506. This article contains a thorough overview of the penetration of Indian literature into Ukraine.
5. The *Mahabharata*, meaning the great war of the Bharat family, is an epic poem consisting of eighteen books and is said to have been written between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. The main story of the poem revolves around the five Pandava brothers, who, in a game of dice, lose their kingdom to their cousins, the Kauravas. As a result, the Pandavas are forced to go into exile for thirteen years with their common wife, Draupadi. After their period of exile is over, the Kauravas refuse to give back the Pandavas their kingdom. A war is fought between the two families, and the Pandavas regain their land, while their cruel cousins are destroyed. After reigning a number of years, the Pandavas go to heaven. There are many parables, legends, and tales surrounding the main story, making it the longest epic poem in the world. For an English translation, see J.A.B. van Buiten, *The Mahabharata* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
6. Bilets'kyi, pp. 510–11.
7. Bilets'kyi, pp. 510–11.
8. Bilets'kyi, p. 511.
9. The *Puranas*, of which there are eighteen books, contain old traditional stories that explain the genealogy and history of gods and kings, intermingled with many legends about the creation and re-creation of the world. See M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi, Varanasi, Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 72.
10. Banerji, K. M., ed., *Markandeya Purana*, trans. F. E. Pargiter (Calcutta: Bib. Ind., 1904).
11. Slight variations of this tale appear in different sources, such as the *Mahabharata*, the *Markandeya Purana*, and so on.

12. Iu. Inkovs'kyi, "Velykyi Kameniar i kraina chudes," *Vsesvit* 692 (August 8, 1986):170–73.
13. See S. N. Roy, *Historical and Cultural Studies of the Puranas* (Allahabad: Pauranic Publications, 1978).
14. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 1, trans. S. Ketkar (New York: Russell and Russell, 1927; reprinted 1971), pp. 53–310. Scholars differ about the date of composition of Vedic literature. Some believe the *Vedas* were developed around 6000 B.C., while others believe they were composed as late as 2000 B.C.–500 B.C.
15. C. A. Manning, ed., *Ivan Franko: Selected Poems*, trans. Percival Cundy (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948), p. 189.
16. Manning, p. 75.
17. It is not known whether Franko actually studied the *Niti* genre in Indian literature.
18. A. W. Ryder, *The Panchatantra* (Chicago and London: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 5.
19. Winternitz, p. 405.
20. Winternitz, p. 407.
21. Winternitz provides a comprehensive definition of the *Niti-shastra*.
22. Winternitz, p. 407.
23. According to J.A.B. van Buiten, Barlaam and Josaphat, two saints whose feast day is celebrated November 2 and who were honoured in the Golden Legend of the Middle Ages, were first referred to in the Greek work entitled *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. This work was attributed to Saint John Damascene but was in reality composed by Saint Euthymius, who lived on Mt. Athos and who died in 1028. The tale goes back to the Arabic *Kitab Bilawhar wa Yudosaph*, which was originally the story of the Bodhisttava—his encounter with the world of suffering and his subsequent enlightenment as the Buddha. See van Buiten, p. 191.
24. See Winternitz, p. 409, for Eastern and Western sources of this tale.
25. C. Bida, "Religious Motives in Scholarly Works of Ivan Franko," *Slavic and East European Studies* 1, no. 2 (1956):104–10; 1, no. 3 (1956):139–45.
26. Bida, p. 143.
27. Winternitz, p. 408.
28. Winternitz, p. 408.
29. Winternitz, p. 409.
30. Manning, pp. 75–76.
31. John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Asoka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 134–61.
32. Strong, pp. 134–61.
33. Inkovs'kyi, pp. 170–73. Franko also mentions his intent to write popular versions of "Tsar i asket" in the introduction to the poem.
34. Inkovs'kyi, p. 171.
35. Inkovs'kyi, p. 171.

Povesti Belkina et les Contes fantastiques :
À la recherche d'un modèle pour la prose de Pouchkine¹

De toute l'œuvre de Pouchkine, les *Récits du feu Belkine* ont suscité une des littératures secondaires les plus vastes, surtout pendant les dernières décennies. L'attention des spécialistes a été attirée par certains aspects particuliers : la structure narrative des contes, la langue, la relation entre ces œuvres en prose et l'œuvre poétique de Pouchkine, ainsi que la relation entre ces contes et d'autres textes littéraires, tels l'école sentimentale de Karamzin, le conte romantique de Bestuzhev-Marlinskii, le conte fantastique de Washington Irving. À cet égard, la littérature scientifique a souligné le rapport ironique, voire parodique, entre les contes et ces modèles antérieurs².

Le but de cette étude n'est pas de répéter ces recherches, mais plutôt de situer les contes dans un autre contexte littéraire, à savoir les rapports entre les contes de Belkine et le conte fantastique de l'écrivain allemand E. T. A. Hoffmann. J'insisterai à cet égard sur l'importance du rôle d'intermédiaire joué par la langue française et la mode littéraire en France dans la réception d'Hoffmann par Pouchkine. Or, ce n'est pas un secret que Pouchkine était tellement plongé depuis son enfance dans la culture française, qu'au lycée il avait reçu le sobriquet de *frantsuz* — le Français. Pourtant, il serait erroné de voir dans cet aspect de la formation du poète une simple manifestation de l'influence de la France et de la littérature française. Le français était, en effet, à cette époque, la langue internationale de la culture. C'est-à-dire que, pour Pouchkine, le français servait en premier lieu de fenêtre sur les richesses culturelles de l'Europe (c'est ainsi qu'il décrit Pétersbourg dans « Mednyi vsadnik »). En d'autres mots, c'est grâce à sa culture française qu'il pouvait suivre l'évolution de la littérature occidentale — française, bien sûr, mais aussi anglaise (Byron, Shakespeare, qu'il lisait d'abord en français), italienne, latine et, finalement, allemande³.

À quel point Pouchkine connaissait-il la littérature allemande? C'est une question complexe et sur laquelle on possède peu d'information. On sait cependant qu'il ne maîtrisait pas très bien la langue

allemande⁴. Ses idées de la littérature allemande (par exemple de *Faust*) ont souvent été puisées dans sa lecture de Mme de Staël. Il semble donc que la culture et la langue françaises ont profondément influencé Pouchkine dans sa lecture des œuvres d'Hoffmann, et peut-être d'autres écrivains, qu'il lisait en traduction française.

Il y a lieu d'avancer ici quelques hypothèses sur la réception d'un écrivain par un autre, et, en particulier, sur celle d'Hoffmann par Pouchkine. On ne peut pas ignorer la langue dans laquelle Pouchkine lisait les œuvres d'Hoffmann, car le choix de vocabulaire, l'omission de certain détails, et même les erreurs de traduction peuvent changer la perception d'un texte. On doit donc établir la chronologie de la lecture des œuvres de l'écrivain allemand par Pouchkine pour pouvoir mesurer l'influence d'Hoffmann sur la prose de l'auteur russe. Quelles œuvres a-t-il lues d'abord, dans quel ordre, et en quelle année? Il est important aussi de prendre en considération la chronologie de son activité créatrice, pour déterminer quelles œuvres d'Hoffmann il avait lues au moment où il a composé *Povesti Belkina*⁵. Puisque le contexte littéraire et critique a influencé l'attitude de Pouchkine envers Hoffmann, il est important d'établir le caractère de cette influence. En général, la question des rapports entre l'œuvre de Pouchkine et celle d'Hoffmann n'a été traitée que de façon très superficielle, et surtout sans considérer les hypothèses mentionnées ci-dessus⁶. Si on accepte que Pouchkine ne lisait guère l'allemand, c'est surtout en regardant les sources russes et françaises qu'on peut reconstituer sa perception d'Hoffmann. Il est donc inutile de comparer les œuvres de Pouchkine avec les versions allemandes originales, comme l'ont fait plusieurs chercheurs.

Considérons d'abord l'importance des traductions russes d'Hoffmann. Izmailov prétend que la Russie suivait la mode française en ce qui concerne la popularité d'Hoffmann⁷. Ceci n'est vrai que pour les années trente, car les premières traductions russes de l'écrivain allemand précèdent les traductions françaises. Malgré cela, ce n'est qu'assez lentement que le lecteur russe découvre Hoffmann. Très peu des contes d'Hoffmann sont traduits en russe avant 1830 : « Das Fräulein von Scuderi » (1822), « Spielerglück » (1823), « Doge und Dogaresse » (1823), « Die Marquise de la Pivardière » (1825), « Datura fastuosa » (1826), « Der Magnétiseur » (1827), « Die Irrungen » (1829), « Signor Formica » (1829). Sans doute, Pouchkine connaît-il certaines de ces traductions, qui paraissent dans des revues telles que *Moskovskii telegraf* et *Syn otechestva*⁸. Le rythme de publication des traductions russes d'Hoffmann s'accélère en 1830, faisant écho à la « manie Hoffmann » qui se manifeste en France⁹.

Malgré l'existence de ces traductions en russe, c'est en traitant Hoffmann comme phénomène de la littérature française des années vingt qu'on peut le mieux évaluer son importance comme précurseur

de la prose de Pouchkine, car c'est en France qu'Hoffmann a subitement occupé une place d'honneur dans la mode littéraire. Les œuvres d'Hoffmann qu'avait lues Pouchkine au moment où il se mit à écrire les *Povesti Belkina* étaient donc celles dont il avait trouvé la traduction dans les revues françaises de l'époque. Or, c'est précisément entre 1827 et 1829 — plus tard qu'en Russie — que le monde littéraire français commence à manifester un intérêt croissant pour Hoffmann, décédé en 1822¹⁰. La *Revue de Paris*, qui commence à publier en avril 1829, consacre une bonne partie de ses premiers numéros à des traductions des contes d'Hoffmann, tels « Une Représentation de *Don Juan*, souvenir musical », dont la version de Loève-Weimars paraît en septembre 1829, ainsi qu'à des études critiques de son œuvre. Parmi ces dernières, mentionnons une comparaison des versions de *Marino Falieri* de Delavigne et d'Hoffmann, publiée dans le numéro de juillet 1829 par Saint-Marc Girardin, l'autre traducteur d'Hoffmann associé à la *Revue de Paris*. Comme preuve que Pouchkine connaissait ces traductions, on peut citer le fait qu'une des *Petites tragédies* — « Kamennyi gost' » — semble avoir été inspirée au moins en partie par le conte « Une Représentation »¹¹. De même, le rôle joué par Mozart dans ce conte (et en général par la musique dans les contes d'Hoffmann) a pu suggérer à Pouchkine le sujet de la petite tragédie « Motsart i Sal'ieri ». Finalement, mentionnons le fait que Pouchkine utilise les deux mots *romanticheskii* et *romanicheskii* dans *Povesti Belkina*, pratique qui correspond à l'emploi des termes *romanesque* et *romantique* dans les traductions françaises d'Hoffmann, alors que le texte allemand n'emploie qu'un seul terme : *romantisch*.

Le premier recueil des contes d'Hoffmann fut publié en France par Loève-Weimars. Il s'agit des *Contes fantastiques*, parus en quatre volumes en novembre 1829 et qui comprenaient neuf contes : « Le Majorat » (« Der Majorat »), « Le Sanctus », « Salvator Rosa » (« Signor Formica »), « La Vie d'artiste » (« Fermate » — aussi traduit en français comme « Le Point d'orgue »), « Le Violon de Crémone » (« Rat Krespel »), « Marino Falieri » (« Doge und Dogaresse »), « Le Bonheur au jeu » (« Spielerglück »), « Le Spectre fiancé » (« Der unheimliche Gast », autrement traduit en français comme « Un sinistre visiteur »), et « Le Choix d'une fiancée » (« Die Brautwahl »). Trois de ces œuvres se trouvent parmi celles publiées en russe avant 1830 : « Mario Falieri » (1823), « Signor Formica » (1829), et « Le Bonheur au jeu » (1823).

Le recueil de Loève-Weimars était précédé d'une introduction condescendante de la plume de Walter Scott (de fait, c'était la deuxième partie d'un article qu'il avait publié d'abord en Angleterre en juillet 1827, et dont la première partie avait paru dans la *Revue de Paris* en avril 1829)¹². Dans cette introduction, Scott caractérise l'œuvre d'Hoffmann comme « un avertissement salutaire du danger que court un auteur qui s'abandonne aux écarts d'une folle imagination »¹³.

Il paraît inconcevable que Pouchkine ne connaisse pas ce recueil, dont plusieurs sujets se répètent dans l'œuvre de l'auteur russe pendant les années trente¹⁴. Par exemple, les parallèles entre le conte « Le Bonheur au jeu » et *Pikovaia dama* (1833) ont déjà été démontrés¹⁵. De plus, on a retrouvé le fragment d'un poème (daté de 1833) qui présente le même sujet que le conte « Doge und Dogaresse », traduit par Loève-Weimars dans le recueil sous le titre « Marino Falieri »¹⁶.

Dans ses souvenirs d'une conversation avec Pouchkine à l'automne 1833, Wilhelm Lenz remarque : « Les contes fantastiques d'Hoffmann venaient tout juste d'être traduits en français à Paris et, grâce à cette circonstance, étaient devenus célèbres à Pétersbourg. C'est Paris qui a joué le rôle principal en tout cela. Pouchkine ne parlait que d'Hoffmann; ce n'est pas pour rien qu'il a écrit « La Dame de pique » en imitant Hoffmann, mais avec un goût plus raffiné. Je connaissais Hoffmann par cœur... Notre conversation était animée et dura longtemps ...»¹⁷. Ce témoignage, quoique anecdotique, sert lui aussi à soutenir mon hypothèse selon laquelle les traductions françaises d'Hoffmann ont influencé Pouchkine.

Il faut donc présumer qu'au moment où il écrivit *Povesti Belkina*, Pouchkine n'avait lu que les œuvres de l'auteur allemand citées ci-dessus. Parmi les trois œuvres traduites en français et en russe, deux — « Le Bonheur au jeu » et « Marino Falieri » — parurent en russe assez tôt, soit en 1823. Pouchkine se souvenait peut-être d'avoir lu ces traductions en lisant les versions françaises. En tout cas, leur importance était devenue considérable grâce à la nouvelle tâche qu'il se donnait — d'effectuer la transition de la poésie à la prose.

La langue et l'ordre chronologique de la lecture des œuvres de Hoffmann par Pouchkine semblent clairs, mais le troisième problème, soulevé au début de cet article, est plus complexe — à savoir, les circonstances culturelles qui ont influencé l'auteur russe. À cet égard, l'article de Walter Scott au sujet d'Hoffmann semble avoir joué un rôle crucial. La première partie de cet article, qui parut en anglais en 1827, fut traduite en français la même année dans la *Revue de Paris*, et en russe en octobre 1829 dans la revue *Syn otechestva*. Elle est consacrée à une discussion du surnaturel en général et ce n'est qu'après une quinzaine de pages, dans la deuxième partie, que Scott commence à parler d'Hoffmann lui-même. (C'était cette deuxième partie de l'article dont la version française servait d'introduction aux *Contes fantastiques* d'Hoffmann.)

L'article est d'un grand intérêt pour le pouchkiniste, car on y trouve plusieurs motifs du diabolique qui se retrouvent dans l'œuvre de Pouchkine. Par exemple, Scott mentionne *Le Diable amoureux* de Jacques Cazotte, dont l'importance pour Pouchkine a été démontrée tout récemment¹⁸. Aussi, la description d'une nuit passée à la table de jeu (qui était censée être tirée de la vie d'Hoffmann), dans laquelle

l'auteur s' imagine que ses gains sont le fruit d'un pacte avec le diable, ressemble de façon curieuse à une situation qui se répète à plusieurs reprises dans les écrits de Pouchkine — notamment, dans la *Dame de pique*¹⁹.

Plus intéressante que ces détails mineurs est l'attitude critique de Scott envers l'écrivain allemand. Il considère en effet ce dernier comme la victime d'une fantaisie malade plutôt que comme un écrivain d'envergure mondiale : « Les inspirations d'Hoffmann ressemblent si souvent aux idées évoquées par l'usage immodéré de l'opium que nous devons le considérer comme quelqu'un qui a besoin de l'aide de la médecine plutôt que de la critique littéraire »²⁰.

Ce ton négatif, méprisant même, s'accordait peu avec la « manie Hoffmann » qui sévissait alors en France. Peut-être a-t-on-utilisé ce texte en guise d'introduction, faute de mieux. Le mépris qu'exprime Scott envers Hoffmann, il l'étend aussi à Jacques Callot :

Les œuvres de Callot, tout en témoignant d'une fertilité merveilleuse de l'esprit, sont ... reçues avec surprise plutôt qu'avec plaisir. Si on compare sa fécondité de son œuvre avec celle de Hogarth, elles se ressemblent en étendue; mais après une examination minutieux, l'artiste anglais a merveilleusement l'avantage. Chaque nouvelle touche que découvre l'observateur parmi les richesses superflues de Hogarth est un élément dans l'histoire des mœurs humaines, sinon de cœur humain, tandis que par contre, en examinant de façon microscopique la diablerie des pièces de Callot, nous y découvrons seulement de nouveaux exemples d'ingéniosité gaspillée et d'une fantaisie poussée aux limites de l'absurde²¹.

Il faut se souvenir qu'Hoffmann se disait inspiré des estampes de cet eau-fortiste français (surtout de ses illustrations de la commédia dell'arte, dont plusieurs sont reproduites dans les premiers recueils des contes d'Hoffmann). Pour Scott, l'esprit grotesque et fantastique d'Hoffmann est aussi malsain que celui de Callot, comparé à l'art de Hogarth²². En d'autres mots, Scott rejetait le surnaturel et le grotesque qu'il retrouvait chez Hoffmann en faveur d'une écriture plausible et véridique.

Loève-Veimars utilisa la deuxième partie de l'article de Scott comme avant-propos du recueil des *Contes fantastiques* d'Hoffmann qu'il publia en 1829²³. Ce recueil fut la première collection des œuvres d'Hoffmann à paraître en français; il semble inconcevable que Pouchkine ne l'ait pas lu : un exemplaire apparaît dans l'inventaire de la bibliothèque de Pouchkine. On y retrouve aussi un autre recueil des œuvres d'Hoffmann publié par Loève-Veimars en 1834, et *La Vie de E. T. A. Hoffmann*, publiée par Loève-Veimars en 1833, ce qui démontre l'intérêt soutenu de Pouchkine pour l'écrivain allemand²⁴.

L'hypothèse que je propose ici, c'est que Pouchkine a trouvé dans le recueil de Loève-Weimars un modèle ou un prototype pour le cycle des contes de Belkine. Cet ouvrage a dû lui paraître comme un regroupement de contes fantastiques, voire grotesques (mot utilisé par Scott), assez hétérogènes et précédés d'une introduction de Scott qui, plutôt que de louer l'auteur, le dénigrerait, et, tout comme le voisin de Belkine, le traitait de pauvre diable dément.

Traçons maintenant les étapes de la réception des deux recueils par leurs lecteurs respectifs afin d'exposer les parallèles et les différences de cet accueil. La réception des contes par le lecteur se déroule ainsi : d'abord, il est attiré par le titre « Contes fantastiques d'Hoffmann » : *Povesti Belkina*. Les parallèles sont significatifs : « contes fantastiques » = « povesti ». Plus significatif encore : Hoffmann = Belkine. Il convient de noter que le titre *Povesti Belkina* constitue en quelque sorte une exception parmi les titres de recueils de contes fantastiques publiés en Russie au tournant des années trente :

A. Pogorel'skii :	<i>Dvoïnik, ili moi vechera v Malorosii</i>
N. V. Gogol' :	<i>Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki</i>
M. N. Zagoskin :	<i>Večer na Khopre</i>
V. F. Odoevskij :	<i>Russkie noch'i</i>
V. F. Odoevskij :	<i>Pestrye skazki s krasnym slovtom</i>
A. S. Pouchkine :	<i>Povesti pokoinogo Ivana Petrovicha Belkina</i> .

Si les contemporains tâchent de dramatiser la situation qui encadre leurs contes afin de leur donner un air mystérieux et folklorique, Pouchkine préfère une présentation sobre, en camouflant son œuvre en recueil de contes d'un auteur peu connu et décédé.

Ensuite, le lecteur parcourt la table des matières, c'est-à-dire la liste des contes du recueil; souvenons-nous qu'il n'était pas du tout obligé de les lire dans l'ordre proposé par le rédacteur (qui, dans le cas de Pouchkine, est fictif). Prenons le contenu des quatre premiers tomes du recueil de Loève-Weimars :

Le Majorat; Le Sanctus; Salvator Rosa; La Vie d'artiste; Le Violon de Crémone; Marino Falieri; Le Bonheur au jeu; Le Spectre fiancé; Le Choix d'une fiancée.

Le lecteur de *Povesti Belkina* trouverait :

Vystrel; Metel'; Grobovshchik; Stantsionnyi smotritel'; Baryshnia-krest'ianka.

Dans les deux cas, les titres présentent une suite d'images contradictoires, mystérieuses. Les éléments de passion, de violence, de surnaturel, bref, de romantisme, y dominent. Cependant, la liste de Pouchkine est lapidaire : les motifs de l'Italie, de l'art, et du jeu sont absents (on les retrouve ailleurs dans son œuvre). La liste des contes de

Pouchkine possède un foyer plus précis, et se lit presque comme le plan d'un roman.

La troisième étape dans la découverte des contes par le lecteur est la lecture de l'avant-propos « Ot izdatelia ». Or, dans son article, Scott critique Hoffmann tant pour sa vie que pour ses œuvres. Ainsi, Scott suggère qu'Hoffmann buvait (thème qui est repris par le voisin de Belkine). L'avant-propos de *Povesti Belkina* est aussi consacré en grande partie à la « lettre » du voisin de Belkine, qui désapprouve le jeune auteur eccentric. Bien sûr, les ressemblances entre l'article de Scott et l'avant-propos de *Povesti Belkina* se limitent surtout au ton — mais c'est précisément le ton de l'avant-propos qui est important : la façon négative dont Scott parle de feu Hoffmann est incompatible avec les objectifs d'un avant-propos, censé disposer le lecteur à continuer sa lecture. Sans aller jusqu'à avancer que l'avant-propos de *Povesti Belkina* est une parodie de l'article de Scott (leur contenu est trop différent), je suggère que ce dernier a servi en quelque sorte de modèle à Pouchkine, qui était sans doute particulièrement sensible au sort posthume réservé à œuvre de l'écrivain allemand et qui craignait être traité avec autant de dédain et d'incompréhension par ses contemporains.

En d'autres mots, ce qui devient le thème de l'article de Scott, utilisé en avant-propos, c'est le génie de l'auteur des contes fantastiques, qui n'est nullement apprécié de son collègue écossais. Le thème de l'avant-propos des *Povesti*, c'est le mépris manifesté envers l'écrivain autant par son voisin conservateur et pratique que par la ménagère qui, son maître mort, se sert du manuscrit de son roman pour isoler les fenêtres de la maison. Belkine, comme Hoffmann, est « mort » et ne peut répondre à l'image peu flatteuse qu'on brosse de lui — et qui pourtant présente le recueil de contes dont il est l'auteur. La différence est que Belkine est une création fictive de l'auteur russe, tandis que le personnage « Hoffmann » de Scott prétend être réel. Le parallèle entre Hoffmann et Belkine suggère la sympathie voilée de Pouchkine pour Hoffmann, car Belkine, tout en étant un personnage indépendant, reste une sorte de projection de l'auteur lui-même, dont il partage la plume.

L'article de Scott et ses critiques de l'écrivain allemand reposent sur une différence de poétique. En effet, Scott défend une poétique réaliste — autant dans les arts visuels que dans la littérature — car s'il préfère Hogarth à Callot, il regrette aussi qu'Hoffmann n'ait pas écrit une description détaillée de la bataille de Dresde et qu'il ait préféré écrire des contes grotesques et fantastiques, produits d'une imagination fébrile et malsaine, selon l'auteur écossais. Quelle est la position de Pouchkine face à ce débat? Exprime-t-il sa propre pensée envers cette différence d'opinion sur l'esthétique du conte? Ma comparaison du titre du recueil à un paradigme de recueils russes de l'époque suggère déjà de quel côté penche l'auteur russe — il évite les excès d'un folklore

littéraire. De plus, l'ensemble des contes et l'avant-propos en particulier représentent une nette prise de position de l'auteur dans ce débat. Le problème est mis en évidence par le procédé d'un narrateur décédé. Belkine représente la poétique du conte fantastique d'Hoffmann — et non le conte véridique de Scott. Au moyen du personnage de Belkine, Pouchkine se distancie à la fois de Scott et, notons-le entre parenthèses, des écrivains russes de l'école folklorique. Belkine n'est pas Pouchkine, mais il représente une poétique que Pouchkine est prêt à adopter de façon provisoire.

Donc, quoique l'ironie et la distance caractérisent la position de Pouchkine, on peut y distinguer plusieurs éléments principaux de la poétique qu'il avait adoptée dans les *Povesti Belkina*. Premièrement, il rejette la tendance « folklorisante » du conte romantique russe : il n'y a pratiquement pas de folklore dans *Povesti Belkina*. Cette absence est signalée par le titre et la persona de « l'auteur » — de Belkine lui-même (comparez-le avec Rudyi Pan'ko). L'absence de traits « folkloriques » le rapproche déjà de la poétique d'Hoffmann. Ensuite, le jeu de discours encadrants typique des contes d'Hoffmann est adopté par Pouchkine — dans *Povesti Belkina*, c'est d'abord la persona de Belkine qui sert de « parapluie » à tous les contes (et qui leur donne une cohérence *expostfactum*). Ce jeu narratif se manifeste également dans la liste de gens qui sont censés avoir raconté à Belkine les anecdotes dont il se sert pour la confection des contes; finalement, il se manifeste dans la complexité du discours de certains textes (dont « Vystrel » est le meilleur exemple)²⁵.

Notons brièvement plusieurs autres éléments de la poétique des contes qui les rapprochent du conte d'Hoffmann : l'aspect souvent mystérieux, inexplicable du protagoniste et de son comportement, aspect qui n'est élucidé qu'à la fin, lorsque tout devient clair et reçoit une explication raisonnable (Hoffmann : Krespel, Busson; Pouchkine : Sil'vio, Burmin); les éléments de la trame sont tirés de la comédie, surtout italienne (Hoffmann : « Signor Formica; » Pouchkine : « Baryshnia-krest'ianka », « Vystrel »); le mélange de détails réalistes et d'événements fantastiques (qui trouvent une explication plausible à la fin); la mention fréquente du diable; et le thème des « deux mondes » (*dvoemirie*) qui évolue de façon moins équivoque chez Pouchkine que chez Hoffmann en faveur d'une explication « réaliste » (« Grobovshchik »).

Une autre preuve que Pouchkine écrivait « à la manière d'Hoffmann » (comme Hoffmann écrivait « à la manière de Callot »), est la multiplicité de signes lexicaux et de motifs tirés d'Hoffmann qui se retrouvent dans les textes de *Povesti Belkina*. Par exemple, dans le conte « Metel' », on retrouve un sujet typique du conte romantique : celui du spectre fiancé. Ce sujet, qui a son origine dans la « Leonore » de Bürger, peut être emprunté au conte de Washington

Irving « The Spectre Bridegroom », mais la présence de ce sujet chez Hoffmann ne peut pas être négligée non plus. (En effet, Irving donne à son conte une ambiance allemande — expression de l'importance de cette légende dans la littérature allemande depuis Bürger.) Notons que Loève-Weimars donna au conte « Un sinistre visiteur » le titre « Le Spectre fiancé ». Comme deuxième élément hoffmannien, on peut noter que le voyage nocturne de Vladimir pendant une tempête de neige rappelle le voyage décrit dans le conte « Le Majorat » : « Le vent de la mer s'engouffrait avec des sifflements aigus dans la forêt des pins, et ceux-ci, comme réveillés d'un sommeil magique et profond, y répondaient par de lamentable gémissements »²⁶. Plusieurs éléments se retrouvent dans les deux descriptions : le bruit du vent, le « chemin désert et sombre », la noirceur de la nuit, la fatigue du voyageur, l'effort qu'il doit faire pour réveiller le paysan dans sa cabine (dans le conte de Pouchkine) et le vieux Franz (dans celui d'Hoffmann). Il est vrai, cependant, que la description de la tempête de neige (qui se répète plusieurs fois chez Pouchkine dans différentes œuvres) est d'un plus grand réalisme — résultat, sans doute, de ses expériences vécues en Russie.

Le conte de *Povesti Belkina* qui a été le plus souvent identifié avec Hoffmann est « Grobovshchik »²⁷. Malgré le scepticisme de certains, on peut y distinguer plusieurs motifs hoffmanniens. Premièrement, on peut noter que les coups à la porte sont un élément souvent utilisé par Hoffmann : « *Sii razmyshleniia byli prervany nechaianno tremia franmazonскими ударами в дверь.* » (« Trois coups franc-maçonniques interrompirent soudain ces réflexions. ») L'importance attachée à ces coups (que souligne le caractère sinistre du chiffre trois), est déjouée par l'arrivée du voisin allemand de Prokhorov, venu tout simplement l'inviter à la fête de sa fille. Comparez, par exemple, le visiteur sinistre dans le conte « Mademoiselle de Scudéry » : « À l'heure de minuit . . . on frappa tout à coup à la porte de cette maison, et si rudement que tout le vestibule en retentit. » (III, p. 161) Le visiteur mystérieux vient donner un cadeau bizarre à la maîtresse de la maison, ce qui met en marche une suite d'événements qui ne reçoit son explication qu'à la fin du conte. Par comparaison, le conte de Pouchkine paraît banal, et met en relief le génie de la stylisation d'Hoffmann — à savoir l'écart entre l'importance des événements racontés et la façon dont ils sont décrits.

Dans « Grobovshchik », on retrouve un autre élément tiré d'Hoffmann et qui n'a jamais été discuté. Il s'agit de la description des squelettes et des morts qui viennent se venger de Prokhorov dans son rêve. Dans le conte « Signor Formica » — traduit par Loève-Weimars comme « Salvator Rosa » —, le docteur Pyramide est accablé par des spectres (il s'agit de gens déguisés) :

Une pâle lueur rougeâtre, venue on ne sait d'où, tomba sur les mystérieux personnages, et quatre têtes de mort blafardes fixèrent d'épouvantables yeux caves sur le docteur Pyramide : « Malheur, malheur, malheur à toi, Splendiano Accoramboni! », hurlaient les fantômes terrifiants d'une voix grave et sourde; et l'un d'eux gémit : « Me reconnais-tu, Splendiano? Je suis Cordier, le peintre français qu'on enterra la semaine dernière, que tes breuvages ont envoyé sous terre. » Puis le second : « Me reconnais-tu, Splendiano? Je suis Liers, le Flamand que tu as tué avec tes pillules; et tu as trompé mon frère pour avoir les tableaux », et le troisième : « Me reconnais-tu, Splendiano? Je suis Kūfner, le peintre allemand que tu empoisonnas avec tes electuaires infernaux. » Enfin, le quatrième : « Me reconnais-tu, Splendiano? Je suis Ghigi, le peintre napolitain que tu as fait mourir avec tes poudres », et tous quatre reprirent ensemble : « Malheur, malheur, malheur à toi, Splendiano Accoramboni! maudit docteur Pyramide... tu vas descendre ... descendre sous terre avec nous. Partons, partons! Viens! allons, viens! » À ces mots, ils se précipitèrent sur l'infortuné docteur, l'enlevèrent et disparurent avec la rapidité d'un vent d'orage. (III, p. 358)

Quoique la scène où les clients morts viennent faire leurs reproches au vendeur de cercueils frauduleux soit écrite avec beaucoup plus d'humour et d'ingéniosité que cette scène du charlatan puni, les ressemblances entre les deux passages ne laissent guère de doutes. Il est vrai, comme le souligne Passage, qu'Hoffmann préfère avoir recours à une autre motivation pour sa scène que celle du rêve; aussi, il répète la situation avec des artistes déguisés en diables qui traitent signor Pasquale de « vieux diable amoureux », scène qui se termine en bagarre. Cependant, l'atmosphère hoffmannienne de la scène de « Grobovshchik » est assez évidente.

La présence de tels motifs hoffmanniens suggère que « Grobovshchik » est une « stylisation » ou pastiche du conte d'Hoffmann, plutôt qu'une parodie. Le terme « stylisation » (*stilizatsiia*) fut inventé par Tynianov pour désigner un genre à mi-chemin entre l'imitation et la parodie. Pour que le conte de Pouchkine soit une vraie parodie, il aurait fallu que la cible du jeu littéraire soit identifiée clairement et sans équivoque, et que l'élément moqueur soit plus fort²⁸.

Les exemples accumulés suggèrent que Pouchkine situait ses contes de façon délibérée dans la poétique d'Hoffmann, et qu'il se distanciat subrepticement de la poétique de Scott en écrivant *Povesti Belkina* et *Pikovaia dama*. Comme toutes les prises de position de Pouchkine concernant les genres et les poétiques, on relève ici une certaine ironie : ce n'est pas une parodie de l'œuvre d'Hoffmann qu'il vise (comme le prétend Reeder), mais plutôt une stylisation (*stiliza-*

tsiia) qui adopte cette poétique de façon ironique, provisoire. Son adaptation ultérieure de la poétique de l'adversaire d'Hoffmann — celle de Scott, dans *Kapitanskaia dochka* — illustre encore une fois comment Pouchkine, comme Protée, passe si facilement d'un genre à un autre et d'une poétique à une autre, les maîtrisant totalement et révélant ainsi une « surpoétique » typiquement pouchkinienne.

La question se pose toujours de savoir pourquoi Pouchkine s'est intéressé à l'écrivain allemand. Peut-être a-t-il perçu dans la prose d'Hoffmann le modèle d'un style qui mélange le réalisme et le fantastique. Hoffmann mêle en effet les procédés de la prose réaliste ou sentimentale avec ceux du théâtre, surtout du théâtre italien de la *commedia dell'arte*. C'est précisément les ruptures entre ces poétiques si différentes d'esprit et de forme qui créent les effets grotesques que Scott trouve inacceptables. Pourtant, ces ruptures suggéraient à Pouchkine la possibilité d'un autre type de prose fondée sur la conjonction de poétiques contradictoires. Il me semble que le poète russe y trouva la solution idéale pour ses premières tentatives d'écriture dans le genre inusité qu'était pour lui le conte en prose²⁹.

Dans un article publié dans *Le Globe* (le 2 août 1828), J. J. Ampère caractérise les contes d'Hoffmann comme suit :

Concevez une imagination et un esprit parfaitement clairs, une amère mélancolie et une verve intarissable de bouffonnerie et d'extravagance, supposez un homme qui dessine d'une main les figures les plus fantastiques, qui rende présentes, par une netteté du récit et la vérité des détails, les scènes les plus étranges, qui fasse à la fois frissonner, rêver et rire, enfin qui compose comme Callot, invente comme les « Mille et une nuits », raconte comme Walter Scott, et vous aurez une idée d'Hoffmann³⁰.

Il serait difficile de trouver une formule qui décrive avec plus de justesse ce que Pouchkine réussit à faire dans *Povesti Belkina*.

La lecture que je propose de *Povesti Belkina*, ainsi que des contes fantastiques, suggère aussi qu'il faut les voir comme les précurseurs non pas de l'écriture réaliste du dix-neuvième siècle, mais de l'écriture fantastique de Bulgakov, Siniavskii, et autres. En d'autres mots, nous y voyons comment Pouchkine surmonta le réalisme et « débroussailla le chemin » du romantisme en prose.

Notes

1. Une version abrégée de cet article fut présentée sous forme de conférence au Colloque International Pouchkine : « Pouchkine et la France » (Paris, 1987).

2. Parmi les recherches les plus récentes, on peut citer Wolf Schmid, « Intertextualität und Komposition in Puškins Novellen *Der Schuss* und *Der Posthalter* », *Poetica*, 13, No. 1-2, 1981, pp. 82-132; « Diegetische Realisierung von Sprichwörtern, Redensarten und semantischen Figuren in Puškins '*Povesti Belkina*' », *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, 10, 1982, pp. 163-195; David M. Bethea et Sergei Davydov, « Pushkin's Saturnine Cupid : The Poetics of Parody in *The Tales of Belkin* », *PMLA*, 91, 1981, pp. 8-21; Paul Debreczeny, *The Other Pushkin: A Study of Alexander Pushkin's Prose Fiction*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1983.

3. En fait, son opinion de la littérature française contemporaine était loin d'être élogieuse. Voir, par exemple, l'ébauche de son article sur la traduction de Milton par Chateaubriand.

4. Voir à ce sujet les commentaires de Nabokov : « Pouchkine possédait l'allemand encore moins que l'anglais, et il n'avait que des idées vagues de la littérature allemande, à l'influence de laquelle il résistait et dont il détestait les courants. Il n'en avait lu que peu de choses, soit en versions françaises ou en adaptations russes, » Alexander Pouchkine, *Eugene Onegin*, traduit par Vladimir Nabokov, Princeton University Press, 1975, II, p. 235. Quoiqu'il soit exagéré de dire que Pouchkine était hostile à la littérature allemande (plutôt, il la considérait avec une certaine condescendance, voire ironie) il est néanmoins certain qu'il connaissait les auteurs allemands seulement en traduction. Pour une discussion du rôle de Faust dans ses œuvres, voir mon article « Pushkin, Faust, and the Demons », *Germano-Slavica*, III, No. 3 1980, pp. 168-187.

5. Une ébauche de l'avant-propos fut écrite par Pouchkine en automne 1829; une deuxième version suivit un an après, au moment où Pouchkine écrivait les contes eux-mêmes, c'est-à-dire en automne 1830, à Boldino (Debreczeny, *The Other Pushkin*, p. 58).

6. La question est abordée dans deux études sur l'importance d'Hoffmann dans la littérature russe : Charles E. Passage, *The Russian Hoffmannists*, The Hague, Mouton, 1963, et Norman W. Ingham, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's*

Reception in Russia, Würzburg, jal-verlag, colloquium slavicum : Beiträge zur Slavistik, 6, 1974. Voir aussi Michel Gorlin, « Hoffmann en Russie », *Revue de littérature comparée*, 15, 1935, pp. 60–76.

7. N. V. Izmailov, « Fantasticheskaia povest' », in B. S. Meilach, rédacteur, *Russkaia povest' XIX veka* Leningrad, Nauka, 1973, p. 138.

8. Ingham, pp. 271–272.

9. Ingham, pp. 272–273.

10. L'historique de l'accueil qu'Hoffmann reçut en France, résumé ci-dessus, se fonde principalement sur les faits présentés par Elizabeth Teichman dans le deuxième chapitre de son livre, *La Fortune d'Hoffmann en France*, Genève, Librairie E. Droz, Paris, Librairie Minard, 1961, pp. 22–28.

11. Sur les parallèles entre le conte d'Hoffmann et la petite tragédie de Pouchkine, voir R. Karpiak, « The Crisis of Idealism: E. T. A. Hoffmann and the Russian Tradition of Don Juan », in John Whiten et Harry Loewen, rédacteurs, *Crisis and Commitment: Studies in German and Russian Literature in Honour of J. W. Dyck*, Waterloo, Ontario, University of Waterloo Press, 1983, pp. 127–139. Quoique le sujet de « Kammenyi gost' » ait peut-être été suggéré par le conte d'Hoffmann, Karpiak souligne l'importance relative de cette légende, qui a inspiré Molière (*Don Juan*) et Mozart (*Don Giovanni*), et de ces deux œuvres comme sources de la version de Pouchkine.

12. Cet article paraît en Russie en octobre 1829 dans la revue *Synotechestva i severnyi arkhiv* (Ingham, p. 32). L'original s'intitule « On the Supernatural in Fictitious Composition, and particularly on the Work of Ernest Theodore William Hoffmann » (voir Sir Walter Scott, *On Novelists and Fiction*, rédactrice Joan Williams, Londres, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968, pp. 312–354).

13. Cité par Teichman, p. 28.

14. Il était certainement au courant des traductions qui parurent dans *La Revue de Paris* (revue qu'il mentionne dans une lettre adressée à Pavel Voinovich Nashchokin le 8–10 janvier 1832) et, par conséquent, du recueil de Loève-Veimars. Ce dernier (le Baron François-Adolphe Loève-Veimars), dont le *Résumé de l'histoire de la littérature allemande* (Paris, 1826) se trouve dans la bibliothèque de Pouchkine, visite plus tard la Russie et rencontre le poète russe. Voir B. Modzalevskii, « Biblioteka Pushkina. Bibliograficheskoe opisanie », *Pushkin i ego sovremenniki. Materialy i issledovaniia*, 9–10, S.-Peterburg, Tipografia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1910, p. 276, et Ingham, p. 121.

15. Voir Ingham, pp. 134–137; Passage, pp. 135–138. Parmi d'autres ressemblances déjà mentionnées dans la littérature, il est probable que Pouchkine pense aux œuvres d'Hoffmann (v.g. à son conte « Le Magnétiseur ») lorsqu'il mentionne le « magnétisme de Mesmer ». Ceci n'exclut pas l'autre possibilité, mentionnée par M. P. Alekseev, que Pouchkine se souvienne ici de l'ode de Derzhavin; d'après moi, l'un renforce l'autre. Voir M. P. Alekseev, « Pushkin i nauka ego vremeni », *Pushkin: Issledovaniia i materialy*, I, Moskva–Leningrad, A.N. S.S.R., 1956, pp. 80–81. Aussi, certains détails du conte de Pouchkine peuvent avoir été empruntés à la version russe *Moskovskii telegraf* parue en 1825 sous le titre « Beloe privedenie », tout comme le nom de « Saint-Germain », donné par le traducteur au comte, et le titre russe, qui rappelle l'apparition de la comtesse à Germann (voir Ingham, pp. 20–23). Cette traduction fut réimprimée en 1830 dans la collection *Povesti i*

literaturnye otryvki (voir Ingham, p. 32). Finalement, on peut citer « Le Violon de Crémone » (« Rat Krespel ») comme source possible de la mention de « l'ange de la mort » dans la scène décrivant les obsèques de la comtesse.

16. Passage, p. 139.

17. N. L. Brodskii, rédacteur, *Literaturnye salony i kruzheniia: Pervaiia polovina XIX veka*, Moskva-Leningrad, Academia, 1930, p. 445. Cité par Ingham, p. 118; voir aussi Ingham, p. 177.

18. Voir Rostislav Schulz, *Pushkin i knidskii mif*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1985.

19. En réalité, cette anecdote que Scott prétend avoir tirée de la vie d'Hoffmann, était un extrait du conte « Le Bonheur au jeu » (voir Ingham, p. 34).

20. Scott, p. 352 — ma traduction.

21. Scott, p. 349 — ma traduction.

22. Pouchkine fait allusion à Callot (sans le nommer) dans *Povesti Belkina*, lorsqu'il décrit les estampes « allemandes » illustrant la parabole de « l'enfant prodigue » dans « Stantsionnyi smotritel ». Cette allusion se réfère à une suite d'estampes sur ce thème exécutée par Callot en 1635. Voir la note 29, ci-dessous.

23. En effet, les quatre premiers volumes n'étaient que la première partie d'une série qui comprit en tout une vingtaine de tomes. Voir Teichmann, pp. 237-241.

24. Voir la note 13, ci-dessus.

25. Dans ce sens, le « meilleur » conte de Belkine est précisément *Pikovaia dama*, où la structure narrative hoffmannesque est le mieux reproduite.

26. E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Contes d'Hoffmann*, Paris, Club des Libraires de France, 1956, I, p. 498. Toutes les citations subséquentes des œuvres d'Hoffmann sont tirées de cette édition; le volume et la page en question sont indiqués entre parenthèses.

27. Voir, entre autres, Ingham, qui est plutôt sceptique (p. 139), et Passage, qui écrit que « sauf comme une sorte de parodie, ce sujet ne peut avoir aucun rapport avec Hoffmann » (p. 139).

28. Pour une explication de la différence entre ces termes, voir Iurii Tynianov, « Dostoevskii i Gogol' », *Arkhaisty i novatory*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1967, p. 416.

29. Les problèmes de *Povesti Belkina* et de la structure comique sont abordés dans mon article « *Povesti Belkina* and commedia dell'arte : Pushkin, Callot, Hoffmann » (à paraître dans le volume de contributions au congrès « Puškin Scholarship in America Today » Wisconsin, avril 1987).

30. Cité par Teichman, p. 23.

CAMILLE R. LA BOSSIÈRE

Of Dostoevskii and Montaigne:
A Gidean *Sotie*

*Where there is life, there is
contradiction, and wherever there
is contradiction, the comical
is present.*

—Kierkegaard, *Concluding Unscientific
Postscript* (1846)

. . . Gide the Lucid . . .
—Nabokov, *Pale Fire* (1962)

Before getting Robert Browning to pose with the subject centring his *Dostoïevsky* (1923), André Gide warns that the combining portraiture may prove too startling, be too "choquant" by its incongruity.¹ Why this advisory to contemporaries presumed to be familiar with *The Ring and the Book* and *Crime and Punishment*, he does not expressly say. The silence tantalizes. Perhaps Gide is playing on his own reputation as professional *inquiéteur*, sounding a false alarm of the kind that signals self-parody. Such a speculation is inviting, since even those readers taxed to the limit by the relatively unperplexing Browning of *Dramatic Idyls: First Series* and with access to Dostoevskii criticism limited to what was readily available in the early twenties need not go out of soundings to discover affinities between Browning the author of "Ivan Ivanovitch" (the tale of a carpenter dispensed from the law when found holy in an axe-murder),² for example, and the *narodnik* sketched in the 1916 translation of Evgeny Soloviev's critical biography: for Dostoevskii as for the Russian peasant, "'Life according to Truth' (as distinguished from life according to rule and doctrine)."³ As Bernard Grugière serves more recently to remind us, Gide does little to disturb a venerable commonplace in the English poet's reception at home and abroad: Browning is a defender of "l'esprit contre la loi."⁴ Nor is it evident that conventional critical wisdom in the twenties would have enjoined a

great distancing of Browning from Dostoevskii on the fundamental and much-debated question of the end(s) proper to art. When, in his introduction to the 1925 English edition of Gide's *Dostoïevsky*, Arnold Bennett avers that the book's subject is "made for its author" (like Dostoevskii, Gide is "a publicist of genius" who never slights "aesthetic concerns"), he repeats Soloviev's characterization of Dostoevskii as "an artist . . . in the publicist business,"⁵ even as he engages, in principle, an issue debated as a matter of course among Browning's early-twentieth-century readers. "A publicist of exalted and impassioned temperament" had summarized Browning, although pejoratively, for the argumentative popular generalist John M. Robertson in 1903.⁶ What to shock in Gide's combining portraiture? Not so very much at bottom, it would seem.

This is not to suggest for a moment, however, that Gide's performance as comparatist in *Dostoïevsky* falls short of the standard of unconventionality normally expected of him. Quite the contrary. His actually complaisant invitation to consider Browning with Dostoevskii shows the celebrated wily gadfly in good form: it is an act of rhetorical misdirection well designed to draw attention away from the really subversive business at hand. Potentially more resistant to dating from an easy compliance with convention and continuing to retain power enough to jolt slumberers into thought is the meeting of minds that tacitly constitutes the subtext of the book as a whole. And that quiet communion is all the more efficaciously subversive for being covertly advanced, lulling readers into dropping their defences. Only near the end of *Dostoïevsky*, as though saving for the last an almost frank disclosure of his study's single *bona fide* provocation, does Gide allow the secret conversation that it narrates to become less muted. He opens the final chapter with the confession that Dostoevskii is more often than not but "un prétexte" to express his own thoughts and immediately passes to an analogy from Montaigne's self-portrait: he is like the bees, who make honey from their preferred flowers. Then, in the best manner of the paradoxical old essayist of "De l'utilité et de l'honnête," who *says* he much prefers frankness to duplicity,⁷ the adept counterfeiter Gide professes his horror of contradiction. "J'ai grande horreur des paradoxes, et ne cherche jamais à étonner," so he reads himself, and thereby makes it plain enough that he and Montaigne share more than just one turn of thought (*D*, pp. 252–53).

There is nothing new or striking, of course, in remarking Gide's predilection for Montaigne. Each, as commentators have repeated, is a Proteus vaunting his uncertainties and contradictions.⁸ What does carry a punch in Gide's Montaigne-like reading of Dostoevskii is the barely concealed notion which that action incorporates—that Montaigne and Dostoevskii, like Dostoevskii and Gide, are "made for each other."⁹ That analogical extension jars in significant ways, calling up as it does a harmonious imaginary conversation of Dostoevskii with a Renaissance

Roman Catholic whose writings never suffer mystical oracles or latter-day prophets gladly and which make no mention of Christ or the Synoptic Gospels. Ecclesiastes is Montaigne's ruling biblical text.¹⁰ More readily conjured is a Montaigne nodding in sympathy with the Grand Inquisitor of *The Brothers Karamazov*, whose convictions are normally taken to clash with Dostoevskii's. Seeing himself paralyzed by the limitless freedom that the endless contradictions of the private self confer, Montaigne frequently has recourse to the authority of ecclesiastical and civil laws to resolve his impasse. "Elles m'ont choisy party et donné un maistre," as he writes in "De l'utilité et de l'honneste" (E III, p. 10). John Cowper Powys's ardently oracular *Dostoïevsky* (1946), a work, ironically enough, demonstrably indebted and sympathetic to Gide's reading, puts the matter with uncharacteristic economy: "the sagacious, philosophical, cool-blooded pragmatism" of Montaigne is alien to the flamboyant Russian prostrate "in demonic worship of Christ."¹¹ Not for Dostoevskii, certainly, the middling way of prudence, of a balancing actor intent on getting through the absurd hurly-burly of life with a minimum of suffering—or, less exaltedly, of fuss. The spectacle of Montaigne and Dostoevskii in concert has in it contradiction enough to induce bafflement or to provoke laughter.

But Gide is also true to his word in *Dostoïevsky* when he says that he does not look to astonish, since the concordance which that study obliquely narrates has a positive foundation and is therefore only apparently paradoxical. What Gide's reading of Dostoevskii hints at, his *Essai sur Montaigne* (1929) posts in plain view, explicitly marking off the ground that he takes Montaigne and Dostoevskii to share. *L'inconstance*, the word abridging Montaigne's constant theme, brings Gide to pause, to reflect on "l'instabilité du moi"—and Dostoevskii is immediately summoned for confirmation: "Je crois que, à l'abri de ce mot, se cache précisément la vraie question, laquelle ne sera abordée que beaucoup plus tard par Dostoïewski [sic]."¹² No writer in the intervening three centuries has engaged the one substantive question, of humanity as fluxion incarnate. The character of the statement is as eloquent as the sentence it pronounces. Gide's dogmatism here gives a measure of the importance he attaches to what is coincidental in their enterprise, while the violence his statement does to intellectual history (Gide's own knowledge of Pascal, Hume, Schopenhauer, and Emerson, for example, must have risen in protest) suggests the depth of his need to reconcile the two writers. What, then, is at stake for Gide in his reading of Dostoevskii and Montaigne that he should go so far to bring them together? A comparison of his Dostoevskii with his Montaigne, focusing on the large consequences that "l'instabilité du moi" has for Gide's conception and practice of the artist's vocation, offers an answer.

The Gidean Dostoevskii and Montaigne are impartial tellers of unitary reality. Extraordinarily rich in those antagonisms and contradic-

tions that for Gide constitute the essential grammar of existence, they are disinterested artists painting the dark and the bright with equal vividness: their synthetic vision faithfully renders the coincidence of opposites in a world of radical indeterminacy. Montaigne's equanimity before the Cimmerian ambiguity of the world he sees reflected in himself compels him to carry "une chandelle à Saint-Michel, l'autre à son serpent" (*E* III, p. 7), as the *Essai sur Montaigne* is pleased to recall (p. 38). The comparable double allegiance in Dostoevskii brings Gide to think of Rembrandt's *chiaroscuro* (*D*, pp. 61, 63, 75, 165), which pictures the integrating logic of Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "toute œuvre d'art est un lieu de contact . . . un anneau de mariage du ciel et de l'enfer" (*D*, p. 247). Like the chameleon poet true to the "orbic rondure"¹³ of the reality he pictures, the artist who would render truth whole must part ways with and be a "shock" to "the virtuous philosopher" intent on unambiguously distinguishing right from wrong.¹⁴ "Les autres [les moralistes] forment l'homme, je le récite," Gide cites from Montaigne's "Du repentir" (*E* III, p. 20), which choice of vocation follows from the truth of things as they are, of "le perpétuel écoulement de toutes choses" (*ESM*, p. 17). No ethical absolutes and therefore no moralizing for Montaigne, a creature of inveterate inconstancy swinging true to the come-and-go of the universal pendulum. No affirmation can hold for more than a moment; every proposition implies the existence of its opposite; everything is relative. Gide's Dostoevskii practises an art no less conceptually indeterminate: "Ses idées sont presque jamais absolues; elles restent presque toujours relatives aux personnages qui les expriment, et je dirai plus: non seulement relatives à ces personnages, mais à un moment précis de la vie de ces personnages" (*D*, p. 154). And when Gide remarks of Dostoevskii that he is "[un] homme d'aucun parti, craignant l'esprit qui divise," "éclairant équitablement une idée sur toutes ses faces" (*D*, pp. 40, 51), he in effect rehearses the ruling ideology of his *Essai sur Montaigne*.

Montaigne's essays and Dostoevskii's novels are model readerly texts for Gide. They enact that reflexiveness and relativity which mark the genuine work of art: "A Truth in art is that whose contradictory is also true."¹⁵ Unconstrained by the logic of non-contradiction, the creative artist frees up his readers in return, liberating them for the creation of autonomous works of art by unfettered interpretation. Unreason calls unto unreason. Montaigne is exemplary in this regard, his inconsequence a stimulus to conflicting readings. "Il nous donne l'exemple et sans cesse se contredit et se trahit lui-même," according to Gide's portrait of the ideal critic (*ESM*, pp. 37–38). Dostoevskii's fictions are said to liberate in much the same way. "La cohabitation des sentiments contradictoires" gives Gide warrant to take from the works whatever meaning he will, to interpret them in the way he perceives Dostoevskii to have read the New Testament, by his private lights only (*D*, pp. 171,

226). As Gide's autocritical *Characters* (1925) confirms, he sees in the mirror of Montaigne and Dostoevskii the lineaments of his own activity as artist. Having likened himself to an indifferent spectator of "the conflict of ideas" in the "theatre within," he goes on to explain of his own method as a tutor of liberation aesthetics: "Each of my books turns against the *enthusiasts* [Gide's emphasis] of the preceding one. This ought to teach them to applaud me only for the right reason, to take each of my books solely for what it is: a work of art."¹⁶ Gide would have no followers or writerly readers, only fellow artists. He would be interpreted as his Montaigne and his Dostoevskii interpret—impartially, integrally, and autonomously.

It is not surprising, then, that Gide should break with these exemplary anti-dogmatists whenever they appear to him to break with the artist's creed. The image of the doctrinaire philosopher that *The Diary of a Writer* returns is understandably repugnant: "Dès que Dostoïevsky théorise, il nous déçoit" (*D*, p. 154). As Gide acknowledges, there are times when Dostoevskii is something of a scandal to the faithful among beauty's devotees. Although a novelist above all, he is also prophet, preacher, social reformer, and moralist (*D*, p. 78). The incongruity in that alliance of callings is a scandal to reason as well. And since bad faith among artists is at least as serious a matter as unreason in the virtuous philosopher, the conundrum that Dostoevskii sets for Gide is not one that he can take lightly. The "problematic" built into the conjunction of incompatible vocations seems to elude Bennett—Gide's "Dostoevsky in the end stands out not simply as a supreme psychologist and narrator, but also as a publicist of genius endowed with a prophetic view";¹⁷ but it does not altogether escape Gide, who on occasion makes his view clear enough in the book so introduced that Dostoevskii has no real value as a dogmatist, that his social prophecies are inaccurate and his political teachings unenlightened when not downright pernicious (*D*, p. 78). Dostoevskii the publicist is no impartial truth-teller and therefore no insightful artist. Not for Gide the smiling detachment of a Soloviev before the whimsies of "an artist with a consistent leaning towards propaganda."¹⁸

For all its earnestness, however, there is something inherently comical in Gide's separation of himself from Dostoevskii on the grounds of temporary anti-aestheticism. Bennett, in fact, is unwitting straight man to the antic comedian when he celebrates the alliance of Dostoevskii with Gide, declaring as the "outstanding characteristic" of each "that he is equally interested in the aesthetic and in the moral aspect of literature."¹⁹ If that is so, Gide's quarrel with the preaching partialist in Dostoevskii has a distinctly internecine aspect. Bearing as it does a striking resemblance to "the constant conflict . . . between the propagandist and creative artist" that centres Dostoevskii studies,²⁰ the scholarly combat waged over Gide's status corroborates that he, too, is a writer "at

war with himself."²¹ The dual entry for Gide in the enlarged edition (1980) of *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature* reports on as it repeats that war in microcosm.²² His "position as a moral philosopher," Justin O'Brien ends the first half of the article (reprinted from the 1947 edition), "has only grown with time." Anne L. Martin, of another mind in the second half, offers a 1980 recession for the reading of Gide as "a great moral philosopher." "It is rather his position as one of the major *literary* [Martin's emphasis] figures of the century that has grown with time," and this in accordance with Gide's stated wishes: it is from "the point of view of art and not of morality that he ought to be judged," as he repeatedly insisted. And that insistence, Martin recalls, "bore fruit in the years following his death [in 1951]." History, so she implies, has settled the conflict.

But the line of opposition bisecting the main body of Gide's faithful admirers (and dividing him against himself) is not so readily erased. Although unlisted in Martin's bibliography, it is O'Brien himself, in his *Portrait of André Gide* (1953), who fully confirms her recollection of Gide's "proper" reception after 1951, even as he annuls the division she logically pronounces between morality and art in the adjudication of Gide's works. Having established the principle of "all considerations other than the aesthetic" are to be "excluded," O'Brien subsequently charts Gide's progress as a moral thinker and concludes that his author has "ideas" to "convey," many of which "have already gained acceptance." Like subject, like painter: working at cross-purposes, O'Brien replicates the conflict of Gide, whom he sees "contradicting himself." Appropriately, the biographer takes Gide's "capital book on Dostoevsky" for his model.²³ As O'Brien is to his portrait of Gide, so is Gide to his Dostoevskii—a mirror for faithful reduplication by self-reflection.

Gide's autoscopic reading of Montaigne, on the other hand, offers a portrait in serenity. And the relaxation of tensions between the propagandist and artist evident in the *Essai sur Montaigne* is proportionate to the distance separating its subject from Dostoevskii. As Montaigne brings Gide to reflect, "les œuvres . . . les plus belles" are those composed with an easy indifference: "En art, il n'y a pas de *sérieux* [Gide's emphasis] qui tienne" (*ESM*, p. 19). Dostoevskii's, by contrast, are works of hard labour and dramatize "[de] si dures luttes" (*D*, p. 23). If, as the Russian novelist's example suggests, the pages most rife with struggle, "les plus ardues," are "les plus belles" (*D*, p. 60), it would seem to follow from the principle that Montaigne illustrates that theirs is a beauty purchased at the expense of the relaxed playfulness essential to art. Gide does have his differences with Montaigne as well, but they present no diriment impediment to a happy marriage of minds. He can criticize the "Apologie de Raimond Sebond" for advancing "une sorte de doctrine" (*ESM*, p. 19), but the work's argument is so manifestly suicidal—the apology is actually an attack—that it can hardly be taken *au sérieux*

as philosophy. As for Montaigne's bending of the knee before ecclesiastical and civil authority, it can be dismissed without much thought as an act of prudence before the thought-police (*ESM*, p. 28). Nor does the Roman Catholic essayist's undisguised hostility to the Protestant reformers of his time cause Gide serious difficulty. What his Montaigne objects to is their dogmatism, their confounding of private lights with public truth (*ESM*, p. 34). The conviction that "une privée fantasie . . . n'a qu'une jurisdiction privée" (*E I*, p. 168) is one that Gide as artist can endorse without the least reservation. As Montaigne repeatedly insists and confirms by his practice, much to Gide's approval, he is no wisdom trafficker but a fool, a player adept at flipping coins, seeing both sides of the medal. What teaching Montaigne does impart is a lesson easy for the anti-dogmatist to swallow, "le libéralisme [Gide's emphasis]" (*E I*, p. 39). *À chaque pied son soulier*, in literature as in politics and morality.

Unlike Gide's Dostoevskii, his Montaigne never seriously compromises the artist's calling, which is "not to nourish but to intoxicate," according to Gide's own distinction in "The Importance of the Public" (1903). The danger for artists in times when "old doctrines no longer suffice," he goes on to warn in that lecture before the Court at Weimar, is that they may be tempted to feed the public's hunger for new answers. Those who succumb falsify their art, becoming *ersatz* moralists, "providers of substitutes."²⁴ Although he means it for praise in *Dostoïevsky*—no irony seems intended in the figuration of the novelist's works as "une source, où les nouvelles soifs de l'Europe se peuvent abreuver aujourd'hui" (*D*, pp. 1–2)—Gide in fact gives his readers good reason to number Dostoevskii among those who have so sinned against the craft. Montaigne is similarly recommended and thereby indirectly accused of wandering from the true path: his essays provide "un aliment susceptible de rassasier les faims diverses" (*ESM*, p. 12). But true to the artist's creed on this occasion, and no less to Montaigne, Gide goes on to correct himself, picturing the old actor not as a provider of substantial nourishment, but as a distiller of whisky (*ESM*, pp. 32–33). Unlike the Gide of *Dostoïevsky*, a double to his subject entangled in self-contradiction on the question of the end(s) proper to art, Montaigne sins against truth and beauty only venially, if at all.

There are, then, two salient points that emerge from a comparison of Gide's Dostoevskii with his Montaigne: that they are (not) made for each other, and that Gide's narration of their relationship has much to tell about the conflict at the centre of his own calling. He is able to bring them together to the extent that each is an impartial and playful teller of unitary reality who returns to Gide a picture of himself as an artist faithful to his own creed of anti-dogmatism. But his self-reading is not always so serene. Like the pleasure-loving Montaigne he pictures, Gide has his differences with Dostoevskii, and these analogically register the antagonism in his own dual activity as "great moral philosopher" and

"major *literary* figure." "Se concilient les antagonismes [chez Dostoïevsky]," he writes, holding out the promise of that peace to come for those who take the Dostoevskian way (*D*, p. 40). That reconciling power has at least one limitation, however, as Gide's criticism of Dostoevskii itself testifies: the doctrinaire prophet remains at odds with the indifferent artist.

And that antagonism of incompatible vocations is as poignant for the author of *Dostoïevsky* as it is comical for his disinterested reader, since Gide's repudiation of the dogmatic element in Dostoevskii effectively figures a break with himself, an indirect confessing of his own infidelity to the true aesthetic faith. A Dostoevskii fully in concert with Montaigne would have represented a resolution to the Gidean internecine conflict. But the creed that compels Gide to separate himself from the dogmatist in Dostoevskii and so sign the fundamental incongruity in his own double function as feeder and intoxicator guarantees irresolution. As close to Montaigne in artistic principle as Gide is, he seems closer yet in practice to the Dostoevskii he pictures with Browning, an artist in the publicist business or a publicist of exalted and impassioned temperament.

Notes

1. André Gide, *Dostoïevsky* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1923), pp. 237–38. Browning joins Dostoevskii, Blake, and Nietzsche, to form "une constellation." This reference is hereafter abbreviated *D* in the body of the essay.
2. Robert Browning, *The Poems and Plays* (New York: Modern Library Edition, 1934), pp. 1057–64.
3. Evgeny Soloviev, *Dostoïevsky: His Life and Literary Activity*, trans. C. J. Hogarth (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1916), p. 231.
4. Bernard Grugière, *L'Univers imaginaire de Robert Browning* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1979), p. 20.
5. Soloviev, p. 213.
6. John M. Robertson, *Browning and Tennyson as Teachers* (London: A. and H. B. Bonner, 1903), p. 85.
7. Michael de Montaigne, *Essais*, edited and with an introduction by Alexandre Micha (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1969), III, p. 7. This reference is hereafter abbreviated *E* in the body of the essay.
8. See, for example, Christopher Bettinson, "André-Paul-Guillaume Gide," in *Makers of Modern Culture*, ed. Justin Wintle (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 194–95.
9. Arnold Bennett, introduction to André Gide's *Dostoevsky* (1925; reprint, London: Secker and Warburg, 1952), p. 8.
10. The Psalms are also mentioned, but rarely and in passing. In standard Renaissance fashion, the "Apologie de Raimond Sebond" associates 1 Corinthians with Ecclesiastes.
11. John Cowper Powys, *Dostoïevsky* (1946; reprint, New York: Haskell House, 1973), pp. 148–49, 202. Powys, like Gide, is frequently reminded of Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as he considers "the most prolific compound of contradictory elements" in Dostoevskii (p. 58).
12. André Gide, *Essai sur Montaigne* (1929; reprint, Paris: Éditions Corrêa, 1939), pp. 22–23. This reference is hereafter abbreviated *ESM* in the body of the essay.
13. Powys, p. 93.
14. See Wayne C. Booth's introduction to Mikhail Bakhtin's *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. xix–xx, which refers to Keat's figure for Shakespeare as it moves

towards a consideration of "the essential, irreducible multi-centeredness, or 'polyphony,' of human life" in Dostoevsky's fiction. Powys similarly likens Dostoevskii to Keats, a favourite for Gide among the English poets: both are concerned with "real reality" in the "*multiverse*" (p. 69).

15. Oscar Wilde, "The Critic as Artist," in *The Artist as Critic*, ed. Richard Ellmann (1969; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 432. References to Wilde's essay are not difficult to find in Gide's *Dostoïevsky* (see p. 179, for example).

16. André Gide, *Pretexts: Reflections on Literature and Morality*, selected, edited, and introduced by Justin O'Brien (London: Secker and Warburg, 1959), pp. 308–309.

17. Bennett, p. 9.

18. Soloviev, p. 224.

19. Bennett, p. 7.

20. David Magarshack, *Dostoevsky* (1963; reprint, Westport: Greenwood, 1975), p. 311. Nikolai Berdyaev's *L'Esprit de Dostoïevsky* (1921), trans. Alexis Neville (Paris: Stock, 1945), attempts to resolve the conflict by arguing that Dostoevskii should be considered "non du point de vue moral, mais du point de vue ontologique" (p. 155). Robert Lord's *Dostoevsky: Essays & Perspectives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970) dismisses Berdyaev's reading and yet has recourse to a cognate solution: "The only possible remedy is Beauty, the aesthetic sense, which alone can heal and make whole" (p. 234).

21. Magarshack, p. 3.

22. "André Gide," in *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature*, 2nd ed., ed. Jean-Albert Bédé and William B. Edgerton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 304–306.

23. Justin O'Brien, *Portrait of André Gide: A Critical Biography* (1953; reprint, New York: Octagon, 1977), pp. 5, 14, 353.

24. Cited from *Pretexts*, trans. O'Brien, pp. 56–58.

In Search of a Propaedeutic:
Imagery in Nabokov's Early Poetry

In 1979, Vladimir Nabokov's widow published a collection of his verse written between 1917 and 1974. In the foreword, she revealed what some readers had always suspected—that there was a Nabokov "secret," a key to a mystery that all the critics had ignored, now to be revealed. Vera Nabokov called it *potustoronnost'*, from *potustoronnii mir*, "the other world," insisted that the possession of it made Nabokov supremely indifferent to "stupid and malicious criticism," and referred readers to a passage in *The Gift* in which the hero speculates about the nature of a special knowledge that gave his dead father a similarly serene disposition.¹

Critics have been eager to follow up on this lead. W. W. Rowe, who incurred Nabokov's wrath for his suggestions about sexual symbolism in *Lolita* ("tennis balls represent testicles," complained Nabokov, "those of a giant albino no doubt"),² has published a fascinating book in which he documents hundreds of instances when the other world manifests itself in the lives of characters represented in the novels.³ On the other hand, Andrew Field, Nabokov's first biographer and one of the few critics who knows the whole Nabokov *œuvre* intimately, suggests in his most recent book that a gigantic Narcissus complex is the key that helps explain everything, that the principal ghosts in Nabokov are images of the self in a complex series of reflecting mirrors rather than denizens of a world elsewhere.⁴ Brian Boyd, the author of Nabokov's official biography, thinks Rowe's approach too literal-minded and Field's too disrespectful. He argues more conventionally that the key to Nabokov involves "the inviolate nature of individual perception."⁵

While I have to confess that I haven't solved any Nabokov mystery, nor do I think that ultimately this is the most useful way to approach his work, nevertheless I do want to discuss an aspect of his work that has been overlooked, and Vera Nabokov's foreword has perhaps played a role in deflecting attention from it. In Nabokov's early

poetry, we see the young writer experimenting with a series of images that were to be developed in his fiction. I will argue that these poems can serve, if not as a key, then at least as a propaedeutic for his major work, because they teach us how to read the novels.

The bulk of Nabokov's Russian verse was written before he was thirty, and all but two of his seventeen novels were published after he reached that age. The important books of early poetry are *Poems* (1917), *The Cluster* (1922), and *The Empyrean Path* (1923), but he also published, in émigré journals and newspapers, many poems that were never collected. For the posthumous 1979 edition of the Russian poems, Vera Nabokov tells us that Nabokov himself decided what poems were to be included. She notes that *Poems* is "almost complete," because repetitiveness and certain "stylistic imperfections" prevented him from including everything.⁶ That "almost" covers a rather large concession: 190 of the 230 poems included in the first three volumes of poetry Nabokov published were omitted, as was most of the uncollected verse.

Why the reluctance to make these early poems accessible? I think the remark about "stylistic imperfections" gives us a clue. The aesthetic quality of some of these early poems is negligible, and the family may well feel that because they will do little for Nabokov's reputation they are best forgotten. He was particularly sensitive to criticism, and for good reason. One of his high-school teachers mockingly recited, dismembered, and dismissed some of his youthful poetry in class one day; and hostile reviewers in émigré journals, as ferociously polemical as their counterparts in nineteenth-century Russia, made some vicious attacks on Nabokov's verse in the twenties. As the reviewers became more respectful, Nabokov became somewhat less defensive. The Russian novels attracted some perceptive and sympathetic comment. By the mid-sixties, the full-length studies of his work began to appear, and their message was clear: the Master had arrived.

"To approach Nabokov's novels with anything less than complete humility is not only an act of arrogance but of foolishness,"⁷ reads the last sentence of Andrew Field's *Nabokov: His Life in Art*, published more than twenty years ago, and he set the tone for most of the criticism that was to follow. The recognition that was so late in coming was couched in glowingly respectful terms. Nabokov's own thunderous denunciations of the arrogant and foolish, issuing from his suite in a Swiss hotel high atop Europe, kept the charmed circle in disciplined order. When he died, his son Dimitri took up the task of defending the family reputation. In one heated exchange with a reviewer, the possibility of fighting a duel to defend his father's honour was mentioned.⁸ Field's first biography was judged insufficiently hagiographical, and its author was dismissed as a "scoundrel" and a "lying dog."⁹ This fiercely protective streak will ensure that, copyright laws being what they are, scholars interested in all of Nabokov's work will have to rely on

microfilms of faded newspapers and of rare editions for some time to come.

A few more details will flesh out our portrait of the novelist as a young poet. During the period when he devoted himself almost exclusively to verse, the two great traumatic events of his life occurred: the Revolution, and the death of his father. The events of 1917 forced his family to leave Petersburg in November of that year and flee south to the Crimea, where they stayed until March of 1919, when the Red Army marched into Yalta and the long exile began in earnest. Nabokov liked to insist that he carried all the Russia he needed with him, in Dahl's *Interpretive Dictionary of the Living Russian Language* and in his own capacious and extraordinarily detailed memory. And he even joked about the youthful dreams that made his exile seem prefigured, predestined: "During trips with my family to Western Europe, I imagined, in bedtime reveries, what it would be like to become an exile who longed for a remote, sad, and (right epithet coming) unquenchable Russia, under the eucalypti of exotic resorts. Lenin and his police nicely arranged the realization of *that* fantasy."¹⁰

But, of course, the Revolution marked him in the most profound ways, as did the murder of his father in Berlin in 1922. Together the two events marked the end of a youthful idyll as pampered favourite in a wealthy and aristocratic family, constituted a forced and sudden introduction to the violence of adult life, and made Nabokov aware of a previously unknown vulnerability that would henceforth be masked with a whole gamut of protective devices—mordant irony, resourceful polemics, and an aesthete's extremism in regard to literature. But, most importantly, these two events remind us that in the years of adolescence and young adulthood, a number of ideas crystallized that make these years a point of reference for the whole of Nabokov's work.

Before I say something about the early poems themselves, a word about Nabokov's poetics. He held extremely conservative views on most formal questions regarding poetry. In fact, he was something of a reactionary. If one wants a Nabokovian poetic manifesto, one could hardly do better than stand something like the manifesto of the Russian Futurists on its head. They were for a total break with tradition; Nabokov's work was an exercise in poetic continuity, drawing as it did on the nineteenth-century lyric tradition in particular. They wanted to throw Pushkin off modernity's steamship or locomotive or bulldozer; he thought Pushkin was the source of all that was permanent and worth saving in Russian culture. They had a boundless loathing for the literary language handed down to them; Nabokov had an eternal reverence for it. The Futurists wanted to import the speech of the masses into poetry; Nabokov was not sure that the masses could speak. They were interested in primitivism, shamans, and a trans-rational logic, a poetry that could make its impact without an intermediate conceptualizing

process; Nabokov hated the primitive in any art, and he thought the Futurists' trans-sense language was a sort of submental grunt. And so on. Nabokov usually talked about poetry as the expression of emotion formally organized in a narrative or lyric context, an emotion the poet had had, was having, or was hoping to have. If this writer eventually became a wily and innovative artificer, he began as a straightforward traditionalist.

Nabokov's novels are all love stories, and many of the early poems are love poems. They divide up into two different but related categories. First are the celebrations of sublimated desire, what we might call "purity-regained" or "purity-retained." Consider the following short description of a spring day (the original is written in a bouncy rhyming iambic tetrameter with alternating feminine and masculine endings):

The almond-tree blooms at the crossroads;
the haze above the mountain glimmers;
silver sparkles run
along the smooth surface of the pale-blue sea.

The more inspired birds twitter;
the evergreen leaf is brighter.
Blessed is he who on this spring day
can sincerely exclaim "I am pure!"¹¹

Any mid-nineteenth-century Russian lyricist would have sap running in the trees *and* in the veins of his young man, but not Nabokov. In one poem, he wants to leave all that is earthly and sinful behind; in another, to escape to a chaste dream-world with his beloved; in a third, to return to the world of childhood because youth is just "passion, anxiety, and gloom."¹² Women here represent vaguely evil temptresses that must be resisted. In a long cycle of poems about angels, the poet dreams of a storm, a sea, and "maidens, laughing in the depths." But his guardian angel saves him from a Prufrockian isolation by driving away the "blasphemous dreams," and the poem ends:

when I wake up, I detest
my destructive life,
and I see a shadow vanish
and dawn beyond the window.¹³

Nabokov always claimed that Christianity never meant anything to him, that its iconography alone appealed to the image-maker in a young poet.¹⁴ Yet why did he choose precisely these images, and why devote so many poems to espousing what is, after all, Christian sexual ethics? St. Paul's definition of virtue as the control elicited by the will

over the body's illicit desires would have had this young man's approval. The religion of his youth gave him, if not a creed to believe in, a way of thinking about desire that would influence in important ways his more mature views of human relations in general.

The other kind of love poem is usually set in Nabokov's "twilight zone," a world of fogs, misty pale-blue meadows, dusk in languorous forests, somnolent vistas, mysterious shadows, and a ubiquitous moon. In this type of poem, there is much talk of violent impulses and insane visions, velvet nights and kisses that burn, that kind of thing; but nothing (or very little) actually happens or materializes. Here is a fairly typical example:

The clock in the tower was singing
above the mercurial rippling of the river,
and lights, like drops of blood,
sprang up in the abysses of the streets.

I waited. The bored heavens
glimmered neutrally.
My hopes sang so clearly,
like golden voices.

I waited, wandering the streets,
and ships on wheels,
their red eyes rolling,
crept rumbling through the fog.

And you came, the extraordinary one,
you noticed me in the dark,
and a velvet mystery arose
in your pagan eyes.

And our looks, our shadows
were as if joined together in flight,
and how you started in confusion,
having a premonition of my dream.

And in the impetuous, fiery moment
both repelling and luring me on,
with a sort of ringing complaint
you tore yourself away from me.

You disappeared, vanished like a vibrating string . . .
you didn't want to trade
your free wildernesses
for the captivity of consoling love.

And again I am waiting, uneasy—
who knows what miracles, what stillness?

And your sultry wind rushes about
in the humming cavities of my soul.¹⁵

Nabokov borrows his chimerical lady and her decor from Blok and the other Russian Symbolists, but those familiar with the novels that were to follow will be struck by the ways in which this poem anticipates some of his central concerns in the fiction. The erotic in Nabokov is often associated with palely loitering knights and *belles dames*, with a kind of foreplay *interruptus* that lapses, as here, into the frustrations of fantasy. In other poems, this temptress is also a Muse figure who will be born of what she inspires, created by enchantment and incantation in the poems that evoke her sensual appeal.

Readers who know only the novels will be struck by the absence of characterization in these poems. Nabokov is, after all, a master at casually creating the traits, looks, gestures, and expressions of his human subjects; and their grotesque and engaging vividness usually makes up for the narrowness of his range. Desired and desirable, haughty and mundane, pathetically self-deceiving and wittily satirical—they populate his novels, etch themselves on our memory, and make the games worth playing. In these early poems, Nabokov almost never attempts to create such figures, and he avoids forms like the dramatic monologue which facilitate the creation of such characters. Instead, the self-centred hero of the early verse turns the figures he admires into epiphenomena that circle the centre of his solipsistic world. This figure therefore lacks any real intensity of understanding: the poems convey new perceptions but present no real advance in self-articulation. Given Nabokov's limited goals in these lyrics, this lack presents no great problem.

In the end, we are left with a collection of disembodied images: a blotch of white in the gloom, a maiden's song in the midnight garden, a portrait on the wall that seems about to come alive, but not much more. Nabokov said about this period of his life: "I see myself as a hundred different young men at once, all pursuing one changeful girl in a series of simultaneous or overlapping love affairs . . . with very meager artistic results."¹⁶ But this is too harsh: the innumerable descriptions of the natural settings in which this girl refused to come alive, and the emotions of her pursuer—both sensitively perceived and strikingly evoked—made the pursuit worthwhile. However, it is true to say that the real language of love is not yet there in the love poems.

Yet this early, at times prudish, contrast between chaste minds focused on higher things and fiery, unsatisfied desire, the dualism of adolescent passion, prepares us for much of the later work. Only rarely in Nabokov is sexuality a vital but not all-encompassing part of a rich and full human life. Far more often it is wild and uncontrollable, bigger than the characters it manipulates and torments. As a novelist, Nabokov

is fascinated by lust for three reasons: first, he is a comic writer, and lust automatizes people, making them ridiculous and pathetic; secondly, he is a story writer, and lust leads to the powerful and disintegrative obsessions that help to organize the compulsion-plot, which is a standard feature of Nabokovian narrative; and thirdly, he seems to see the world like this, a world in which man is a creature of violent desires that mock his ineffectual attempts to restrain them.¹⁷

In *King, Queen, Knave*, the "Queen," who begins as a crude parody of Emma Bovary, ends by being so consumed with lust that she dies of frustrated desire, while her adolescent lover, a macabre collection of hyperactive glands and an indefatigable organ, looks on in fear and contempt. In *Laughter in the Dark*, a man wrecks his marriage and eventually his life by yielding to the irresistible attractions of a rather seedy *femme fatale*, and his passion for her is as murderous as it is obsessive. In *The Gift*, Fyodor writes a biography of Chernyshevskii in which he seizes on the grotesque ironies that result when the radical theorist of materialism keeps bumping into the recalcitrant material of the world he ignores, and Chernyshevskii's adolescent sexual desires are the subject of some particularly derisive dismissals. Fyodor manages his own affairs better, but even his Zina is just a shadowy Muse-figure (*Mnemozina*) and disembodied ideal for most of the novel.

The pattern repeats itself in varying forms in most of the English novels. Of course, Humbert Humbert is the spiritual descendent of the speaker of many of the early poems. He begins in the same state of clumsy, agonizing, unfulfilled desire, but his angels, the "misinformed, simple, noble-winged seraphs" who, he imagines, envy the prize he wins, are not there to save him from fatefully succeeding where his predecessor providentially fails. The young poet's twilight zone becomes Humbert's "enchanted island" surrounded by "a vast, misty sea" on which his nymphets gambol. This time the girl does materialize, because Nabokov's hero uses a rich, earthy, profane language to portray her as an object of desire. Humbert's grudge against nature, you may remember, is that "I could not turn my Lolita inside out and apply voracious lips to her young matrix, her unknown heart, her nacreous liver, the sea-grapes of her lungs, her comely twin kidneys."¹⁸ It is crude and excessive and strange, but it is the real royal thing. To write his great love poem, the lyric poet had to become a novelist. But *Lolita* is also a study in how desire can lead to the destruction of the child's world and to the death of the child (or children, if we count the stillborn girl Lolita gives birth to). And, just as they threaten to do in the early poems, so the angels take their revenge on the illicit lover for the weakness that makes him unable to act upon the rational arguments he uses to try to control his obsession.

In the novels after *Pale Fire*, Nabokov retains the pattern but seems unable to breathe new life into it. In *Ada*, for example, we have the same

ghost in a lusty machine. But because in Antiterra, the anti-world of the novel, there are no constraints on any desires, certain problems arise: a sniggering, anti-human attitude to sex, a silly "orgasm-as-epiphanic-moment" (which we meet in the poems' more circumspect references to things like nights in which a whole lifetime is consumed in an instant). And now the aesthete's essential failing, his tendency to turn into objects the figures he most admires, a harmless given in the early poems, threatens to turn *Ada's* lovers into automata. The rapt self-absorption of the young lyricist is a function of the form in which he chooses to express himself. Breathless and extended panegyrics for formidably literate, trilingual, aristocratic narcissists become boring when their fantasy world makes them invulnerable (even to whatever irony their author might have intended). The self-parodic references to nymphets and their pursuers in *Transparent Things* and *Look at the Harlequins!* suggest that even Nabokov's multilevelled games can lapse into cliché when they jettison reality.

There is one more thing to be said about the "changeable girl" in the poems that hasn't yet been said: she is intimately bound up with Russia, the country whose name is a feminine noun, the country now as unreal and evanescent as the young woman the poet sought there. In one poem, she is the "ghost of a Northern May," enticing him and receding before him when he tries to grasp her. In another, she is identified with morning on a country estate in Russia, but the poet awakes from his dream to a world in which he mourns her loss. In a third, a wandering émigré addresses his country as a woman who suffers in solitude and who survives only in the imaginations of fellow exiles who can "conjure" her.¹⁹

In this final section, I want to examine what this girl can tell us about Nabokov's view of Russia and of his attitude to the Revolution that made him an exile. I will concentrate on two poems. The first is called "Rus'":

While the future is still invisible
in the mist of strange days,
while here they talk of her
eloquently and tiresomely,—

—off to one side, in silence, I shall steal through
and with a constant hope
I shall humbly go to look for
my mysterious Rus',—

—in black fairy-tale forests,
along rivers, and in drowsy swamps,
in dark ploughed fields, which turn
their sterile breast to the heavens.
Thus I shall visit everywhere,

I shall enter every village . . .
 Oh where is my secret goal, where
 shall I find the incomprehensible?

In a forest,—hidden in the dense
 twilight of a damp fir-wood,—
 —naked, desecrated and killed
 by a dashing brigand?

Or in the morning, in a deserted village,
 —will you pass, you whom I long for,
 on your simple face a smile
 both pensive and elusive?

Or will you rise as a little old woman,
 and in the pale blue stream of incense,
 make shaky signs of the cross,
 and fall helplessly before the icon?

Just where will my shore begin to shine?
 In what shall I divine the beloved face?
 Rus'! or are you within me, in my very soul
 already invisibly blooming?²⁰

He calls the country by its ancient name in order to draw an analogy between the huge and thriving imperialistic empire once controlled by the rulers of Kiev and the Russia it became. The poem suggests that the idea of a return is a problematic one: what exactly is the poet looking for, now that his country has been overrun by what he sees as an invasion similar to that of the Mongols at the beginning of the thirteenth century (cutting the country off from Western Europe, barbarizing its civilized institutions, and so forth)? Notice that the sexuality missing from the love poems is given violent expression in the rape of this country by a robber. Notice also that the country he wants to get back to is a static landscape from a storybook with no people in it, save one or two misty, symbolic ones. There is also the implication that Nabokov had to be in exile before he could start to see his country clearly, and that he may have to settle for a portable version of it.

The poet's fears for Russia are forcefully reiterated in another poem of a similar kind, this time called "Rossiya." Here the poet says that a devil has carried off his Russia into the darkness and has taken great delight in her terror, torments, and shame:

He tore off her breasts, burned out her sacred eyes,
 and what use is it to her that in the silence of her fields
 now the stench of coal will pour, vomited up
 by Europe's machines?

There is no point, he continues, in harvesting or in distributing cloth and grain, since everything that mattered in Russia has been destroyed:

He killed her soul—everything that sang,
stretched towards the blue sky, danced in the woods,
came to the surface of the water under the moon,
everything that I myself felt.

All this has died. Now whom do we pray to?
Christ or Nemesis? Do we wait for miracles?
Who will finally tell the sly one to get out?
Whom does the devil obey?

All this has died, and yet inspiration
stirs within me. I burn, but I sing.
My dead native land, I await your resurrection
and your future life!²¹

For a start, one notes the wavering of that stern Christian faith. In some earlier poems, Christ is shown performing the miracles that are referred to so sceptically here. He protects the besieging crusaders by turning arrows into flowers; and Christian providence, we are told, protects every little leaf and every wave of the sea. No longer: Nabokov clearly views the events of 1917 as a victory for the devil's party. What the revolutionaries, the ones he calls drunks, cheats, convicts, and dreamers led by a clean-shaven buffoon,²² have destroyed is *his* Russia, his family's country estate, a source of endless pleasure and priceless inspiration; for them, it is just a symbol of exploitation. For him, the soul of Russia is something extremely personal, what he felt and noticed when walking through its countryside, a countryside in which coal mines are simply a blight. For them, Nabokov is a *dachnik*, a weekend poet whom an accident of birth provided with leisure, money, independence, and education—all at the expense of the poor. The language of this poem is violent because the gap between the groups is very wide. When Nabokov once strayed into the servants' quarters, he was puzzled by the odd smell.

Once again, the violence of the sexual metaphor is striking. It suggests the possibility of setting up a pair of binary oppositions: chaste lover / savage, lusty marauder; evasive, bodiless beloved / raped and desecrated Russia. Such a division certainly informs the satiric novels, in which the villains and their accomplices are sexually hyperactive, prisoners of their insatiable desires, while the heroes try, with varying degrees of success, to shed the bodies that so ignominiously confine them. In *Invitation to a Beheading*, the wife of the hero copulates energetically with his persecutors, and he escapes from the absurdities

of such a world only by abandoning his body on the executioner's block and moving towards another world where there are "beings akin to him."²³ Or think of *Bend Sinister*, the 1947 novel that tells the story of the way a police state tyrannizes a philosopher named Krug and forces him to submit to the new revolutionary order. What is of interest here is the way the novel portrays a spiritual love that endures—Krug's wife dies at the outset and is resurrected in a series of memories that centre around a vision of her as an adolescent in a luxurious mansion on a country estate—and contrasts it with a nightmare world of wild desire which automatizes the forces of evil and humiliates the hero. In one scene, Krug says to the slatternly young girl sent by the State to seduce him:

"You know too little or much too much If too little, then run along, lock yourself up, never come near me because this is going to be a bestial explosion, and you might get badly hurt. I warn you. I am nearly three times your age and a great big sad hog of a man. And I don't love you."²⁴

The police prevent the explosion by breaking in and packing him off to prison. Just as he is about to be shot, the novelist intercedes for his creation by refusing to write the conclusion of the story. The forces of the spirit win out over the force of the brute: on the last page, the soul of Krug's wife, in the form of a pink moth, the symbol of a beauty that endures, clings for a moment to the screen of the window in the writer's study and then flies off into the night. A spiritual union with an ideal of beauty in a new country is offered as an alternative to the crude sensuality and oppressive stupidities of the world that exist only to be escaped from.

Nabokov, like his father, favoured a democracy that allows for the existence of a monied élite, and he called himself an "old-fashioned liberal" when pressed by an interviewer.²⁵ But in what sense was Nabokov a liberal? As a defender of civil liberties, he lays eloquent claim to the title; yet what about the other meaning of "liberal," the one that denotes someone who believes "that man knows his own long-term good, that he seeks to harmonise this with the good of others, that he can judge all issues calmly—in short, that man is rational"?²⁶ What these poems give us of Nabokov on human relationships or on the events that prompted his exile from Russia suggests, to me at least, that his view of man's nature is rather different. He is part of a large group of twentieth-century writers whose views are decidedly illiberal. The reactionary ideas of many of the great modernist writers have elicited much comment, yet perhaps this tendency should not really surprise us. As Laurence Lerner has argued, liberalism is a limited theory, because politics' sphere of influence has changed. He notes that we now enjoy unprecedented freedoms: of religion, information, assembly, and so on.

Man is free to choose in many areas of his private life, and politics gets what is left over. For a limited conception of politics we get liberalism, a limited theory of man's nature that ignores the sovereign territory of the individual, all the areas in which he *is* free to choose. In the areas it ignores, "the irrational, mysterious and demonic hold most sway." And what feeds much of modern literature is the area that liberalism's overrational view excludes, "that which is most personal, intimate and terrible in our natures."²⁷

Just as Nabokov had eventually to turn loose the desire that the formal structure of the poems and his youthful naïveté controlled, to give his characters bodies and to make their relations more real, so too he had to do more than fulminate about Russia's degradation. In the satiric novels, he succeeded in dramatizing his political views and the view of human nature from which they were derived. The more he savoured the beauty of the memories, the more withering became his contempt for those who had arranged things so that for him Russia would always be only a memory. Perhaps no other twentieth-century writer was as good at expressing "gloating enthusiastic disgust,"²⁸ and few have had so much of it to express. But the roots of those novels are here, in the imagery of these poems about an abandoned country. The public voice eventually found the appropriate form.

The novels have been criticized because they empty the world of everything but Nabokov, but this comment is more true of the early poems, and it is one of their chief attractions as well as a limitation. In the love poems, the woman is often just the evanescent object of the speaker's own desire, and both the poems about Russia quoted at length end with the poet actually guarding his country within himself and planning to use his extraordinary power to re-create it. He is bigger than anything, even the death of a nation. Nabokov never doubted that his genius was equal to the task. He liked to tell the story of the student who brought a transistor radio with him into a reading room. "He managed to state," said Nabokov, "that 1) he was playing 'classical' music; that 2) he was doing it 'softly'; and that 3) 'there were not many readers around in summer.' I was there, a one-man multitude."²⁹ So, too, with the early poems: they tell us that someone, made up of divisible selves, "was there." And if we listen carefully to them, we can discern in this overture some of the themes of the fiction that was to follow and a series of images that help organize our experience when we sit down with the novels.

Notes

1. V. Nabokov, *Stikhi (Poems)* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1979), p. 13.
2. V. Nabokov, *Strong Opinions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 306.
3. W. W. Rowe, *Nabokov's Spectral Dimension* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1981).
4. Andrew Field, *VN: The Life and Art of Vladimir Nabokov* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1986).
5. Brian Boyd, Review of Field's *VN*, *Times Literary Supplement*, April 24, 1987, p. 432.
6. Nabokov, *Stikhi*, p. 13.
7. Andrew Field, *Nabokov: His Life in Art* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967), p. 383.
8. The exchange between Dimitri Nabokov and Ivor Vinogradoff can be found in the *Times Literary Supplement*, January 6, 1978, p. 13; February 17, 1978, p. 203; and March 17, 1978, p. 321.
9. Dimitri Nabokov, "On Revisiting Father's Room," in *Vladimir Nabokov: A Tribute*, ed. Peter Quennell (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), p. 321.
10. Nabokov, *Strong Opinions*, p. 178.
11. V. Nabokov, *Gornii Put' (The Empyrean Path)* (Berlin: Grani, 1923), p. 17.
17. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
12. Nabokov, *Gornii Put'*, p. 18; V. Nabokov, *Grozd' (The Cluster)* (Berlin: Gamayun, 1922), p. 38; V. Nabokov, "Detstvo," in *Gornii Put'*, p. 92.
13. V. Nabokov, "Angel-Khranitel'," in *Gornii Put'*, p. 115.
14. See, for example, the introduction to *Poems and Problems* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 13–14. For other poems in which Nabokov treats this and other Christian themes, see, for example, "Kogda s nebes na etot bereg dikii" (When from the heavens onto this wild shore), "O noch', ia tvoi! Vsio zloe pozabyto" (O night, I'm yours! All evil is forgotten), "I videl ya: stemneli neba svody" (And I beheld: the vaults of heaven darkened), "Smert'" (Death), "Vseproshchayushchii" (The All-Forgiving), "Krestonostsi" (The Crusaders), "Meretrix" (Meretrix), "Angely" (Angels), "Serafimy" (Seraphim), "Kheruvimy" (Cherubim), "Prestoly" (Thrones), "Gospodstva" (Kingdoms), "Sily" (Forces), "Vlasti" (Powers), "Nachala" (Beginnings), "Arkhangely" (Archangels), "Angel-Khranitel'" (Guardian Angel), "Cena Domini" (Cena Domini), "V Raiu" (In Paradise), "Na Golgofe" (On Calvary), and "My stolpilis' v tumannoii tserkovenke" (In a dim little church we have crowded), all in *Gornii Put'*.

15. Nabokov, *Gornii Put'*, pp. 76–77.
16. V. Nabokov, *Speak, Memory: An Autobiography Revisited* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1966), p. 240.
17. See my *Vladimir Nabokov: A Critical Study of the Novels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 125.
18. V. Nabokov, *Lolita* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), pp. 11, 18, 167.
19. Nabokov, *Gornii Put'*, pp. 24, 70; V. Nabokov, "Russia," *Sovremennii zapiski* 2 (November 1922):142–43. See also Nabokov, *Grozd'*, p. 45.
20. Nabokov, "Rus'" in *Gornii Put'*, p. 173.
21. V. Nabokov, "Rossiya," *Spolokhi* 5 (March 1922):3.
22. V. Nabokov, "Petersburg," *Rul'*, July 17, 1921, p. 2.
23. V. Nabokov, *Invitation to a Beheading*, trans. Dimitri Nabokov in collaboration with the author (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 191.
24. V. Nabokov, *Bend Sinister* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 197.
25. Nabokov, *Strong Opinions*, p. 96.
26. Laurence Lerner, *The Truth-tellers: Jane Austen, George Eliot, D. H. Laurence* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 235.
27. Lerner, pp. 234–35.
28. Nabokov, *Bend Sinister*, p. 11.
29. Nabokov, *Strong Opinions*, p. 99.

Creators of the Horseman's Novel¹

The novel of the horseman had its beginnings early in American, Spanish American, and Ukrainian literary history. In each nation, the novel played a slightly different role and received varying critical acclaim. Although literary criticism was often disparaging, the novel of the horseman, especially as popular literature, did not disappear. In fact, some of the novels in this genre were of such high literary calibre that they became part of the mainstream literature of each nation. This is especially true for Spanish American and Ukrainian literature. Two outstanding examples are Panteleimon Kulish's *Chorna rada* and Ricardo Güiraldes's *Don Segundo Sombra*.

As in any other genre, in the novel of the horseman there are forerunners, creators, developers, and innovators. The forerunners' works mark the first tentative footsteps into a new form. James Fenimore Cooper is such a forerunner for the Western with his frontier hero.² As Cawelti observes, "it was, above all, Owen Wister who initiated the modern western hero by creating a hero type who belonged to the new image of the West but was, at the same time, in the tradition of transcendent heroism launched by Cooper."³ It is, in fact, Cooper's Natty Bumppo, with his survival skills, his daring, his peculiarly American blend of civilized and wilderness traits that allow him to understand and sympathize with both the civilized world of the settlers and the wilderness and its denizens without belonging to either, his "can do" philosophy, and his role of "saviour" of settlers, who is transplanted from the East into the frontier of the West and transformed by the creators of the cowboy novel into the cowboy-hero with these very same characteristics. Like Cooper, Alejandro Magariños Cervantes, in his novel *Caramurú* (1848), presents a basically European type of swashbuckling hero instead of an autochthonous gaucho. Only the kozak⁴ novel lacks novelistic forerunners.

Following the forerunners' tentative brushstrokes, the creators round out and colour in the picture, thus creating the archetype of the

genre. After them come developers, who expand and elaborate the genre. Some would call them, unkindly perhaps, imitators. Restless innovators, on the other hand, while attempting to bring something new and different to a formula genre, still keep the basic pattern intact on a deeper level. For example, George Lucas's *Star Wars*, science fiction on the surface, has imbedded in it the basic cowboy formula.

It is the creators, nevertheless, whose names we associate with the genre and who are responsible for creating the formula for the particular genre—in this case, the kozak novel in Ukrainian literature, the cowboy novel in American literature, and the gaucho novel in Uruguayan and Argentinian literature. For the purposes of this paper, and as a method of shorthand, I will refer to all three as horseman's novels—since the obvious starting point of comparison among the three novels is the fact that the hero is, among many other things, a skilled horseman. By looking at the creators' works of this genre (despite the differences among the three literatures), we may observe the similarities in the contribution they made to the horseman's novel, as well as to the creation of the modern horseman's hero type, which, according to Cawelti, "is also a throwback to heroic types of the past like the medieval knight."⁵ Each nation produced a similar type of hero, and its literature invested him with an idealized vision of itself and with its national dreams and aspirations. It is curious that the creators of the horseman's novel, although geographically worlds apart, gave us basically the same type of hero and the same type of formula novel. That there are similarities in such three disparate literatures with such different historical backgrounds perhaps suggests that the horseman may be a Jungian archetype, because, as Glenn R. Vernam observes,

Be he barbarian, warrior, crusader, knight, conquistador, cowboy, or cavalryman, it was the man on horseback who created the sagas of valor and carried the banner of romance throughout the world. His is the figure that excited the admiration of footmen for a hundred centuries; he it is to whom the man on foot has always instinctively lifted his eyes, both physically and spiritually.⁶

The principal creator of the kozak novel is Panteleimon Kulish. In his *Chorna rada* (Black Council, 1857), Kulish gives a panoramic view or, as he himself styles it, a "chronicle" of Ukrainian life in the year 1663—a crucial year when three candidates vie for the post of hetman (head) of the kozak host. The competition, bitter and treacherous, leads to strife and divided loyalties. Old Shram (whose name means "scar"), the fictional protagonist in this historical conflict, is the voice of reason and patriotism. The subplot follows the fortunes of Petro, the younger Shram, and his love for Lesia, who has been engaged to Somko, one of the contenders for the post of hetman.

Spyrydon Cherkasenko, Osyp Makovei, Adrian Kashchenko, and Zinaida Tulub followed suit and popularized the kozak novel. Kulish, however, created not only a kozak novel, but also a literary masterpiece.

In the cowboy novel, Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902) is the cornerstone on which such authors as B. M. Bower (pseudonym of Bertha Muzzy Sinclair), the popular Zane Grey, Conrad Richter, and Tom Lea built their cowboy novels. Owen Wister's *Virginian* is a "synthesis of the conflicting stereotypes of Cavalier [of the antebellum South] and Yankee,"⁷ admired by fellow cowboys and respected by ranchers and townspeople alike. During a river crossing, he rescues Molly, the new teacher from the East, and is attracted to her. When the *Virginian* is wounded in an Indian ambush, Molly nurses him back to health. She teaches him to read and write, and they soon fall in love. The simple story is made more complex by the subplot, which deals with the *Virginian*'s ongoing rivalry with Trampas, a cowboy gone bad. Also, Wister adds thematic complexity by replacing Cooper's dialectic between civilization and nature with a "cultural dialectic between the East and West."⁸

In the gaucho novel, it is harder to pinpoint one author as the foremost creator. Eduardo Acevedo Diaz Jr.'s *Cancha Larga* (1939) combines all the elements of the gaucho novel seen in part in the works of Eduardo Acevedo Diaz, Javier de Viana, and Zavala Muniz, all of whom wrote before Acevedo Jr. Acevedo Jr.'s *Mauro*, like the *Virginian*, is considered by fellow gauchos, as his nickname of *Cancha Larga* suggests, the spirit of the pampas. He learns all the skills that a gaucho needs on his uncle's ranch, and, when he is captured by the Indians, he not only survives their cruel treatment but also learns from them and eventually escapes. He marries and settles down. But the old gaucho life-style is quickly disappearing with the settling of the pampas by farmers. His own children turn their backs on the old ways in order to seek a new life in the city.

All three novels show the life of the horseman on the eve of his demise. Each of the three protagonists is witness to great changes, as new ways replace old and the past quickly fades into a memory.

Each creator of the novel of the horseman gave a serious treatment to his protagonist, thus raising the novel far above a mere adventure story. Some provided a more detailed study of the life of the horseman, while others concentrated on character development. Above all, the horseman-hero became a national symbol, a carrier of the value system of each nation.

The protagonists of the novels of Acevedo, Wister, and Kulish have similar character traits, values, and life-styles. It is not parentage that is important, but what each man makes of his life and how faithful he is to the code of the kozak, cowboy, or gaucho, respectively. All three protagonists live in harmony—although not always at peace—with

nature: the cowboy on the Western prairie, the gaucho on the South American pampas, and the kozak on the Ukrainian steppe. Each faces different enemies, yet all three do so with a courage that we, in our civilized, urban world, find both fascinating and enviable. Another feature that distinguishes the creators of the horseman's novel from their imitators is that their protagonists are at the same time both prototypes of the horseman and also three-dimensional characters, fully developed in their own right.

One major difference in the three types of horseman's novels is that the kozak and gaucho novels are often historical and grave, even fatalistic in their tones, whereas the cowboy novel contains more sustained humour and generally is written in a lighter tone. Although the gaucho and kozak novels more frequently than not end in tragedy (because of the historical circumstances in which the kozak and gaucho live), even in the death of the protagonist, the cowboy, on the other hand, often was the winner in his personal struggles. Most of the cowboy novels end, if not on a happy note, then at least with a satisfying resolution of the conflicts for the protagonist. Moreover, living in a historical period when their country had a frontier, what all three protagonists share is the courage to fight the good fight, be it with nature or man—one of the major themes in these novels.

These similarities as well as differences can be clearly seen when we compare the protagonists in the novels of the three cornerstone creators of the horseman's genre: Owen Wister for the cowboy, Panteleimon Kulish for the kozak, and Eduardo Acevedo Diaz Jr. for the gaucho. Wister published *The Virginian* in 1902, and, as Boatright points out, he is without question "the troubadour of the cowboy,"⁹ who undoubtedly "elevated 'cowboy fiction' to a distinct genre."¹⁰ Looking from today's sophisticated perspective and hundreds of westerns later, it might seem that Wister stresses mainly plot. However, by comparison with Cooper's characters and the dime-novel protagonists that preceded him, Owen Wister's creations are certainly individualized. Wister placed all his characters in everyday situations that allow his readers to observe their development. He also gave the cowboy novel more of a three-dimensional protagonist in the *Virginian*; at the same time, he "related the cowboy-hero to a number of important social and cultural themes."¹¹ Nevertheless, there are remnants of romantic adventures in his novel, like the rescue of the lady in distress, the showdown with a rebellious bunch of cowhands, or the silencing of a villain. Instead of using the heroic approach, found in Eduardo Acevedo Diaz Jr.'s *Cancha Larga* or Panteleimon Kulish's *Chorna rada*, Wister gives his novel a humorous Mark Twainian treatment. Episodes of violence, such as the lynching party in which the *Virginian* partakes, the Indian ambush, and the killing of Shorty, take place "off stage" and are not described directly but are mentioned or alluded to casually, as if they were the normal part of

a range rider's life. On the other hand, the Virginian's doubts and inner conflicts are vividly described, as are more humorous episodes. In fact, the Virginian is not above such pranks as swapping the partying ranchers' sleeping children or telling a story about a misfit chicken.

Clearly, with Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, the stress shifts from the usual fast-paced cowboy adventure story (Zane Grey's trademark), patterned on European novels of romantic adventures,¹² to a more indigenous and realistic reflection of the life of the cowboy. Wister underscores the idea that cowboy life is not just a series of shoot-outs; sometimes it is very dull and routine, a life tied to a ranch and a herd of cows. But Wister also employs the cowboy's "amazing capacity for humor,"¹³ which his dime-novel predecessors and followers often overlooked. Pranks, humorous stories, and jokes are not part of Cancha Larga's life in Acevedo's novel on the gaucho. Kulish, on the other hand, not as much as Wister and unlike many of his followers, occasionally makes use of humour, as in the names of people (e.g., Cherevan', meaning pot-bellied), and in other devices, such as speech defects (Cherevan' can't pronounce "r"'s) and colourful folk expressions. For example, Shram, the protagonist, tells the peasants that if it weren't for the kozaks, "the devil would have licked them off the face of the earth a long time ago."¹⁴ Not only does Kulish use occasional humour to reveal character and to lighten the sombre tone of the main theme of the novel, he also uses satire liberally. In many apparently only humorous conversations, Kulish satirizes the flaws of what is perceived as the Ukrainian national character in general: the tendency to be overemotional; the tendency to be passive until it's too late; the lack of unity; the desire to be a chief instead of follower; and, worst of all, an overriding sense of national inferiority and lack of vision. Kulish's satirical humour in large part provides the novel its thematic depth and literary worth.

In *The Virginian*, Wister uses humour as the mainstay for presenting to the public a new type of hero. For although Cooper initiated the cowboy-hero into American literature, both Cawelti and Milton agree that it was Wister who "established an image of the cowboy"¹⁵ that "belonged to the new image of the West."¹⁶ Wister sensed that "what the western needed was a new hero," because Cooper's "Leatherstocking hero, defined by his adherence to natural values and his flight from society, was no longer appropriate."¹⁷ Wister's literary cowboy, wild and woolly, is a judicious mixture of reality and fancy, intended to win the Easterner's acceptance of the novel. Part of this wildness was the Virginian's courage, albeit a self-deprecating courage. When Molly, the Virginian's bride, observes that when the villain appears suddenly, "the Virginian's hand [was] in a certain position,"¹⁸ she realizes, as she tells him later, "You had your pistol ready for him" (p. 484). He responds sheepishly, "It was mighty unnecessary" (p. 485). Thus, the horseman is ready to use his gun when necessary but does not do so unnecessarily

and, unlike trigger-happy movie cowboys, admits that perhaps he was hasty. At the same time, this sheepishness is part of an act put on for his wife from the East. He does not brag, even about his preparedness to shoot. Since his courage is indisputable, he can afford to appear nonchalant about it. This is a characteristic that all three historical and literary horsemen share. As the historian Tys-Krokhmaliuk observes about real-life kozaks, "courage was such a self-understood phenomenon that it was completely taken for granted."¹⁹ The cowboy is a creature who wears his courage as naturally as the bandana around his neck and lets it surface as quickly as his finger can pull the trigger. In the lawless West, courage is the measure of the man.

Occasionally, the horseman may elude his serious, courageous stereotype by employing tall tales and satire. The Virginian, for example, tells a tall tale about frog-leg ranching to foil Trampas, the villain, and to convince his men not to leave the train taking the cattle to market. This incident serves to show that the Virginian is not a trigger-happy cowboy and also reflects the Western man's love of humour and tall tales.

Displaying courage in defence of the weak, oppressed, or wronged is a common feature of all three horsemen. In addition, each horseman has a particular set of historical circumstances that demand and test his courage. The cowboy reveals this courage in the quotidian activity of driving cattle through lightning storms, stampedes, and Indian country. In doing so in real life, he rarely had the Virginian's luck of surviving arrow shots, nor was he nursed back to health by a lovely schoolmarm. For the fictional Virginian, however, the experience leads to the atypical merging of the Westerner's with the Easterner's (Molly's) values and education.

As in real life, in the novel the gaucho, like the cowboy, works on ranches, but he needs his courage either as a revolutionary soldier or as an opponent to a gaucho with a *facón* (long knife). In Latin culture, a man cannot indicate any hesitation in fighting another, for this hesitation or unwillingness may be easily interpreted as a lack of courage. In most gaucho novels, the confrontation is ritualistically played out, ending with the death of one of the contenders. Like Wister, Acevedo, while creating the characteristically courageous gaucho, uses his literary creativity to allow for individuality. While Ricardo, in Zavala's *Crónica de la reja*, acts out the gaucho's "orgullo de la raza" (pride of his heritage)²⁰ and allows himself to be massacred by Indians, Acevedo's protagonist Mauro tempers his courage with an astute sense of survival, evident in both his logic and tactics. When surrounded by Indians, he does not prove his courage by getting himself killed through false heroics, like the stereotypical gaucho. Instead, he accepts captivity and even survives various plots on his life by using his intelligence and cunning against his captors. It is one thing to be true to the "justice of the

pampas," which requires the gaucho to kill "si hay que matar" (if one has to kill).²¹ Mauro has to face this obligation, just as Wister's Virginian had to, to rid the ranch of rustlers. But false heroics and bravado are shunned by both Acevedo's and Wister's heroes. In this, they are both typical horsemen in their courage and atypical in their avoidance of unnecessary violence; thus, types, yet individuals.

Unlike the other two horsemen, the kozak was never a cowhand. The kozak's courage was tested in various situations, but most often in battle. Whether as a scout or as an insurgent, in a duel with a fellow kozak or an enemy, in battle or as a captive in the enemy's camp, the kozak was absolutely fearless. Each of the kozak novels includes battle scenes or reminiscences of past battles. Unlike the gaucho, who had a distaste for organized fighting (as opposed to one-on-one dueling with the *facón*), kozaks, both historical and novelistic, fight not because they are forced to but because they have a cause for which to fight. This cause may be to free their fellow Christian Ukrainians from Tartar or Turkish infidels; or (dealing with a later historical period) to drive the Polish nobility from Ukraine and, at the same time, to avenge years of persecution of the Ukrainian population under Polish rule; or to fight the occupying forces that followed the Polish ones—the Russians.

Neither a mother's nor a sweetheart's tears can keep a kozak at home, and those who marry and settle down sigh wistfully when they see a young kozak, regretfully exclaiming, "If I were not married, I'd join the Zaporozhzhian kozaks immediately" (*Chorna rada*, p. 88). A similar attitude is observed in all three protagonists: the Virginian, Mauro, and Shram. Shram, despite his advanced years, leaves his home without a sigh of regret and takes his only son with him into battle. When the Virginian has to face Trampas, Molly's words:

"No, no, no. There's something else. There's something better than shedding blood in cold blood. Only think what it means. Only think of having to remember such a thing! . . . It's murder!" (*The Virginian*, p. 511)

fall on deaf ears. To the horseman, killing when the code of honour requires it, whether in personal defence or (as in the case of the gaucho and kozak) in defence of one's country or (as in the case of the gaucho) in defence of one's *caudillo* (leader), is a sacred duty. To those outside of the horseman's code, this violent "justice" may seem cruel, almost incomprehensible, but in the horseman's frontier setting it is as natural as mounting the horse he rides. In answer to his city-bred wife, the Virginian gives the same response that Acevedo's Mauro or Kulish's Shram would also have given to their loved ones:

"I work hyeh. I belong hyeh. It's my life. If folks came to think I was a coward— . . . My friends would be sorry and ashamed, and my enemies

would walk around saying they had always said so. I could not hold up my head again among enemies or friends." (*The Virginian*, p. 511)

When Shram's son Petro is faced with the need to follow his father and other kozaks into battle, he realizes that he may lose forever the woman he loves, for she will probably marry her fiancé when Petro leaves. But even in his darkest moment of agony, it never occurs to Petro to run away with the girl, for he could not bear to let his father down or "bespatter with mud his golden [kozak] honor" (*Chorna rada*, p. 234).

It is in the way that they make the horseman live up to his code that all three writers—Wister, Kulish, and Acevedo—create the type of the horseman-hero as we know him today. All three horsemen are depicted as skilled fighters (the cowboy with his gun, the gaucho with his *facón*, and the kozak with his sword—each a master at handling the weapon), for such they were in reality. Furthermore, in order to establish a proving ground for their protagonists, the creators of the horseman's novel re-create in their novels the horseman's natural setting, which demands of the horseman the tools of survival: adroitness, shrewdness, a strong sense of independence, and resourcefulness. Similarly, the horseman must possess stoic perseverance in the face of natural inclemencies, such as hot winds, cold blizzards, and treacherous rapids, as well as man-made physical hardships, such as war.

Finally, the long periods of solitude imposed by the sparsely inhabited country encourage a laconic demeanour, although the kozak has an advantage over the other two horsemen in this aspect. When not in battle, kozaks lived together during part of the year on the islands on the Dnieper, which they called the Zaporizhzhia (literally, "place beyond the rapids"), and communal life provided them with companionship and a sense of community, even though it was a community devoid of women and children.

The character traits discussed above assure the horsemen of survival in an environment that is unmercifully harsh, dangerous, and often violent. The necessity of being physically dependent upon oneself is extended into the need to be independent, that is, to be one's own boss. Transferred to the pages of the horseman's novel, this difficult life becomes transformed. The hard edges of real-life drudgery disappear, but the alluring ruggedness, which shows up the hero's survival skills while keeping intact a clearly defined value system, remains.

It not only does not lead to callousness or brutality in the prototypical cowboy, gaucho, or kozak hero, but, on the contrary, reinforces the positive characteristics of honesty, hospitality, and respect of another's privacy. So it is that the horseman does not pry into a stranger's past or ask for his credentials or family background. All three horsemen often bury their past under nicknames given to them, nicknames that reflect their skill, character, appearance, or mannerisms.

Kozaks, upon arriving at Zaporizhzhia, either are given a name or are nicknamed by their companions as a precaution against Polish persecution. Even if they have no need to hide, they take on a nickname to feel part of the Zaporizhzhian brotherhood. This is illustrated in *Chorna rada* by the historical figures of kozak leaders that appear in Kulish's novel, such as Somko (a diminutive ending), Baida (a type of boat), and Puhach (hoot owl). Wister's protagonist is called the Virginian; Acevedo's "Cancha Larga" is what the gauchos called their wide-open spaces, the pampas; Mauro is so nicknamed by his godfather because he seems to personify the spirit of the pampas.

Another set of characteristics that all three horsemen share is the lack of conventional religion. Although they are religious in an almost pantheistic sense because of their closeness to the elements, they are not churchgoers. Of the three, the kozak perhaps comes the closest to participating in organized religion. When a stranger comes to Zaporizhzhia, he is asked to cross himself, because the kozaks want to make certain that the newcomer is Orthodox. They have a church on Zaporizhzhia, and the Mother of God is their protectress; but when they come into town, they don't rush to church on Sunday!

Also, the horseman is hard-working only at those tasks that he feels are not below his manly dignity. Furthermore, he is a seeker of revenge for wrongs done, a protector of the woman in distress while denying her any meaningful participation in his world, and he is contemptuous of worldly possessions with the exception of his weapons and his horse. The horse is both a physical and spiritual extension of the cowboy, kozak, and gaucho. It is his means of transportation; sometimes his sole source of companionship; a second set of sensory perception to aid in his survival in the wilderness. The horse carries the kozak and gaucho into battle and helps the cowboy chase the "bad guy," ride to the rescue, and do his chores on the ranch and on the cattle drive. The horse brings the cowboy, kozak, and gaucho back to town and then allows him to ride away to escape from its confining "civilization." It is his link with nature. Sitting atop it, the horseman must be looked up at and looked up to by the horseless townspeople. The horse is his status symbol. It carries him to adventure the townspeople only dream about and makes him a hero in a woman's eyes. The horse symbolically reflects the horseman's image of being nature's free spirit. When first seen, the horse and horseman, beautiful in their harmony with nature and in their apparent wildness, are a projection of romantic fantasies. The onlooker fails to notice at first that the horse has a bridle, as does the rider—his code of honour.

The horseman never yearns for physical comforts in the form of feather beds and sumptuous meals, preferring the simple and crude but functional. His favourite resting place for the night is any spot under the open sky, since he knows how to be part of nature's silence. He

considers himself for the most part outside of the law of the courts, if not directly opposed to it. The law of the organized community is foreign to him. It is doubly so for the kozak, for whom it represents not only the demasculinizing law of the town, but also a foreign and exploitative law established by the Poles. Considered lawless by the town, the cowboy, kozak, and gaucho nevertheless have a moral standard of their own that is based on a clearly established concept of right and wrong. According to the horseman's code, it is the motive and method of killing that determine its rightness or wrongness. According to the horseman's code, life is not cheap, but it is not sacred either. What is most important for the horseman-hero is not just life, but life and death with honour. Moreover, the keynote of his personality, philosophy, and manner is spartan simplicity, the kind of deterministic simplicity one finds in nature. As a result, these are men of action, not of thought, although they are capable of making astute observations on their lives.

A list of the horseman's character traits makes the hero appear to be too good to be true. Nevertheless, Wister, Kulish, Acevedo, and the other creators of the horseman's novel draw on historical reality for the picture of their horsemen. This picture becomes stereotypical only if the protagonist is merely a composite of these traits in their pure state. Not only are Wister, Kulish, and Acevedo creators of the horseman's archetype, however, they are also good writers. As a result, they round out their protagonists by giving them unique personality traits; even when the horsemen display a typical character trait, they do so in their own inimitable and personal way.

One way that the three authors personalize their protagonists is by endowing them with linguistic peculiarities. Wister's Virginian has the language not only of the Southerner, but of the uneducated Southerner, as may be seen when Steve, a fellow cowboy, tells him that in parts of Wyoming "you'll go for hours and hours before you'll see a drop of wetness," and the Virginian responds with, "And if yu' keep a-thinkin' about it" (*The Virginian*, p. 36). Kulish differentiates all his characters' language not only by their place of origin, but also by their educational level, and then adds speech mannerisms to further distinguish his characters and even to create humour. Cherevan', one of the major characters in the novel, is also used to satirize the "that's-none-of-my-business,-so-I'm-not-going-to-get-involved" mentality that leads to the kozaks' defeat. Acevedo, like Wister and Kulish, allows his characters to speak as gauchos did in real life, swallowing syllables, using their jargon, revealing their lack of education. All three authors enrich their narrative with humour, homespun philosophical remarks, stories, folk sayings, folk songs sung or poetry recited by the horseman (well-known epics or folk ballads or occasionally poetry created by the horseman himself; both gauchos and kozaks were known as troubadours).

Another way in which the creators of the horseman's novel escape writing hackneyed pulp novels is in their treatment of the plot. While they follow the formula, they also break from it by concentrating more on character development than on action, and by placing their protagonists in quotidian rather than unnatural situations in which the horseman's character traits become validated. For example, when Molly does not accept the Virginian's invitation to dance because they have not been introduced, the Virginian promptly brings over a respected member of the town to introduce them. This shows up his "grit" and ingenuity in immediately getting what he wants. In another instance, when Trampas is about to call the Virginian a "son-of-a—," the Virginian draws his pistol and utters the line that became immortalized in the American idiom: "When you call me that, *smile!*" (*The Virginian*, p. 41). When Hetman Briukhovets'kyi, a kozak leader, is betrayed by a fellow kozak leader who challenges his authority, he realizes that "two cats in the same sack can't get along peacefully"; nevertheless, he can't bring himself to kill Somko. Puzzled, he asks himself, "Why is it that I don't have the strength to finish this off?" (*Chorna rada*, p. 384). By presenting his kozaks with human weaknesses and doubts, Kulish creates real human beings instead of just types. When Mauro listens to a gaucho renegade brag of his bloodthirstiness, he knows that he can set the man straight with his *facón*, but instead he decides that it isn't worth it, and so he agrees with the man "so as not to provoke him into taking out his knife" (*Cancha Larga*, p. 63). It isn't lack of courage that motivates Mauro, but common sense and an awareness of what is and what is not worth fighting for. Such responses ensure that Mauro does not degenerate into a mere type.

The most obvious departure from the typical plot pattern or formula (that has since become a cliché through overuse in subliterate and in films) is the outcome of each protagonist's life. Instead of having the protagonist ride off as a triumphant hero into the sunset, each author chooses realism with an admixture of symbolism, not of the usual sunset variety. Kulish has Shram die and his son marry and settle down to a happy domestic life, an anathema to a "real" kozak, who wants to go on fighting until he dies gloriously in battle. Kulish's ending, nevertheless, is highly symbolic of what exactly did happen to the great kozak state. Wister not only marries off the Virginian but has him educated, and even travelling East. No real cowboy marries and becomes domesticated. Yet this conclusion foreshadows what does happen to cowboys; the West does have to meet and accommodate itself to some of the ways of the East, as the Virginian had to accommodate himself to the ways of Molly. Mauro, *Cancha Larga*, refuses to become a dirt-grubbing farmer and so remains isolated from, forgotten by, and marginal to both society and even his own family. That is exactly what happened to those gauchos who failed to adjust to the encroaching civilization. Yet despite

the unhorseman-like ending of their lives, the horsemen preserve the type by accepting their fates with equanimity and dignity.

Eduardo Acevedo Diaz Jr., Panteleimon Kulish, and Owen Wister, the three major creators of the horseman's novel, all consciously tried to re-create the lives of their historical protagonists, explain them, and at the same time present individualized characters, not just types. They captured the essence of the horseman's being and life so genuinely that, as a result, they seemed to create an archetype. Meanwhile, their imitators, of whom there were many in each literature, through their overused formulaic imitations, inadvertently made us recognize these creators of horseman's novels as the moulders of the kozak, cowboy, and gaucho prototype, and their novels as the ones that helped and sanctified the formula.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Charlotte M. Wright, assistant editor of *Texas Books in Review*, for her helpful comments on the cowboy.

2. James Fenimore Cooper wrote five novels with Natty Bumppo as the protagonist. Known as the Leatherstocking Tales, they were *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841). John R. Milton notes that "It is often taken for granted that James Fenimore Cooper is either the first western novelist or that he has been the primary influence upon fiction of the West." See John R. Milton, *The Novel of the American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. 81.

3. John G. Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 219.

4. The traditional form of this term has been "cossack." For the present study, the old standard spelling of the word is unacceptable, for several reasons. First, it is misleading. The primary definition of the word "cossack" found in any dictionary is a variation of the one found in *Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary*. The "cossack" is defined as a "member of a favored military caste of Russian frontiersmen and border guards in czarist Russia" or, according to the second edition of the *New World Dictionary of the American Language*, "a member of a people of southern Russia, famous as horseman and cavalryman." The kozak described in this study is none of these things. He is Ukrainian, not Russian. This, in turn, carries with it a change in the historical role played by the Ukrainian kozak and the Russian cossack. The kozak's relationship to the Ukrainian people was far more meaningful than that of a frontier guard or of a military élite. He was a protector of the Ukrainian people from the plundering attacks of the Tartars and Turks and, later, from the imperialistic ambitions of the Poles and Russians. The kozaks created a Ukrainian state and were its socio-political leaders.

Aside from these semantic considerations, phonologically speaking the word "cossack" is not true to the Ukrainian pronunciation of the word, or even to its Turkish origin. Some dictionaries recognize the difference in pronunciation between the accepted word "cossack" and its Ukrainian and Turkish counterparts. As for its orthography, "cossack" fails to give a true transliteration of the Ukrainian word. For these reasons, this paper employs the form "kozak,"

following *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

5. Cawelti, p. 229.
6. Glenn R. Vernam, *Man on Horseback* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1964), pp. 11–12.
7. Cawelti, p. 229.
8. Cawelti, p. 216.
9. Mody C. Boatright, "The American Myth Rides the Range," *Southwest Review* 36 (1951):158.
10. Julian Ernest Choate, Jr., "The Myth of the American Cowboy: A Study of the Cattleman's Frontier in History and Fiction" (Diss., Vanderbilt University, 1954), p. 21.
11. Cawelti, p. 219.
12. Milton, p. 81, observes that the American novel "imported the romance, sentimentalism, and adventure of Walter Scott's historical novels" but feels that rather than any direct influences there were "traditions which have been available" and were drawn upon and changed to suit the American reality.
13. Stan Hoig, *The Humor of the American Cowboy* (1958; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 19.
14. Panteleimon Kulish, *Chorna rada: khronika 1663 roku*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1857), p. 70. Subsequent references to this text will be made in the body of the paper.
15. Milton, p. 19.
16. Cawelti, p. 219.
17. Cawelti, p. 219.
18. Owen Wister, *The Virginian* (1902; reprint, New York: Lancer Books, 1970), p. 483. Subsequent references to this text will be made in the body of the paper.
19. Iurii Tys-Krokhmaluk, *Boi Khmel'nyts'koho: viis'kovo-istorychna studiia* (Munich: Bratstva kol. voiakiv I Ukr. Dyvizii UNA, 1954), p. 15.
20. Justino Zavala Muniz, *Crónica de la reja* (1930; reprint, Madrid: Aguilar, 1954), p. 331. Zavala took Acevedo's lead and took the gaucho into realism.
21. Eduardo Acevedo Diaz Jr., *Cancha Larga* (1939; reprint, Montevideo: Editorial Alfa, 1966), p. 66. His father was a forerunner with his novel *Ismael*, published in 1888.

"He lived among us":
Evhen Malaniuk's Poem on Mickiewicz's Monument
in Warsaw

In the fall of 1932, the Ukrainian émigré poet Evhen Malaniuk, living in Warsaw, wrote a poem expressing his lyrical and historiosophical reflections upon contemplating the monument of the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz. The untitled poem had only a motto, "Bilia pamiatnyka Mitskevycha" (At Mickiewicz's Monument), as was quite common in Malaniuk's practice.

Aside from its place in the internal development of Malaniuk's poetic art, this inspired and inspiring poem was destined to play an interesting, not insignificant, role in the history of Polish literature between the wars.

Internally, the poem marks an important stage in the Ukrainian poet's lifelong "pilgrimage" (*Proshcha*, as was to be the title of one of his later retrospective collections in which the poem was published).¹

The first volumes of Malaniuk's poetry published during the first decade of his life in exile are marked by the poet's almost exclusive preoccupation with the immediate past events in which he participated as a soldier: revolution, civil war, a short-lived period of Ukrainian independence, the collapse of the Polish-Ukrainian Kiev campaign, forced demobilization, and then exile. As indicated by the title of Malaniuk's first volume of poetry, *Stylet i stylos* (Stiletto and Stylus),² the poet considered it his fate and his mission, after having had to lay down his weapons, to continue the struggle for a free Ukraine by using his pen. To nourish hopes and national strength, he evokes in subsequent volumes the grandeur and the beauty of the land, the heroic past in which the dynamic northern elements and the idyllic Hellenic cultural and intellectual values fluctuate in stormy cross-currents—full of violence, but also full of intellectual and spiritual achievements; once shining splendidly, then lost in wars and political pressure and oppression from the East and from the West; but always retaining the potential of being a "Steppe Hellas"—a recurring motif, especially in the volume *Zemlia i zalizo* (Earth and Iron).³

Although these themes continued to play the most important role in Malaniuk's poetry to the very end of his life, the scope of his works gradually expanded. The intellectual and aesthetic horizon of the poet gradually widened and deepened, and his concept of history and human fate became less "ethnic," more universal. During his years in Poland, Malaniuk's readings and personal contacts with Polish writers and critics made him more and more aware of important issues and some striking analogies between the history and literature of the Polish people and his own—especially in the nineteenth century, when both these nations were oppressed. Upon reading Mickiewicz, Wyspiański, and other Polish writers, Malaniuk, for whom at first Poland was just another country in which he was able to settle as an émigré Ukrainian and find appropriate work,⁴ found common ground in the spirit of the same struggle for freedom that he knew from his and his generation's personal experience.

Adam Mickiewicz's fervently patriotic poetry, from the time when the Polish poet too was an emigrant on his lifelong pilgrimage, was especially pertinent to what Malaniuk must have felt and thought about the situation of his people and about his own mission as a poet. A work that seems to have especially affected Malaniuk's thoughts and feelings at that time was Mickiewicz's visionary drama, *Dziady* (The Forefathers' Eve), Part III, in particular the "Digression," of which the fragment "Pomnik Piotra Wielkiego" (Monument of Peter the Great) is one of the most provoking and prophetic poems on Russia; it is also the key to an understanding of the poetic dialogue between Mickiewicz and Pushkin, including Pushkin's "Mednyi vsadnik" (The Bronze Horseman) and "On mezhdu nami zhil" (He Lived Among Us) and Mickiewicz's "Do przyjaciół Moskali" (To My Russian Friends).

To what extent Malaniuk was absorbed by Mickiewicz's poem can be seen from his long essay on St. Petersburg written at that time, in which long fragments of this poem—alongside the works of Shevchenko and some others—are quoted in support of most of Malaniuk's historiosophical argument about this city as a symbol of an ominous, ruthless force constantly threatening the peace of Europe—a symbol of the empire which, for Malaniuk, was an anticipation of "The Third International," replacing "The Third Rome." These motifs will subsequently figure in several of Malaniuk's poems, beginning with the poem "At Mickiewicz's Monument."

Malaniuk's essay was published as the leading article in the Polish journal *Pamiętnik Warszawski* in 1931, under the title "St. Petersburg–Petrograd–Leningrad."⁵ *Pamiętnik Warszawski*, edited by Ludwik Hieronim Morstin, a distinguished poet and dramatist, played an important role in Polish intellectual life in the thirties, although it was a rather short-lived enterprise. At the time there was quite a heated literary debate in Poland concerning the question of the patriotic

function of literature. Morstin took a very firm stand in this debate, publishing in *Pamiętnik Warszawski* an article entitled "Literatura w obliczu zagadnień bytu narodowego" (Literature in the face of the problems of national existence).⁶ Morstin lamented the attitude of those writers who proclaimed that with the establishment of the independent Polish state, literature could be finally relieved of its previous patriotic duties and could feel free to take up more mundane themes.⁷ He warned that those "true artists who proclaimed the twilight of patriotism in the name of universal ideals . . . would soon discover that they inflict a terrible damage on themselves." Very similar concerns were expressed in his survey of "Contemporary Polish Patriotic Poetry" in *Przegląd Współczesny*: "We live under the threat of catastrophes foretold, approaching nearer and nearer as an earthquake It cannot be denied that there is something threatening and fantastic in our existence. Will all this remain without an echo in our poetry?"⁸

In this context, it was naturally an event that attracted considerable attention when a poem by a foreign Ukrainian author, showing both a profound understanding of Polish history and literature and concern for its future, and entreating the Polish bard to "stand guard over his city," was published in the most popular and influential periodical, the weekly *Wiadomości Literackie*, in Polish translation by the most popular poet of the time, Julian Tuwim, famous for his congenial translations, especially from Russian.⁹

Here is the original text and Tuwim's translation (which certainly did justice to the Ukrainian poem), followed by my "philological" translation into English, attempting only to approximate certain characteristic formal features (alliteration, rhythm, and so on).

Євген Маланюк

Біля пам'ятника Міцкевичу

Ти вдивляєшся хмуро і бронзово
Понад поверхи, люди і лиця,
Під тобою розмірно й грозово
Крутить рокіт щоденний столиця.

Там кигичуть вислянські мєви, . .
Хвиля берег піщаний лиже . . .
—Чорне місто твоє, Міцкевич,
Евразійським мені Парижем.

Жовтень грає глухі прелюди,
Диригує Шопен листопадом
І такі тут спізнали люди,
І така легендарна влада.

Бельведер під виспанськими млами
петербурзьким зідхає туманом.

В чорних вікнах—то племінь чи плями?
Сірий привид—мана чи омана.

І коли заскрегочуть віти,
Схід дихне своїм зимним нордом,—
в Їяздовських гуляє вітер,
Стеле шлях по асфальту—ордам.

Вистеляє іржавим листом,
Мов татарськими килимами
. . . Стережи, стережи це місто,
Вартівничий із бронзи, Адаме!

Eugeniusz Małaniuk

Warszawa

Wpatrujesz się chmurnie spiżowo,
Ponad piętra i ludzi i twarze,
Grzmi pod tobą dygocąc miarowo,
Stolica w burzliwym rozgwarze.

W dali mewy wiślane krzyczą,
Fala brzegi piaszczyste liże.
Czarne miasto twoje, Mickiewiczu,
Eurazyjskim jest dla mnie Paryżem.

Szumia głucho preludia jesienne,
Dyryguje Chopin listopadem,
ludzie tutaj—tacy sponżnieni,
Władza tutaj—z legendarnym czadem.

W mgłach wyspiańskich Belweder, owiany
Petersburskim tumanem mrocznym.
W sennych oknach—czy to płomień, czy plamy?
Szare widmo—uroczyste czy uroczone?

I kiedy gałęzie zaskrzypią
I wschód zionie ziębiacym nordem,
Wicher liśćmi Aleje zasypie,
Bruk wyściele mongolskim hordom.

Leci, leci ordzewa liściasta,
Tatarskimi, się kładzie kilimami.
Pilnuj, pilnuj swojego miasta,
Wartowniku spiżowy, Adamie!

Evhen Malaniuk

At Mickiewicz's Monument

You gaze sombrely and bronzely
Over housefronts, people and faces,

Down below thunders rhythmically
The capital in its daily din.

Over there Vistula seagulls clamour,
The waves gently lick the sandy shore . . .
—This black city of yours, Mickiewicz,
Is for me a Eurasian Paris.

October plays muted preludes,
Chopin conducts tones of November.
People here seem out of step with time
Their leaders as if steeped in legends.

Belvedere under the Wyspiański mist,
Then gasping for breath in the Petersburg fog.
In the black windows—is it flame or flecks?
A grey figure—illusion or delusion?

And when the tree branches start creaking,
The East will erupt in a wintry storm.
Northern wind runs wild in the Ujazdowskie,
Making trails for the Asian horde.

Rusty leaves cover the asphalt,
As if with thick Tartar rugs.
. . . Watch, watch closely over this city,
Sentinel of bronze, Adam!

It is not easy to explain to Western readers the full emotional load and the evocative power of the seemingly simple imagery, which, however, acquires a more complex dimension against the background of its literary and historical tradition. This tradition of the poetry of Romanticism and of Symbolism had in Poland (as well as in Ukraine) a powerful, although highly esoteric, "ethnic" quality. Only a poet intimately keyed in to it could have been able to express in just a few condensed images the spirit both of the past and of the time when he wrote the poem. Without launching into a detailed analysis, suffice it to mention a few key words and their implications. "Belvedere," once the residence of the Great Duke Constantine, evokes the dramatic events of the Polish November uprising of 1830–1831; the crackling of the falling "rusty leaves" haunted the young conspirators preparing the uprising in S. Wyspiański's *Noc listopadowa* (November Night); it was also the time when Mickiewicz wrote *The Forefathers' Eve*, Part III, with its "Digression" on St. Petersburg; and "Belvedere" was Jósef Piłsudski's residence at the time when Malaniuk wrote his poem and imagined seeing his shadow in the window.

There were elements of a double irony in the circumstances surrounding the appearance of Malaniuk's poem in *Wiadomości*

Literackie. One was that it was a foreign, Ukrainian poet who took up the note of patriotic concerns that the Polish poets were consciously ignoring at the time; the second was that the poem was launched by a writer who was perhaps most representative of those blamed by Morstin, Zawodziński, et al. for having forgotten true patriotic concerns.

A Ukrainian poet worrying about Poland's fate was certainly not an everyday phenomenon. While the reborn Poland's political goals—at least initially, as envisaged by Józef Piłsudski—were anticipating a strong chain of independent states between Russia and Germany, the reality turned out quite differently. Although as an officer Malaniuk certainly understood Piłsudski's decision to retreat from Kiev and to negotiate peace with the U.S.S.R. (in view of the sheer numbers of the Soviet troops and the increasing pressures of the Allies), he must have felt as disappointed and bitter as all the other Ukrainians who, after Petlura's desperate attempt to continue the fight alone, had to lay down their arms. Piłsudski's personal apologies in front of the officers interned in Szczypiorno, although acknowledged "chivalrous" by general Bezrouczko, did not change bitter reality. Malaniuk, now a stateless poet, spent the next few years in Czechoslovakia studying at the Agricultural Academy in Podebrady, where he obtained the diploma of a hydrotechnical engineer. In 1923, he returned to Poland, where he secured a professional position.

In the post-war reality of Poland, where, as elsewhere in Europe, growing national and nationalistic sentiments made the situation of national minorities more and more difficult, the Ukrainians did not have much reason to rejoice and to feel much solidarity with the Polish Republic.

Thus, it is easy to understand that the appearance of Malaniuk's poem created a minor literary sensation. Perhaps the most emotional reaction was that of Karol W. Zawodziński, whose lamentations about the lack of Polish patriotic poetry were quoted above. In his survey of Polish poetry for the year 1923 in *Rocznik Literacki* (Literary Yearbook), Zawodziński recalls his feelings upon reading Malaniuk's poem in the following—perhaps somewhat hyperbolic—passage, in which he declares that the role of Malaniuk's poem in Polish literature is almost as important as that once played by Mickiewicz's poem on St. Petersburg in Russian literature:

With a feeling of shame I read in *Wiadomości Literackie* two years ago a magnificent poem by E. Malaniuk on Warsaw being guarded by the monument of Mickiewicz, masterly translated by Tuwim. It took a foreign poet (about whom we will in the future reminisce as Pushkin did about Mickiewicz: "he lived among us, among a tribe alien to him . . .") to give expression to fears and worries which should never cease in the heart of every Pole.¹⁰

Tuwim and Zawodziński were not alone in their enthusiasm for Malaniuk's poetry. The best evidence of this is the publication of a selection of Malaniuk's "most beautiful poems" (as characterized by Marian Jakubiec in his review) translated by Czesław Jastrzębiec Kozłowski, who, next to Tuwim, was considered the best translator of Slavic poetry. The selection entitled *Hellada stepowa* (Warsaw, 1936) was very favourably reviewed by both Polish and Ukrainian critics.¹¹

While the poem on Warsaw shows the widening of the scope of Malaniuk's poetic and ideological concerns, it did not, in any way, make his commitment to his national ideals less deep and intense. On the contrary, the realization of many analogies between Ukrainian and Polish history and literature may have been a contributing factor to the process of the crystallization and deepening of his historiosophical ideas—ideas highly emotional, romantic, even Messianic, perhaps, but increasingly guided by high moral principles. Not unlike the Polish poet Mickiewicz, who never despaired in the time of Poland's defeat and who prophesied rebirth, so did Malaniuk faithfully and stubbornly create, re-create, and perfect his vision of his Ukraine—the "Steppe Hellas." He never once despaired, but indefatigably continued his poetic "tale"—all through his years of exile, in the free Poland between the wars, then in Poland overrun by the "hordes" both from the East and from the West, in Germany after the war, and later in New York, where he died in 1968, highly regarded—both in the West and in Ukraine—as one of the leading Ukrainian writers.¹²

One of the tributes highlighting aptly, even if highly rhetorically, the unique role of Evhen Malaniuk in émigré Ukrainian literature was paid the poet by Professor Constantine Bida in his introductory address at the Commemorative Evening at the University of Ottawa in the spring of 1968. It seems most appropriate to quote it here on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Evhen Malaniuk's death and the tenth anniversary of the death of Constantine Bida, in whose honour this volume is published:

Even if the Ukrainian emigration after World War II would not have had any other poet than Malaniuk, still, the creative production of this poet, essayist and historiographer would have justified the existence of the whole Ukrainian emigration between the wars.¹³

Notes

1. E. Malaniuk, *Proshcha: Knyha poezii sioma*, included in Evhen Malaniuk, *Poezii v odnomu tomi* (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society and Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1954). The poem on Mickiewicz's monument was published in this volume as Part IV (pp. 245–46) of the cycle of five poems under the common title "Misto de mynaly dni." The individual poems (untitled) are dated 1923, 1929, 1930, 1932 ("At Mickiewicz's Monument"), and 1933. Because of the unavailability of sources, I was unable to establish whether the poem on Mickiewicz's monument was ever published before the war. The perusal of the extant issues of the journal *Visnyk* (where Malaniuk usually published his poems at that time), undertaken by Professor George Luckyj, whose kind help I gratefully acknowledge, produced negative results. I would like to express my thanks to Professor Zoya Yurieff of New York University for lending me all her volumes of Malaniuk's poetry and other pertinent materials. My thanks are also due to Dr. S. Stupkiewicz of Warsaw for the text of J. Tuwim's Polish translation of the poem and for other Polish materials.

2. E. Malaniuk, *Stylet i stylos* (Podiebrady: n.p., 1924).

3. E. Malaniuk, *Zemlia i zalizo* (Paris: Trysub, 1930).

4. Upon his arrival from Czechoslovakia in 1923 to settle in Warsaw, the poet did not feel any particular community with this city; on the contrary, he characterized it as "black and inhospitable" in a poem dated 1923 in the cycle "Misto de mynaly dni" (cf. Malaniuk, *Poezii v odnomu tomi*, Part IV, p. 243).

5. E. Malaniuk, *Pamiętnik Warszawski* 3, no. 4 (1931):3–25.

6. L. H. Morstin, *Pamiętnik Warszawski* 2, no. 7 (1930):3–9.

7. Morstin, p. 5.

8. L. H. Morstin, *Przegląd Współczesny* 10, no. 110 (1931):446.

9. *Wiadomości Literackie* 10, no. 12 (1933):1.

10. K. W. Zawodziński, *Rocznik Literacki* 3 (1934):47–48.

11. It would be sheer speculation to look for any direct echoes of Malaniuk's poem in the writings of his Polish contemporaries. Nevertheless, the fact remains that several poets who earlier proclaimed the need to be free from patriotic duties started voicing more serious concerns. At the same time, some of them produced works showing an understanding of the tragic fate of the Ukrainian people, especially during the recent dramatic events, when they stood

on the threshold of true independence. A good example is Kazimierz Wierzyński, an important young poet who around that time abandoned the earlier youthful, vitalistic style of such volumes as *Wiosna i wino* (Spring and Wine) or *Wróble na dachu* (Sparrows on the Roof) and published much more serious works: *Gorzki urodzaj* (Bitter Harvest, 1933) and *Wolność tragiczna* (Tragic Freedom, 1936). This latter volume contained the poem "Piosnka Ukraińska" (Ukrainian Song).

12. See, for example, C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, *The Ukrainian Poets 1189–1962* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 411.

13. See Orest T. Pavliv, "Deiaki aspekty natsionalistycznego svitohliadu Evhena Malaniuka" (Some Aspects of the Nationalistic Worldview of Evhen Malaniuk), in *Evhen Malaniuk v 15-richchia z dnia smerti* (Evhen Malaniuk on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Day of His Death), ed. Oksana Kerch (Philadelphia: America, 1983), p. 85.

Periphery Against Centre:
Hamlet in Early Soviet Ukrainian Poetry¹

The question of Shakespeare's impact on the Slavic world looms in importance above all others dealing with Western influence on the cultural and artistic life of these nations.

—Constantine Bida, "Shakespeare's Entrance into the Slavic World"²

Constantine Bida's assertion about the importance of Shakespeare for the Slavic world has a particular application for Ukrainian literature. More than simply a method of broadening aesthetic sensibilities or awarenesses, the use made of Shakespeare in Ukrainian literature has invariably been tied to important junctures in Ukrainian history and politics, as well as culture. The appropriation of Shakespeare by way of translations, adaptations, and performances and by the use of themes and images in Ukrainian literature may be considered (following the polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar) not only the "periphery's" "interference" in the dominant literary system, but, moreover, often a direct challenge to the "centre"—the current ideological and aesthetic assumptions.³

Shakespearean works are thus more than a rich source of images, structures, and themes for Ukrainian literature. Incorporated into a new setting, they become what Jean Howard and Marion O'Connor have called "a site of . . . struggle conducted through discourse."⁴ Such a process is, as Even-Zohar observes, an "indispensable" object of study "for an adequate understanding of how and why transfers occur, within systems as well as among them."⁵ While the latter aim is beyond the scope of this short study, the former, an examination of the site of struggle conducted through discourse, will be the object of this paper, which will examine the particular case of a "peripheral" literature—Ukrainian (peripheral, of course, because of its status as a national literature in a stateless Ukraine).

Bohdan Rubchak pursues the matter of periphery challenging centre beyond the usual Bakhtinian interest in young, peripheral genres and forms, when he addresses the notion of literature as a whole as a

"peripheral system with regard to central social systems." Literature, argues Rubchak,

in itself can aspire to social centrality either directly or indirectly or by pretending that it is a basic component of a given central social system. Such cooperation of literature into a system ordered according to social hopes and expectations frequently occurs when that central social system suffers a crisis and must be ideologically resuscitated, as for example in totalitarian systems, revolutions, émigré groups . . . or enslaved nations, whose own social systems are either incorporated in the new central systems of the occupier or liquidated by him altogether.⁶

In the case of Ukrainian literature, the use made of themes from *Hamlet* appears to be linked to a need to affirm Ukraine's uniqueness and, in particular, her separateness from the dominant literary system—Russian—by emphasizing Ukrainian ties with and an affinity for the West. Shakespeare in Ukrainian literature thus becomes an oblique challenge to the prevailing conservative aesthetic and, especially, to the political system; the use of themes from his work becomes a means of attacking "canonicity,"⁷ both political and literary.

Because of the constrictions of space, I will examine only one period, the 1920s and early 1930s, and will centre on the work of three writers employing themes or images from *Hamlet*: Maksym Ryl's'kyi, Mykola Bazhan, and Evhen Pluzhnyk. One could, however, easily examine the 1840s, the turn of the century, the "thaw" of the 1960s, or even the 1980s—the period of *glasnost'*—for a similar use of Shakespeare.

Hamlet, translated into Ukrainian at least fourteen times, has, not surprisingly, proved to be one of Shakespeare's most popular plays in Ukraine and the inspiration for much literary creativity from Taras Shevchenko to Lina Kostenko, as well as the subject of literary criticism, for, as in the West, *Hamlet* is regarded as the quintessentially Shakespearean play. Two major areas of interest for Ukrainian writers may be delineated: the image of the mad Ophelia—the woman who feels too much—an image that appears, for the most part, in nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature, and the image of the delaying intellectual, Hamlet—the man who thinks too much. It is this latter image that becomes the focus of early Soviet Ukrainian writers' interest: their treatment of Hamlet acts as a barometer of their times and of their specific ideological orientation.

During the 1920s, the heady days of the early Soviet period, Ukrainian writers turned to *Hamlet*, as they also turned to Western European models of art and theories of aesthetics, marking the culmination of a long process of "Europeanization" that had begun long before in the nineteenth century. The 1917 Revolution, as George S. N.

Luckyj has pointed out, freed Ukrainian writers from "the constant preoccupation with the problems of national freedom, revolution, and self-fulfillment"⁸ for a study of aesthetic questions. Ukrainian nationalism, the first power in Ukraine after the removal of the Tsar, brought liberation from the strict censorship that had forbidden Ukrainian books and newspapers.⁹

Thus, in the years after 1917, Ukrainian writers worked in a new creative space. The variety and complexity of different aesthetic viewpoints are reflected by the burgeoning of different literary groups: the Symbolists, Futurists, Neoclassicists, *Lanka* (the Link), and VAPLITE (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature). The excitement of creating a new culture is evident in the heated polemics about art and culture and in the distinguishing features that were to make it "proletarian."¹⁰ The poet and translator Maksym Ryl's'kyi expressed this excitement in the following way:

But to love or not to love that
Which grows around us and in us ourselves,
That creates us, and that we ourselves create,—

Only a blind man, in whom instead of blood
Black ink flows in a dead stream,
Worries about questions like this.¹¹

The leader of VAPLITE, Mykola Khvył'ovyi (1893–1933), a poet and short-story writer, initiated the important Literary Discussion (1925–1928), "the last free debate to take place in Soviet Ukrainian literature,"¹² involving hundreds of writers who debated literary theory and ideology through pamphlets and books, at meetings, and in the lecture hall. Khvył'ovyi's response to the times and to the creation of a Ukrainian Communist culture was two-pronged: to orient his fellow-writers to the "mighty civilization" of Goethe, Darwin, Byron, Marx, and Shakespeare—the West; and to free Ukrainian literature from what he perceived as a dead centre—the Russian influence.¹³ The two approaches were closely intertwined. Khvył'ovyi urged his colleagues to look to Europe and its literary traditions, because, as an idealistic Communist, he felt that it was necessary to directly and unreservedly reject "the 'Russian road.'"¹⁴ Russian literature, he claimed, was "passive–pessimistic," had "reached its limits and stopped at the crossroads."¹⁵ In no event should Ukrainians follow the path of Russian literature:

This is absolute and unconditional

The essence of the matter is that Russian literature has weighed us down for centuries. Being the master of the situation, it accustomed our psyche to slavish imitation. For our young art to nourish itself [on Russian

literature] would mean stunting its growth. Our orientation is toward the art of Western Europe, toward its style, toward its reception.¹⁶

In *Dumky proty techii* (Thoughts Against the Current, 1926), Khvyl'ovyi responds to the question "To which Europe should we look?" with the following much-quoted response:

Take whichever you like: past or present, bourgeois or proletarian, the ever changing one. For indeed, Hamlets, Don Juans, or Tartuffes existed in the past, but they also exist today; they were bourgeois, but they are also proletarian; you may think they are immortal, but they will also be capable of change.¹⁷

A similar sentiment was voiced by the avant-garde Ukrainian producer and director Les' Kurbas, who had staged the first Shakespearean production after the Revolution (*Macbeth*, 1920):

After a long epoch of Ukrainophilism, romantic admiration for the Cossacks, ethnographism, and modernism based on Russian patterns, we see in our literature, which has hitherto reflected all social moods, a vital and most important turning point. It is directed straight toward Europe . . . without any intermediaries or authoritative models. This is the only path for our art.¹⁸

As the historian Orest Subtelny correctly observes, it should be stressed that Khvyl'ovyi's (and Kurbas's) anti-Russianism "was not so much a product of Ukrainian nationalism as of revolutionary internationalism. Khvyl'ovyi was convinced that the global revolution would never succeed if one nation, in this case, the Russians, attempted to monopolize it."¹⁹ The method of achieving this goal, according to each literary group, was, however, very different from that of the "Khvyl'ovites"—the followers of Khvyl'ovyi.

Following Khvyl'ovyi's lead, the poet, scholar, and translator Mykola Zerov (1890–1941) suggested not only that writers look to the West, but that they should study the sources of Western civilization and culture. The participants of the Literary Discussion looked both to Western European literary forms and to its themes and subjects, thus "internationalizing" Ukrainian literature. The Neoclassicists, such as Zerov and Ryl's'kyi, were among those many Ukrainian writers employing Western literary subjects. Ryl's'kyi's poems, for example, are replete with references to Dante, Heine, Byron, Homer, and Shakespeare.

However, of all twentieth-century Ukrainian writers, Maksym Ryl's'kyi (1895–1964), poet, translator, and literary critic, was most influenced by Shakespeare, to whom he referred as an "actor, drunkard,

dreamer and thinker" in his poem "Shekspir" (Shakespeare), written in 1920. Often citing Shakespeare in his letters, Ryl's'kyi apparently even more frequently alluded to Shakespeare in conversation, so much so that he began to make fun of himself by frequently using the catchphrase, "You should read Shakespeare," even when it was not appropriate for the occasion.²⁰

Ryl's'kyi, "an unsurpassed master of the subjective lyric,"²¹ began his career as one of the very promising young Neoclassicists. George Luckyj has characterized Ryl's'kyi's early work as presenting a "static beauty of life."²² By the mid-1920s, however, Ryl's'kyi began to turn to social themes, and by the 1930s, his works became a "realistic presentation of the new socialist reality."²³

Rich in imagery, Ryl's'kyi's early poems are about love, nature, and art. In the poem "Shekspir," the speaker, Shakespeare, boasts of his "unvanquished downpour of words, / Love, torment, tenderness and rage / Characters [made] from steel and from silks," which have presented readers with "the eternal in the momentary."²⁴ As is evident in this poem, but also in his critical writings, Ryl's'kyi, the translator into Ukrainian of *King Lear* (translated in the early 1930s but not published until 1941) and *Twelfth Night* (also translated in the early 1930s but not published until 1950), and an avid sonneteer himself, admired the range of Shakespeare's poetic inventiveness.

The greater part of Ryl's'kyi's own poems written on Shakespearean themes appeared in the 1920s: for example, "Shekspir," "Falstaf" (Falstaff), and "Prynts Dans'kyi (pid khvyliu zneviry)" (The Danish Prince [Under a Wave of Despair]). The early poems are also (almost without exception) neglected by Soviet scholars. In the introduction to volume 1 of Ryl's'kyi's works, the critic Oleksandr Bilets'kyi even deems it necessary to defend the early poetry and speaks of the background of the "childish sickness of leftism" of the 1920s to which other writers were prone and which Ryl's'kyi avoided.²⁵

Ryl's'kyi wrote his early work during the exciting years when the Communist Party had not yet attempted to control cultural development, and when Ukrainian culture received state support, a period when artists and writers were conscious of creating a whole new cultural universe. It is at this time that Ukrainian writers turned specifically to the image of Hamlet. The use that they made of Shakespeare's character is an indicator of their aesthetic and political positions, and of the specific, rapidly changing politics of the 1920s and 1930s.

Ryl's'kyi's first poem on the *Hamlet* theme appeared in 1919 but has never been reprinted; it is not even found in the collected works published in 1960. Only M. S. Shapovalova reprints a single fragment.²⁶ Whether the full text seemed to undermine the political orthodoxy of Ryl's'kyi is matter for speculation. However, the fragment that has been

reprinted, Hamlet's exchange with Polonius (based on III.ii.376–382 of *Hamlet*), is clearly a significant one for Ryl's'kyi, who later laments the cutting of this scene in a production staged in 1955.²⁷ In this scene, Polonius, attempting to mollify the mad Prince, agrees with every change of his mercurial mind. Thus, a cloud resembles a camel, a weasel, a whale. Ryl's'kyi substitutes a swallow for the weasel, suggesting a progression of creatures that represent three elements—land, air, and water. The arbitrariness of Hamlet's shifts in interpretation mirrors the arbitrariness and certain chaos of Ryl's'kyi's political surroundings when nothing seemed secure, nothing was stable; for in 1919, the Bolshevik revolution turned into civil war. Total chaos engulfed the country; authority collapsed as six different armies (the Ukrainian, Bolshevik, Whites, Entente, Poles, and Anarchists) fought on its land.

This same episode from *Hamlet* is taken up once again in a lyrical poem of the same period: "Iak Hamlet prydyvliaiusia do khmar" (Like Hamlet I Scrutinize the Clouds), published in the collection *Pid osinnymy zoriamy* (Under Autumnal Stars, 1918; reprinted with only half of the original poems in 1926). Here Ryl's'kyi clearly uses *Hamlet* as a vehicle for considering his own art. Comparing himself with Hamlet, and his unco-operative pen with the "fawning, lying" Polonius, Ryl's'kyi considers the gap between the observing eye and the final inadequacy of art, which attempts to capture all that is seen:

Like Hamlet I scrutinize the clouds,
And my pencil, my treacherous Polonius,
Pours into the word a strange magic,
The red gleams of the holy sun.
Don't listen, prince, to the unnecessary words
Of the fawning-lying nobles,
Why would the clouds need this noisy song?²⁸

The transition in Ryl's'kyi's work or, to employ the interpretation of Soviet scholars, the moment when he "freed" himself from his earlier "Parnassian" poetic self²⁹ came in the mid-1920s and is marked dramatically by a poem on another Shakespearean theme, "Falstaf." In the poem, Hal, now Henry V, ascends the throne and seriously addresses his people, when a fat, unsavoury figure with a red nose pushes his way through the thick crowd. Falstaff, "the old man," is repudiated by Henry. In the second stanza, Ryl's'kyi similarly repudiates his own youth; his past is an "unclear blot," which unashamedly calls itself his friend. Like Henry, Ryl's'kyi orders his past (here one reads his political and literary follies) to "Go away! I don't know you."³⁰

Near the end of the period in 1929, Ryl's'kyi wrote his last poem on the *Hamlet* theme: "Prynts Dans'kyi (pid khvyliu zneviry)," published

in *Homin i vidhomin* (Echo and Reverberation) and, according to Shapovalova, one of Ryl's'kyi's "saddest poems."³¹ Ryl's'kyi pours out his bitter thoughts about what he believed were unjust critical remarks and a lack of understanding of his poetic quest. Contemplating an escape from such a despondent spiritual state, he turns to thoughts of *Hamlet*. His desire to flee, to cease thinking, to eat and sleep is a type of non-being. But merely voicing these sentiments seems to turn the tide. For, as *Hamlet* reminds us, to sleep and feed is to be but a beast (IV.iv.35):

Let's say it's really thus. These are nerves, perhaps spleen . . .
 Escape to the Crimea! Not think, eat and sleep!
 But remember: Where is Polonius, o Prince?
 He's at dinner.
 He's eating?
 He's being eaten.³²

The mordant, cynical reminder of the fate of Polonius suggests what passivity and inertia could lead to.

Ryl's'kyi's poems chronicle the rise and fall of Ukrainian writers' attempts to challenge the centre during the period of the early Soviet regime. A restrained, philosophical writer deeply rooted in Western classical traditions, in 1929 Ryl's'kyi despaired for all writers, as well as for himself, for by 1927 a pro-Soviet organization, the VUSPP (the All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers), was formed to combat the spread of nationalist ideas (or the perception of such ideas) in literature. The Communist Party's control and surveillance of literary activities had begun. By 1932, all literary organizations in the U.S.S.R. would be dissolved.

A more trenchant attack on passivity, and particularly on *Hamlet*, was soon to appear in the 1930s under Stalinism when the centre reasserted control. Typical of this period is Mykola Bazhan's (1904–1983) poem "Smert' Hamleta" (The Death of *Hamlet*). Bazhan, like Ryl's'kyi a poet and translator, overcame (according to Soviet scholars) "certain formalistic and constructivist tendencies" from the 1920s and became a socialist realist.³³ As L. Novychenko remarks, "Smert' Hamleta" clearly establishes Bazhan as a Party poet at an opportune time;³⁴ Lazar Smul'son speaks of the poem as Bazhan's entry into the "path of devoted service to the socialist fatherland."³⁵ In fact, Bazhan was probably responding to a specific danger, for the critics O. Levada and A. Chepurniuk publicly criticized Bazhan's early work for its "nationalist themes," for its failure to "measure up to the demands of the working class,"³⁶ and for its failure to realize "the catastrophe which awaits those who have departed from the broad path of the proletarian revolution"³⁷

not judge Hamlet, the humanist of the Renaissance; rather, the poet judges "hamletism," which is the psychosis of division. The type of Hamlet Bazhan criticizes, says Surovtsev, develops ethically from inactive indecision to a submission to evil. Bazhan's Hamlet is a type of man possessed of "decadent morals and psychology."⁴² Decadence, ambiguity, doubt, passivity, and ideological impurity are thus all connected in both Bazhan's and Surovtsev's conception of Hamlet. Similarly, the "definitive" article on Bazhan in volume 2 of *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (The History of Ukrainian Literature), published in 1957, thus describes Bazhan's poetic effort:

The poet has painted a sharply satirical portrait of the typical image of a hideous bourgeois-intellectual-individualist with his depraved morals, spiritual ravagement, false humanity

"Hamletism" in such circumstances worked with fascism as the cynical position of "neutrality."⁴³

Thus, Bazhan's poem seems to directly support the Stalinist waves of repression of the 1930s and appears to concede the necessity of the earlier purges of the 1920s, which were directed against "inactive, opportunistic, lax, or otherwise unfit members" of the Party.⁴⁴ By the 1930s, the purges were aimed at those who had made "ideological mistakes" or who had "ideological failings" (i.e., those who challenged or disagreed with Stalin).⁴⁵ Hamlet and hamletism thus become symbols of those who were purged: the intellectuals, who refused to accept simple responses to complex questions, who hesitated to carry out or support Stalin's terror. Khvyl'ovyi, who regarded "the Octobrist simplifiers and vulgarizers"⁴⁶ as the real enemies of proletarian art and who proposed the following watchword, committed suicide:

Our watchword is: reveal the duality of the man in our time, show one's true self If you are a revolutionary, you will often split your "I." But if you are a citizen or a servant, let us say, in one of the departments, you are in fact a Gogolian hero even if you feel like the king of all creation.⁴⁷

The reception of the tragedies of Shakespeare—both their interpretation and their performance—fell to its lowest nadir in the history of the Soviet Union. Very little material survives from this time. In criticism, Marx's and Engels's love of Shakespeare is cited in all preliminary remarks. Western views of *Hamlet* are labelled as Freudian, Protestant, melancholic, romantic, or aesthetic⁴⁸—that is, as simplifications; and "shallow psychological interpretations"⁴⁹ are vigorously attacked, while Soviet views are lauded for stressing the plebeian origins of Shakespeare, emphasizing the "realism" of his work, the use he made of folk elements (songs, superstitions, rites, and fables), and the

class struggle of the Renaissance. A. A. Smirnov's *Shakespeare: A Marxist Interpretation* summed up the view of Soviet scholars of the 1930s: "The basic characteristics of Shakespeare's point of view and style—his militant, revolutionary protests against feudal forms, conceptions, and institutions—remained unaffected throughout his life."⁵⁰

The "chronicles" fared best in Soviet criticism of the 1930s,⁵¹ while the comedies often fared worst, in part since the pluralistic thinking suggested by humour, and particularly by the polysemy of puns, as well as the virtues of compromise and compassion found in Shakespeare's comedies⁵² are not only antipathetic but also subversive and dangerous in such a political climate. As Frederick Ahl has observed, "Pluralistic thinking has a tendency to discover humor because it is ever aware that a given word or idea does not belong exclusively to one field of reference or to one context."⁵³

But pluralism is exactly what was being rooted out in the late 1920s and 1930s. It is thus not surprising that Zerov had to be purged, for he argued that "we must protest against group-mindedness, group-patriotism, and group-exclusiveness. We must protest against the belief that in a literary group we have the sole criteria of truth."⁵⁴

In complete opposition to Zerov's and Khvyl'ovyi's views were those of Stalin, who, in a letter to Lazar Kaganovich, the then-Secretary of the CP(B)U, warned that the extreme views of Khvyl'ovyi and his followers must be controlled; only then "is it possible to transform the rising Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian social life into a Soviet culture and Soviet social life."⁵⁵

While Ryl's'kyi more obliquely indicated his awareness of the awful fate of his contemporaries, the poet Evhen Pluzhnyk (1898–1936), later a victim of the purges, directly responded to Bazhan in a courageous but quixotic gesture. Solitude, melancholy, division of the soul, the struggle of the powerless individual born in the wrong time—these are some of the dominant themes of the personal, lyrical poetry of Pluzhnyk. He approaches the subject of the Danish prince in a poem entitled "Khodyt' . . . Vse khodyt'" (He Walks . . . Always Walks), which appeared in his last collection of poetry ironically entitled *Rivnovaha* (Equilibrium), written in 1933–1934 but first published in 1943. This collection contains a number of poems on historical and literary personages, and it is through them, for the most part, that Pluzhnyk examines the idea of metaphysical balance. In two reflective, lyric poems, "Ia vzhe natomyvsia" (I'm Already Tired) and "Dushe moia! Ty znov stoish na hrani" (My Soul! Once Again You Stand On the Brink), Pluzhnyk analyzes his ennui and the division in his own soul. This psychological–philosophical subject matter also reappears in the poem about Hamlet, which resembles these latter poems in tone as well as in subject matter. The poet sees the prince constantly walking, lost in thought, undecided whether to be or not to be. Just as Pluzhnyk

attempts to revive himself, to spur himself to action in "Ia vzhe natomyvsia" and "Dushe moia," so the speaker in "Khodyt'" urges the Danish prince to take control of himself and to quickly finish his forgotten soliloquy. The speaker recognizes that his time, like Hamlet's, is out of joint ("My God! What an age!").⁵⁶ Not believing that Hamlet is a "fascist" or a "collaborator" (Pluzhnyk directly addresses Bazhan in his poem) with evil because of his indecision, Pluzhnyk ultimately pleads for sympathy for the prince, who is not unlike the poet: not attuned to his time, powerless, suffering, struggling, alone. The poem ends with the uncertainty of being.

Pluzhnyk's poetry is concerned with metaphysics and his apprehension of the poet's relationship to life, and his society is individualistic, free, independent, and, moreover, sceptical—a dangerous attitude to uphold at this time.⁵⁷ The 1930s did not allow the luxury of Pluzhnyk's position. Only complete commitment was permitted, and so Pluzhnyk, like many others, was "purged."

As Pluzhnyk was writing his last few poems, the "new man" of Soviet society, its "positive hero," was being enshrined.⁵⁸ In complete opposition to Hamlet, the new Soviet hero was single-minded and determined, subordinating everything, even his personal life, to the great ideal.⁵⁹ A close study of the models of early Soviet Ukrainian literature ironically reveals a fear of the collective on the one hand and, on the other hand, a desire "to demonstrate the indispensability of the leader and the Party."⁶⁰

Moreover, when it comes to the nationality issue, Soviet formulaic literature, both poetry and prose, reveals the centre's reassertion of control. As Myroslav Shkandrij points out, the influence of Russian civilization and the influx of Russian specialists into various countries are defended as "a historically progressive phenomenon,"⁶¹ as, for example, in Ivan Le's *Roman mizhhiria* (A Novel of the Lowlands, 1929), reprinted in enormous numbers in 1930, 1931, 1932, 1934, and at regular intervals since.⁶²

Non-formulaic literature, or literature that portrays life "as something irreducible, unforeseeable, something that escapes the grasp of the most sensitive and intelligent individual or Party," challenges the "tidy right-wrong equation that the formula requires."⁶³ In addition to humour, subversive elements of fiction included "'excessive' delving into psychology Soviet critics developed a theory of personality that refused to admit that the psyche was a battleground of conflicting forces; instead they insisted on the 'positive hero' being calm, composed, stern, and very deliberate in his actions."⁶⁴

When the worst sin of society is individualism, the vacillating Hamlet, so divided in his soul, and perhaps the most individualistic of Shakespeare's creations, must, by logical extension, become the object of attack.

It should be noted parenthetically that the negative view of Hamlet and of Shakespearean works as a whole in the 1930s is not a new phenomenon. Earlier, Tolstoy had criticized Shakespeare for the lack of balance and harmony in his works, taking as his starting point a didactic theory of art. As Bida has pointed out, morality, not aesthetic considerations, prevail in Slavic literatures.⁶⁵ "The deeply complex Hamlet-like individuals" are not admired by Slavic literati,⁶⁶ for whom "the role and the significance of the poet is . . . conditioned by his relationship to society in which he lives, to his nation, and to his country."⁶⁷

Also at the back of this conservative aesthetic is Lenin's central article "Party Organization and Party Literature" (1905), which still today forms the basis of Soviet literary policy. Espousing a pragmatic theory of literature, Lenin argues that "one cannot live in a society and be free from that society. The independence of the bourgeois author, artist, and actress is merely a pretended independence from the money-bag, from the bribe, from being kept."⁶⁸ Literature must be subordinated to the Party and to the government and should be used as a weapon of the socialist state. Like Tolstoy before him and Stalin after him, Lenin's concept of literature is utilitarian and didactic.

The equating of Hamlet with hamletism was not seriously or significantly challenged until the 1970s, when, in a reversal of the notion of hamletism (now firmly entrenched in both the Ukrainian and Russian lexicon), the Danish prince suddenly became a symbol of clear moral vision, of a positive affirmation of life and of high principles. By 1980, the leading Ukrainian poet Lina Kostenko was safely able to write in her collection of poetry entitled *Nepovtornist'* (The Unrepeated):

And what of Shakespeare? He lives in Hamlet.
And this is the only answer for us: to be!
Whether mankind travels the cosmos, or with oxen,
Whether it has a goose quill in its hands,—
The mighty of immortal staves sail through Eternity,
Like icebreakers on the Dnipro.⁶⁹

Gorbachev's "new era of *glasnost'*," while calling not for change but rather for reinvigoration, has, however, suggested a possible rearrangement of the relationship between centre and periphery. Not only is Hamlet once more regarded positively, but such writers as Khvyl'ovyi, Pluzhnyk, and Zerov, delegated to obscurity since the 1930s, have now been "rehabilitated" and moved to the centre. The canon of Soviet Ukrainian writers has been reassessed and the writers themselves reranked. Khvyl'ovyi and Pluzhnyk are, among others, now considered as marking the apex of early Soviet Ukrainian literary life.

The use of *Hamlet* by Soviet Ukrainian writers reveals the impossibility of Soviet cultural policy, which cannot permit Ukrainian

Soviet writers to be culturally independent of Moscow yet politically and economically tied to it. Appropriated by all sides of the ideological, national, and aesthetic debates of the last 150-odd years of Ukrainian history, Shakespeare and his *Hamlet* show no signs of exhausting their use to Slavs.

Notes

1. An earlier, much condensed version of this paper was read at the Canadian Association of Slavists' Annual Conference (Halifax, 1981).
2. Constantine Bida, "Shakespeare's Entrance into the Slavic World," in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1962), p. 340.
3. Itamar Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory," *Poetics Today* 1, no. 1-2 (1979):287-310. The periphery as the zone of transformation or renewal is an idea earlier explored by such scholars as Victor Shklovskii, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Claudio Guillén.
4. Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O'Connor, "Introduction," in *Shakespeare Reproduced; The Text in History and Ideology* (New York and London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 7-8.
5. Even-Zohar, p. 303.
6. Bohdan Rubchak, "Images of Center and Periphery in the Poetry of Taras Sevcenko," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 16, no. 41-42 (1984-1985):85-86.
7. I use "canonicity" in the sense that Even-Zohar uses the term.
8. George S. N. Luckyj, "Ukrainian Literature: The Last Twenty-five Years," *Books Abroad* 30 (1956):133.
9. George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine 1917-1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 25. Luckyj's is the seminal book dealing with the Literary Discussion. More recently, *Radianske literaturoznavstvo*, no. 6-7 (1989), has begun to publish source material dealing with this period.
10. Oleh S. Il'nytskyj, "Futurist Polemics with Xvyl'ovyj During the Proletfront Period," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 16, no. 41-42 (1984-1985):232.
11. Maksym Ryl's'kyi, "Epokhy de b dusheiu vidpochyt'," in *Tvory*, 1 (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavdnytsvo khudozhn'oi literatury, 1960), p. 246. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
12. Luckyj, "Ukrainian Literature," p. 134.
13. Ie. F. Hirschak, *Na dva fronta v bor'be s natsionalizmom* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1930), pp. 55-56. Quoted in Luckyj, *Literary Politics*, p. 99.
14. Mykola Khvyl'ovyi, "Apolohety pysaryzmu," in *Rostriliane*

vidrodzhennia: Antolohiia 1917–1933, ed. Iu. Lavrinenko (Paris: Instytut Literatski, 1959), pp. 827–28.

15. Khvyl'ovyi, "Apolohety pysaryzmu," p. 828.
16. Khvyl'ovyi, "Apolohety pysaryzmu," p. 828.
17. Mykola Khvyl'ovyi, *Dumky proty techii*, in Lavrinenko, pp. 812–13.
18. Les' Kurbas, *Robitnycha hazeta*, September 23, 1917. Quoted in Luckyj, *Literary Politics*, p. 26.
19. Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 392. A similar point has been made by Oleh Ilnytskyj about the Ukrainian Futurists, who believed that "a national orientation was reactionary by definition," and that the "orientation of *Ukrainian* culture had to be international." See Ilnytskyj, p. 233.
20. Bohdan Ryl's'kyi, "Mandrivka v molodist' bat'ka," *Literaturna Ukraina*, January 17, 1969, p. 105.
21. Luckyj, "Ukrainian Literature," p. 136.
22. Luckyj, *Literary Politics*, p. 124.
23. Harri Jünger, ed., *The Literatures of the Soviet Peoples* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1970), p. 380.
24. Maksym Ryl's'kyi, "Shekspir," in *Tvory*, 1, p. 173.
25. O. I. Bilets'kyi, "Tvorchist' Maksyma Ryl'skoho," in *Tvory*, 1, p. 19.
26. M. S. Shapovalova, *Shekspir v ukrains'kii literaturi* (Lviv: Vyscha shkola, 1976), p. 172.
27. Maksym Ryl's'kyi, "'Hamlet' u vykonanni Serhiia Balashova," in *Tvory*, 10, p. 409.
28. Quoted in Shapovalova, p. 172.
29. Bilets'kyi, p. 14.
30. Maksym Ryl's'kyi, "Falstaf," in *Tvory*, 1, p. 233.
31. Shapovalova, p. 175.
32. Maksym Ryl's'kyi, *Homin i vidhomin* (Kiev: Derzhvydav, 1929), p. 19.
33. Jünger, p. 127.
34. L. Novychenko, "Na mahistraliakh chasu," in Mykola Bazhan, *Poezii ta poemy*, 1 (Kiev: Dnipro, 1965), p. 14.
35. Lazar Smul'son, *Etudy pro ukrains'ku radians'ku poeziiu* (Kiev: Derzhavne literaturne vydavnytstvo, 1940), p. 84.
36. O. Levada, "Notatky pro tvorchist' Mykoly Bazhana," *Radians'ka literatura*, no. 7 (1933):206. Quoted in Luckyj, *Literary Politics*, p. 123.
37. A. Chepurniuk, "Poeziia vyshukanykh katastrof idealistychnoi filosofii," *Chervonyi shliakh*, no. 1 (1934):186. Quoted in Luckyj, *Literary Politics*, pp. 123–24.
38. Shapovalova, p. 192.
39. Subtelny, p. 422.
40. Iurii Ivanovich Surovtsev, *Poeziia Mikoly Bazhana* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1970), p. 177.
41. Mykola Bazhan, "Smert' Hamleta," in *Poezii ta poemy*, 1, p. 130.
42. Surovtsev, p. 177.
43. Ie. S. Shabliovs'kyi, ed., *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, 2 (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1957), p. 655.
44. Subtelny, pp. 417–18.
45. Subtelny, p. 418.

46. Khvyl'ovyi, *Kamo hriadeshy* (Kharkov: Knyhospilka, 1925), pp. 36–37.
47. Khvyl'ovyi, *Kamo hriadeshy*, pp. 37–38.
48. See, for example, S. I. Rodzevych, "Viliam Shekspir," in *Viliam Shekspir; zbirka stattei* (Kharkiv: Mystetsvo, 1939), p. 15.
49. O. I. Bilets'kyi, "Introduction," in *Viliam Shekspir*, pp. 8–9.
50. A. A. Smirnov, *Shakespeare: A Marxist Interpretation*, trans. Sonia Volochova et al. (New York: The Critics' Group, 1936), p. 27.
51. O. M. Borshchahovs'kyi, "Shekspir i ukrains'kyi teatr," in *Viliam Shekspir*, p. 142.
52. See my *Comic Justice in Shakespeare's Comedies* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg Studies in English Literature 91, 1980).
53. Frederick Ahl, "Ars Est Caelare Artem (Art in Puns and Anagrams Engraved)," in *On Puns: The Foundation of Letters*, ed. Jonathan Culler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 32–33.
54. Iurii Klen, *Spohady pro neokliasykiv* (Munich: Ukrains'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1947), p. 22.
55. Joseph Stalin, Letter to Lazar Kaganovich, April 26, 1926, quoted in Luckyj, *Literary Politics*, p. 68.
56. Evhen Pluzhnyk, *Vybrani poezii* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1966), p. 210.
57. Volodmyr Derzhavyn, "Liryka Evhena Pluzhnyka," in Evhen Pluzhnyk, *Try zbirky* (Munich: Instytut literatury im. Mykhaila Oresta, 1979), p. 232.
58. See Myroslav Shkandrij, "Fiction by Formula: The Worker in Early Soviet Ukrainian Prose," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 7, no. 2 (1982):47–60, for a detailed study of early Soviet prose models of the new Soviet man. For source material, see *Pervyi vsesoiuznyi s'iezd sovetskikh pisatelei 1934* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1934).
59. Shkandrij, p. 49.
60. Shkandrij, p. 51.
61. Shkandrij, p. 53.
62. Shkandrij, p. 48.
63. Shkandrij, p. 53.
64. Shkandrij, p. 56.
65. Constantine Bida, "Shakespeare and National Traits in Slavic Literatures (The Problem of Interpretation)," in *Proceedings of the IVth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1966), p. 279.
66. Bida, "Shakespeare and National Traits," p. 280.
67. Bida, "Shakespeare and National Traits," p. 279.
68. V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 8, 3rd ed. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo Partizdat, 1930–1935), p. 389.
69. Lina Kostenko, "Dz'obata khata dobuvaie den'," in *Nepovtornist'* (Kiev: Molod', 1980), p. 173.

Other Literatures

The Narrator Unlocks His Narrative Hoard:
Gnomic Verses as Thematic Keys to *Beowulf*

Little has changed since Robert Burlin noted more than a decade ago that "gnomic passages in *Beowulf* have attracted relatively little comment and enthusiasm."¹ This may well be due to the long-standing belief that such passages "are conventional stop-gaps or roundings of periods" or generalizations "without intended applications."² Several studies do present admirable discussions of some gnomic statements in *Beowulf*, but their authors limit themselves to comments on the artistic value of a small number of these. They are seen, for example, as structurally useful "to close and dismiss an incident already described" or to form "a bridge connecting two particulars"; they are considered conceptually valuable because they provide "secure resting points, which comfortably evoke the ideal norms of [the audience's] society and [its] world"; or they are described as helping the narrator perform "the important function of channeling audience response" since they articulate "certain timeless truths."³ One scholar, Kemp Malone, has isolated all Beowulfian gnomic passages, categorizing each as "worldly," "philosophical," or "godly";⁴ he has not, however, distinguished between those used by the narrator as he develops his story and which are external to it, and those found internally, uttered by the characters within the story. Also, since he is interested in demonstrating the "appropriateness of thought to setting," he limits his comments to the relationship between gnomic verses and the immediate context in which they appear.

What seems to have escaped critical notice, then, is the structural importance of the narrator's gnomic utterances taken as a group—that is, how they are employed by him outside the narrative, as periodic statements in the more detached terms of traditional wisdom of those central themes around which his narrative is built. Two of Malone's gnomic categories, "worldly" and "philosophical," permit the narrator to mark out two of his tale's major themes—the heroic precepts to be obeyed in the warrior's search for glory, and the belief that all things earthly are fleeting and doomed to disappearance. A third group,

Malone's "godly," aids the narrator in giving his story—set historically at a time prior to the conversion to Christianity of the peoples involved—a Christian perspective; carefully positioned maxims on God's firm guidance of the universe and on His fatherly love of men help the narrator lead his audience to find some meaning in the seeming waste of men's heroic efforts in an unstable and transient world.

Although the nature and the extent of the influence of classical rhetoric on Old English poetry and on *Beowulf* in particular have yet to be determined with any authority, critics agree that most Anglo-Saxon scholars would have had at least a cursory knowledge of its basic tenets.⁵ The treatment afforded to maxims and proverbs by classical rhetoricians offers, therefore, an interesting point of departure for a study of the function of gnomic verses in Old English poetry. Classical treatises on rhetoric discuss the *sententia* or *proverbium* structurally, as a part of the argument or proof, the central section of the discourse, and stylistically, as a verbal ornament. Quintilian, in his *Institutio oratoria*, includes it among authorities drawn from external sources to support a case ("Adhibebitur extrinsecus in causam et auctoritas," V.xi.36), explaining that proverbs have acquired immortality because they have carried conviction of their truth to all mankind ("neque enim durassent haec in aeternum, nisi vera omnibus viderentur," V.xi.41).⁶ In his *Institutiones*, Cassiodorus, praising Quintilian and Cicero as master rhetoricians, summarizes their views on rhetorical argumentation. He lists as one of the arguments through the syllogism the sententious enthymeme, that is, one whose authority is increased by the use of a maxim ("sententiale est quod sententia generalis adicit," II.ii.13).⁷ Quintilian also discusses *sententiae* in his treatment of style, stating that they are regarded by many as the most important stylistic ornament ("quem plerique praecipuum ac paene solum putant orationis ornatum," VIII.iv.29). While he admits that they successfully fulfill their primary function of ending a period effectively, he castigates the contemporary fashion of ending all periods with them. The influential fourth-century *Rhetorica ad Herennium* treats them only as a figure of diction, the ninth in a list of forty-five. However, in its description of them (IV.xvii.25), it looks back to Aristotle's *Rhetorica*, where they are viewed not stylistically, as ornaments, but structurally, as one of the two general modes of persuasion.⁸

While these influential rhetoricians all agree on the possible important structural role for the proverb in an argument, one has to wait until the early thirteenth century for prescriptions on the structural uses of proverbs in poetry. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, in his *Poetria Nova*, for example, suggests opening a poem with a proverb pointing to some general truth connected with the poem's theme, if one desires a particularly brilliant beginning ("Si pars prima velit majus diffundere lumen"); he goes on to explain: "Supra thema datum sistat, sed spectet

ad illud / Recta fronte; nihil dicat, sed cogitet inde." (Let the *sententia* stand above the given theme, but glance straight at it; let it say nothing outright, but develop its thought therefrom.) He then concludes: "Sic opus illustrant proverbia." (In the aforesaid way, *sententiae* may lend splendor to the work.)⁹

Since no manuals of Anglo-Saxon poetics have come down to us (if any ever existed), analysis of poems themselves must provide us with contemporary views on the use of gnomic verses. The structural function of gnomes in shorter Old English poems has long been recognized. In his discussions of the *Wife's Lament*, the *Wanderer*, and the *Seafarer*, W. W. Lawrence attempts to demonstrate the integrity of the poems and the structural importance of the gnomic passages; he speaks also of "the characteristic of Anglo-Saxon thought to connect the particular and the general, to make a man's experience point a moral as well as adorn a tale."¹⁰ In their edition of the *Wanderer* (London: Methuen, 1969), T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss also have stressed the centrality of gnomic wisdom to any discussion of theme and structure in the poem. What they term the poem's "second movement" (ll. 58–110), with its many gnomic verses, comprises "the wisdom the *anhoga* has gained, the *ar* (cf. l. 1) which he experiences: an understanding of the ways of Providence in regard to the whole created world" (p. 92). Since the "first movement" (ll. 6–57) recounts the experience that the *Wanderer* has meditated upon to achieve this wisdom, and since the concluding statement (ll. 112–115) is implied several times in the second movement as well, "all the parts of the poem are bound together into a splendid unity" (p. 94).

The study of the *Beowulfian* narrator's structural use of gnomes should properly begin with the category containing the largest number of his sententious statements, that concerned with heroic life and values. This group of verses is particularly significant because, as Fred C. Robinson points out, "The virtues of the *Beowulfian* heroes are extolled and are even held up as models for behavior in the poet's own day."¹¹ Most of these verses occur in the midst of key scenes, confer a blessing on the hero for the course of action he pursues, and are generally introduced by the formula "swa sceal" or some variation of it. Such are ll. 1534–1536, the narrator's commendation of *Beowulf's* undaunted will to fight, despite the failure of *Hrunting* during the struggle with *Grendel's* mother:

	So ought a man to do
when in fight	he thinks to win
lasting glory;	he cares not at all about his life. ¹²

Coming as it does at the moment when *Beowulf's* heroism leads him to regain the advantage, this gnomic comment is an organic part of

the narrative, inextricably bound up with the action the narrator is describing, rather than a sententious introduction or a generalizing afterthought. Other clear examples of this pattern are ll. 2166–2169, during Beowulf's presentation of gifts to Hygelac, where the narrator comments on the proper treatment of kinsmen, or ll. 2600–2601, during the dragon fight, where the narrator praises Wiglaf's decision to go to Beowulf's aid. In fact, in his analysis of the verbal patterns marking the poem's major structural divisions, Bernard F. Huppé lists no sententious introductions and only two "sententious transitions" and two "concluding sententia" used by the narrator, although he employs some twenty gnomic comments.¹³

Two similar passages, positioned close to the beginning and end of the poem and containing in germ form all the narrator's other gnomic pronouncements on heroic conduct, deserve more attention. In the first, ll. 20–25, after introducing Scyld's successor to the audience, the narrator says:

So ought a young man by his good deeds, bring it about,
by giving splendid gifts while in his father's bosom,
that later in his life, stand by him
dear companions, when war comes
his people serve him; by praiseworthy deeds
among all races a man shall prosper.

These verses map out the route to heroic achievements and to recognition of a man's heroic stature by others—liberality in gift-giving and performance of praiseworthy deeds—a route to be gloriously followed later by Beowulf. Such conduct is the basis not only of heroic life, but of heroic society as well. The narrator's last gnomic utterance, ll. 3174–3177, goes on to describe the rewards to which a lord is entitled at the end of a life dedicated to this heroic code:

as it is fitting
that a man his friend and lord honour with words,
love him heartily, when he must forth
from the body be led.

Thus the poem concludes with a reference to the homage of love and praise earned by the lord during his lifetime, which the retainer is duty-bound to render him not only throughout life, but also at the moment of death. Since both passages correspond to the youth–age opposition, J.R.R. Tolkien's view of the basic structure of the poem is especially relevant:

It is essentially a balance, an opposition of ends and beginnings. In its simplest terms, it is a contrasted description of two moments in a great

life, rising and setting; an elaboration of the ancient and intensely moving contrast between youth and age, first achievement and final death.¹⁴

It is certainly no coincidence that the first and last gnomic verses of the poem deal with two such movements in a hero's life; they are undoubtedly meant to mark out clearly at least one of the poem's structural principles.¹⁵

If the "opposition of ends and beginnings" of heroic life provides the poem with its general narrative structure, the theme of the disappearance of all heroes and earthly glory is certainly of equal structural importance. As Tolkien writes:

[The] author is still concerned primarily with *man on earth* rehandling in a new perspective an ancient theme: that man, each man and all men, and all their works shall die. . . . The worth of defeated valour in this world is deeply felt. As the poet looks back into the past, surveying the history of kings and warriors in the old traditions, he sees that all glory (or as we might say "culture" or "civilization") ends in night.¹⁶

The gnomes in Malone's "philosophical" category support the theme that the hero's hold on life and heroic joys is tenuous at best. His earthly days are only loaned to him, and death comes mysteriously and inexorably to deprive him of those rare comforts in his troubled days, the company of kinsmen and the joys of the hall.

Burlin provides an excellent discussion of one gnomic passage in this group, ll. 1002–1008, and of its structural implications. The hall joys with which it deals constitute "the prevailing symbol in Old English poetry for human happiness, the health and comfort of human society, and even the best available analogue for eternal bliss." After describing the damages to Heorot caused by the Beowulf–Grendel encounter and Grendel's death-flight, the narrator adds:

Death is not easy
to flee from —let him try to do it who will—
but he must seek out the place made ready
for all soul-bearers, for children of men,
for earthdwellers, the place forced upon him by necessity,
where his body, grave-fast,
sleeps after the feast.

Burlin offers the following interpretation: "the feasts of the meadhall receive their intensity from an awareness of what lurks outside, be it monster or man." These verses then underscore "the alternation of human security and fear, comfort and agony, the inexorable rhythm on which the poet has chosen to organize his narrative."¹⁷

Another excellent example of gnomic verses from this category occurs at the beginning of the battle with the dragon. As the dragon, aroused by Beowulf's battle cry, rushes towards him, Beowulf strikes, only to find that his sword fails him. The narrator ends this initial phase of the combat with the phrase "so must man give up the days that are loaned to him" (ll. 2590–2591). All the poetic richness of "loaned days" appears in the light of the preceding verses, which show those very weapons and forces on which the hero has depended up to this point now abandoning him. For "the first time" (l. 2573) in Beowulf's life, Fate, which in the hero's own words "often spares an undoomed man if his courage holds good" (ll. 572–573), does not support him. Time, on Beowulf's side up to now, turns against him; his shield protects him "for a shorter time" (l. 2571) than he desires, and his sword, "weapon splendid in past times" (l. 2586), also fails. The audience is led to focus on the fleetingness not only of life, but also of all those earthly things in which a hero trusts.

The joys of the earth are treated in much the same fashion several hundred lines later, when after Beowulf's death his people come to view the body of their ring-giver of former times. By the corpse lie the signs of Beowulf's achievement, the body of the dragon and from the plundered hoard those objects that call to mind the feasting and treasure-giving in the hall: "vessels and cups, / plate lay there and prized swords" (ll. 3047–3048). Around Beowulf are gathered his hearth companions and Wiglaf, his last kinsman. The narrator's gnomic comment at this point stresses the littleness of all earthly achievements and joys in the face of death:

It is a mystery then where
 a hero famed for courage may reach the end
 set by fate for his life, when he cannot longer,
 the man with his kinsman, dwell in the mead-hall.
 (ll. 3062–3065)

Death comes unexpectedly to all men; courage and reputation cannot extend earthly life beyond the time allotted by fate. Nor can the joys of the mead-hall and the bonds of kinship survive the moment of death.

Like death, age also robs the hero of his joy, but more cruelly, since the hero himself sees his powers waning. Such is the case of Hrothgar. When Beowulf is about to depart for his homeland after cleansing Heorot, the narrator presents a Hrothgar restored once again to all his magnificence. As "protector of earls" (l. 1866), he is the giver of fabulous treasure as a reward to the Geats, "often praised" (l. 1885) by them on their return journey. The narrator reminds his audience of Hrothgar's noble lineage (l. 1870), his wisdom (l. 1874), and his "faultlessness in all

things (l. 1886). But Hrothgar is now old, and the narrator points up the contrast between the young, victorious Beowulf, "gold-proud" (l. 1881), off to other adventure, and Hrothgar, "grey-haired" (l. 1873), robbed by old age of the joys of his strength. The scene concludes with a gnomic generalization on the effects of old age on all men:

That was a peerless king,
in every way faultless, until old age took from him
the joys of strength, old age which has often harmed many.
(ll. 1885–1887)

These verses, like all those in this category,¹⁸ do indeed present a bleak view of human possibilities, and, if the narrator were limited to such, as are the characters in his story, there would be no reason for him not to despair, the very reaction that the "wanderer" experiences when he meditates on the course of events in this world: "Therefore I can think of no reason in the world / why my mind does not become dark" (ll. 58–59).

The narrator clearly experiences the poignancy of this world view and feels a strong sympathy for his characters, who must live with such a limited understanding of the human condition. As Linda Georgianna writes in connection with the description of Hrethel's death:

... the reference to Hrethel's choosing God's light [l. 2469] seems painfully ironic, for it points to the one choice which the poet believes could help Hrethel, were it available to him. But Hrethel cannot choose "God's light." In fact he chooses death precisely because as a pagan hero he cannot hope to transcend the need for earthly joy. If the poet's choice of the phrase suggests that he holds out some slight hope for Hrethel (as he does later for Beowulf), the same phrase also reminds us that Hrethel imagines none for himself.¹⁹

However, the narrator, as a Christian, knows that another perspective exists in which to view his characters' lives and the unfolding of their histories. Although this Christian perspective, together with the consolation it brings, does not "arise out of the material of the story itself," as Tolkien claims,²⁰ nevertheless, it clearly transforms the narrator's vision of it, providing an understanding of life and history that his characters do not have, but which will enable his audience to make some sense of the tapestry he has placed before it.

Once again, a series of gnomic verses underlines this vision, the first occurring early in the poem after the horror of Grendel's attacks has been described. To alleviate their sorrows, the Danes seek comfort from the "gastbona" in their heathen temples, unaware of the true God.²¹ In two gnomic statements, the narrator then contrasts the terrors of the

hopeless man doomed to hell's fires with the joys of the man who after death may seek God's embrace:

Woe to whoever is fated
in terrible affliction to thrust his soul
into the fire's embrace, hope for no comfort,
expect no change. Well is the man
who after his death-day may seek the Lord
and in the Father's embrace find peace. (ll. 183–188)

While these verses speak of joys and sorrows after death and do not comment on the solution of earthly problems, the thought of a fatherly God welcoming a son back to his bosom after death cannot help but sustain a man through a life of hardship.

The narrator also comments on the involvement of God in the affairs of living men. On the night of the battle with Grendel, the Geats guarding the hall slip into an uneasy sleep, certain they will never see their homeland again. After indicating that God granted them success against the monster, the narrator goes on:

It is a well-known truth
that mighty God has always controlled
mankind's history. (ll. 700–702)

From the image of God as a loving Father offering men the shelter of His embrace, the narrator moves to that of God as a mighty King benevolently ruling over all men and granting victory as He sees fit.

In the light of these two gnomic passages, we may approach a third passage, ll. 2858–2859, which occurs at the moment of Beowulf's death. The ten "traitors" come out from their refuge in the wood to find Wiglaf seated beside Beowulf's corpse, trying to revive his lord. The attempt fails, of course, says the narrator, as does any attempt to change "anything of the Ruler's," because "God's judgment would control the deeds of every man, / as it still now does" (ll. 2857–2859). The narrator provides no reason for what has just happened to Beowulf, or for what will happen to the Geats, except to say that God's judgement is somehow involved, as it is in the deeds of all men. The meaning of this fleeting world may escape men, but, as proverbial wisdom reminds the audience, there is meaning nevertheless to be sought for in God, sheltering Father, All-Ruler, and just Judge.²²

Gwyn Jones summarizes beautifully the central thematic concerns of *Beowulf* in the following words:

Joy and sorrow are the common lot, and under heaven, men must make of their lives what they can. For they enjoy the light and

warmth and company in the hall but for a while, and outside is the encompassing dark. "Presently it must happen that death will overcome you, warrior." On earth there will remain the good name of a good man; beyond earth a refuge in the Father's arms.²³

Through a careful selection and positioning of gnomic sayings in his unfolding tale, the narrator has furnished his audience with his own masterful summary of those thematic strands that bind the parts of his narrative into a poetic whole.

Notes

1. Robert Burlin, "Gnomic Indirection in *Beowulf*," in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, for John C. McGalliard*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores W. Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 41.
2. Blanche C. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon* (1914; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1966), pp. 33, 72. This lack of interest in the use of proverbs seems general in literary studies. See, for example, Donald B. Sands, "The Uses of the Proverb in the Middle Dutch Poem *Reinaerts Historie*," *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975):459, and Roland Richter, "Proverbs in Context: A Structural Approach," *Fabula* 15 (1974):212.
3. The quotations are taken, respectively, from S. O. Andrew, *Postscript on Beowulf* (Cambridge, 1948; reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), p. 93; Burlin, p. 42; and John D. Niles, *Beowulf: The Poem and Its Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 204. A sympathetic treatment is also provided by T. A. Shippey, "Maxims in Old English Narrative: Literary Art or Traditional Wisdom?" in *Oral Tradition Literary Tradition*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1977), pp. 29–46.
4. Kemp Malone, "Words of Wisdom in *Beowulf*," in *Humaniora: Essays in Literature, Folklore, Bibliography*, ed. Wayland D. Hand and Gustave O. Arlt (Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1960), p. 194.
5. See, for example, René Derolez, "Anglo-Saxon Literature: 'Attic' or 'Asiatic'? Old English Poetry and Its Latin Background," in *English Studies Today*, 2nd ser., ed. G. A. Bonnard (Berne: Francke, 1961), pp. 93–105; Jackson J. Campbell, "Adaptation of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature," in *Medieval Eloquence*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 173–97; and Clair Wade McPherson, "The Influence of Latin Rhetoric on Old English Poetry" (Diss., Washington University, 1980).
6. H. E. Butler, ed., 4 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921).
7. R.A.B. Maynors, ed. (1937; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).
8. Harry Caplan, ed., Loeb Classical Library (1954; reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); note *a*, p. 292, points out the similarity to the Aristotelian view.
9. Edmond Faral, ed., *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1958), ll. 126, 132–133, 142. The translation is that of Jane Baltzell

Kopp, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 37–38.

10. W. W. Lawrence, "The Wanderer and the Seafarer," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 4 (1902):477. Lawrence also refers to the "Old Norse passion for pointing a moral" through gnomic passages in the sagas; see "The Banished Wife's Lament," *Modern Philology* 5 (1908):390. Although the sagas in their written form are much later than *Beowulf*, it is interesting to note their use of gnomes; see Richard F. Allen, *Fire and Iron: Critical Approaches to Njal's Saga* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), p. 47.

11. Fred C. Robinson, *Beowulf and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), p. 12. For an opposed view, see Harry Berger and H. Marshall Leicester, Jr., "Social Structure as Doom: The Limits of Heroism in *Beowulf*," *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 37–79.

12. Translations from *Beowulf* are my own and are based on the readings of Fr. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1950).

13. Bernard F. Huppé, *The Hero in the Earthly City: A Reading of Beowulf*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 13 (Binghampton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1984), pp. 92–95. E. G. Stanley discusses one gnomic passage as one of the poet's methods for "advancing the action and tarrying, breaking off and linking," terms that he feels best describe a major aspect of the poet's narrative art, but he does not extend this view to other gnomes. E. G. Stanley, "The Narrative Art of *Beowulf*," in *Medieval Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1978), p. 80.

14. J.R.R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 22 (1936):245–95; reprinted in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), p. 81.

15. Three more gnomic statements by the narrator celebrate the heroic code, albeit indirectly. One, ll. 1940–1941, on ignoble behaviour for a queen, appears in the description of Hygelac's court on Beowulf's return; the other two, ll. 2275–2277 and 2764–2766, on the evil of hoarding and hiding treasure, a crime against the code's injunction to distribute treasure generously, occur during the narrator's description of the dragon and the hoard.

16. Tolkien, p. 73.

17. Burlin, p. 46.

18. Two other gnomic passages, ll. 1057–1062 and 2291–2293, fit into this and the next category to be discussed. See note 22 below.

19. Linda Georgianna, "King Hrethel's Sorrow and the Limits of Heroic Action in *Beowulf*," *Speculum* 62 (1987):850.

20. Tolkien, p. 73.

21. For a summary of many of the most often held interpretations of this section, see Margaret E. Goldsmith, *The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 170–78. A. P. Campbell presents a most satisfying interpretation of the time element surrounding this famous crux; see his "The Time Element of Interlace Structure in *Beowulf*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1969):425–35. Also, Robinson's persuasive and elegant discussion of the author's

presentation of Christian and pre-Christian time provides an excellent context in which to view this passage (*Beowulf and the Appositive Style*, pp. 29–31).

22. Three other gnomic passages complete this group: ll. 1057–1062, on God's power over the race of men and the need for man's forethought and understanding, appear during the feast in Heorot after Grendel's death; ll. 2291–2293, on God's shielding friendship, are used to explain the escape of the thief from the dragon's detection; l. 3056, on God as men's protection, occurs in the discussion of the curse on the dragon's hoard.

23. Gwyn Jones, *Kings, Beasts and Heroes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 60–61. Much the same thematic patterns are found in the *Wanderer*, which ends with what has been termed "an assurance of steadfastness" by John C. Pope, "Dramatic Voices in the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*," in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of F. P. Magoun*, ed. Jess B. Bessinger and Robert P. Creed (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 172. Pope, however, does not seem to see more in this final statement than a "significant way of closing the frame." In their *A Guide to Old English*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 253, Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson underscore the true structural significance of the Christian poet's concluding "terse comment" in the *Wanderer*. What "some modern readers have found [to be] a troubling imbalance in the monologue and authorial comment" is not an imbalance at all, because "the Christian invitation to consolation," coming as it does after the wanderer's eloquent but fruitless search for life's meaning, "requires no elaboration." Although in *Beowulf* those gnomes expressing the Christian world-view may be few and may "not arise out of the material," as Tolkien would have it (p. 73), their structural significance is not in any way diminished.

Quixotic Sail: Conrad's Prison World

I

It is hoped that lapses in this essay will be forgiven, if cause can be shown for anyone to forgive anything ever. If such cause be not found, may the errors enhance the gloomy relish we need in Conrad's world where no pardon interferes with doom. More than enough has been said about guilt in Conrad, which does not exist. The purpose here so open to error is that of tracking some Conradian themes to their end: mainly the explicit themes of betrayal, exile, and defiance, and the implicit theme of forgiveness.

Joseph Konrad Korzeniowski was carried into exile at the age of five, from the non-existent country of Poland, into the Russia that he afterwards portrayed as a formless immensity controlled by an irresponsible power. He shared the Russian exile of his parents, convicted leaders of Polish nationalism, whose political zeal had scanted parental prudence. Soon they both died from the effects of exile, leaving their son orphaned (but in Austrian-held Poland) at the age of eleven. At the age of seventeen, he exiled himself for the rest of his life.

Deprived at first of childhood, then of his parents, he was liable, as their son, to Russian conscription for an indefinite future. He chose to put behind him his parents' cause, their homeland, religion, and oppressors. He chose unusual exile, in merchant ships, and so suffered a loss of caste; yet the sea saved him. He came oversea to England, where at the age of twenty-eight he was married to an English girl in every way unlike a Polish Catholic noble and was devising a fictional world in a foreign language.

It need not be said that the author's imagined world, a sequel to his experience, is an actual effect of that experience. There was in Conrad's life none of the guilt imputed to him by readers of *Lord Jim*. Genius is not a schedule, and the number of efficient causes for any event is too great to be humanly known. But, efficient cause aside, it *can*

be said that his life as conceived by the author may serve as exemplary cause of his art. Between life and art the analogy will be true or false: either a duly proportioned analogy, which is rooted to existence, or a metaphor, which is not. There are existential analogies of many kinds, as there are fanciful metaphors of many kinds; by the difference between the two conceptual orders is tested the truth of imagination.

Joseph Konrad Korzeniowski was named from a false work of imagination, a metaphor. He was christened a double-agent and betrayer by his father Apollo Korzeniowski, poet and conspirator, who borrowed the name "Konrad" from the poet Adam Mickiewicz, who had borrowed it from Byron. In the poem *Konrad Wallenrod* by Mickiewicz, the Polish hero is kidnapped in childhood by the Teutonic Knights, becomes the Grand Master of that Order, then with fine patriotism betrays the Order to destruction. The tale of the false knight bore an epigraph from Machiavelli: *bisogna essere volpe e leone*. It set a Polish fashion of heroes willing to sacrifice themselves and any "minor" principles for the patriotic cause. This kind of Machiavellianism was one of three ways of self-conception that a Pole might adopt under the yoke of foreign oppression. Mickiewicz went on to the other ways, when Polish critics rebuked the immoralities of betrayal. Some of his critics forgave him because he had written the insidious poem in exile; its fault, they said, was due to his false position among foreigners. Be that as it may, the poem *Konrad Wallenrod* seems to have furnished not only a name but also an analogy to the Polish author Joseph Conrad writing among foreigners.

Two other ways adopted in Polish captivity or exile were those of Christian forgiveness, as instanced by Słowacki and Towiański. The poet Słowacki translated the Spanish play by Calderón, *La Vida es Sueño* (Life Is a Dream), in which a Polish prince, mistreated with drugs and exile by his father, succeeds in rebelling and can kill his father; due order is attained when father and son forgive each other. Towiański, for his part, proclaimed a Polish Messianism whereby the suffering of Poland took meaning as a redemption of Europe from its Faustian disarray. Of course, the image of a Polish people crucified with and for Christ has a lot more force, in our age of Auschwitz and the Gulag, than it had in Conrad's time; indeed, the renewal of Poland after the holocaust is startling enough to raise doubts about natural and historical necessity. But neither of the ways of forgiveness was chosen by Conrad. Perhaps, like his imagined Razumov in his eighth novel, he was more intent on keeping a Kantian moral autonomy, which might seem to have been betrayed, with the best intentions, by his parents and their comrades, aided by the Russian foe. What Conrad did show in his youth was a concern like that of James Joyce later—to evade commitments that might shackle him; to attain such freedom as an artist might require.

Conrad chose a singular response to Polish captivity and exile. Named from a book, he chose for his alter ego another knight from another book: the worthy Quesada, who names himself "Don Quixote" after reading still other books. Here is found Conrad's own revolution. When Cervantes wrote, when Malory was dead, Christendom abounded in real orders of chivalry: the Knights of Malta, of Santiago, of Calatrava, to name but a few. Even the Jesuits, who educated Cervantes and Calderón (besides Jean de Brébeuf and René Descartes), came into being as a knightly order, as cavaliers of Christ, as a priestly analogue of the Order that had blazoned the sails of Columbus. But what captured the imagination of Europe was the addle-pated Knight of La Mancha, the humour of Cervantes, the noble antithesis to the wretched vaunting of Faustus and the illuminated plodding of Descartes. Now Conrad bore the arms of La Mancha with a difference. He left out the fun. From the dream-play of Calderón he added the most sombre motto, spoken by the prince in deepest existential doubt: "A man's worst crime is his having been born." This line forms the epigraph to Conrad's second novel. The Conradian hidalgo fights without the reconciliation and forgiveness of Calderón, without the awakening and absolution allowed by Cervantes; constantly defiant in defeat, he knows no *dénouement* except death: "la mort sans phrases," as a French mariner would say. This rare device of Conrad's accords uniquely with his singular choice of exile, when he takes his Don afloat.

Conrad's urge to the sea was called "Quixotic," as he tells us. It was a book-born dream stirred by Cooper, Marryatt, and Hugo. There is no sailor in all of Conrad's fiction who has a career as rough as Conrad's own twenty years, during which he was cheated, shanghaied, mocked, stranded, injured, and blown up. He survived calamity in ten of his seventeen ships, and only in three did he make more than one deep-sea voyage. He succeeded brilliantly, to please the uncle who supported him, although he was often bored. At the age of twenty-one, after illegal voyages in the French fleet, he was a "British" ordinary seaman; at the age of thirty, he was a captain whose owners paid extra insurance to humour him when he felt like exploring a dangerous route. From nautical records it appears that twice, at least, he was offered steady employment in a shipping line, which he rejected. His career was like none other in the vast British fleet, from which he drew more regular models for his fiction. Like these, he learned at sea the pride of craft, the skilful defiance of the elements, the unforgiving triple rule of vigilance, solidarity, and discipline. He disdained sloppiness either in ships' rigging or in dress ashore (where he was dubbed "the Russian count"). Luck, and bad health, checked his last eighteen efforts to get another command at sea; but almost to the last he rejected the easy life in steamships and displayed a Quixotic devotion to the lost cause of sail.

II

Although, in a polyglot genius, the choice of language may seem of little moment, it is worth remembering that Conrad first intended to become a French officer at sea. Nothing could have been less Quixotic than British commercial triumph in the Victorian age; but it so happened that, instead of Frenchmen, matter-of-fact British captains found their way into Conrad's fiction, when finally he took up the artist's career that had been thwarted by politics and exile in his youth. British mariners at grips with perils of the craft were made exemplars of a Polish Quixotism, with a brilliance dazzling readers ever since. So deft was Conrad that the sailors themselves could admire in his works the sea they knew and their own subtleties which they had never suspected.

Some hint of imagination's limits, and its wiles, may lie perhaps in the fact that Conrad, who eschewed Polish Messianism and abominated the figure of Christ crucified, gave to some of his Quixotic sailors a sort of redemptive role. They are exempt from the fictional rules of his world; and a grim world it is.

Conrad wrote forty-four fictions in English, concerning some 240 exiles from many lands who range through the widest geography in fiction (prior to the jet age). The tales recount some 407 acts of betrayal. They are controlled by thirty versions of what may be called a Baroco plot, whereby after one mishap or disaster a person gets a second chance, the logic of which guarantees a final disaster. These traps are trimmed with eight variations of a romantic quartet, picked always from a range of nine characters, inclining not to a birth but to a death; from sixty-four pairings, only three offspring result (two of them in Conrad's first novel), whereas forty-three lovers are killed. Only a ghoul would go to Conrad's world for fun, unless it were to savour the artifice of tragedy.

Conrad's world comprises two orders and four classes of people, under an irresponsible controller. The physical order is replete with eloquent facts, not to be gainsaid. The moral order is a Darwinian devouring, opposed by self-spun value systems more or less congruent. Each of the two orders can be viewed under two aspects, either as really existing or as a delusive mirror for the human self. Thus, the physical world lays traps for the unwary, especially intruders, who misconceive illusion or reality; the moral order has analogous traps for misjudgement, especially for the exile caught between signal codes of value or its absence; and each of the two orders can affect perceptions in the other. The four classes of people are, first, the barely conscious, who are moved by instinct or by others' leading; second, the Darwinian strugglers for self-interest misconceived; third, the Kantian ranks who propose their own code and police each other; and fourth, the victims awakened and conscious of the vanity in conventions, who assert their

selfhood's autonomy despite uncertainties of universe and self. Among the four classes there is moral mobility and, of course, moral delusion, so that a person in one class can be misjudged by another (Kurtz, for instance, of the second class, who gets a glimpse of the fourth-class view when posing as third-class). In Conrad's world of switchback on kaleidoscope there is all the fun of despair, which is precisely what the pilgrim must sternly avoid, who needs to define his selfhood as absolutely in a world of unknowing as if he had invented it.

Moral mobility in Conrad's world is often the result of exile. Denied familiar limits, a man sees more readily that the self he conceives may not be what he *is*; it may be only a metaphor of his being and becoming, as Lord Jim finds out. Since not only the scope but also the very mode of self-conception are chosen by the will, either of these can be selected in error. A man sees in himself what he thinks he wants to see, or ought to see, in a mirror of his own or others' devising. (One such mirror shines back as "tragic fate," which is merely a double metaphor, if "tragedy" and "fate" have no form outside human self-conception.) Mirrored metaphors flash among the interacting four classes of people in Conrad's world, so as to give his 240 exiles almost as many shades of identity.

In such a world of confounded ends and views, betrayal comes as a matter of course, giving plots aplenty for the author. But for two functions the author needs a surrogate. Betrayals have to be managed so that the worst are done by the best people, as when Lord Jim scores 800 betrayals against Gentleman Brown's 50-odd. Again, betrayals must be assembled into Baroco plots of two-step disaster. The controlling functions are performed by Fate, an antique artifice adapted by Conrad. Fate, as Conrad's choice, has a meaning beyond his fictional purpose; he borrowed it from tragedy, the primitive device of group identity. Fate enjoyed a revival with the advent of muscular pessimism in Victorian England; but, more importantly, Fate was the sometimes benign agent of creative Chaos in the Romantic world of post-Hegelian Slavs. Conrad describes Fate, in his correspondence, as an immaterial neutral knitting-machine, and in his fiction (with English rather than Slavic hue), as an irresponsible malignity. Fate, at Conrad's behest, uses for a decoy the figure that men call Providence or God, which, because it is a puppet, may look like a mad or stupid god.

In Conrad's world, anyone reaching for God will spring a trap, as does Giorgio Viola with his English Bible; as does Captain Whalley with his English Bible, which leads like a *libro galeotto* down to the fifth circle of Dante's *Inferno*. (Whalley's tale ends with "She read no more that day," an echo of Dante's "quel giorno più non ve leggemmo avante"—V, 138.) And as God means a trap for the pious, it follows that God's official servants are fools or frauds. The main use of English parsons is to breed sons like Legatt and Lord Jim. Catholic priests, however,

display all the vices of belief, or undesirable conviction. (Here, by surprise, Conrad deserts his art, to wield a borrowed hatchet instead of his own irony.) Priests are absent from the two hearts of darkness adorned by freshly dead human heads, the Congo stockade of Kurtz's day and the Tower of London of Drake's day. But clerics are redundant in a world controlled by Fate, where there can be no sin and no forgiveness. Conrad's characters confess to each other, looking for mirrors, and must be content with sympathy. There is no forgiveness. The interdict is confirmed by parody, when Captain Marlow confesses Lord Jim's fault to a French lieutenant as to a *curé*, who declines to absolve Jim; in the matter of shriving, he is as useless as the Hermit of Coleridge to the Ancient Mariner.

The moral exiles endure great stress and are thus made intensely vivid to the reader, in Conrad's analogue of Hopkins' instress and Joyce's rebel epiphanies, which with Conrad's realism of detail helps to form compelling fictions. Yet, for all its vividness, Conrad's world excludes vast ranges of common experience. There is no gratuitous joy, no exuberance here, unless for setting up a victim. There is no justice, there being no justiciar for an obscurely Darwinian drama wherein the best people do not generate their kind and do not survive themselves. Without justice, there is no mercy, except for the victim primed by a second chance.

Without hope, there is no cause for begetting children, unless the Baroco plot requires a hostage; and, outside parental bonds, there is almost no love, in the galvanic reaction between struggling selves. But love, joy, mercy, children, justice, hope, and forgiveness are so commonly known to the real world that they inform most of the fictions of mankind. It would seem that Conrad's world, like that of *Konrad Wallenrod*, betrays a false imagination.

III

Conrad's exclusions are so unreal, whether by perverse instinct or by high thinking on his part, that they limit Conrad's world to a metaphor of the real, defaulting on proportioned analogy. Evil is a metaphor of the real. And still from the rules of this world that does not exist, Conrad has exempted some Quixotic sailors, in the vessels *Narcissus*, *Judea*, *Nan-shan*, *Victorieuse*, *Fire Queen*, *Douro*, *Sissie*, *Celestial*, *Otago*, *Hilda*, *Stella*, *Ferndale*, *Capricorn*, *Samaria*, *Bellona*, *Sapphire*, *Amelia*, *Superb*, and *Victory*.

What is the point of Conrad's extended metaphor? Some sight of this might possibly explain his reprieve of sailors. Perhaps the pageant of calamity is the complaint that mankind is left in the lurch, like Conrad himself in lifelong exile. Perhaps it is Conrad's bitter brag that

man can shift for himself, by creating and demolishing the self in a world where God is merely a nuisance. Conrad shows how it is done. He selects the enemy of existence, Fate regnant in chaos. He reveals the Baroco plots and betrayals. He opposes to these (in high and low drama with secret agents galore) an unknowing, camouflaged, autonomous ego. He draws anatomies of exile. On the metaphysical front, he advances a complex mirror-symbolism, relativistic enough to allow his moral projections. He has repeated the spiritual history of recent Western Man.

If Conrad's metaphorical world is a brag, it may remove the burden of mystery from the anguish to be complained of. It can certainly give comfort by way of drastic stimulus to action. As Conrad says often enough: "Action is consolatory. It is the enemy of thought and the friend of flattering illusions. Only in the conduct of our action can we find the sense of mastery over the fates" (*Nostromo*, Pt. I, chap. 6).

Comfort is needed in Conrad's catalogue of wrongs, which provoke a kind of retribution by feeling or by conventions of law, such as Legatt rejects and Kurtz forgets. What other action could be taken? In the real world, such wrongs would prompt at least three kinds of action, each to be weighed for more than a sense of mastery: they are vengeance, justice, and pardon.

Human vengeance is a metaphor of justice, not its proper analogue. What dead man can avenge his death? Human justice works not as an analogue of perfect knowledge, but as a metaphor of right existence. What judge can remove a wrong past? Human forgiveness is a proper analogue of that freedom from time and error that denotes creative infinity.

It is a paradox that none of these human acts is enough for human needs. Can fifty million dead exact fifty million lives from the one Hitler? Who may presume to forgive Hitler for fifty million deaths? The sheer scale of human wrong exceeds human power to avenge or forgive. As Dante and Chaucer state the paradox, humans require a more-than-human grace of existence.

It seems that the human self must be transcended, either (as some say) by denial of common human being or (as others say) by a common quickening of man to attain his proper reach. The way of common growth, pointed by Dante and Chaucer, entails a decent self-love and the freedom to forgive. The way of denial, for Conrad's élite victims, entails a disgust at human limits and precludes forgiveness. This way seems to have been chosen lately by Descartes, Hume, Hegel, Bakunin, Nietzsche, and others who reject the limits on human knowledge, perception, and will and have nothing to say to the common man.

For its modern pilgrim of absolute selfhood, the way of denial has all manner of delight; it leads to a discovery, not only that God is mad (as revealed in Samuel Johnson's tale of exile, *Rasselas*), but also that

God is the true enemy of being; to reach the selfward absolute under God's name or another, a man must kick away the universe, as does Conrad's Kurtz with a slightly different motive. Of course, like Kurtz, he becomes a "mortal god" himself, in the Promethean style of Faustus, Frankenstein, *Übermensch*—Aryan lords of the revels at Auschwitz, Nagasaki, and Haiphong.

The way of denial has other pleasures. There is black despair at human limits: no works of man can help him transcend himself, which belief consigns the common man to perdition unless he be masterful with the Absolute, as were Puritans with kings; but if the worst comes to the worst, he can always join the Devil's party, like Milton (after Blake). Such worthy confusion permits a fine frolic with sturdy guilt. From this comes the Romantic challenge to limitation, for the Byrons or Shelleys or Leopardis beckoning self-destruction, not recommended to the common man. It is patriotic in *Konrad Wallenrod*; in cosmic range, it provides the "nocturnal metaphysics" of the poet Tiutchev, which Conrad seems to have repeated unawares while pressing on through the dark as if looking for an Infinite resistance.

Now the way of denial is as old as Adam. It was always more easily perverted than the way of common growth, which at its best it complements. Its recent forms might seem, to Chaucer's pilgrims, like snobbish or hooligan parodies of *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Dostoevskii aligns the same forms with Satan's temptation of Christ and Karamazov. These forms may explain, however, why Conrad's fictional world could be so respectable while so unreal; and why Conrad exempted some common sailors from his fictional doom, as if from contagion of the shore. When a reader objected to the tale of Lord Jim—"it is all so morbid"—Conrad was right to inquire whether she was European at all; but the objection was so right, it may have come from a Europe far older than Conrad's.

In the way of growth, men commonly use justice, mercy, and forgiveness to each other, as illustrated by the Wife of Bath's Tale and the *Purgatorio*. Suited to paradox, men's finite acts are proper analogues, not metaphors, of the necessary endless Act beyond the whole scale of human wrong, to which the tale of Adam's fall and redemption bears witness. Forgiveness frees the butcher and the baker (and the sailor) to take their parts in creation beyond human conceiving, of a universe or of a host of universes, by free existence beyond question. Life is a dream indeed, like Calderón's forgiveness-play, a prelude to infinite day. No man knows why man was begun, nor what acts he is meant for beyond the chrysallis of time, since the free analogue of purpose cannot be known within time. It is mankind, not the forgiving Infinite, that needs a destiny.

The image of man as Quixotic victim tossing his crest at Fate would have cheerful appeal for the blacksmith and the farmer (and the

sailor) who use forgiveness. But Conrad's image of man as an unforgiving victim tossing his crest at Fate in a gloom without God is not an image to offer men who have to know what they do when they shape a plough or splice a halyard. This is an image for proud aristocrats (Dons, perhaps, or Pans), confining them without a Sancho in a prison which is not a chrysallis. It looks very like Dante's image of Hell, the ultimate exile, to which Conrad not seldom adverts.

Conrad sometimes uses the image of a world prison, which is used also by Sir Thomas More, whose head on a pike was a standing refutation of *Konrad Wallenrod*: patriotism, said the merry knight, is not worth a lie, even to avoid death. The world is a great prison of self-deceived mankind, from which everyone gets released by death in some form. An earlier prison image, in Boethius, confines all men who are ruled anywhere by Fortune, while those who serve Providence, which employs Fortune, are always free; and the same prison appears in the novels of Evelyn Waugh, wherein Providence is shown as working good through dire and hectic misfortune. It was from Chaucer's translation of Boethius that Conrad took the epigraph for his memoirs, *The Mirror of the Sea*, where sailors are spared his fictional Fate of the Baroco plots, as cleanly as might have been had he agreed with Hopkins, whose poems of shipwrecks in Conrad's time exemplified Providence.

IV

As an artist, Conrad achieved a magnificence not to be envied. Named from a metaphor, he wrought a metaphor, at a horrendous cost. He won his artistic freedom by the same means which gave analogical truth to his nautical imagining, but he had to begin his art at metaphysical point zero. He was in exile from Poland; Poland was in exile from the community and the map of Europe; Europe was in the metaphysical exile announced by Nietzsche, Bakunin, and Sartre. In Poland, Conrad had seen only the deaths of his father and his nation. "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate," he had written from a ship, taking the motto of Hell from the exile Dante. He was left with nothing but a self, a genius to preserve against ubiquitous adversity.

Not guilt, but resentful desperation, is the likely clue to Conrad's moral riddles. In three ways he tried to escape the prison of compounded exile without falling into the prison of selfhood. The first way was his choice of exile at sea, renouncing his father, country, and God; this way failed, by leading to lifelong exile ashore, but served the artist by loosing all claims. The other two ways were artistic. He tried, with continuous ironical comment, the way of denial but failed to detach himself sufficiently from the subject of his art and was condemned to metaphor. Proper detachment from the way of denial which he

documented was in any case impossible, since in the absence of God the subject of Conrad's art had to be himself. The third way was again by sea, with Quixotic sailors; this way succeeded, so that Conrad's sailors are mainly exempt from the fraudulent way of denial. In their selfless dedication to the craft, and in their steadfastness, Conrad found a gratuitous act of contemplation, on the sea as a mirror of the Infinite if not of God. In their steadfastness against ubiquitous power was confirmation of the Quixotic foil to Konrad Wallenrod.

Conrad's third way is illustrated by Lord Jim, who fails the act of contemplation before he is tested for steadfastness. And this same novel exemplifies the flaw in Conrad's art; his third way did not sufficiently redeem the metaphorical fault of his second way, so that Jim goes unforgiven. Conrad touches on the flaw when he seems to be making a crude distinction: the way of the shore is untrammelled self-assertion, the way of the sea is like a selfless quest for a hidden absolute—which incidentally describes a true work of art. Since he started from point zero, the power that Conrad showed in mastering his chosen ways as far as he did, while performing epic transmutations of time and space, can only be described as magnificent.

A simple comparison may serve to measure Conrad's achievement. Generations of Breton and other minstrels combined to weave, from Celtic myth and English and Scottish geography, the chivalric other-world of Arthurian romance, with its magically errant Christians; but the vaster, Baroco, and sardonic world of Conrad's real ships and self-decoyed exiles, neither Christian nor common, is wrought by Conrad's single imagination.

How much more power might he have released had he not been a rootless wanderer in a scattering age? How far he may have forgiven his parents, his country, and God for his lifelong exile is a question beyond human answering; but a Polish forgiveness allowed in his creation, as in Calderón's, would have strengthened his art enormously. The life of Conrad's art may be seen as a psychomachia of two cavaliers, Konrad Wallenrod and Don Quixote; but the Don was maimed at the outset by a blow from Calderón's Polish prince, as was Conrad himself by a blow from Polish history.

For imaginative power alone, Conrad may be called the equal of Dante and Chaucer, who did not write in foreign languages. Without his complication, Baroco and metaphorical contriving, and exclusion, everything shaped by these could be explained more simply, and merrily too. Exile, betrayal, and acts of Fate or Providence are all old stuff to Chaucer's pilgrims wrangling their way to Canterbury for the healing of sundry betrayals of spirit, reciting each day the old words *post hoc exilium*, after this our exile. In the widespread tradition of such common men, the figure of Christ crucified (so vehemently rejected by Conrad) is the supreme figure of exile: from Infinity, no less, and

betrayed. Conrad could have heard as much in London, from the poet Francis Thompson of "The Hound of Heaven": "All things betray thee, who betrayest Me." Existence graced by justice, mercy, and forgiveness in the sprouting county of Kent makes Chaucer and fellow-pilgrims (exiled and deceived though they be) livelier and kindlier than the pilgrims of progress Conrad exhibits in sombre metaphor.

The sea saved Conrad from the Russians, as perhaps from himself. If now and then he is fierce against God, as against Dostoevskii, mayhap he doth protest too much. His revolutionary Quixote is improved among common men on salt water, where metaphor gives way to modest but potent simile. His declared tribute to seamen, *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, tells not of doom but of a saving of a ship, by a crew depicted "in attitudes of crucifixion," led by a clear-minded captain despite themselves, and given the author's valediction. "Haven't we, together and upon the immortal sea, wrung out a meaning from our sinful lives?"

Which bears at least a hint of forgiveness, from some indefinite quarter. Like mankind's "mysterious origin" and "uncertain fate" in the Preface to the novel, it needed only a name to signify forgiveness and home.

"Fighting the Good Fight":
Victorian Hymn-Writers Take the Field¹

In her autobiography, Ann Taylor Gilbert recalls a conversation with the hymn-writer James Montgomery (1771–1854), during which she thought she heard distant gunfire and remarked upon it. He recognized thunder and replied, "yes, the artillery of Heaven!"² In the context of nineteenth-century hymnody, his quick-witted analogy is illuminating, because so many religious notions were confidently expressed in military terms. Poring over Victorian hymnals today, one is easily aware of the rhetoric of the church militant. Indeed, Victorian hymns are remarkably of the "Onward, Christian Soldiers" kind, full of clarion calls to arm for the good fight, and often set to vigorous tunes. Today's churchmen, however, seem uneasy with such strident language, so that many a staunch favourite of earlier generations is now seldom found in revised hymnals. This is not to say that scholarship has lost sight of them, for within the last decade Susan Tamke has examined the prominence of such bellicose image clusters in nineteenth-century hymns, and prior to that David Holbrook, among others, has bemoaned the literary deficiencies of Victorian hymn-writers.³ A century after the appearance of the Complete Edition (1889) of that Anglican favourite, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, one may be more dispassionate about the calibre of lyricism and more discerning about the extravagance of bellicose utterance. This essay examines the pervasive presence of military imagery in nineteenth-century hymnody, focuses upon some favoured motifs and representative writers, and finally outlines a few approaches that may explain the extraordinary resonance that such expression had for the period.

Although there is a veritable harvest of images of warfare in hymns of the period, the popular association of a language of violence and militancy with Victorian hymnody may be exaggeration. Some earlier and militant (even violent) hymns are linked with the Victorians simply because hymnody in general is perceived to be a Victorian phenomenon. In any case, as Rosemary Woolf in *The English Religious*

Lyric in the Middle Ages has argued, the Christian soldier motif has deep, intertwined roots in the Bible, liturgical writings, and Christian lyric poetry; she has shown, for example, how "the warrior-bridegroom became transformed into a mediaeval knight and lover" in Arthurian romance.⁴

For all the older links with poetry and the church, it needs to be stressed that within the Church of England, there was a major change of attitude towards hymns during the Victorian period—from antipathy to acceptance. As the hymnody historian Louis Benson has remarked, to love hymns in eighteenth-century Scotland was to be accused of heresy, but in England it was to be convicted of that worse thing, "enthusiasm."⁵ The hymns of the Wesleys, Watts, and Cowper constituted a vital part of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival; at the turn of the century, however, only Dissenters were zealous about hymnody. The Church of England gave at first only grudging recognition, and, well into the Victorian period, high churchmen continued to regard hymns as unhealthily protestant or fanatical. The admission of hymns into Anglican services was indeed something of a holy tussle up to mid-century.⁶

Nevertheless, late-Victorian hymnody did stress the church militant; two editions of the best-known Anglican anthology, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, illustrate the change. In its first edition (1861), the collection emphasized "ancient," but in numerous additions, revisions, and appendices, the balance turned to "modern" and included many hymns with images of warfare.⁷ In the *Complete Edition* (1889), Wesley's "Soldiers of Christ, Arise" (1742) may still be found, as well as the pre-Victorian Heber's "The Son of God goes forth to war" (1827), and even H. Kirke White's "Oft in danger, oft in woe / Onward Christians, onward go" (1812). But there are over a dozen of fresher vintage, including "Captains of the Saintly Band" (1861) by the principal promoter of the hymnal, Sir Henry Williams Baker, "Fight the Good Fight" (1863) (J.S.B. Monsell), "Soldiers of the Cross, Arise" (1864) (William Walsham How), "We are Soldiers of Christ" (T. B. Pollock, 1836–1896), "Brightly Gleams Our Banner" (T. J. Potter, 1828–1873), Duffield's "Stand up, Stand up for Jesus" (1858), and, best known of all, Baring-Gould's "Onward, Christian Soldiers."⁸

The verbal texture of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" deserves close inspection because of its seminal role among hymns of the last decades of the Victorian period.⁹ Written by the Reverend Mr. Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924) for a children's Sunday School Festival in June 1864 and printed in that same year in the *Church Times*, it first appeared in the 1868 edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.¹⁰ Its subsequent popularity is well attested, and its wide use by various compilers hints at the status of war images in hymns generally. The structure of the imagery in "Onward, Christian Soldiers" is based upon a metaphor

equating Christians with soldiers, life's round as a holy war in which it is best to travel cheerfully ("join our happy throng") towards the right, although vague, goal ("treading where the saints have trod"). For a member of this "mighty army," "the Church of God," under the leadership of the "Royal Master," Christ, and under the standard or banner of "the Cross of Jesus," victory in life (as in death, presumably) is assured, because the enemy ("Satan's host") takes to its cloven heels. The jubilant shouts of the soldier's assertive hymn are supposedly sufficient to rock the very foundations of the enemy kingdom. In a world where crowns and thrones may perish, a Christian soldier has his leader's promise: no fortification on earth can withstand this mighty army. The final stanza tells of the nature of the army's theme song, a song of triumph extolling "Christ the King," which has been sung by such soldiers through "countless ages." Clearly, the imagery is consistent and striking; equally clearly, it is not original. The words fit the notion of Christ's church militant here on earth and remain a proof of the excitement of sentiments felicitously couched in military phrasing. Not only does its wide distribution among hymnals testify to the popularity of Baring-Gould's lyric; almost as striking is the fact that the words have outlasted a number of tunes. If one associates this hymn with any tune at all, it will probably be Sir Arthur Sullivan's "St. Gertrude." There is an appropriate martial quality to that tune, but, more importantly, the words have survived although three of its former tunes did not.

The range of this particular hymn's territory is instructive more generally for all hymns with bellicose images. On the basis of a limited sampling rather than an exhaustive survey of hundreds of hymnals, a broad pattern is discernible, which links the militant imagery with Protestant churches in general and with later Anglican hymnodists and missionary activities in particular. "Onward, Christian Soldiers," written by an Anglican curate, finds a ready place in Anglican hymnals, including *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer*, *Church Hymnal*, *Church Hymns*, *The Public School Hymn Book* (1904), and even *The Hymnal of the Anglican Church of Canada* (1905). Collections not using this hymn, on the other hand, include the *Presbyterian Book of Praise* (1894) and two Roman Catholic collections, the *St. Basil's Hymnal* and the *St. Joseph's Hymnal*.¹¹

There is supporting testimony for the peculiarly late-Victorian nature of this belligerent strain of expression to be found in hymns not originally English but translated into English during the Victorian period. There was much translation of hymns, but military images are not especially prominent in, for example, the mid-century translations from the German by Catherine Winkworth.¹² Among over one hundred hymns in her *Lyra Germanica* (1855), possibly a dozen have images pertaining to warfare, and those are solidly biblical, mostly Pauline in origin.¹³ Some of the hymns written during the Thirty Years' War, like

Gustavus Adolphus's "Battle Song" (1631), do make expected equations between warriors and "soldiers of the Lord," "soldiers of the Cross," and "Christian warriors brave." Generally, one reads of the strife either between the Captain or Champion (Christ) and the Foe ("who intends us deadly woe"), or between the Victor and Sin or Death's dark power ("Christ with death once wrestled here"). Martin Luther's hymn, in Miss Winkworth's phrase, sees Christ as a trinity of "stronghold, shield, and weapon." Her Christian warfare images, culled from over two hundred years of German hymnody, from Luther (1530) to Lehr (1733), possess a uniformity; but the incidence of these images remains small in comparison with that found in more general English collections of the latter part of the century.

Another set of translations demonstrates High Church (Anglican) reluctance to yield to what was about to prove the inevitable power of the militant. In *Hymns of the Eastern Church* (1862), the High Church John Mason Neale turned into English several hymns by St. Joseph of the Studios, whose ninth-century originals use some images of warfare; generally, however, there are few such metaphors in his translations, and Neale, in a note on St. Joseph, fastidiously criticized the man's verbiage and (could it be with the military images in mind?) his bombast.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Neale's objections evidently did not prevail widely among late-Victorian hymnodists.

The most striking segment of the discerned pattern is the evidence found in missionary hymnals; here military and even violent images thrive. Missionaries were very much involved with the masses, people of little literacy, such as those in William Booth's east-end London. Furthermore, most missionaries were aware of the power of song. In the preface to *Gospel Temperance Hymns*, for example, Richard T. Booth writes: "The Hymns and Sacred Psalmody of the Church of Christ are among her most priceless endowments, and take rank with her mightiest ministries for good. All great movements have had their accompaniments of song—whether on the field of martial strife, or as an auxiliary of political agitation, or to popularize by the power of rhythm the unfamiliar teachings of the book of God."¹⁵ Understandably, therefore, "Onward, Christian Soldiers" is to be found in *Hymns and Choruses of the Church Army*, *The Church Missionary Hymn Book*, and the *Durham Mission Tune-Book* (1886), among others. Baring-Gould's hymn is a sustained and exalted expression of Christian militancy: the cross is not regarded as a symbol of suffering, resurrection, or even love—it is the banner of God's troops. The words express the quintessence of missionary zeal, and thus that hymn takes a natural place in such hymn-books.

Dramatic evidence is also to be found in the texts of an Anglican group of trained lay-evangelists formed in 1882 on the lines of the

Salvation Army; *Hymns and Choruses of the Church Army* (1884) is an extensive collection of hymns.¹⁶ Its founder concentrated his work on the outcasts and criminals of the Westminster slums in London; this army often held meetings in prisons and workhouses, and it developed essentially as a working men's and women's mission to working people. Not surprisingly, its hymn-book has several dozen hymns that feature images of warfare. Its "Processions" section reads like an hymnic roll-call: "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "Brightly Gleams Our Banner," "Forward! be our watchword," "On to the Conflict Soldiers," "Strike, O Strike for Victory," "Onward, Brothers, Onward," "Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus," "Sound the Battle Cry," and more. Outside that special section there are fourteen more, including "Fight the Good Fight."

In such verse, the military images are predictable. Christians are referred to as "soldiers of the Lord," "of the Cross," "warriors bold."¹⁷ Their leader is inevitably styled the "captain." Both their dress and equipment are wholly military: "gird your armour on" and the like; the soldiers are enjoined to "bind the helmet stronger," "tighter grasp the sword."¹⁸ Rules of conduct and duty emerge from the text doggedly: truth is to be the watchword that will make the foes flee; faith must be of the kind that never changes. Resolution is required—the need to "stand firm"¹⁹—and the insistent call is for marching.²⁰ Above all, the soldier awaits the "thrilling battle cry"—still, incidentally, the name of the Salvation Army's magazine (*Battle Cry*)—which is given varied utterance.²¹ When that cry comes, the Christian soldier advances on the enemy ("the oppressor," "the foe"),²² undeterred when "storm clouds lour" because of his unflagging conviction of being right: "If in the battle to my trust I'm true, / Mine shall be the honours in the Grand Review."²³ The ultimate goal of this military service is realized in metaphors of no great ingenuity; when Zion or Canaan is not used, the singers look forward to light or peace; "on to Victory grand" means "wearing the crown Before Thy Face," or, put more floridly, "A glorious crown beyond the glowing skies, / . . . / The radiant fields where pleasure never dies" (No. 28).²⁴

Some of the smaller evangelical missions had their own hymn-books. *The Durham Mission Tune-Book* (1886) was used by Canon George Body, an Anglican who specialized in parochial missions among the miners in the north of England.²⁵ A slight volume, it included Wesley's "Soldiers of Christ, Arise," "Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus," and, in addition to the inevitable "Onward, Christian Soldiers," Baring-Gould's "Through the night of doubt and sorrow," in which the pilgrim band of stanza one assumes a military aspect at the close: "Onward with the Cross our aid! / Bear its shame, and fight its battle, / Till we rest beneath its shade." The parochial missions, with perhaps a week of preaching in the parish by powerful and able missionaries, were

attempts to touch the poor; it was widely accepted that the working people of the industrial towns could not be attracted inside churches by the usual services. The compiler chose his hymns accordingly.

For wider missionary use, *The Church Missionary Hymn Book* appeared in 1887.²⁶ Images of warfare are prominent in 64 of 242 hymns in its second edition. Among the hymns in that edition are Heber's "The Son of God goes forth to war," Duffield's "Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus," "Through the night of doubt and sorrow," and the omnipresent "Onward, Christian Soldiers." A glance at the phrasing of two of its late-Victorian hymn-writers shows how standard the choice of images of warfare was. Edward Henry Bickersteth, made Bishop of Exeter in 1885, contributed five hymns in which he writes of "warrior hosts," "the soldiers of the Cross," and the "gates and ramparts of hell"; the songs of the saints are "the raptures of the armies of the sky"; Christian soldiers, armed with the swords of "gospel truth," made the "devil and his host" "shudder and flee"; "the warrior church" will triumph although "still the battle rages." Secondly, Sarah Stock's (1838–1898) five hymns reinforce a sense of the conventional nature of military images. "Someone shall go at the Master's word" (No. 22), which sings of the missionary call, culminates in these lines:

Someone shall carry His banner high,
Waving it out where the foe holds sway,
Some in His service shall live and die
And with Jesus shall win the day! (v. 4)

Other hymns suggest that missionaries follow "their Captain, / Who leads them to the war" (No. 120); they leave the "nest of home behind, / The battlefield before, / They gird their heavenly war"; "Conqueror He will surely be: / May we share His victory!" The missionary's task is seen as quasi-imperialist:

O'er the waters it [the call to battle] soundeth, from lands far away,
Where the rebel usurper holds fair realms in sway;
There are chains to be severed, and souls to be freed;
Our Captain is calling, Himself takes the lead. (v. 2)

Such phrasing reminds one that imperialism was often seen by contemporaries as a civilizing mission in the manner of Kipling's "Take up the White Man's burden . . . / The Savage wars of peace."²⁷

Not only the hymns of the late-Victorian period but also the gospel songs of the time are frequently couched in war imagery; in the latter's fervent and visionary words, one is impressed by the persistence of militant images. In the United States, Moody and Sankey's popular *Sacred Songs and Solos* is a compilation from various sources, mainly American.²⁸ This book includes some eighteenth-century hymns with

images of warfare and reprints some early-nineteenth-century ones. There is also a garland of contemporary, militant hymns, most of which have been mentioned above, including "Onward, Christian Soldiers."

A brief comparative glance at the warfare images used by two well-known American writers of the period in this collection shows striking similarities with those of English hymnody.²⁹ Indeed, the very first song/hymn in Sankey's collection—written by a fellow Pennsylvanian, Philip Bliss (1838–1876)—is called "Hold the Fort!" (undated). The title invokes the "great Commander's" signal to the beleaguered faithful, oppressed by Satan's "mighty host"; the sight of reinforcements triggers the chorus, "Cheer, my comrades, cheer." The majority of Bliss's contributions have military motifs, from slight pieces like "There's sin in the camp, there's treason today"—the problem is selfishness—to more extended metaphors, as in this verse:

Only an armour bearer, I stand
Waiting to follow at the King's command;
Marching, if "Onward" shall the order be,
Standing by my Captain, serving faithfully.

Another American, Fanny Crosby (1823–1915), is represented in *Sacred Songs and Solos* by only a half dozen of her more than two thousand hymns and songs, yet at least sixty were estimated by Julian (*A Dictionary of Hymnology*) as being common in Great Britain, among them "Sound the alarm, watchman!" and "Onward! Upward! Christian Soldier" (No. 164). The latter exhorts the soldier to "battle for the Lord," "facing the foe" and meeting danger "whatsoe'er it be," never giving the battle over till, victorious, "thy loving Saviour bids thee / At his hand receive thy crown." The same theme and similar military images are employed in her "Awake the Trumpet" (No. 442), where the leader cries "Onward!" and the sword of the Spirit is "girded on" along with helmet, breastplate, and shield; the Christian is enjoined to follow his Captain and "Stand firm" by the Cross and its banner.

The Salvation Army is especially rewarding to examine because of its embodiment of the "Onward, Christian Soldiers" motif.³⁰ Hymns were a challenge for its leader, General Booth, because Army meetings were held at various venues: tents, street corners, even theatres. With semi-literate audiences, it was necessary to have powerful and arresting, if basically simple, images and lively music. Booth readily acknowledges in *Salvation Army Music* (1890) that the Army's music was unoriginal, later (1900) adding that the strains that had caught the popular ear had "seldom before been associated with God's service."³¹ Accordingly, there was scope for amateur versifiers to provide words to catchy tunes, in the manner of Captain William Pearson, who penned "The Song of the Salvation Army" to the tune of "Ring the bell, watchman."³² Notice how close it is to "Onward, Christian Soldiers":

Come join our army, to battle we will go
 Jesus will help us to conquer the foe;
 Defending the right and opposing the wrong,
 The Salvation Army is marching along! (v. 1)

Chorus:

Marching along, we are marching along,
 The Salvation Army is marching along
 Soldiers of Jesus, be valiant and strong—
 The Salvation Army is marching along!

Come join our Army and enter the field,
 The sword of the Spirit with strong faith we wield;
 Our armour is bright and our weapons are strong—
 The Salvation Army is marching along! (v. 2)

Later verses refer to the standard images—Jesus as our Captain, the need to enlist, the conviction of ultimate victory. If the images are shared with Baring-Gould (and doubtless with hundreds more), here the eleven- and ten-syllable lines are not used as subtly or as skilfully. This is the kind of writing that presupposes an audience that makes a success of "Bless his name he sets me Free" (William Baugh), sung to the tune of the music hall's "Champagne Charlie is my name,"³³ or of Robert Johnson's "Storm the forts of darkness," sung to the melody of "Here's to good old whiskey, drink it down."³⁴

Not unexpectedly, then, military images abound in *Salvation Army Music*. A detailed assessment of the first one hundred hymns reveals that thirty-four make significant use of military images and nineteen make use of other violent images. But although the repetitious nature of these images is the most salient feature, an occasional characteristic sprightliness of verse also marks the collection, as in the bouncy enthusiasm of "I'm a soldier, if you want me":

The grand Salvation Army
 Has snatched me from the foe,
 And now I rescue others
 If wanted I will go.
 And now I rescue others
 If wanted I will go. (No. 99, v. 2)

Liveliness of another sort appears in a defensive verse:

Professors may deride us
 And evil things may say
 And worldlings point the finger
 But who I ask are they—

'Tis not in them we're trusting
 But in our King on high
 For the day of victory's coming bye and bye. (No. 97)

While the scorn was probably aimed at Darwinians, or specifically Professor Huxley for his jibe about "Corybantic Christianity," these lines remind us that the Salvation Army's sector of the front line was always close to the uneducated lower classes.

If hymns are indeed, in the late Erik Routley's phrase, "the folk song of the church militant,"³⁵ then the second half of the nineteenth century was a golden age for hymns containing images of war, almost all unerringly traditional tropes, all of them overworked, and all largely based on a representation of life as a battle between the Christian soldier and the hosts of Satan. Hymns and hymn-singing, in the Anglican Church especially, came into prominence in the high-Victorian period. One scholarly musicologist has recently and convincingly pinpointed the decades 1860–1880 as the fertile years when many conducive factors combined, ranging from great intensity in English religious life to the unparalleled opportunities for hymn-writers, publishers, and congregations.³⁶ *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is estimated to have been in use in more than ten thousand churches by 1894, its popularity being challenged only by that of the *Methodist Hymn Book* (rev. ed., 1876).³⁷ At the same time, there was some awareness of a decline in standards of hymn-writing. John Heywood, for example, complained of "a very bathos of degradation," finding Methodist tunes "outrageously boisterous and vulgar" and accusing *Hymns Ancient and Modern* of being too popular and of poor taste; more specifically, he felt hymns were becoming too subjective, and he decried Faber's "O Paradise" for "its slangy air of the ordinary music-hall species."³⁸ Undoubtedly, this very popularity fed the demand for more hymns of doubtful quality; Eric Routley, for example, has argued that standards of taste were in fact fixed low, spoiled by hymnody's success.³⁹

The more-means-worse thesis cannot wholly explain the pronounced prominence of images of war. Since Victorian hymnody is so extensive, and since much military imagery informs the hymns of writers who belong to different social classes as well as to different religious groups, one should look further. Owen Chadwick, for example, has suggested that church militancy suited the mind of Victorian ethics, namely, that at a time when man had decreasing assurance of faith, there was a greater sense of working out one's own salvation, of being engaged in a struggle. Chadwick links this to the frequency of the image of pilgrimage, quoting Baring-Gould's hymn "Through the night of doubt and sorrow / Onward goes the Christian band."⁴⁰ Late Victorians felt the need to "Fight the Good Fight" (J.S.B. Monsell) as Christian soldiers. One vigorous strain of Christianity in the

early part of the period was earnestly advocated by Dr. Arnold at Rugby School, and his promulgation of it among an influential generation of schoolboys must have provided inspiration for the combative manliness found, for example, in the writings of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. Norman Vance makes a good case for it in his book *The Sinews of the Spirit* and aptly quotes Hughes, who recalled in *The Manliness of Christ* the lifelong stimulus provided by his headmaster; the words are most apropos, the image militant. Hughes recalled his schooldays at Rugby as "training . . . for the *big* fight to which we had all been pledged at our baptism, 'manfully to fight under Christ's banner against sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue His faithful soldiers and servants unto our life's end.'" ⁴¹ Similarly, Arthur Pollard has noted the more resolute emphasis on pilgrimage and Christian warfare by hymn-writers at a time when *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was being introduced and, more significantly, when the Church was being threatened by new knowledge, textual criticism of the Bible, and Darwinism. ⁴² And it may not be unfair to wonder if some of the hymn-singers did not compensate for their personal lack of conviction by singing more assertively the hymns of an activist morality.

A further possible explanation for the popularity of militant images may be sought in missionary activity both at home and abroad. Missions are very much the positive embodiment of activism, be it in parochial missions reaching out for non-churchgoers or in quasi-imperialist labours "'mid heathen ignorance and gloom, / By untold maladies opprest.'" ⁴³ The missions might be the work of established churches and sects, of evangelists, or even of temperance groups. ⁴⁴ All seem to have used hymns with militant images. Those same words that appear to us so stale, flat, and unprofitable were presumably serviceable and even imposing for the audiences of the barely Christian and barely literate among the lower classes. ⁴⁵

A related activity was the work of the churches for youth groups, such as the Church Girls' Brigade, or the Church Lads' Brigade (founded 1891) with its motto, "Fight the Good Fight." In the revealingly military language of its advertisements, "the Brigade offers a unique and effective instrument to clergy seeking to extend Christ's Kingdom among young people." ⁴⁶

In perspective, then, military imagery in Christian literature was by no means new in the nineteenth century, but the evidence of the late-Victorian hymnals suggests that churchmen of the period believed that, in their holy war to save souls, hymns did more than anything to keep religion alive among the masses. While earlier hymns with militant tropes gained new prominence, a host of contemporary recruits ensured that from the 1860s onwards, Victorians were bombarded by the martial tunes and thundering images of the hymn-writers' "artillery of heaven."

Notes

1. I should like to acknowledge the support given by the staff of the Music Division, National Library of Canada, in the preparation of this article. An early version of this essay was read at a conference of the North-East Victorian Studies Association on "Victorian War and Violence" at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in April 1980.

2. Josiah Gilbert, ed., *Autobiography and Other Memorials of Mrs. Gilbert*, 2 vols. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1874), 1, p. 203.

3. Susan S. Tamke, *Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord: Hymns as a Reflection of Victorian Social Attitudes* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1978), pp. 139–44; David Holbrook, "Hymns as Poetry," *Musical Times* 103 (1962):386–88; and David Holbrook, "Tricks Before High Heaven," *Musical Times* 105 (1964):266–68.

4. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 46. Likewise, she stresses that the image of battle was found appropriate to "the old doctrine of the Redemption, partly so because the result of the Crucifixion was the result normally peculiar to battle, namely an enemy defeated; and so long as art represented Christ on the Cross as a hero triumphant, the description of the scene in terms of fighting had emotional congruity" (p. 52). On the general difficulty of dealing with the interpretation of metaphors, which are pervasive in Christian doctrine, I acknowledge the suggested guidelines of Sandra S. Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: the Rhetoric of Nineteenth-century Revivalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

5. Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn, its Development and Use in Worship* (1915; reprint, Richmond: John Knox Press, 1962), p. v.

6. See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1, chap. 1; also Erik Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music* (London and Oxford: Mowbray, 1977).

7. William Henry Monk, comp., *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (London: Novello, 1861). The *Revised and Enlarged Edition* appeared in 1875; a Supplement was added to form the *Complete Edition* in 1889; a *New Edition* was published in 1904. These changes are documented in *Hymns Ancient and Modern: Historical Edition*, introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Clowes, 1909), and in *The Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern*, comp. C.W.A. Brooke (London: Pitman,

1914). See also W. K. Lowther Clark, *One Hundred Years of "Hymns Ancient and Modern"* (London: Clowes, 1960).

8. Here I have used the dates suggested by Erik Routley in *An English-Speaking Hymnal Guide* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1979). The same source also links Monsell's "Fight the Good Fight" with Montgomery's "Valiant for the Truth" (1853) on account of the military imagery (p. 25).

9. Arthur Pollard, *English Hymns* (London: Longmans, Green, 1960), p. 49. Here and in the rest of the paragraph I am indebted to Professor Pollard's suggestions. Recent confirmation of the continued popularity of "St. Gertrude" in Canada may be found in an article by John Beckwith, "On Compiling an Anthology of Canadian Hymn Tunes," in *Sing Out the Glad News: Hymn Tunes in Canada: Proceedings of the Conference held in Toronto . . . 1986*, ed. J. Beckwith (Toronto: The Institute for Canadian Music, 1987), pp. 3–32.

10. For some details of Baring-Gould's life, see Amos R. Wells, *A Treasure of Hymns: Brief Biographies of One Hundred and Twenty Leading Hymn-Writers with Their Best Hymns* (1945; reprint, Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 88–91.

11. J. Vincent Higginson, *Handbook for American Catholic Hymnals* (n.p.: The Hymn Society of America, 1976), surveys thirty Catholic hymnals in common use from 1871 to the early 1960s; in his index there is little sign either of the hymn-writers of militancy or of the militant hymns frequently quoted in this essay.

12. *Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year*, 4th ed., trans. Catherine Winkworth (1855; reprint, London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865).

13. Finding the sources of Victorian hymnody has been facilitated by two works by Erik Routley: his *A Panorama of English Hymnody* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1979), and *An English-Speaking Hymnal Guide*. Some indication of the biblical texts from which such imagery arises follows, but only a suggestive and by no means comprehensive listing.

Some military metaphors are to be found among the Old Testament narratives; for example, the opening chapter of Joshua 1:18: and, subsequently, the assault upon and destruction of the city of Jericho have militant images. Among the more lyrical parts of the Old Testament, many analogous expressions of militancy occur in the Psalms. Here are some samples of that kind of word choice. Psalm 24: "Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle" (v. 8); "Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory" (v. 10). Or, again, in Psalm 98: "O sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvellous things; his right hand, and his holy arm hath gotten him the victory" (v. 1).

The New Testament, especially the writings of Paul, seems to be behind many a hymnodist. Here are some of the more obvious sources. Corinthians 16:13: "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong." I Timothy 6:12: "Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called. . . ." Hebrews 2:10: "For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings." Routley links this text with Isaac Watts' hymn, "Join all the glorious powers." Ephesians 6:10–11 outlines the complete armour of a Christian: "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. / Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be

able to stand against the wiles of the devil." The succeeding verses (16–17) expand on that notion by alluding to "the breastplate of righteousness," "the shield of faith" (v. 16), "the helmet of salvation," and "the sword of the Spirit." Revelation 6:2: "And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer."

14. *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, trans. John Mason Neale (1862; reprint, New York: A.M.S. Press, 1971), p. 127; similar findings are to be made in *The Hymns of the Primitive Church*, trans. John Chandler (London: J. W. Parker, 1837). On the important role of the Studios monastery in Constantinople, see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 229, 369.

15. *Gospel Temperance Hymns, as Used in Blue Ribbon Temperance Meetings by Richard T. Booth, Francis Murphy and Son, and Other Temperance Advocates* (London: Christian Herald Office, n.d.).

16. *Hymns and Choruses of the Church Army* (London: Marshall Bros., 1884). Subsequent notes 17–24 refer to this edition.

17. Similar phrases include "soldiers of the right," "Christian soldiers," "a mighty army" or "throng," and "gathering legions."

18. Cf. "the gospel armour," "armour bright," "take the helmet of salvation," "a shining helmet," "the Spirit's mighty sword," "sword and shield," and "shield and banner bright."

19. Cf. "let courage rise with danger" and "stand up for Jesus."

20. Cf. "keep marching," "marching on we go," "march to the fight," and "march with one accord."

21. Others include "hosanna," "forward," "joy," "salvation," and "victory, victory, victory."

22. Cf. "foes unnumbered," "Satan and his host," or the physical embodiment of Satan's domain wherein is found "Selfish greed and grinding, lust and drunk and hate— / These his chains which bind men with their iron weight" (No. 19, v. 2).

23. Cf. "ours the might that conquered in days of old" and "our cause we know must prevail, / We ne'er can fail."

24. Other phrases that express the same idea are "the Palace of the King," "city towers / Where our God abideth," "the victor's crown," "a crown of life," and "a bright crown."

25. Nathaniel Keymer, comp., *The Durham Mission Tune-Book, Containing One Hundred and Forty Hymn Tunes, Chants and Litanies, for the Durham Mission Hymn-Book*, 2nd ed. (1886; reprint, London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, 1888).

26. *The Church Missionary Hymn Book* (London: C.M.S., 1887).

27. Shamsul Islam, *Chronicles of the Raj* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 2. Indeed, the missionary's militant hymns and the spirit of imperialism are echoed not only in Kipling, but also in popular versifiers such as Sir Henry Newbolt ("Clifton Chapel") and W. E. Henley ("What Have I Done for You, England, My England?").

28. Ira D. Sankey, comp., *Sacred Songs and Solos with Standard Hymns Combined* (London: Morgan and Scott, [1890]). It includes Heber's "The Son of God goes forth to War" and White's "Oft in sorrow, oft in woe, / Onward Christians, onward go."

29. John Julian, comp., *A Dictionary of Hymnology, Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations* (London: Murray, 1907), p. 59, provides a wider perspective by noting that in Great Britain "the noblest forms of American hymnody are known to few; whilst the Gospel Songs of our revivalist schools are the mainstay of similar efforts in the mother country."

30. The militancy in *Salvation Army Music* is announced by its cover; "blood and fire" is the embossed motto.

31. William Booth, comp., "Preface," in *Salvation Army Music*, 2nd ed. (1890; reprint, London: Salvation Army, 1900), p. iii.

32. Bernard Watson, *A Hundred Years War: The Salvation Army, 1865–1965* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), p. 85.

33. First printed in the Christmas, 1881, issue of *War Cry*.

34. Johnson was a Scottish officer. Many of the wordsmiths were Army bandsmen; William Booth and his family wrote many hymns.

35. Erik Routley, *Hymns and Human Life* (London: John Murray, 1952), p. 3.

36. Temperley, 1, p. 296; the whole section dealing with the deluge of hymns is especially rewarding. Cf. Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, p. 66.

37. Pollard, p. 46.

38. John Heywood, *Our Church Hymnody* (London: n.p., 1881), pp. 7–9, as quoted in Temperley, 1, p. 402.

39. Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, p. 66.

40. Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 (London: A. and C. Black, 1966–1970), p. 466f.

41. Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 75.

42. Pollard, p. 49. Similar comment is made by Lionel Adey in a review of Susan Tamke's *Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord*, in *The Hymn* (January 1980):66.

43. "At even ere the sun was set" by H. Twells (1832–1900), v. 3.

44. For the temperance movement, the "enemy at hand" is often "the mad'ning potion" "lurking in the sparkling bowls" (No. 161, "A Foe in the Land," in *The Searchlight: A Collection of Songs for Sunday Schools and Gospel Meetings*, ed. A. F. Myers [Toledo: W. W. Whitney, 1894], p. 164).

45. The missionaries themselves were by no means cultured men; they saw nothing strange in translating the imagery of war into Bengali, Mohawk, and the like. "Part of their militancy was an expression of their own struggle to escape out of the ranks of the proletariat. . . . A social militant and a religious militant have much in common." Max Warren, "The Church Militant Abroad: Victorian Missionaries," in *The Victorian Crisis of Faith: Six Lectures*, ed. Anthony Symondson (London: SPCK, 1970), p. 63.

46. *The Church of England Year Book* (London: CIO, 1979), p. 342. Susan Tamke, "Hymns for Children: Cultural Imperialism in Victorian England," *Victorian Newsletter* 49 (Spring 1976):18–22, touches on some of these issues.

George Ryga: The Power of the Word

Talk is a big thing.
—George Ryga, *Hungry Hills*¹

In George Ryga's first published novel, *Hungry Hills*, there is an odd character, Nick the rain-maker, who claims that he can bring rain to the arid hills by fiddling on his magic violin. He can make it "dribble" or he can make it "come down in torrents" (p. 158) on the condition that each villager pay him two dollars in advance. The rain-maker impresses the half-literate villagers with his facility with words:

Up in the cosmos, something has gone wrong—the balance between good and bad has been disturbed, and it will take the sympathetic vibrations of my violin to restore the harmony to proper order. (p. 159)

The narrator's Aunt Mathilda, a courageous free-thinker, asks Nick to give them a "sample of what's to come" (p. 159) and make a little rain before she pays. Nick angrily responds that her incredulity may have jeopardized their chances of a proper rain and quickly departs. Young Snit, the narrator, wonders what will happen when the farmers pay for rain but the rain does not come. Aunt Mathilda replies that she "never knew a guy talk himself into trouble that couldn't talk his way out again" (p. 162).

A similar, amusing episode occurs in *Night Desk*.² Romeo Kuchmir, the randy hero of the novel, wanders half-dressed into the lobby of the Edmonton hotel where he is staying. Two older women spot him. "I'm an actor—a performer. A good one" (p. 17), says Romeo to himself. He begins to shout that a burglar has robbed him of everything, including his clothes. The two ladies not only cease to be scandalized, but also give him some money. "Such is the power of the word" (p. 17), concludes Romeo.

Aunt Mathilda summarizes well the power of language: "Talk is a big thing. We never learned to talk, Snit—never learned how to defend ourselves or explain how it feels to be us" (p. 162). It is precisely on the occasion of the rain-maker's visit that she recounts this episode:

I've seen it even worse. Your folks and I lived close to North Battleford before we came here. Used to be a big Ukrainian settlement there. Those of us who didn't speak their language called them dumb bohunks—the silent ones. They worked hard, stayed outa trouble and lived on next to nothing. Then one day we heard that twenty young men among them—chosen to speak for everybody, themselves and us—had left on foot to go to Regina and ask the Government for better prices on grain and livestock, or else give us relief.

We stopped calling them names after that, Snit. (p. 162)

The young men were arrested for vagrancy, and each spent a month in jail. However, when they returned home, the whole community became unified, working, thinking, and talking together. "Then the Ukes used to sing, playing their mandolins, an' the girls dancing" (p. 163). Singing and dancing are privileged activities in Ryga's works, manifesting joy in life and unity of being.

Snit wonders why his aunt and his parents left North Battleford, Saskatchewan, for the barren hills of northern Alberta. Aunt Mathilda explains to him that "in North Battleford, we suddenly found ourselves the outsiders—the silent ones" (p. 163). Therefore, they sold everything and moved where no one knew how they made out. "We turned ourselves inside out, killing everything we touched . . ." (p. 99). She reveals to Snit the shocking secret: he is the product of the incestuous union between her sister, "a gentle, bewildered person" (p. 5), now dead, and her brother, "a wild man, with down-bent head and repentant eyes" (p. 8), who committed suicide. Incest becomes the central symbol for extreme inwardness, refusal to participate in the new Canadian community, isolation—and silence.

Studying the novel, Neil Carson observes a "heavy didactic purpose which may account for the work's acclaim in the Soviet Union."³ He draws attention to the following words of Aunt Mathilda: "Who knows, maybe we'll get twenty lads to go see the Government and tell them we gotta have help this year" (p. 170). Carson feels, however, that there is also much to discourage facile optimism implicit in a socialist reading of the text. Ryga's attitude to social protest is ambivalent: Snit will not become a spokesman for any group, will not change the society of the hills, and will remain alienated until the end.

While a reading of Ryga's novel as a socialist tract is certainly possible, it would be a superficial one, neglecting precisely the occasion of the rain-maker's visit, which prompts Aunt Mathilda's comments and

which has nothing to do with social protest but rather with the effect of language on individual life. Ryga's works may be, at first glance, about socio-economic reality, but ultimately they are about human life and what threatens it. Language or talk, whether serving truth or pure invention, seems to be in the service of life. The absence of language, on the other hand, leads to "retiring hungry existence" (p. 5), a sort of "caving in" (p. 7) on oneself, regression, and spiritual as well as physical death.

Aunt Mathilda illustrates this truth with her own life. This thin, sterile, tight-lipped woman reflects the barren landscape of the hungry hills. On returning home after a three-year absence, Snit spends his first night in a cemetery. He is assailed by images of decay and death:

I was now alongside the church. It was desolate and parched, with whitewash on the siding showing only under the eaves, where the walls were shielded from the sun and weather. The rest of the building was grey and decaying. The door sagged . . . the windows were cracked . . . (p. 19)

The air was warm and heavy with odours of dry decay The house was silent, dark and lonely There was the scent of rotting wood. (p. 21)

The appearance of Aunt Mathilda—a "frightening-saddening" (p. 22) figure—is in harmony with the surroundings:

Her eyes were dead and tired Her hair, too, had turned a yellow-grey and hung over her shoulders and face in sticky strands. The brown-flecked skin of her face and neck was crinkled and dry, like a piece of ancient chamois cloth which had been rolled into a ball when wet and allowed to mildew. She wore a dark, nondescript outer coat which showed signs of having been worked and slept in, and which had ragged ends on the sleeves and along the bottom. Yet she seemed in place in that kitchen where . . . the walls were soiled and cracked. (p. 22)

Despite her decayed exterior, Aunt Mathilda survives through talk. Through communication with Snit, she will change and conquer what Carson, echoing Thomas Hobbes, calls her "nasty, poor, brutish and short"⁴ existence. Aunt Mathilda has faith: "Folks have lived through all sorts of things—hail, blight and sickness. They'll make out some way or other" (p. 170). While the ending of the novel is ambiguous, it does suggest that the courage and love uniting Snit with his aunt are sufficient antidotes to loneliness and death. Snit will not become a spokesman for any group of twenty lads. But he will arrive at language—that is, coherence/cohesiveness—in a different way: he will write and speak for himself and his people through his book. Snit is

already a marvellous poet, a symbolist, whenever he evokes the communion between the physical environment and the human beings inhabiting it, the mutual interpenetration of cosmos and man. For him, the human heart is a microcosm of the universe, which in turn seems to be an objectivation of the mind. "I had forgotten the harsh cruelty of the land and its people—the desperate climate which parched both the soil and the heart of man here" (p. 18), he writes. Language, especially metaphor, will permit transcendence of conflict, will effect a fusion between the parched land and the aspirations of the poet's heart. From the "stony fields of parched desire" eventually there will come "thunder in the rising sun."⁵

Hungry Hills, a traditional, realistic novel, already possesses the oral flavour that distinguishes Ryga's *œuvre*. Talk, in this apprentice novel, is a theme, but it also penetrates the style of the novel. Snit readily imitates the spoken language of the people of the hungry hills—Aunt Mathilda, Johnny Swift, the preacher, and others—thus blurring the difference between writing and talking. But it will be up to the subsequent novels—*Ballad of a Stone-picker* and *Night Desk*—(as well as much of the drama) to reveal more explicitly and more fully Ryga's sensitivity to spoken language and the role he assigns it. One must remember that Ryga, a poet, a composer of songs, came to the novel and drama via radio and television, two essentially oral and popular arts. His concern with spoken language will be the common thread running through the three "autobiographical" novels, as well as through much of the drama, stitching the heterodox topics, impressions, descriptions, and even genres together into a coherent whole.

In *Ballad of a Stone-picker*,⁶ the earlier realism gives way to a more allusive, lyrical style, resembling that of a ballad. The title points to the link between this novel and a genre both oral and populist, a narrative recited to musical accompaniment by an anonymous narrator. The musical connotations of the word "ballad" are therefore important. Already in his first novel, Ryga endowed Snit with a musical surname: Mandolin. Here, the text contains snatches of folk songs, thus enhancing the ballad effect of the novel. In *Night Desk*, Romeo Kuchmir will impose himself as a singer: "I can sing and because I can sing I can hear music in my head . . ." (p. 122). "Learn to sing, kid, at least learn to play music even if it's no more than banging a pot lid to the rhythm of your heart" (p. 23). Reciting the ballad of his life, Romeo will indicate how the novel should be read: "For when I read, I read aloud" (p. 21). Emphasizing the oral quality of his fiction, Ryga reaches back to its primal story-telling roots, while creating a new, contemporary form.

The ballad focuses on a number of apparently random, unrelated episodes, without telling the whole story. Memory rather than logic rules there, allowing repetition, digressions, juxtaposition of impressions, flashbacks, insets. The structure of the ballad is therefore loose

and poetic, rather than sequential and progressive. Ryga's novel, apparently simple but possessing hidden sophistication, relies on just such ballad effects.

Like *Hungry Hills*, the story of *Ballad of a Stone-picker* deals with a return through memory and talk to childhood and therefore is bound up with a search for identity. The setting is once more northern Alberta, but Ryga's bitterness about the land's hardships is reduced. Perhaps the evocation in the previous novel of the living hell of the prairie existence produced a measure of exorcism and acceptance on the part of the author. However, essentially it is still the same hard life. The dirt farmers clear the land, trees, and scrub by hand and pick stones hidden under the grey clay earth. The narrator, a stone-picker of Ukrainian origin,⁷ feels old at twenty-eight. His mother, he tells us, turned grey at twenty-five, and his father lost all his teeth at twenty-eight and died at forty-three.

The narrator reminds us of Snit. Snit, at fourteen, was "kinda big for my age. My ma used to say I grewed like a weed" (p. 54). Here, the narrator says: "I was always hungry, I ate a lot and grew bigger and bigger for it. I used to slouch so's I'd look smaller" (p. 10). Like the narrator of ballads, this narrator is anonymous. Perhaps his anonymity points to the fact that he is another Snit. More likely, however, it suggests his role as the Double of his brother Jim, killed (in fact, a suicide) in a motorcycle crash in England. The *doppelgänger* aspect is made clear when a magazine reporter comes to ask questions about Jim, and the narrator talks constantly about himself. "I am his background" (p. 5). At one point the interviewer wants to know about love, obviously Jim's. The narrator responds "You want to know about love?" (p. 58) and proceeds to talk about his own love attachments, to Helen Bayrack and to Nancy Burla.

Jim, the university boy, the Rhodes scholar, adored by his parents, especially his father ("Jim was a good son. You're not fit to speak his name"—p. 14), hated the village life and finally left for England. However, having lost one world, he never felt at home in another. The narrator, on the other hand, a stone-picker, big and strong, neglected by his parents, left school in grade six and stayed home: "Never been more than twenty miles away from this house and that's a fact. Don't intend to go, either. There's enough to do and see right here. Besides, I'm too old" (p. 7). Clearly Jim's opposite, he is, however, similar to him. At one point the narrator says that Jim, who died in a motorcycle accident, never cared for motorcycles, but that he, the narrator, would have liked to ride them. He adds: "Maybe we're both forever kids, him and me" (p. 5). The relationship between the two is intense: "I loved him, I hated him" (p. 58).

By talking about Jim, that is, by recalling and by verbalizing his relationship with his brother, the narrator of *Ballad of a Stone-picker*

confronts his Shadow, the Other, that has been repressed and feared. He faces the problems that interfere with living: his intense feelings of resentment and frustration. Ryga actually uses the word "shadow" in the title of a later novel, *In the Shadow of the Vulture*,⁸ in which he clearly refers to the Shadow experience as described by Carl Jung: "I think it wiser to meet the devil on his own ground. To fight him until he retreats in defeat You must vanquish the monster before he overcomes you" (pp. 149–50).

By assimilating the revelation that the confrontation with the Shadow brings about, the narrator-hero will rid himself of the obsessive hold that this figure has over him. Thus, the remembrance of the brother's death produces at once discourse and liberation, a higher consciousness that is bound up with the hero's sense of who he is.

The first stage of the individuation process leads to a further stage, deeper in the psyche: the confrontation with the Parental figures, the "killing" of the father and the transformation of the natural mother into Anima—ideal Mother/eternal feminine image of the hero's soul. This second stage is alluded to in *Ballad of a Stone-picker* and is further explored in *Night Desk*. Already in *Hungry Hills*, the son had killed his father, for his father committed suicide because of the living reminder of his crime—his incestuous union with his sister. Here, in *Ballad of a Stone-picker*, the reference to the murder of the father is explicit: "I quarrelled and through the quarrel I began killing my own father" (p. 5). In the end, the narrator recounts how, in a fit of anger, he pushed his father, and how the fall sustained by the father caused his death.

The individuation process or the quest of the divided personality for unity or wholeness is omnipresent in Canadian literature, but in Ryga's work it is expressed with greater subtlety. It is not as explicit as in Robertson Davies's books (e.g., *The Manticore*), nor ridden with clichés as in MacLennan's novels (e.g., *The Watch that Ends the Night*). Sustained economy of narration and humour give it an original stamp. What is particularly emphasized in Ryga's work is that individuation is inseparable from talk or story-telling and that it is realized through language. It seems to be a function of the brain, as language and music are—"I can hear music in my head" (*Night Desk*, p. 122)—a potential structure that, if not actualized through language, produces a kind of retardation—the "stunted strong."

The splitting of the protagonist in a novel usually points to the author's sorting out of his own conflicts. One notes that Ryga produced the first two novels, autobiographical to a degree, when he was thirty-one and thirty-four years old, the age of transformation *par excellence*. Jim and his brother represent the two sides of the author's personality. Ryga had a similar Ukrainian background (his father came to Canada in 1928 and, being one of the founding members of "a progressive Ukrainian organization in which the links between politics

and language groups were firmly established,"⁹ undoubtedly influenced his gifted son's interest in language) and a similar childhood in Richmond Park, Alberta ("having grown up in severe poverty, in what might be referred to as the internal third-world of Canada,"¹⁰ he once said). Like the narrator, Ryga left school in grade seven and worked as a labourer for several years. But, like Jim, he also educated himself (through night classes), won scholarships, and spent some time in England, as well as at the University of Texas. He knew the lure both of a sheltered academic life and of Europe. Perhaps he had to kill or transcend the university boy in him in order to return and, like Snit, "live and work among his own people" (p. 15), so that the primitive man, the poet, could come to the fore. The descent into hell represented by each text is most probably inseparable from the author's own attempt to come to terms with his demons, producing each time a new autonomy with regard to his past and to the outside world, of which a later novel such as *In the Shadow of the Vulture* might well be both a result and a mark.

From the outset, the narrator of *Ballad of a Stone-picker* imposes himself as a talker, inheriting his need for talk, for self-expression, from his father, a "smart talker" (p. 6) who was capable of carrying on three conversations with three different men at the same time. The novel opens with a series of questions put by the narrator to the narratee—a magazine reporter who comes to do a story on the brother Jim. Ryga thus constructs for his novel a framing device that will emphasize and sustain the oral aspect of the novel:

Now what is it exactly that you came to see me about? I have your letter, yes, and it all has something to do with him—but what else is there to tell?

Yes, I know he was a Rhodes scholar and would've been a great man. I know all about the accident and that another anniversary of his death is only a couple of months away. I will not be forgetting he lived and died for many years to come. So what else is there? His background? Everything about his background? You are writing an article for your magazine about our Jim? . . .

Come in. No sense standing out there in the rain with no hat on.
(p. 5)

While telling the story of his life for the first time, the narrator is haunted by his past incapacity for speech:

I've stood for hours out there in the field, the wind blowing all around me, drying the soil and sapping the water out of my flesh. I've felt it all, but could never tell others how it felt. (p. 124)

The narrative is possible now because of the presence of a sympathetic listener to whom the narrator addresses his story, who draws out memories and thus from the outset gives the speech a lively dialogic movement. The speech depends for its flow on the response of the Other. The Other listens, encourages the talk, and responds by word or by gesture, although his responses are never reproduced, only implied. The protagonist will finally arrive at a measure of understanding of himself because he has tested the intelligibility of his words on another person.

In a brief review of this novel, John Stedmond argues that this narrative device is "clumsily handled and provides at best a tenuous story line,"¹¹ but the device must be seen as symbolic: it constitutes that instance or occasion that makes discourse possible, revealing the dialogic nature of all language.

You're going to write all this down? Am I talking too fast? (p. 22)

Here, let me warm up some more coffee. How about a can of meat and some bread? You want to know about love? (p. 58)

This novel, like the preceding *Hungry Hills*, also stresses the importance of speech within its content by thematizing it. The villagers, we are told, once had an MP, a lawyer, whose chief shortcoming was that he never came to talk to them. "Nobody gets our votes unless he comes out here and talks to us straight off his chest, in language we understand" (p. 8). By the same token, Ryga satirizes those who fail to respect language. The story of the beautiful Helen Bayrack, the handsome man who loves her, John Zaharchuk, and the plumber Philip McQuire who takes her away from Zaharchuk may be considered by some critics as aimless or rambling,¹² but in fact everything in Ryga's narrative has a purpose: these narratives are too spare, too economical to permit aimlessness.

McQuire has learned three Ukrainian words: *dobra* (good), which he uses on all occasions, never inflecting the ending, and *dai Bozhe* (may God provide), a phrase that he uses when he drinks. Bald, fat, too old for Helen, denied even a single attractive quality, McQuire is ferociously satirized, as is Helen's father, who considers McQuire a "cut above" farmers and is duly impressed by his venture into the Ukrainian language:

Understand me please when I say that this McQuire is the man for my girl! He's a plumber—a skilled man, not like our farm boys. He's got gas, water and power—important people come to see this McQuire of ours, and they call him "Mister." Even the Mayor of the town calls him "Mister." Now what do you think of that?

The group sitting around the store said nothing. But you could see who the Ukrainians were, because they were all scratching their heads in about the same places

This McQuire is not like the rest of them! He speaks our language. He eats what we eat. Last Sunday he tasted creamed chicken and dumplings my wife made just for him and said "Dobra, missus, dobra!" Now what do you think of that? . . . I tell you my grandchildren will carry the name of McQuire but they shall speak our language! (p. 38)

This apparent digression has a purpose: the thematization of language. Both McQuire and Mr. Bayrack fail to respect language. Such thematization of language is more explicit in the play *A Letter to My Son*,¹³ in which old Ivan Lepa lashes out at Ukrainian parish schools teaching children "prayer book language" (p. 194) and bemoans another form of attack on language: the forcible eradication of Ukrainian names by Canadian authorities:

How many names . . . of warriors, merchants, slaves . . . died with the stroke of a pen in Halifax? Maybe one day we make a big monument of stone . . . of a man standing looking into the country . . . he's got hands, feet—everything. But no face. (p. 86)

And he gives this advice:

Don't read Shevchenko like nuns murmuring vespers at sundown! Children! Read him with fists clenched. . . . Your eyes turned to the uplands of the spirit! (p. 108)

Romeo Kuchmir in *Night Desk* seems a far cry from the previous narrators, and yet he is related to them. He shares their prairie background, their childhood poverty, their Ukrainian heritage, their big frame and physical strength, as well as their talent for talking. Everything in him is, however, bigger, more inflated. Romeo is an ex-wrestler, boxer, and promoter of fights; weighing 250 pounds, he is loud and tough, "the last of the gladiators" (p. 28). Like Snit, who says that "the bone of the outcast stuck in my throat all through childhood" (p. 9), Romeo is both rebel—"I'm an outlaw, kid, a stallion. I'm goin' where I'm goin' an' no one asks me why" (p. 18)—and lover—"Kid, I love the world an' everythin' on it" (p. 30); "I'm a lover, not a killer. What my hands and lips touch gives life, not death" (p. 53). Above all, however, he is a talker. He talks about everything under the sun: women, ballet, communism, sex, wrestling, music. There is a tension in his utterances between intense lyricism on the one hand and rough colloquial speech on the other; in the end, even this apparently coarse speech acquires a rhythm, a poetic effect. Thus, Ryga shows us that the everyday language of the common

man is capable of attaining the condition of poetry. Romeo's speech, a veritable *tour de force*, becomes a song, a ballad—a hymn to life. "Ah, kid—you should learn to sing. It's the sound of blood welcoming the sun! . . . listen! La donna mobile . . ." (p. 22).

We are struck from the outset by the polarity of images referring to life and death. Romeo talks about the ballet he has just seen, *Romeo and Juliet*. (Ballet and ballad have the same Latin root: *ballare*—to dance; song and dance are presented by Ryga as activities that celebrate life.) It was attended mostly by the middle class. The ladies smelled "like a flower garden dyin' of frost," "like a funeral" (p. 11).

I seen a ballet at eight o'clock tonight. They danced it for me—only me. Because I was on fire—my face an' hair in flames, begging for the truth of who died an' why so that I might avenge them! (p. 17)

Romeo was deeply moved by the ballet. "I cried until half past nine. The last time I did that was when my mother died" (p. 11).

It is clear that Romeo reacts to the ballet as he reacts to death. "I don't want to die an' smell like a flower garden in November" (p. 18). He views the world depicted in the ballet as unhealthy and wants a civilization where the young are not sacrificed to death. We have here a confrontation between the apparent values of the Shakespearean tragedy and those of a contemporary Canadian novel. The new Romeo, a parodic transformation of the Shakespearean hero, staunchly working class, rejects everything that appears to him to represent death—old traditions, dead sexual morality, the class system, archaic language—and places himself on the side of freedom or life.

Romeo begins his story shortly after midnight and finishes seven (a symbol of completion) hours later. During those seven hours of talk, Romeo descends into hell, into the dark night of his psyche, and emerges into a new dawn, not of social revolution, but of personal regeneration. The night/dawn symbolism is paralleled by the winter/spring symbolism: we are in April, the season of rebirth. Romeo's talk is linked to the transformation of another character, the young man or the "kid," who works as night clerk in the Edmonton hotel where Romeo rents a room. The "kid" is the narratee in the novel, but he also represents the reader, or the thematization of the role and activity of the reader, a feature of post-modern fiction. At the same time, the "kid" acts as a simple recorder—"writin' down what we do an' say, about who we are an' what we might've been" (p. 16). The relationship between the two is complex. The "kid" is mysteriously fascinated by Romeo.

I had fled from the night desk and from the towering presence of a man who harangued, terrified and excited me in ways I still cannot describe, but I never fully escaped him. (p. 7)

He fled into the shelter of university life, the "academic rubbish," into the study of "refined literature of other lands," learning to speak a language that is never heard on "a dusty prairie roadside" (p. 7). He fled from himself. But now, years later, by reproducing his manuscript, he arrives at a new understanding of himself.

Romeo's discourse is clearly a rite, associated with the "kid's" salvation. "But somehow in this also lay my salvation. For he was the raucous guardian of the gate to fields of thistles, stones, hunger" (p. 8). The words "stones" and "hunger" establish a link with the preceding novels—*Ballad of a Stone-picker* and *Hungry Hills*—in which the protagonists also effect a descent into the hell of their childhood. As in *Ballad of a Stone-picker*, so here we have a narrator/narratee relationship. The speaker addresses a particular person who listens, interrupts, and responds, although the responses are never reproduced, only implied. The sympathetic presence of the "kid" gives life to Romeo's discourse. An organized chain of communication is established: the speaker is also a listener, the listener a speaker; speaking and listening occur simultaneously, not sequentially. There is exchange between the two: for example, when the "kid" leaves to check rooms upstairs, Romeo reads what he has written: "What you have here has a feeble smell, but in time, who knows?" (p. 21). Romeo, in fact, encourages the development of a writer: he leads the young man towards his own authentic language.

Romeo's utterances acquire particular intensity and authority, for his relationship with the "kid" is more than the relationship between a narrator and a narratee. It is a master-pupil relationship. Ryga dips into a well-established tradition: Romeo is a parodic variant of the archetypal figure of the Guide whose prime function is to talk. The Guide is always partly a Double and partly a Model, someone who has conquered the devil and who now can lead the Way. This is why the encounter between the "kid" and Romeo is so serious and, for the "kid," so terrifying. It is important to stress Romeo's function as a Mentor, for Romeo is a crucial figure in Ryga's work, a champion of a new existence based on freedom—above all, freedom in language.

Romeo is a father-figure, both resembling the natural fathers of the preceding novels and, as Mentor and ideal Father, also their very opposite. He has, for example, the booming voice and the gift of the gab of the father in *Ballad of a Stone-picker*. What is more, he himself is a natural father, having somewhere a teenage son whom he neglects, just as the natural fathers did in the previous novels (one by committing suicide, the other by showering affection on one son only, Jim), and just as his own father did by disowning him. The boy, unlike Romeo, is an intellectual, what the "kid" will be tempted to become, but what he will transcend thanks precisely to the example of Romeo, his Guide. The boy, in fact, serves death: he specializes in the history of wars, "readin' about how to kill" (p. 51):

He's not like me—not at all. He wears thick glasses an' turtleneck sweaters. He wears sandals all summer an' needs a haircut. He doesn't live, he sits an' reads these big books on how wars were fought. (p. 51)

Each of Ryga's novels returns to this conflict between father and son, a version of the Oedipal drama. However, in opposition to natural fathers, Romeo promises what they failed to do: "I'll protect you" (p. 16), he says.

He never called me by my name. His name was important to him, and he restated it at every opportunity. I was simply called "kid." When I knew him, I had yet to earn my name. Until I did, I had the protection of his. This I now understand. (p. 8)

The murder of the natural or Oedipal father has liberated the archetype of the Wise Old Man or spiritual Father. Romeo, loud and ribald, nevertheless resembles such saintly figures as the *starets* Zossima in Dostoevskii's *Brothers Karamazov* or Torcy, the unforgettable priest in Bernanos' *Diary of a Country Priest*. Both Zossima and Torcy, men of the church, were also men of the earth. Zossima, whose name means "strong in life," followed almost a pre-Christian cult of the earth: he taught his pupil Alyosha Karamazov a new morality based on joy and universal brotherhood. Torcy, robust and talkative, whose name suggests "torse" or strength, helped his disciple, the *curé* of Ambricourt, whom he called "mon petit" (a version of "kid"), not to stray from the ground of life. Like his predecessor Zossima, Torcy pointed not to the Way of mysticism, but to the truly human Way, a kind of Kierkegaardian balance between the flesh and the spirit. Like Zossima and Torcy, Romeo teaches a new this-world morality, only more radically so. This outlaw, this eternal lover, this talker stresses freedom, sexual love, and, above all, a new attitude to language.

I'm a simple man. If I met Freud, I'd throw him in the crapper because if a man can't express himself simply so the whole world understands then he's got nothin' worth listenin' to. (p. 108)

Romeo is a parody of his predecessors, a deviation from the norm (he takes up all the narrative space and relegates the "kid," the traditional hero, to the prologue), yet he also encompasses the norm.¹⁴ He brings new life to the figure of the Guide and, by his utterances or his speech performance—"I'm an actor—a performer" (p. 17)—he invests language with new life. He guides the "kid" towards language that is neither an imperialist legacy nor an abstract system, but language as performance, particularized here and now by the living individual, where every word is "an enemy unless it makes me laugh—or cry"

(p. 22). He guides the "kid"—and the reader—towards an erotic involvement with language that is at once play, laughter, and poetry, lyricism, language for its own sake, in all its physicality, language, above all, as voice. The erotic—Romeo's relation to the world is erotic—serves as a mirroring device, a metaphor with metafictional end, for it mirrors the reader's erotic response to the text.

An incarnation of an unforgettable voice, Romeo, while telling the story of his life, tells all sorts of other stories, his own or other people's stories, always quoting others. His narrative even begins with a story, that of Romeo and Juliet. The importance given to story-telling makes *Night Desk* a mimesis not of product, but of process. Some of these stories seem pure fun, such as the one about the university student who objects to Romeo's spilling water over his head. But while the story may appear to be a digression, a closer reading shows that by imitating the student's educated speech with its particular intonation, vocabulary, and syntax, Romeo permits us to enjoy the contrast between this speech and his own language—to enjoy language for its own sake, prior to reference.

The story about St. Patrick being Bukovinian rather than Irish is again fun, but it also has a function: to remind us of the inventive, ludic nature of all story-telling. The comic story of the old Ukrainian anti-communist standing at a Winnipeg intersection at 3 a.m. in the middle of a blizzard at thirty-four degrees below zero with a twenty-mile north wind, no cars in sight, waiting for the red light to turn to green, has more relevance to the context of Ryga's work. The old fellow, an example of those who carry in them "the panic of the weak an' sick" (p. 30), pleads in the end: "Teach me to be brave, rassler" (p. 33). All these stories within Romeo's story seem to suggest that story-telling refers to itself, that it becomes metafiction, drawing our attention less to the object of representation than to the means of representation, that is, language, which becomes its own object.

It is this presentation of language as an object that Mikhail Bakhtin, the Soviet critic and theorist, has postulated as the primary characteristic of the novel as genre.¹⁵ According to Bakhtin, the novel is not composed of a single uniform language like poetry but is a composite of various kinds of languages, since a good part of its activity consists in quoting the language of other people, primarily of its characters. The novel thus becomes the representation of the language of another, making us aware of different types of discourse as discourse. In other words, to quote the language of another is inevitably to make us conscious of language. Reported speech is speech within speech and, also, speech about speech.

One may say that Ryga's work is to a good degree realistic—a window on the world, on the harsh physical and social landscape of the prairie and a mirror of the psyche. But it is also a painted window, attracting attention to its surface, that is, language. Thus, Romeo invites

the reader to read his discourse aloud: "For when I read, I read aloud" (p. 21). By reading aloud, the reader will give life to the text. By enjoying language, as Romeo (and the author) does, the reader will make of the novel a *shared* erotic and intellectual-aesthetic experience. All these features combined with the return to traditional genres like the ballad make *Night Desk* a truly post-modernist novel.

One of the delights of the new fiction has been the returning of interest in the verbal, even the vocal forms. Often the post-modern novel and its antecedents have been written by poets So, far from being a window on the world, today's fiction is a voice in one's ear One is advised to read a lot of the new novels aloud. In that way one is engaged as one's ancestors may have been, in a ritualized narrative.¹⁶

Ryga's use of "talk," both as technique and as theme, certainly reflects his populist tendencies and increases realism in his novels. He has a keen sense of spoken language, of what he calls "dialect," an amazing ear for words, accents, voices. He imitates equally well farmers' jargon, Indian dialects, teenage talk, and educated speech. There will always be a difference between real-life speech and dialogue represented in a work of art, but Ryga does manage to create the closest approximation possible to spoken language without ever patronizing his characters. Despite its metaphoric richness, his writing often has a "writing style less style than talk,"¹⁷ indeed the sound of everyday speech, thus making his novels "an accurate reflection of our life-condition," basing itself on "the language and human qualifications of the people to whom and of whom one speaks."¹⁸

But talk, especially story-telling, also has the opposite effect: it does not necessarily foster narratorial realism. Romeo, a supreme story-teller, reflects directly on story-telling—"What's it goin' to be for the rest of us when we're left with no stories to tell?" (p. 47)—suggesting that story-telling is a primary, natural human function, and making us aware of story-telling as story-telling, of discourse as discourse. In other words, Romeo acknowledges the artifice, the "art" of what we are reading. Thus, Ryga's fiction is both realistic and self-referential.

Talk, in Ryga's novels, is given prominence because it is creative. The absence of talk, on the other hand, is the worst abjection. Talking about the degradation of the Crees on a reservation bordering on his father's homestead, Ryga says: "These people had been worked over by the church, they had been worked over by the Hudson's Bay Co. There was nothing left." And he adds: "There was no language left any more."¹⁹ Without language, there is no self, no life.

Ryga's is a quasi-Bakhtinian conception of language. As Bakhtin suggested, there is a vast difference between a Rabelais, a Dostoevskii, and each one of us, but this difference is not absolute, for whoever talks,

creates. Through speech, man becomes conscious of his creative power. Utterances bring together the opposites. First of all, they form a bridge between the past and the present without which no identity, no sameness, is possible. Talking about the past also gives hope—or, perhaps, an illusion—that knowing where one comes from will help to understand where one may be heading. Utterances form a bridge between the mind and the external world, the self and society, speech performance and language as abstract system (the distinction between *langage* and *langue*). To speak, to use the stuff of signs, is for man to participate in the shaping of meaning out of external reality. At the end of *Night Desk*, a woman challenges Romeo to prove that "everything around us here has some sense. That death is some place over there, but we're here, living, moving, maybe even singing!" (p. 142). Romeo feels her words "like fire, kid, sputtering on my skin—inside my brain" (p. 122). He asserts himself a creator, a dispenser of meaning through language.

All I see through the lights an' darkness is what I might've been, what we all might've been, a burnin' dart, fallin' through the sky. Fire an' ice. My arms stretchin' out collectin' dreams an' dust. Then with my hands I make a world. When it's made, I stamp on it with my foot, an' it don't fall apart. To the sound of flutes I make trees an' mountains. Then the drums start to hammer, an' I'm down on my knees, makin' a woman. I'm singin' to her as I make her of the softest mud I can find. (p. 122)

The motif of the hands or arms is an old symbol for power and creativity. In *Ballad of a Stone-picker*, the narrator arrived at a similar understanding:

Then it came to me—the truth I had never realized before These arms were all I had and all that anybody had ever wanted They were the reason for my life. (p. 155)

Toil per se is drudgery, producing the "stunted strong," silent poor. The labourer can transcend his condition and arrive at selfhood only by becoming conscious of the creative power of toil, and this consciousness can come only through language. Language thus becomes an intermediary between reality and man.

Talk, story-telling, obviously has a political function in Ryga's works: it is a tool of ideology, of social progress, of national liberation. But, ultimately, it is associated with the quest and the creation (they are simultaneous) of the self, that is, with the individuation process that depends on it. For what greater story is there than that of man's power to become a self? Telling stories shapes one's notion of selfhood or identity, gives meaning and structure to life. The only way to entertain

any meaning of life is to recount it. But once we recount, we invent, we produce fiction, since our life becomes shaped by language.²⁰ Identity seems to be an artistic construct.

I'm a performer! I bleed, spit out teeth, howl an' I laugh! You can't touch me! I will lie, an' I will tell the truth, but you will never know the difference. (*Night Desk*, p. 25)

Selfhood is truth, that "soul of being which makes us all so different from each other" (*Hungry Hills*, p. 5), but it is also a construction, fiction, inseparable from language, a story told and retold, never finished, just as selfhood is never attained, only approached and dreamt of. Ryga's work testifies to the great power in man, which is also man's greatest freedom: the power of the Word.

Notes

1. George Ryga, *Hungry Hills* (Toronto: Longmans Canada Ltd., 1963), p. 162. All subsequent page references in the text are to this edition.
2. George Ryga, *Night Desk* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1976). All subsequent page references in the text are to this edition.
3. Neil Carson, "Ryga Revisited," *Journal of Canadian Fiction* 16 (1976):185.
4. Carson, p. 186.
5. Christopher Innes, *Politics and the Playwright: George Ryga* (Toronto: Simon and Pierre, 1985), p. 14.
6. George Ryga, *Ballad of a Stone-picker* (London: Michael Joseph, 1966). All subsequent page references in the text are to this edition.
7. The title word "stone-picker" brings to the Ukrainian reader's mind the title of a well-known poem, "Kameniari" (stone-cutters), written by Ivan Franko, an ardent socialist, like Ryga, and a great nineteenth-century Ukrainian writer.
8. George Ryga, *In the Shadow of the Vulture* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1985).
9. Innes, p. 14.
10. George Ryga, "The Artist in Resistance," in *A Portrait of Angelica/A Letter to My Son* (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1984), p. 5.
11. J. Stedmond, "Letters in Canada: 1966: Fiction," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 36 (July 1967):386.
12. Stedmond, p. 386. Cf. also *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 592. On the other hand, in what is the best review of Ryga's *Ballad of a Stone-picker*, Marya Fiamengo refers to the novel as a "conscious and sophisticated work for all its apparent directness and simplicity. It evinces an imagination powerful, open, direct, deeply engaged with reality, and within its own limitations fully certain of itself." Marya Fiamengo, "Epic Miseries," *Canadian Literature* 34 (Autumn 1967):78. Neil Carson also refers to Ryga as "a novelist of considerable power" (Carson, p. 185).
13. Ryga, *A Portrait of Angelica/A Letter to My Son*.
14. For brilliant analyses of parody, see Linda Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative/The Metafictional Paradox* (New York: Methuen, 1980).

15. For Bakhtin's analyses of the novel, see especially his *Esthétique et théorie du roman* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978).
16. George Bowering, *The Mask in Place* (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1982), p. 215.
17. Keith Fraser, "Sex, the Last Resort," in *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no. 6 (Spring 1977):119-21.
18. Innes, p. 19.
19. Innes, p. 14.
20. Sartre devoted much discussion to this topic in his *Nausea*. For Sartre, all ordering is fictive.

Reflets polonais dans l'œuvre de Nelligan

Est-il permis de parler des « reflets polonais » dans la poésie de Nelligan? Au premier abord, le titre surprend. Et pourtant, le sujet que nous proposons ici ne tient pas de la fantaisie, mais découle de l'examen de l'œuvre nelliganienne, dans laquelle au moins quatre poèmes évoquent quelques aspects de la culture polonaise.

Émile Nelligan, jeune poète montréalais qu'on se plaît à comparer à Rimbaud — dont le destin d'artiste ressemble effectivement à celui de l'auteur du « Bateau ivre » — se fit remarquer très tôt par cette idée fixe d'assumer pleinement, au détriment des études et de la vie pratique, son rôle de poète. Son père était irlandais de Dublin; sa mère, canadienne française de Rimouski. Sa carrière d'artiste fut brève mais fulgurante. Dans l'espace de trois ans (1896–1899), il écrivit quelque deux cents poèmes, en commençant par une imitation de Verlaine et en terminant par une poésie délirante qui le rapproche de Baudelaire, de Rollinat et d'Edgar Poe. Le 9 août, il fut admis à l'asile d'aliénés (d'abord à la Retraite-Saint-Benoît-Joseph-Labre, ensuite à l'Hôpital Saint-Jean-de-Dieu) où il sera interné pendant 42 ans, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à sa mort, survenue le 18 novembre 1941¹.

Dès son enfance, Nelligan eut la tristesse pour tout bien, état d'âme proche de la « mélancolie romantique » qui évolua vite vers une sorte de névrose galopante, désordre mental qualifié de schizophrénie et, d'après le diagnostic de certains médecins, de « démence précoce ». La plupart des poèmes de Nelligan porte la marque de son triste destin de schizophrène.

« Boulevardier funèbre échappé des balcons » — c'est ainsi que le jeune poète se qualifie lui-même —, Nelligan erre dans sa solitude comme il savait vagabonder dans les rues du Vieux Montréal. Il veut être poète. Créateur! — Il faut bien le dire : il l'est. — Il est né poète, il agit en poète, il rêve en poète. Les cours qu'il doit suivre, au Collège de Montréal et au Collège Sainte-Marie, l'intéressent peu. Il a pour guides quelques poètes préférés : Musset, Verlaine, Baudelaire, Rimbaud,

Rodenbach, Rollinat, Edgar Allan Poe, Thomas Moore... Plusieurs peintres l'émerveillent : Rosa Bonheur, Watteau, Memling, Rubens, Fra Angelico, Le Corrège. Mais l'avenue la plus large mène vers les musiciens : Rubinstein, Paderewski, Chopin, Liszt, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Paganini... Il imagine sa place au carrefour des arts. Il écrit, il lit, il rêve. Il est en constant conflit avec ses professeurs et son père. Il peut cependant se confier à sa mère douce et tendre, belle et musicienne à ses heures. Il cherche parfois un appui auprès de mademoiselle Robertine Barry (Françoise), sa « soeur d'amitié » ; il discute de son œuvre avec le Père Eugène Seers (le futur Louis Dantin), son « mentor littéraire ». Mais il se sent presque toujours seul, abandonné, désemparé. Même au sein de l'École littéraire de Montréal, il éprouve un malaise inexplicable. Parmi les jeunes, Joseph Melançon, Charles Gill et Arthur de Bussièrès sont les seuls amis qu'il fréquente. Il porte en lui tous les germes d'un poète « maudit », dont « La Romance du vin » traduira bien le désespoir. Il s'engage très tôt à bord de son imaginaire et majestueux « Vaisseau d'or », image-symbole qui traduira à la fois le mirage de sa gloire et l'implacable tragédie de son naufrage.

Âgé d'à peine seize ans et demi, Émile assiste à un événement qui restera à jamais gravé dans sa mémoire. Au début d'avril 1896, Montréal accueille, pour la deuxième fois, le célèbre pianiste polonais Ignace Paderewski. Depuis son premier concert à Carnegie Hall, à New York, le 17 novembre 1891, l'artiste s'est fait un nom sur le continent nord-américain. On le situe dans la ligne d'Antoine Gregorovitch Rubinstein, le maître incontestable du clavecin. On connaît déjà bien, en Europe et en Amérique, les œuvres du jeune Paderewski, qui l'ont rendu célèbre : « Impromptu en fa majeur », « Preludium a Cappricio », « Danses polonaises », « Cracovienne fantastique en si majeur » et surtout son « Menuet », qu'on lui demande de jouer presque à chaque concert.

Artiste ambulant — toutes les capitales le connaissent —, Paderewski crée ses propres œuvres, mais il s'impose de plus en plus comme l'interprète incomparable de Mozart, de Haydn et surtout de Chopin. À 36 ans, il est en pleine possession de son talent. Lorsqu'il se présente à la somptueuse salle Windsor, l'euphorie atteint son apogée. Au programme de ses deux concerts (les 6 et 8 avril), figurent des œuvres de Beethoven, de Mendelssohn, de Liszt, de Schumann, de Schubert, de Bach et de Brahms. La « Deuxième Rhapsodie hongroise » est chaudement applaudie. Son interprétation de Chopin, dont il exécute avec brio l'« Étude », *opus* 25, n° 9, la « Mazurka », *opus* 24, n° 4, et le « Prélude », *opus* 28, n° 17, constitue le point culminant de ses concerts.

La critique est unanime : elle loue la maestria de Paderewski et consacre son prestige de musicien. Déjà, en 1884, le critique Jean Kleczynski voyait en lui un artiste d'avenir qui possédait, en plus d'une technique sans reproche, l'« étincelle de la vraie poésie ». À Montréal, les journaux se font les interprètes du public et abondent dans le même

sens. Ainsi lisons-nous dans le *Montreal Gazette*, au lendemain du premier concert :

Paderewski is not only a great artist, he is phenomenal; he is unique in his gift, he is a genius. Montrealers have heard other great artists at the piano, but playing such as was heard last night simply led to the remark : « I never heard the piano played before, and never dreamt there were such possibilities in the instrument². »

La critique de *La Presse* est plus précise et encore plus élogieuse :

Paderewski semble jouer avec une prédilection toute particulière les œuvres de son illustre compatriote, Frédéric Chopin. C'est là, selon nous, que se manifestent le plus sensiblement le génie du pianiste, la *maestria* de son jeu, la délicatesse de sa touche, la manière admirable de détailler les moindres passages et par-dessus tout, l'âme et le sentiment de celui qui, depuis la mort de Rubinstein, est le roi incontesté du piano³.

Ainsi se présentait à Montréal, au printemps de 1896, le pianiste Ignace Paderewski, incomparable artiste aux yeux de ses contemporains et qui savait, à chaque concert, évoquer « l'âme du grand Chopin ».

D'après le témoignage de Louvigny de Montigny, membre fondateur de l'École littéraire de Montréal, et selon les souvenirs conservés par la famille d'Émile Corbeil, Nelligan assista au concert de Paderewski le 6 avril 1896 et, probablement, aussi à celui qui eut lieu deux jours plus tard. Pour lui autant que pour sa mère, musicienne sensible qui avait étudié le piano à Rimouski et qui en jouait à Montréal chaque fois que l'occasion s'y prêtait, ce fut une fête. Donc, le mercredi soir, 6 avril 1896, la mère et le fils se rendent à la salle Windsor pour écouter religieusement la musique interprétée par le pianiste dont tout le monde parle. Émile, âgé d'environ dix-sept ans et demi, poète en herbe, est déjà conquis par la musique que lui révèle la poésie : il vient de découvrir la mélancolie de Millevoye, la nostalgie de Musset, la langueur de Lamartine et « la musique avant toute chose » du Verlaine des *Poèmes saturniens*. Chez ces poètes, il a appris la musique des mots; chez Paderewski, il allait apprendre le langage des sons. On oserait même soutenir que c'est à ce moment précis que l'idée d'une poésie « moderne » s'est fixée dans l'esprit de Nelligan, révélation et appel, et surtout besoin de créer : son premier poème, « Rêve fantasque », allait paraître dans *Le Samedi* du 13 juin 1896, inspiré par la « Nuit de Walpurgis », un classique de Verlaine. En tout cas, il est permis de dire qu'au printemps de 1896, Verlaine et Chopin se partagent l'admiration de Nelligan : le jeune collégien montréalais a compris que la musique peut être poétique et la poésie — musique.

C'est donc de souvenirs bien précis qu'est né le sonnet « Pour Ignace Paderewski », sans que l'on puisse affirmer exactement quand il a été composé ou achevé. Mais ce que l'on sait avec certitude, c'est que ce texte évoque un événement particulier, soit le concert de Paderewski à Montréal, et qu'il traduit éloquemment l'émotion ressentie par Nelligan lors de l'inoubliable soirée du 6 avril 1896, à la salle Windsor.

Maître, quand j'entendis, de par tes doigts magiques,
Vibrer ce grand Nocturne, à des bruits d'or pareil;
Quand j'entendis, en un sonore et pur éveil,
Monter sa voix, parfum des astrales musiques;

Je crus que, revivant ses rythmes séraphiques
Sous l'éclat merveilleux de quelque bleu soleil,
En toi, ressuscité du funèbre sommeil,
Passait le grand vol blanc du Cygne des phtisiques.

Car tu sus ranimer son puissant piano,
Et ton âme à la sienne en un mystique anneau
S'enchaîne étrangement par des causes secrètes.

Sois fier, Paderewski, du prestige divin
Que le ciel te donna, pour que chez les poètes
Tu fisses frissonner l'âme du grand Chopin⁴!

On remarque l'enthousiasme de Nelligan quant à l'art du pianiste : l'émotion forte, soutenue, du premier au dernier vers, à la hauteur d'une admiration sincère. Comme Baudelaire dans l'art du vers, Paderewski excelle dans l'interprétation du « grand Chopin ». À ce stade, l'impression musicale alimente déjà chez lui la vision poétique. Pour exprimer ses émotions dans le cadre d'un sonnet, Nelligan réussit à créer toute une série d'images : « à des bruits d'or pareil », « parfum des astrales musiques », « l'éclat merveilleux de quelque bleu soleil », « grand vol blanc du Cygne des phtisiques ». Il est permis de dire que, dès son jeune âge, Nelligan connaît — intuitivement sans doute — les secrets de la synesthésie : couleurs, sons, parfums se confondent dans une effusion lyrique. « Tout se mêle en un vif éclat de gaîté verte⁵ », dira-t-il le 26 mai 1899, pour traduire en quelque sorte, peu de temps avant le naufrage de son intelligence, la célèbre formule des correspondances que Baudelaire a léguée à la poésie symboliste.

Il va sans dire que Nelligan voit en Paderewski deux artistes qui se complètent à merveille : pianiste-virtuose et compositeur-créditeur. Au début de son sonnet, Nelligan avoue qu'il a été émerveillé d'entendre, « de par [ses] doigts magiques, vibrer ce grand Nocturne, à des bruits d'or pareil ». Le poète fait ici vraisemblablement allusion au « Nocturne » de Paderewski (*opus* 16, n° 14), par lequel le pianiste termina son concert du 6 avril 1896, aux longs applaudissements de l'assistance.

Mais parallèlement à ses propres créations, Paderewski exécutait les œuvres de musiciens célèbres : Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Liszt, Schumann, Paganini. Il avait toutefois une prédilection marquée pour Chopin. Les programmes des concerts des 6 et 8 avril 1896 signalent avec précision les œuvres de Chopin jouées par Paderewski : « Nocturne » en sol majeur, *opus* 37 n° 2; « Mazurka » en si mineur, *opus* 33, n° 4; « Études », *opus* 25, n°s 9 et 11; « Berceuse », *opus* 57; « Valse », *opus* 34, n° 1; et la célèbre « Marche funèbre » dont Nelligan fera, à l'occasion, mention dans son œuvre (« Musiques funèbres », « Marches funèbres »). Il est indéniablement vrai que Paderewski lui a révélé la richesse et la beauté de la musique de Chopin, d'où l'apostrophe significative, étendue sur tout le dernier tercet :

Sois fier, Paderewski, du prestige divin
Que le ciel te donna, pour que chez les poètes
Tu fisses frissonner l'âme du grand Chopin⁶!

Tout est là : souvenir, émotion, message reçu.

Jusqu'à la fin de ses jours, Nelligan voua une admiration sans pareille à Ignace Paderewski. La belle prestance du pianiste, ses gestes contrôlés, ses mains magiques passant d'un style musical à un autre avec une facilité étonnante, son regard à la fois mélancolique et perçant, sa chevelure abondante, typiquement romantique et, surtout, surtout cet élan dans l'exécution des pièces les plus diverses, tout cela représentait pour Nelligan le portrait du pianiste parfait dans lequel l'Art trouve sa pleine confirmation de vivre et de rayonner. Dans les années 1930, à l'Hôpital Saint-Jean-de-Dieu, Nelligan fit cet aveu : « Paderewski est un grand artiste, artiste admirable⁷ ».

Le prestige de Paderewski s'est encore associé, dans l'esprit de Nelligan, à l'expressive musique de Chopin, où se rencontrent la mélancolie et la souffrance. Chopin est devenu donc, très rapidement, son frère dans le règne de l'Art et le fraternel témoin de sa douleur.

Il existe dans l'œuvre de Nelligan un sonnet intitulé « Mazurka ». Il s'agit ici de la rencontre de deux artistes : l'un poète, l'autre musicien. Tous les deux se reconnaissent dans le commun et inexprimable destin d'êtres condamnés à la souffrance.

Rien ne captive autant que ce particulier
Charme de la musique où ma langueur s'adore,
Quand je poursuis, aux soirs, le reflet que mordore
Maint lustre au tapis vert du salon familial.
Que j'aime entendre alors, plein de deuil singulier,
Monter du piano, comme d'une mandore,
Le rythme somnolent où ma névrose odore
Son spasme funéraire et cherche à s'oublier!

Gouffre intellectuel, ouvre-toi, large et sombre,
 Malgré que toute joie en ta tristesse sombre,
 J'y peux trouver encor comme un reste d'oubli,
 Si mon âme se perd dans les gammes étranges
 De ce motif en deuil que Chopin a poli
 Sur un rythme inquiet appris des noirs Archanges⁸.

En passant du mot au message, nous notons, dans l'optique du commun destin subi, ces mots significatifs : « langueur », « deuil singulier », « névrose », « spasme funéraire », « tristesse », « motif en deuil », « rythme inquiet »... Mais ce qui surprend, c'est « Gouffre intellectuel », placé en apposition au début du neuvième vers. On dirait que Nelligan se complaît dans l'emploi de l'adjectif « intellectuel » (rappelons-nous le titre du sonnet qui ouvre la première section de son recueil : « Clair de lune intellectuel »). Mais il l'emploie parfois à contresens dans son discours poétique. À notre avis, il n'y a rien d'« intellectuel » dans les mazurkas de Chopin et rien ne permet de qualifier ce genre musical de « gouffre intellectuel ». Dans l'œuvre de Chopin, les mazurkas, autant que les préludes et les nocturnes, ont plutôt, pour fond musical, la nostalgie et la tristesse. À tout prendre, les thèmes, la tonalité et les mouvements proviennent de la vieille tradition polonaise de la Mazovie (région du nord de Varsovie), entretenue par les villageois dans leurs danses et chansons. Ces manifestations folkloriques pleines de verve et de gaîté, Chopin les a assimilées à son moi endolori : d'où l'alternance de notes gaies et tristes, amalgame d'états d'âme différents. Paderewski a su rendre toutes les nuances qui conviennent à ces « gammes étranges ».

Et Nelligan? — Lui aussi aime écouter les mazurkas de Chopin en poète souffrant. Il remarque vite que le rythme des vieilles chansons polonaises porte les réjouissances d'une région lointaine mais, au fond de tout cela, vibre la respiration malade du pianiste : c'est surtout cette note qu'il préfère. La musique libère les émotions du moi solitaire. Qu'on se rappelle ici le singulier état d'âme que la musique a engendré au tréfonds sensible de Baudelaire :

La musique souvent me prend comme une mer!

 Je sens vibrer en moi toutes les passions
 D'un vaisseau qui souffre;
 Le bon vent, la tempête et ses convulsions

 Sur l'immense gouffre
 Me bercent. D'autres fois, calme plat, grand miroir
 De mon désespoir⁹!

Nelligan ne pousse pas l'image à l'association mer-vaisseau, qui donne à la démarche poétique de Baudelaire un pouvoir éminemment évocateur. Néanmoins, à sa façon, le poète montréalais mène à bien l'image centrale qui est à la fois aveu, comparaison, métaphore, identification et apostrophe :

Que j'aime entendre alors, plein de deuil singulier,
Monter du piano, comme d'une mandore,
Le rythme somnolent où ma névrose odore
Son spasme funéraire et cherche à s'oublier!

Gouffre intellectuel, ouvre-toi, large et sombre¹⁰.

Voilà l'aboutissement de l'image, où l'espace musical et l'espace lyrique s'arrêtent brusquement devant une sombre étendue verticalement ouverte.

En réfléchissant bien sur la « tristesse [qui] sombre », sur « ce motif en deuil », sur ce « rythme inquiet appris des noirs Achanges », on comprend mieux l'emprise de la névrose sur l'âme du poète. Dans cette recontre de la musique et de la poésie, la signification n'a légitimement lieu qu'au détriment de toute réflexion analytique : Chopin vient chez le poète en musicien envahisseur. La chute de ce sonnet, ne veut-elle pas dire que le poète montréalais écoute les mazurkas de Chopin comme s'il écoutait la « Marche funèbre »?

Nelligan a appris bien des choses sur la musique en lisant *Les Névroses* de Maurice Rollinat, son livre de chevet. Mais celui qui a pu l'assurer dans ses prédilections, n'était nul autre que Louis Dantin. Le « mentor littéraire » du jeune poète aimait à la folie la « Mazurka » en la dièse mineur, *opus 6*, de Chopin. Il parlait souvent de cette pièce, qu'il aimait écouter à l'infini; sa jeune soeur la lui avait jouée maintes et maintes fois. Dantin l'avait même transcrite en paroles. Il serait invraisemblable qu'il n'ait pas fait part de son enthousiasme à Nelligan. Dans une de ces lettres, Dantin confie ceci :

Mazurkas de Chopin! Vous fûtes la première émotion esthétique de ma vie. Par vous j'ai eu la révélation du monde secret qui s'agite sous le signe sensible des sons [...] Je serrais sur mon coeur comme un frère de désir et de destin¹¹.

Pour Nelligan et Dantin, le charme des Mazurkas semble surtout résider dans leur résonance universelle. C'est ainsi que les coeurs se reconnaissent dans les sons et les mots.

Le gouffre dont parle Nelligan témoigne du destin de l'artiste. S'y rattachent les notions de la vie et de mort : la hantise de vivre et l'appréhension de mourir. Cette double postulation — Baudelaire l'avait

déjà fait sienne! —, Nelligan l'a portée dans son être sensible, sa vie durant. Avec le temps, Chopin devient pour lui l'emblème de sa « morne ivresse », une présence qu'il appelle « âme aux sons noirs ». Peu importe alors le décor exotique — boudoir hongrois ou chambre d'une étrange musicienne —, la musique du pianiste polonais enivre le poète et le rend fou :

Fais, au blanc frisson de tes doigts,
Gémir encore, ô ma maîtresse!
Cette marche dont la caresse
Jadis extasia les rois.

Sous les lustres aux prismes froids,
Donne à ce coeur sa morne ivresse,
Aux soirs de funèbre paresse
Coulés dans ton boudoir hongrois.

Que ton piano vibre et pleure,
Et que j'oublie avec toi l'heure
Dans un Éden, on ne sait où...

Oh! fais un peu que je comprenne
Cette âme aux sons noirs qui m'entraîne
Et m'a rendu malade et fou¹²!

Rien de plus évident que de rappeler qu'on est ici dans la ligne directe de la chute de la « Mazurka » de Nelligan. Chopin engendre chez le poète des émotions fortes qui ébranlent son être sensible. Le vertige produit un délire prolongé que le poète ne pourrait traduire autrement que par une « exclamation noire », apparue comme un cri désespéré à la fin du sonnet.

Partant de ce poème, voyons rapidement comment Nelligan brosse, à l'aide de son pinceau poétique, le portrait de Chopin. Tout se fait à l'aide de traits rapides. En premier lieu, il dessine le profil de l'artiste en compagnie de maîtres tels que Raphaël, Michel-Ange, da Vinci, Paganini. . . Mais rien n'est précis : l'homme est inondé de musique, art interpellé par l'infini... La nostalgie des mazurkas est en définitive la nostalgie universelle. Rappelons ici quelques faits de la vie de Chopin. Dans un prélude dédié à George Sand, la goutte d'eau tombe sur la pierre comme une plainte éternelle. La « Grande Polonaise » pousse le galop des chevaux à l'ultime frontière de la Liberté. Et la « Marche funèbre », qui scelle la vision non pas d'une vie mais de la Vie, projette le rêve né à Zelazowa Wola vers le gouffre de l'infini. Qui mieux que Delacroix eût pu comprendre dans le visage prématurément meurtri de Chopin, la tragédie du destin humain marqué par la souffrance? Le peintre parisien fut ébloui — et saisi! — par le génie de

son ami polonais, dont la grandeur portait implacablement le sceau de la douleur.

Dans sa délicieuse étude sur Chopin, écrit Baudelaire, Liszt met Delacroix au nombre des plus assidus visiteurs du musicien-poète, et dit qu'il aimait à tomber en profonde rêverie, aux sons de cette musique légère et passionnée qui ressemble à un brillant oiseau voltigeant sur les horreurs d'un gouffre¹³.

Nous ne savons pas si Nelligan a connu le portrait de Chopin esquissé par Delacroix. Mais nous savons cependant que, comme Delacroix, il était porté à tomber dans une profonde rêverie aux sons des mazurkas et alors, à la place d'un visage de Chopin, il apercevait un grand gouffre où se perdaient les rythmes de la « Marche funèbre » : tous les chemins de la vie mènent inévitablement vers la tombe.

En composant le sonnet intitulé « Le Tombeau de Chopin », Nelligan n'était pas sans savoir que Mallarmé avait essayé de populariser le « tombeau » comme genre poétique. Le poète français, on le sait, écrivit les « tombeaux » à la mémoire de Théophile Gautier, de Paul Verlaine, de Charles Baudelaire, d'Edgar Allan Poe. Il s'agissait, plus précisément, dans un « tombeau » — qu'on appelait parfois « toast funèbre » —, de remémorer la vie et l'œuvre d'un artiste et de lui rendre ainsi un hommage singulier. C'est donc dans l'esprit de cette tradition littéraire que Nelligan a composé « Le Tombeau de Chopin ».

Dors loin des faux baisers de la Floriani,
Ô pâle consomptif, dans les lauriers de France!
Un peu de sol natal partage ta souffrance,
Le sol des palatins, dont tu t'étais muni.

Quand tu nous vins, Chopin, plein de rêve infini,
Sur ton maigre profil fleurissait l'espérance
De faire pour ton art ce que fit à Florence
Maint peintre italien pour l'âge rajeuni.

Comme un lys funéraire, au vase de la gloire
Tu te penches, jeune homme, et ne sachant plus boire...
Le clavecin sonna ta marche du tombeau!

Dors Chopin! Que ta verte inflexion du saule
Ombrage ton sommeil mélancolique et beau,
Enfant de la Pologne au bras d'or de la Gaule¹⁴!

Nelligan a-t-il découvert dans ses lectures l'existence de la tombe de Chopin au cimetière du Père-Lachaise? Cette tombe, ombragée d'arbres séculaires, est garnie d'un monument sur lequel, assise, tête baissée, une

muse semble plongée à jamais dans une rêverie profonde. Tout porte à croire que Nelligan a connu le touchant événement qui coïncide avec la fin de la vie de Chopin. Le poète fait, en effet, une nette allusion, dans le premier quatrain, à une poignée de sol du pays natal, qu'on a fait venir de Zelazowa Wola à Paris, pour la déposer dans la tombe du pianiste.

Mais les vagues allusions qui peuvent évoquer la tombe de Chopin au cimetière du Père-Lachaise n'ont ici guère d'importance. Il ne s'agit pas, à vrai dire, d'un monument de pierre situé dans une géographie précise. Nelligan glorifie surtout l'artiste dont le « maigre profil » vient d'un « rêve infini ». Dans ce sens, il le voit « comme un lys funéraire, au vase de la gloire », penché sur son clavecin, d'où s'envole sa « marche du tombeau ».

* * *

Les reflets polonais dans l'œuvre de Nelligan se trouvent donc dans quatre poèmes que nous venons d'analyser. Nous supposons que Nelligan n'avait qu'une notion générale de la Pologne qui, à l'époque où il composait son œuvre, subissait douloureusement son sort de partages, puisqu'elle était divisée depuis la fin du dix-huitième siècle entre l'Allemagne, la Russie et l'Autriche. Certes, Nelligan sait évoquer des espaces géographiques lointains — Russie, Allemagne, Hongrie, Égypte, Maroc, Japon —, mais il le fait strictement pour les besoins de son rêve exotique¹⁵.

Les motifs polonais dans l'œuvre de Nelligan n'ont rien de commun avec l'espace exotique qui sert souvent de décor au thème du poème. La Pologne apparaît dans son œuvre au niveau des vraies *rencontres culturelles*. Nelligan a réellement entendu Paderewski; il connaît relativement bien les œuvres de Chopin; il savoure à sa façon les mazurkas et crée, à force d'imagination, le profil artistique du pianiste polonais, chez qui la pièce maîtresse sera, d'après lui, la « Marche funèbre ». Paderewski et Chopin représentent pour Nelligan l'incarnation parfaite de l'élément national, rehaussé à la hauteur des valeurs universelles. C'est certainement dans cette perspective que Nelligan admire Paderewski; c'est dans ce sens qu'il adhère pleinement au monde de la musique de Chopin.

Le thème de la musique contribue grandement à l'originalité de l'œuvre de Nelligan. Mais il y a plus! Une singulière démarche créatrice s'était avérée tôt déterminante grâce à l'amalgame des langages de mots et de sons. La musique est souvent sous-jacente dans la structure de ses sonnets et rondels. Le rythme, la rime, l'image tirent de la musique de nombreux effets suggestifs¹⁶. En pensant à ces rapports mystérieux, en marge de ses commentaires sur la musique de Wagner, Baudelaire s'est permis cette réflexion :

J'ai souvent entendu dire que la musique ne pouvait pas se vanter de traduire quoi que ce soit avec certitude, comme fait la parole ou la peinture. Cela est vrai dans une certaine proportion mais n'est pas tout à fait vrai. Elle traduit à sa manière, et par les moyens qui lui sont propres. Dans la musique, comme dans la peinture et même dans la parole écrite, qui est cependant le plus positif des arts, il y a toujours une lacune complétée par l'imagination de l'auteur¹⁷.

Cette « lacune » dont parle Baudelaire, Nelligan savait fort bien la combler grâce à son imagination, stimulée par l'écoute des œuvres de Chopin et de Paderewski. Aux impressions reçues, il savait imprimer sa voix de poète. C'est ainsi qu'il a assimilé à sa parole certaines résonances esthétiques et humaines de la musique polonaise.

Notes

1. Pour plus de détails sur la vie et l'œuvre de Nelligan, nous recommandons au lecteur notre ouvrage : *Nelligan, 1879–1941. Biographie*, Montréal, Éditions Fides, 1987, xvi, 635 pp., collection « Le Vaisseau d'or ».
2. « Great Pianist », dans le *Montreal Gazette*, 7 avril 1896, p. 5.
3. « Concert à la salle Windsor », dans *La Presse*, 8 avril 1896, p. 1.
4. Émile Nelligan, « Pour Ignace Paderewski », *Poésies Complètes 1896–1899*, Montréal/Paris, Fides, 1952, collection « Nénuphar ». Édition critique établie par Luc Lacourcière, p. 86. Désormais, les références à la poésie de Nelligan renverront à cette édition, désignée par le sigle ENPC.
5. « La Romance du Vin », ENPC, p. 198.
6. « Pour Ignace Paderewski », ENPC, p. 86 (dernier tercet).
7. Émile Nelligan, témoignage fait dans les années 1930 à Gilles Corbeil, neveu du poète.
8. « Mazurka », ENPC, p. 95.
9. Charles Baudelaire, « La Musique », dans Baudelaire, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1961; aussi dans *Les Fleurs du Mal*, p. 65. NRF, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Édition critique établie par Y.-G. Le Dantec, révisée, complétée et présentée par Claude Pichois.
10. « Mazurka », ENPC, p. 95, vers 5–9.
11. Louis Dantin, cité par Gabriel Nadeau, *Louis Dantin. Sa vie et son œuvre*, Manchester, Éditions Lafayette, 1948, p. 156.
12. « Chopin », ENPC, p. 92.
13. Charles Baudelaire, *L'Œuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix*, dans *op. cit.*, p. 1133.
14. « Le Tombeau de Chopin », ENPC, p. 236. Nelligan a écrit deux autres poèmes-tombeaux : « Le Tombeau de la négresse » et « Le Tombeau de Charles Baudelaire », ce dernier est marqué d'un extraordinaire pouvoir évocateur.
15. Nous pensons ici aux poèmes suivants : « Le Regret des joujoux », « Caprice blanc », « Châteaux en Espagne », « Soir d'hiver », « Five o'clock », « Lied fantasque », « Le Perroquet », « Fantaisie créole », « Les Balsamines », « Éventail », « L'Antiquaire », « Potiche », « À George Rodenbach », « Salons allemands », « Je sais là-bas », « Frère Alfus ».

16. Nous avons consacré à ce sujet l'un de nos ouvrages : *Nelligan et la Musique*, Ottawa, Les Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1971.
17. Charles Baudelaire, *Richard Wagner et « Tannhäuser » à Paris*, dans *op. cit.*, pp. 1210–1211.

Linguistics

JAROMIRA RAKUSAN

Slavic Immigrants, Situation, and the Process of Naming

*Za Tebou
Před Tebou
Po čem šlapeš
Dozajista
Co Ti žid nese*

—A Czech fortune-teller's incantation

This study deals with the speech of two groups of Slavic people—Czechs and Ukrainians—who left their native countries behind them, emigrated to North America, learned English, and made themselves at home here.

The basis for discussion is the pressure exerted by the English language on the vocabularies of the immigrants' native languages. Since every contact situation leads inevitably to a certain confusion of patterns, it raises a host of questions, among which one seems particularly pertinent: why are some forms adopted and not others?

In answer to this question as applied to English borrowings found in discourses of the Czechs and Ukrainians, I have tried to account for what these people do with their language by observing various topics in which the borrowings function. Both sets of borrowings are observed and then contrasted from the point of view of their occurrence in the individual topics. Information on the proportional distribution of borrowings makes it possible to discover general tendencies in the choice of a code—native vs. English—in which the choice of a topic is an important variable.

The relative proportion of borrowed lexical units reflects the linguistic and cultural development of ethnic communities and the social, economic, and even cognitive state of the individual language user.

Characteristics of Sources

Czech Corpus (756 Items)

The sources of the texts from which the Czech corpus have been excerpted are the ethnic newspapers *Pokrok Západu* (1919, 1920), *Hospodář* (1960), both published in Nebraska, and *Národ* (1948, 1949), published in Chicago, as well as numerous individual usages collected by the author during conversations with Czech nationals in Ontario.

Pokrok Západu serves the Nebraska Czech community, which consists mainly of farmers, tradespeople, and local businessmen. The bimonthly *Hospodář* caters almost exclusively to the agricultural Czech community of the Omaha region.¹ *Národ*, although an organ of Czech Catholics, has a sociologically more diverse readership. It includes Illinois farmers as well as Czech nationals living in an urban environment.

The borrowings were excerpted from many journalistic genres, including headlines, obituaries, advertisements, and so on. Preferential treatment, however, was given to "Letters to the editor," since they tend to lean more obviously towards colloquial spoken usage than do other segments of these newspapers.

Ukrainian Corpus (875 Items)

The Ukrainian corpus, unlike the Czech corpus, which is the result of my collaborators' and my own work, has been obtained mainly from the already published lexicon of Ukrainian anglicisms compiled by Zhluktenko.² The author has been criticized for the narrowness of his sources, since he has drawn exclusively from left-oriented Ukrainian newspapers and has failed to document other existing ethnic usage.³ I have attempted to remedy this inadequacy by including borrowings from the *Etymological Dictionary of Ukrainian Americanisms*,⁴ which the author kindly lent me, and by other expressions found in Burstynsky,⁵ Gerus-Tarnawecka,⁶ and Klymasz and Medwidsky.⁷ The main sources for Zhluktenko's material were *Svit* (New York 1904–1914, 1932, 1945), *Ukrains'ki visti* (New York 1963), *Ukrains'ke zhyttia* (Toronto 1961–1962), *Ukrains'ki robitnychi visti* (Winnipeg 1920–1924), *Ukrains'ke slovo* (Winnipeg 1945), and *Ukrains'ki shchodenni visti* (New York 1920–1923, 1925, 1928, 1945–1946). Besides using written sources, the author obtained spoken material through conversations with several American Ukrainians.⁸

Most of the Ukrainian data draw on material produced by pre-World War II immigrants who came to Canada and to the United States mainly for economic reasons. They hailed from the western and

south-western parts of the Ukraine. As is to be expected, they had very little education. The post-World War II immigrants came to Canada for political reasons and were often members of the so-called "intelligentsia." They created a new awareness of language and an increased effort on the part of many people to make their language conform to standard Ukrainian.⁹ The Ukrainian material contains a considerably larger proportion of data from the spoken language than the Czech corpus.

Methodology

Following the British contextual school emphasizing the role of linguistic elements in communication, M.A.K. Halliday and his collaborators singled out the sort of variability that arises from the uses to which language is put.¹⁰ This "use-based" variety is termed "register," and it is needed when we want to account for what people do with their language. The authors also identified three factors that affect a speaker's choice of register: *field of discourse*—subject matter, topic, that is, what is going on; *mode of discourse*—the medium of the language activity and its role in the situation, that is, spoken or written; and *style of discourse*—the relationship among the participants, for example, formal vs. casual.¹¹

Considering the nature of the sources of my material, it is apparent that the mode and style factors are of little relevance here. A substantial majority of the borrowings came from written texts, and the style of discourse is in this case invariably the result of the same participant relation: Czech or Ukrainian immigrants producing texts directed towards their fellow immigrants. The field of discourse or topic, however, offers an interesting variable suitable for analyzing our corpus.

Such classical works as those by Dieter Behrens,¹² Marius Valkhoff,¹³ Asta Stene,¹⁴ Louis Deroy,¹⁵ and Einar Haugen¹⁶ established the methods and axioms of research into lexical borrowings some decades ago. They classified borrowings according to semantic content, breaking down the borrowed vocabulary into the groups of similar meaning. The most prominent of these was J. J. Salverda de Grave, an adherent of what is sometimes called the Dutch school of lexicology. De Grave's method was first shown in his pioneer work *De Franse Woorden in het Nederlands*, in which he arranged the onomasiological units according to their semantic categories in a hierarchical order that represents a progression of increasingly intimate influences.¹⁷ Beginning with terms of art and science and finances assembled under the heading of "la vie publique," the enumeration passes via "la vie sociale" (terms of commerce, industry, trades, and professions) to "la

vie privée," where the "funnel," as he puts it, is most constricted.¹⁸ Even though my own classification of borrowings is based on the principles delineated by de Grave and his followers, I deviate from them in two respects:

- (1) Semantic meaning is replaced by pragmatic meaning.
- (2) The monodimensional scale of intimacy is replaced by a bidimensional scale referring to two basic kinds of environment—physical and social.

Semantic vs. Pragmatic Meaning

I differ from the above-mentioned works in being concerned with a meaning that is not just a property of a particular lexeme but that is seen as the speaker's use of a lexeme in a particular context. Such a meaning is understood in a pragmatic sense, that is, as something that is performed rather than something that exists in a static way.¹⁹ The borrowings of my corpus will be then classified according to the type of topic in which they were used. This sometimes necessitates assigning a single expression to two or more topics. For example, the borrowing *lot* may be found in Urban Environment if the topic deals with the city; it may appear in Country and Nature, if the speaker speaks about his/her farm; and it may be also classified under Business if it was found in an advertisement of an ethnic real estate firm. The pragmatic meaning removes from consideration the usual dilemma concerning uncertain semantic categories such as "Abstract nouns" or "General terms"²⁰ or "Other borrowings,"²¹ since every item, even a conjunction or a preposition, is used in a particular context, which in turn can be assigned to one of our classificatory types.

Monodimensional vs. Bidimensional Scale of Intimacy

In general, lexicologists believe that lexical units are reliable, acceptable indications of external events.²² Carrying out an analysis of the associations between language expressions and extralinguistic reality involves choice of classificatory devices, reflecting this natural functioning of language. De Grave's²³ classification of borrowings according to their relation to extralinguistic events on a scale of progression with increasing proximity to the individual serves the purpose for which it was intended quite well. It can, however, be refined by splitting it into two dimensions: the speech events related to Physical Environment, and speech events related to Social Environment.

When talking about Physical Environment, people are preoccupied with the world as a collection of things. For newcomers, these

things are sometimes totally new, sometimes only somewhat different from those they used to encounter at home. They may acquire new expressions referring to General Environment, that is, spatial and temporal phenomena; expressions referring to Landscape, that is, the surroundings of closer proximity—countryside, urban centres, flow of traffic; and, finally, expressions referring to the Immediate Environment—family dwellings and things of everyday use.

There is also another aspect of North American reality, that which consists of people with whom the immigrants have dealings of a more or less personal kind. Among the least personal are the contacts with those who, more as a part of an institution than in their capacity as individuals, exercise power over others. The topics dealing with this type of social contact constitute the Public Life topics in my scheme. The Social Life topics include the discourse concerning the immigrants' professional existence and their participation in common affairs. The topics pertaining to the life particular to the newcomer as an individual—mostly acquaintances and friends—are classified in the Private Life category.

Borrowings in Topics Related to Physical and Social Environment

Tables I and II sum up the classification of topical categories with illustrative examples of borrowings in both ethnic languages.

TABLE I
BORROWINGS IN TOPICS RELATED TO PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

TOPICS	EXAMPLES
General Environment	
<i>Time and Space</i>	Cz. sezony v roce (seasons of the year); South; žulaj (July); Indian Summer. Uk.* nekt (next); savt (south); sandei (Sunday); ap-said-davn (upside down); vik-end (week-end).
<i>Countries and Nations</i>	Cz. Amerikán; čechoslovakie; Mexikán (Mexican); Yankees; koreánský (Korean); diplo-mat; menonites. Uk. kontry (country); enky (Yankee); airysh (Irish); dachmen (Dutchman).
Landscape	
<i>Urban</i>	Cz. downtown; shopping district; slum clear-ance; saloony; boarding; stor (store). Uk. strit (street); saidvak (sidewalk); biuty parlor (beauty parlour).
<i>Country and Nature</i>	Cz. barny (barns); preservy (preserves); renč (ranch); blizard. Uk. gomsted (homestead); ryver (river); stepsy (steps); prera (prairie).
<i>Transport</i>	Cz. freight; káry (cars); velko-silnice (highway); jeeps; semi-trailers; taxovka (taxi). Uk. stritgara (street car); ryli (rails); ravndgavz (round house); .dypo (depot); styshin (station).
Immediate Environment	
<i>Dwellings and Their Parts</i>	Cz. kadyč (cottage); flat; bungalow; basement; porč; georgian type residence. Uk. pentri (pantry); ruf (roof); sanrum (sunroom); sylier (cellar); katedzh (cottage).
<i>Foods, Drinks, Fruits</i>	Cz. pikl (pickle); molasses; catsup; kukesy (cookies); nearbeer; evaporated milk. Uk. nat-meg (nutmeg); pankyks (pancakes); porych (porridge); pikolz (pickles); saida (cider); pinot (peanut).
<i>Things of Daily Use</i>	Cz. kožešinový kabát (fur coat); televizo (televi-sion); pejlky (pails); ruční taška (handbag). Uk. saksy (socks); pavder (powder); eshken (ash can); ropa (rope); slypersy (slippers); mechka (match).

* Ukrainian phoneme |h| is in our transliteration rendered by the letter g following Zhluktenko's transcription.

TABLE II
BORROWINGS IN TOPICS RELATED TO SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

TOPICS	EXAMPLES
Public Life	
<i>Education and Culture</i>	Cz. vyšší škola (high school); graduovati (to graduate); extenční kursy (extension courses); grammární škola (grammar school); učitelský certifikát (teacher's certificate). Uk.* naitskul (night school); kalydzh (college); gaiskul (high school); speliuvaty (to spell); pricher (preacher).
<i>Administration</i>	Cz. office; mayor; klerk (clerk); depártment práce (Labour Department); emergenční stav (state of emergency); affidavit; alderman. Uk. steit (state); dominiia (dominion); meior (mayor); rekorduvaty (to record).
<i>Legal System</i>	Cz. lynč (lynch); inkvest; šerif; zákonodárna (legislature); koroner; certifikát o úmrtí (death certificate). Uk. notis (notice); progybyshen (prohibition); loer (lawyer); lakopa (jail, lock up).
<i>Finance</i>	Cz. půjčovatel (creditor); markyč (mortgage); úsporné bondy (savings bonds); ček (cheque); sponsor. Uk. resyt (receipt); kesh (cash); investment; seif (safe); ekspenz (expense).
<i>Health Care</i>	Cz. emergenční ambulance (emergency ambulance); hospital; health officers; medicální sbory (medical squads); operatér (surgeon). Uk. sailen (asylum); eks-rei (X-ray); norsa (nurse); veityng rum (waiting room).
<i>Military</i>	Cz. ozbrojený truck (armoured truck); bazooka; spitfire; staff sargant; khaki; kolonel. Uk. sleiker (slacker); iuniform (uniform); trench; maryns (the marines).
<i>Communications</i>	Cz. telefonický trust (telephone trust); ohlavení (headline); mail boxna (mail box); telegraph lines; kabeloval (he cabled). Uk. messandzher (messenger); kablegrama (cablegram); post-ofis (post office); eirmeil (air mail).
Social Life	
<i>Socio-political Activity</i>	Cz. proklamace (proclamation); konvence; round-table conference; nominován (nominated); zionisté (Zionists); balloty (ballots). Uk. relif (relief); straikbreker (strike breaker); chermen (chairman); piketuvaty (to picket).

<i>Industry/Construction</i>	Cz. gázovna (gasworks); kalciminování (calcimining); plastýr (plasterer); varnish. Uk. naitshyft (night shift); saperdent (superintendent); skydva (skidway); kol'ieri (colliery); fandri (foundry).
<i>Agriculture</i>	Cz. farmerka (farm-woman); gumbo; subsoil; alfalfa; korna (corn); bušl (bushel); pickers. Uk. gomstead (homestead); ryikuvaty (to rake); stepel'nia (stable); pyka (picker); vil-bara (wheel-barrow).
<i>Business and Advertising</i>	Cz. byznis (business); kontrakt; inkorporace; kommisné (commission); advertizers. Uk. seils-men (salesman); brok (broke); order; lis (lease); byznes (business); bargin (bargain).

Private Life

<i>Common Daily Activities</i>	Cz. životní program (life-style); hair cut; otrimovat (to trim); sfixnout (to fix). Uk. bizi (busy); mufuvaty (to move); gariapuvaty (to hurry up); barber; vochuvaty (to watch).
<i>Recreation</i>	Cz. pohyblivé obrázky (moving pictures); vagace (vacation); atrakce; dardy (darts); punch boards; gambluje (he gambles); bazar. Uk. pul-rum (pool-room); saker (soccer); banda (band); daisy (dice); pokur (poker); fon (fun).
<i>Human Contacts</i>	Cz. bečlaření (bachelor's life); "Valentine"; How do you do; zlaté manželské jubileum (golden anniversary). Uk. pliz (please); radyvei (right away); rumor; kys (kiss); konversuvaty (to converse).
<i>Evaluations and Attitudes</i>	Cz. sympatisovatel (sympathizer); Tož good byl grandpa! (Well, Grandpa was a good man!). Uk. nais (nice); pur (poor); strendzher (stranger); gud (good); gadem (goddamn); dzhizus! (Jesus!); bom (bum).
<i>Psychological and Physical Qualities and States</i>	Cz. influenza; polio; hay fever. Uk. setysfaid (satisfied); dronk (drunk); trobel' (trouble); kreizi (crazy); kuku (cuckoo, i.e., insane); syk (sick).

Analysis of the Data

The excerpted material consists of 1631 borrowed onomasiological units, nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, out of which there are 756 lexemes from Czech sources and 875 lexemes from Ukrainian sources. The corpus includes only lexemes of a general nature: that is, proper nouns have been excluded.

In order to see whether the proposed classification has any inner rationale, I investigated the quantitative aspects of the English borrowings in both Czech and Ukrainian corpora, observing their distribution among the individual topics.

On the ordinate of Graph I (see p. 380) are the topics in which the individual borrowings were used. The topics are arranged according to the above-mentioned bidimensional (Physical Environment and Social Environment) classification and according to the proximity to the individual within each dimension. The abscissa shows the percentage of borrowings used in the individual topics within each Czech and Ukrainian corpus, respectively.

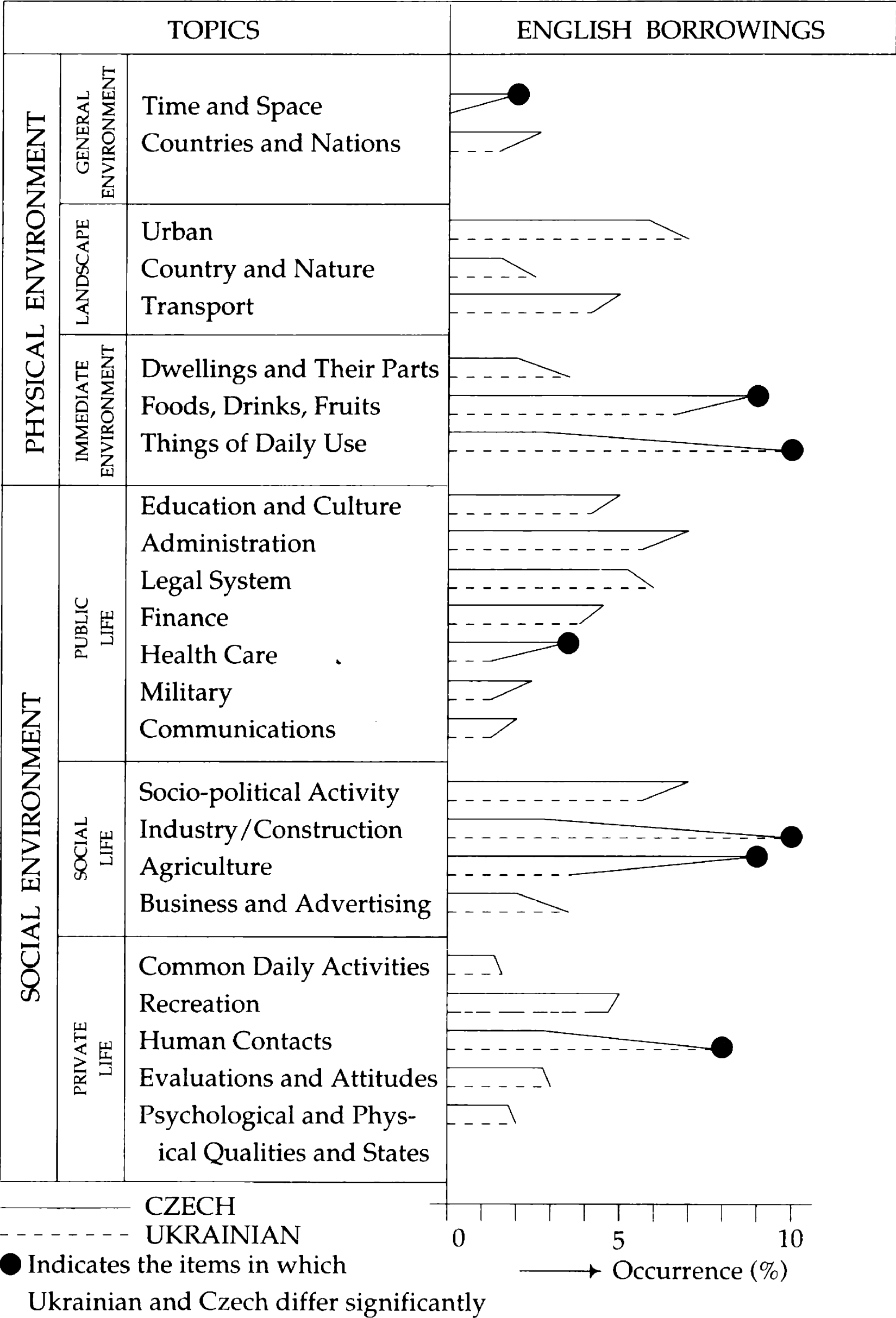
Even though the material has been gathered in a random way, through casual conversations and through rather unsystematic excerpts from different types of ethnic press, the data show a very similar pattern for the Czech and Ukrainian corpora. The individual instances in which the proportions of borrowings differ are described below.

In Czech discourse, the percentage of English borrowings substantially exceeds that of the Ukrainian one in topics Time and Space, Foods, Drinks, Fruits, Health Care, and Agriculture. In Ukrainian discourse, the topics with the excessive English lexicon are Things of Daily Use, Industry/Construction, and Human Contacts.

These instances can, for the most part, be explained by the differences in the sources. The Czech preference for the anglicization of the topics Foods, Drinks, Fruits and Agriculture compared with the Ukrainian topics Things of Daily Use and Industry/Construction stems from the fact that the Czech sources were usually published in rural areas and were intended for farmers and their families, whereas the Ukrainian publications served Ukrainian nationals working in industrial urban centres of Canada and the United States. As both corpora show, the types of profession, Agriculture vs. Industry/Construction, and their products, Foods, Drinks, Fruits vs. Things of Daily Use, are important environmental components influencing the choice of code in favour of English.

The topics related to Health Care (as a government agency) are very scarce in the Ukrainian corpus, which was obtained from relatively much older sources than the Czech corpus. Since the government took over health care quite recently, its linguistic reflex is not significantly represented in the older Ukrainian discourse.

GRAPH I
OCCURRENCE



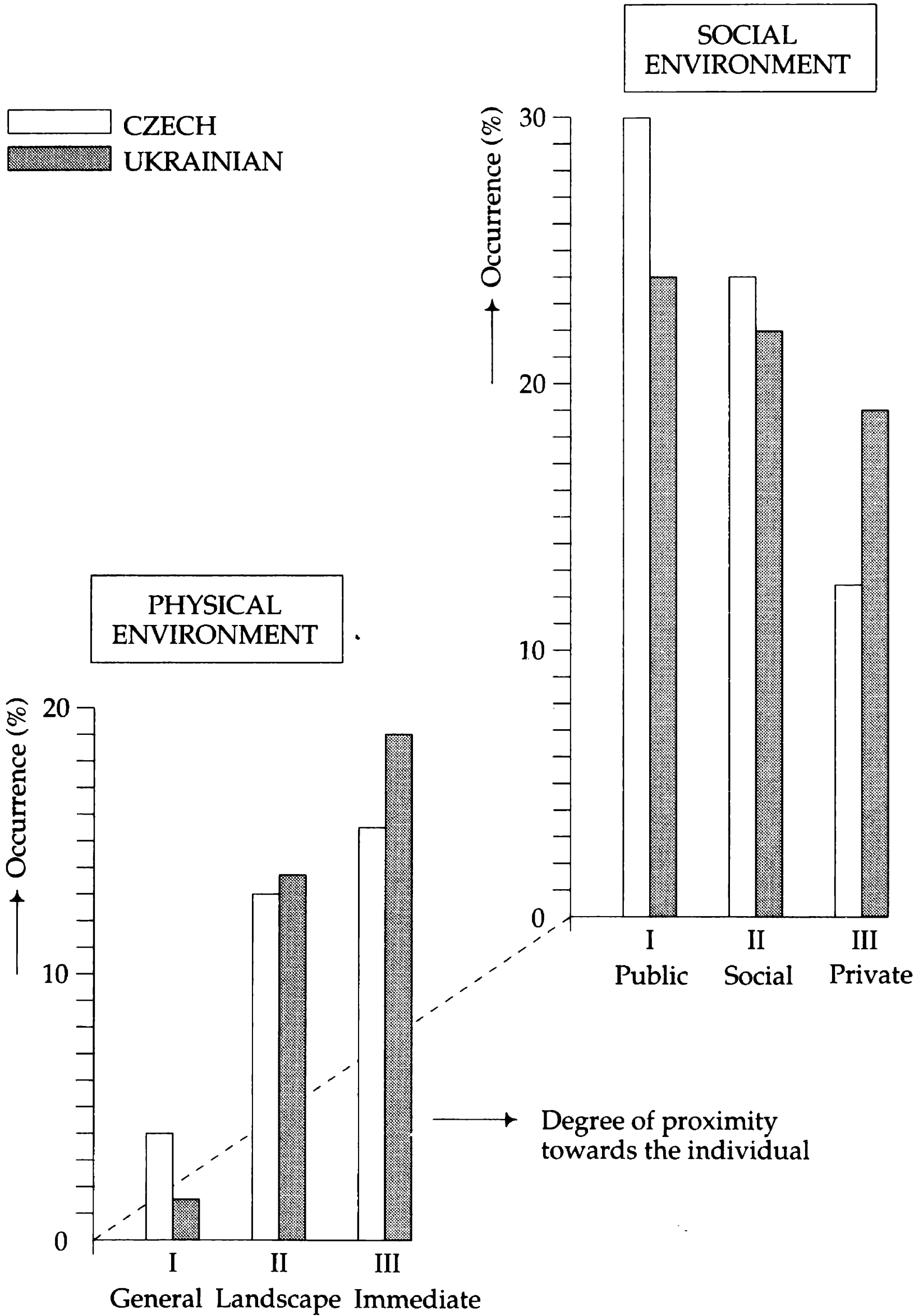
The most striking difference between the corpora, however, is the preponderance of borrowing in Ukrainian discourse dealing with Human Contacts. In Ukrainian, we notice a variety of units with a phatic function, whereas in the Czech material we find only a few such expressions. The majority of the borrowings in this category are of a gnomic character—e.g., "don't stick your neck out," "keep smiling"—or other expressions by which human contacts are described rather than performed—e.g., the neologisms *překvapenka* (surprise party) and *bečlaření* (to live as a bachelor). This proportional discrepancy between both corpora stems from the much greater spoken component in the Ukrainian corpus.

The difference between the participation of spoken vs. written sources also accounts for the lack of English units in the Ukrainian material dealing with Time and Space. These topics of a rather abstract nature tend to appear much more in the preponderantly written Czech sources.

The fact that certain topics or semantic fields are connected with a significant increase in the use of borrowings has been supported by other ethnic materials, for example, Norwegian,^{24,25} Pennsylvania German,²⁶ Polish,²⁷ Slovene,²⁸ and so on. The same phenomenon occurs in materials from standard languages such as the previously mentioned works on French, Dutch, or Serbo-Croatian.²⁹ There is apparently a general tendency of onomasiological code switching, which is influenced by the outside world and the speaker's involvement with it. This pragmatic code-drift is obvious from Graph II (see p. 382), in which the number of topics related to Social Environment and Physical Environment has been reduced into more abstract topical categories arranged according to three degrees of proximity to the person producing the discourse (see Tables I and II).

Graph II sums up the relationship between the quantity of borrowings and their pragmatics. First, it confirms the previously stated consistency of both ethnic corpora with respect to the proportions of borrowings. Second, it emphasizes that there is a direct relationship between the topic (element of situation) and the code switching. This general tendency I propose to call the pragmatic code-drift. Third, Graph II indicates that the movement of the pragmatic code-drift takes the opposite direction for the topics related to Physical Environment and Social Environment in both languages. Within the group of topics referring to Physical Environment, the degree of English borrowings grows as the topics move towards the individual or towards intimacy. The anglicization peaks when the discourse settles on the topics dealing with immediate surroundings: that is, on people's accommodation, things they use and own, and the food and drink they consume.

GRAPH II



The distribution of borrowings within the topics related to Social Environment shows the opposite tendency with respect to the scale of proximity. The topics related to Public Life are heavily anglicized. The occurrence of English borrowings decreases, however, when there is a progression of topics towards greater intimacy, and it reaches its lowest proportion in the sphere of personal relations.

Conclusions

The opposite tendency in the distribution of the borrowings between the above-mentioned topical categories—Physical Environment and Social Environment—can be explained by considering the factors by which the code switching is known to be influenced:

- (1) native language factor;
- (2) socio-linguistic position of the speakers; and
- (3) speaker's cognition.

Native Language Factor

Looking at the problem from the existence of the native vocabulary alone, there is no real necessity to borrow anything besides the latest technical terminology. The majority of European immigrants, including the Czechs and the Ukrainians, had adequate words for most of the objects they encountered and would not have abandoned them if they had not been placed under strong social pressure by their economic activities.³⁰ However, there is one type of borrowing directly demanded by the deficiency of the native vocabulary. It is represented by onomasiological units with different expressive shades of meaning adopted from everyday language. These units are used in interpersonal situations and are included in the immigrant lexicons mainly as a result of the natural need for replenishing native expressive vocabulary. However, this type of borrowed unit appears only minimally in our corpora. In general, the native language factor does not seem to influence the usage of innovations to any great extent.

Socio-linguistic Position of the Speakers

The quantity of borrowings in the topics related to Social Environment is primarily determined by the speakers' positions in society and by their own vision of themselves as social people. One of the factors triggering the contactual process is prestige, which is usually carried by the lending language. If there is some field of activity in which the

speakers of the two languages have much contact and in which one group is clearly superior to the other, this field is likely to be reflected in heavy borrowing by the inferior group.³¹ This claim is confirmed by the large quantity of English borrowings related to Public Life topics. The English speakers, by virtue of their majority and, consequently, their leading role in all spheres of public life, are the ones who decide which language may be used³² and which expression is the most appropriate.

In the spheres less influenced by anglicization, such as Social Life topics, prestige of English dominates the picture mainly in topics related to profession: that is, Industry/Construction (in the case of the Ukrainians) and Agriculture (in the case of the Czechs). Topics that show only the occasional switch to English are related to the private lives of the speakers. The preference for native expressions is dictated by solidarity with one's countrymen. Apparently, the immigrants are placed in a position where they are either unable or unwilling to enter into more personal contacts with the speakers of the other language. In some cases, they remain outsiders with respect to the American or Canadian society forever. Such "in group" situation will dictate the use of mostly native expressions.

Speakers' Cognition

The quantity of borrowings in topics related to Physical Environment is determined by the strategies through which speakers explore their environment and through which they acquire understanding of the world around them. For immigrants, this activity comes about at least twice in their lives. The first time it occurred was at the time of their infancy, before they took over their mother tongue.³³ The second is the time of their sudden implantation into the North American continent and their first attempts at using English. Whether they wished it or not, immigrants were being initiated into one of the subtlest aspects of North America, the invisible network of distinctions and congruences that the categories of the new language imposed on their universe of experience. This is what is ordinarily meant by "learning to think" in a new language.³⁴ The onomasiological process that plays the major role in this task is facilitated, on the one hand, by the gradual addition of items belonging to another code and, on the other hand, by suppressing conceptual distinctions provided by their own language. We find, therefore, the largest quantity of borrowings in the topics referring to the immediate environment of speakers where their contact with North American reality is the most intimate. The predominant use of English in such situations has been noted by many researchers. For example, Weinreich speaks about "cultural borrowings,"³⁵ Haugen about "necessary words,"³⁶ Stene about "exotica,"³⁷ and so on.

The topics dealing with Landscape are characterized by the mixture of native and borrowed expressions. Even though most of the features of urban and country landscapes are familiar, the new cognitive construct recognizes features pertaining to the North American reality specifically. This leads to the use of an English onomasiological unit. The topics referring to General Environment trigger the least need for borrowing, since all the concepts are well known and the labels for them have been provided by the native languages of the speakers.

As demonstrated by the Czech and Ukrainian material, the restructuring of the native vocabulary of immigrants and the asymmetry of its distribution are seen as the result of the need to create an instrument that could express the significant distinctions of the North American environment. It serves the purpose not only of communication, but also of cognition and discovery. These two functions, social and heuristic, dominate the choice of the code differently in different contexts.

Notes

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2. I. O. Zhluktenko, *Ukrains'ko-angliis'ki mizhmovni vidnosyny. Ukrains'ka mova u SSA i Kanadi* (Kiev: Kiev University, 1964), pp. 114–55.
3. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, review of "Ukrains'ko-angliis'ki mizhmovni vidnosyny, Kiev, 1964" by I. O. Zhluktenko, in *Anzeiger für Slavische Philologie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 186.
4. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, *An Etymological Dictionary of Ukrainian Americanisms* (in progress).
5. E. N. Burstynsky, "Languages in Contact: Ukrainian and English," in *Slavs in Canada*, 3, Proceedings of the Third National Conference on Canadian Slavs, ed. C. S. Jaenen (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1969), pp. 249–54.
6. I. Gerus-Tarnawecka, "Interference of Standard Literary Ukrainian in the Speech of Canadian Ukrainians," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 25, no. 1 (1983):163–79.
7. R. Klymasz and B. Medwidsky, "Macaronic Poetics in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 25, no. 1 (1983):206–15.
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9. Burstynsky, pp. 250–51, 254.
10. M.A.K. Halliday, A. McIntosh, and P. Stevens, *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 7.
11. Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens, pp. 90–92.
12. D. Behrens, *Über deutsches Sprachgut in Franzosischen* (Giessen: n.p., 1927), as quoted in T. E. Hope, "Loan-words as Cultural and Lexical Symbols," *Archivum Linguisticum* 24 (1962):113.
13. M. Valkhoff, *Étude sur les mots français d'origine néerlandaise* (Amersfoort: n.p., 1931), as quoted in Hope, p. 114.
14. A. Stene, *English Loan-words in Modern Norwegian. A Study of Linguistic Borrowing in the Process* (London–Oslo: Philological Society, 1945), pp. 176–77.
15. L. Deroy, *L'Emprunt linguistique* (Paris: n.p., 1956), as quoted in Hope, p. 111.

16. E. Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: a Study in Bilingual Behaviour* (Bloomington–London: Indiana University Press, 1969).
17. J. J. Salverda de Grave, *De Franse Woorden in het Nederlands* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1906), as quoted in Hope, p. 113.
18. Hope, pp. 112–21.
19. G. Leech, *Semantics* (Suffolk: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 319.
20. Haugen, p. 91.
21. Zhluktenko, p. 73.
22. Valkhoff, pp. 245–46.
23. Hope, p. 113.
24. Haugen, pp. 93–97.
25. Stene, pp. 175–93.
26. O. Springer, "The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 42 (1943): 20–21.
27. Y. Grabowski, "On the Influence of the English Language on Russian and Polish, and English Interference in the Two Languages as Spoken on This Continent," in *Canadian Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, August 21–27*, ed. Z. Folejewski (The Hague–Paris: Mouton, 1973), pp. 190–201, and "Some Recent Changes in Canadian Polish," in *Canadian Contributions to the Eighth International Congress of Slavists* (Zagreb–Ljubljana–Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1978), pp. 75–76.
28. T. Priestly, "Slovene and German in Contact: Some Lexical Analyses," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 25, no. 1 (1983):132–38.
29. G. Thomas, "The Origin and Nature of Lexical Purism in the Croatian Variant of Serbo-Croatian," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 20, no. 3 (1978):412–13.
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31. Haugen, p. 372.
32. M. C. Grayshou, *Towards a Social Grammar of Language* (The Hague–Paris–New York: Mouton, 1977), p. 60.
33. M.A.K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotics* (London: G. Arnold, 1978), p. 53.
34. Haugen, pp. 369–70.
35. U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague–Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 56–57.
36. Haugen, pp. 369–72.
37. Stene, p. 198.

L'Identification et le classement des gallicismes en ukrainien

Il paraît pertinent d'entamer notre discussion par ces remarques préliminaires tirées de l'article du linguiste ukrainien contemporain A. Krytenko :

En général, on peut affirmer que les images phoniques des mots de notre langue forment un champ colossal parsemé inégalement et d'une façon originale et capricieuse. Ces images phoniques se groupent en constellations plus ou moins fermées qui possèdent leurs propres structures et leurs irrégularités; on observe entre ces constellations des distances bien inégales et une diversité des lignes de liaison structurelle. La description rationnelle de ce domaine linguistique peu exploré demeure une tâche à être accomplie par la science.

On ne s'y bornera pas, d'ailleurs, avec une simple description, car la paronymie a beaucoup d'aspects : les relations des paronymes avec les systèmes sémantiques de la langue (la formation des mots, les rangées thématiques du lexique, la synonymie, l'antonymie); la composition des paronymes du point de vue de l'histoire de la langue (les paronymes du fond traditionnel, les emprunts, les calques des mots étrangers); le rôle des paronymes dans le développement de la langue (l'action réciproque des paronymes, leurs conflits, l'attraction et le repoussement, surtout l'étymologie populaire comme manifestation de l'attraction paronymique qui sous-entend l'économie des signes non-motivée du lexique); le rôle des paronymes dans la création poétique; l'importance des paronymes dans le procédé d'acquisition d'une langue maternelle ou étrangère; la paronymie et la culture de parole¹.

On peut pousser la notion de paronymie encore plus loin en constatant que tous les mots de la langue ukrainienne sont plus ou moins paronymiques. Il est évident que chaque mot présente une image phonique qui ressemble partiellement ou entièrement à une autre image (la ressemblance totale s'appelle, bien-sûr, l'homonymie). C'est un cas

particulier de la paronymie partielle qui nous intéresse dans cet article, notamment, la paronymie basée sur la ressemblance des éléments finals des gallicismes et des mots du vocabulaire de base (soit du fond traditionnel, soit de la souche slave).

Nous avons choisi la méthode d'analyse des rangées rimées afin de pouvoir diviser tout le lexique d'origine française en sous-groupes identifiables et en même temps ayant un caractère formel, ce qui nous permettra de nous tenir essentiellement à l'écart des questions pertinentes à la sémantique de ces mots. Nous disons « essentiellement à l'écart » tout en comprenant qu'il est impossible de parler des suffixes et des désinences sans être conscient du fait qu'ils portent eux aussi une partie de la charge sémantique : singularité, pluralité, relations paradigmatisques, etc.

Cette méthode d'organisation du matériel lexical d'après les lignes d'attraction paronymique nous permet de catégoriser tous les gallicismes existants et potentiels, tandis que l'organisation du matériel d'après les rangées thématiques n'aboutirait qu'à un simple remaniement dans plusieurs directions du vocabulaire existant des gallicismes afin de déterminer leurs corrélations avec la réalité extralinguistique. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous ne reconnaissons pas la validité du principe d'organisation thématique des emprunts dans beaucoup d'autres domaines de la recherche².

Si simple qu'elle paraisse au premier regard, la tâche de l'indentification des gallicismes en ukrainien contemporain se montre, en réalité, assez compliquée, comme peut le constater tout compilateur de dictionnaire de mots étrangers. On pourrait croire que, pour repérer les mots d'origine française dans les textes littéraires ou dans la langue parlée de tous les jours, il suffirait d'avoir une connaissance satisfaisante du français ainsi que la connaissance et l'intuition de la langue maternelle. Or, rien ne peut être plus erroné.

Mettons en doute, tout d'abord, l'intuition : même le sentiment d'un locuteur des plus raffinés peut être trompé par les mots empruntés qui se sont établis dans la langue pendant la période pré littéraire et qui, par conséquent, subirent une complète assimilation phonétique, morphologique et sémantique. Un locuteur originaire du pays, même instruit, à moins d'être spécialiste en linguistique, devient conscient de l'insuffisance de l'intuition dès qu'il ouvre un dictionnaire étymologique³. La difficulté d'identifier les gallicismes s'accroît du fait que cette couche lexicale est relativement neuve dans la langue ukrainienne. Le degré d'assimilation des turquismes, par exemple, est beaucoup plus avancé, ce qui les rend encore moins reconnaissables.

Une bonne connaissance de la langue-source permet, tout d'abord, d'identifier les racines d'origine française, ce qui pourrait sembler suffisant pour toute identification sélective. Pourtant, l'identification

d'après la racine n'est que le début d'un procédé délicat : par exemple, *artyleryst* et *ateïst*, tels que les Ukrainiens les prononcent, sont venus du hollandais⁴ avec le suffixe *-ist*, qui, en ukrainien, devient *-yst* après le [r]. On a pourtant plusieurs opinions sur le classement de ces mots. Tout d'abord, on peut les considérer comme des gallicismes, car c'est sur la base du français que leur contenu sémantique a été pour la première fois exprimé par des moyens lexicaux. D'autre part, *ateïst* peut être traité comme hellénisme du point de vue de son préfixe et de sa racine. Enfin, on a toute raison de les classer comme des mots hollandais en ukrainien, parce que cette langue-réceptrice les a empruntés au hollandais, peut-être par l'intermédiaire du russe, mais la substitution morphémique y est exercée à partir des modèles hollandais. Il y a toujours un autre point de vue : le mot *artyleryst* peut être qualifié de russisme, car c'est sous l'influence russe que ce mot a remplacé dans la langue ukrainienne le bon vieux terme *harmash*. D'après les termes de cet article, les deux mots sont classés comme emprunts au hollandais : on prend en considération la langue qui leur a donné ce composant très identifiable — le suffixe *-ist* (en hollandais — *artillerist*, *atheïst*). Autrement dit, c'est le suffixe et la « biographie » philologique des mots, et non pas les racines, qui ont prédéterminé notre choix.

La liste des gallicismes supposés introduits en ukrainien par l'intermédiaire d'une autre langue européenne est assez longue. Le plus souvent, c'est l'allemand qui a joué ce rôle de langue-intermédiaire⁵. Le polonais et le russe comme langues-intermédiaires doivent être traités d'une façon tout à fait particulière car, pendant plusieurs périodes historiques, ces langues et l'ukrainien étaient en usage simultanément sur le même territoire. Un gallicisme supposé doit être reclassé comme polonisme ou russisme s'il porte des traits phonologiques distinctifs de ces deux langues-intermédiaires.

Les « européenismes » du type suivant ne sont pas considérés comme gallicismes dans cet article (l'ordre alphabétique ukrainien est suivi ici comme ailleurs) :

- *abonent* (all. *Abonnent* < fr. *abonné*)
- *al'kuprynt* (fr. *alcôve* + angl. *print*)
- *balansery* (angl. *balancers* < fr. *balance*)
- *baletmeister* (fr. *ballet* + all. *Meister*)
- *bryhadyr* (all. *Brigadier* < fr. *brigadier*)
- *hoboi* (all. *Hoboe* < fr. *hautbois*)
- *mankiruvaty* (all. *mankieren* < fr. *manquer*)
- *ranzhyr* (all. *rangieren* < fr. *ranger*)
- *suverenitet* (all. *Souveraenitaet* < fr. *souveraineté*)
- *uniforma* (all. *Uniform* < fr. *uniforme*)
- *shablon* (all. *Schablone* < fr. *échantillon*)

En ce qui concerne les mots français d'origine grecque ou latine, le problème de leur identification est abordé dans une perspective tout à fait différente. Ces mots sont classés comme gallicismes dans la langue ukrainienne lorsqu'il est évident que, du point de vue sémantique, ils appartiennent à la civilisation européenne des temps nouveaux. L'ensemble des données extralinguistiques nous aide à placer ces mots dans le contexte français. Quant au terme *internationalisme*, il nous semble acceptable seulement dans les cas où il paraît tout à fait impossible d'établir dans quelle littérature ou dans quelle presse cet internationalisme a été enregistré pour la première fois⁶. Les facteurs extralinguistiques et les sciences sociales nous aident le plus souvent à déterminer la langue d'origine des internationalismes. La naissance des mots nouveaux est toujours liée au surgissement de notions nouvelles qui, à leur tour, sont en correspondance directe avec les événements de la vie sociale et avec le progrès scientifique et technologique. La Révolution française constitue un exemple d'événements de cette envergure. Le développement intensif de la pensée sociale et politique française du XIX^e siècle, ainsi que les découvertes scientifiques de la même époque, ont introduit dans l'usage commun beaucoup d'internationalismes que l'on peut identifier comme étant d'origine française. L'analyse de la presse, de la littérature scientifique et des belles lettres du XIX^e siècle demeure le moyen le plus sûr de déterminer la « citoyenneté » des mots qui ont l'apparence de latinismes et d'hellénismes. Il est nécessaire de souligner que, du point de vue d'un étymologiste français, les internationalismes ne sont, en effet, que des dérivés des langues classiques. Mais pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'étude des mots empruntés, la source historique l'emporte sur la source étymologique. Cet article n'intervient qu'occasionnellement dans le domaine de l'étymologie.

Voici quelques internationalismes dont la source historique est la langue française :

- *absoliutyzm* (fr. *absolutisme* < lat. *absolutus*)
- *avtorytaryzm* (fr. *autoritarisme* < lat. *auctoritas*)
- *alternatyva* (fr. *alternative* < lat. *alternus*, -are)
- *arbitr* (fr. *arbitre* < lat. *arbiter*)
- *vokaliz* (fr. *vocalise* < lat. *vocalis*)
- *volonter* (fr. *volontaire* < lat. *voluntarius*)
- *hastronom* (fr. *gastronome* < gr. *gaster*)
- *diabaz* (fr. *diabase* < gr. *diabasis*)
- *doktryner* (fr. *doctrinaire* < lat. *doctrina*)
- *ekspansyvnyi* (fr. *expansif* < lat. *expansio*)
- *ekspertyza* (fr. *expertise* < lat. *expertus*)
- *indyvidualizm* (fr. *individualisme* < lat. *individuum*)
- *intensyvnyi* (fr. *intensif* < lat. *intensio*)
- *katastrofizm* (fr. *catastrophisme* < gr. *katastrophe*)

- *komuna* (fr. *commune* < lat. *communis*)
- *konservatyzm* (fr. *conservatisme* < lat. *conservo*, -are)
- *kubizm* (fr. *cubisme* < lat. *cubus* < gr. *kubos*)
- *linhvistyka* (fr. *linguistique* < lat. *lingua*)
- *lokalizuvaty* (fr. *localiser* < lat. *localis*)
- *marharyn* (fr. *margarine* < gr. *margaron*)
- *naturalizatsiia* (fr. *naturalisation* < lat. *naturalis*)
- *natsionalizm* (fr. *nationalisme* < lat. *natio*)
- *pozytyvizm* (fr. *positivisme* < lat. *positivus*)
- *polemizuvaty* (fr. *polémiser* < gr. *polemidzo*)
- *ratsionalizm* (fr. *rationalisme* < lat. *rationalis*)
- *systematyzuvaty* (fr. *systématiser* < gr. *systema*)
- *trepan* (fr. *trépan* < gr. *trypanon*)
- *urbanism* (fr. *urbanisme* < lat. *urbanus*)
- *fakul'tatyv* (fr. *facultatif* < lat. *facultas*)
- *feminizm* (fr. *féminisme* < lat. *femina*)
- *khronometrazh* (fr. *chronométrage* < gr. *chronos* + *metreo* + suff. fr. -age)
- *tsyvilizatsiia* (fr. *civilisation* < lat. *civilis*)

Cette liste illustre notre principe de sélection de gallicismes qui fait prévaloir la source historique d'emprunt sur la source étymologique. La source étymologique, même si elle n'est pas tout à fait ignorée, ne constitue jamais une preuve unique. Il arrive, dans le cas idéal, que la source historique coïncide avec la source étymologique. Mais nous cédon aux autres spécialistes le plaisir d'explorer les finesses de l'étymologie. Pour ceux qui étudient les contacts linguistiques et les voies de migration des mots empruntés, il est, par exemple, beaucoup plus important de savoir que c'est le génie créateur français qui a introduit dans le vocabulaire international le mot *civilisation*, sans se préoccuper de « l'arbre généalogique » de ce mot. L'analyse historique et comparative de la terminologie sociale, scientifique, technique, artistique, nous permet aussi de repérer les hellénismes et les latinismes qui se sont introduits en ukrainien directement à partir de la source étymologique; prenons, par exemple, les mots *kul'tura* et *systema*. Par ailleurs, nous ne pouvons pas classer comme hellénismes et latinismes les mots désignant des notions qui n'existaient ni dans les sociétés antiques — grecque ou romaine — ni dans la vie de la société byzantine ou de la société médiévale de l'Europe occidentale. Ainsi, les mots désignant des notions sociales et philosophiques et qui se terminent en *-izm* se réfèrent à l'époque du développement de la pensée philosophique française et sont classifiés dans cet article comme gallicismes, si une source alternative ne présente pas de preuves convaincantes.

Notre principe historique et comparatif d'identification des gallicismes devient encore plus justifiable quand on l'applique à l'analyse de la catégorie du verbe.

Les sociétés antique et médiévale ignoraient plusieurs sortes d'activités qui sont propres aux sociétés nouvelles : *aktyvuvaty*, *lokalizuvaty*, *naturalizuvaty*, *natsionalizuvaty*, *polityzuvaty*, *ratsionalizuvaty*, *urbanizuvaty*, etc. L'origine française de ces mots nous semble évidente : il est relativement facile de déterminer les circonstances et les conditions à partir desquelles ces notions ont été formées, c'est à dire les conditions extralinguistiques. Les facteurs extralinguistiques sont complétés par les facteurs formels : par exemple, les verbes cités sont formés en français à l'aide du suffixe binaire *-is+er*. On peut même constater ici que la productivité des suffixes varie d'une époque à l'autre.

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La majorité des mots latins transmis dans la langue ukrainienne directement, ou par l'intermédiaire du polonais, l'ont été pendant une période qui s'étend approximativement du *XV^e* au *XVIII^e* siècle. Aujourd'hui, nous pouvons noter les cas d'interférence phonétique dans les emprunts d'origine latine et les gallicismes qui sont apparus dans la langue beaucoup plus tard.

Prenons comme exemple le mot ukrainien *dublet*. Il signifie « un autre exemplaire identique dans une série », ou « une pierre précieuse contrefaite ». Il existe aussi un autre mot qui ressemble au précédent : *duplet*, un terme des joueurs de billard ou, encore, « un tir double d'un fusil à deux tubes ». Le son [p] dans le mot *duplet* démontre qu'au moment de la pénétration du mot français, l'ukrainien connaissait déjà les mots latins appartenant à cette famille étymologique et signifiant la dualité (comme **dupla* – *prix redoublé*). Afin d'étudier plus exactement la périodisation des emprunts, il serait intéressant de noter tous les exemples d'une telle interférence phonétique des deux langues qui se trouvent en concurrence dans le milieu étranger⁷. On y trouve en même temps un phénomène opposé au précédent, soit une résistance, de la part des latinismes et des gallicismes, à toute interférence phonétique, dans le but de préserver des nuances sémantiques précises : *ahitatsiia* et *azhytatsiia*, *proekt* et *prozhekt*.

Pour trancher la question et décider s'il est justifiable ou non de placer certains latinismes français dans la catégorie des gallicismes en ukrainien, citons encore quelques mots qui sont plutôt perçus comme des exotismes. Ce sont les appellations des jours du calendrier républicain français, créations artificielles qui sont également connues en ukrainien littéraire : *primidi*, *duodi*, *trydi*, *kvartydi*, *kvintydi*, *sekstydi*, *septydi*, *oktydi*, *nonidi*, *dekadi*. Ces termes viennent confirmer notre règle : pour tout lexicologue ukrainien, ils seront toujours des gallicismes, même si tous les dictionnaires étymologiques indiquent, à juste titre, leur origine latine.

Le même principe de catégorisation est aussi applicable à cette couche lexicale parvenue jusqu'au français à partir d'autres langues, européennes et non-européennes. Si ces mots sont transmis par l'intermédiaire du français, nous sommes enclins à les classer comme gallicismes, d'autant plus qu'ils portent le plus souvent une marque d'adaptation phonétique ou morphologique française. Le vocabulaire de ces gallicismes de source étymologique autre que française n'est pas vaste mais il est curieux par sa diversité :

- *akvarel'* < fr. *aquarelle* < it. *acquarella*
- *amal'hama* < fr. *amalgame* < arab. *al-malgam* < gr. *malagma*
- *banan* < fr. *banane* < bas congolais
- *bataliia* < fr. *bataille* < it. *bataglia*
- *bonza* < fr. *bonze* < jap. *bodzu*
- *bosket* < fr. *bosquet* < it. *boschetto*
- *bronza* < fr. *bronze* < it. *bronzo*
- *bul'var* < fr. *boulevard* < holl. *bolwerk*
- *burnus* < fr. *burnous* < arab. *bournus*
- *vazelin* < fr. *vaseline* < all. *Wasser* + gr. *elaion*
- *val's* < fr. *valse* < all. *Walzer*
- *vanil'* < fr. *vanille* < esp. *vainilla*
- *varan* < fr. *varran* < arab. *varran*
- *habion* < fr. *gabion* < it. *gabione*
- *hazel'* < fr. *gazelle* < arab. *gazal*
- *hala* < fr. *gala* < it. *gala*
- *hambit* < fr. *gambit* < it. *gambetto*
- *drahoman* < fr. *dragoman* < arab. *tardjuman*
- *zebra* < fr. *zèbre* < port. *zebra* < langue banda
- *zebu* < fr. *zébu* < tib. *zaba*
- *zenit* < fr. *zénith* < arab. *zemt*
- *karantyn* < fr. *quarantaine* < it. *quarantena*
- *kar'iera* < fr. *carrière* < it. *carriera*
- *kartel'* < fr. *cartel* < it. *cartello*
- *kepi* < fr. *képi* < all. suisse *kaeppi*
- *karavan* < fr. *caravane* < pers. *karvan*
- *karkas* < fr. *carcasse* < it. *carcassa*
- *karnaval* < fr. *carnaval* < it. *carnevale*
- *kolibri* < fr. *colibri* < esp. *colibri* < caraïbe
- *kontrdans* < fr. *contredanse* < angl. *country dance*
- *lazaret* < fr. *lazaret* < it. *lazzaretto*
- *lak* < fr. *laque* < arab. *lakk* < sanskr. *lakta*
- *maneken* < fr. *mannequin* < holl. *mannekijn*
- *merynos* < fr. *merinos* < esp. *merino*
- *odaliska* < fr. *odalisque* < turc *odalik*

- *redynhot* < fr. *redingote* < angl. *riding coat*
- *seral'* < fr. *sérail* < pers. *saray*
- *sbir* < fr. *sbire* < it. *sbirro*
- *serenada* < fr. *sérénade* < esp. *serenada* < it. *serenata*
- *syhara* < fr. *cigare* < esp. *cigarro*
- *sofa* < fr. *sofa* < arab. *suffa*
- *sutana* < fr. *soutane* < it. *sottana*
- *sutash, sutazh* < fr. *soutache* < hongr. *sujtas*
- *tafta* < fr. *taffetas* < it. *taffetta* < pers. *tafte*
- *topinambur* < fr. *topinambour* < port. *topinambo*

Tous les mots énumérés ci-dessus, que la langue française avait elle-même empruntés, ont été transmis en ukrainien tantôt par l'intermédiaire de la langue polonaise ou de la langue russe, tantôt directement. La période des emprunts en masse s'étend de la fin du XIX^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours. Étant donné que le russe et l'ukrainien sont parlés simultanément, en Ukraine les mêmes mots empruntés apparaissent le plus souvent simultanément dans les deux langues mentionnées. Ce qui est beaucoup plus important est que ces mots apparaissent dans la conscience des Ukrainiens bilingues sous la forme de deux variantes morphophonétiques. Le même phénomène s'est produit pendant les différentes périodes de cohabitation de l'ukrainien et du polonais. Le premier grand dictionnaire de mots étrangers⁸, publié en 1932, range ces mots parmi les gallicismes, sans fournir de détails sur leur étymologie et leur voie de pénétration. Cette manière d'aborder le problème nous paraît acceptable pour une raison pratique, même s'il est évident que leurs caractéristiques phonétiques et surtout morphologiques leur font occuper une place à part dans le fond lexical français.

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Nous avons déjà expliqué comment l'analyse des moyens morphologiques de formation des mots justifiait la classification des mots *arteleryst* et *ateïst* comme des emprunts au hollandais. Les suffixes, comme nous le verrons, constituent une source privilégiée pour les spécialistes qui étudient les emprunts du point de vue morphologique. Plusieurs autres suffixes nous permettent aussi d'identifier les gallicismes dans le milieu linguistique ukrainien.

Le suffixe *-age* (*-azh*), par exemple, est facilement identifiable, n'étant propre qu'au gallicisme (avec quelques exceptions curieuses, tout de même). Après avoir exploré un bon nombre de sources lexicographiques et littéraires, nous avons relevé près de 125 substantifs qui se terminent en *-azh* en ukrainien. Ce suffixe est devenu tellement familier qu'il commence à participer à la création des néologismes :

- *kornazh* < angl. *corn* (préservation du maïs);
- *promenazh* (ironique pour *promenade*)
- *sinazh* < ukr. *sino* (préservation du foin comme fourrage).

Ces néologismes ne sont pourtant pas classifiés comme gallicismes, des plus que les mots empruntés à l'allemand – *brakerazh*, *stelazh*. Ils ne servent qu'à mettre en relief le phénomène d'emprunt des suffixes.

Les mots se terminant en *-azh* apparaissent déjà dans les récits de Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnov'ianenko, au début du XIX^e siècle (*kurazh*). Vers la fin du même siècle, les mots en *-azh* deviennent beaucoup plus nombreux. Chez Lesia Ukraïнка on trouve déjà *ekipazh*, *korsazh*, *peizazh*. Et dans le dictionnaire d'Ivan Ohienko⁹, leur nombre va croissant (*bahazh*, *bandazh*, **ekypazh* et **ekvipazh*).

Les sources littéraires nous permettent de suivre comment les mots français en *-age* ont commencé à pénétrer dans le nouveau milieu linguistique et comment les locuteurs ukrainiens, avec le temps, sont devenus conscients que l'élément *-azh* constituait un nouveau suffixe ukrainien.

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Deux autres éléments finals : *-ant* et *-ent*, démontrent clairement leur origine française. Analysons-les de plus près.

Dans la structure de l'ukrainien, les éléments *-ant* et *-ent* ne sont pas des suffixes. Ces éléments dénotent pourtant une source étrangère parce qu'ils ne se trouvent pas dans la corrélation rimée avec les mots du vocabulaire traditionnel. Cette observation sur la corrélation rimée est d'une valeur primordiale pour notre méthodologie d'identification et de classement des gallicismes¹⁰. Parmi les mots du vocabulaire traditionnel, nous n'avons trouvé qu'un adverbe *ushchent* qui rime avec les gallicismes en *-ent* (le substantif *lement* étant un vieux latinisme), et aucun mot qui rimerait avec ceux en *-ant*. Pour l'identification des mots empruntés, cette condition est assez importante. Les gallicismes en *-ant* et *-ent* gardent leur accentuation française sur la dernière syllabe. Très souvent, la place de l'accent devient essentielle, elle aussi, dans notre méthodologie. Tous les cas qui sont dignes d'une attention spéciale doivent être traités séparément.

Les éléments *-ant* et *-ent*, même s'ils sont identifiables, ne sont pas devenus productifs en ukrainien. Le mot argotique *frant* ne contredit pas ce point puisqu'il n'est qu'une apocope du nom tchèque *Frantisek*.

Si nous prêtons une attention un peu plus particulière à l'apparence morphophonétique des mots en *-ant*, *-ent* (*anhazhement*, *sentymment*, *komersant*, *shyfrant*), nous constatons que ces formes représentent la translittération des mots français correspondants et non pas l'approximation sonique des originaux. On peut interpréter ce fait comme une

autre preuve que les contacts entre le français et l'ukrainien n'étaient pas directs, au niveau oral, mais s'effectuaient plutôt au niveau littéraire et intellectuel. Une autre langue nationale ou un érudit servaient toujours d'intermédiaire entre la langue-source et la langue-réceptrice. C'est pourquoi nous appelons parfois ce genre de relations « les contacts en chaîne ». Cependant, ce genre de contacts n'exclut pas la présence de mots dont l'adaptation phonétique est basée sur l'approximation sonique. Ce sont les mots qui, en ukrainien, se terminent en *-an* au lieu de *-ant* ou *-ent* habituels :

abavan (abat-vent), *ahreman*, *anzhambeman*, *arkbutan*, *batan*, *volan*, *intryhan*, *kafeshantan*, *kurtyzan*, *pa-de-zhean*, *pandan*, *paravan*, *partyzan*, *ranversman*, *redubleman*, *shanzhan*.

Contrairement aux mots translittérés comme *akompanement*, *konosament*, *korvolant*, les mots en *-an* se trouvent en corrélation rimée avec beaucoup de mots ukrainiens du vocabulaire traditionnel, y compris les turquismes de l'époque préséculière (*Boian*, *haman*, *kaban*, *kachan*, *lan*, *pan*, *Ruslan*, *tuman*, etc.).

L'élément final *-ent* indique parfois une origine autre que française : lat. *dotsent*, *moment*¹¹, *student* (ainsi que *lement* mentionné ci-dessus). Il est aussi possible que les mots *anhazhement*, *volan*, *intryhan*, *paravan* aient été transmis par l'intermédiaire de la langue roumaine (comparez, en roumain, *angajament*, *volan*, *intrigan*, *paravan*).

Certains mots en *-ant*, *-ent* possèdent deux variantes, l'une archaïque et l'autre, contemporaine. La présence des « archaïsmes » dans cette couche si récente du lexique ukrainien s'explique par l'histoire politique du territoire où la langue ukrainienne est utilisée et par les changements rapides de la société du XX^e siècle. Il n'y avait rien dans la langue elle-même qui aurait pu causer le « vieillissement » accéléré des mots empruntés. Considérons ces doublets de plus près :

**akompan'iament* – *akompanement*¹²

**agremant* – *ahremant*

**angazhement* – *anhazhement*

**apl'odysmenty* – *aplodysmenty*

**garant* – *harant*

**diiamant* – *diamant*

**korvoliant* – *korvolant*

**l'ozhement* – *lozhement*

**santymment* – *sentyment*

**transparent* – *transparant*

**figurant* – *fiherent*

Les mots qui, en ukrainien, se terminent en *-an*, *-ant*, *-ent* (qui représentent les suffixes français *-ant* et *-ent* — et parfois *-and* et d'autres), ont gardé pour la plupart leur accentuation originale. Il n'y

a que quelques mots dont la dernière syllabe n'a pas gardé l'accent original : *apartement, departement*. Il est facile dans ce cas particulier d'établir la cause des exceptions. Ces deux mots ayant une partie finale *-ament*, sont accentués analogiquement au germanisme *perhament* (hellénisme en allemand) qui est influencé par l'accent de *pergamin* polonais (qui, en même temps, a donné *perhamen* en ukrainien, synonyme de *perhament*). La force d'attraction exercée par les analogies et par les constellations paronymiques explique de nombreux phénomènes liés à l'adaptation des mots empruntés¹³.

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Alors que les terminaisons en *-ant* et *-ent* ne sont pas des indices absolus de l'origine des mots empruntés (quelques germanismes et latinismes ont aussi les mêmes terminaisons), la désinence *-uar* révèle sans aucun doute une origine française. Les deux éléments du groupe de sons français [wa] deviennent syllabiques en ukrainien. La langue a donc reçu une séquence étrangère à l'oreille slave, celle des deux voyelles consécutives – [ua]. Dans le langage « pur », qui ne contient pas d'emprunts faite à l'époque séculière, ces voyelles ne se rencontrent qu'à la jonction des mots.

Malgré cela, les gallicismes contenant [ua] ne causent plus de difficultés aux locuteurs ukrainiens. Le groupe [ua] se rencontre, bien sûr, non seulement dans la désinence *-uar*, mais également au milieu des autres mots d'origine française (*vual'*, *huash*, *tualet*).

Tout comme les gallicismes en *-azh*, *-ant*, *-ent*, qui ont été examinés ci-dessus, les mots en *-uar* sont du genre masculin. Leur accent est situé sur la dernière syllabe, et ils constituent dans la langue ukrainienne un groupe d'à peu près deux douzaines de vocables :

avuar(y), *aksesuar(y)*, *benuar*, *buduar*, *hratuar*, *dekrotuar*, *dortuar*, *kazuar*, *kuluar(y)*, *matuar*, *memuar(y)*, *muar* (< angl, *mohair*), *pen'iuar*, *pisuar*, *promenuar*, *rezervuar*, *remontuar*, *repertuar*, *tuailiuar*, *trotuar*, *fermuar*, *fiksatuar*.

Dans ce groupe, nous avons vu plusieurs mots qui se rencontrent seulement au pluriel (*pluralia tantum*). Du point de vue de l'analyse lexicale, quelques mots en *-uar* possèdent aussi des doublets; ils reflètent le procès continu et changeant de l'adaptation phonétique des sons français [g] et [l] : **gratuar* – *hratuar*; **kuliuary* – *kuluary*.

Le groupe de sons [ua], lorsqu'il se trouve au milieu d'un gallicisme en ukrainien, peut aussi refléter la combinaison de sons [ua] de l'original français. L'ukrainien n'a pas adopté deux manières distinctes pour adapter les éléments *-oi* et *-oua-* français. Voici la liste presque exhaustive qui démontre comment la séquence ukrainienne [ua] sert à accomoder plusieurs combinaisons de sons qui se rencontrent dans la langue-source — le français [wa], [ua] et même [ya]. De plus,

–oi– qui fait partie du groupe –oin– en français, ne donne pas en ukrainien le présumé [ue], mais demeure toujours [ua] :

– *abavua* (< *abat-voix*), *amplua*, *apuant* (< à *pointe*), *bivuak* (aussi *bivak*), *burzhua*, *vual'*, *vuatiureta*, *hryvuaznyi*, *huash* (aussi **guasha*), *damuazo*, *duaiien* (aussi **doaien*, *doiien*), *ekspluatator*, *zuav(y)*, *kluatr*, *konstytuanta*, *korduan*, *kuafiura*, *kurtuaznyi*, *mademuazel'*, *nuaiada*, *niuans*, *oktrua*, *pa-de-trua*, *patua*, *puaz*, *pualiu*, *puant* (< *pointe*), *puantylizm*, *puantuvannia*, *pudesua*, *tuailiuar*, *truakar* (dessin; mais *troakar* – instrument), *tuaz*, *tualet*, *tualinet*, *shuan(y)*.

Le –oin+C français est rendu d'une manière systématique comme –uan+C en ukrainien (au lieu de –**uen+C). Il est difficile d'affirmer que cela reflète une connaissance insuffisante du français de la part des premiers auteurs qui avaient introduit les gallicismes formés avec –oin–. On peut aussi expliquer cette adaptation par un désir d'unification, et pour garder une correspondance conséquente entre le graphème français –oi– et le graphème ukrainien –ua–. Ainsi, même le nom propre de *Pointcarré* est rendu en ukrainien par *Puankare*.

Tout de même, la supposition qu'un système conséquent gouverne le mécanisme d'adaptation de –oi– ne résiste pas à l'épreuve. Pour s'en rendre compte, il suffit d'analyser les résultats tout à fait imprévus du rendement approximatif de l'apparence graphique des autres mots français contenant le –oi– :

voiazh < *voyage*, **doaien* < *doyen*, *doiien* < *doyen*, *oktroiruvaty* < *octroyer*, *poal* < *poil*, *Port-Roial* < *Port-Royal*, *roialist* < *royaliste*, *troakar*, *trokart* < *trois-quarts*.

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La connaissance de la langue-source demeure sans doute une condition primordiale du succès des recherches dans le domaine des mots empruntés. Notre article n'a mis en relief que quelques points saillants qui seraient d'importance cruciale pour les compilateurs de dictionnaires de mots étrangers. Quant aux règles d'adaptation phonétique, qui préoccupent surtout les « normalisateurs », elles semblent présenter autant de cohérence que d'exceptions. Il est certain, pourtant, que l'état présent des emprunts, adaptés comme ils le sont, reflète, d'une part, la tendance de quelques générations d'écrivains et de locuteurs à systématiser l'usage et, d'autre part, le manque de connaissance de la langue-source ainsi que le caractère irrégulier des contacts linguistiques français-ukrainiens. On essaye toujours de « corriger » les mots transmis, de systématiser l'adaptation, mais la tradition écrite résiste très souvent à toute intervention des innovateurs. On a réussi, par exemple, à remplacer *doaien* par *duaiien*, mais le nom *Puankare* restera toujours tel quel dans la mémoire collective des Ukrainiens.

La connaissance préalable de la langue-source et celle, même théorique, de plusieurs langues voisines, en particulier celles qui ont servi d'intermédiaires, est une condition nécessaire à l'identification et au classement des gallicismes. En même temps, on doit toujours prendre en considération la situation géopolitique de la région étudiée comme facteur extralinguistique indispensable à cette tâche.

Notes

1. A. P. Krytenko, « Paronimiia v ukraïns'kii movi », *Movoznavstvo*, 3, 1968, p. 59.
2. Consultez, p. ex., R. A. Budagov, *Istoriia slov v istorii obshchestva*, Moscou, 1971.
3. Consultez aussi L. P. Krysin, « Kopredeleniiu terminov « zaimstvovanie » i « zaimstovovanoie slovo », dans *Razvitie leksiki sovremennogo russkogo iazyka*, Moscou, 1965, pp. 53–57.
4. Louis Derois, *L'Emprunt linguistique*, Paris, 1956, p. 63.
5. Voir aussi B. V. Kobylans'kyi, « Do vyvchennia hermanizmiv i polinizmiv v ukraïns'kii movi, » dans *Movoznavstvo*, 6, 1976, pp. 31–35.
6. Pour plus de détails, voir V. V. Akulenko, *Voprosy internatsional'nogo sostava iazyka*, Kharkiv, 1972, ainsi que H. O. Krakovets'ka, « Pro leksyko-semantychnu transformatsiiu v sferi terminolohii », dans *Movoznavstvo*, 6, 1976, pp. 53–57.
7. Pour la période la plus ancienne, voir L. L. Humets'ka, « Sposoby adaptatsii zapozychenoi leksyky v staroukraïns'kii movi », dans *Movoznavstvo*, 4, 1976, pp. 71–73.
8. I. Boikiv, et al., *Slovnnyk chuzhomovnykh sliv*, URE, Kharkiv–Kiev, 1932.
9. I. Ohienko, *Ukraïns'kyi stylistychnyi slovnnyk*, Winnipeg, 1978 (deuxième édition).
10. A. P. Krytenko, *op. cit.*
11. Ceux qui étudient la paronymie remarqueront que le mot *moment* a aussi donné l'aphérèse *ment* qui se trouve en liaison paronymique avec le mot du fond traditionnel *myt'*, le synonyme de *moment*.
12. Dans cet article, l'astérisque est utilisé pour marquer les gallicismes archaïques, argotiques et dialectaux. Le double astérisque (**) marque les formes hypothétiques.
13. Pour plus de détails, voir F. O. Nikitina, *Vliianie analogii na slovoobrazovanie*, KDU, Kiev, 1973.

Morphological Peculiarities of the Ukrainian Dialects of Northern Moldova (Romania)¹

The subject of this study is the vernacular of Northern Moldova, which shares with other Ukrainian dialects in Romania a series of morphological peculiarities but is different from these dialects because of its specific Hutsul pronunciation. The Ukrainian dialect of Northern Moldova region is found in several villages along the Moldova and Moldovița [Moldovitsa] rivers. It is classified as a Hutsul dialect, which, in turn, belongs to the South-western group of Ukrainian dialects.

The dialectal material presented for discussion was collected by me personally in 1961, 1962, and 1968 from such villages as Isvoarele Sucevei, Moldova-Sulița [Moldova-Sulitsa], and Breaza, located along the Moldova River Valley, and from Argel, Moldovița, Paltinul (Valea Boului), Ciumîrna from the Moldovița Valley, and Cîrlibaba. All the above-mentioned villages are within the Suceava region.

Although the dialect of Northern Moldova presents some distinct phonetic peculiarities and many archaic forms, it is fairly homogeneous from the morphological point of view. The examples given below will be compared with the standard literary forms and occasionally with other related Ukrainian dialects, especially the Hutsul-Bukovinian and Transcarpathian groups.

The morphological peculiarities of the Moldova and Moldovița valleys present some interesting features for the study of the history of the Ukrainian language, as well as for the comparative study of this vernacular and the other South-western Ukrainian dialects.

In my paper, I shall discuss certain dialectal and archaic peculiarities in noun declension and in adjective, pronoun, and verb formation.

I. Noun Declension

With respect to the declension of nouns, one encounters several features.

(1) In the Ukrainian dialect of the Moldova and Moldovița valleys, we find old dual forms. These occur usually in the nominative–accusative of feminine nouns ending in –a and neuter nouns ending in –o, in grammatical constructions with the cardinal numerals два/дві "two," три "three," чотири "four":

були дві б^оц^ьц^ьі п^ива, std. . . . дві бочки пива "there were two barrels of beer";

три со^оц^ьц^ьі, std. три сотки "three hundred";

дві жі^ин^ьц^ьі, std. дві жінки "two women";

ма^ю три ко^ор^ові, std. три корови "had three cows";

шт^иє^{ри} д^иї^уч^ин^ьі, std. чотири дівчини "four girls";

дві до^ор^оз^ьі, std. дві дороги "two roads";

дві се^стр^иі, std. дві сестри "two sisters";

дві до^он^ьц^ьі, std. дві дочки "two daughters";

дві ві^идр^иі, std. два відра "two pails";

дві се^лі, std. два села "two villages."

Archaic dual forms are also found in other South-western Ukrainian dialects, especially in the convergent Hutsul and Bukovinian ones.² In standard Ukrainian, the dual forms were gradually replaced by the nominative–accusative plural.³

Relic dual forms were still used in Ukrainian literature at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries in the works of such Ukrainian authors as Shevchenko, Hlibov, Franko, Stefanyk, Kobylans'ka, and others.

(2) Another peculiarity of this dialect is the instrumental singular ending of feminine nouns in the first declension, which end in –oŷ and –eŷ compared with the –oю, –eю endings of the standard form. In the Moldova and Moldovița valleys dialect, as in other South-western Ukrainian dialects,⁴ one can observe the disappearance of the intervocalic [j] and the change of the vowel [y] into non-syllabic [ŷ] (ojy > oy > oŷ):

до^ор^ого^у, std. дорогою "along the road";

го^оло^ово^у, std. головою "with (one's) head";

кі^ист^ько^у, std. кісткою "with a bone";

ду^ші^у, std. душею "with (one's) soul";

до^оло^оне^у, std. долонею "with (one's) palm";

ке^рни^це^у, std. керницею "with a well/spring."

(3) Feminine nouns of the third declension have a tendency to form the instrumental in the same way, by analogy to the first-declension

nouns. In standard Ukrainian, there would be the ending –ю [jy] and the gemination of the preceding consonant:

с сіли^еў, std. із сіллю "with salt";
цеў ночеў, std. цієї ніччю "(with) this night."

(4) Feminine nouns of the first and third declensions in the dative and locative singular use the relatively older form –и (< i) in the phonetic development (и [i] > [и]), which in standard Ukrainian and in most South-western dialects⁵ were replaced by і < Ї {ě} (occurring in the old –ā stem nouns):

(на) земни, std. на землі "on earth";
 (на) поли^еци, std. (на) полиці "on the shelf";
 (на) межі, std. (на) межі "on the boundary";
 (на) соли, std. (на) солі "on the salt."

(5) Another peculiarity of this dialect is its genitive plural of certain feminine nouns. Some feminine nouns have the genitive plural ending in –іў (and –иў, –ыў), where, in the standard language, we find a zero ending for those same nouns. This –іу ending appeared under the influence of the masculine genitive plural ending –іў < –ів (< –овъ), found in the standard language.

Examples of feminine nouns are as follows:

стр'іхіў, *стр'іхыў*, std. стріх "eaves";
сестр'іў, std. сестер "sisters";
хатіў, std. хат "houses";
бабіў, std. баб/бабів "grandmothers."

(6) Similarly, some masculine nouns from the second declension also have the alternative ending –іў in the genitive plural. The endings –іў and –иў are used interchangeably for the same noun, whereas in the standard language, the ending for that particular noun is –ей (< ѣи). This –іў ending also appeared under the influence of the genitive plural ending –іў (< овъ), found in the standard language. The ending –ий instead of –ей generally appears in an unstressed position. For example:

гостіў, *гостиў*, std. гостей "guests";
коніў, *коніў*, *кониў*, std. коней "horses."

The ending –іў in feminine and masculine nouns also occurs in the Ukrainian dialects of Maramureş⁶ and Banat and in some other South-western Ukrainian dialects.⁷

(7) In the dialect under study, masculine nouns of the second declension in the dative and locative singular preserve the archaic form –ови and, rarely, –еви (a normal phonetic development), in contrast to –ові and –еві, respectively, as used in the standard language (–ови [–ові] > –ови [–ови]):

та́тови, д'éd'ови, std. батькові/татові "to (my) father";
 бра́тови, std. братові "to (my) brother";
 висóкому дубови, std. . . . дубові "to the tall oak";
 лісови, std. лісові "to the forest";
 Васи́леви, std. Василеві "to Vasyl";
 кон'е́ви, std. коневі "to the horse."

(8) In almost all of the South-western Ukrainian dialects,⁸ the masculine nouns demonstrate this archaic characteristic in the dative and locative cases. Moreover, the old endings –ови and –еви were extended to the neuter nouns:

селóви, std. селу "to the village";
 вiмн'ови, std. вимені "to the udder";
 т'iмн'ови, std. тімені "(on) crown/top of the head."

II. Adjective Formation

(9) Adjective formation in this dialect also shows several peculiarities. One such characteristic is the formation of the comparative degree of adjectives using the particle маї. This is different from the standard language, in which the comparative is formed by the addition of the suffix –ш– or –іш–:

доўгиї—маї доўгиї, std. довший "longer";
 ширóкиї—маї ширóкиї, std. ширший "wider";
 солóткиї—маї солóткиї, std. солодший "sweeter";
 дўжиї—маї дўжиї, std. дужчий "stronger."

(10) In some instances, the particle маї is also used for the formation of the superlative degree of the adjective, especially when the comparative was formed with the addition of the suffix –ш–:

молодiї—моло́дшиї—маї молодшиї, or
 молодiї—маї молодiї—ш'е||ш'ш'е маї молодiї, std.
 наймолодший "the youngest."

Thus, in standard Ukrainian, the superlative is formed with the particle –най, and in the Moldova dialect, with the particle маї. In the opinion of many linguists, the particle маї is a borrowing from Romanian mai.⁹ It functions as a morpheme of the comparative and superlative degrees in other South-western Ukrainian dialects as well.¹⁰

In other words, the standard language and the Northern and South-eastern dialects form the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives with the help of the suffixes –ш– and –іш– and the particle най–, whereas the comparative and the superlative degrees in the Moldova and other South-western dialects are formed with the particle маї, which can be considered an old form.

III. Pronoun Formation

(11) Personal and demonstrative pronouns also manifest many interesting characteristics. The third person of the personal pronoun in masculine and neuter in the genitive and dative singular preserves the old forms *jegó* and *jemyú*, whereas the standard language has *його* and *йому*, in which the old [e], preceded by [j] and followed by a hard consonant, has changed to [o]:¹¹

ні је брат jegó дома, std. *його брата нема вдома* "his brother is not at home";

jemyú причуло сê, std. *йому почулось* "he thought he heard."

(12) In the instrumental singular of personal pronouns, one may observe the disappearance of [j] in the intervocalic position, and the final [y], preceded by a vowel, has changed to non-syllabic [y]¹² (–ojy > –oy > –оў, –ejy > –ey > –еў):

за мноў, std. *зі мною* "with me";

с тобоў, std. *з тобою* "with you";

з неў, std. *з нею* "with her."

(13) In standard Ukrainian, in the dative and accusative singular, the long forms of the personal pronouns are used, whereas the dialect uses short, enclitic forms alongside of the long forms. For example:

ми/мен'і, ти/тобі, му/jemyú, std. *мені, тобі, йому* (dative),
and

н'ê/менé, т'ê/тебé, го/jegó std. *мене, тебе, його* (accusative).

For instance:

бо ми докор'êла, std. *бо мені докоряла* "because she reproached me";

ци т'и ма́ма заказáла, std. *чи тобі мати заборонила* "did your mother forbid you";

у лечко́ му да́ла, std. *дала йому по щоці* "he hit him across the face";

ої бідон'ко мо́ја л'у́ба, вит ко́го т'ê ма́ју, std. *ой бідонько моя люба, від кого я тебе маю* "oh my sweet misfortune, from whom do I get you";

та јék го выднэ́слы, std. *як його віднесли* "how (they) carried him back."

The short (enclitic) forms of the personal pronouns are known in different phonetic variants, as well as in other Ukrainian dialects from Maramureş and Banat.¹³ These short forms along with the long forms appear frequently in the dative and accusative singular in the Transcarpathian¹⁴ and many other South-western dialects.¹⁵

(14) The third-person singular personal pronoun вона (dialectal forms о́на́, уна́, ўна) appears in the genitive–accusative singular in a contracted form *ji*, while in the standard language, the long form *її* [jiji] is used:¹⁶

нема́ *ji* до́ма, std. нема *її* вдо́ма "she's not home";
вѣд'і́ў *ji*, std. я бачив *її* "I saw her."

(15) However, in the dative singular, the Moldova dialect preserves the long form *її* [jiji], while the standard language uses the form *їй* [jiɹ̩]. The dialectal form *jijí* probably appeared in the form *její*, in which [e] between two yods became the closed, intermediate sound [и]. This [и], in turn, was assimilated to the stressed [i] from the following syllable [její > *jijí*]. The latter form [jijí] became the form [jiji] (*její* > *jijí* > *jiji* < *її* >):

да́ла *jijí* ка́мін', std. дала *їй* ка́мінь "gave her a stone";
да́ў-им *jijí* кн'і́шкy, std. я дав *їй* кни́жкy "I gave her a book."

(16) The third-person singular possessive is expressed using the old anaphoric pronoun *jejó*, *její*, whereas the standard language uses його́ [jogo], *її* [jiji]:

jejó ко́са, std. його́ ко́са "his scythe";
její красáн'а, кри́са́н'а, std. *її* ка́пелюх "her hat";
její чо́ловік, std. *її* чо́ловік/муж "her husband."

(17) An interesting feature is the instrumental feminine of the demonstrative pronoun ця́ (цес, ця́/цеся, це́/цесе) "this." The Northern Moldova dialect uses the form *цеў*, while in the standard language, *цею* is the norm:

я говори́ў ис *цеў* жі́нкоў, std. я говори́в із *цею* жі́нкою "I spoke with this woman";
иду́ с *цеў* д'і́ўкоў на шпа́цір, std. іду́ з *цею* ді́вчиною на прохі́д "I am going for a walk with this girl."

B. Kobylians'kyi also noted in another Hutsul dialect similar forms for the instrumental feminine demonstrative pronoun (цew [= *цеў*]).¹⁷

IV. Verb Formation

A few observations regarding verbs:

(18) In the Moldova dialect, the old infinitive suffix *-чи* [–chi] (<-гти, -кти) has been preserved with the old pronunciation [–chi], but the suffix *-ті* (<-ти), in which a hard –т is heard, is more common:

стри́чі, std. стригти "to cut hair";
обстри́чі, std. обстригти "to cut hair" (perfective);

печі хл'і́б, std. *пекти* хлі́б "to bake bread";
зна́ті, std. *знати* "to know";
ду́маті, std. *думати* "to think";
коси́ті, std. *косити* "to mow, to cut (grass)";
брехáті, std. *брехати* "to lie."

The old forms ending in *-чі* are also known in other Ukrainian dialects, especially in the South-western ones.¹⁸ The change of the old *-чи* [*-чі*] into contemporary *-чи* [*-чи*] represented a normal phonetic development.

(19) A majority of verbs of the first and second conjugations in the third-person singular have a hard *-т* (< *-ть*) ending. On the other hand, in the standard language, the soft ending *-ть* was dropped from the first conjugation and has been preserved only in the second conjugation:

зна́јет, std. *знає* "s/he knows";
ду́мајет, std. *думає* "s/he thinks";
берéт, std. *бере* "he takes";
слуха́јет, std. *слухає* "s/he listens";
ростѣ́т, std. *росте* "it grows";
до́їт, std. *доїть* "she milks";
хо́д'йт, std. *ходить* "s/he walks";
но́сит, std. *носить* "s/he carries";
про́сит, std. *просить* "s/he asks/begs."

(20) Nevertheless, there are instances when verb forms without the ending *-т* or *-ть* appear in certain second conjugation verbs:

во́зе, std. *возить* "s/he carries (in a vehicle)";
ви́де, std. *видить/бачить* "s/he sees";
ро́бе, std. *робить* "s/he works."

(21) In the third-person plural of the first conjugation, a hard *-т* ending appears, but the verbs in the second conjugation have a zero ending. In the standard language, the third-person plurals of both conjugations have the soft *-ть* ending:

несу́т, std. *несутъ* "they carry";
печу́т, std. *печутъ* "they bake";
дају́т, std. *даютъ* "they give";
стрежу́т, std. *стрижуть* "they cut (hair)";
літа́јут, std. *літають* "they fly";
хо́д'ê, std. *ходятъ* "they walk";
про́с'ê, std. *просятъ* "they ask/beg";
но́с'ê, std. *носятъ* "they carry."

The hard ending *-т* in the third-person singular and plural is an innovation of this dialect and cannot be considered an archaism

inherited from an older period of the Ukrainian language. Old Rus'ian (Old East Slavic) had, in the third-person singular and in the plural the soft ending *-ть* (*несеть* "he carries," *несуть* "they carry").¹⁹ The hard ending *-ть*, as used in Old Church Slavonic, was widespread in Kievan Rus' after its Christianization. This characteristic (the hard ending *-т*) is common to other South-western Ukrainian dialects.²⁰

The Ukrainian dialect of the Moldova and Moldovița valleys preserves (naturally with some phonetic changes) several forms of the past tense, namely, in the old perfect, past perfect, and aorist, especially in the first and second-persons singular and plural. This characteristic also exists in other South-western dialects, especially that of Transcarpathia.²¹ The majority of the South-western dialects, as well as the Moldova and Moldovița dialect, create the past tense from the old short past active participle form ending in *-л* (< *-ль*), *-ла*, *-ло*, *-ли* (in the masculine gender transformed into non-syllabic [ʎ]) and from the auxiliary forms (phonetically changed and contracted) in the present tense of the verb *бути* (< *быти*) "to be."

Thus, in South-western dialects, especially the Transcarpathian,²² there are preserved a number of variants derived from the old auxiliary (*несмь*, *неси*, *несть*, *несмь*, *несте*, *соуть*), which were a component part of the old perfect.

(22) In the Hutsul dialect of the Moldova and Moldovița valleys, the following past perfect forms are used—(sing.): *-им*, *-jem*, *-jes*, *-(i)c*; (pl.): *-сме*, *-сте*, *-jесте*, *-jісте*:

1st pers. sing.: *робѣў-им*, std. *я робив* "I worked";

косѣў-им, std. *я косив* "I mowed";

2nd pers. sing.: *робѣў-jес*, std. *ти робив* "you worked";

ходѣў-jес, std. *ти ходив* "you walked";

хот'іў-jес, std. *ти хотів* "you wanted";

була-іс у лісі? -*була-сме!* std. *ти була в лісі?* -*була!* "were you in the forest?—yes I was";

1st pers. pl.: *ходѣли-сме*, *ходіли-сме*, std. *ми ходили* "we walked";²³

2nd pers. pl.: *ходѣли-jесте*, *ходіли-сте*, std. *ви ходили* "you walked";

ви jісте прѣходѣли, std. *ви приходили* "you dropped in."

(23) In the Hutsul vernacular in Cîrlibaba, I noticed the form *-сме* in the first-person singular:

платіў-сме, std. *я платив* "I was paying";

робіў-сме, std. *я робив* "I was working."

(24) Similar forms of the past tense first-person singular (and also of the first-person plural) are known in Bukovinian dialects, as well as

in some Hutsul dialects of the Suceava Valley²⁴ and in the Hutsul dialect studied by B. Kobylans'kyi:²⁵

робіў-сми^е "I worked," *ходіў-сми^е* "I walked,"
браў-сми^е "I took," *носіў-сми^е* "I carried,"
л'убіў-сми^е "I loved," *косіў-сми^е* "I mowed,"
віла-сми^е "I wrapped," *полока́ла-сми^е* "I rinsed,"
купа́ла-сми^е "I bathed," *лови́ли-сми^е* "we caught,"
куп'ува́ли-сми^е "we bought," *спа́ли-сми^е* "we slept."²⁶

We can see from the above discussion that the Hutsul dialect from the Moldova and Moldovița valleys preserves relics of the old perfect in a changed and contracted phonetic form (especially in the auxiliary verb *бути* [*< быти*] "to be" [see (21)–(25)]).

(25) In its development in standard Ukrainian, the athematic old form *єсмь* in the present tense, singular and plural, was contracted and reduced to *є* ([je]). This form became the norm for standard Ukrainian. In the opinion of B. Kobylans'kyi,²⁷ this *є*, coupled with the verb, could not indicate person. Therefore, to indicate a person, *–м* from the verbal form *–єсмь* was attached to the first person of the verb, while the *–с* was dropped. Thus, we have *пішоў-јем*.²⁸

(26) Possibly the same process occurred with the second-person singular, in which the compulsory *–с* from the old form *єси* was kept to indicate person, and the final *–и* from *єси* was dropped:

ходіў-јес, *ходів-ис*, std. *ти ходив* "you walked";
біг-јіс, std. *ти біг* "you ran."²⁹

(27) To express an action or state in the past tense for the third-person singular, there was no need for any auxiliary element to indicate person, because the third person could not be confused with any other in the singular or the plural. Thus, in all Ukrainian dialects, as well as in the literary standard, the past tense in the third-person singular masculine is expressed only by the old form of the past active participle, that is, without an auxiliary verb and with the non-syllabic [y], which evolved from the *–ль*. For example:

ходіў, std. *він ходив* "he walked";
носіў, std. *він носив* "he carried";
просіў, std. *він просив* "he asked/begged";
дава́ў, std. *він давав* "he gave."

(28) In my opinion, the changes in first- and second-person plural occurred differently. The ending *–ли* of the masculine gender of the participle was generalized for all three genders, thus eliminating the old feminine ending *–лы* and the neuter *–ла*. In this way, in a majority of South-western dialects, the past tense is expressed even today with the

old participle ending in –ли and the auxiliary forms –смо/–сме, –сте. What happened to the initial –є from the auxiliary *єсмь, єсте*? Probably, as in other similar circumstances, the [j] in intervocalic position was dropped, and the vowels [i] <и> from the participle –ли and the [(j)e] from the auxiliary contracted in favour of [i] <и> (in the majority of South-western dialects the latter was transformed into a new sound—[и] <и>):

пйли-смо, пйли-сме, std. *ми пили* "we drank";
пйли-сти^e, std. *ви пили* "you drank."³⁰

(29) The past tense of the third-person plural is expressed in the standard language and in the dialects by the participial ending –ли, without the auxiliary form *суть* (< *соуть*):

ходйли "they walked," *робйли* "they worked,"
знáли "they knew," *співáли* "they sang."

(30) As a rule, it is almost impossible to express past tense using both the relic forms of the auxiliary verb and the personal pronoun. No one uses such expressions as:

я ходйв-єм, я ходйв-сме, ти ходйв-єс, or the inverse
я єм ходйв, я сме ходйв "I have walked"; *ти (јес) ходйв* "you walked."

The correct expressions of past tense (according to my notes and my knowledge of South-western dialects) are:

я ходив, ти ходив
 (past tense in [ǃ] < –в < –ль with personal pronoun), or
ходйв-єм, ходйв-сме, ходйв-єс
 (past tense in –в [ǃ] and relic of auxiliary verb).

(31) The past perfect form (pluperfect I) can be found in the majority of South-western Ukrainian dialects,³¹ but it is slightly changed: it is composed from the past participle ending in –ль (> ǃ), –ла, –ло, –ли, and from the auxiliary verb *бути* in the past tense –быв (бўǃ, быǃ), бўли (бы́ли):

казáў буǃ, "I have told," *ходйла бўла*, "I have walked,"
ходйли бўли, "they have walked," or
бўǃ казáлў, бўла казáла, бўли ходйли.

(32) In the Hutsul dialect of the Moldova and Moldovița valleys, we encounter the old form of past perfect (pluperfect II), composed of the past participle ending in –ль (> ǃ) and the shortened personal form of the perfect of the verb *бути* (< *быти*):

бўǃ-сме робйǃ, бўла-сме робйла "I had worked,"
бўǃ-іс робйǃ, бўла-с робйла "you had worked,"

бугу робийу, була робила "I had worked,"
ходили-сме були "we had walked,"
ходили-(је)сте були "you had walked."

Similar forms have also been noted in the Hutsul dialect of the Suceava Valley.³²

(33) In Ukrainian, the conditional mood is expressed by the past tense forms ending in *-в* (< *ль*), *-ла*, *-ло*, *-ли*, and by the particle *би* or *б*, which comes from either the second- or third-person singular of the aorist of the verb *быти* (> *бути*).

In the Moldova and Moldovița valleys dialect, as in the other South-western dialects, the conditional mood is expressed in a completely different way. In these dialects, as seen from research done by a number of linguists,³³ the conditional known in the standard language is used sporadically; on the other hand, new forms have been created under the influence of the perfect forms.

Thus, in the South-western dialects,³⁴ the conditional mood has two forms for the first-person singular:

- (a) *бих* (and *бых*), which results directly from the evolution of the corresponding old aoristic form:

ходийу бих—ходыйу бых, std. *я ходив би* "I would walk";
 and

- (b) *бим* (and *бым*), which originates from the element *би* (< *бы*) of aoristic origin, and enclitic *-м* from the auxiliary perfect form *єсмь*:

ходийу бим—ходыйу бым, std. *я ходив би* "I would walk";
носийу бим—носыйу бым, std. *я носив би* "I would carry."

The second-person singular *ходийу бис*, *ходийу бис'*, *ходыйу быс* "you would walk" and the first-person plural *ходили бисмо*, *ходили бис'мо* (and *ходыйли бысмо*, *ходыйли быс'мо* "we would walk") also originate from contamination of the element *би* (*бы*) with the enclitics *-с'* (< *єси*), *с'*мо (< *єсмь*) of the perfect.

The second-person plural *ходили бисте*, *ходили бис'те* (and *ходыйли бысте*, *хольили бис'те* "you would walk") can be considered a direct form originating from the old conditional form, or a result of contamination of the element *би* with the auxiliary of the perfect form *єсте*: *бы єсте* > *быс'*те, or *бис'*те.³⁵

(34) In the Hutsul dialect of the Moldova and Moldovița valleys, we noted the following forms of the conditional:

би^ех дау, std. *я дав би* "I would give";
бес дау, std. *ти дав би* "you would give";
би дау, std. *він дав би* "he would give";

би^ех да́ли, std. ми би дали "we would give";
би^есте да́ли, std. ви дали б "you would give";
би да́ли, std. вони дали б "they would give."

Conclusions

(35) From all the above material, we may conclude that the Ukrainian dialect of Northern Moldova preserves to this day some phonetic and morphological peculiarities, which in many instances are shared by other South-western Ukrainian dialects. This has occurred because of its development throughout the centuries beyond any influence of the standard language. These dialectal peculiarities are evident in the number and ending of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, and in the verbs, especially in such past tense forms as the relics of the old perfect, past perfect, conditional (with the archaic form of the aorist), and many others.

Notes

1. This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Slavists, held as part of the Learned Societies Conference in Montreal in June 1985.
2. F. T. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, 2nd ed. (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Radians'ka shkola, 1966), p. 183.
3. I. M. Kernyts'kyi, *Systema slovozmyny v ukrains'kii movi* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Naukova dumka, 1967), pp. 64, 80, 82, 100–102.
4. Zhylko, p. 172.
5. S. P. Bevzenko, "Vidminnosti ukrains'koi dialektnoi movy na morfolohichnomu rivni," in *Ukrains'ka dialektna morfolohiia* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Naukova dumka, 1969), pp. 6–7.
6. N. Pavliuc, *Ukrainskie govory Maramoroshchiny (Oblasti Baia-Mare Rumynskoi narodnoi respubliki)* (Kharkov: Izdatel'stvo Kharkovskogo Universiteta, 1958), p. 10.
7. I. Pan'kevych, *Ukrains'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koi Rusi i sumizhnykh oblastei*, 1 (Prague: Orbis, 1938), pp. 204–205, 228.
8. F. T. Zhylko, *Hovory ukrains'koi movy* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Radians'ka shkola, 1958), p. 55.
9. S. Niță-Armas et al., "L'Influence roumaine sur le lexique des langues slaves," *Romanoslavica* 16 (1968):59–121; E. Vrabie, "Influența limbii române asupra limbii ucrainene," *Romanoslavica* 14 (1967):160; Olexa Horbatsch, "Rumänische Lehnwörter in den Ukrainischen Mundarten von drei südbukovinischen Dörfern in Rumänien," in *Festschrift für Alfred Rammelmeyer* (München: herausgegeben von Hans-Bernd Harder, 1975), p. 385.
10. Zhylko, *Hovory ukrains'koi movy*, p. 55; E. Vrabie, "Observații asupra uni grai rus de pe teritoriul R.P.R.," *Romanoslavica* 6 (1960):122.
11. S. P. Bevzenko, *Istorychna morfolohiia ukrains'koi movy* (Uzhhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnytstvo, 1960), p. 159; N. Pavliuc, *Curs de gramatică istorică a limbii ucrainene*, 1 (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1964), pp. 88–89.
12. O. P. Bezpal'ko et al., *Istorychna hramatyka ukrains'koi movy*, 2nd ed. (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Radians'ka shkola, 1962), p. 263.
13. Pavliuc, *Ukrainskie govory Maramorshchiny (Oblasti Baia-Mare Rumynskoi narodnoi respubliki)*, p. 11.

14. Pan'kevych, pp. 262–69.
15. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, pp. 184–85; A. A. Mukan, "Variantnist' form u deiakykh novostovorenykh hovorakh ukrains'koi movy," in *Ukrains'ka dialektna morfolohiia* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Naukova dumka, 1969), p. 198.
16. The change of e to i in the literary form *ii* [jijí] (< неѣ) "her" (genitive–accusative singular) is explained by Shevelov as "... an across-the-syllable-boundary assimilation of the protonic e to the stressed i, ... which, however, throughout the entire M[odern] U[krainian] period was spelled e" [její]. See George Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1979), p. 538.
17. B. Kobylans'kyi, "Hutsul's'kyi hovir i yoho vidnoshennia do hovoru Pokuttia," in *Ukrains'kyi diialektolohichniy zbirnyk*, 1 (Kiev: Ukrains'ka Akademia Nauk, 1928), p. 55.
18. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, pp. 184–85.
19. M. A. Zhovtcbriukh et al., *Istorychna hramatyka ukrains'koi movy* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Vyshcha shkola, 1980), pp. 202–205.
20. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, pp. 186–87.
21. Pan'kevych, pp. 313–18.
22. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, pp. 186–87; Pavliuc, *Curs de gramatică istorică a limbii ucrainene*, p. 56.
23. In examples such as ходѣли-сме, ходѣли-сме, ходѣли-јесте, јесте-прѣходѣли, the vowel clusters *ѣ*, *ѣ* start with a non-syllabic element *ʲ*, which makes the previous consonant slightly palatalized and which in pronunciation has a diphthongal nuance. Examples of such a diphthong appear in the vernacular of Moldova–Sulița and Breaza.
24. C. Reguș, "Forme verbale arhaice ȋn graiurile bucovinene și huțule ale limbii ucrainene," *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 20, no. 1 (1969):94–95.
25. Kobylans'kyi, "Hutsul's'kyi hovir i yoho vidnoshennia do hovoru Pokuttia," pp. 61–62.
26. Reguș, pp. 94–95.
27. B. Kobylans'kyi, "Pro zalyshky perfekta v pivdenno-zakhidnii hrupi dialektiv ukrains'koi movy," *Ukrains'ka mova v shkoli*, no. 3 (1953):69–71; Zhylko, *Hovory ukrains'koi movy*, p. 59.
28. Kobylans'kyi, "Pro zalyshky perfekta v pivdenno-zakhidnii hrupi dialektiv ukrains'koi movy," pp. 69–71.
29. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, p. 201.
30. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrains'koi movy*, p. 201.
31. Zhylko, *Hovory ukrains'koi movy*, p. 59.
32. Reguș, p. 95.
33. The conditional form in South-western Ukrainian dialects, especially in the Transcarpathian and Galician, as well as perfect forms attracted the interest of many linguists, such as J. Werchratskij [I. Verkh rats'kyi], *Znadoby do piznannia uhro-rus'kykh hovoriv*, 1–2 (Lviv: Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Shevchenka, XXVII–XXVIII, XL, 1899–1901); A. Potebnia, *Iz zapisok po russkoi grammatike*, 1–2 (Kharkov: n. p., 1888), p. 278; O. Shakhmatov and A. Kryms'kyi, *Narysy z istorii ukrains'koi movy* (Kiev: "Drukar," 1922), p. 75; B. Kobylans'kyi, "Pro zalyshky perfekta v pivdenno-zakhidnii hrupi dialektiv ukrains'koi movy," pp. 69–71; Pańkevych, p. 324; I. Dzendzelivs'kyi, "Pro formy umovnoho sposobu v pivdenno-zakhidnykh dialektakh ukrains'koi movy,"

Ukrains'ka mova v shkoli, no. 4 (1954):68–70; V. Laver, "Umovnyi sposib diiesliv u hovorakh Zakarpattia," in *Tezy dopovidei do XX naukovoï konferentsii, seriia movoznavstva* (Uzhhorod: Vydavnytstvo Uzhhorods'koho Universytetu, 1955), pp. 17–19; Reguș, pp. 96–97.

34. Pan'kevych, pp. 324–25.

35. Dzendzelivs'kyi, pp. 68–70; Laver, pp. 17–19.

The Ukase of Ems and Its Influence
on the Development of Modern Literary Ukrainian

At the time this article was written, Ukrainian was not the official language of the Ukrainian S.S.R. This fact is perhaps one of the reasons why Ukrainians are more interested in the status of their language than are some other nationalities. It is also the reason why a significant number of them are curious about and even haunted by the historical causes for the unsatisfactory state of their native tongue.

In 1987, the official organ of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, *Literaturna Ukraina*, contained a number of resolutions, one of which was the following:

To instruct the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Writers' Union to turn to the President of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with the request to introduce into the constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic a clause regarding the official status of the Ukrainian language on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.¹

About a year and a half later, an article written by the eminent poet Dmytro Pavlychko on the place of language within society was published in the same literary newspaper. Pavlychko indicated that the concerns that led to the resolutions mentioned above were not some figment of the imagination but were based on harsh facts. For example, he mentions that Ukrainian street signs were very recently taken down in the city of Vinnytsia; that in Kirovohrad, whose Ukrainian population is seventy-six per cent, only four out of thirty schools are Ukrainian; and that in the city of Khmelnytsk, where the Ukrainian population is ninety-four per cent, thirty-two per cent of the students attend Ukrainian schools, whereas sixty-eight per cent go to Russian schools. The figures for university-level Ukrainian in the Ukrainian S.S.R. are not much better. Ukrainian, according to Pavlychko's data, is used at only four of the Republic's universities, and even there the language of

instruction is restricted to just a few subjects beyond philology. Moreover, Pavlychko mentions that the situation is no better at the various cultural institutions of the Ukrainian S.S.R.²

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that, in early 1989, the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society was formed, the aim of which is to consolidate the Ukrainian language in all areas of Ukrainian social life and especially in regard to its reinstatement as the official language of the Ukrainian S.S.R.³ It is no less surprising that, in such circumstances, attempts have been made to understand the causes for this predicament of the Ukrainian language. Among the various factors influencing the present situation of the language, researchers have also found historical causes. One of these was the Ukase of Ems. This edict has been recognized by Ukrainians the world over as a symbol of shame and has been commemorated both in the lecture hall and in print.⁴

The main thrust of the present article is not only to reassess some of the obstacles in the recent development of Ukrainian, but also to point out how, diachronically speaking, such occurrences objectively influence the nature of a language, in this case, the normative or literary variant of Ukrainian.

The Ukase of Ems influenced modern literary Ukrainian mainly in two ways. On the one hand, the decree almost curtailed the use of literary Ukrainian; on the other hand, it contributed to literary Ukrainian acquiring more Western dialectal features.

The decree of Ems has been described as a repressive measure in both Soviet and Western sources.⁵ This uniformly pejorative opinion about the Ukase of Ems is significant because of the often diametrically opposite positions taken in the past by scholars on each side of the Iron Curtain. It is no secret that Ukrainian linguists living outside Iron Curtain countries saw the language policy applied by the Soviet government in Ukraine as one of Russification. In this atmosphere of "ideological" opposition, the unexpected agreement as to the harshness of the decree is significant. The following quote may serve as an example of the Soviet viewpoint:

... the tsarist government kept increasing its oppression of the non-Russian nationalities On May 30th, 1876 Alexander II signed the Ems Act, a decree prohibiting the import of Ukrainian books from abroad, banning Ukrainian theatrical performances and other measures of that nature.⁶

In a Western source, the decree of Ems is labelled barbarous:

The Russian government did not make a formal proclamation of the Ems ukase; when from time to time, voices abroad were raised against the barbarous actions stemming from its directives, the tsarist government kept silent.⁷

The main provisions of the Ukase of Ems are listed by Dmytryshyn (1970) in his introduction to Savchenko's *The Suppression of Ukrainian Activities* (Munich). The decree was an enactment of recommendations made by a special commission, and it urged:

- (1) that the Ministry of Internal Affairs prohibit the import of all books in the Ukrainian language without special permission from the Chief of the Department of Printing;
- (2) that it halt publication in Russia in the Ukrainian language of all original works and translations except historical sources, and those only on condition that they follow the rules of Russian orthography and be permitted by the Department of Printing;
- (3) that it prohibit all stage performances and lyrics to musical compositions in Ukrainian, and all public lectures by Ukrainians, because these aided the Ukrainian movement;
- (4) that it close the *Kievskii Telegraf* because its editorial staff was dangerous to Russian interests; and
- (5) that it subsidize (at the rate of 1000 rubles per year) an anti-Ukrainian newspaper in Galicia, *Slovo*, which could not exist without a subsidy.

The commission advised the Ministry of Education:

- (1) to instruct all local school authorities to prohibit teaching in elementary schools of any subject in the Ukrainian language;
- (2) to remove from libraries of elementary and secondary schools throughout Ukraine all books and pamphlets written in Ukrainian or by Ukrainians;
- (3) to take a careful inventory of the teaching personnel in the Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa educational districts;
- (4) to be very careful in the future in selecting teachers in Ukrainian school districts, and to transfer to Russia those harbouring Ukrainian views;
- (5) to expel suspected students as well as teachers;
- (6) to accept as a general rule that teachers in the Kharkov, Odessa, and Kiev educational districts must be Russians (Ukrainians could be employed in the St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Orenburg educational districts); and
- (7) to close for an indefinite period the Kiev Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and to allow it to open in the future only on the condition that no then active member be allowed to participate in its work.

The commission finally recommended that the Third Section exile Drahomanov and Chubyns'kyi from the Ukraine because they were "incorrigible and possibly dangerous agitators."⁸

To the uninitiated, these measures may seem draconian almost to the degree of linguicide. The decree must, however, be viewed in

historical perspective. The tsarist government's policy of Russification can be traced as far back as the early eighteenth century. For example, an edict promulgated in 1720 outlawed for all intents and purposes the printing of books of a religious content in the Ukrainian territories under Imperial Russian domination. This, in fact, put a halt to all Ukrainian publications in printed form, because the religious books that did not come under this prohibition were allowed only under a special condition. Those religious books "had to be checked with corresponding Russian versions before being printed so there should be no difference or separate dialect."⁹

The decree of 1876, in fact, progressed naturally from that introduced by the minister of the interior, Valuev, in 1863. In the 1863 decree, only fiction was permitted to be published in Ukrainian, and all books of educational and religious content were to be banned.¹⁰ Valuev questioned the very existence of a Little Russian (i.e., the Ukrainian language) by stating that "the majority of Little Russians themselves thoroughly prove that there has not been, is not, and never can be any Little Russian language."¹¹ He reasoned that Little Russian was a Russian dialect corrupted by the influence of Polish. Furthermore, Valuev assumed that the so-called Ukrainian language, which he described as an invention of some Little Russians and Poles, was far less understandable for native Little Russians than Russian. The whole Ukrainian language issue, it was argued by Valuev, was a Polish plot to separate the Little Russians from the Russians.

Had the tsarist repressive measures been progressively augmented, it is quite possible that we might now study Ukrainian in the same manner as Polabian. That such was not the case is due primarily to two facts: Ukrainian public education developed without hindrance among the Ukrainians under Austro-Hungarian rule; and the repressive measures of the Russian tsarist government never totally suppressed Ukrainian culture (and this includes language).

In order to show the effect of the Ems ukase on the development of the Ukrainian literary language, a few remarks should be made about the meaning of the term "literary" in this article. Although this term can denote the language of literature, it is used here in a much wider sense, that is, as the type of language used in literature because it is regarded as "better" and more formal than the type of language described as colloquial or vernacular. The literary language in the sense used here also includes the notions of standard or national language, and, as such, it is meant to signify the language that is used and taught in the schools; it is the language heard in public oratory and read in newspapers. This was the language that was being repressed as a result of the edict of Ems.

Not all the clauses of the edict are directly related to the subject of the literary language as described above; however, a significant number

are. Written literary Ukrainian was restricted by the ban against the import of Ukrainian publications from abroad; all publications except some *belles-lettres*¹² and historical content material were curtailed; and, as a finishing touch, all Ukrainian publications were removed from school libraries. Oral literary Ukrainian was suppressed by the banning of stage performances and the prohibition of teaching Ukrainian, of teaching in Ukrainian, and of teaching by Ukrainians in the schools.

It is very difficult to take the reasons for the Ems decree, that is, Valuev's assessment of the Ukrainian language, seriously. It would seem that in spite of Valuev's "theses" on the state of Ukrainian, the few Little Russian and Polish "plotters" seemed to have been quite successful in establishing and spreading the Ukrainian language within the thirteen years between Valuev's ukase and that signed in Ems. This "non-existent" language also seemed to have come from abroad to infest the Little Russians, and therefore the need arose to control the disease by banning the import of Ukrainian publications. Ukrainian publications within the Empire had now spread to such a degree that it was difficult to ban them all, and thus some leeway was left for scholars who wanted to publish historical and ethnographic material and for the literate élite who would from time to time be allowed to publish some Ukrainian works in Russian transcription. These measures, which reflected token freedom for some of the upper crust of Ukrainian society, left the masses almost without any means of coming into contact with literary Ukrainian.

Belles-lettres are normally considered the written texts of a literary language. A quantitative and qualitative acceleration of Ukrainian publication in the late 1850s and early 1860s brought out Valuev's reaction; another short-lived acceleration in the 1870s resulted in the edict of Ems. The development of Ukrainian publications, however, was not the only reason for these reactionary measures. The attempts to establish Ukrainian-language "Sunday" schools and to publish educational reading material in Ukrainian also aroused tsarist reaction. In view of this, perhaps the most severe restriction against literary Ukrainian (both written and oral) was the banning of Ukrainian as the medium of education. Since all books written in Ukrainian were to be removed from school libraries, and since Ukrainian was forbidden as a language of instruction, literary Ukrainian was effectively removed from that broad spectrum of the population normally benefitting from public education.¹³

By depriving the Ukrainian population of education in their own language, the decree of 1876 marked a crest in the policy of Russification by the tsarist government. However, this assimilatory policy was not as effective as might have been expected, since education in the empire was not universal, and therefore many children of school age learned neither literary Russian nor literary Ukrainian. The tsarist government

had introduced a policy of gradual curtailment of educational facilities in the former Ukrainian Hetman state during the century preceding the edict of 1876. For example, B. Krawciw notes that as far back as 1768 there were as many as 134 schools in the territory that was to become the Chernihiv, Horodnia, and Sosnytsia counties. However, one hundred years later, in 1875, there were only fifty-two schools in the same territory.¹⁴

Such a policy could only lead to increasing illiteracy. A total reversal of this policy did not take place until the second decade of the twentieth century. Thus, the majority of the population of Ukraine in the Russian Empire was illiterate. "According to the population census of 1897, a bare 13.6 per cent of Ukrainians were literate."¹⁵

A means (other than public or private education) of disseminating literary Ukrainian was through theatrical performances. Had there been some type of universal Ukrainian education under tsarist Russia, the potential of the theatre as a medium of transmitting literary Ukrainian would have been much less than proved to be the case. However, as a result of the Ems decree, neither Ukrainian schools nor initially Ukrainian theatres could perform their distinctive roles. Nevertheless, the curtailment of Ukrainian theatrical performances did not last as long as the ban against Ukrainian education. By 1881, permission for limited Ukrainian performances was granted, with the proviso that with each Ukrainian drama a Russian one of equal length had to be staged during the same evening.¹⁶

In summary, the suppression of Ukrainian activities was no doubt detrimental to the development of the Ukrainian literary language. This version of the language nevertheless survived. If we exclude the literary publication of the Muscophiles, one can safely say that writers whose works were published in Galicia between 1876 and 1905 tended to accept the norms established by Shevchenko and the *Osnova*. Insofar as real development (as opposed to curtailment) is concerned, the Ems edict brought about an influx of Western Ukrainian elements into the literary language. Among these, some were borrowed "from local dialects and some from the Galician intelligentsia with its many loan words and loan translations from German and Polish."¹⁷ This development was quite normal considering the fact that most Ukrainian publishing was now in Austro-Hungarian-ruled Ukraine.

Western Ukrainian influence on the development of the standard language was most marked from 1876 to 1905, because it is only with the Russian revolution of 1905 that censorship was, generally speaking, abolished in the Russian Empire. The natural enrichment of literary Ukrainian by Western Ukrainian features aroused some opposition from speakers of other dialectal areas. Krymsky is quoted as calling this period, that is, 1876–1905, "the years of Babylonian captivity of the Ukrainian language in Galicia."¹⁸ Others considered the enrichment of

literary Ukrainian with Western Ukrainian features normal for the development of a standard language. For example, Paul Wexler did not discover any suggestions regarding the possibility of Western dialects becoming the basis of modern literary Ukrainian during this period (1876–1905) and as a consequence does not share Krymsky's concerns. On the contrary, Wexler perceives a great number of specialists who maintained that "the creation of a common literary language necessitates the acceptance of a certain amount of enrichment from the Galician literary tradition."¹⁹

The standard Ukrainian that emerged after the 1905 Revolution was still based on the central Ukrainian dialects, even though the Western Ukrainian dialectal elements that had been added to the basic stock were more numerous than those originating from the eastern, southern, or northern areas.²⁰

Although studies have been made about Western Ukrainian elements in standard literary Ukrainian, none of them pretends to be exhaustive. In this age of computers, it seems to be within the realm of possibility to analyze Ukrainian publications from 1876 to 1905 for the purpose of identifying Western Ukrainian elements in them. However, until this is actually done, one can state only that Western Ukrainian left its mark on the development of literary Ukrainian between 1876 and 1905 because most Ukrainian publishing took place in Western Ukraine, and because this was also a transitory period in the development of literary Ukrainian when the language changed from that of the village to that of the city.²¹ Thus, one of the indirect effects of the 1876 ukase was the acquisition by literary Ukrainian of a greater number of Western Ukrainian features than would have been the case had there been no interference from imperial Russia.

Notes

1. *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 28 (July 9, 1987):6.
2. *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 50 (December 15, 1988):3.
3. *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 9 (March 2, 1989):1, 3.
4. See Roman Solchanyk, "Lex Jusephovicia 1876 roku," *Suchasnist'*, no. 5 (185) (1976):36–68. A collection of articles dealing with the political and historical aspects of the Ukase of Ems was published by Solchanyk.
5. See, for example, Vasyl Chaplenko, *Istoriia novoi ukrains'koi literaturnoi movy* (New York: n.p., 1970), p. 110; Mytropolyt Ilarion, *Istoria ukrains'koi literaturnoi movy* (Winnipeg: Nasha kultura, 1950), pp. 182–84; A. A. Moskalenko, *Osnovni etapy rozvytku ukrains'koi movy* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Kyivs'koho universytetu, 1964), p. 92; P. Pliushch, *Narysy z istorii ukrains'koi literaturnoi movy* (Kiev: Radians'ka shkola, 1958), pp. 246–48; Fedir Savchenko, *Zaborona ukrainstva 1876 r.* (1930; reprint, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970); M. A. Zhovtobriukh, *Mova ukrains'koi presy* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk ukrains'koi R.S.R., 1963), p. 332.
6. O. I. Hurzhiy, "Development of Industrial Capitalism and Beginnings of the Workers' Revolutionary Struggle in Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th Century," in *Soviet Ukraine* (Kiev: Editorial Office of the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., 1969), p. 96.
7. E. Borshchak, "Ukraine from 1861 to 1905," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 684.
8. Basil Dmytryshyn, "Introduction," in Savchenko, pp. xxiii–xxiv.
9. I. K. Bilodid and M. A. Zhovtobriukh, "Ukrainian Language," in *Soviet Ukraine*, p. 477; cf. Ilarion, p. 121.
10. Borshchak, p. 682.
11. Borshchak, p. 682; cf. Pliushch, pp. 245–46.
12. Savchenko, p. 381.
13. M. P. Nizhynsky, "Public Education Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution," in *Soviet Ukraine*, p. 354; L. Biletsky et al., "Education and School: 3. In Ukrainian Lands in the Russian Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 317.
14. B. Krawciw, "Education and Schools: 2. To the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, 2, p. 311.

15. V. Kubijovyč, "Literacy and Education of the Population," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, 1, pp. 176–77.
16. V. Haievsky and V. Revutsky, "Ethnographic Theater and the Beginning of Modern Theater (1881–1917)," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, 2, pp. 633–34.
17. G. Shevelov, "History of the Ukrainian Language: The Modern Period (Nineteenth–Twentieth Century)," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, 1, p. 502.
18. G. Shevelov, *Die Ukrainische Schriftsprache, 1798–1965* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), p. 36.
19. P. Wexler, *Purism and Language* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1974), p. 74.
20. Shevelov, "History of the Ukrainian Language," p. 503.
21. Shevelov, "History of the Ukrainian Language," p. 503.

Divergent Views in Ukrainian Historical Linguistics¹

The year 1979 saw the publication of two books dealing with the historical phonology of the Ukrainian language: George Shevelov's *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*,² and *Istoriia ukrains'koi movy, Fonetyka*,³ published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

Shevelov's book is part of a twelve-volume sequel to his own *A Prehistory of Slavic: The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic*.⁴ The twelve sequels, all dealing with the historical phonologies of the various Slavic languages, have been assigned to different authors. We are fortunate indeed that Shevelov assigned the Ukrainian volume to himself. It is an 809-page volume and can be considered a monumental work. Most of the sixty-two chapters include the following:

- (1) a statement of the phonetic change under examination;
- (2) a detailed discussion of examples drawn from old texts;
- (3) an examination of dialect materials;
- (4) an attempt at relative and absolute chronologies;
- (5) a discussion of the repercussions on the phonemic system;
and
- (6) a bibliography.

The amount of information in the book is simply staggering. It is no wonder that to date not one comprehensive detailed review covering all aspects has appeared.

The Soviet volume, *Istoriia ukrains'koi movy, Fonetyka*, was written by a collective of authors. This 367-page book is the second of a four-volume set, the *Morphology* volume having appeared a year earlier, in 1978. For the first time in a Soviet Ukrainian text on Ukrainian historical phonology, various points of view are summarized, with the author(s) siding with one of the views, usually the one that is in agreement with the views of F. P. Filin.⁵ Although Shevelov's 1964 book was available to the authors, no reference is made to it. It is interesting

to note that in other parts of the Soviet Union, Shevelov's book is cited. In Ukraine, however, reference to any of Shevelov's works seems to be taboo. Whether or not *glasnost*' will change this attitude, only time will tell.

Differences between the two books (Shevelov's and the Academy's) are many. Some of these differences represent divergent opinions between Western and Soviet scholarship, some represent different views that do not follow an East/West split, while others reflect the views of Shevelov as opposed to the scholars in the rest of the world.

Some points of disagreement include the following:

- (1) (a) the periodization of the Ukrainian language
- (b) the existence of syllabic liquids in the history of Ukrainian
- (c) the status of nasal(ized) vowels
- (d) the early phonemic status of the reflexes of *ɣ and *ũ in contact with yod
- (e) the question of the general palatalization of consonants before front vowels in Old Ukrainian
- (f) lengthening and diphthongization of e and o in newly closed syllables
- (g) the existence of an extra vowel phoneme in Old Ukrainian, a reflex of the denasalization of the front nasal(ized) vowel
- (h) the history of #je becoming #o
- (i) e and o after hushing consonants and yod

In this short paper, we turn our attention to the last two items—the reflex of *ě after hushing consonants and yod. The two books published in 1979 will serve as a starting point for our discussion.

To begin, it must be pointed out that this problem has three parts: first, the development of e/o after initial yod; second, e/o after hushing consonants and non-initial yod; and third, the o reflex of ъ after palatals.

Examples of #o coming from #je are given in (2), where Ukrainian #o corresponds to #je in other languages, the latter being more conservative.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--|
| (2) | OCS: ѡєро
Cz.: jeseň | Ukr: озеро "lake"
Ukr: осінь "autumn" |
|-----|-------------------------|--|

In (3), we list the stages in the change of *ě to *o:

- (3) #e > #je > #e > #o

The standard explanations are given in (4):

- (4) (a) #e > #je (prothetic glide)
- (b) #je > #o if the following syllable contains a front vowel

but not a front jer; put differently, the #je to #o change does not take place (i) if the following syllable contains a non-front vowel, (ii) if the following syllable has a Ъ, and (iii) if the main stress does not fall on the first or second syllable of the word

- (c) the change #je > #o passed through the stage #e; #e became #o, since initial #e was not characteristic of the language of the time

As is evident, several difficulties arise from the reasoning in (4). Why introduce a prothetic glide, only to get rid of it? What is the phonetic motivation of such a change? It seems that the glide must disappear in order to have an argument for #e becoming #o.

We now move on to e/o after palatals (hushing consonants and non-initial yod). Four groups of words must be considered. These are given in (5):

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------------|-----------------------------|
| (5) | (a) | жона | "wife" |
| | | вечора | "evening" (g. sing.) |
| | | пшоно | "millet" |
| | | чоло | "forehead" |
| | | жолудь | "acorn" |
| | | копійок | "cents" (g. pl.) |
| | | чотири (и < ы) | "four" |
| | (b) | четверо | "four" (collective numeral) |
| | | шести (и < і) | "six" (g. sing.) |
| | (c) | вечер'а <вечеря> | "supper" |
| | (d) | плече | "shoulder" |

To take care of the four groups in (5), the rule in (6) is usually given in the textbooks (*IUM*, p. 267), where Č stands for any (alveo-)palatal consonant or yod:

- (6) e > o/Č _____ [hard consonant]

The application of rule (6) is transparent with group (5a). In (5b), the change does not take place because the immediately following consonant(s) were at one time palatalized, since they stood before front vowels. In (5c), the change fails to materialize because the following consonant was and still is soft. In (5d), there is no change, since there is no following consonant.

In (5a), the following consonant is hard because the following vowel was non-front. In (5b), the following consonant was once soft (palatalized), since it is claimed that at one time all consonants were palatalized before front vowels. Rule (6) can therefore be restated in terms of the following vowel instead of the following consonant. We give this restatement in (7):

- (7) $e > o$ if the next syllable has a non-front vowel

Rule (7) readily takes care of (5*a*, *b*, *d*). Since in (5*c*) we have a soft consonant before a back vowel ($r' + a < r + j + a$), our rule must be altered to take into account the hardness of the consonant. This is restated in (8):

- (8) $e > o$ after a palatal if the next consonant is hard and the following vowel is non-front

A very different view is taken by Shevelov. In order to understand his explanation, the details given in (9) must always be kept in mind:

- (9) (a) IE $*\bar{a}$, $*\bar{o}$ > Slavic *a* (*o* in Germanic) (*POS*, pp. 151–52)
 (b) IE $*\check{a}$, $*o$ > Slavic *o* (*a* in Germanic) (*POS*, pp. 151–52)
 (c) IE velar + $*\bar{e}$ > Palatal + *a* (not Palatal + *ja*') (*жаба* "toad," *жап* "heat, fever") (*POS*, pp. 259–60)

Most handbooks agree that the Common Slavic reflexes of IE $*\bar{e}$ and $*\check{e}$ were a lower type of front vowel. Some authors use the symbol \check{a} , while Shevelov uses \bar{e} . Shevelov (*HPUL*, pp. 443–44) claims that the reflex of IE $*\check{e}$ after palatals was *o*, regardless of what followed. Schematically, the development is shown in (10):

- (10) $\# \check{e} > \bar{e}_{\check{a}} \quad \quad \quad o/C \text{ ______}$
 $\quad \quad \quad e / \text{ elsewhere}$

The reasoning is quite clear. The palatal (front) element of $\bar{e}_{\check{a}}$ was absorbed by the preceding palatal. The remaining \check{a} became *o* as expected. The novelty here is that the starting point of the $\check{C}e/\check{C}o$ discussion is $\check{C}o$ and not $\check{C}e$, as given in most textbooks.

In this manner, the $\#je > \#o$ change given in (3) can be restated as (11):

- (11) $\# \check{e} > \bar{e}_{\check{a}} > \#j_{\bar{e}_{\check{a}}} > \#jo > \#o$

Note that the initial yod before *o* disappears since it is not a characteristic prothetic glide before *o*.⁶

Beginning with an *o* after palatals, a new rule can be formulated, as in (12):

- (12) $o > e$ if the next syllable has a front vowel

Going back to the examples in (5), we see that rule (12) takes care of (5*a*) and (5*b*). To include (5*c*), reference must be made to the softness of the following consonant, and to accommodate (5*d*), something must be said about final syllables. Rule (13) contains the riders:

- (13) $o > e / C \text{ ______}$ —if the syllable is final
 —if the next consonant is soft and/or next vowel is front

Shevelov (*HPUL*, p. 143) himself states the split of *eǎ* into *o* and *e* as follows:

(14) *Co* if following vowel is non-front (not preceded by yod)

By inverse implication, he arrives at (15):

(15) *Ce* —word finally: плече "shoulder"
 —if the consonant immediately following is soft, or a yod: вечер'а <вечеря> "supper"⁷
 —if the next syllable has a front vowel: шести "six"

Shevelov's approach is novel when compared with the traditional explanation. In order to choose between them, a summary of advantages and disadvantages will now be given.

First, in (16), we repeat the traditional rule in (6) and list the pluses and minuses:

(16) *e > o* / Č ____ [hard consonant]

Advantages:

- takes care of all four sets (5a, b, c, d)
- by implication, if the next consonant is soft, the double palatal environment retains *e*
- starting point agrees with intrasyllabic harmony
- can also handle *ь > e > o*

Disadvantages:

- imposes palatalization of consonants before all front vowels
- intrasyllabic harmony violated
- no reference made to disyllabic vowel harmony
- does not explain why hard consonants should cause labialization of vowels
- cannot handle initial #je becoming #o

In (17), we give the traditional rule restated in (8):

(17) *e > o* after palatal if the next vowel is non-front and the intervening consonant is hard

Advantages:

- takes care of the four sets in (5)
- by implication, the double palatal environment prevents the change from taking place
- starting point agrees with intrasyllabic harmony
- leaves open the question of the palatalization of consonants before front vowels
- can also handle *ь > ъ > o*

Disadvantages:

- cannot handle initial #je becoming #o

- intrasyllabic harmony eventually violated in favour of disyllabic harmony

We now shift our attention to Shevelov's point of view, that is, beginning with Čo. Rule (18) takes up the rule of (13):

- (18) Čo > Če —if final syllable
—if next consonant is soft and/or next vowel is front

Advantages:

- includes *#ě > #o
- starting point disagrees with intrasyllabic harmony but justified by the parallel example of the reflex of *ē after velars
- change satisfies intrasyllabic harmony
- double palatal environment
- extra provision for following consonant useful for double palatal environment
- leaves open the question of palatalization of consonants before front vowels

Disadvantages:

- cannot account for final syllables, and the provision of accommodation seems ad hoc
- development of ъ > ѓ not parallel

The inverse implicational solution of (15) is repeated in (19):

- (19) Čo > Če —word finally,
—if next consonant is soft or a yod
—if next syllable has a front vowel

Advantages:

- all those listed in (18), except the last
- implies that consonants are not automatically palatalized before front vowels (and, therefore, a later sweeping depalatalization is unnecessary)
- soft consonants are a result of C + j

Disadvantages:

- all those listed in (16)

Reference has been made to ъ > o in previous sections. This change can have two paths, as given in (20):

- (20) (a) ъ > ѓ > o
(b) ъ > e > o чьрнѣи > чьрныи > чорний

Chronology is of extreme importance here. Several scholars claim that the change e > o after palatals clearly took place after the loss of jers. This dating has two consequences. First, it supports the interpreta-

tion given in (20*b*). Second, it claims that the disappearance of weak jers brought about a change in syllabic structure (which is correct), and that the preceding consonant, now being part of the preceding syllable, had much to do with the e/o distribution. Examples such as жона (wife) are then explained as an extension of the cases where the preceding palatal and the following consonant are part of the same syllable. There are others who place the change, or rather the split of $e\check{a}$ into e and o, very early, in prehistoric times. For them, path (20*a*) is the correct one.

The traditional approach (e becomes o) can handle $\text{ь} > \text{ъ}$ quite well but cannot motivate an explanation for initial $\#e > \#o$. Shevelov's approach, starting with $\check{C}o$, handles the initial $\#e > \#o$ in a phonetically motivated way but fails to demonstrate the phonetic motivation behind the $\text{ь} > \text{ъ} > o$ change.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper that was presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Slavists, held as a part of the Learned Societies Conference in Ottawa, June 1982.
2. George Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979) (hereafter cited as *HPUL*).
3. *Istoriia ukrains'koi movy, Fonetyka* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1979) (hereafter cited as *IUM*).
4. George Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic: The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1964) (hereafter cited as *POS*).
5. F. P. Filin, *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo iazykov* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1972).
6. Generally, in Ukrainian, prothetic w appears before initial o and u: вулиця "street," вухо "ear," вона "she." In the personal pronoun вона (воно "she," вони "they"), the prothetic w appeared by analogy to він "he," when the etymological o in онъ "he" changed to i through diphthongs. See O. P. Bezpal'ko et al., *Istorychna hramatyka ukrains'koi movy*, 2nd ed. (Kiev: Radians'ka shkola, 1962), pp. 178–79; *IUM*, pp. 304–305.
7. Since Shevelov does not accept the general Common Slavic softening of consonants before front vowels, soft consonants for him are generally the result of C + j ($r + j > r'$; $n + j > n'$; etc.) (*HPUL*, p. 143).

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* Compiled by Oksana Piaseckyj.

† Dr. C. Bida was the first editor of the series *University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies*, 1976–1977.

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Contributors

- Bahry, Romana M.** Associate Professor, Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, York University
- Batts, John Stuart** Associate Professor, English, University of Ottawa
- Budurowycz, Bohdan** Professor Emeritus, Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto; Constantine Bida Visiting Scholar, University of Ottawa, 1988–1989
- Burstynsky, Edward N.** Professor, Linguistics, University of Toronto
- Clayton, J. Douglas** Professor, Slavic Studies, University of Ottawa
- Folejewski, Zbigniew** Professor Emeritus, Slavic Studies, University of Ottawa; Adjunct Professor, University of Victoria
- Goldblatt, Harvey** Professor, Slavic Studies, University of Ottawa
- Harchun, Yaroslav** Journalist, Radio Canada International
- Karpiak, Robert** Associate Professor, Germanic and Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Waterloo
- Kushnir, Slava M.** Professor, French, Queen's University
- La Bossière, Camille R.** Professor, English, University of Ottawa
- Makaryk, Irena R.** Associate Professor, English and Slavic Studies, University of Ottawa
- Marshall, Richard** Associate Professor, Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto
- Medwidsky, Bohdan** Associate Professor, Slavic and East European Studies, University of Alberta
- Morgan, Gerald** Professor Emeritus, English and Philosophy, Royal Roads Military College of Canada
- Pavliuc, Nicolae** Professor, Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto

- Pavlyshyn, Marko** Mykola Zerov Professor of Ukrainian Literature, Monash University; Constantine Bida Visiting Scholar, University of Ottawa 1989–1990
- Phadke, Suneeti** Ph.D. candidate, Slavic Studies, University of Ottawa
- Piaseckyj, Oksana** Bibliographer and selector of Slavic literature, linguistics and culture, Morisset Library, University of Ottawa
- Rakusan, Jaromira** Associate Professor, Linguistics, Carleton University
- Rampton, David** Assistant Professor, English, University of Ottawa
- Revutsky, Valerian** Professor Emeritus, Slavic Studies, University of British Columbia
- Rozumnyj, Jaroslav** Professor, Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba
- Saciuk, Olena H.** Professor, Languages and Literatures, Inter-American University of Puerto Rico at San Germán
- Shkandrij, Myroslav** Associate Professor, Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba
- Slavutych, Yar** Professor Emeritus, Slavic and East European Studies, University of Alberta
- Smyrniw, Walter** Professor, Slavic Studies, McMaster University
- St-Jacques, Raymond C.** Professor, English, University of Ottawa
- Weretelnky, Roman** Assistant Professor, Slavic Studies, University of Ottawa
- Woychyshyn, Julia** Slavic Languages Consultant, National Library of Canada
- Wyczynski, Paul** Professor Emeritus, Département des lettres françaises, University of Ottawa
- Zayachkowski, Jennie** Lecturer, Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies, University of Regina
- Zyla, Wolodymyr** Professor Emeritus, Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages, Texas Tech University; Professor, Ukrainian Free University, Munich

Recognized as one of the greatest scholars of Slavic studies in North America, University of Ottawa professor Constantine Bida brought a rich heritage and multilingual experience to the academic world. Notable among his many achievements were the launching of an interdisciplinary trilingual journal and his compilation of the first French-Ukrainian anthology of contemporary Quebec poetry. His untimely death in 1979 was felt deeply by those whose lives had been touched by his genius in many languages.

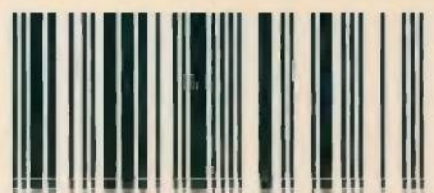
This collection, in Ukrainian, English, and French, features essays centred on four of Bida's main interests: Ukrainian literature and philology, Slavic and comparative literature, other literatures, and linguistics. It is a tribute to Bida's brilliance that a single volume, even as wide-ranging as this one, cannot do justice to all of his varied pursuits.

Contained in this festschrift are essays from 33 scholars on topics as diverse as Shakespeare, Ukrainian romanticism, and Beowulf, plus a selected bibliography of Bida's works. From Don Juan to Kozaks and Cowboys, this collection explores many of Bida's interests. Broad and well rounded, it will be a valuable addition to the library of any scholar of Slavic studies.

Irena R. Makaryk is a professor of English, with a cross appointment to Slavic Studies, at the University of Ottawa. She has published *Comic Justice in Shakespeare* (1980) and *About the Harrowing of Hell* (1989), and is currently preparing a Dictionary of Contemporary Criticism.

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