

A UKRAINIAN POET
in the
SOVIET UNION

By

OXSANA ASHER
//

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GIFT

A UKRAINIAN POET
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SOVIET UNION

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FOREWORD

The present writer remembers speaking to a man of German descent who had owned properties in what had become an independent Baltic state. He had lost not only his property, but his title of nobility and his social position. And yet, when he came to speak of the change that had alienated him from these he said, "How do we know but that the word that will liberate us all may not be in the language that will now come into its own in that country?"

He was a philosopher, and was able to isolate an element in the complex that makes the sentiment of nationalism. It must often occur to the reflective person whose country has a culture that is in danger of being eclipsed by what may be a more comprehensive one, if such a person has a feeling of piety for his native place, that this language of his which still belongs to the fields, the forests, the rivers, the villages, may have in it a word of more liberating power than words in the great urbanized languages. A mystique of this kind has, very likely, been the motive behind the "renaissances," the national revivals that were so much a part of European history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The story given here is about one who was dedicated to the word, and who was martyred because of that dedication.

On one level the story that Oksana Asher tells in A UKRAINIAN POET IN THE SOVIET UNION is of political aspiration and persecution and on another of a brilliant attempt to re-stamp the word that may have a high potentiality. It is the story of an effort to preserve a national language, to make it more than a vernacular by bringing into it influences from the European literature. Michael Dray-Khmara made use of a "poetic vocabulary which he developed out of the ancient and almost forgotten folk-lore." Here we have an instance of that union between poetry and philology which has often had an explosive effect in modern European history.

Ukraine, a country of fifty million people, aspired towards autonomy, political and cultural autonomy. The revolution that overthrew Czarism made political autonomy a possibility; it also stimulated a movement towards a fuller cultural life than had been envisaged before. A group of intellectuals were urged to create a literature that would be modern—and Ukrainian. It is about the leaders of this movement, and particularly about one of them, Michael Dray-Khmara, that Oksana Asher writes in such a moving way.

He was an intellectual in a complete sense—a trained scholar and a productive poet. As a scholar his interest was philology, the understanding of the relationships of the word in many languages. In poetry, the group he was a member of insisted on “perfection of form, originality of image, richness of diction.” They wanted their countrymen to have a literature that would measure up to high European standards. Like Yeats in Ireland they aimed at creating a poetry that, free of propaganda and national self-glorification, would be of personal vision and personal passion.

At first glance this seems a marginal task for leaders striving to complete a revolution. But their ambition shows that what they strove for exceeded social revolution. They wanted to make their language as expressive and rich as any of the great European languages, they wanted to raise it from a vernacular to a progressive national language. “Perfection of form, originality of image, richness of diction” was made part of a national aspiration. On one side Dray-Khmara and his comrades search in the traditional literature for words stamped with a people’s history, and on the other side they translate into Ukrainian the French Parnassians and Symbolists and the European classics.

One by one we see them dropping off, some by execution, some by pressure they are not able to resist. Why are these ardent spirits made condemned men? Because the revolutionist Lenin stands for a uniform Eurasian state. Dialects, yes. But a national language, no. And the revolutionary writer who is now a party spokesman, Maxim Gorky, puts himself on record against a national literature within the Soviet Union. “While some people do their best to create a world language, others seem to seek the very reverse.”

The man who made poems about swans on lakes, about historic cities decaying, about the loneliness of the great steppes, was guilty, inescapably “guilty of ignoring directives.” As he watched the once hopeful companionship break up he himself was arrested. Released he was left without the means of making a living for himself and his family. Arrested again, he was sent to the mines in sub-arctic Siberia where he lived the life and died the death of the most harshly treated convict. More fortunate than others whose lives were parallel to his, Michael Dray-Khmara is not amongst the forgotten. The daughter whom he had to leave as an infant has made it her piety to collect his poems and scholarly writings, to make them known to his own people and to the world. They are something spared from the sub-arctic to sprout for coming generations. Out of the memoir Oksana Asher has written and the examples of her father’s work that she gives there comes the figure of a dedicated man, a scholar and poet, a lover of nature and of men.

New York, October, 1955.

PADRAIC COLUM

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CHAPTER ONE

NEOCLASSICISM

In 1919, despite the defeat of the Ukrainian independent state, the national reawakening was so widespread that the Bolsheviks were forced to inaugurate a new policy in Ukraine. They promised national autonomy and the guarantee of a full development of Ukrainian culture and language. Although the new Bolshevik policy proved to be no more than a tactical manoeuvre, Ukrainian literature, for a short while at least, received the right to develop. The inaugural year of the new Soviet NEP policy (1922) witnessed the foundation of *Pluh* (Plough), one of the largest Ukrainian literary mass organizations. Its aim was to stimulate the cultural instincts of the peasant masses, now deeply involved in the cultural-national revolution which succeeded the social revolution. To accomplish this purpose, *Pluh*, under the leadership of Pylypenko, developed an elaborate organizational network throughout Ukraine. It is to be noted that these writers, who considered simplicity as their primary artistic criterion, were more interested in social content than in artistic form and technique. A second important proletarian mass organization was *Hart* (Tempering), a society of writers who were either communists or strongly sympathetic with communist aims.¹ Their aim was to create a truly communist culture and combat the "bourgeois" ideology of such literary organizations as *Lanka* (The Link) or of the "neoclassicists."

Ukrainian neoclassicism dates from 1918, but the group as we know it which included Nicholas Zerov, Michael Dray-Khmara, Maksym Rylsky, Paul Fylypovych, Oswald Burghardt (Klen) and (sympathizing with them a Ukrainian author and scholar) Victor Petrov, came together in Kiev in 1922-23. By 1925 they were already guiding the thought and taste of contemporary Ukrainian literature. The "neoclassicists" stood apart from the so-called proletarian writers. Their works, compared to the revolutionary literature, demonstrated a superior mastery of poetic technique, more colorful imagery, and a far greater purity of language. They criticized the artistic shortcomings and tech-

¹ For the history of these literary organizations see Luckyi, O.S.N., *Soviet Ukrainian Literature — A Study in Literary Politics* (Dissertation), Columbia University, 1954.

nical backwardness characteristic of the writers of *Pluh*, *Hart*, and *Zhovten*, and suggested that writers attain professional levels through close study of the great European literary masterpieces. They protested against (1) current criticism based solely on ideological grounds, (2) the absence of free competition in literature on the basis of talent, and (3) the use of literature as a stepping stone by the literary revolutionary organizations, a practice which often had a demoralizing effect upon the younger writers. These dangerous methods, the "neoclassicists" felt, were responsible for the inferiority of Ukrainian literature to Western European standards.

These poets were artists devoted to a concept of art based on that balance and restraint which we commonly identify with classicism, though the Romantic, Symbolist and Impressionist movements exercised a deep influence upon them. If we search for the origin of Ukrainian neoclassicism we can find it in the oldest sources of Ukrainian culture (*Do Dzerel*). Perhaps equally strong was the effect of classical studies. Thus, if Zerov's translations of Virgil and Horace helped him to develop the classical style which appears in his clear-cut sonnets, masterly polished and emotionally balanced, works which remind us of the most delicate carvings of antique marble, the "neoclassicist" Fylypavych brought to life the old myths by making them intelligible to his contemporaries, as for instance, when he re-created the reality of the Soviet Ukraine by relating it to the *Lament of Yaroslavna*. The profoundly human poetry of Rylsky treated the smallest details of human emotions and senses, such as the smell of apples or the implication of a momentary glance. And Dray-Khmara's use of a poetic vocabulary which he developed out of the ancient and almost forgotten Ukrainian folklore helped him to create countless symbols based on primordial tales. However different and individual these poets were, they agreed on the basic elements of poetic technique, such as perfect form, originality of image and richness of diction. They rediscovered the poetic word, polished it, and thus enriched the modern Ukrainian language, the wealth of which had never before been so carefully cultivated and so brilliantly expressed. These "neoclassicists" had no definite program, and the "neoclassic" tag bestowed upon them is accurate only in the limited sense that they believed that the poet could learn much about the perfection of poetic form through a study of classical models. Victor Petrov described them thus:

There were no formal groups. There were no assemblies, organizations, or programs. Each of them had complete freedom, and a common line was never demanded. . . . No one had any obligation to do anything. And exactly this made their relationships closer. Freedom of style and poetic creativeness was much more characteristic of the representatives of this group than of neo-

classicism as such. Not neoclassicism, but freedom from neoclassicism is characteristic of this school of "neoclassicists." They translated with equal enthusiasm the verse of contemporary German workers, the Latin poets, and the Polish romanticists. They used hexameters and octaves as often as iambic tetrameters and free verse — that is why they preferred to put quotation marks around their name.²

Professor Petrov was right in saying that the complete freedom of the neoclassical group made their relations closer. The "neoclassicists" were all good friends and often gathered in one or another's home to read original or translated poems. The writing of parodies of new poems or collective verse was also in fashion, and Burghardt in his *Spohady pro Neoklasykiv* (Memories of the Neoclassicists) mentions one humorous collective poem, "Neoclassical March," in which all "neoclassicists" took part.³ In the beginning the chorus of "neoclassicists" glorifies their literary movement and its teachers, the French Parnassians. Then Fylypovych's solo mentions the titles of his two volumes of collected poems, *The Earth and Wind* and *Space*. Again the stanza of the chorus prepared for Rylsky's solo, which is a poetic elaboration of the titles of his volumes of collected poems: *White Islands*, *Blue Distance*, *Thirteenth Spring*, and *Through Storm and Snow*. The next solo (Burghardt) tells us about his "iron" sonnets and translations. Dray-Khmara's solo is built from lines from different poems in *Prorosten'*. Thus, after leaving Noah's Ark he came on the "Chervony Shlyakh"⁴ (red road) and soothed the pain of his word in Scheherazade's gardens. Zerov's solo, the last one, is very grotesque. In it he sings of his service to Apollo, the god of poetry.

The "neoclassicists" also took an active part in the literary discussions (1925-1928). In the literary debate it was Zerov who answered Khylyov's question — "In which direction should we go?" — in his collection of essays, *Do Dzherel* (To the Sources), where he explained the position of the "neoclassicists." The burden of his argument was that Ukrainian writers must steep themselves in the primary cultural sources, i. e., the culture of Western Europe, and that only then would they be capable of creating an indigenous and original culture.⁵

The "neoclassicists" did not believe in the necessity of literary organizations. Zerov, in 1925, protested against the "organization" concept of literature, arguing that truth was the only indispensable artistic criterion.⁶ He went on to name as the three conditions essential

² Yuri Klen, *Spohady pro Neoklasykiv*, Munich, 1947, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18-21.

⁴ At that time Dray-Khmara was a collaborator of the *Chervony Shlyakh* journal, which was printed in Kharkiv.

⁵ Zerov, M., *Do Dzherel*, Krakiv-Lviv, 1943, p. 262.

⁶ Yuri Klen, *Spohady pro Neoklasykiv*, Munich, 1947, p. 22.

to the development of Ukrainian literature: acquaintance with world literature, reevaluation of the Ukrainian literary heritage, and the development of artistic refinement.⁷ This seems to us elementary but it had its significance at that time, when the Ukrainian Soviet literature needed to find its way.

On March 15, 1925, a reading of the original poetry and translations of the "neoclassicists" was organized by the Commission of VUAN. This event provoked bitter debates in the Soviet press. Two days later the newspaper, *Bol'shevik*, published an article entitled "The Five from Parnassus," signed by A. L—y (for A. Lisovy, pseudonym of A. Khutorian). This critic asserted that "neoclassicists" were "pure esthetes" whose poetry on such subjects as "trembling stars," "the boats," "love," and "eternal humanism," was written only for the sake of art and hence did not reveal the truth of the class structure and struggle. Although he accepted the perfect forms of the "neoclassicists," which he thought could be used in the peaceful reconstruction period in the Soviet Union, he condemned the "unsocial" aspects of their work. The choice of translations, even more than the original poetry of the "neoclassicists" was bitterly attacked. "Look at what they translate!" shouted the Soviet critic, "the old Latin poets—Lucretius, Ovid; the French—Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Rimbaud; and the Polish poet Mickiewicz!"

This glimpse into the attitude of the Soviet press of the period demonstrates how difficult and dangerous it now was for the "neoclassicists" to carry out their poetic and philosophical ideals. Whatever the hardships borne by certain individuals, such public attacks do, at least, demonstrate the great variety of literary groups and the diversity of ideas and tastes—graphic proof that considerable liberty of thought and expression existed in the Soviet Ukraine at that time.

In 1930 the State Publishing House agreed to publish a translated anthology of French poetry which had been prepared by Professor Savchenko. The Anthology included works of the most famous French and Belgian poets. Dray-Khmara contributed translations of Maeterlinck and Mallarmé. He found the work of translation close to his heart. His principal purpose in translating was to transplant the masterpieces of Western Europe on to Ukrainian soil. But Western esthetes were not in harmony with the dominant and government-approved realistic current in Soviet literature. For that reason, Dray-Khmara's translations of the French Symbolists were never published.⁸

⁷ Zerov, M. "Evraziysky Renesance, Poshekhonski Sosny," *Do Dzhherel*, Krakiv-Lviv, 1943, p. 264.

⁸ The poems translated by Dray-Khmara in the years 1927-1930 are listed in Appendix B.

CHAPTER TWO

DRAY-KHMARA'S LIFE

My father, Michael Dray-Khmara, one of these Ukrainian "neo-classicists," was born on October 10, 1889 in the Poltava district, Ukraine, of an old Kozak family. His mother, Anna Dray, died when he was only three years old, but he cherished her memory throughout his life.⁹ Cared for by his grandmother in his father's house, he was prepared for the gymnasium by a private tutor. After he finished four classes of gymnasium in Cherkasy in 1906, he won a four-year scholarship at the Pavel Galagan College ("Preparatory School") in Kiev.¹⁰ There he found friends who remained close to him to the end of their lives; among them were a poet, Otrokovsky, and a scholar, Tsikalovsky, both of whom died in the 1920's; Larin, a poet and professor at Leningrad University, who disappeared in the 1930's; and Fylypovych, a scholar and poet, exiled at the same time as Dray-Khmara.



It was under the influence of Kozhin, professor of Russian Literature at the Pavel Galagan College, that Dray-Khmara began his first experiments in verse. In 1910, after graduation from college, he received a four-year scholarship at the University of Kiev.

At Kiev he studied under Professor Peretts, many of whose pupils responded to the character of his instruction by developing into real scholars. In 1911 Dray-Khmara published his first scholarly study, *The Intermedia of the First Half of the 18th Century*. Two years later the University of Kiev, in conjunction with the Slavic Society, sent him

⁹ In his volume of poetry, *Prorosten'*, he dedicated to her the cycle "Maty." *Prorosten'*, Slovo, 1926, pp. 30-32.

¹⁰ Pavel Galagan College (Private Preparatory School) was one of the best private high-schools in Ukraine before the Revolution.

abroad, where he pursued advanced research in Slavic languages and literatures in Lviv, Budapest, Zagreb, and Bucharest.

These labors were not without tangible results. A report of Dray-Khmara's activities was published in the *University News* (of Kiev) in September, 1914. This was followed by his book about the work of Kashich-Mioshich, *Pleasant Discourse to the Slavic People*,¹¹ published in the same scholarly journal. Warmly received in academic circles, the work was favorably reviewed by Professor Lukyanenko in the *University News* in 1914, and was awarded the gold medal of excellence by the Historico-Philological Faculty.

After graduation from the Kiev University (1915), Dray-Khmara continued his studies at the University of Petrograd, where the outbreak of the Revolution was to find him. There he worked under Professors Lavrov, Shakhmatov, and Baudouin-de-Courtenay.

During the following years (1915-1917), when Dray-Khmara was continuing his preparations for a university career in Petrograd, there existed the so-called "zemlyachestva" or national and regional groupings of students. The Ukrainian "zemlyachestvo" was to play an important role in Dray-Khmara's life, for it was through this organization that he first became acquainted with such prominent Ukrainian nationalists as Hontsov and Kushnir. Two other close friends, Larin and Tsikalovsky, the two future Russian scholars who had studied with him at the Pavel Galagan College, were also at the University of Petrograd at this time.

In May, 1917, after the outbreak of the Revolution, Michael Dray-Khmara left Petrograd for Ukraine, where he lectured for a short time in various cities. An interesting facet of Dray-Khmara's decision to return in 1917 to Ukraine from Petrograd in order to participate in the Ukrainian intellectual reconstruction, was his fear that he would find it difficult to keep in step with contemporary life. He wrote:

I had not grown up with my epoch, since for the first twenty years (from the age of nine until twenty-nine) I had been isolated from real life. At the beginning, there was the 'monastic life' in Pans'ke¹² which as a nine-year-old boy I had tried to escape; later in drab Zolotonosha, still later came the gymnasium, college, the university, and finally my wanderings in the mists of archaic philology. Is this not enough to tear one completely away from the earth?¹³

¹¹ This exhaustive monograph analyzed the sources and techniques used in the great poem of Kashich-Mioshich (1762). Dray-Khmara worked for two years on its preparation, studying collections of Serbian and Croatian folk-songs, as well as the Italian and Latin works that were drawn on by Kashich-Mioshich, and assaying the artistic value of this poem.

¹² When Dray-Khmara was nine, his father sent him to the village Pans'ke, where he lived with a private tutor who prepared him for the gymnasium. This

But despite these remarks, it must not be thought that Dray-Khmara kept aloof from the life around him. Active both as a teacher at Kamenets-Podilsky and Kiev and as a poet, he left his mark in both fields. Shortly thereafter, in 1918, he was appointed professor of Slavic Languages at the University of Kamenets-Podilsky¹⁴ where he remained until 1923. While occupying during these five years various important administrative posts, such as Dean of the School of Humanitarian Sciences, 1919-1920, and editor of *Zapysky* (Notes) of the University, 1919-1920, he continued his creative work and published verse in the local literary magazines, *Buyannya* and *Nova Dumka*.¹⁵

In 1922, seeking to establish closer contact with other contemporary writers, Dray-Khmara made a visit to Kharkiv where he became a friend of the writer, Nicholas Khvylovy, who was to leave a deep impression on him. It was to Khvylovy that he dedicated his poem, "The Fields as a Striped Kerchief."¹⁶ It is indicative of the common ties which bound the two that Khvylovy, like Dray-Khmara, saw in the Revolution not merely an act of social justice but an act of national liberation as well.

In 1923 Dray-Khmara left Kamenets-Podilsky for Kiev where he was appointed Professor of the Ukrainian language in the Medical Institute. At that time he carried on research in linguistics at the Ukrainian Academy of Science, where he was head of the Slavic Department from 1923 to 1933.

Dray-Khmara's professional life was not limited to the rarefied atmosphere of the university. His various series of lectures on literary and philological themes were given not only in the Ukrainian Academy

tutor was unusually strict with his little charge; and Dray-Khmara, who was used to great freedom in his father's house, finally ran away; his father brought him back to Pans'ke and after this the tutor showed greater kindness toward the child.

¹³ His diary, January 3, 1925.

¹⁴ In a manner quite different from the social and political movements taking place elsewhere in Russia, the Revolution of 1917 took a nationalistic turn in Ukraine. The hope of an independent national state stimulated great activity in all forms of Ukrainian intellectual life. Thus, in 1918, the first Ukrainian university was founded in Kamenets-Podilsky, and immediately gathered around it the leading Ukrainian intellectuals of the period.

¹⁵ From the cycle, "Moloda vesna," 1920, *Nova Dumka*, No. 1-2, p. 29. "Poky ne vmru, ne perestanu. . .," 1920, *Nova Dumka*, No. 3, p. 11. "Khmeliyut' Khmary, Khvyluyut' v Transi," 1921, *Buyannya*, No. 1, p. 9. (for bibliography see D. Leytes and M. Iashek, *Desiat' rokiv Ukrain's'koi literatury 1917-1927*, Vol. 1, Instytut Tarasa Shevchenka, Kharkiv, Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928, p. 146.

¹⁶ 1924, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 3, p. 79.

of Science, the Historical-Literary Society, and the House of Scientists, but also in more popular forms before teacher and worker groups throughout Ukraine. When the Department of Scientific Workers sent Dray-Khmara to Zhukin to speak to the Workers for Education, he wrote in his diary (May 27, 1927):

Twenty-four teachers came. I began my lecture with a discussion of 'Ukrainian Literature After the Revolution' beginning with Chumak, Mykhaulychenko, and Ellan (Blakytyn). From there I moved to the pan-futurists. I discussed Tychyna and the characteristics of the *Hart* and *Pluh*, and Khvylovy and his debate with Pylypenko and closed with a description of the contemporary literary groups.¹⁷

In the summer of 1930, the Ukrainian Academy of Science sent Dray-Khmara to the Donbas as their representative to help in the founding of the magazine, *Ukrainian Proletarian Culture*. And again in January, 1931, the Ukrainian Academy of Science sent him to Zinov'yevsk to direct a "crusade" for culture. (Such programs of popular education were common in the Soviet Union at that time.) The crusade was organized by the city officials. He enthusiastically undertook this type of activity, for he considered it a means of strengthening Ukrainian culture and the national consciousness, a goal to which he devoted most of his mature years and for the sake of which he was eventually to sacrifice his life.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of his Kiev years was his close association with the so-called neoclassical school of Ukrainian poetry. Such "neoclassicists" as Nicholas Zerov, Maxym Rylsky, Paul Fylypovych and Oswald Burghardt were his colleagues both at the Academy of Science and at the University of Kiev. Together they comprised a poetic school whose verse revealed a style and attitude bearing close kinship to Dray-Khmara's own poetry.

During the '20's and '30's Dray-Khmara continued to publish poetry in various Ukrainian literary magazines.¹⁸ In 1926, his first collected volume of poetry, *Prorosten'* (Young Shoots) was published.

¹⁷ Chumak was executed by the Denikin troops in 1919; see Chapter III, p. 19, for the discussion of Ellan 'Blakytyn'; Chapter III, p. 18-19 for the criticism of Tychyna.

¹⁸ "Bredu obnizhkamy: zhytamy," 1923, *Nova Hromada*, No. 7-8, p. 24; "Staye na priu kholodnyj ranok," 1923, *Nova Hromada*, No. 13-14, p. 4; "Osin'," 1923, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 6-7, p. 4; "Scheherazade. Nastavlyla shovkovykh krosen," 1923, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 9, p. 40; "Maty," 1923, *Shlyakhy Mystetstva*, No. 5, p. 6; "Lany yak khusitka v basamany," 1924, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 3, p. 79; "Serpnevy prokholonuv var," 1925, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 12, p. 6; "Holodna vesna," 1925, *Zorya*, No. 7, p. 3; "Na Provesni," 1925, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 6-7, p. 68; "Doli svoyei ya ne klyanu. . .," 1925, *Chervony Shlyakh*,

On February 3, 1933, Michael Dray-Khmara was arrested for the first time¹⁹ by the Soviet government. On his release from prison he devoted all his energies to the composition of original poetry and to his translation of Dante's *The Divine Comedy* which was confiscated by the NKVD after his second arrest (1935). At the same time he finished his translations of the two cantos of the Finnish epic, *Kalevala*, entitled "The Birth and Marriage of Ilmarinen" and "Ilmarinen and Death." He did not despair for he believed that the publication of his second volume of poetry, *Sunny Marches*, would restore him to official favor. Some of his last poems illustrate this pathetic attempt to reflect the prevailing tendencies of the epoch. But the effect was necessarily a forced and artificial one for a person of so frank and sincere a nature.

For two years Dray-Khmara was unable to find a job which lasted more than a few months. This prolonged period of virtual unemployment caused financial difficulties so grave that he was threatened with the loss of his apartment. The time of his second arrest was now approaching. Life had become very difficult. All that could be sold of clothes and books had disappeared from his apartment. On the night of September 4, 1935, he was arrested for the second time and four NKVD men ransacked his apartment. During the search an examining magistrate appeared twice, asking him if he possessed any fire-arms. A large number of books were removed from Dray-Khmara's library, including such wholly non-political works as Skovoroda, Vynnychenko, and even Lesya Ukrainka.

No. 1, pp. 51-52; "Pamyati S. Yesenina," 1926, *Chervony Shtyakh*, No. 2, p. 14; "Zaviryukha," 1926, *Vsesvit*, No. 4, p. 11; "Meni snytsya: ya znov v Podilakh," 1926, *Vsesvit*, No. 10, p. 9; "Bili vyshni shche i bili moreli," 1926, *Vsesvit*, No. 20, p. 18; "Laskavy serpen'," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 1, p. 9; "Pered Hrozoyu," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 4, p. 3-4; "V selo," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 4, p. 3-4; "Zdravstvuy lypnyu kucheryavy," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 12, p. 6; "Zustrich," 1926, *Zorya*, No. 15, p. 2; "Na provesni. Na poberezhzhi. Zority nich i plakat' iz vamy," 1926, *Zorya*, No. 19, p. 2; "Pryishlo na rano. . . Pivden'. Kruti," 1926, *Zorya*, No. 21, p. 10; "Nakynuv vechir holubu namitku," from the cycle "More, Na Plyazhi," 1927, *Chervony Shtyakh*, No. 9-10, p. 79-80.

¹⁹ Three months later, on May 2 of the same year, the authorities released him from prison. The certificate (number 1065) given him by the public prosecutor of the Kiev district stated that his case had been closed and that he would receive compensation for the time he had spent in prison. But after his release, Dray-Khmara was not restored to his previous positions, either in the Scientific Research Institute of Linguistics or in the Polish Pedagogical Institute in Kiev. On the contrary, he was excluded from the Union of Scientific Workers and was even forbidden access to state libraries.

So great were the difficulties encountered by Soviet prosecutors in the case of Dray-Khmara that it was found necessary to change the examining magistrates repeatedly. But Dray-Khmara obstinately refused to make any further admissions, insisting that he had stated all that was necessary about himself on the occasion of his first arrest. Later he revealed to his wife that, although the police had submitted him to the cruelest of physical tortures, he had made no kind of confession concerning either himself or any one else. But it is doubtful if any conceivable plan of action could have changed his fate which had, in all probability, been decided even before his arrest. In his letter to his wife, written on June 2, 1936, during his journey to Kolyma, he describes his situation as follows:

... I shall try in a few words to tell about my case. . . The decision of the special council²⁰ of March 28, 1936, ordered my imprisonment for a five year period in the Northeastern concentration camps for counter - revolutionary activities. I think that this is the camp at Kolyma. The decision of the special council was made known to me on April 13 and on April 16 I was taken from Kiev. I tried in various ways to let you know of this in order to obtain certain things for the coming journey; but all my efforts were fruitless, and I left without seeing you, my dear . . .

Thus Dray-Khmara was neither permitted to see his wife nor inform her of his imminent departure. He was deported to the Far East in a "Stolypin car" (a freight car adapted for the transportation of prisoners), and provided with neither money, warm clothes, nor linen, and with only the crudest of dry rations in the way of food. Once in Kolyma,²¹ he was continually transferred from one gold-field to another, Nagayev, Orotukan, Mine Partisan, Mine Ekspeditionny, Gornaya Laryukovaya, Rechka Utinnaya, Ust-Tayezhna, Neriga, Okhotskoye; these were the steps on that journey to death which sapped his last remaining forces. Only part of his mail was actually delivered and most of the packages of food sent him were either lost or returned to the sender, after some six months of fruitless travel. A similar fate awaited the money sent to him by his wife. Often, when a letter or package reached its destination, Dray-Khmara had already been transferred to another gold-field. The only conceivable reason for such treatment seems to be that of increasing his suffering until it reached the breaking point. The terrible hunger and back-breaking physical work killed Dray-Khmara's will to live long before his actual death. The last of his letters written to his family testify to this gradual physical and spiritual deterioration.

²⁰ The famous Special Council of Three in Moscow.

²¹ Kolyma is well known as the worst concentration camp in the far north of Siberia. It is situated at 60° latitude and 43° longitude.

It is significant that Dray-Khmara seems to have been more severely treated than the other members of the neoclassicists group who had "confessed." He was forced to work in the gold fields or wash gold while standing in freezing water. Wood-chopping for him was a "rest," although daytime temperatures in Kolyma sometimes reached fifty-three degrees below zero (Centigrade) and were often accompanied by frightful winds. Winter interrupted his correspondence with his family for six months. During this time it was impossible to send him food packages or letters; the only possible means of communication was by telegraph.

In the summer of 1937, the Soviet authorities transferred Dray-Khmara's wife and daughter from Kiev to Belebey, a small town in Bashkiriya. The exile of his family not only affected Dray-Khmara emotionally, but deprived him of a source of money essential to his survival. On October 25, 1939, the Kievan marriage bureau informed his wife of the death of her husband.

CHAPTER THREE

DRAY-KHMARA'S VIEWS ON UKRAINIAN SOVIET LITERATURE

From 1924 to 1932, Michael Dray-Khmara kept a diary in which he noted the significant literary events of that turbulent period. Here, too, he inserted many revealing and pungent comments on the various ways in which the literary figures of the time reacted to the growing Soviet pressure. Some, the diary shows, resisted and died; while others conformed and lost their souls. Dray-Khmara did not mince words here, and his own position—and eventual fate—are never in doubt. The following pages contain, in chronological order, the passages from the diary which bear upon the Ukrainian, and therefore Dray-Khmara's, literary life.

Dray-Khmara remarked of the contemporary Ukrainian poet, Pavlo Tychyna, in an entry dated August 16, 1924:

Turning away from his earlier verse of dream worlds, he is now forced to write poems about our prosaic life. Some people relate this to his removal to Kharkiv. Is it possible that he has sold his soul? No. Only terrible fear could have put him into the hands of Ellan (Blakytyn) and Koryak²² who accepted him because of his reputation and exploited him in every conceivable way. Surely it is clear to all that the fanfares of the revolution have now stifled his clarinets.²³

Literary critics of to-day cannot but agree with Dray-Khmara that the Soviets were successful in silencing the masterful symbolic neo-romanticism of Tychyna.²⁴ Like Dray-Khmara, Tychyna saw in the Revolution the seeds of a latent Ukrainian national revival. And it is in this perspective that we must consider his glorification of it. His unusual imagery and striking vocabulary made him one of the most original of contemporary Ukrainian poets. In all likelihood, only lack of courage (or shall we call it the presence of a strong instinct for

²² Koryak, Ukrainian literary critic, a member of the Communist Party and also a member of *Hart*.

²³ *Sunny Clarinets* was the title of Tychyna's famous volume of collected poems.

²⁴ For the criticism of Tychyna, see Yuri Sherekh, "Trends in Ukrainian Literature Under the Soviets," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, No. 2 (Spring, 1948), p. 152.

self-preservation) prevented him from taking an active part in the literary debate in 1925, although it is true that he joined *Vaplite* (the Free Academy of Proletarian Literature), founded in that year. He is one of the few poets who survived Stalin's regime and even made a political career after the Second World War, serving for a short period as Minister of Education of Ukraine. For the contemporary Soviet reader, Tychyna is known only as the author of the *Feeling of the United Family*, though, if serious literary merit is our criterion, he must be considered exclusively on the basis of his early poetry.

Three days later (August 19, 1924) we find in Dray-Khmara's diary the following ironical entry about another Ukrainian poet, Ellan Blakytny:

How curious that in all the photographs of Ellan, Tychyna and Khvylovy, Ellan is always in the middle between Tychyna and Khvylovy. Together they constitute the musical trio of the balalaika, flute and cello. But it goes without saying that "the Soviet balalaika" is always in the center.

Both Khvylovy and Tychyna belonged to *Hart*, the literary organization led by Blakytny, though (like many other Ukrainian writers), they were doubtless weary of Ellan's relentlessly political approach to literature. It is obvious that the balalaika is a Russian national instrument; bandura is the Ukrainian.

Hart and *Pluh*²⁵ were rivals in the attempt to promote a literature for the masses. Their struggle reached its climax in 1925, when the members of *Hart* blamed *Pluh* for lowering literary standards by encouraging "cultural provincialism." *Pluh* in turn accused *Hart* of imposing proletarian culture on the peasant masses.²⁶ As the struggle wore on, writers of both camps deserted their positions for the "enemy,"²⁷ Dray-Khmara's ironical commentary runs as follows:

The following sequence of events took place: first, there was a quarrel between Pylypenko and Ellan. As a consequence the two "generals" went about stirring up dissatisfaction among the young members of both organizations. And now the upshot of the matter is that like butterflies these youthful writers fly from *Pluh* to *Hart* or from *Hart* to *Pluh*. And this we call searching for a platform.

Several passages of Dray-Khmara's diary deal with his contemporary, the poet Volodymyr Sosyura, a man of proletarian origin who took an active part in the Ukrainian war of liberation. He served in the Ukrainian National Army, led by Petlyura, from the time of its formation (November, 1918) and gave up only in February, 1920, when the army was at last defeated and decimated. Later he served in the Red

²⁵ See page 7, above, for a description of these organizations.

²⁶ "The letter to the editors of *Bolshevik*," *Bilshovyk*, March 20, 1925.

²⁷ "The letter about abandonment of *Hart*," *Kommunist*, March 18, 1925.

Army, hoping that the triumph of the Revolution would procure independence for Ukraine.

In an entry in Dray-Khmara's diary dated February 19, 1926, we read the following about Sosyura:

... Yesterday I went to a party in honor of Sosyura. It consisted of two parts—his reminiscences as a Kozak of the Third Regiment, and his poetry. The memories were interesting, though in some places overly objective. Sosyura looked at the events of the past no longer as a Kozak but through the eyes of a communist. This about-face produces a complete upheaval of values: for him Petyura is now an executioner who resembles Rakovsky²⁸—what an irony of fate that he himself served in Petyura's army from 1918 to 1920, and only abandoned the fight when 'Petyura' was liquidated . . . All that I heard in 'the reminiscences' can be found in Sosyura's poetry, even the 'chumak' and the schoolgirl holding a machine gun between her legs. The only thing he never mentioned in his creative work was his scalplock²⁹ when he was a Kozak. Sosyura's nature is open and naive, as he himself admits.

.....

And from this probably followed his lack of character, absence of moral convictions, and other defects. Otherwise, how can one explain such endless waverings, the hymns to the party in public, and the 'O, my poor Ukraine' read behind the scenes. This ambivalence caused a division in his poetry between the ideologically correct and the incorrect. The first attitude produces pot-boilers, the second mainly repetitions, for he was never able to go farther than his Ukrainian girls and the life of the Red Army man in the Fourth Company; why not the Third Kozak Regiment where Sosyura spent more time than in the Fourth Company?

One more example, that shows his lack of loyalty to his fellow writers . . . Somebody asked him his opinion of the current literary debates, and he answered: 'Pylypenko and Khyvlovyy have had the wrong approach since Pylypenko is oriented towards the *kulak* and Khyvlovyy towards the *petit bourgeois*; therefore I shall try to attack Khyvlovyy in writing.' It is clear that Shchupak³⁰ and Company had already succeeded in cajoling this weak-minded man. During his speech I kept thinking, not about Sosyura himself, but about the events of 1918 to 1920, in which he was immersed, nay, drowned. None the less, we must accept the fact that he is undoubtedly a poet of talent; though I question if we shall get anything of merit from him, for he is completely satisfied with his cheap laurels and no longer seeks to develop himself.

In Sosyura we may distinguish more clearly than in any other Ukrainian poet a striking duality of character: on one hand we see the communist; on the other, the Ukrainian patriot. This ambivalence is evident throughout his poetry, which at the same time leaves no doubt

²⁸ Christian Rakovsky, the head of the People's Commissariat in Ukraine (1919-1922), protested in his article, "Beznadezhnoye delo," in *Izvestia*, January 3, 1919, against the use of the Ukrainian language in administration.

²⁹ Scalplock, the special haircut of the Kozaks.

³⁰ Shchupak a member of the Communist Party and the editor of the newspaper, *Proletarska Pravda*.

as to where his strong affection lay. For the poems written by Sosyura, the communist, are nothing more than artificially constructed slogans, whereas Sosyura, the Ukrainian patriot, was capable of producing verse of lyrical power. A comparison of two poems, both based on Ukrainian historical themes, illustrates this dichotomy. In one, *Taras Tryasylo*, (published in 1925) the poet deprecates and mocks his previous romantic admiration of the Kozak Ukraine.³¹ But in another poem, *Mazepa*, partly published in 1929, Sosyura praises the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa, thus placing himself in direct opposition to the Pushkinian tradition of Russian nationalism in *Poltava*.³²

In the middle '20's, Sosyura's verse collections, *The Red Winter*, published in 1922, and *Autumn Stars* of 1924, were widely read throughout Ukraine, especially by the Ukrainian youth. It is in *The Heart* that Sosyura, for the last time, revealed his artistic lyrical personality, for the horrible executions and deaths of 1933 proved to be fatal for Sosyura's talent. Although the great purge did not mean, for him, physical extermination as it did for so many of his literary contemporaries, the shock brought about by the news of the liquidation of a large part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia led to his commitment to a mental hospital. Ironically, it was because of this that he managed, physically at least, to survive. However, he continued to write verse after his illness, but none of it possessed sufficient merit to deserve our attention. The sole exception is his *Shchob Sady Shumily* (That the Orchards Rustle), published after the World War II, which contains lyrical poetry redolent in style and quality of his youth.

His widely known poem *Lubit Ukrainu* (Love Ukraine), composed for the Ukrainian Red Army during the war, was banned after the war and only now permitted to appear (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VII, p. 253).

In spite of the suppression of independent thought in Soviet Ukraine, we find the following entry in Dray-Khmara's diary, dated April 2, 1926, about Hryts'ko Chuprynka, a Ukrainian poet who was executed by the Bolsheviks in 1921. Dray-Khmara opens his remarks with a quotation from Lenin:

The experience of all movements of the enslaved classes teaches us that only the proletariat is able to unify and lead the separated and backward laboring classes of the population.

Then followed this poem of Chuprynka:

³¹ *Zasudzhenie i Zaboronene*, V. I. Hryshko, New York, 1952, p. 16.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Have You Heard?

You did not hear? But you must hear
How the people sing in grief,
How the people sing in tortures,
How arise to the sky
Their tired and ill souls,
Accompanied by long suffering sounds.

You didn't know? But you must know
That with tears—the cry of despair,
Heat and the flame of the fire!
The heavens will grow red,
Everywhere from the end to the end.
The walls will be destroyed, and
There will be no more frontiers.

Opposing the two quotations, Dray-Khmara concluded:

Lenin speaks about the enslaved classes, about the proletariat which will unify and lead the struggle for a better future. And Chuprynka sings of the people's grief, of the people's tortures, of their tears and their cries of despair. And the result of their misery is the heat and the flame of the fire! Is not this, too, faith in the revolution? And what happened? Lenin had Chuprynka shot.

In an entry dated January 22, 1927, Dray-Khmara commented upon the gradual disappearance of the Ukrainian intelligentsia as follows:

The funeral of Demutsky (a musical ethnographer) took place yesterday, and today I hear the news of Shcherbakivsky's tragic death. (Shcherbakivsky was Director of the Historical Museum in Kiev.) The loss of each man who works in the field of Ukrainian studies is so regrettable! Demutsky was at least an old man and died a natural death, but Shcherbakivsky drowned himself! He could no longer stand the cruel dirt of our life and committed suicide... I am curious whether the letter he wrote before his death will appear in the magazine. I doubt it very much.

Often the Russian intelligentsia refused to support Ukrainian writers. Indeed, like Gorky, many bitterly opposed the encouragement of Ukrainian literature.

Although Maxim Gorky, in Lenin's words, "without doubt the greatest representative of proletarian art,"³³ had expressed lofty ideas about social justice in pre-Revolutionary Russia, he nevertheless saw fit to protest against the development of the languages of non-Russian nationalities under Russian occupation, as he noted in a letter to the Ukrainian poet, Slisarenko. Dray-Khmara was painfully surprised that Gorky, whom he had considered a representative of the liberal Russian intelligentsia before 1917, would accuse Ukrainians of chauvinism. The details of the incident are as follows:

³³ V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th ed., XVI, 186.

After his second return from abroad (1929), Gorky became a leading figure in Soviet literary life. His articles on Russian literature and social realism were intended to direct the efforts of Soviet writers and literary critics. With the establishment of a single union of all Soviet writers (1932), Gorky became the leader of this organization.

On April 8, 1927, Dray-Khmara wrote:

Today I received a copy of Gorky's letter to *Knyhospilka* (the principal publishing house in Ukraine). Here are the contents of this interesting document which should prove most instructive to all Ukrainians: 'Dear Aleksey Andreyevich (Slisarenko), I am categorically opposed to any abridgment of the novel *Mother*. It seems to me that the translation of this novel into Ukrainian dialect is superfluous. The fact surprises me that the people who see before their eyes one and the same goal not only fortify the diversity of the dialects—try to transform a dialect into a language—but also they oppress the Great Russians, who form the minority in the territory of the dialect concerned. Under the old regime, I ceaselessly protested against similar situations. Under the new regime, I consider it necessary to avoid anything that could prove to be an obstacle to mutual aid. We are the witnesses of a most curious situation—while some people do their best to create a world language, others seem to seek the very reverse, A Peshkov.' Such are the words of Gorky, who belonged in the past to the leftist movement and was a representative of the liberal Russian intelligentsia before 1917. What then can we say about others! Here is an example of real, authentic, unqualified chauvinism, yet at the same time we Ukrainians are accused of chauvinism, only because we are Ukrainians. This story is as old as the earth and as boring as the speeches at a meeting... From a dialect we would like to create a language! What could be more horrible from a representative of the Russian intelligentsia! They are unwilling to let us escape from their paws... To obtain his goal he (Gorky) is even capable of lying, spreading the rumor about the 'oppressed' great Russians. According to Gorky, the Ukrainians must build together with the Russians the Tower of Babel (because what is this if not the Tower of Babel, this world language?), must renounce their own language and their own culture, created by a nation of forty millions during a millenium. All this is only to prevent any obstacle to own 'brothers'! No, it is precisely the immortal (Russian) chauvinism of the old regime which prevents people from reaching mutual understanding and not what the Ukrainians are doing or rather, have already accomplished—transforming the 'dialect' into a language.

Some time after his letter to Slisarenko, Gorky, while visiting Kharkiv, told certain high officials of the regime (Zatonsky and Chubar) that he made a mistake and that Slisarenko (the Alexey Andreyevich of the letter) had reproved him. But after the deportation of Slisarenko to Solovki, a Ukrainian spokesman for the "official line" protested indignantly against the "disgraceful calumnies" concerning a letter "purportedly" written by Gorky, but which in fact "never even existed." This was in 1937. About the same time, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Russian Postyshev, said to the Ukrainian writers: "There is one example for you to follow and to imitate, Comrades. I am thinking about Maxim Gorky."

Since Dray-Khmara sympathized with the position of *Vaplite* on current literary trends, and because the name of this important organization is often mentioned in his diary, we must explain its history and the influence it exercised upon Ukrainian literary thought. The literary freedom prevailing in the Soviet Union of the 1920's³⁴ made it possible for certain of the able Ukrainian writers to found *Vaplite*, a literary organization headed by Mykola Khvylovy in Kharkiv. In *Thoughts Against the Current*, Khvylovy summarized the platform of *Vaplite*, declaring that the writer's main contribution is the literary product he creates rather than activity in writers' organizations, and that the improvement of purely literary quality is of primary importance. Naturally, such a literary organization aroused the sympathies of the leading Ukrainian writers and intellectuals and found its strongest supporters among the Ukrainian "neo-classicists." Some of the members of *Vaplite* fell under the influence of the "neo-classicists," and Dosvitny (one of the three active members of *Vaplite*) wrote a favorable article about the "neo-classicists."³⁵ In a series of articles published in 1926, Khvylovy came out in favor of a West European orientation of Ukrainian literature and freedom from Russian influences. Moreover, these ideas found powerful support in the Ukrainian Commissar for Education, Shumsky.³⁶ But in 1927, Shumsky was condemned and exiled from Ukraine by the Soviet government, and Khvylovy, Dosvitny, and Yalovy, the leaders of *Vaplite*, were accused of ignoring Moscow directives and were expelled from this organization by the order of the party.³⁷ Nevertheless, the Communist critics, Koryak and Khvylya, continued their attacks on Khvylovy, who contributed to the *Vaplite* journal even after his expulsion. The publication of his novel, *The Woodsnipes*,³⁸ by this magazine, aroused fierce criticism from representatives of the party line. And Khvylya went so far as to declare that Khvylovy's Ukraine was not a Soviet Ukraine, and that for him the Party was an organization of hypocrites and the national policy of respecting ethnic minorities a sham. He further charged that

³⁴ On June 18, 1925, a Party resolution on literature was approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This decision favored the development of the literatures of national minorities and the encouragement of free competition among various literary groups.

³⁵ O. Dosvitny, "Do rozvytku pysmennytskykh syl," *Vaplite*, First issue, 1926, pp. 5-17.

³⁶ See S. Nykolyshyn, *Kul'turna polityka bol'shevkyv i ukrainsky kul'turny pratses*, 1947, p. 31.

³⁷ S. Nykolyshyn, *Natsionalism u Literaturi na Skhidnikh Ukrains'kykh Zemlyach, Na Chuzhyni*, 1947, p. 21.

³⁸ Khvylovy, *Valdshnepy, Vaplite*, No. 5, 1927.

Khvylovy represented Ukrainians as a hapless people.³⁹ Such criticism was clearly indicative of the breach between the Party and *Vaplite* which resulted in the final dissolution of *Vaplite* in 1928. As we have seen, the high artistic standards of *Vaplite* had found support beyond the limits of the organization itself.

Of the liquidation of *Vaplite*, Dray-Khmara wrote on January 1, 1928:

I dropped in at Mohylansky's (a Ukrainian writer and scholar) and heard from him that *Vaplite* had been either disbanded or suppressed by the government. O the times! The times! Even the slightest sign of opposition is impossible. No one dares to print a free word, let alone a free thought! Why must we tire our starving brains when they have already established a system of thinking and philosophy for us. You need only open Karl Marx, read, learn as much as you like. There is plenty of nourishment; there is enough for all . . .

We also discussed the last investigating committee, headed by Ozersky (head of the Council of Political Education in 1927-28, who was responsible for all literary activities in Ukraine at that time). They would probably like to do to the Academy of Sciences what they did to *Vaplite*.

The following ironical entries in the diary relate to the first purges in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, in which scholars of great reputation were often replaced by Communist professors of limited education and scholarship. These purges were usually accompanied by public meetings where the condemned professors were forced to criticize themselves and to admit their mistakes publicly.

The members of the Academy of Sciences refused to listen to Matviiko (pen name of Yaworsky, historian and member of the Communist Party) and to elect him and Shlikhter (economist and member of the Communist Party) to the Academy—so now you have it! It is the same as if you chased the fly out of the door and it came back in through the window. If you do not like to make this voluntary, you will be forced to do it, whatever 'his highness' desires.

Already their attack has begun on our Academy. Krymsky (the famous Ukrainian philologist) said that Mohylansky (a Ukrainian writer and scholar) was completely confused at the public meeting. He pretended to be feeble-minded, swore his loyalty to the government, and beat himself on his chest, but nobody believed him.

Doroshkevych (a scholar and Director of the Shevchenko Institute in Kiev), discovering the attacks against the Academy, was frightened, and would have liked, at any price, to introduce a Communist into the Shevchenko Institute. How so! In Kharkiv there are Koryak and others, while in Kiev—not one member of the party! It is necessary to bring someone who will at least be an adequate scholar and who will prevent attacks against the Institute. For example, Zaklynsky (the Director of the Kiev Historical Museum and a member of the Communist Party)—a scholar communist. Why wouldn't he be a good collaborator of an Institute which is concerned with the works of Shevchenko? He even wrote a small article about . . . Franko.

³⁹ A. Khvylya, *Vid ukhylu u prirvu*, Kharkiv, 1928, p. 3.

On January 18, 1928, Dray-Khmara wrote:

After the speech of Yefremov (vice-president of the Academy of Science) at the Academy, Rylsky and I went to Fylypovych's for tea. We discussed the literary debates going on in Kharkiv. It seemed to me that these debates had been tactically staged by the Soviet government, for they were finding it necessary to drown out the noise which the foreign press was making over the liquidation of *Vaplite*, *Hart*, etc. Their secondary aim (as revealed in Skrypnyk's⁴⁰ speech) was to place all artistic organizations under government control and to change their ideological point of view because pure Ukrainian organizations were too dangerous for the state.

Here follow a few excerpts from Dray-Khmara's conversations with his colleagues, as recorded in his diary. These entries characterize the conditions of his life before his first arrest:

From my conversations with Zerov... Most of our conversations were literary and sometimes in the course of our discussion we allowed ourselves to criticize proletarian poetry as ungraceful and crude. When I tried to write revolutionary poems, Zerov wrote parodies of them. After 1929 I spoke with him only once, in the spring of 1932, in the Proletarian Park. I told him about my literary work which had been denied publication.⁴¹ I also told him that I was depressed because of the conditions which surrounded me, that I was tired of my work and that I could see no future for myself. Zerov characterized our era by comparing it with the Time of Troubles.⁴²

With Rylsky⁴³ I also had talks of a literary character. I remember that once, while returning from Mohylansky's, we spoke of the necessity of taking one stand or the other because we recognized that our present indecision could bring no positive results. After Rylsky's release from prison I spoke with him several times in my own home where he was working on a dictionary. I was the only one who really spoke because he was silent. He found it was better that way, having already been in prison. I spoke about how difficult it was for me to work; that I had too many lectures, but that I could not earn a bottle of milk for my child; that I had not even a bushel of potatoes in my house and that by 1933 I might be in a very difficult situation.

Another of Dray-Khmara's friends whose conversations with him were recorded in his diary was Olexander Doroshkevych, professor of literature, who participated in the literary debates of the middle twenties and published an article entitled *More About Europe*,⁴⁴ in which he advanced the rejection of the old "bourgeois" European cultural heritage for the contemporary European literary values as epitomized by Romain

⁴⁰ Mykola Skrypnyk, the Commissar of Education of Ukraine from 1927 to 1932.

⁴¹ Translation of Lermontov's *Demon*, of French poets, the second volume of poetry, the article about Kupala, etc.

⁴² The so-called *Smutnoye vremya* (1598-1613).

⁴³ Among the Ukrainian "neo-classicists" Dray-Khmara became particularly fond of Rylsky, considering him his sworn brother, although he was painfully disillusioned on this score after his second arrest.

⁴⁴ *Zhyttya i Revolutsiya*, No. 607, 1925.

Rolland. For these opinions Doroshkevych was strongly criticized by Zerov.⁴⁵ But it is more than likely that he owed his survival to his refusal to embrace the extreme position of the present day Westernizers. In the late twenties, when he still believed in the Ukrainian renaissance Doroshkevych thought that contemporary Ukrainian poets were intellectual leaders as well. Here he had in mind primarily Dray-Khmara, in whom he had discovered not only a deep thinker but a friend as well.

I began to meet Doroshkevych more often. He came to my apartment once towards the end of January, 1932... He spoke about the rations, which had become even scarcer than before. I complained that I could not go on like this much longer, that they were harassing me from all sides, that I was tired and would like to rest. Doroshkevych also complained of the oppressive atmosphere of the Shevchenko Institute and admitted that he dreamed of leaving it.

This is one of the last entries in the diary. Dray-Khmara was arrested shortly thereafter and ceased to reveal himself on the written page. Strangely enough, the police never found this highly incriminating record of Dray-Khmara's defiant spirit. It was hidden by his family and finally brought to the free world.

⁴⁵ Zerov, M., *Do Dzeret*, Kharkiv-Lviv, 1943, p. 260.

CHAPTER FOUR

DRAY-KHMARA AS A POET

The influence of contemporary symbolist poetry in Russia is reflected in most of Dray-Khmara's first attempts at poetic expression. Thus, one of his earliest poems in Russian, published in 1910, in the literary magazine *Lukomorie*, begins:

Girl in the flaming red kerchief.
Rainbow of ribbons and light;
I hear the music of bagpipes
Reeling with youthful delight.

The musical quality of Dray-Khmara's poetry connects him with the Symbolists, especially the poetry of Verlaine, which he translated with great success. However, Dray-Khmara's imagery has not the indefiniteness and the vague spiritual effect of the French poet. Ukrainian symbolism, according to Yury Sherekh, was a peculiar phenomenon in which the vague mystical and spiritual elements played a very small part, for it was not the result of spiritual fatigue or a reaction against materialism, but a form of protest against the narrow ethnographical current that dominated early Ukrainian literature.⁴⁶ However, Dray-Khmara's unusual images do sound like the musical chords of an old Ukrainian song.⁴⁷ They are often drawn from the folklore background. In his poem "The Fields as a Striped Kerchief,"⁴⁸ the slow tempo of country life reminds him of the majestic tread of oxen. In another poem, "She Put Forth Silken Threads,"⁴⁹ the sun is rolling on the soft straw and the poet's heart goes wandering around like a bee. Again in his poem "The Rain,"⁵⁰ the sudden darkness of the heavy rain is compared with the clouds of locusts that sometimes appear on the plains.

⁴⁶ Yuri Sherekh, "Trends in Ukrainian Literature Under the Soviets." *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, IV (Spring, 1948), p. 151.

⁴⁷ Because of the great musicality of the poem "Leavetaking from Podilya," it was set to music as a song by Fomenko.

⁴⁸ *Prorosten'*, Slovo, 1926, p. 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Another link with Symbolism is his use of the most delicate nuances of light and color.

My eyes embrace the world around me,
For lines and tones enchant my sight —
The strong sun's ploughshares deeply furrow
My fallow land with blades of light.⁵¹

With a philosophical depth to his profoundly perceptive soul, he perceives with his eye, his ear, and his heart his relationship to the world.

I look, I listen, how translucent
Life's singing river flows along.
I, too, it seems, must quickly, quickly
Give forth that same unaging song.

Although Dray-Khmara's musically sounding verse connects him with the Symbolist school, his carefully constructed phraseology and polished words, always in complete harmony with the form of the poem, lead us to see in him also a master of "Ukrainian neoclassicism." However, he is not a classic poet in a strict sense, for he has neither the severity of the classicists nor the detached and scientific observation of the French Parnassians, whom he translated with such consummate art. Moreover, his work has a grace and humanity which is not to be found in these French poets. It reflects, as does the work of any great poet, the influence of many literary movements in combination with the poet's individual reactions to such influences.

A man of great intellectual originality, Dray-Khmara rejected Soviet realism. He chose rather to be carried away by the mysteries of his own mind and to cultivate his joy in aesthetic sensation and to develop a personal philosophy. This philosophical mood is evident as early as 1919 in the poem, "At Dusk,"⁵² which shows the poet both as an admirer of nature and as a keen observer of life who wishes to understand the universe. Thus the moment seems to him an eternity, when in silence without breathing, he is listening to the voice of his soul. Two years later (1921), in the poem "February Raged in Vain,"⁵³ he states his intention of traveling among the Ukrainian folk as the Ukrainian philosopher Skovoroda⁵⁴ did, and pouring out his songs into the heart of the people.

Although he had a wide knowledge of Western culture there is little trace of it in his first volume of poems. The Eastern element is pre-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵² *Prorosten'*, Slovo, 1926, p. 32.

⁵³ *Prorosten'*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Hryhory Skovoroda (1722-1794), known as the "Ukrainian Socrates," traveled on foot throughout Ukraine, teaching morality, love of knowledge, and good deeds.

dominant and is used, not for exotic color, but rather as something very familiar, to him as a part of Ukrainian culture. For example, when the melted snow of the city reminds the poet of the Tatar drink, *Buza*. In the brilliant second poem of the cycle, "Scheherezade,"⁵⁵ (1923), the language of magic and phantasy which the poet introduces into the world of fairy-tales becomes particularly striking when combined with the colors of Ukrainian folklore. Here in the image of the young winged horse he adds his feelings of the power of a storm at dawn to the passions of the Revolution and the dramatic strength of an Eastern legend. Even the treatment of Biblical themes in this first volume of poems has a characteristically Ukrainian interpretation. Thus, in the first poem of *Prorosten'*, "Under the Blue of Spring,"⁵⁶ which was written in 1922, he presents his belief in the Ukrainian Renaissance in the double symbol of early spring and the emergence of the Earth from the Flood. In another poem of Biblical content (1922), "And Again as the First Man,"⁵⁷ the agony of a prophetic heart is expressly stated. Here the first man calls the stars his sisters, and the moon his brother, names the animals and all living things, yet finds his heart a Gobi Desert. He lived alone with his vision of good and evil days to come. In one of his most beautiful poems, "I Fell in Love with You,"⁵⁸ 1924, he sees the rebellious Ukraine as a young eagle flying into battle. Her wings are bloody, her head bears the stigmata, and in the distance he sees Golgotha and hears the enemy crying "Crucify her!" He drains with her the full measure of this bitter pain and in silence they clasp hands as brother and sister. This note of belief in the Revolution as a national liberation colors the whole volume, except for the last poem in which we may divine his disillusionment with the Revolution and with life. For "To the Village,"⁵⁹ 1925, is written wholly in a minor key.

The snow now gleams, the cold wind races,
The straining wires hum: I know
All roads are hid as one erases,
Against the wind is hard to go.

Here the poet approaches a village devastated during the Revolution, now deserted and buried in the swirling snow. From behind a snowdrift

⁵⁵ *Prorosten'*, p. 18.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

the face of Lenin, with its high forehead, momentarily appears. And then a cry of agony is heard as Dray-Khmara asks his heart to beat only if there is still hope. For if only despair remains, the poet wishes that his heart may break and, like ashes, blow away.

A Ukrainian nationalist of energy and determination, Dray-Khmara was often distressed by the passivity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which, as he wrote, did not experience in full measure a feeling of national consciousness during the Revolution and therefore found itself irresolute in the face of the new social order.⁶⁰

In one of his unpublished poems, "And Every Day Somewhere in the Tram,"⁶¹ he contrasts the monotony of life in the Soviet Ukraine with the inspiring greatness of the Ganges and the Himalayas. "But what is inevitable cannot be changed; you will only prick yourself by plucking the roses," exclaims the poet-philosopher, concluding painfully that the time is not ripe in his beloved country for the emergence of great souls, that no Ghandi fights for Ukrainian independence.

Important also as thematic material in this first volume of poems is Dray-Khmara's feeling for nature. Some of the poems in *Prorosten'* are autobiographical in their reflection of his growing up as a country boy and of his joy in the changing season, sun, rain, birds, all Nature. Such are "Ah, the Round Sun Stands So High,"⁶² 1922, and "The Cuckoo Calls Beyond the Water,"⁶³ 1921. He particularly admired the early autumn which induced a feeling of gentle melancholy and glorified its golden beauty as a season of sweet silence and dreams of which he felt himself a part. In one of the poems in *Prorosten'* he echoes the mood of the Podilya,⁶⁴ "I Dream . . ." ⁶⁵ While he is lying on the warm ground with the hum of insects in his ears he feels the sun's rays as cords on which he swings, swings, until he finds himself becoming one with the earth he lies on. Again in the poem "I Do Not Bemoan My Fate,"⁶⁶ the poet calls the song his sworn brother, the steppe his sworn sister, and the wind his friend. We see an intimate connection between the sun, the stars, the winds and the poet's emotions.

In Rylsky's review of Dray-Khmara's first collected volume of poetry, *Prorosten'* (*Young Shoots*), we read:

The choice of the title *Prorosten'* was particularly appropriate, because the author is very fond of words rarely used, or (I suspect) not used at all.

⁶⁰ His Diary, August 13, 1924.

⁶¹ Unpublished poem, date unknown.

⁶² *Prorosten'*, Slovo, 1926, p. 36.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶⁴ Podilya is the region of Great Ukraine, which lies southwest of Kiev.

⁶⁵ *Prorosten'*, Slovo, 1926, p. 45.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Rylsky was right in his conjecture that Dray-Khmara invented the word *Prorosten'*, although the word actually has its roots in the vocabulary of Ukrainian folklore. Even in Dray-Khmara's use of symbolism he reverts to archaic and forgotten words, buried in the treasury of folk speech. In the following lines we can see how his unusual arrangement and choice of words give the poetry both freshness and originality while revealing, at the same time, his interest in and knowledge of philology.

I cherish words vast and full sounding,
Like honey scented, flushed with wine;
Old words, that in lost depths abounding
Were sought through ages mute in vain.

Without undertaking the systematic analysis of the formal aspects of Dray-Khmara's poetry, one may point out a few characteristic features, such as his use of unexpected rhymes and sonorous assonances which is another important feature of these poems. Thus he prefers to rhyme the verb with the noun, as for example "liubliu"* and "rilliu"; "Tsvituv" — "put"; or the verb and the adjective, "roste" — "zolote"; and if he rhymes two verbs, they will be of different tenses, for example, "pase" (present) and "znese" (future). Similarly, when he rhymes nouns, they are usually in different cases, for example a genitive plural "Pisen" with a nominative singular "den," or nominative plural "dary" with a genitive singular "nory." He also uses many musical assonances such as "okom" — "hlyboko" or "nadaremne" — "pidyaremnyi."

Dray-Khmara has a highly individual way with epithets, often replacing the commonly-used adjective epithet with an adverb. Thus, instead of saying "I dzveniat' stozharni duhy," (And *Bright* Heavens Are Ringing), he writes, "I dzveniat stozharno duhy" (And the Heavens Are *Brightly* Ringing). When he does use an adjective epithet, it is always the exact and individual one. For special emphasis he sometimes puts the epithet, i.e., the adjective, after its noun, for example, "Rala prominni" (Sun rays ploughshares) in the poem, "My Eyes Embrace." In general, however, he tried to avoid an excessive use of epithet. In this same poem he says, "An epithet, like misfortune, occurs where least expected and only iambs and anapests keep order."

Also very common is his use of the metaphor with the instrumental or with the genitive case. For example with the instrumental case:

iablnia roztsvitaie bilym shatrom
(the apple tree is in white cane blossoms)

or with the genitive:

* The italicized vowels are accented in Ukrainian.

huby kamiani dakhiv vysokykh
(the stony lips of the high roofs)
I sliozy ne moi — dubiv pomerklykh
(And the tears not mine — of the darkening oaks)

In his lyrics, Dray-Khmara's technical device of using the first stanza as a refrain at the end of the poem achieves the completeness of the rondeau. For example, in the poem "To the Village" the first four lines are repeated at the conclusion with only a few changes in the second and in the fourth lines:

The snow now gleams, the cold wind races,
My thoughts are straining wires: I know
All roads are hid, as one erases,
But I must go!⁶⁷

Dray-Khmara's poetry in *Prorosten'* is syllabo-tonic with classical meters: iambic, trochee, anapest, and dactyl. Occasionally he makes use of clear-cut caesura.

A master of short poems, Michael Dray-Khmara also wrote some longer poems in free verse that were equally successful. For example, the poem, "Return," written in the years 1922-1927. He considered this poem unpublishable because of its abstract character and the possibility of seeing political implications in it. Indeed, the symbolism of this poem appears in the very first stanza:

No flood of sadness ever
Did totally surround
 As on this day,
Nor did I search so far and keenly,
 With anxious
 And impassioned
 vision
Into the sapphire misty shore
 Of dreaming shadows.

Here Dray-Khmara speaks about his great loneliness and longing for his beloved fatherland while he was abroad. The European countries he visited remain strange and cold to him. Convinced that only at home can he be happy, he must return to his dear steppes. In the second part of this poem he describes his return to Ukraine. But instead of the beautiful land he was dreaming about, he finds an endless desert:

Like a flaming sea the ungathered grain
is standing tossing its empty ears. It
waits for the harvesters, but they do not
come. It is so lonely here; there is not
even a small village, not even a tree.
Only the steppes, the steppes without end.

⁶⁷ Compare with first stanza on p. 30.

Later in the poem Dray-Khmara asks himself who is responsible for this destruction, "Whose fault is it?" and he answers: "It is the people's own fault," and the proverb, "a powerful state cannot be built by lying on the warm stove at home." Yet the poet believes that better days will come, that the horrors of bloody Revolution were not suffered in vain, that at least they will reawaken the national consciousness.

The main motif of a great loneliness in the poet's heart appears against the background of these ancient steppes, whose unchangeable beauty is wonderfully recreated by the poet. The nature of the steppes is reproduced in every detail: we can sense the smell of the dry grass, lightly touched by a gentle wind, the erratic movement of a butterfly through the air, the endless expanses of these steppes where the hot and generous sun caresses like a loving mother without asking, "Who are you?"

The feelings of personal loneliness and admiration of nature introduce a third philosophical theme. The poet, while lying under the shadow of the grave mounds, one of those graves which can be found throughout Ukraine, gazes at the dark evening sky and recognizes eternity in the depths that are hanging over him. The poet's mood is interrupted by his reawakening at the touch of a very small breeze. Thus he creates the artistic tension which makes this poem so beautiful.

The form of the poem *Povorot* is very complex: it consists of two chapters which are divided into smaller parts of different rhythms and lyrical moods with the result that classical meters alternate in sharp contrast with free verse. Especially colorful in rhythms is the second part, which contains a mixture of free verse, a folk-song, and dialogues in which the lines are divided among several voices.

The first issue of *Literaturny Yarmarok*⁶⁸ (1928) contained Dray-Khmara's famous and controversial sonnet, "Swans," which was his last published poem and therefore his real "swan song." This work was greeted by a storm of criticism. In order to understand the nature of this criticism, an English translation follows:

⁶⁸ *Literaturny Yarmarok*, the literary almanac in Kharkiv, had among its collaborators several members of the dissolved *Vaplite*. It was under the direct ideological influence of Khvylovy and therefore contained the most talented contemporary prose and poetry. To give more liveliness to the printed texts of different authors, the editors presented these materials in the old style of *inter-media*, which was used in the Ukrainian drama of the eighteenth century. The original style and high artistic level of this almanac made it stand out from the other colorless magazines that circulated in the Soviet Ukraine at that time.

S W A N S

Upon the lake with winds through willows singing
They lingered in captivity till fall
They stately swam; their curving necks had all
The grace of reeds the stormy wind is swinging.

But when sonorous crystal frosts came ringing
And water froze under a dream-white pall,
They leapt to flight out of that frigid stall
And feared no threats of winter to their winging.

O Five unconquered, though the cold be long,
No snow can muffle your triumphant song
Which breaks the ice of small despairs and fears:

Rise, swans, and higher to bright Lyra homing
Pierce through the night of servitude to spheres
Where, all intense, the sea of life is foaming.

The publication of this sonnet in *Literaturny Yarmarok* is significant, for the magazine was dedicated to printing the best Ukrainian literature. But even the editors of *Literaturny Yarmarok* were aware of the audacious symbols in Dray-Khmara's sonnet, and several times they made reference to the poem. For example, in the same issue of this almanac, the attention of the reader was again attracted by such a comment as: "Dray-Khmara's swans went away to the south far behind high mountains and great seas."⁶⁹ And in the second issue of this almanac we read a dialogue about the sonnet, written in the form of an interlude. The dialogue takes place between a young boy pioneer and his father:

- Father, is it true that swans can sing?
- These, my son, can sing.
- And why?
- Because they are singers.
- But is it true that even among swans there are singers?
- Oh, little stupid, leave me alone!
- And why are they unconquered and captured?
- Because the artist wanted to use the dialectic thinking.
- And what is dialectics? And why "through storm and snow?"⁷⁰
- Such was the name given to the monograph.
- And why have I never heard their singing, that "sounds so triumphantly?"
- Because it is poetic exaggeration.
- A lie, my father?
- Poetic image, hyperbole.

⁶⁹ *Literaturny Yarmarok*, Vol. I, p. 201.

⁷⁰ *Kriz buryu i snih (Through Storm and Snow)* was the title of Rylsky's volume of collected poems that was published in 1925.

- And what is this ice of despair and disappointment that they break, Father?
- Enough, son; in this way they encouraged some of their friends . . .
- And why did he write about “slavery” and “non-existence?”
- But enough, I say to you: you see they are captured.
- And who captured them?
- They captured themselves . . .
- Themselves? And who are they? Such funny beings! I want, my father, to listen to the living ones; take me to them!

The father was offended and shrugged his shoulders; and one of the editors of *Literaturny Yarmarok*, who was listening to this dialogue between the father and son, looked to the West in silence.⁷¹

The author of this dialogue was Nicholas Khvylovy. He pointed out that “Swans” has a great deal to say to the reader and that it reveals allegorically the fate of the five Ukrainian “neoclassicists.”⁷² Khvylovyi not only shared the poet’s ideas, but strongly supported them. But such defenders of the party line as Borys Kovalenko and Mykola Novyts’kyi severely criticized the poem, accusing Dray-Khmara of harboring counter-revolutionary ideas. The publication of “Swans” in December, 1928, was dangerous for Dray-Khmara. The communist literary critic Koriak came especially from Kharkiv to Kiev to unmask the hostile tendencies in current Ukrainian literature. Some of Dray-Khmara’s friends, such as Professor Savchenko, advised him to hold off publication, but the poet refused.

Novytskyi, in his critical pamphlet, *At the Fair*, tried to discover in the symbols of “Lebedi” the poet’s hostile feelings towards “proletarian dictatorship.” “If the poem had appeared twenty-five years ago, when the Ukrainian workers and peasants were oppressed by the Czarist regime,” wrote this critic, “we would sympathize with the author in his mood of ‘daring,’ though we would not advise him to call the attention of the proletarian masses to Lyra’s constellation or try to make them believe that the all-conquering poetic song can liberate them from their slavery. The workers have a better way of liberating themselves from their ‘non-existence,’ by building up a fighting class organization and preparing for the decisive revolutionary contest. But this poem, inspired by Mallarme according to the poet, appears in the Ukrainian literature not of twenty-five years ago, but of today, when moods of despair, disappointment, pain and grief over wings that are frozen to the ice are very foreign to the proletarian conqueror, who is occupied with very different feelings and with more practical things. But we have, it is true, in our territory (in the Soviet Union) elements ‘captured’

⁷¹ *Literaturny Yarmarok*, Vol. 2, pp. 125-126.

⁷² Sherekh, Yu., The convention held at the second congress of M.U.R. (Artistic Ukrainian Movement) in May, 1948, in Zuffenhausen, Germany.

by the proletarian dictatorship and these elements have reason for 'despair and disappointment.' They have their singers and 'groups of five poets' and even some who dare to protest. For them perhaps the mood of *Lebedi* would be in key, but for us this poetic language is too strange and its moods too foreign."⁷³

In answer to this hostile criticism, Dray-Khmara published in the fourth issue of *Literaturny Yarmarok*⁷⁴ his translation of Mallarme's sonnet and a long letter of explanation beginning as follows:

Very respected comrade editor, allow me to publish in your journal a few words which I hope will dispel the misunderstandings which arose in connection with my sonnet *Lebedi*.

This same letter, with a few changes, appeared at the same time in the Ukrainian newspaper, *Proletarska Pravda*.⁷⁵ Dray-Khmara's explanation of the relation of the Mallarme sonnet (which begins: *Le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui*) to his "Swans" points out that Mallarme was trying to describe man's vain attempt to free himself from the chains of reality by force of reason. Mallarme's swan can shake the snow from his neck but has not strength enough to free his wings from the ice.

In my two last terza rimas, which greatly disturbed certain critics, arousing in them feelings of doubt and incertitude (continued Dray-Khmara), I had reference to five poets of "Abbeys," who, without egotism and with a closer approach to things as they are, were able to break that ice of despair and disappointment which held prisoner the "dark" genius of Mallarme. Such were the poets who established the "Creteil commune," earning their living by physical work and publishing their books privately. Their names: Jules Romains, Georges Duhamel, Charles Vildrac, Rene Arcos, Alexandre Mercereau."

Dray-Khmara explained further that he was attracted to these poets by the great love they had for their comrade, man, and by the humility implicit in their recognition of man's being the merest dust of the vast universe, and by their philosophy which was to be sane and strong, to work hard, and to look into the future with courage.⁷⁶ In conclusion, he called his critics naive for finding in *Lebedi* a picture of people opposed to the present state of affairs. "I would advise these critics," added Dray-Khmara, "not to search for 'Special meaning,' in literary work, but to pay attention to the visible aims of the author."

⁷³ Novytskyi, M., *Na Yarmarku*, Kharkiv, 1929, p. 11.

⁷⁴ *Literaturny Yarmarok*, Vol. 4, 1929, p. 174.

⁷⁵ *Proletarska Pravda*, Kiev, 1929, No. 66.

⁷⁶ As a source concerning the Creteil commune, see Margolin, S., "Jules Romains," *Zhyttya i Revolutsiya*, 1926, 10, pp. 59-60. Dray-Khmara translated much of the work of these poets.

These last two Russian expressions Dray-Khmara took from the old Czarist law on censorship, using them ironically.

But Dray-Khmara's ingenious explanation was considered unsatisfactory. The same Bolshevik critic, Kovalenko, published in the literary gazette, *Literaturna Hazeta*, an article entitled "Dray-Khmara Tries to Justify Himself," in which he continued his attack on the poet. The Soviet press was, by nature, predisposed to find in this elegant and optimistic sonnet a directly counterrevolutionary meaning. The poet had meant only to celebrate the five Ukrainian "neoclassicists" whose songs of courage he felt were real weapons against the despair and disappointment of the thoughtful soul. In his use of the constellation (poetry personified as leading man from slavery to the freer seas of life) he was perhaps quite innocently symbolic, as the relationship between "Swans" and the predicament of the "neoclassicists" is very clear.⁷⁷

As a matter of fact, in spite of the similarity between "Swans" and Mallarme's sonnet in poetic expression, the lyrical moods of the two poems differ widely: Dray-Khmara's poem has perhaps more in common with Zerov's "Ovid,"⁷⁸ which was published five years before "Swans," and there is also a connection between "Swans" and another poem of Zerov's about the "ninth winter" (ninth since 1917), published two years before the appearance of "Swans." It is interesting that the similarity in feeling between "Lebedi" and Zerov's "Ovid" did not attract the notice of the Soviet critics. Also, Dray-Khmara used one of the lines in "Swans" the title of poet Rytsky's volume of collected poems, "Through Storm and Snow," a use which proves again that the sonnet "Swans" reflected the spirit of the whole neoclassical group to which his dedication of the sonnet, "To My Comrades," clearly refers. After the storm of criticism aroused by "Swans" the avenue to publication was closed to Dray-Khmara forever. In a like position were Zerov and Fylypovych. Rytsky broke off all connections with the group and Burghardt went abroad to Germany. Thus Dray-Khmara's "Swans" was the true poetic swan song of the Ukrainian "neoclassicists."

Several poems with nationalistic tendencies can be found among Dray-Khmara's unpublished manuscripts. One revealing example is his sonnet, "At Rudansky's Grave," written in 1930, which was dedicated to Zerov because he had visited the grave in the Caucasus in his com-

⁷⁷ Dray-Khmara's explanations sounded oddly sophisticated and artificial, especially since there were, in fact, more than five poets in the French "Abbeye" group.

⁷⁸ For a comparison of these two poems, see Porsky, V., *Kyiv*, No. 1, 1951, p. 36.

pany. Here Dray-Khmara's reflections reveal all his deep sorrow for the Ukrainian poet, buried far from his fatherland: "An orphan's ashes in a foreign land."

Among the six sonnets written in the same year, the summer of 1930, three of them, "Kiev," "Chernihiv," and "Podol," describe the glorious historical past of Ukraine. The impressionistic picture of the baroque city of Kiev, situated on reddish hills surrounded by the Dnieper River, makes vivid the unique, indescribable beauty of this city. In another poem, "Chernihiv," the poet compares the great historical past of this city with its insignificance in modern times, an insignificance which hangs over it like a black grave mound. Very symbolic is the sonnet in which the poet gazes over the Podol, lower part of Kiev from the heights which bear the monument of St. Volodymyr, during whose reign Kievan Rus', as Ukraine was then known, was Christianized. He sees Prince Volodymyr as charmed by this bright expanse of scenery, by the lights on the bridge that shine like beads of fire. But then the Prince notices that the cross he is holding has darkened and asks himself why he should be raised so high. And he rises and goes off into the distance—far from the city.

There is, among Dray-Khmara's poems, another category of personal verse, which he did not wish published. In the sonnet "Victoria regia," (1930), the poet compares the three stages in his own poetic metamorphosis during the stormy years after the Revolution with the three changes in color of the flower of *victoria regia*. Thus his first bloom was as pure and idealistic as the whiteness of the newly-opened flower of *victoria regia*. The second stage, light rose like the wings of the flamingo, was the color of dreams; while the third and last stage, the impassioned one, had the deep hue of a ruby.

To the same group of poems belongs the poem, "Nightmare," which was written in 1930 and which shows to some extent the state of the poet's mind and his vain struggle for peace. The first of the following stanzas introduces us into the world of the tranquil city, already enveloped in dreams. But the poet himself cannot sleep; in spite of his effort not to think, the events of the past day fill him with feelings of frustration, pain, and fury. When at last he falls asleep his dream turns into a horror which grips his brain like a vise. However, the poem is not finished, we may guess from the note at the end of the last stanza that the poet had intended to end this poem with the mental illness of the dreamer. The poem is written in a five-foot iambic beat, with the rhyme scheme of a-b-a-b-c-b-c-d-c-d-e-d-e-, etc.

Directly opposite in mood, in color, but also affecting the poet's intimate world, is the poem "The Letter to Oksana," dated July, 1934.

Here, in the form of a letter, the poet expresses the deepest emotions of his heart, while preserving his originality and high poetic technique. The letter begins:

Greetings to you, my darling, little swallow
That left for Dnister blue the native nest
And floats somewhere high over the waters.

The poet interrupts the picturesque description of Bessarabia to ask his child to repay, with caressing and tender words, the love she received from her grandmother in whose care she was placed. Poetic language becomes especially moving when he refers to the letter of the child in which he glimpses her first feelings and first thoughts, the blossoming of her soul. He takes a deep interest in the events of her life and goes into the details of her stories about the rabbit, a flowering bush, or her great dog, Rozboi. The unrhymed letter is also in regular five-foot iambs which are common in Dray-Khmara's poetry.

The second volume of Dray-Khmara's collected verse, *Sonyashni Marshi*, (*Sunny Marches*), contains several long poems (unlike the first volume, which consists exclusively of short poems). But what is really new and of great significance is a folklore-balladic element combined with a new Romantic strength which is characteristic of several of the poems.

In his review of *Sonyashni Marshi*, Rylsky wrote:

The book was written by a master. This can be seen from the richness of its language, from the rhythms, rhymes, from the choice of images. Thematically, the book reflects the spirit of our day: the poet is in love with struggle and the process of building, which is so characteristic of our time.⁷⁹

The long poem, "The Death of Koloman Vallish" which describes the death of a young leader of the revolt in Szeged (Hungary) is written in the archaic style of the Serbian epics, using such devices as the repetitions of certain words, fixed lines and occasional fixed rhymes. But these stylistic elements are not dry or bookish—the poet makes them live because he is using them not as ends in themselves, but as a medium of expression.

Notable for its stylistic power is an allegory, "Spanish Ballad," written in the autumn of 1934 and dedicated "To the Fighters of Asturia." The original imagery, richness of rhyme, and force of rhythm (six-foot iambs) of this brilliantly painted picture of a bull-fight is impressive. Here is the bull captured and led into the arena to be killed. He is still a brave bull, but what is happening? He fights, not with his

⁷⁹ The copy of an unpublished review by Rylsky on *Sonyashni Marshi*, Kiev, August, 1935, p. 1.

human tormentor, but with the wind, like a strange knight in another land. Surrounded by groups of fools, troubled by the red of the fighters' capes, he sees the ripped belly of the old horse, hears the drunken laugh of guitars and the sharp sound of castanets. The points of the *banderillas* planted in his flesh are like hot needles, his blood drips on the sand. He is here, not of his own will, but forced by strangers into this unequal battle. As in a broken mirror, he sees his days of freedom; sees the noisy Guadalquivir, the Andalusian plains, the snows of the Nevada mountains, the silken pasturage of autumn, and the deer herd in his charge. Who has forced him away from this peaceful life? Neither the primitive savages nor the cave beasts, but that man whose garments sparkle with gold braid. He is lord of many *haciendas*, the black cross is on his dress . . . Long live Spain, and Espada's hand! Today it will bring death to the angry bull. Already the trumpets are sounding the call to the mortal battle, the fierce enemies are joined in the final struggle . . . The matador already sees the bloodied ear in his hand, hears the applause, the choir of glory. One well-aimed blow . . . But suddenly the crowd stares in horror. The stroke went wrong, it missed the vital spot and only stung the bull, and in his heart there rose again the old fire. The sound of the trumpets is broken off, the bull has lifted the matador on his horns. And the West turns pale as onto the sand falls the green cross of Holy Brotherhood. And the East, where still sound the hellish cry and the weeping, takes up the flag—drowned in blood.

This poem strangely foreshadows the Spanish Civil War which, two years later, tore the country apart.

In the poem, "Thomas More," written in the summer of 1935 and employing an unusually complex variation of the Amphibrach, Dray-Khmara describes man's search for the Happy Island, the scene of More's golden tale that was nourished with his blood, so that it became immortal and sank from view and rose again, shining without darkening, like the blue star from the heights. He saw the *condottieris* searching for Utopia, all the courageous fellows, young and all, the *conquistadors*; the robbers of the prairies, the pirates of all oceans and seas, all come because they heard that there the transfigured men wore the precious stones and rings. Adventurers arrived from India, from Cuba, from Samoa, always dreaming about the treasure. Also seeking the Happy Island were great humanists, musicians, the creators of the incomparable *canzonas*; but they could find its miracle nowhere. The dreamers complained, weeping softly, that they were deceived by the eloquence. The centuries passed, some roaring like a shot, others quiet, colorless, crawling like smoke, and suddenly from the depths of the sea

appeared a wonderful island. And again the travellers coming from distant lands, and looking at it, do not believe their eyes: some of them laugh with light hearts, others are overcome by despair.

The happy ending of this poem is artificial. It was, most probably, introduced by the poet to make it publishable. The whole poem expresses, through poetic images, man's search for happiness. In short, it is the poet's own attempt to find acceptance, a possibility in which he still believed as late as two months before his fatal arrest.

Many of the poems in *Sonyashni Marshi* relate to the poet's life in Kiev, as, for example, *Symfoniya*, on the theme of symphony concerts in Proletarsky Park, or "Winter Tale," describing a morning view of Kiev from the poet's window.

The melodies of the poem *Symfoniya*, with its fluent rhythm, carry us into spheres of sound and bright colors. The "stinging" and "kissing" flutes the poet compares to wasps, and the oboes—to velvet bumble-bees. In the last stanza he reaches the fastest tempo; the violins go mad and the thundering fanfares fly away over the dark waters of the Dnieper. But suddenly the verse breaks off: there is no Dnieper. Maybe, the poet says, somebody deceived you, or maybe it was only an illusion created by the magic stringed tones. It is just this powerful element of fantasy in Dray-Khmara's poetry, so well illustrated in the images of this poem and its mysterious ending, that makes one forget the real world of objects and accept his world of symbols.

The poem, "Winter Tale," (1935), pictures an early winter morning with its various shades of light. The pale sun begins its first march through the room; it observes the bookshelves, leafing through the books. The whole poem is one of freshness, light and gladness. This sunny Kiev the poet can never forget. Far away in Kolyma, he wrote that nowhere is there a sun such as he found in Kiev.

Even on the eve of his arrest, Dray-Khmara believed it possible for him to be rehabilitated in the eyes of the Soviet government. Although he was never a communist sympathizer, he did not feel himself actively a counter-revolutionist; and if his poetry expressed ideas that were in disharmony with officially approved opinions, he still felt he had made definite efforts to remain an acceptable member of the existing society, in which it was his lot to live. Indeed, he expressed in several poems his admiration for some of the actions of the Soviet government, such as the expedition of scientists to the North Pole, to one of whom (Schmidt) he dedicated his poem, "To the Hero," written in 1935. As the motto for his poem he took a line from Blok, "Take your little boat and swim to the distant pole." In other times the singers only dreamed of finding the Pole, wrote Dray-Khmara. They were those worn out by the battle of

life, already in the shadow of death's flag, searching for peace and forgetfulness. But you, the hero, are the powerful eagle who goes to conquer the mist of dreams and melt with the fire of passion the icy armor that holds the giant ocean in chains. Your ship will leave its wake in the country of the whale, the polar bear, and the seahorse; the unshackled giant will open its treasure to us, and gardens will bloom on its frontier. Obviously, Dray-Khmara was not by nature a die-hard conservative. Neither was he anarchistically inclined. He was, beyond his great scholarship, a man who loved life and his fellow men, one who hoped and believed in the possibility of improving conditions for all, but who believed in attempting such betterment within the framework of the extant political and social system, whatever it might be.

Nevertheless, his attempts to write verse of "modern" content, in the hope of its favorable reception by Soviet critics, was unsuccessful because he could not set aside his standards of aesthetics and write pure propaganda as did Tychyna and Rylsky. Dray-Khmara admired the early poetry of Rylsky and had also praised highly Tychyna's work. It was to Tychyna that he dedicated one of his unpublished poems written in 1926 in which he hails Tychyna as a poet who opens the world to Ukraine. But he could not accept the later works of these two poets and preferred death, if it must be, to faithlessness to his art. Thus, in his poem, "Fatherland," Dray-Khmara includes in his vision the emerald steppe, the gloomy *taiga*, the cold *tundra*, all the vast expanse of the Soviet Union. He sees spring bring to all these lands its green revelations, the sun gives warm caress and makes diamonds of the dew, the ships on the water are, to the poet, cheerful birds at rest. This poetic language is full of feeling for the land, but nowhere do we find any direct praise of government officials which would have been sufficient to insure the poet's acceptance as a loyal member of the Soviet society.

A typical poem from this volume, "Second Birth," written in 1935, illustrates the poet's poetical development. In his review of this poem Rylsky wrote:

Doubts arise enveloped in symbols in "Second Birth." It is probably the author's confession, his renouncement of the old poetical creation and the blessing of the new poetical development; but all this is written in such misty words and images that I am wondering if it does reach the aim which the author would like to achieve.⁸⁰

This poem expressed in poetical symbols and images ideas which are brilliant rather than misty. Obviously, Rylsky's criticism of 1935 was

⁸⁰ The copy of an unpublished review by Rylsky on *Sonyashni Marshi*, Kiev, August, 1935, p. 3.

that of the Party line, which could not approve Dray-Khmara's confession that revealed not only his disappointment over the condemnation of his early verse of idealistic conception, but also the painful struggle of his soul, his sufferings and his last hope to survive. To obtain the picture of the poet's cry of despair I present this poem in an English translation:

It seemed sufficient honor so to render
Flesh tributary shapes of sun and glass,
Forgotten words of long sonorous splendor
And cadence like love's mist that softly pass.

A heavy bustard, painfully arising
On the fresh wind, gasped hard as it arose:
Struck in full flight by sudden shot surprising
It dropped upon a bridge of guelder rose.

My naked soul still drowsy, I sent flying
Upon the snowstorm's elemental force,
Till helpless, like a frightened pigeon crying
The blast that caught and spun her from her course.

I called her back: deep in my flesh I nourished
Her being, as a jeweler sets a jewel;
Her rainbow glitter rose again and flourished
Her blaze of changing gold found a new fuel.

She drank not blood, but fire from my being,
The burning heat equator's middays give,
I cried my joy, like a creator seeing
His Galatea waken, flush, and live.

I gazed into those eyes, that turquoise shimmer,
And saw — exult! — new worlds, new spheres appear:
Deep in the eyes' translucent wells stars glimmer —
Rebirth! Your soul, your second soul is here.

The first stanza reveals to us the poet of *Prorosten'* in "forgotten words of long sonorous splendor." Indeed, in 1926, he wrote that he cherished "words vast and full sounding . . . old words, that in lost depths abounding, were sought through ages mute in vain." But how was this beautiful original poetry received? It was severely criticized by the Communist press for being counter-revolutionary, though Dray-Khmara thought his work to be unpolitical. But actually he was accused only because he did not use mere slogans for the Soviet regime. The living, human feeling and the free thought in these poems was enough not only to condemn the poetry but to liquidate the poet himself. Thus, from 1928 on, after the appearance of "Swans," he could not publish anything. This crisis was followed by his first arrest in 1933, a sudden

painful shock, the first death of his soul which the poet describes in the second stanza of the poem, where he compares his soul to "a heavy bustard, painfully rising on the fresh wind." After Dray-Khmara was released from prison he felt like a stranger in his beloved country; even his closest friends avoided him as if he were an enemy because they feared lest they suffer from any contact with him. He was alone. He could not find any work in his profession of teaching, though there were few better specialists in his field. The only sphere of action left to him was to write poetry, with the hope that it would be published and that ultimately he might be accepted again as a member of Soviet society. These poems, then, flow directly from his wounded heart. They were born of suffering and passion. He spoke truly when he said: "She drank not blood, but fire from my being." With a cry of joy he welcomed his new creation after the years of silence. But the Soviet approval to which he aspired was destined never to be his.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE PUBLISHED SCIENTIFIC WORKS (1912-1932) OF M. O. DRAY-KHMARA

The list of M. Dray-Khmara's scientific works is published in *Seminarii Russkoi philologii akad. V. N. Peretts* (Proceedings of the Seminars in Russian Philology of Professor V. N. Peretts), Leningrad, 1929, pp. 41-42. For a list of his literary works, see D. Leites and M. Iashek, *Desiat rokiv Ukrainskoi literatury* (Ten Years of Ukrainian Literature), DVU (State Publishing House of Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 145-147. A short summary of Dray-Khmara's scientific and literary activity may be found in *Bolshaia Sovietskaya Encyclopedia* (The Large Soviet Encyclopedia), Vol. XXIII, in *Ukrainska Encyclopedia* (Ukrainian Encyclopedia), Vol. I, and in *Literaturnaya Encyclopedia*, Vol. I.

1. *Intermedii I-i poloviny XVIII v. v rukopisi sobrania Tikhonova Peterburgskoi Publichnoi Biblioteki (Otchet ob ekskursii seminaria Russkoi philologii v St. Petersburg)*, Kiev, 1912, pp. 91-93.
2. "Otchet o nauchnoi poezdke zagranitsu," *Universitetskie Izvestiia*, 1914, IX.
3. *Slovianoznnavstvo. (Pidruchnyk do leksii po slovianoznnavstvu, chytanykh r. 1918-1919 na istoryko-philolohichnim fakulteti Kamenetz-Podilskoho Derzhavnoho Universytetu)*. Litohrafichne Vyd. Viddilu Rady Studentskykh Predstavnykiv KPDUU, Kam. na Pod., 1920.
4. *Lesia Ukrainka, zhyttia i tvorchist*, DVU, Kiev, 1926; (rets. S. Haievskoho v *Zhyttia i Revoliutsii*, 1926, VIII, pp. 124-125).
5. "Iv. Franko i L. Ukrainka, z polemiky 90-kh rr.," *Zhyttia i Revoliutsiia*, 1926, V, pp. 109-115.
6. "Vila-posestra" (vstupna stattia do poemy L. Ukrainky "Vila-posestra"). *Tvory L. Ukrainky u 2-homu vyd. Knyhospilka*, Vol. III, pp. 165-178. Kiev, 1927; (rets. P. Odarchenka v *Chervonomu Shliakhu*, 1927, XII, p. 207; M. Markovskoho v *Ukraini*, 1929, I-II, p. 118).
7. "Novi materialy do zhyttiepysu Vasylia Chumaka," *Zhyttia i Revoliutsiia*, 1928, III, pp. 140-146.
8. "Poet biloruskoho vidrozdzenia," *Zhyttia i Revoliutsiia*, 1928, VII, pp. 119-126.
9. "Maksym Bohdanovich," *Hlobus*, 1928, No. 11.
10. *Retsenziya na tvory M. Bohdanovicha" u vydanni Instytutu Belaruskae Kultury*, Vol. I (Chervonyi Shliakh, 1928, No. 9-10, pp. 270-271).
11. "Boiarynia" (Vstupna stattia do poemy Lesi Ukrainky "Boiarynia — Tvory Lesi Ukrainky u 2-mu vydanni Knyhospilky, Vol. VIII, pp. 87-109, Kiev, 1929.
12. "Pro cheskyi pereklad poezii P. Tychyny," *Zhyttia i Revoliutsiia*, 1929, I, pp. 185-188; (rets. V. Chapli v *Pluzi*, 1929, No. 2, pp. 76-77).
13. "Poema L. Ukrainky 'Vila-posestra' na tli serbskoho ta ukrainskoho eposu," *Zapysky Istorychno-Philolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, kn. XXIII, pp. 125-176, Kiev, 1929 (ie okrema vidbytka).
14. "Zhyttia i tvorchist M. Bohdanovicha," *Vinok*, DVU, Kiev, 1929, pp. 1-36; (rets. I. Raida, *Molodniak*, 1929, No. 11, pp. 123-124; V. Machulskoho, *Savets-*

- kaia Belarus, 1929, No. 284; *F. Siakednioho, Maladniak*, 1930, No. 1, p. 143. *Haievskoho, Ukraina*, 1930, V-VI, pp. 199-201).
15. "Retsenziia na 'Srpske narodne pripovetke,'" kn. 1, *Etnografichnyi Visnyk*, 1929, kn. VIII, pp. 230-231.
 16. "Problemy suchasnoi slavistyky," *Proletarska Pravda*, 1929, No. 295, 22/XII.
 17. "Tvorchyi shliakh Kazimira Tetmaiera" (Vstupna stattia do knyzhky K. Tetmaiera), *Na skeliastim Pidhiri*, Kiev, 1930. vyd. *Knyhospilky*, pp. 5-32.
 18. *Geneza Shevchenkovoï poezii 'U titei Kateryny khata na pomosti'*, Shevchenko, *richnyk 2-i, DVU*, Poltava, 1930, pp. 172-190; (rets. E. Kyryliuka v *Proletarskii Pravdi*, 1931, No. 56, II/III).
 19. "Ianka Kupala," *Hlobus*, 1930, No. 12.
 20. "Narodnyi poet Bilorusi," *Rekonstruktor*, 1930, No. 27, 8/VII.
 21. "Retsenziia na 'Tvory M. Bohdanovicha'" u vydanni Instytutu Beloruskoi Kultury, V. 1-II (*Ukraina*, 1930, kn. V-VI, pp. 195-199).
 22. *Fragmenty Menskoho perhamenovoho aprakosa XIV v., 'Zbirnyk Komisii dlia doslidzennia istorii ukrainskoi movy'*, Kiev, 1931, Vol. 1, pp. 141-246; (le okrema vidbytko).
 23. *Zbirnyk Komisii dlia doslidzennia istorii ukrainskoi movy*, Vol. 1, Kiev, 1931 (*redaktsiia*).
 24. *Retsenziia na 'Ogolny kurs jezuka polskiego' L. Arasimovichevoi ta A. Fedorova (drukuietsia v zhurnali 'Na movoznavchomu fronti')*.
 25. "Ukrainsku kulturu — v masy!" (*Naukovo-populiarna stattia, Chervone Zaporizhzhia*, 1930, No. 261, 13/VII).
 26. "Chomu dombaskomu proletarevi treba ukrainizuvatysia," (*naukovo-popularna stattia*), *Domna (v Makivtsi)*, 1930, No. 105, 27/VII.
 27. "Osnovni etapy v rozvytku ukrainskoi pozhovtnevoi literatury," *Dyktatura Truda (v Stalinomu)*, 1930, No. 172, 23/VII (19/1, 1933).

A P P E N D I X B

POEMS TRANSLATED BY DRAY-KHMARA IN THE YEARS 1927-1930

List of French *Parnassiens* and *Symbolists*:

- Charles Baudelaire: *Correspondance, Une Charogne*.
 Theodore de Bainville: *La Mort, Andromede*.
 Paul Claudel: *Tenebres*.
 Tristan Corbier: *Rhapsodie d'un sourd*.
 Leon Dieux: *L'oeil, Soir d'octobre*.
 Theophile Gautier: *L'art, Symphonie en blanc majeur*.
 Leconte de Lisle: *Le souhait*.
 Stephane Mallarme: *Sonnet, L'azur*.
 Gerard de Nerval: *El Desdichado*.
 Sully Prudhon: *Stalactites*.
 Jean Richepin: *Ballade du roi des quent*.
 Jules Romains: *La Ville; Je suis un habitant de ma ville* (from the cycle "sans moi"); *Je cesse lentement d'etre moi* (from the cycle "nous"); *Je me suis etendu sur mon lit*.
 Paul Verlaine: *Le foyer, La lucur etroite de la lampe, Il pleut doucement sur la ville, Il pleut dans mon coeur, L'espoir luit comme un brin de paille, Un grand sommeil noir, Le ciel est par-dessus le toit*.

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UKRAINIAN transliteration TABLE

а	-----	а
б	-----	б
в	-----	в
г	-----	h
г	-----	g
д	-----	d
е	-----	e
є	-----	ie
ж	-----	zh
з	-----	z
и	-----	y
і	-----	i
ї	-----	i
й	-----	i
к	-----	k
л	-----	l
м	-----	m
н	-----	n
о	-----	o
п	-----	p
р	-----	r
с	-----	s
т	-----	t
у	-----	u
ф	-----	f
х	-----	kh
ц	-----	ts
ч	-----	ch
ш	-----	sh
щ	-----	shch
ь	-----	'
ю	-----	iu
я	-----	ia

