

*Dmytro Cyżewskyj*

A HISTORY OF  
*U*KRAINIAN  
LITERATURE

SECOND EDITION



WITH AN OVERVIEW OF THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY

*George S. N. Luckyj*



**A HISTORY OF  
UKRAINIAN LITERATURE  
(From the 11th to the  
End of the 19th Century)**

*Second Edition*

**with**

**AN OVERVIEW OF THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY**



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**Dmytro Čyževs'kyj**

**Translated by Dolly Ferguson,  
Doreen Gorsline, and Ulana Petyk**

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**AN OVERVIEW OF THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**George S. N. Luckyj**

**Edited and with a Foreword by George S. N. Luckyj**

1997

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## FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

*Literary history tends to interest itself in the genesis of literature, its contents, its relationship to external reality, the changes in its meaning wrought by time. Style analysis bears upon the text, which is unchanging; upon the internal relationships among words; upon forms rather than contents; upon the literary work as the start of a chain of events, rather than as an end product. The two approaches are thus complementary.*

Michael Riffaterre

Recognition of Ukrainian literature in the English-speaking world has been severely hampered by the lack of translations of literary works and by the absence of a comprehensive, modern history of Ukrainian literature in English. The available brief studies by A.P. Coleman and C.A. Manning were too sketchy to be of any real use. What was needed was a scholarly account of the entire, complex history of the literature, which could serve as a reference guide for further study and at the same time offer a critical interpretation of the development of the literature from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries. The present volume will certainly help to fill this gap. It is the work of an eminent Slavist, without question the greatest living Ukrainian literary scholar. His approach, in this work as elsewhere, is well known. It is based primarily on literary analysis, without becoming narrowly formalistic. Combined with it is a constant regard for deeper cultural and social influences and undercurrents. Thus, Čyževs'kyj's concept of modern Ukrainian literature as "incomplete" and as a product of an "incomplete nation" is most illuminating. His discussion of Ukrainian Baroque or Romanticism shows not only great erudition, but an ability to relate these literary periods to other Slavic and non-Slavic literatures. The last chapter, on

Realism, which has been specially prepared for this edition, might, at first glance, seem inadequate. However, considering the weakness of Ukrainian Realism (in comparison with Russian and Polish literatures) it is not surprising that this period is treated as a transitional one. Hopefully, a second volume, by several other scholars, dealing with the twentieth century Ukrainian literature, will offer a more complete picture since, as Čyžev's'kyj believes, the periodization of Ukrainian literature may be explained by "the repeated alternation of *opposite* tendencies: styles, and to a certain extent ideologies as well, oscillate between two opposite poles" (p. 14).

Alternation of styles alone does not explain the breaks in the literary tradition of Ukraine. For Ukrainians, the literature of the old Rus' (which is commonly regarded in the English-speaking world as Old Russian) is very much a part of that tradition. However, following the great flowering of Kievan literature, there was a sharp decline (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) which in large measure was due to social and political conditions. The revival of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries coincided with, but had little direct relation to, the great Cossack revolution. Finally, in the eighteenth century there was another decline, this time of the Old Ukrainian literary language which for a time was replaced by Russian. The birth of Ukrainian literature in the vernacular (Kotljarevs'kyj) led to a further momentum during the period of Ukrainian Romanticism and then declined slightly in the era of Realism. These fluctuations are discussed with great literary insight, although more space could have been devoted to oral literature (the *dumy*, the puppet theater *vertep*) and to general intellectual history. Yet the final result is very satisfying. The entire literary movement is recreated with unusual aesthetic sensitivity. The whole story of Ukrainian literature up to the end of the nineteenth century is told with great scholarly authority and detachment. What a pleasant change this is from the customary populist bias of the nineteenth century or the present socialist realist mush.

\* \*  
\*

The translation and editing of the present volume has been a formidable task. Some of the problems encountered may not have been solved to everyone's satisfaction. The procedures adopted were as follows: It was decided to follow the "philological" transliteration. The letters *р* and *я* appear as *g* and *i* since that is how they were pronounced up to the end of the fourteenth century. Later they become *h* and *y* respectively. Names retain their Ukrainian form (Ihor, Danylo, Volodymyr), although in the first two chapters some names are

given in their anglicized (or Latinized) version (Athanasius not Afanasij; Gregory, not Grigorij or Hryhorij). Quotations are first transliterated and then translated. Translations of quotations illustrating euphony or other linguistic aspects have been omitted. The translators had a difficult time, especially with Kotljarevs'kyj, but great efforts have been made to be faithful to the text since obviously linguistic and stylistic analyses are of great concern to the author. The bibliography, which the author compiled for the Ukrainian edition in 1956, has been supplemented by some items published since then. The following colleagues offered suggestions and were most helpful in the preparation of this volume: Professors D.G. Huntley, I. Ševčenko and G.Y. Shevelov. Exceptionally valuable assistance was rendered by Professor B. Budurowycz. None of them bears any responsibility for the final contents or appearance of the book. Alexandra Chernenko-Rudnytsky prepared the index.

George S.N. Luckyj

## TRANSLITERATION TABLE

The following transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet in its Ukrainian variant is used in this book:

а	а	н	n
б	б	о	о
в	в	п	р
г	h	р	г
г'	g	с	s
д	d	т	t
е	e	у	u
є	je	ф	f
ж	ž (like s in pleasure)	х	x
з	z	ц	c (read like ts)
и	y	ч	č (read like ch)
і	i	ш	š (read like sh)
ї	ji	щ	šč (read like shch)
й	j (like y in young)	ю	ju
к	k	я	ja
л	l	ь	'
м	m		

The following transliterations are used for Old Church Slavonic characters:

ѣ	"
ѣ	ě

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

When first asked about adding a revised version of my *Ukrainian Literature in the Twentieth Century* to a second edition Dmytro Čyževs'kyj's *History of Ukrainian Literature*, I hesitated. The prospect, while intriguing, was also unsettling. My approach to literature is very different from Čyževs'kyj's and putting them in the same volume might be confusing, or so I thought. After reflection, however, I agreed to the undertaking on the condition that my part be treated separately (it was published as a "Reader's Guide"), offering an overview rather than a history of literature. Slight overlapping with Čyževs'kyj's last chapter was inevitable.

Čyževs'kyj's formalist approach is often combined with a regard for deeper cultural influences. In his own works, the periodization of Ukrainian literature may be explained by "the repeated alternation of opposite tendencies: styles, and to a certain extent ideologies as well, oscillate between two opposite poles." He pays a great deal of attention to "linguistic and stylistic devices." In my appendix, the emphasis is very different. It offers a contextual canvas of Ukrainian literature in the twentieth century, relating it to the cultural, political and intellectual background and offering a sampling of contemporary reaction and criticism. It is, as one reviewer put it, but "a key to many doors." While the survey of the century is basically chronological, two sections—the literature in Western Ukraine and on the literature of emigration—are interposed after 1987, because of their separate history and character. My account is not based on the spiderweb of any theory. It lists and relates, but does not interpret or evaluate.

For seventy years in this century (1920–90) most Ukrainian literature was written and published under the Soviet regime. It is, therefore, impossible not

to pay close attention to it, though most of it falls into the category of journalism worthy only of sociological analysis. I have tried here to offer a brief account of its stormy history, without neglecting contemporary criticism. If the Middle Ages deserve consideration, so does the Soviet era.

The caustic review of Čyževs'kyj's volume by G. Grabowicz prompted a decisive turn in approaching literary history and although its effects still resonate, so far they have not led to a new history of Ukrainian literature. The same review also pointed out many errors in the translation, which I have tried to correct in the present edition. In addition, I have added a new bibliography—of English works only—to the old one. A sizable collection of critical works and English translations of Ukrainian literary works is now available.

Recently, G. Grabowicz wrote perceptively of different “crises” of Ukrainian literature (*Slovo i čas*, 1, 1992). This observation was followed by other critics in Ukraine. Today we are in the middle of such a crisis, brought about by the recent history of the country. Not only literature, but ways of looking at it and assessing it, are changing. It is time, however, to offer for now not interpretative niceties, but a sobering review of the past.

I wish to express special gratitude to Marko Pavlyshyn, Mykola Riabchuk, Michael Naydan, and Larysa Onyskevych, who read the last chapter and offered valuable criticism.

George S. N. Luckyj

## INTRODUCTION

1. The material available to students of Ukrainian literature does not comprise an exhaustive catalogue of all that was written in Ukraine. Much of the occasionally outstanding literature of the earliest period (from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries) was lost in the course of the many subsequent historical upheavals—the Mongol invasions, the attacks of the Crimea Tatars, the period of Ruin, the change in literary tastes and the religious strife of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fate of the monuments of the second epoch of cultural flowering in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is scarcely any better: the political and cultural decline of the post-Petrine era, the introduction of a new literary language in 1798, and later, the negative appraisal of the polemical works of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries resulted in the preservation of only isolated copies of the printed works of this period, which should have had a better chance for survival than the earlier hand-written monuments. Almost the same condition prevailed in the nineteenth century; many works (even some of the works of Ševčenko and other leading figures) remained in manuscript form for many years. As a result of denationalization and political decline, there were few attempts to collect Ukrainian books and few books that appeared in more than one edition. In the twentieth century this same situation occurs. Only now, authors as well as books begin to disappear.

Therefore, only fragments of almost every period of Ukrainian literature have been preserved. However, fragments can provide us with a sufficient grasp of the “spirit” of an epoch to allow judgments to be made about the literary tastes and achievements of its writers.

Literary history is a young discipline. Until the end of the eighteenth century studies of old literature were largely purely bibliographical; that is, they were catalogues of literary works, occasionally including paraphrases or biographical information about the authors. Only in the nineteenth century were specific critical approaches applied to the study of Ukrainian literature. In the course of the nineteenth century, the approaches taken changed several times. In addition, both the publication of texts and the variety of critical approaches increased. A brief review of the history of the study of Ukrainian literature will illuminate its salient features.

2. The time has come to recognize the contribution of the Ukrainian writers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Through their efforts a great deal of old material was preserved. Ukrainian chroniclers—Samovydec', Hrabjanka, Velyčko or even Jerlyč, who wrote in Polish—included many excerpts from old works and sometimes entire shorter works in their chronicles. Almost without exception, however, these excerpts were taken from works dating back only as far as the sixteenth century. Only authors of drier instructional works, such as *Synopsis*—a history of Ukraine (and of all Eastern Slavdom in general) from the earliest times—looked further into the past. Unfortunately, authors of such works merely copied selected materials from old chronicles; consequently, the results were not always objective.

The contribution of those scholars of this period who worked with religious monuments is of greater significance. The most notable of these were the publishers of the *Kievo-Pečerskij Paterik* (*Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, published both in its original form and in Polish translation) and, especially, St. Dmytro Tuptalo of Rostov [his lengthy *Čet'i Minei* (*Menaea for Daily Reading*), a collection of the Lives of saints]. The contributions of these eminent scholars have not been exhausted to this day. While Tuptalo's prime concerns were literary and didactic, he did not hesitate to draw on the resources of old manuscripts and evaluate them critically. Thus, for example, in his Lives of Saints Cyril and Methodius, he employs the oldest manuscripts, the so-called "Pannonian Lives," discovered by modern scholarship only in the middle of the nineteenth century (1843), as well as a Greek text which appears to have been lost.

A very valuable contribution was also made by those modest lovers of the past who copied the texts of old monuments such as apocrypha, tales, verses, etc., for their own personal use.

This was the period of the collection of materials. However, only a very few collectors, such as professors of the Kievan Academy or scholars of the type of St. Dmytro Tuptalo, approached their material in a scholarly fashion. This type

of scholarship continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (In the nineteenth century it was most often conducted by the clergy.) Unfortunately, the lists of old Ukrainian authors and works which they compiled were not always pertinent or accurate.

3. The publication of old texts began in the nineteenth century. While these editions are neither "critical" nor annotated, they nevertheless are of great value. This was the form in which old chronicles were published in the eighteenth century, the form in which K. Kalajdovič published the monuments of the twelfth century in 1821 and the form in which religious works were published throughout the nineteenth century by various religious newspapers. Because of the inaccessibility of the required materials, even scholars who recognized the importance of verification were occasionally compelled to produce editions that were not critical. The nineteenth century also saw the beginning of the reproduction of individual manuscripts—first, hand-written, and later, photographic. Good reproductions of manuscripts extant in only one copy would have been expedient and valuable; unfortunately, these reproductions were not always flawless. Even in the twentieth century certain scholars occasionally presented copies of manuscripts which they had made themselves to various libraries. Scholarly journals such as the famous *Kievskaja Starina* published monuments from copies made by amateurs.

Scholarship is, of course, not limited to the publication of texts. The nineteenth century also produced broader works attempting to comprehend certain specific literary epochs. In the earliest of these, the basic method was paraphrase; only a few comments were added to the summaries of the contents of the monuments. The first such surveys of Ukrainian literature were made by the Romantics. For the Romantics the "word" was one of the most vital elements of a culture, that element which expressed the most basic components of the human spirit in general, of the national spirit in particular, and of the spirit of each historical epoch, as well. As a result, emphasis is placed on the written and oral literatures of each nation.

The attempts of Ukrainian Romantics in this direction were few. There is, for example, the well-known article on Ukrainian folk songs by Nikolaj Gogol' (Mykola Hohol'); a few comments by Maksymovyč (in his editions of Ukrainian folk songs and in other works devoted to literary history); a few comments by Ambrosij Metlyns'kyj; and finally, Kostomarov's studies—his dissertation on folk poetry as a historical source, his essay in *Poezija slavjan* (*Slavic Poetry*, published by Gerbel' in 1871), and his article "*Dvi rus'ki narodnosti*" ("The Two Nations of Rus'"). From among non-Ukrainians, Stefan Ševyr'ov, professor at Moscow University, deserves attention. In his history of the literature of Kievan Rus' he

attempts to present the religious substratum of old Ukrainian literature. In some instances Ševyr'ov notes Ukrainian ("Little Russian") stylistic features of even the oldest monuments, such as *Molenie Daniila (The Supplication of Daniel)* and links them with the works of modern Ukrainian authors (Gogol').

Unfortunately, no Romantic, either Ukrainian nor non-Ukrainian, attempted to present a synthetic view of even a particular epoch of Ukrainian literature. In addition, there was much that was faulty in the romantic view of literature: on the one hand, a vague feeling that literary evolution is dynamic, that each epoch has its own literary and linguistic character, its own "taste" and "style"; on the other hand, the conviction that folk poetry as we know it now is almost identical to its ancient counterpart. Some Ukrainian Romantics, such as Kuliš, even believed that the contemporary Ukrainian language was the language of ancient Rus', the language expressing the soul of the people. Kuliš rejected the literature of the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries because it was written in an "artificial," "academic" language—the product of "academic obscurantism."

Ukrainian Romanticism entered a period of decline after 1848 (the epoch of Bach in Austria and the last years of the reign of Nicholas I in Russia). The rebirth of scholarship in the 1860s was linked with the new trends of this epoch. On the one hand, there was "scientific positivism," concerned solely with the collection of facts; on the other, social and political radicalism. The representatives of both of these new trends made some interesting and valuable contributions but ignored many problems and facets of literary history. The oneness of these approaches had the most profound negative effect on Ukrainian literary scholarship. The positivists succeeded in collecting a great deal of valuable factual information and in producing a great many "critical" texts, which unfortunately dealt primarily with the old period of Ukrainian literature. The most outstanding scholars of this approach, commonly referred to as the *philological* approach, were I. Sreznevs'kyj, M. Tixonravov, Suxomlinov, A. Pypin. Of those who worked on Ukrainian literature, mention should be made of O. Ohonovs'kyj, M. Petrov and M. Daškevyč. Daškevyč made valuable additions to Petrov's *Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury 19st (History of Ukrainian Literature in the Nineteenth Century)*. But these works were largely encyclopaedic in nature. More significant was the publication of texts in "critical" editions—that is, editions that were based on the oldest manuscripts and compared with other known copies. In addition, many other types of materials were published: Byzantine monuments that are relevant for old Ukrainian literature, and the western European and Slavic works (both originals and imitations) with a significance for modern Ukrainian literature.

This kind of work—the production of critical editions, the establishment of the oldest forms of texts and the history of their transmission—continued in the early decades of the twentieth century and was frequently very scholarly and accurate. The most important scholars of this period were I. Franko and V. Peretc. The latter aroused the interest of many young students in purely Ukrainian themes and educated a whole group of Ukrainian scholars.

The following non-Ukrainian scholars must also be included in this group: the Slovenian professor V. Jagić, and the Russians—A. Sobolevskij, M. Speranskij and V. Istrin. Although anti-Ukrainian, Istrin made significant contributions in two areas: the publication and identification of texts. He established, for example, that some important monuments that had earlier been considered Bulgarian, were in reality monuments of Kievan Rus'.

A different approach was taken by A. Šaxmatov, whose interest was primarily in chronicles. He tried to identify traces of other literary works (both those that have and those that have not been preserved) in the chronicles of Kievan Rus'.

It is necessary to point out, however, that the work of those scholars of Slavic literature who followed the philological approach did not attain the same degree of perfection as the work of the classical philologists and scholars of European medieval literature. Truly “critical” editions of old Ukrainian monuments are still rare, and exemplary studies even rarer. However, scholarship of this type is continuing (one need only mention Adrijanova–Peretc’s book on the works about Saint Alexis, and O. Rystenka’s on Saint George and the dragon). Of great significance are the studies of the philological type related to the literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Although weaker than those dealing with old literature, these works delve into a period that had previously been all but ignored.

In spite of the great dedication of many scholars, even merely adequate editions of certain texts, such as the *Izbornik (Collection)* of 1073 are still lacking. Some important monuments, such as the “encyclopaedia” of judicial philosophy of the thirteenth or fourteenth century—the so-called *Mirylo pravedne (The Just Scale)*—have been published only in “uncritical” editions, and others have never been published in any form. Although of great importance for the study of style and its evolution, many religious texts also fall into the latter category (for example, John Klimakos’ *Climax*). But the situation is still worse with respect to later texts, especially the monuments of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Only selections of Ukrainianized biblical texts are available and works (such as those of Antonij Radyvylovs’kyj) that provide characteristic examples of the evolution of the Ukrainian language have not been

republished. Only excerpts from the works of such authors as Saint Dmytro Tuptalo of Rostov are available in their *original* form, and neither the so-called "Cossack chronicles" nor critical editions of poetic works have been republished.

The post-Romantic era also saw the emergence of the socio-political approach to the study of literature. While M. Drahomanov began to advocate this approach as early as the 1870s, the pinnacle of its development was reached in the well-known history of Ukrainian literature by Serhij Jefremov. After the Bolshevik revolution, the socio-political approach gained ascendancy, becoming increasingly entrenched in the 1930s and 1940s, in part as a result of the destruction of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the tightening of controls after World War II. Two variants of this approach existed—the Populist (among older scholars) and the Marxist (among the younger Soviet scholars). Their common denominator lies in their predominant concern with the reflections of the social and political life in the works of both old and modern literature. Literary works are frequently studied solely as sources from which the social and political climate of the time may be deciphered. However, while the Populists arrived at their conclusions on the basis of their own independent research, contemporary Soviet scholars are guided by directives, which frequently designate *a priori* the conclusions to be reached. The common feature of all scholars employing the socio-political approach is their evaluation of literary works from the point of view of their *benefit* to the "people," the "proletariat," the "revolution," etc. In itself, this approach need not have a harmful effect on the study of literary works. However, these scholars frequently chose to study those monuments that are distinguished by their "love for the people" or other similar "positive" features. Conversely, they evaluate old monuments not in historical perspective but from the point of view of their own political programs. Their conclusions are therefore anti-historical and subjective.

Even some of the members of the philological school mentioned above were unable to avoid making superficial judgments of the socio-political type (for example, Pypin and sometimes even Franko).

Scholarship of the post-Romantic era was not limited solely to that of the philological and socio-political types. Two other approaches played a role in the study of Ukrainian literature: the historical and the comparatist (which someone christened "influenceology").

The historical approach aimed at uncovering either the world views of the authors of works, or the world view characteristic of the entire epoch or one of its social groups. It is necessary to note that representatives of this approach were few—they were historians of the Church, who were interested in the Christian foundations of old literature, or representatives of other trends, mainly

the philological, who occasionally uncovered individual characteristic features of various monuments. As the only consistent representative of the historical approach, mention must be made of F. Buslaev, who began his scholarly activity in the epoch of Romanticism. However, his works only rarely deal with Ukrainian literature.

The comparativist approach had many followers. Because it became fashionable, it had negative consequences: literary works were divested of all vestiges of originality and reduced to borrowings (for example, almost all of the themes, a large number of individual motifs and images of Ševčenko's poetry were said to have been borrowed from the Polish Romantics). Frequently, the mere similarity of themes was considered to be evidence of an "influence"; V. Rezanov's works on the old Ukrainian theatre, which are valuable in other respects, belong to this category. The most significant contribution of the Comparativists was in the area of old literature, for it was here that sources of influence had previously been ignored.

The historical and cultural-historical approaches frequently merged. Such is the case of Buslaev himself, who links the history of literature with the history of art. Furthermore, "similarities" were often viewed not as "borrowings" but as "parallels." Such an approach is frequently encountered in the works of the polyglot, Aleksandr Veselovskij.

M. Hrušev's'kyj's monumental but unfinished history of Ukrainian literature stands alone. His unusual erudition enables him to employ several approaches in his work—the philological, the historical, and the socio-political. As a result of this, and of his knowledge of European scholarly literature, Hrušev's'kyj was able to present an unsurpassed picture of old Ukrainian literature and folklore. His most original and valuable observations were on historical themes.

4. The intensity of the rebirth of literary history after the revolution of 1917, especially in the work of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, had a deep significance: the publication of studies by representatives of almost all the approaches of the post-Romantic era mentioned above was greatly increased.

In addition, an entire group of scholars working in the area of *stylistic analysis* appeared on the scene. Earlier, problems of style were studied solely in relation to modern writers and not very often at that. Only the scholars of Peret's school ever made any observations about the style of older literature. A few unsystematic and subjective comments were also made by certain other literary critics (Jevšan).

Under the influence of contemporary European and Russian scholarship of the so-called "formalist" school (V. Šklovskij and others) studies of the formal aspects of Ukrainian literary works began to appear. M. Zerov, P. Fylypovyč, V.

Petrov, O. Doroškevyč, B. Jakubs'kyj, O. Bilec'kyj, and others published many monographs and stylistic studies, in which not only the content but also the form of literary works was studied. Their focus was on modern Ukrainian literature and, as a result, only occasionally did they turn their attention to works of the old or medieval periods. In Ukraine, unlike in Russia, there were no representatives of pure formalism—that is, there were no scholars who argued that the content of a literary work had *absolutely no* significance or that it was *totally* dependent on the form. The study of the form of Ukrainian literary works was almost never isolated from a careful analysis of their content, which in Soviet Ukraine was all too frequently made from the Marxist point of view. In addition, the representatives of Ukrainian formalism were often competent philologists and were able to supply many valuable critical editions of Ukrainian literary monuments. It is indeed possible to speak of this period as an entirely new epoch in the study of Ukrainian literature.

In this book an attempt will be made to employ the scholarship of all the groups mentioned above, even the now obsolete works of the Romantics. But attention will be focused on those problems that have not as yet been sufficiently studied—questions of form and periodization.

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5. The first problem which must be considered is that of language. Our interest here is not so much in the historical evolution of the language as in its “wealth” and the use of various of its “levels.” No living language is totally fixed and invariable; nor is it identical in all parts of each definite linguist area or in each level of the society that employs it. Each language contains *archaisms* (old words), which are used only rarely in genres such as solemn speeches, and *neologisms* (new words). This results in the stratification of language. In addition, there are words, forms and expressions that are used only in specific areas. The different pronunciation of the same words [compare *svobóda* and *svobodá* (freedom), etc.] is a particular example of words of this category. These words are *dialectisms*. And finally, each language has its *jargon* and *slang*—that is, various words, expressions and phrases used by people of specific social groups (peasants, shopkeepers, workers at specific trades, students, thieves, etc.). Just as it employs dialectisms and the language of specific levels of society, literature may also draw on the resources of jargon or slang.

In addition, these levels of language (historical, territorial, and social) have a different flavor for the average reader. Besides “ordinary” words [*stil* (table), *holova* (head), *žyttja* (life)], there are words that have a definite flavor: either “vulgar,” “common,” and “low” [such expressions as “*ljapasa daty*” (“to box

someone's ears"; "*vliptyty makohona*" ("to hit someone over the head"), which is employed by Kotljarev'skyj in his *Enejida*; there are also words that are not even used in print] or, conversely, "high," "solemn," and "elevated" (such as Church Slavonic elements in Ševčenko's poetry). Furthermore, the use of words from specific strata forms one of the definable traits of individual works, authors, and literary movements.

6. The most basic function of the language of a literary work is to give artistic form to the content. Therefore, when literary monuments are studied, attention must be paid to those devices of "linguistic ornamentation" that are used in the work. These devices had already been classified in ancient times (as we shall see, this classification was not unknown in the period of old Ukrainian literature). Devices of linguistic ornamentation are referred to as the "tropes and figures" of artistic language. We will cite but a few examples.

*Metaphor* (comparison)—the replacement of one image by another which is similar to it. The following are examples from Ševčenko's "*Topolja*" ("The Poplar"): "*kruhóm pole, jak te more*" ("the surrounding fields, *like a sea*"); the girl "*den' i nič vorkuje, jak holubka bez holuba*" (the girl "coos day and night *like a dove without its mate*").

*Metonymy*—the replacement of a word that designates a definite object by another word that designates an object linked to the first by proximity in time or space (but not by similarity): for example, the addressing of a loved one as "*serden'ko*" [a person is not merely *serce* (heart)]; the designation of time by an expression such as "*pivni ne spivaly*" ("the roosters had not yet begun to crow"), which is but one of the signs of the approach of dawn; the use of "*zaščebeče solovejko*" ("the nightingale began to sing") instead of *večir* (evening), or "*spiva solovejko*" ("the nightingale was singing") instead of *nič* (night).

*Hyperbole*—exaggeration. In "The Poplar," for example, we find the following examples of hyperbole: "*skažy meni, de mij mylyj—kraj svita polynu*" ("tell me where my loved one is and I will *fly to the ends of the earth* to find him"); a poplar "*tonka, tonka ta vysoka, do samoji xmary*" ("very, very thin and tall, reaching *to the very clouds*").

*Epithet*—an attribute of some referent (word): "*blue sea,*" "*dark eyes,*" "*tall person,*" "*broad leaf,*" etc. Especially noteworthy are *fixed epithets*, characteristic of oral literature: "*blue sea,*" "*white face,*" etc.

*Antithesis*—juxtaposition: "*po tim boci—moja dolja, po sim boci—hore*" ("yonder lies my happiness, here—my sorrow").

*Parallelism*—the coupling of two similarly constructed sentences or images: "*jakby znala ščo pokyne, bula b ne ljubyla; jakby znala, ščo zahyne, bula b ne*

*pustyla*” (“had I known that he would leave me, I would not have loved him; had I known that he would perish, I would not have let him go”).

The devices of linguistic ornamentation mentioned above are linked to the content of a work, its idea, or the impression it wishes to create. But there are also purely auditory devices. In general, this kind of ornamentation is referred to as *euphony* (or “instrumentation”). One device of euphony is the repetition of the same sounds in neighboring words. In the phrase “*bez myloho skriz' mohyla*” (“When my loved one is absent, all that is around me becomes a graveyard”) from “The Poplar,” sounds or groups of sounds are repeated: z-z, m-m, yl-yl, oh-oh. Or to take another example: “*kraj dorohy hne topolju do samoho dolu*” (“on the side of the road it bends the poplar to the earth itself”), where r-r, do-do-do, oh-oh, o, etc., are repeated.

*Alliteration*—the repetition of the same sounds or groups of sounds at the beginning of neighboring words—is another device of euphony. Compare the following: “*bez myloho skriz' mohyla*” (m-m), “*po dibrovi yiter yje*” (“the wind blows through the grove”) (v-v), “*bez myloho sonce svityt', svityt' ta ne hrije*” (“the sun continues to shine even when my loved one is gone, it shines but it does not warm”) (s-s-s).

Various forms of commonplaces from the author (in Greek, *topos-topoi*; in Latin, *loci communes*) constitute another group of stylistic embellishment. This device did not always have the negative connotations that it commonly has today. One of the traditional forms of commonplaces is the “*humility motif*”: either at the beginning or the end of his work an author was expected to apologize for his “lack of ability,” for the “poverty of his education,” for his “unworthiness” to write on such an important theme, etc. “*Motivation for writing*” is another motif belonging to this category; here, for example, the author may explain that no one has yet written on his theme, or that he does not wish to be a “slave to his laziness” and fail to utilize his knowledge for the general good. Finally, there are motifs characteristic of conclusions of literary works; the author may end by extending his best wishes to his readers or with a prayer, etc. Commonplaces from the author are also to be found throughout the main body of a work: in descriptions of the location of the action; in the evaluation of events, or the refusal to do so; in apologies for the incomplete nature of the narrative, for the fact that only a small amount of the wealth of available material has been included, etc.

Authors can alter the content of their commonplaces. Information about the sources of the material for a work, for example, must correspond to reality, but such information, whatever it may be, still belongs to “commonplaces.” Characteristic of old Ukrainian literature is the inclusion of laments for the

dead: the content of laments in various works is quite different, but the form of the lament itself is a *topos*.

Scholars of old literature frequently make the mistake of taking these traditional devices at face value; from humility motifs they deduce that the author really considered himself incapable or “unworthy,” etc.

Scholars from ancient to modern times employ many other terms that designate specific devices of linguistic embellishment. Mention will be made of some of these later as they become relevant.

When attempting to isolate the characteristic features of a literary work, an analysis of the specific devices of ornamentation is not sufficient in itself. The frequency of the appearance of such devices or of particular linguistic levels in the works of an individual author must be considered. In Ševčenko, for example, euphony is frequent; in Kuliš or Kotljarev's'kyj, it is comparatively rare. Even more important is the reason for the use of a particular device. Vulgarisms, for example, are to be found even in the works of old Ukrainian literature. They are aimed at various foes: heretics (in sermons), the murderers of Borys and Hlib (“mad dogs”), etc. Kotljarev's'kyj's *Enejida* also contains many vulgarisms, but in this case they constitute an obligatory device of the travesty and serve to create humor: vulgarisms are used to describe Greek heroes or ancient gods [“*Junona suča dočka*” (“Juno the daughter of a bitch”)], whereas “high style” was normally required for such “lofty” subjects. There are vulgarisms in Ševčenko as well, but again their function is different: they underscore the hidden vulgarity of the externally “lofty” [the tsar's palace in “*Son*” (“The Dream”)]. The vulgarisms in Kostomarov's plays are in imitation of the vulgar scenes in Shakespeare. This coupling of “high” and “low” styles was particularly attractive to him because such a mixture of styles was one of the main requirements of Romanticism, and Kostomarov was a Romantic. Finally, in the works of Realists such as Nečuj-Levyč'kyj, vulgarisms characterize the social milieu of those who use them. Consequently, both the frequency and the function of various linguistic embellishments are important aspects of a literary work. Without a consideration of them no general characterization of a work can be made.

7. Besides the description and analysis of language, the *content* of a literary work must also be considered. Let us review briefly the main aspects of content.

First, there is the *composition* of a work; that is, its structure—its division into parts, the ordering of these parts, their interrelation, their similarity, or the opposition of one of them to another. The structure of a work as a whole may be harmonious or intentionally or unintentionally disharmonious.

The *theme* of a work is its idea: the idea of a work unites all its separate parts, down to the very basic level of the individual words from which it is composed. When a work contains several themes, we can speak of its "thematic structure." A specific form of the theme of "unhappy love"—the loved one appears to have died in a foreign land—can be found in Ševčenko's "The Poplar."

Each work also has a *plot* (occasionally plotless works are encountered). Plot is the general arrangement of events in time or the static interrelationships among various agents (usually characters). The plot of "The Poplar" is the transformation of a girl into a plant with the aid of sorcery (this plot is found elsewhere in Ševčenko's poetry and in the poetry of his contemporaries).

Except in miniatures, the plot is usually composed of separate *motifs* or is linked to them. Motifs are the basic elements of content. In "The Poplar," for example, the following motifs are to be found: "a loved one in a foreign land," "the engagement of a young girl to an old man whom she does not love," "a girl's loneliness," "sorcery," etc.

These elements must, of course, be studied not in themselves, but as they relate to the entire work or, frequently, to all the works of the particular author.

The *genre* of a work is also one of its important features. Each genre has its own norms recognized by writers, readers, and literary theoreticians alike. These norms (or conventions) relate both to form and content. The formal conventions determine the structure, the types of linguistic ornamentation that may or may not be used, the choice of lexical material, etc. The conventions related to content specify the nature of the theme, the plot, and sometimes even the motifs. Certain conventions also govern the characters if they are present in a work: they must belong to a specific social group or historical era. Each genre has many such conventions, but they are not hard and fast. Occasionally movements evolve that reject all conventions, even the distinction of genres (this was the aim of representatives of extreme Romantic groups).

We will discuss those main genres that are to be found in all epochs and those conventions of these genres that are universally accepted.

There are three main genres that contain all other literary genres: a) *epic*—any genre in which facts are narrated in objective, artistic form; b) *drama*—any genre in which literary material is presented solely by the characters themselves; c) *lyric*—any genre in which the author's subjective experiences, thoughts, or feelings are expressed. Sometimes these genres are mixed, as in the ballad form. How frequently specific genres are employed, how they are mixed, etc.—all this is also important in identifying features typical of particular epochs, authors, and literary movements.

8. Examination of the aspects of content leads us to the deeper

*idea-content* of a work. Each statement made by a person, especially a writer, reflects his world view—his view of life and the universe. An author's world view may emerge in his work "of itself"; that is, without his making a conscious attempt to convey it to his reader. However, it is frequent indeed that an author does consciously wish to offer certain ideas and views to his reader. In such cases we refer to the *tendentiousness* of the work. "The Poplar" is a work in which the tendentious element is absent (perhaps with the exception of Ševčenko's desire to reveal the poetic nature of folk beliefs and the oral tradition). On the other hand, "The Dream" and "Neofity" ("The Neophytes") are typical of Ševčenko's tendentious works.

In studying the idea-content of literary works, a scholar must frequently look beyond the confines of the work itself. He must direct his attention to other works by the same author or by his contemporaries, to biographical data about the author, to extra-literary works (letters, reminiscences) by the author or his contemporaries, to contemporary evaluations of the work (criticism, parody, etc.), to historical facts related to the period in which the work was written and, finally, to data pertaining to the education, reading habits (catalogues of the writer's library), and personal and literary ties of each author. Older scholarship frequently studied only such secondary sources and as a result occasionally came to completely erroneous conclusions. It is, of course, always necessary to begin with *the work itself*. The idea-content must emerge from the work: other sources should be given only an auxiliary function.

The explication of the main idea of a work is its "*interpretation*," or perhaps more precisely the "*interpretation of its meaning*," since the description of the elements of form and content mentioned above is sometimes referred to as "interpretation."

Only after an analysis of the form, content, and main idea of a work can its place in the historical evolution of literature be defined. This is the goal of the "synthetic" approach to literary evolution. In this respect, the question of periodization becomes very important.

9. The problem of the periodization of Ukrainian literature was brought to the fore by modern scholars. Older scholars viewed all of old literature from the eleventh to the eighteenth century as one whole, only rarely dissociating from it the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which the literary language was already quite distinct from its older counterpart. In the nineteenth century the difference between Romanticism and Realism was perceived solely on the ideological level. Occasionally periods of literary evolution were defined by the political changes in the life of the Ukrainian people. Stylistic analysis revealed

that changes in style were the best and most intrinsic criteria for the periodization of literature.

Scholars (such as M. Zerov and others) were able to establish that authors or trends that had often previously been grouped together were stylistically very different. Also pertinent to this problem are the works of non-Ukrainian scholars devoted to such questions as the Baroque or the Biedermeier.

The main purpose of periodization is to characterize individual epochs. Here, the problems of the evolution of styles and of ideology become relevant. But the characterization of an epoch is not the final goal: it is also necessary to delimit the various periods, a task which is obviously not always easy. Only infrequently do individual literary groups criticize previous epochs on principle or (in the last century) express their own new ideas ("literary manifestos"). In earlier times changes in literary tastes and principles occurred slowly and were initiated by insignificant changes in style and ideology. As a result, it is possible to assign only an approximate date to the beginning of a period. The dating of the end of a period is even more problematic: representatives of the previous epoch do not merely abandon the literary arena but continue to write in the old style, occasionally even for an extensive period of time when new styles are already well established (for example, a Romantic like Kuliš in the age of Realism).

Difficulties in dating and characterizing literary periods are also created by authors and works with highly individual colorations—in Ukrainian literature such works as the "*Skazanie*" ("The Tale") of the murders of Borys and Hlib (see Ch. III, pt. C, no. 2), the works of Ivan Vyšens'kyj, and in part those of Ševčenko. Difficulties arise also from the sparsity of scholarship in some areas (the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).

Nevertheless, it is possible to formulate a fairly clear scheme of the periods of evolution of Ukrainian literature.

It is also possible, it seems, to establish a pattern in the change of literary styles. This pattern is based on the repeated alternation of *opposite* tendencies: styles, and to a certain extent ideologies as well, oscillate between two opposite poles.

In spite of the great variety of literary styles in European literature, it is not difficult to isolate the two basic types with opposite characteristics: love of simplicity, on the one hand, and a preference for complexity, on the other; a preference for clarity based on definite rules of an established framework, on the one hand, and a predisposition to incomplete, fragmented, "free" form on the other. Similarly, it will be observed that there is either an inclination towards clarity of thought or its opposite—disregard for clarity, based on the belief that

“depth” is more important even if the reader does not always completely understand it; there is an attempt to establish a normalized, “pure” language or its opposite—a search for a unique, original language, a predilection for verbal games and the use of dialectisms and jargon; there is an inclination to precision or its opposite—a desire to provide the most complete expression even if this does not contribute to accuracy; there is an attempt to attain an overall impression of harmony or its opposite—tension, movement, dynamism. Representatives of these two differing types of literary styles value different literary qualities: clarity or depth, simplicity or ornamentation, peace or movement, limited or unbounded perspectives, well-defined norms or movement and change, unity or diversity, traditionalism or novelty, etc. On the one hand, the dominant ideal is calm, harmonious beauty; on the other, beauty is not the sole aesthetic value of a literary work—other values are equally important and ugliness finds a place in the aesthetic sphere.

These two types of styles will be designated as “1” and “2.”

Any such scheme of literary evolution is, of course, merely a generalization. As we will see later, each literary epoch encompasses various trends, individual variations and transitional elements. Furthermore, since Ukrainian literature experienced periods of relative decline, certain literary epochs—the Renaissance and Classicism—acquired but limited and vague expression.

10. The following (in the opinion of this author) is the general scheme of the evolution of Ukrainian literature.

- I. Period of monumental style—eleventh century.
- II. Period of ornamental style—twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
- III. Transitional period—fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (only a few monuments of this period have been preserved and these are in large part compilations or works that only border on literature).
- IV. Renaissance and Reformation—end of the sixteenth century.
- V. Baroque—seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- VI. Classicism—end of the eighteenth century and the first 40 years of the nineteenth.
- VII. Romanticism—from the end of the 1820s to the beginning of the 1860s.
- VIII. Realism—from the 1860s onward. Writers of the Realistic school are still to be found today.
- IX. Modernism—from the beginning of the twentieth century onward. Ukrainian Modernism embraces various literary trends, in part original and in part linked with various contemporary trends of world literature such as Symbolism, Futurism, etc.

Just before the Revolution new literary trends, such as Futurism, made their appearance. After the Revolution, together with the dominant trend of revolutionary literature, a distinctly neo-classical trend emerged. However, any definitive characterization of a recent literary trend is fraught with its own peculiar difficulties.

Of the periods mentioned above, I, IV, VI, and VIII belong to the first general literary type; II, V, VII and IX to the second. Since it is impossible to obtain all the necessary materials pertaining to more recent times, I was forced initially to end my study with the period of the beginnings of Realism. However, in this edition I have included a brief general survey of the period of Realism and the beginnings of Modernism. This survey is intended as a sketch of only the main features of these periods—those features which would form the basic guidelines of a more detailed study.

It must be remembered that in the earliest periods it is difficult to distinguish between Ukrainian and Belorussian monuments. In the initial period there are a few clearly definable Belorussian monuments. But the works of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, which only infrequently had differing linguistic colorations, belong to the literary heritage of both peoples. Therefore, in the examination of the period prior to the seventeenth century, it will be necessary to discuss certain Belorussian works. Where possible an attempt will be made to note their Belorussian origin.

[This introduction was written in 1956 and was printed that year with D. Cyzevs'kyj's Ukrainian edition of *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, published in 1956 by The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in New York.]

# I.

## PREHISTORIC PERIOD

### A. ORIGINS

1. The oldest dated monument of East Slavic literature is the Ostromir Gospel from 1056 or 1057. But the vast majority of monuments from the eleventh and twelfth centuries are undated or extant only in later transcriptions. Clearly these are not the oldest monuments, for the literary language and traditions (Church Slavonic) unquestionably came to Kiev together with Christianity towards the end of the tenth century. However, it is certain that there were Christians in Kiev several decades earlier; one need only cite as examples either the Christian Varangians killed in the time of Volodymyr or Ol'ha, the wife of Prince Ihor. In the performance of divine service, if it was not Greek, Bulgarian or Moravian books could have been used. But it is not this aspect of the prehistoric period that concerns us here; borrowed books can hardly be considered part of Kievan literature. Also extra-literary are the translations of the treaties between Kievan Rus' and the Greeks (preserved in the chronicles) dating from 911 and 944. More interesting is the oral tradition (or folk poetry) which is believed to have already been in existence at that time. At this point in time, there can no longer be any question of attempting to deduce any specific information about this ancient and oral tradition from its more modern manifestations as the Romantics did in the nineteenth century.

More specific information about the oral tradition can be obtained from more modern sources (of the seventeenth and especially the nineteenth centuries) and from studies of the oral traditions of other peoples. These sources reveal how rapidly and fundamentally the oral tradition can change as a result of

various cultural influences. Byzantine, Bulgarian and, to a lesser extent, Moravian influences came to Kiev together with Christianity. Consequently, the only means to acquire knowledge of the oral tradition in the pre-Christian and early Christian eras is by reference to any traces or mentions of it in the old written monuments. However, such traces and mentions are few and not always reliable. Nonetheless, they are more reliable than the speculations of earlier literary historians.

2. Slavonic folk poetry is not the sole constituent of the prehistoric period of Kievan literature. Since the princely family, retinue and specific merchant groups were of Scandinavian (Varangian) extraction, it is not surprising that elements of the Varangian folk tradition and perhaps even some written Varangian fragments of the tenth and eleventh centuries are to be found in Kievan literature. While we are familiar with Scandinavian folk poetry only from its later forms, these Scandinavian elements must also be considered. However, it should not be assumed that those elements which Kievan and Scandinavian literature have in common were necessarily borrowed by Kiev from Scandinavia. Both the Varangians and the Slavs are Indo-European peoples; as a result, it is equally possible that these common elements may have been derived from their common Indo-European heritage. Unfortunately, material for the evaluation of this hypothesis is still lacking.

## B. THE ORAL TRADITION

1. A few references to the oral tradition in its pre-Christian form are found in the oldest written monuments. Unfortunately most of these references merely point to the existence of various types of folk poetry.

There is no doubt that Slavic and East Slavic folklore existed even in the pre-Christian era but written mentions of it are few and unreliable. The "singers" referred to are always singers of epic songs, those that were kept at the courts of the princes and their retainers. The information of Eastern wanderers is questionable. Ibn Fadlan, for example, describes the entire Slavic race as *rusy*, that is, as Eastern Slavs. Depicting the pagan life style of the Slavs, the chronicles and later, the sermons, allude to "singing and dancing" but none of them describe the songs. Possible exceptions are Cyril of Turiv, who speaks of "devilish songs" and "*Slovo nikojego Xristoljubcja*" ("Sermon of One Who Loves Christ," extant in a fourteenth century manuscript but unquestionably written earlier) where mention is made of "worldly songs." References are made to the "music of the Devil" (in the tale about Isaac—see Ch. 3, pt. C, sec. 3), to music at the courts of the princes ("Life of Theodosius") and occasionally to

music in general, but there is no way of knowing if these allude to Slavic *folk* music. Both the “music of the Devil” and the music of the courts could be of Byzantine origin. The first concrete information about folk songs comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: in 1571 the Czech scholar Jan Blahoslav recorded a song about Stephen the Voivode (but this song stems from the most western reaches of Ukrainian territory) and in 1625 Dzwonowski published a song about the Cossack Plaxta.

2. There is some information about ritual songs but primarily about those which are at least partly linked with Christianity. Most frequently mentioned are *koljadky*. But again the references in sermons and other types of works do not discuss these ritual songs *per se* but speak rather of the celebration of the festival of *Koljada*. The first clear reference is from 1166 and of Novgorodian origin. It is true, of course, that there are many ancient elements in contemporary *koljadky*: references to Constantinople, to the freeing of a city by the payment of tribute, to the “cutting down of a city” (the khan of the Polovci, Bonjak is said to have been preparing to “cut down” Kiev’s Golden Gates). In addition old words are encountered: *pavoloky* [šovky (silks)], *žukovyny* (valuable gems), etc. However, from these facts we can only conclude that some kind of *koljadky* already existed in the first decades after the acceptance of Christianity and that there were some pre-Christian elements in them. We cannot make any definite statements about their form or their relation to their modern counterparts. There is even less information about the songs associated with the festival of the *Rusalky* (*Rusaliji*): they are mentioned in the fragment of “*Slovo o karax Božiih*” (“Sermon about God’s Punishments”) which is included in the *Primary Chronicle* under 1068 but here again the reference is to the celebration of the festival and not to the songs themselves. The thirteenth century *Chronicle* mentions the songs associated with the festival of *Kupalo* (*Kupaliji*) but only in a very general fashion. Certain facts in Volodymyr Monomax’s letter (end of the eleventh century) could be interpreted as references to wedding songs, for Volodymyr Monomax speaks of his desire “to replace the songs” of his son’s widow’s engagement and wedding parties with “laments” for his dead son (see Ch. III, pt. F, no. 4). On the other hand, it is equally possible that these are references to court music of Byzantine origin. Contemporary customs and songs as well as the information we have about the customs of the nobility of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries testify to the fact that many elements of the wedding customs of the folk were also to be found among the upper classes: both those customs which refer to the forceful abduction of the bride-to-be and the vocabulary of wedding songs [*knjaz’* (prince); *bojary* (boyars, nobility); *družyna* (the prince’s retinue); *meč* (sword); *strily* (arrows); etc.] indicate that

the contemporary wedding ritual and songs in part filtered down to the common people from higher social levels during the princely era. However, no definite conclusions can be drawn about the wedding songs of the Kievan period from their contemporary counterparts.

3. By chance, one type of ritual song—the *plač*—is mentioned frequently; a *plač* is not really a song but rather a rhythmical lament for the dead. But evidence in this case is also sparse. The best literary imitations of laments are from the north—from chronicles which mention the “lamentations” of the family, retainers and people for their prince. It must be noted, however, that even these references are not totally convincing, for careful study reveals that the expression “to lament” (“*plakatisja*”) is a traditional formula employed by chroniclers to depict grief for the dead. Thus, in the narration about the death of Izjaslav Mstyslavovyč (1154), the *Chronicle* mentions the lament of the “black hoods” (that is, the Turkic people from the principality of Perejaslav) and in the account of the death of Volodymyr Vasyľkovyč in 1288, Germans and Jews are included among the “lamenters.” It is highly unlikely that foreigners performed Slavic laments over the coffins of Kievan princes. The references to the fact that “all the people” lamented over the body of Prince Oleh (who may have died in Scandinavia!), that Ol’ha “lamented” her husband’s death, that her sons and grandsons “lamented” the passing of their mother were added to the *Chronicle* (under the years 912, 945 and 969 respectively) only later, in the Christian era. Volodymyr Monomax’s expression of his desire to “lament” the death of his son together with his son’s widow is more convincing evidence. However, it must be remembered that Monomax’s work is literary and replete with images: when Monomax describes this same daughter-in-law elsewhere as “a dove seated on a dead tree,” etc., we must be careful about making literal translations. “To lament” sometimes simply means “to take part in a funeral” (1154). In other cases, “laments” for princes are coupled with other “ritual songs,” that is, the traditional funeral songs of the Church. Similarly it is also unlikely that “Volodymyr’s best men” (his boyars) performed “laments” over the body of their prince, since “laments” are always performed by women.

The only unquestionable evidence of the existence of folk “laments” is the use of this genre in the written monuments of old Ukrainian literature: in the “tale” of Borys and Hlib, Borys utters a moving lament for his father, Volodymyr the Great—and Hlib, for his murdered brother, Borys. The *Chronicle* records the lament of Prince Jaropolk and his retinue over the death of Prince Izjaslav in 1078: “Father o father! Could you have not been overwhelmed by grief in your earthly life when you were so often attacked by your own people and your own brothers?” Vjačeslav of Turiv, the uncle of the Kievan Prince,

Izjaslav Mstyslavovyč (died 1154), “laments” the passing of his nephew: “My son, you have gone in my stead but God’s will must be done.” “Volodymyr’s boyars ‘lament’ the death of Volodymyr Vasylykovič”: “It would have been far better, o Lord, if we had died with you . . . for now we can no longer cast our eyes upon you, our sun has now set forever and we are left in misfortune.” In *Slovo o polku Igorevi* (*The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*) there are references to the “lament” of the wives of dead soldiers: “No longer can we call up memories or thoughts of our beloved husbands, no longer can we cast our eyes upon them.” In addition, in both *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* and in the *Chronicle*, the “lament” of the mother of Prince Rostyslav, who drowned on a “dark shore,” is mentioned. A comparison with the folk laments recorded in the nineteenth century reveals certain similar features: references to the deceased person (in both, the deceased person is occasionally compared to the sun), statements of a desire to die with or in place of the person lamented, feelings of having lost all that is important, and exaggerated portrayals of the grief inflicted by this loss. Later references to Ukrainian (or Belorussian) laments are found in Menecius’ work (1551), written in Latin. However, in spite of his assurances to the contrary, the fragments of laments included in his work are not Ruthenian but Polish. In addition, Klonowicz’s Latin text (1584) contains an imitation of a Ukrainian lament. All these allusions testify to the continuity of the tradition of the ancient lament. In the nineteenth century not only the dead were “lamented” but also recruits, houses which had been destroyed by fire, etc. There are indications that laments were also extended in this fashion in earlier times as well. In any case, the *Chronicle* mentions that “mothers lamented their children . . . as they would the dead” when Volodymyr the Great ordered them to be sent to school (988). Also interesting is the fact that echoes of folk laments—addresses to the deceased, etc.—are to be found in sermons and other religious works: in the sermons of Hilarion and Cyril of Turiv (lament of the Virgin Mary), in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery* (lament of Peter the Doctor), in the *Galician Chronicle* (1288), in various works, employing an elevated Church Slavonic vocabulary. That the lament is found in such genres of old Ukrainian literature contributes to the uncertainty as to the origin of this form. Since laments also existed in Byzantium, they may have been transmitted to the upper classes of Kievan Rus’ together with Christianity and then have spread among the people. From the few available details, it cannot be concluded with certainty that the laments found in old Ukrainian literature are elements of Slavic antiquity. It should also be noted that there are “laments” in the Bible (David’s lament for Absalom and Jonathan) and in apocryphal works (Anna’s lament in the Gospel of Jacob).

4. While the themes of epic works of the Kievan period can be established with a high degree of certainty (see Ch. III, pt. I, and Ch. IV, pt. F), nothing definitive can be said about their *form*. Since there is little doubt that Slavic, Scandinavian and Byzantine elements were coupled in them, it is difficult to isolate their prehistoric elements. Pre-Christian themes are found in the folk epos (Oleh, Ol'ha) and in the chronicles (Rohnida, the death of Oleh). Folk epics frequently contain extremely old themes. Thus, in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, Gothic songs about the "time of Bus" are mentioned. "Bus" could be the king of the Antes, Booz, who was defeated by the Goths in the fourth century. As a result, this motif probably originated in a period over 800 years prior to the writing of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*!

5. Relatively numerous examples of proverbs and sayings have been preserved in the chronicles and various other works of the Kievan period. Proverbs and sayings such as the following are uttered by various persons in the *Chronicle*: "If a wolf repeatedly visits a flock, he will eventually steal all the sheep," "Death is the same for everybody," "Because the inhabitants of Rus' love their swill, without it they cannot dwell," "You must kill the bees before you can eat their honey," "The dead have no shame." The chroniclers also used such expressions as "not until rocks float and foam sinks." Characteristic are the sayings directed at various peoples, cities, etc. For example, the following is said of the northern Slavic bathhouses "Here you can get washed but not tortured" (this expression is attributed to the Apostle Andrew in the *Chronicle*). In addition, we encounter "misery, the same as in Roden'" and "the inhabitants fled from Vovčyj Xvist\*." Such sayings existed long before they were incorporated into the *Chronicle*. In essence, they are condensations of entire stories. Such is the case in respect to the sayings referring to the condition of the people of Roden' when it was being besieged and to Vojevoda Vovčyj Xvist's victory over the Radimichians near the Piščana River, etc. Evidence of the existence of proverbs and adages is also found in later examples, such as: "O Roman, Roman, along the right path you do not go, if with the Lithuanians you plough" (about Roman of Galicia). But those proverbs and adages found in the monuments of old Ukrainian literature [for example, in the *Izbornik (Collection)* of 1076, in "The Supplication of Daniel," etc.] are only partly original. Many of them came to Kievan Rus' from other countries. The famous adage "*Pogiboša aki Obrě*" ("They died like the Avars") is perhaps of Czech origin (see Ch. II, pt. F, no. 4). Furthermore, a considerable number of modern proverbs did not derive from the folk (as the Romantics believed) but were translated

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\*The name of a *vojevoda*, according to the *Chronicle*.

from the Greek. The following examples belong to this category: “*Vovka nohy hodujut’*” (“A wolf’s legs keep him fed”), “*Za dvoma zajemajmy poženešsja, ni odnoho ne spijmaješ*” (“If you chase two hares at one time you will not catch either one of them”), “*Pes na sini*” (“A dog lay in the hay”—indicates negligence), “*Ne mala baba klopotu, ta kupyla porosja*” (“The old woman did not have enough trouble so she bought a pig”), “*Mokryj došču ne bojit’sja*” (“A man who is already wet is not afraid of the rain”), “*ptyčę moloko*” (“bird’s milk”—indicating luxury), “*Povynnoji holovy meč ne siče*” (“A sword will not fall upon an important head”—mentioned by Ipatij Potij in 1599), etc. On superficial examination, it could easily be assumed that all these proverbs are of pre-Christian Slavic origin. An even larger proportion of the proverbs with a Christian coloration are of Greek origin. The proverb “*I čortovi treba svičku zapalyty*” (“One should also light a candle for the Devil”) provided the theme for one of Rudans’kyj’s *spivomovky*. Even such apparently Ukrainian proverbs as “*Jazyk do Kyjeva dovede*” (“Your tongue will lead you all the way to Kiev”) or “*Z moskalem družy. . .*” (“If you are friends with a Russian. . .”) are old translations from Greek, in which “Constantinople” is replaced by “Kiev” and “dog” by “a Russian,” respectively. Another such example is to be found in a letter written by Myxajlo Rohoža in 1593: “*Komu poklonytysja zavtra, toho s’ohodni ne hnivy*” (“If you intend to ask a favor of someone tomorrow, do not antagonize him today”), which is the old variant of the modern proverb, “*Ne plij v kryncju, zhodyt’sja napytysja*” (“Do not spit in a well if you intend to drink from it later”) and a translation from the Greek.

On the other hand, evidence indicates that proverbs and adages existed in the pre-Christian period. The *Chronicle* confirms the fact that their “form” was the same as it is today, consisting of two approximately equal parts frequently parallel in structure and employing either rhyme or alliteration (*movenie–mučenie, piti–biti*). However, it is impossible to establish which proverbs and sayings existed in the pre-Christian era.

6. A separate category of the oral tradition is formed by incantations (to exorcise diseases) and spells, which are known to have existed among the Eastern Slavs in the pre-Christian era. The incantations included in the treaties between Rus’ and the Greeks (907, 949, and 971) testify to this fact. The first of these mentions that Oleh’s men swore an oath in which they called upon their swords and the gods, Perun and Volos. In the second, the reference is more specific; the representatives of Rus’ are said to have collected their arms and sworn upon them to abide by the terms of the treaty, adding that anyone who failed to do so was “worthy to die by his own sword.” The third treaty includes the full text of the oath, which was coupled with an incantation: “If we do not abide by the

above-mentioned terms . . . may we be cursed by the gods in which we believe—by Perun and by Volos, the god of cattle, may we become as yellow as gold and may we be cut down by our own swords.” However, this incantation may be of Varangian origin. Furthermore, the text of this treaty included in the *Chronicle* is but a translation from the Greek original and as a result reproduces the content but not the form of the incantation.

7. The set phrases frequently encountered in the chronicles and in other works of the Kievan period may also have derived from the pre-Christian oral tradition—that is, from its formal or linguistic aspects. A victorious prince is said to have returned “with victory and great glory” or “amidst great praise”; peace among the princes is described as “peace and love”; to “raise a banner” or to “break a banner” is to begin a battle [“*kop’ e izlomiti*” (“to throw down the banner”)\*—a symbolic act performed first by the prince. Such an event is narrated in the *Chronicle* under the year 946)]; old age and the approach of death is expressed by the phrase “sitting on a sleigh” since the dead were carried to their final resting place on sleighs and the dying were placed on them even in summer. (Such was the case with Theodosius, according to the entry in the *Chronicle* under the year 1074!) As the above examples reveal, such set phrases are frequently condensed renderings of various customs. Extremely typical is the phrase in which Rohnida expresses her refusal to marry Volodymyr the Great, the son of Ol’ha’s housekeeper. She says that she does not wish to remove shoes from the feet of a servant. The significance of her reply derives from its double meaning. While wedding ritual required that a bride remove her husband’s shoes, in Germanic juridical custom, the act of removing someone’s shoes symbolized subordination to the person whose shoes were removed. Also related to law is the striking expression used by Volodymyr of Volhynia (noted under the year 1288 in the *Galician Chronicle*), who is said to have begged his brother Mstyslav not to give George even “a handful of straw.” This expression [and its modern counterpart “*Syla i solomu lomyt*” (“Force can even break a straw”)] acquires meaning for the contemporary reader only when it is pointed out that in the past straw symbolized the consolidation of authority. The customs upon which

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\*Similar customs—the dropping of a spear or other object (such as a burned branch)—are found among the old traditions of other Indo-European peoples. Varangian custom dictated that a spear be thrown in the direction of the enemy before a battle. A very similar symbolic act was performed in Imperial Rome (after the birth of Christ) before the troops set out on a campaign: one of the priests (*pater patratus*) threw a spear dipped in blood “in the direction of the foreign land” to which they were going. Cicero notes the existence of this custom among the Samnites (a Roman tribe). Hindu custom required that a burned branch be thrown over the heads of the enemy. There are indications of the existence of similar customs among the Persians, Celts, Lithuanians and Greeks. It also appears to have been preserved among the Slavs.

these expressions were based were partially of Germanic (Varangian) origin. However, since they came down to us in the East Slavic language, they therefore already belonged to the heritage of the East Slavic poetic language. On the other hand, it is not always possible to ascertain whether such a fixed phrase is Slavic or a translation from the Greek. The *Chronicle*, for example, describes a prince returning from military exercises as “wiping away tears” or “wiping sweat” from his brow (“He wiped from his brow the sweat which bore witness to his efforts on behalf of the land of Rus’ ”). In this case, the expressions used are direct translations from Greek.

8. The existence of folk beliefs and symbols is also attested by various monuments of the Kievan period. It was believed, for example, that during an eclipse, the sun and the moon were devoured (by a serpent or a wolf?), that certain ghosts (*navyje*) were able to participate actively in earthly life (by “beating” the living, for example); that birds arrived from certain warm regions; and that the tree symbolized law (as, for example, in the translated tale by Gregory of Nazianzus dating from the eleventh century). Pre-Christian elements can be found in some of the beliefs and symbols which were derived from later customs [such as *mohoryč* (the sealing of a bargain with a drink—which is obviously a very old custom corresponding to the German *litkouf*); *paruboc'ki hromady* (groups of young men, with their military symbolism, which are carry-overs from the customs of the prince’s retinue, etc.)].

Many other hypotheses about the old elements in the contemporary oral tradition have often been made but such hypotheses are unwarranted. As has been pointed out above, monuments of the Kievan period provide little information about the folk tradition of the pre-Christian era. The available material does provide evidence of the existence of certain types of folk poetry in this period, but little is revealed about its style, as most formal aspects (language, images, comparisons, etc.) go unmentioned. On the basis of this information, it is impossible to support the hypothesis of the nineteenth century Ukrainian Romantics—the hypothesis that ancient and modern folk poetry are almost identical. The conclusions that can be drawn are few. However, it is far better to be left with only a few hard facts than to make unfounded sweeping generalizations.

### C. SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENTS

1. The Scandinavian royal family (there were obviously many different families), the Scandinavian retinue and the advent of new Scandinavian elements in Eastern Europe must have had an influence on the Slavs. A limited number of

Scandinavian words\* and some Scandinavian proverbs (particularly those pertaining to Scandinavian princes) were incorporated into the East Slavic heritage. However, it is not always possible to establish the Scandinavian origin of individual proverbs. As was mentioned above, the discovery of similar proverbs among the Scandinavians and the Slavs does not prove that the Slavs adopted them from the Scandinavians. It is equally possible that either the opposite occurred or that both peoples acquired them from their common Indo-European heritage. The Scandinavian proverbs which will be discussed here are known to us from even later copies than their Slavic counterparts. The problem becomes more complex when similar proverbs are also found in the folk traditions of other peoples—those that were neighbors of the Eastern Slavs and could have had a cultural influence on them, notably the Greeks from whom both the Slavs and the Scandinavians could have borrowed. Many such parallels with the Scandinavian heritage are contained in the tales of the *Chronicle*.

2. The most outstanding of these is the tale about Oleh and his horse. From sorcerers (*kudesniki*), Oleh learns that his death will in some way be caused by his horse. As a result, he no longer rides this particular horse but orders that it be cared for. Several years later Oleh discovers that this horse has already died. Scoffing at the sorcerers, he decides to have a look at the horse's remains; but while he is doing this, a snake crawls out from among the horse's bones, bites him and he dies (entered in the *Chronicle* under the year 912). This tale has many parallels of both Eastern and Western origin. Common to all the variants is the theme of death resulting from an inanimate object against which the person concerned has already been warned (in one case, the person dies from a wound caused by a tooth of a dead wild boar; in another, from an infection caused by a splinter from a felled tree; and in still another, from the bite of a scorpion hidden on a statue of a lion, etc.). The closest parallel to the legend of Oleh's death is contained in the Icelandic *Edda*. The tale is presented here in a greatly expanded form: a sorceress predicts that Orvar-Odd will be bitten by a poisonous snake which "will emerge from among Faxi's dead bones" (Faxi is Odd's horse). Odd kills his horse, buries it in a very deep hole and leaves his native land. After 300 years he returns. Meanwhile, the wind has bared the horse's bones and the prophecy comes true. It must be noted that this version not only appears to derive from a later period in the development of this theme (its breadth and the fairy-tale-like aspects of Odd's life) but also that it is poorer structurally. While the *Chronicle* account does not reveal how the prophecy will

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\*The latest research indicates that there were at most about 20 of them and that they are either rare words found mostly in dialects or words that have long since fallen out of use.

be fulfilled until the very end (since the horse is already dead), the *Edda* version states at the very beginning that the cause of death will not be the horse *per se* but a snake hidden among its bones. The actualization of the prophecy is unexpected only because Odd has buried his horse's body very deeply in the sand. Consequently, if the Slavs did borrow this tale from the Varangians, it must have been transmitted to them in some earlier form.

Another tale which has a Scandinavian parallel is that of Ol'ha's fourth act of revenge against the Derevljanians who killed her husband. After besieging the Derevljanian city of Iskorosten' for a year, Ol'ha requests but a small tribute from them—three doves and three sparrows from each household. After the Derevljanians have complied, a match is tied to each bird, the matches are lit and the birds are set free. The birds fly back to their nests and set the city on fire (the *Chronicle* under 946). This tale has many parallels from various periods and of various national origins—English, French, Scandinavian, Armenian. From among the Slavic variants, mention should be made of *Dalimil's Chronicle* (Czech) which recounts the story of the capture of Kiev by the Tatars in a similar fashion and of *Hajek's Chronicle* where Heinrich of Plauen is described as capturing the Czech city of Saaz by employing this same strategem (fifteenth century). It is interesting to note that this same theme—the burning of a city or fields with the help of various animals and other similar tactics employed against the enemy—is also to be found in the heritage of antiquity. Hannibal is said, by Livy, to have released against the Romans 3,000 oxen to which torches had been attached, while the Bible recounts a similar tactic employed by Samson against the Philistines—the release of foxes with torches attached to their tails into the Philistines' fields. There is also a similar incident in one of Aesop's fables. In any case, there is a definite similarity between the tale of Ol'ha's fourth revenge contained in the *Chronicle* and various Scandinavian tales. However, the *Chronicle* tale is much more successful. While the Scandinavian variants have the besiegers catch the birds, in the *Chronicle*, Ol'ha obtains the birds as tribute from each household in Iskorosten' thereby assuring that each building in the city will be set on fire and making the inhabitants the cause of their own downfall! Here again the *Chronicle* account is the older form (it is one hundred years older than its Scandinavian counterpart!). In fact, there is no evidence indicating the Scandinavian origin of this tale.

There are also other old Ukrainian tales with parallels in other literatures. Tales of the founding of a city (in the case of old Ukrainian literature, the city is Kiev) by three brothers or of the invitation of three brothers to be rulers of a people are quite numerous; occasionally some of these are older than the Slavic variants (for example in *Beda's Chronicle* from the seventh or eighth century,

but here there are only two heroes). Attempts have been made to give factual explanations of the tales about boats on wheels such as the one included in the description of Oleh's capture of Constantinople: the Varangians were able to pull their relatively small boats past the chains closing off the entrance to the harbor. There are also several similar Byzantine tales about the outwitting of Pečeneg besiegers: their representatives are shown two wells; in order to convince them that the city had a sufficient amount of food, the inhabitants place a pail of honey in one well and a pail of *kisel'*, a kind of jelly, in the other. The theme of a hero doing battle with a giant appears twice in the *Chronicle*: in one case it is a fight between some young Kievan man and a Pečeneg giant; in the other, Mstyslav of Tmutorokan' and Rededja (entered under the years 922 and 1022, respectively). However, tales of this general type are encountered in the legacies of many peoples (compare the battle of David and Goliath in the Bible).

3. The derogatory attitude toward the Slavs expressed in some tales allows us to assume that they are of Varangian origin. One example of this type of narrative is the story of the division of the booty near Constantinople (entered under the year 907 in the *Chronicle*): the Varangians (Rus') chose heavy silk (*pavoločiti*) for their sails but the stupid Slavs select light silk (*kropin'ni*), which will be quickly torn by the wind. Another example is provided by the story of Jaroslav's campaign against Svjatopolk (1015), where the Kievan vojevoda Svjatopolk scoffs at Jaroslav's army which contained many Novgorodians, i.e., Slavs: "You are carpenters . . .," he says. Such derogatory comments are few, as a Slavic chronicler would hardly be prone to include anti-Slavic anecdotes in his work!

Perhaps the most interesting are those sections which are clearly anti-Slavic and deal with the Varangian custom of bloody retribution. Such is the story about Jaroslav immediately before the campaign against Kiev mentioned above. Because they were mistreated by Jaroslav's Novgorodian retinue, the inhabitants of Novgorod attacked and killed the Varangians. Becoming very angry, Jaroslav said: "These men cannot be resurrected" ("*Uže mni six ne krisiti*") and, having had the leading citizens of Novgorod brought to him, he had them killed by way of retribution. But that same night he received news of Volodymyr's death and of Svjatopolk's subsequent seizure of power. Greatly regretting the loss of his retinue and the Novgorodians whom he had had killed, Jaroslav had to be content with the "remaining Novgorodians." The meaning of this story, in the opinion of this writer, lies in the sentence "These men cannot be resurrected"; this was perhaps a fixed phrase used to initiate an act of retribution (such fixed phrases existed whenever the institution of retribution existed; the use of such a symbolic phrase was one of the first steps in the limitation of this cruel custom).

The phrase “*ceduleju odpovidnoju*,” announcing hostility, was preserved in Ukraine until the sixteenth century. This phrase announced that the norms of morality and the conventions of hospitality would no longer be observed. The Novgorodian Slavs did not understand this expression, this threat against them made by their prince. A similar incident is recounted in the *Chronicle* account of Ol’ha’s revenges. After having killed her husband, Ihor, the Derevljanians ask Ol’ha to marry their prince, Mal, and she replies: “I cannot resurrect my husband” (“*Uže mni mužā svoego ne krisiti*”). After this Ol’ha begins her acts of retribution by having the Derevljanian emissaries killed. In this case also, the Slavs did not understand this expression. Her first act of revenge is clever but cruel: Ol’ha advises the emissaries to demand that they be carried to her palace in a boat. The Slavs again fail to grasp the symbolic import of this act, for they do not know that the Scandinavians traditionally use a boat as their coffin. Near the castle the boat carrying the Derevljanian emissaries is dropped into a hole and covered with earth. The ironic tone of this tale identifies it as being of Scandinavian origin. After this incident Ol’ha carries out three more acts of revenge. While there are no close Scandinavian parallels for the remainder of the story, the attitude of the narrator to the Slavs, in the opinion of this writer, makes a good case for its Scandinavian origin. The set phrase “He cannot be resurrected” later lost its original meaning and became solely a poetic device. Such is the case in the story about the death of a prince (1151) recorded in the *Kievan Chronicle* and in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*. (The fixed nature of this expression in the latter becomes evident from the very fact that it is repeated twice: on the other hand, its use in conjunction with Svjatoslav’s call for retribution, for revenge against the Polovci for their victory over Ihor, indicates that its original meaning had not yet been lost.) However, the chroniclers who copied the story probably no longer knew the meaning of this phrase.

Other fragments of Scandinavian customs were perhaps preserved in some juridical expressions and customs. Several other examples may be added to those discussed in the earlier part of this chapter: the taking of an oath with a piece of sod placed on the head, and someone else’s key as a symbol of subordination [in *Rus’ka pravda* (*Rus’ Law*) and in one of Theodosius’ sermons].

4. The isolation of the formal elements of the tales of Slavic origin is a difficult task. It is possible that those sentences which contain riddles and have parallels in Scandinavian sagas are derived from Scandinavian poetic practice. Unfortunately, the *Chronicle* includes very few of these. One example of the use of such a poetic formula is found in the scene describing the indirect exchange between Jaroslav and Svjatopolk during the campaign of 1015. Jaroslav’s emissary asks one of Svjatopolk’s men what should be done “if we have only a

little mead but a great many retainers.” The latter replies: “If you have only a little mead but a great many retainers then [the mead] should be distributed in the evening.” “And Jaroslav understood that [Svjatopolk] had ordered the battle to be begun in the evening,” the *Chronicle* adds. The phrase “He cannot be resurrected” discussed above as well as other later phrases used to signal certain actions, including “You must kill the bees before you can eat their honey,” belong to this category.

Certain parts of the *Chronicle* and *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* are reminiscent of the Scandinavian *kenningar* (singular: *kenning*). *Kenningar* are fixed expressions used in place of the usual term employed to designate a definite object or action. In *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* “bloody wine” is used instead of “blood”; “to offer the enemy wine,” “to treat him with wine” or “to thrash him” instead of “to do battle with him,” etc. (See the later sections on *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* and on the *Hypatian Chronicle*.)

Another stylistic feature shared by the *Chronicle* tales and the Scandinavian sagas is narration in the form of dialogue. This trait is encountered more frequently in the later chronicles—the *Kievan Chronicle* from the twelfth century and the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* from the thirteenth century. However, while it is unlikely that these works were strongly influenced by Scandinavian sagas, Byzantine influences are numerous.

The rhythmical style of the *Chronicle* legends and the ample use of alliteration may also be attributed to the influence of Scandinavian sagas. The rhythmical quality of these legends is not very pronounced. Resulting in large part from the short sentences in which the tales are frequently narrated (which could simply be the product of the primitive stage of development of the language) and from the use of syntactical parallelism (encountered only rarely), the rhythmical quality of these tales could simply be accidental. However, the numerous alliterations cannot be accounted for in this way. Alliteration is not employed in other parts of the *Chronicle*, such as the account of Ol’ha’s baptism not to mention the various religious sections (the speech made by the Christian philosopher in the presence of Volodymyr or the account of the creation of the Slavic alphabet), the geographical descriptions, the treaties with the Greeks, etc.

The following example of alliteration is taken from the conversation between Jaroslav and one of Svjatopolk’s men:

<i>Ůto ty tomu veliši tvoriti?</i>	t-t-v-t
<i>malo medu vareno</i>	m-m-v
<i>a družiny mnogo</i>	m

<i>dače medu malo</i>	d-m-m
<i>a družiny mnogo</i>	d-m
<i>da k" večeru v" dati. . .</i>	d-v-v

("What do you advise us to do if we have only a little mead but a great many retainers?" . . . "If you have only a little mead but there are many retainers, then [the mead] should be distributed in the evening.")

From the account of Oleh's capture of Constantinople we have another good example:

<i>i povelě Oleg voem" svoim"</i>	p-v
<i>kolesa izdělati</i>	k
<i>i postaviti na kolesa korabli</i>	p-k-k
<i>i byvšju pokosnu větru</i>	p-v
<i>v"spjaša parusy s polja</i>	v-p-p

("And Oleh ordered his men to make wheels and to place their boats on these wheels and when a favorable wind caught the sails the boats moved off from the ground.")

Also characteristic is the use of alliteration towards the end of rhythmical units, as in the legend of Oleh and his horse:

<i>I prispě osen'</i>	i-p-o
<i>i pomjanu Oleg" kon' svoj</i>	i-p-o-k
<i>iže bě postavil" kormiti</i>	i-p-k
<i>i ne vsědati na n'</i>	i-n-v-n
<i>bě bo v"prašal" vol"xvov"</i>	
<i>i kudesnik"</i>	b-b-v-v-k
<i>ot" čego mi est' umreti?</i>	o
.....	
<i>I povelě osedlati konja:</i>	i-p-k
<i>"a to vižju kosti ego"</i>	k-e
<i>I priide na město,</i>	i-p
<i>ideže běša ležašče</i>	
<i>kosti ego goly</i>	k-e-g
<i>i lob" gol"</i>	i-l-g

<i>i posmĕjasja reĕe:</i>	i
<i>“ot” sego li lba</i>	s-l-l
<i>smert’ bylo vzjati mnĕ?”</i>	s-v
<i>i vstupi nogoju na lob”;</i>	i-v-n-n-l
<i>i vyniknuvši zmia izo lba</i>	i-v-i-l

(“And autumn came and Oleh remembered the horse which he had ordered to be put out to pasture but he did not ride him for he had asked the magicians and sorcerers: ‘What will be the cause of my death?’ . . . And he ordered that a horse be saddled: ‘I will go to see its bones.’ And he came to the place where its bare bones and skull lay and dismounted from his horse and laughed, saying: ‘Was it this skull that was to cause my death?’ and he stepped on the skull and a snake crawled out of it.”)

And from the tale of the siege of Bilhorod:

<i>I povelĕ ženam” stvoriti</i>	
<i>čĕž’;</i>	i-p
<i>v nem’že varjat’ kisel’;</i>	v-v-k
<i>i povelĕ iskopati kolodjaz’;</i>	i-p-i-k
<i>i vstaviti tamo kad’;</i>	i-v-k
<i>i naljati čĕža kad’.</i>	i-k
<i>I povelĕ drugyj kolodjaz’</i>	
<i>iskopati;</i>	i-p-k
<i>i vstaviti tamo kad’;</i>	i-k
<i>i povelĕ iskati medu;</i>	i-p-i-m
<i>oni že šedše vzjaša medu</i>	
<i>lukno,</i>	v-m
<i>bĕ bo pogrebĕno v knjaži</i>	
<i>meduši;</i>	b-b-p-k-m
<i>i povelĕ rosytiti vel’mi</i>	i-p-v
<i>i v”ljati v kad’</i>	i-v-k
<i>v družĕm” kolodjazi. . .</i>	v-k

(“And he ordered the women to make a solution in which *kisel’* is cooked and to dig a well and to place a pail in it and to fill the pail with the solution. And

he ordered that another well be dug and that a pail be placed in it and that mead be found; they went to fetch the mead with baskets because it was kept in the Prince's mead cellar; and he ordered that it be diluted and poured into a pail in the second well. . . .")

And in the account of the death of a prince of the Polovci:

<i>priim'' luk svoj</i>	s
<i>i naloživ'' strětu,</i>	i-s
<i>udari Itlarja v serdce,</i>	i-s
<i>i družinu ego vsju izbraša;</i>	i-i
<i>i tako zľ isproverže</i>	i-i
<i>život svoj Itlar'. . .</i>	s-i

("He took his bow and placed an arrow in it and shot Itlar' in the heart and took his retainers for himself; and that is how Itlar' lost his life miserably. . . .")

Alliteration is a very characteristic feature of the old literature (not only *belles-lettres*) of all Indo-European peoples: it is encountered in the ancient Frisian Laws, in the Oscan-Umbrian Inscriptions, in Celtic and Germanic poetry, etc. In such monuments alliteration is found in stressed syllables: the location of stresses in old Slavic languages is not always known and, in addition, alliteration appears to have been used only in the territory of the Eastern Slavs; all this indicates that foreign influences (i.e., Scandinavian) may have played an important role in this sphere. However, the alliteration found in Kievan monuments bears little resemblance to its Germanic counterpart. Germanic monuments contain only a limited number of words employing alliteration and they are distributed throughout the poems in a specific manner. In Kievan literature the rule seems to have been the more alliteration the better (see Ch. IV, pt. 7). Although the Norse sagas contain something similar, the alliteration in Kievan literature is more reminiscent of that found in Celtic monuments. Furthermore, alliteration is very rare in Greek literature. All this points to the complexity of the question of the origin of the alliteration frequently encountered in old Ukrainian literature.

5. Consequently, pre-Christian Scandinavian elements cannot be identified with certainty. It even appears that those tales without Scandinavian parallels are more definitely of Scandinavian origin than those with apparently "striking"

parallels (Oleh-Odd, Iskorosten'). The explanation of this phenomenon could lie either in the common Indo-European heritage of the Slavs and Scandinavians or in their borrowing from a common third source. Further research into this problem could best be directed to the identification of all Scandinavian elements in old Ukrainian monuments, especially those of a more secular character (the *Chronicle*, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*).

#### D. INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS

1. It is logical to expect to find Indo-European elements in the Ukrainian oral tradition. A cursory examination of the subjects, themes and motifs of contemporary folk poetry reveals the great number of themes shared by the Indo-European peoples. Only a few decades ago, this was considered as proof of the common origin of these elements. However, more careful studies soon rejected the possibility of clearly reconstructing the epics, tales and customs of the Indo-European period. While it was established that some of these common elements were borrowed by one tribe from another, most of them were also found among a broad spectrum of non-Indo-European peoples. As a result, it became clear that the existence of similar or identical elements in the folk poetry of any two Indo-European peoples was not a sufficient basis for postulating that they were of common Indo-European origin. Although linguists encountered similar problems, they succeeded in developing techniques which allowed the origin of similar words to be accurately identified as either Indo-European or later borrowings by one people from another. However, such is not the case in the realm of ethnography: there is no definite method whereby the common origins of customs or traditions can be established. Consequently, although there is no doubt about the existence of common Indo-European themes, motifs and linguistic embellishments, it remains impossible to identify them.

The greatest obstacle in this area is the almost total absence of older copies of stories, tales and epics. Serious collection of folklore began only in the nineteenth century; there are few copies dating from the eighteenth century and only isolated ones from earlier periods. As a result, it is possible that these oral tales were adopted from foreign sources or native written monuments in later times and do not derive from the Indo-European heritage. Such a process was observed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when some of the poems by Ševčenko, Šchoholiv and Rudans'kyj were discovered among Ukrainian folk songs and some of Tolstoj's stories among Russian folk tales.

No attempt to provide definite conclusions about the Indo-European

elements in Ukrainian folklore can be made here. We will limit ourselves in this popular study to a brief discussion of but a few of those subjects and themes which have sometimes been identified as Indo-European.

2. There is, for example, a Ukrainian tale reminiscent of the ancient Greek legend about Odysseus and the Cyclops, Polyphemus. Odysseus and his companions happen upon the island on which Polyphemus lives, and are trapped in his cave. They make their escape by burning out Polyphemus' eye and hiding beneath the bellies of his sheep. In his search for his escaped captives, Polyphemus feels only the backs of his sheep. Having succeeded in reaching his ship, Odysseus puts to sea, scoffing at Polyphemus, but the Cyclops hears him and throws giant rocks at Odysseus' boats. Similar motifs—a hero blinding a giant and making his escape hidden under a sheep's skin, a giant throwing rocks at escaping boats, etc.—are encountered in the northern legends about Egil and Asnud, about Hrolfr and about Odd. As was noted above, the latter is reminiscent of the *Chronicle* tale about Oleh. In the Ukrainian oral tradition there is a tale about a one-eyed, man-eating old woman called *Lyxo-odnooke* (One-eyed misery). Here also the hero blinds his captor, makes his escape in a sheepskin coat which he has turned inside out and hides among a herd of rams. While he is escaping the old woman throws an axe at him. Similar tales are also found in Russian folklore.

Despite the great similarity between these tales, scholars have not yet been able to establish whether this theme was derived from the Indo-European heritage or borrowed later by one people from another. Tales such as these are believed to have originated in Sicily (a colony of Greece in ancient times). It is possible that the Scandinavians adopted this tale from the Greeks. (This possibility must always be considered because the Scandinavians are known to have visited Byzantium. In one case, they were there in the capacity of mercenaries and could easily have brought back many Byzantine legends, tales and stories.) On the other hand, the Slavs could have acquired it from either the Greeks or the Scandinavians and this could have happened at a much later date (perhaps only in the seventeenth or eighteenth century through the newly established schools).

3. Tales on the theme of a contest between a father and a son whom he has never seen are also widespread. Among Indo-European peoples this theme has even become the basis for several epics: for example, the German song about Hildebrand (eighth century), the Persian tale about Rustam and Suhrab included in Firdusi's long epic *Shah Namah*, the contest between Odysseus and his son Telegonos (not included in Homer's account of Odysseus' adventures), similar Celtic tales and finally the contest between Il'ja Morovec' ("Muromec'") and his

son "Skol'nik" in a Russian epic song. However, as was the case with the theme of the blinding of the giant, no definitive explanation of this recurring theme has been made. While some scholars argue that the theme of the German epic was borrowed from the Slavs (which must have occurred before the eighth century), others believe that it came to the Slavs from Persia as late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In its contemporary form, the epic song about Il'ja Morovec' and his son does have features that are of later origin but this does not mean that its *theme* was not known to the Slavs in an older form. It may have been of Indo-European origin.

4. There are many more themes which were widespread among the Indo-European peoples, even occasionally among those which had hardly any direct contact (the Slavs and the Celts, the Slavs and the Hindus).

Among these are the many variants of the theme of the slaying of a dragon (among the Eastern Slavs—Dobrynja, Michael Potok, Kožumjaka). However, in this case we have definite indications of foreign influences, that is, of the influence of the Christian tradition, which provided the models for the dragon-slayers (Saint George, Saint Theodore Tyro) as well as the general format of the legends (the East-Slavic Michael Potok was modelled on the Bulgarian saint, Michael of Potok).

Heroes that are fatherless in the literal sense of the word are also common to the folklore of Indo-European peoples. They are fathered by trees, born from eggs or magically conceived as a result of the fact that the mother ate a pike or drank some broth made from it (the mother is a dog, a cow, etc.). The Russian epic hero, Vol'ga, is said to have been born in such an unnatural manner. In fact, the circumstances of his birth are reminiscent of the account given in an old romance of the birth of Alexander of Macedon (see Ch. II, pt. D, sec. b, no. 2): his mother has a dream about a serpent. Furthermore, even the historical Prince Vselav is described by the *Chronicle* as "having been born to his mother with the aid of sorcery." This motif could be of Indo-European origin—it is encountered also in Celtic folklore (even with respect to *historical figures*). However, this fact has also not yet been established.

Many common features are found in tales such as the one about Ox. (Ox appears when the father sighs, uttering the sound "ox.") Ox takes the father's child away with him. The child returns later, having learned the art of metamorphosis and sets about acquiring wealth for the father: he transforms himself into a horse, then a hawk, then a greyhound, has his father sell him and returns home afterwards in human form. This motif (and sometimes even the entire tale) is common to the Mongols, the peoples of the Caucasus, the Abyssinians and some of the Indo-European peoples—the Hindus, the Greeks

and the Italians (where the same name “Ox” is used). It also appears in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Erysichthon and his daughter Mestra). Examples of this type are numerous.

5. Some of the examples discussed above clearly date from very early times and belong to the period of old Ukrainian literature. The tales about Oleh, Prince Vseslav, Dobrynja, Vol’ga, Michael Potok, Kožumjaka and Il’ja Morovec’ can be ascribed to the Kievan period with a certain amount of confidence (see Ch. III, pt. I, and Ch. IV, pt. F). However, the time when ethnographers will be able to devise even isolated criteria on the basis of which they can draw conclusions about the Indo-European origins of individual tales and elements is still in the future. The fact that it is occasionally possible to establish the “genealogy” of individual tales even now indicates that this task is not hopeless. At present, we can only assert that some contemporary tales which have been preserved from the pre-Christian and Kievan periods were not of Indo-European origin, but we cannot specify which of them belong to this category.

## II.

# TRANSLATED AND BORROWED LITERATURE

### A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. The beginnings of literature among the Eastern Slavs are linked with the adoption of Christianity. The first literary center was Kiev. Only much later did literary activity begin in Novgorod, and later still in the northeast (Suzdal', etc.). Borrowed and translated literature formed the main constituent of the oldest literature. From the very beginning Kiev was able to utilize the relatively well-developed literature of the previously Christianized Balkan and Moravian Slavs. The process of borrowing from the Church Slavonic heritage of other peoples progressed quite rapidly. In the initial stages, Kiev appears to have been more closely linked not with the Greek but rather with the Bulgarian Church.

2. However, it was not long before translations began to be made specifically for Kievan Rus'—partly perhaps in Constantinople with only the participation of Kievans, and later in Kiev itself. The *Chronicle* mentions that translation and copying was being done in Kiev during the time of Jaroslav: "And he collected many scribes and many books were copied or translated from Greek into Slavonic" (1037). As we shall see, it is even possible to specify approximately what was translated by Jaroslav's "commission."

The works translated by this commission were numerous and quite broad in scope. This not only enriched Kievan literature but also changed its character somewhat, as Jaroslav's commission translated secular as well as Church books.

3. In the following periods this dual process of borrowing and translating books of South or West Slavonic origin continued. Later the center of translation was transferred in large part from Kiev to Mount Athos.

Periods of political or stylistic change or cultural decline had a marked impact on original monuments; the nature of original works changed quite rapidly and occasionally quite decidedly from century to century. Originals were sometimes almost totally reworked several times within a short period (the *Chronicle*, Daniel's "Supplication," etc.). Conversely, relatively few translated works were subjected to such a basic reworking; frequently they were preserved for centuries with few or no changes. As a result, translated works extant only in sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century copies frequently allow judgments to be made about their original form.

4. While our primary concern will be with the original literature of Ukraine—Rus'—we cannot ignore the translated works of this period, which played an important role in the evolution of the original literature. The language, style, structure, and content of the latter were greatly influenced by translated works. To the extent that such judgments can be made, this influence can also be observed in the sphere of folk poetry.

In large part these translated works were of early Christian or Helleno-Christian origin; uniquely Byzantine influences did exist but they were not dominant.

## B. LITURGICAL BOOKS

1. One of the basic motivating forces behind the development of literature in Kievan Rus' was the need for liturgical books and texts of the Bible itself. Both already existed in Moravian and Bulgarian translations. Necessary for divine services, they were brought to Moravia and Bulgaria together with Christianity.

2. The Bible was used both in teaching the basic principles of the Christian faith and in the performance of divine service. Thus, the Gospel existed in two forms: as the full text of the Gospel [*Četveroevangelie (Tetraevangelion)*], or as texts of those passages that were read in church throughout the week (*Evangelije-aprakos*), only on Sundays (such was the *Ostromir* Gospel of 1056-57, preserved in the oldest dated East Slavic manuscript and written perhaps by a Kievan scribe for the Novgorodian mayor, Ostromir) or throughout the year (Galician Gospel from 1144). In addition, there existed two analogous forms of "The Apostle"—the full text (extant in thirteenth century manuscripts), or texts of passages selected for divine services (extant in twelfth century manuscripts). The Book of Psalms (*Psalter*) was the most widespread and significant of the books of the Old Testament. Some variants of the Psalter (*tolkovaja Psaltir*) included explanations of difficult passages (such annotations were made by Athanasius of Alexandria and Theodosius of Crypt). In addition,

the Book of Psalms was used for fortune-telling; there were variants (fortune-telling *Psalters*) that contained numerous comments about the significance of various passages. It was believed that knowledge about the future and the unknown, or advice about what should be done in a given situation, could be obtained by opening the book at random and reading the first passage that struck the eye.

For several centuries after Christianization the Old Testament was mostly known in the form of the *Paremejnik* (*Paroemenarium*—a selection of quotations used during divine service). The *Paroemenarium* was not only read by the clergy in church but was also carefully read and reread by the flock: numerous quotations from the *Paroemenarium* are to be found in works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (e.g., the *Chronicle*). Translations of the *Pentateuch* (the Books of Moses) and the *Octateuch* (the *Pentateuch* and the Books of Nahum, Judges, and Ruth) also existed. And finally, there were Books of the Prophets in both plain and annotated versions (the annotated versions did not include the full text).

The literary aspects of the Bible—the broad scope of its subject matter and the great variety of styles—must also be considered. The rhetorical style of the Prophets, the attractive images and comparisons (parables) of the Gospels, the elevated poetry of the Book of Psalms, etc.—all of this, from the point of view of both content and style, undoubtedly had a great impact. In fact, imitations of the various styles found in the Bible are encountered not only in religious literature (sermons) but also in secular monuments (in the *Chronicle* and even in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*). In addition, direct quotations from the Bible are frequently included in various literary works, as many of the Books of the Bible (Proverbs, Zachariah, Ecclesiastes) are composed mainly of interesting proverbs. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, F. Skoryna expressed just such a thought in his introduction to his edition of the Bible: “The Bible contains military and chivalrous tales that are more authentic than those about Alexander and Troy” as well as a moral philosophy. Furthermore, for those who “wish to learn music, or rather songs [Skoryna is referring to “poetry”], [the Bible] will provide numerous examples of poetry and holy songs.”

3. Liturgical books also belong to the category of poetry, for they contain the best Greek Christian poetry from a period of several centuries. There can be no doubt that in the first centuries after Christianization both the aesthetic and spiritual aspects of the liturgical songs had a great impact on their listeners, since, at that time, the Church Slavonic language was closer to the vernacular and more readily comprehended than in later times. That such in fact was the case is testified to by the *Chronicle* tale about the Greek divine service witnessed

by Volodymyr the Great's emissaries in Constantinople. They are said not to have known "if they were on earth or in heaven" and to have told Volodymyr: "We will never forget its beauty." Such aesthetic impressions favored the utilization of elements of liturgical and Biblical poetry in the monuments of old Ukrainian literature.

The most frequently used liturgical books were the *Služebnik* (*Liturgicon*) and the *Trebnik* (*Euchologion*), which provided instructions on how divine services and church ceremonies were to be performed. These books provided many good examples of religious poetry. And finally, there were also collections of Church songs such as the *Triod'* (*Triodion*), the *Pisna* (songs for Lent), the *Cvitna* (songs for Eastertide), and the *Oktojix* (*Oktoechos*). In the so-called *Služebnye Minei* (*Menaea for Church Services* extant in eleventh century transcriptions from Novgorod), such songs (hymns, canticles, etc.) were arranged in the order in which they were to be sung throughout the year. The first texts to come to Kiev were Slavonic translations of Bulgarian *Menaea*. Later, the translated text was supplemented by original Slavic material. Of high literary value, these books had a great influence on the original literature of Kievan Rus', on numerous services performed for Slavic saints, on the form of prayers, and also on secular literature.

## C. RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

### a. Canonical Christian Literature

1. The Bible was designated for reading as well as for use in divine services. Especially among the clergy, who constituted a large proportion of the writers of Kievan Rus', there were many individuals who were well acquainted with the texts of the Bible and the liturgical books. However, there were also religious works meant specifically for reading—hagiographic and homiletic literature.

2. "Lives" are a very old form of Christian literature. Translated hagiographic works existed in two forms: as collections of Lives and as individual Lives. *The Menaea for Daily Reading*, a large collection of "Lives" consisting of 12 volumes, each of which was designed for a specific month of the year and including sermons as well as Lives, was translated in Bulgaria (perhaps not all of its volumes). The Lives were quite broad in scope and extremely varied in content, and they provided a large gallery of "Christian heroes." Frequently well written and at least as interesting from the point of view of plot as the secular novels, hagiographic works were repeatedly reworked in later periods. In addition to biographies of saints, the *Menaea for Daily Reading* also includes

migratory legends connected with one saint or another: the Life of Philaretus the Charitable is similar to the Faust legend; the Life of Conon of Isauria is akin to the legendary tale about demons who obey a saint, etc. These Lives were read both for their didactic content and their entertainment value.

Short Lives were collected in a rather large, two-volume miscellany, *Prolog* (*Prologue*; Synaxarion or Menologion): this miscellany consisted of moralistic tales and of short Lives arranged according to the days of the year. Translated first either in Kiev or in Constantinople with the participation of a Kievan translator, *Prologue* was acquired by the South Slavs only later. This translation appears to have been made at the beginning of the twelfth century. Over the centuries, *Prologue* was reworked and enlarged; already in the thirteenth century it was three times as large as the Greek original. The additions consisted of moralizing tales from various Lives and from the Patericons, of which more will be said later. *Prologue* contains a great variety of material: numerous aphorisms, maxims, short moralizing tales (for example, about the beggar whose prayer pleased God more than the prayer of the bishop, about how Christ in the guise of a pauper visited the abbot, about the simple shepherd who was holier than the ascetics in the desert, etc.) and tales of legendary or fantastic character. Most interesting from the literary point of view are the Patericons, known from the very earliest times of the Kievan period (*Prologue* borrowed some of its tales from the Patericons). The Patericons did not include the full texts of Lives but only segments of them that provided examples of devoutness, asceticism, and good deeds. The tales of which each individual Patericon was composed derived from one particular country. The earliest of such works to reach Kievan Rus' were *Patericon of Sinae* (Palladius, fourth century), *Patericon of Skete* (Moschos, seventh century, widespread in Kievan Rus' in reworked form), *Limonar'* (*Leimonerion*, *The Spiritual Meadow*) and *Patericon of Rome* (Pope Gregory's collection from the seventh century—see pt. F, no. 3). Later many other Patericons reached Kiev. Neŭstor refers to "Patericons" in his Life of Theodosius, and the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery* was modelled on them. Patericon tales are devoted to individual episodes in the lives of saints or devout people and almost always end with a statement of the moral of the story. Such, for example, are the tales about how an angel freed a man from prison at the time when church services requested by the prisoner's relatives were being performed, about the monk Gerasimus who befriended a lion in the desert, and about the devoted ascetic who was provided with food by a magic tablecloth and who no longer knew whether the world still existed. In addition we encounter tales in the form of dialog containing witty aphorisms, and so on.

One tale describes an encounter between an ascetic and the Devil. The Devil

says: "I do precisely what you do: you fast and I eat absolutely nothing; you sleep very little and I do not sleep at all. But I can do you no harm because your humility is greater than mine." In another tale, a hermit is called to a meeting of monks at which the sinful life of one of their brothers is to be discussed. He arrives carrying a basket full of holes through which the sand it contains spills out onto the ground. When he is asked the meaning of this demonstration, he replies: "My sins also fall out behind me like this and I do not even see them. Nonetheless, I come here to judge the sins of another." In yet another tale a hermit comes to visit a bishop, who treats him to a meal containing meat. To the hermit's remark that he has never eaten meat, the bishop replies: "And I never go to bed if I have had an argument with someone." The hermit concludes that the life of a bishop is better than his own life of fasting. This tale testifies to the fact that Patericons frequently value good deeds more than asceticism. As the tales cited above indicate, the Patericons played an important role in educating their readers in the spirit of Christianity.

Individual hagiographic works dealing in more detail with the lives of particular saints were also widespread. Such Lives frequently included sections that were akin to theological tracts (such as descriptions of the end of the world, etc.). To the more important long Lives translated in the oldest period belong the Life of Anthony the Great, whose rules of self-discipline for ascetics later became a model; the Life of Sabbas of Palestine, whose type of asceticism influenced the Kievan Caves Monastery (see Ch. III, pt. D, no. 4); the Life of the popular saint, Nicholas the Wonder-Worker; the Life of Andrew the Simple, which included a fairly detailed description of his visions of the end of the world; the Life of John Chrysostomos, famous for his sermons; the Life of Alexis, which had perhaps the greatest influence on Ukrainian literature; and finally, the Lives of two Czech saints, St. Václav (Wenceslas) and St. Ludmila. These hagiographic works, which were intended as tools of instruction in Christian ethics, had a tremendous influence on the entire process of literary evolution.

3. Equally significant in this respect were the sermons, which were perhaps even more widespread than hagiographic works. While a large portion of them were translated in Bulgaria, a few translations were made in Kiev. Since this genre has not yet been thoroughly studied, erroneous conclusions are often drawn; those sermons that have been preserved only in later copies are often mistakenly attributed to various authors. Sermons were designated for reading. They provide a complete system of theology—predominantly moral theology—as well as Christian dogma and even Christian philosophy. Most frequently translated were the sermons of John Chrysostomos, Ephrem Syrus, Basil the

Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Theodore of Studion, and Cyril of Alexandria. Occasionally sermons were collected into anthologies (this was done earlier with Byzantine sermons) under various titles: *Zlatoust* (*Chrysostom*), *Margarit* (*The Pearl*); *Izmaragd* (*The Emerald*), *Zlataja cip*' (*The Golden Chain*—both this collection and *The Emerald* later included some original Kievan sermons), and *Zlataja maticja* (*The Golden Mother*). Other collections, such as *Biser* (*The Pearl*), *Žemčug* (*The Pearl*), and *Glubina* (*The Depths*), have been lost. These sermons were of great literary value; among their authors were the most outstanding Byzantine practitioners of the rhetorical style with its logical movement of thought and its interesting rhetorical devices and images.

The following excerpt from *Chrysostom* (Kievan manuscript from the twelfth century) provides a good example of the style of these sermons. John Chrysostomos compares “the soul of a meek man” with a scene of nature at peace: “It’s as if you were standing on the top of a mountain where a pure wind blows, where the sun shines, where there are pure springs, beautiful fragrant flowers and enchanting gardens. And the voice [of this person] is as sweet to those who listen to it as if various song birds—nightingales, swallows and bullfinches—perched at the top of oak trees had joined their voices into one sound; or as if the wind were blowing lightly from the east, shaking the quivering leaves, murmuring in the groves and as if the top of that mountain were covered with flowers—purple, red and white ones . . . and a breeze made them ripple like waves. Anyone who stands here will never have his fill of the fragrance and beauty of its flowers and . . . will believe himself to be in heaven not on earth. And as if from a mountain . . . a stream flows and murmurs gently, beating against the stones. . . . When you see such a scene, you understand how pleasing is a patient and gentle person.” Equally graphic is Chrysostomos’ description of an irritable man, whom he compares to a tempestuous and noisy city.

4. In addition to the more popular works discussed above, purely theoretical works on theological subjects were also known in translation. Among them were ascetic works (*Climax* by John Klimakos) and John Damascenus’ *Theology*, which discusses questions of philosophy and language as well as purely theological issues. Commentaries on the Gospels (by the Bulgarian writer of the tenth century, Constantine the Presbyter) also existed. Such works were occasionally written in the form of questions and answers (sometimes the questions were akin to riddles), as, for example, Athanasius’ *Questions*, extant in an eleventh century manuscript.

## b. Apocrypha

1. While canonical Christian literature had a great influence on the language and style of the original literature of Kievan Rus', the apocrypha had an equally significant influence on its subject matter, themes and motifs.

Apocrypha are works devoted to those events and figures of sacred history that are not recognized as canonical by the Church and are treated only sketchily in the Scriptures. Among both the Jews and the Christians, these events and figures gave rise to legends, some of them migratory in character and others original. These legends were recorded in very early times; in order that they might appear authoritative, they were frequently attributed to patriarchs or prophets, the Apostles, the Church Fathers, etc. Some of them were very widespread; many of them were used by "heretics" and some of them even originated among heretical circles. In any case, along with apocrypha that do not contradict Christian dogma, there are also those that express views that are either contrary to this dogma or blasphemous in character. As a result, the Church quickly assumed a hostile stance toward apocryphal works, banning some and tolerating others. Lists (or "indexes") of condemned works were compiled repeatedly. In Kievan Rus' mention is made of apocryphal literature as early as 1073, in the *Collection*, copied from the Bulgarian original for Prince Svjatoslav of Kiev.

2. The Old Testament apocrypha are the oldest, having originated among the Jews before the advent of Christianity. These apocrypha are based in part on ancient Jewish legends. In the Christian era there was a desire to establish stronger links between the Old and New Testaments and, consequently, the number of Old Testament apocrypha increased. Typically these legends are devoted to such subjects as the creation of the world, the lives of Adam and Eve before and after their expulsion from Paradise, the story of Noah and his ark, the lives of Moses, Abraham, David, or Solomon, as well as of persons only mentioned in the Bible (Lamech, Melchizedek). "The Commandments of the Twelve Patriarchs" were apocryphal works modelled on the prophetic books of the Bible. Others are eschatological in character, describing either the heavenly realm or the end of the world.

Equally widespread among Christian peoples were the New Testament apocrypha. They recount the events of Christ's childhood, the Virgin Mary's life, Christ's condemnation, the wanderings and fates of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse. The story of the temptation of Christ by the Devil and the story of His descent into Hell before His resurrection (the fact of Christ's descent into Hell does not itself contradict Christian dogma) also provide ample material for

apocryphal works. "The Tree of the Cross" is an example of the type of apocryphal tale that attempted to link the Old and New Testaments.

And finally, official Lives were complemented by apocryphal ones, also frequently banned by the Church. Such hagiographical works contain legendary episodes, fantastic miracles or incredible sufferings. In other cases, prophecies about the end of the world are included.

3. In spite of the prohibitions of the Church, apocryphal literature was widespread in the Christian world. In both Eastern and Western Christendom, it was of basically the same content. References to it are even to be found in the New Testament (as in The Letter of Jude, where the prophecies of Enoch are described; however, no such description is to be found in the Old Testament). The apocrypha had an enormous influence on world literature. Echoes of them are found in the Western oral tales about the magician, Merlin, in mystery plays, in the works of Dante and, in modern times, in epic works on themes from sacred history by such authors as Milton, Klopstock, Ševčenko ["*Marija*" ("Mary")], and Rilke ("Marienlieder"). In Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the previously existent apocryphal material was supplemented by new translations or oral tales of Western origin. Many apocryphal themes and motifs found their way into the oral tradition, especially the legends and the so-called spiritual verses. Apocryphal literature also had a great impact on the visual arts; ancient icons include numerous details derived from apocrypha.

4. It is difficult to establish precisely which apocrypha were known in Kievan Rus'. There are some apocryphal works extant in manuscripts from this early period: "The Acts of Paul and Thekla" (eleventh century), "The Virgin's Harrowing of Hell" (twelfth century), "The Word of Aphroditian" (thirteenth century), etc. Evidence of the existence of apocrypha is also provided by references to them and quotations from them found in monuments of the Kievan period; aside from collections of Old Testament stories, which are composed in large part of apocryphal material, such references are found in the chronicles (several apocryphal motifs are included in the sermon that the Greek "philosopher" preached before Volodymyr the Great) and in the "Tale" of Borys and Hlib, where the apocryphal Life of Nicetas is mentioned. Numerous apocryphal motifs are found in "*Xoženie palomnika Daniila*" ("The Pilgrimage of Abbot Daniel"). Cyril of Turiv refers to apocrypha, and echoes of them are even encountered in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* (the phrase "Not of their own free will have the trees shed their leaves" is reminiscent of the apocryphal "Confession of Eve"). Also known in the Kievan period were the apocrypha connected with the Bulgarian heretical sect, the Bogomils (tenth and eleventh

centuries), and the Gospel of Nicodemus, which probably came to Kiev from the western Slavs (see below). The apocryphal elements in the visual arts provide only questionable evidence of the existence of apocrypha in Kievan Rus', as they may have been borrowed directly from Byzantine models; knowledge of literary works was not always obligatory.

5. Thus we can conclude that the following Old Testament apocrypha were known in the Kievan period: tales about Adam; "The Confession of Eve"; Bogomil apocrypha, in which the Devil is a co-creator and contaminator of the world; the legend of Adam's temptation and his signing over of his soul to the Devil; "The Tree of the Cross," where it is said that Adam's grave was beneath the tree from which was made the cross on which Christ was crucified, and in this way Adam's skull found its way to Golgotha where the Saviour's blood dripped on it, "washing away" Adam's sins (a typical naive tale, based on the biblical image of "washing away sins"); "Enoch's Book," which describes Enoch's visions in heaven and his descendents up to and including Noah; the legend about Lamech, who supposedly killed Cain; "The Commandments of the Twelve Patriarchs," moral tales (of Jewish origin) linked with Old Testament prophecies about the coming of the Messiah; the legend of Abraham (particularly interesting is his battle against paganism); the life of Moses; the apocalypses of Baruch and Isaiah.

6. In the category of New Testament apocrypha known in Kievan Rus' we can include the Gospel of Jacob, which describes the events of the Virgin Mary's life (her childhood, the annunciation by the Angel Gabriel, the birth of Christ) and the fate of John the Baptist (his mother, Elizabeth, takes him to the mountains where she hides him from his would-be murderers dispatched by Herod) and the death of his father, Zacharias; the Gospel of Thomas, in which the depiction of Christ's childhood includes many miraculous events (the bringing to life of birds fashioned by the child, etc.); Christ is here such an un-Christian and cruel legendary figure that this apocrypha was not widely known (the oldest manuscripts are from the fourteenth century and of Bogomil origin). The important Gospel of Nicodemus and the apocryphal works linked with it ("The Letter of Pilate to Emperor Tiberius," "The Death of Pilate," and the story of Joseph of Arimathaea) all recount—in more detail than the Bible—the passion and death of Christ as well as His descent into hell; selections from the Gospel of Nicodemus were even read in Church during Holy Week. Two translations of it existed—one was of Bohemian-Moravian origin (made from the Latin text) and the other of Bulgarian origin. Linked with the Gospel of Nicodemus were the apocryphal sermons of Euphemius of Alexandria and Epiphanius of Cyprus. There are also apocrypha that describe the sermons given

by the Apostles, the miracles they performed, and their deaths. Some Bogomil apocrypha tell of how Christ "was invested into the priesthood" or "how He plowed a field," etc. Also widespread were both "The Word of Aphroditian about the Miracle in the Land of Persia," which recounts the story of the prophecies about the coming of Christ made by Persian idols at the time of His birth, and "The Virgin's Harrowing of Hell," a depiction of hell and its tortures, similar to the "Revelations of the Apostle Paul."

7. Also popular were the apocryphal Lives such as those of Georgius, Nicetas, and Theodore of Tyro. Some of them influenced either secular tales (Michael of Potok) or religious tales about dragon-slayers (George, Theodore of Tyro). Other apocryphal Lives describe the end of the world: "The Revelation of St. John the Divine on Mount Tabor," "Colloquy of the Three Prelates," "The Revelation of St. Methodius of Patara" (or Olympus), "The Life of Basil the New," and "The Life of Nyfont." In Kievan Rus' some of these were not proscribed.

There were also shorter apocryphal works, such as sermons containing apocryphal details and sometimes even elements of superstition.

On Slavic territory works based on superstition were linked with the truly apocryphal works. Most of the apocrypha mentioned above were labelled as "rejected books," but those based on superstitions were described as "hated books rejected by God." These were mainly "handbooks" for fortune-telling. Thunder, lightning, or the flight of birds could be used to foretell the future; needless to say, dreams were also used. However, this kind of literature is linked with apocrypha only in that it too was proscribed. Indications are that most of it came to the eastern Slavs only later and primarily to Moscow, at that. Consequently, its literary significance is not very great.

8. The subject matter of the apocryphal works had a much greater influence on the original literature of Kievan Rus' than did their form. Insofar as apocrypha were not under the protection of the Church, their language and style changed readily from one copy to the next. In addition, the original texts were quite primitive in form and the Slavonic translations of them were frequently made without sufficient attention to their stylistic aspects. But because their subject matter was most often very interesting and of legendary character, they lent themselves to secular adaptations in the form of either written or oral tales. However, some apocrypha were also significant as religious works, such as the moving story of the torments in hell and Virgin Mary's kindness to sinners. Others served to popularize Christian dogma; such were "The Tree of the Cross" and the outstanding Gospel of Nicodemus. Still others painted sentimentalized and idyllic pictures of the lives of the Virgin Mary and Christ (Gospel of

Jacob, etc.). In any case, apocrypha belong not only to the category of superstition but also to the realm of Christian faith.

## D. SECULAR LITERATURE

### a. Scholarly Works

1. The “secular” nature of the translated literature in general and the scholarly works in particular is only relative. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the belief that total harmony did and ought to exist between religion and other spheres of knowledge was so strong that any issue could be resolved merely by reference to Christian dogma or the Holy Scriptures. Thus, while many of the scholarly works of the Kievan period may now appear to have too great a religious and ecclesiastical coloration, in their historical context they satisfied the requirements of scholarship. However, most of the “scholarship” of Kievan Rus’, with the possible exception of theological works, was exclusively of the popular variety. In large part, works of this type were translated in Kiev.

2. A significant part of scholarly literature is formed by historical works. A translation of the *Chronicle of John Malalas* (sixth century) came to Kievan Rus’ from Bulgaria; it records mainly the events of ancient and early Byzantine history to the time of Emperor Justinian and includes many interesting tales of a fantastic nature. Since the *Primary Chronicle* quotes from it under the year 1114, it must have come to Kiev in the eleventh century. The *Chronicle of John Malalas* was later included in various chronicle compilations (see Ch. III, no. 5). The less interesting *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos* (“the sinner”) focuses on Byzantine history, presenting a rather superficial account of events, much anecdotal material and a great deal of historico-cultural information pertaining to such things as theological debates and even philosophy (later copies frequently abridged these sections). Indications are that the *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos* was translated collectively, as the language of the Slavonic text contains various old East Slavic elements as well as South Slavic and Moravian ones. This fact can be explained in two different ways. It can be postulated that these various linguistic elements testify to the fact either that Jaroslav’s translation commission was composed of people of various Slavic nationalities or that the translation was made in Constantinople. The *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos* was widely known in Kievan Rus’ and was even employed by the author of the *Primary Chronicle*. The *Chronicle of Georgius Sincellus* (eighth or ninth century), which provided a much more condensed account of both sacred and Byzantine history, was not as widely known. Other

chronicles are either less interesting (such as the history of the oecumenical councils included in the *Collection* of 1073), or their existence in the Kievan period is doubtful (*Chronicle of Constantine Manassius*, written in a very ornamental style, came to the eastern Slavs only later).

In the Chronicles mentioned above (Malalas, Hamartolos, Manassius), motifs of the so-called "euhemeristic" type are encountered. Formulated in the fourth century before the birth of Christ by the Greek philosopher Euhemerus, euhemerism held that the pagan "gods" were merely later deifications of important figures (princes, political and cultural leaders) of earlier times. This view is even occasionally expressed in some religious literature (the Lives of Paul and Juliania, which were translated from the Greek, and some old Jewish works). It later became standard practice to include mention of euhemerism in chronographic works. Such was even the case in the Kievan portion of the *Hypatian Chronicle*, where this theory was included under the year 1114. Together with the officially sanctioned theory that the pagan religion was the Devil's creation, euhemeristic theory was still widely known as late as the sixteenth century.

3. Josephus Flavius' *History of the Jewish War* (covering the period from the second century before Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem) was interesting to its readers by the very nature of its content. The Slavonic translation, which appears to have been made in Kiev, contains expanded versions of the lives of Christ and John the Baptist. (The origin of these additions has not yet been established. While they are not present in any of the manuscripts that have been preserved, it is possible they were included among those that were lost.) Interest in Flavius' narrative also stemmed from its masterful form: this work provides one of the best examples of the style of the Byzantine military tale. Furthermore, its high literary value was not obscured by the Slavonic translation, which was light and natural. Some parts of it, such as the descriptions of the Roman army ("Their ears were sharply attuned, their eyes fixed on the banners, their arms tensed for battle") and of battle scenes ("And you could see the breaking of spears, and the clashing of swords, and shields being cleft and the earth drinking the blood," "arrows darkened the sun," the dead "feel like bales of hay," etc.) influenced the military tales included in the chronicles and even *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*.

4. The most important works on natural science were the "Hexaemeron" ("Šestodnev")—compilations of the facts of natural history related to the six days of creation. In these works we find short résumés of secular theories and polemics with them, as well as discussions of the philosophic teaching about the elements, the movement of the heavenly bodies, and information about animals

and plants. "Hexaemerons" were not solely encyclopaedias of factual material, since they also provided symbolic interpretations of natural phenomena and drew moral or religious conclusions from various theories of a popular character. Both of the "Hexaemerons" preserved from the Kievan period were translations from Bulgarian—the *Hexaameron of Basil the Great* and its adaptation by the Bulgarian writer John the Exarch (ninth and tenth centuries) who expanded Basil's text by adding material probably taken from other Hexaemerons. In these works mention is made of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers. Unfortunately, the manner of exposition is not very successful. The *Hexaameron* was included in the so-called *Tolkovaja Paleja* (*Explanatory Paleja*—Old Testament stories with commentaries).

*Fiziolog* (*Physiologus*) was another popular work of this type, containing tales about animals, rocks and trees. In addition, it included fantastic details about animals and their symbolic meanings: the bee signified industriousness; the phoenix, resurrection; the dove, loyalty (the image of the dove that cries for its mate found in Volodymyr Monomax's "Letter" is also included in *Physiologus*). Real and legendary facts are explained (e.g., a lioness' cubs are born dead but in three days' time the lion breathes life into them: a symbol of resurrection). Mention is also made of other mythical creatures such as the salamander, which was supposed to be able to live in fire. The images presented in *Physiologus* were even employed by the Church Fathers and in sermons as late as the eighteenth century; there are many of them in Skovoroda's works.

The geographic and cosmographic outline of Cosmas Indicopleustes (sixth century) was translated in Kiev in the twelfth century (one manuscript contains a great many drawings); the description of the earth conforms to the popular conception of that time (the earth is a rectangular plane, etc.). Among other things, information about exotic animals is given.

5. Of lesser literary significance are the translations of works on ecclesiastical law, such as *Kormčaja* (or *Nomocanon*). The first translation of Johannes Scholasticus' *Nomocanon* belongs to the period of Cyril and Methodius. While Patriarch Photius' version arrived later, even his annotated version was known by the thirteenth century. The Eastern elements in the translation (*Kormčaja*) testify to the Moravian origin of at least some of its parts.

6. Some miscellanies are of a more secular nature. Svjatoslav's *Collection* of 1073 contains historical (about the cathedrals of various lands, about chronology) and literary items (about "tropes and figures" and "images" by George Choeroboscus) in addition to theological ones. Choeroboscus' short work served as the manual of poetics in Kievan Rus'. Each literary device named is accompanied by an example. Thus, to describe a person as rushing along "like

the wind” is given as an example of hyperbole (exaggeration), while antonomasia (the use of a person’s characteristics instead of his name) is illustrated by examples in which the name of a person is replaced by “the lame one” or “the carpenter.” By a strange coincidence both of these are employed by the *Chronicle* in the section describing the war between Jaroslav the Wise and Svjatopolk; when Jaroslav comes to Kiev with his army of Novgorodians, the Kievans laugh at him: “And why have you carpenters come here with this lame one?” (Jaroslav really was lame.) Examples of various types of irony are also provided.

Collections of quotations and adages (by Maximus the Confessor from the seventh century and its later reworkings) were very widespread. Occasionally the quotations were expanded to the extent that they formed miniature fables. Taken mostly from philosophers and writers, these quotations were almost always didactic in nature. Maximus’ *Melissa* was probably first translated in Kiev in the thirteenth century; later, this initial text [*Pčela (The Bee)*] made its way to other centers and was subjected to alterations. Similar collections, such as *One Hundred Maxims* by Gennadius of Constantinople, also existed (in the *Collection* of 1076—see Ch. III, pt. E). In addition, both shorter bits of a more secular nature (in the collection mentioned above) and collections of questions and answers whose originality is debatable [*Izbornik (Collection)*] from the thirteenth century—see Ch. IV, pt. I] were known in the Kievan period.

Collections of quotations were either expanded or abridged in later years, individual articles from various miscellanies were selected for recopying, and new collections containing both translated and original material appeared. In addition, the material that was copied was also frequently altered.

*The Bee* contains many short didactic tales that would now be called anecdotes. Socrates is said to have told the following to a person who wished to have his picture painted on a rock: “You wish that the rock should resemble you but you are not interested in guaranteeing that you yourself do not come to resemble the rock.” A witty retort to a person who rebukes him for visiting unclean places is ascribed to Diogenes: “The sun also shines on unclean places and does not become soiled.” Having been informed that he had been abused by someone, Isocrates is said to have replied: “If you had not listened to his remarks with so much interest, he would not have abused me.” The statement that “if God answered everyone’s prayers . . . then the entire human race would become extinct, for in their prayers people ask God to bring misfortune to others” is attributed to Epicurus. There are also anecdotes emphasizing the value of culture. Such is the description of the encounter between the King of Sicily and Xenophon, who was asked his opinion of Homer by the King; when

Xenophon abuses Homer, the King asks: "How many slaves do you have?" to which Xenophon replies: "I have two slaves and I can barely keep them fed." Then the King replies: "And you are not ashamed to revile Homer who feeds thousands of people even after his death." (The King is referring to those people who made their living performing Homer's works.) Most of the anecdotes are didactic in character, such as the phrases ascribed to Aristotle: "The man who triumphs over passion is stronger than the one who conquers warriors"; and to Plato: "He who accepts great power must have great intelligence" and "True knowledge begins when one recognizes one's lack of knowledge." There are also many aphorisms of a secular nature: in *The Bee*, Alexander the Great is alleged to have said to warriors who wanted to attack the enemy at night: "This would not be a princely victory" (the code of chivalry). Similar in character is the report of an encounter between Cyrus, the Persian king, and some young men who were accused of abusing him while they were drunk; asked by Cyrus if this were true, one of the young men replies: "We did say such things and would have said even more if we had more wine." Furthermore, these miscellanies also include rather lengthy tales, some of which formed the basis of Ukrainian folk anecdotes, adages, and proverbs. Encountered even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are expressions such as: "It is not the wealthy man who is happy but the man who has no need of wealth" (a similar expression is found in Skovoroda's works) or "I was born naked and naked will I go to my grave" (this is the theme of one of Velyčkovs'kyj's poems). Some of the anecdotes in these collections also appear in various Patericons. Each section of *The Bee* begins with a quotation from the Bible or the Church Fathers, and only then are more secular materials recorded.

In addition to the miscellanies mentioned above, several other shorter collections of quotations have been preserved. Almost all of these were translations from Greek, while a few also contain Latin and Polish elements. All such collections contributed to the treasury of Ukrainian proverbs.

The most interesting of these shorter collections was the one that included selections from the comedies of Menander (fourth century before Christ). While it is possible that a small fraction of these quotations were merely ascribed to Menander, nonetheless this collection, as well as *The Bee*, provided the reader with authentic facts about Greek literature and especially about its moral values.

7. Almost exclusively of a popular character, scientific literature, with the exception of historiography (chronicles and chronographs) and the biblical exegeses (such as that by Clement Smoljatyč), did not succeed in laying the foundations for independent scholarly activity. However, its literary significance was great. From the medieval point of view, all aspects of the universe were

believed to have a symbolic and religious meaning: historical events, animals, plants, heavenly bodies and rocks were all assumed to have parallels in the heavenly realm. As a result, writers of religious works eagerly drew on this scientific material. Some scientific works (Malalas, Flavius, the “Hexaemeron” and *Physiologus*) were used as models of literary style in various genres. Therefore, it is of little wonder that the chronicles bear traces of various scientific works. Even more influential were collections, such as *The Bee*, which had an impact on a broad spectrum of literary genres, from the sermon to folk proverbs and adages. It is interesting to note that the works translated in Kiev from Bulgarian texts were significantly expanded by the inclusion of new material. Furthermore, the translations done in Kiev were broad in scope: works such as those of Hamartolos and Flavius consisted of numerous volumes. Although the flowering of activity in the realm of translation did not last very long, its products continued to exist even in the eighteenth century. Works translated in Kiev penetrated into the Balkans. Some of them remained of interest for many centuries; such, for example, was the work of Flavius, which was translated anew from Polish in the seventeenth century.

## b. The Narrative

1. As has been demonstrated above, the translated scientific literature both provided the reader with a great deal of interesting material and unquestionably had a great influence on the original literature of the Kievan period. At the same time individual narratives were also translated, very probably by the same group of Kievan translators who worked on the translation of religious and scientific works. In any case, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries several narratives were translated.

2. *Aleksandrija (Alexandreis)* is the story of Alexander the Great, a favorite theme of medieval literature. To the real adventurous events of this famous warrior’s life, this work adds numerous fantastic or legendary ones. Alexander’s campaigns provide an opportunity for a great deal of information about the various peoples that he encounters to be included in the narrative. The facts of Alexander’s life and the tragic fates of his enemies were themselves sufficient to surpass the bounds of reason. Although attributed to Callisthenes, a contemporary of Alexander, this romance was probably written in the second or third century after the birth of Christ in the area of the cultural hegemony of Alexandria (the role of Egypt is hyperbolized); for this reason it is referred to as “pseudo-Callisthenian.” In the fifth century it was simultaneously reworked in both Greek and Latin texts, to which an even greater number of fantastic details

were added. A later Greek version with a Christian orientation portrays Alexander as a supporter of Jewish monism (Aristotle) and as a prophet of the coming of Christ. The Slavic translations of this romance were made from the second Greek text, which was simultaneously reworked and Christianized. In Bulgaria, it was included in the *Chronicle of John Malalas* and was then incorporated into various Kievan chronographs in this form. In the thirteenth century (probably in the northeast) it was revised again, with new Christian elements being added. In the East Slavic version Alexander is the son not of Philip but of the Egyptian king-priest Nektanebus; his birth is preceded by various omens (thunder, lightning and an earthquake) and his fate is predicted by magical signs. His upbringing, his horse (who eats human flesh), his youthful games—all are unusual. Immediately upon his ascension to the throne, he begins his campaign against the Persians. In addition to his great victories over the Persian king, Darius, and over the Indian king, Porus, the romance describes real (Palestine) and legendary or semi-legendary countries and peoples (the Amazons, the Raxmans or Brahmins), the wonders that Alexander saw in these places, and the interesting adventures that he experienced. In Babylon his wine is poisoned and he dies amidst numerous signs. The most widespread East Slavic version of this romance originated in a later period, but the style of this narrative affected earlier works such as the *Galician Chronicle* and various epic tales (e.g., about Vol'ga—see Ch. III, pt. I, no. 4).

3. *Trojanskoe dejanie* (*The Deeds of Troy*) also derives from the Greek and Roman classics (Homer, Virgil). It came to Kiev from Bulgaria in a version attributed to Dictys as part of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. The events near Troy are said to have occurred before the time of David. In addition to the Trojan wars, the narrative includes accounts of Odysseus' escape and the fate of the Greeks after the end of the war. Divergences from the Homeric version are numerous, and it includes a broad spectrum of Greek legends. The style is dry but not totally lacking in narrative skill. The description of characters is interesting: Helen is "attractive in appearance and height; she has a well-shaped bosom, is as white as snow and young in appearance; her brows, nose and face are charming; she has golden blond hair, large eyes, a cheerful disposition and a soft voice; an amazing specimen of womankind, her age was twenty-six." Although it is impossible to provide specific examples of the influence of the story of Troy on the literature of the Kievan period, it was included in the same chronographs as the *Alexandreis*.

4. *Devgenievo dejanie* (*The Deeds of Digenis*), a translation of the Greek epic about Digenis Akritas, is the most interesting monument. The original Greek text is not extant and it is known only in a later amended version

(sixteenth or seventeenth century) that was not republished until the nineteenth century. Of the translations made in the Kievan period, only four were preserved; three of these are incomplete, while the fourth was destroyed by fire just before it was to be published. The following is a summary of its content: the Arabian king Amir (“the Emir” in the Greek text) abducts a Greek girl; persecuted by her brothers, he decides to embrace Christianity. From this union Digenis Akritas (“born of two races”: of a “Saracen” and a Greek) was born. Even in his childhood, he is attracted to the sword and lance and loves to ride horses. At the age of fourteen he goes hunting, at which time he kills an elk and a bear with only his bare hands, by ripping them apart, and he kills a lion with his sword. While washing away the blood at a spring, Digenis kills a many-headed dragon that attacked him. Then he begins to dream about military feats, and an opportunity to fulfil his dreams soon arrives: King Filipat (“Philippapos” in the Greek text) and his daughter Maximijana (“Maximo the Amazon” in the Greek text) send him an invitation to visit their palace, but when he arrives he is attacked by their army, which he defeats. However, he learns from Filipat and his daughter that there is a still stronger enemy, Stratyh (“the General” in the Greek text) whose daughter, Stratyhovna (“the General’s daughter” in the Greek text) is even more beautiful than Filipat’s daughter, Maximijana. Digenis accepts the challenge. When he arrives he reveals himself a gallant cavalier, plays serenades under Stratyhovna’s windows, and succeeds in making her fall in love with him so that this unapproachable beauty even agrees to run off with him. With his sons and his army, Stratyh pursues them, but he is defeated by Digenis, who then marries Stratyhovna. After this, Digenis also defeats King Basil and conquers his lands. According to a prophecy, Digenis is destined to live only twelve years after this. In later Greek versions, he still has various adventures, but this part of the story is absent in the extant Slavic manuscripts. It is possible that the original was composed of separate episodes or songs (the childhood of Digenis, his battles with Philippapos, the General, and Basil). As was the case with religious poetry, the translation of *The Deeds of Digenis* was made in prose. It is not impossible that the original was in poetic form and that there were two distinct translations.

*The Deeds of Digenis* is not merely an interesting example of an epic work that influenced the Kievan epos, but also perhaps the best and stylistically most luxuriant of all the works known in this period. The descriptions are extremely picturesque and replete with colors: Digenis is “very handsome, his face is [white] like snow and red like a poppy, his hair is like gold, his eyes as big as saucers and his appearance awe-inspiring”; his clothing complements his physical characteristics: he wears “black clothing interwoven with real gold and

his oversleeves are set with expensive pearls, his kneecaps are of precious silk while his boots are of gold and are decorated with precious pearls." The other characters are dressed in a similar fashion. Stratyh's "armour is of gold and his gold helmet is set with expensive stones and pearls while his horse is covered with green silk. . . ." Amir's tent is "basically red with green trim at the bottom and is decorated at the top with gold, silver, pearls and various precious stones; his brother's tent is basically blue with green trim around the bottom. . . ." Digenis' horse is "white, precious stones are woven into his mane and among these stones are golden bells"; "the horse began to prance and the bells to ring sweetly." The deeds of the characters are also described in a legendary style: "They rode off like golden-winged hawks and their horses seemed to fly beneath them"; "his horse was swift and pranced beneath him while the daring young man knew how to straddle his horse"; the heroes fight "like good mowers cut grass"; Digenis "grabbed his spear, put its tip into the river bottom and jumped across the river . . . and mounted his horse and began to race around like a good reaper mows grass"; "he descended upon them like a strong falcon and like a good mower he cut the grass." This epic even includes letters, some of which are of a romantic nature. Thus, Maximijana writes a letter to Digenis in order to entrap him like "a rabbit in a snare"; "O, light, o radiant sun, glorious Digenis: you rule . . . over all the courageous and powerful just as the month of May rules over all other months: in May all earthly beauty flowers and trees don their foliage and . . . in such a way, you, O glorious Digenis, flower among us." There are also prophetic dreams, emotional and even sentimental experiences, all expressed in the same luxuriant language: the mother of a girl abducted by Amir complains: "He stole my heart's roots and pierced my flesh as if I were a soulless reed. . . ."

This exuberant language was reflected in such historical and epic works as the *Galician Chronicle* and *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*. The Slavonic translation of *The Deeds of Digenis* appeared in Kiev not later than the twelfth century.

5. Among the translated works of the Kievan period we also encounter narratives of an "ideological," didactic character with a definite literary merit. The first of these is the "Tale of Akir the Wise," a very ancient story that originated in Assyria in the seventh century B.C. Two centuries later, it was translated into the Aramaic language, and only then did quotations from it find their way into Greek literature; in the fifth century A.D. it was translated into Syrian, while the Greek translation was made only in the tenth century from a later Arabian text (ninth century). Not later than the twelfth century, it was translated in Kiev from either the Greek or the Syrian text. The subject matter

of this tale is quite complex: Akir, counselor of King Sinagrip of Nineveh, is falsely accused by his own pupil and sentenced to death. However, he is successful in hiding from his would-be executioners. In the meantime, the Egyptian Pharaoh demands that Sinagrip either perform certain difficult tasks (build a castle in the air, sew up broken handmills, etc.) or pay tribute, but such difficult tasks can only be successfully performed by Akir. The friend at whose house Akir was hiding informs the King that Akir is still alive. Akir is sent to Egypt where he fulfills the Pharaoh's demands (in order to sew up the handmills he requests threads made from other handmills; he has boys raised into the air in baskets carried by eagles and the boys ask for building materials which the Egyptians can find no way of getting up to them, etc.). When Akir returns, he is again given the same pupil but he affects him in such a way that the boy dies. This story is interesting not so much because of the nature of its content or even because of Akir's successful performance of difficult tasks, but rather because of the numerous proverbs found amidst Akir's wise teachings. This old Assyrian tale seems to have even influenced certain books of the Bible—the Book of Zachariah and Solomon's Parables. The following are examples of some of the aphorisms included in this tale: "One small bird in the hand is worth more than a thousand birds in the air"; "When rivers flow backwards . . . or the bile tastes sweet, then the stupid will become wise"; "What you do not hear with your ears you will feel on the back of your neck," etc. Some of the proverbs are expanded into fables. These aphorisms and proverbs were utilized by the writers of the Kievan period in both original and adapted form and were also included in collections of quotations.

6. *Stefanit i Ixnilat (The Crowned and the Tracer)* is another "ideological" story of ancient origin. It originated in India in approximately the fifth century B.C. and was later translated into one of the old Persian literary languages. From this text it was then translated into Arabian in the eighth century (*Kalila and Dimna*) and from the Arabian into Greek in the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century, a translation from the Greek text was made in Bulgaria. This tale came to the Eastern Slavs only in the period of the Tatar yoke and later had certain Christian passages incorporated into it. Its content is similar to that of a fable: a "philosopher" recounts parables of a moral character to the King. The first of these is the story of two jackals, Stefanit and Ixnilat, who then also proceed to recount various fables. The participants are animals, some of which are exotic: wolves, foxes, rooks, elephants, lions, monkeys, etc. Individual motifs from these fables found their way both into literary works and particularly into popular tales about animals.

7. Much more significant, however, is the novel *Varlaam i Ioasaf (Barlaam*

and *Josaphat*), which is ideological and even philosophical in character and which tells a story about Buddha. It originated in the sixth century A.D., but the complete history of its various translations is not known. However, in the seventh century it was translated into Greek and Christianized, although individual episodes from it were known to the Greeks at an earlier date. The Greek adaptation is attributed to John of Damascus. Here Buddha becomes *Josaphat*, an Indian prince, while *Barlaam* is a hermit who also appears in the original Indian text. In the eleventh century, it was translated in Kiev (individual parts may have been translated earlier in Bulgaria) and at about the same time it appeared in the West, where it was also very popular. The moving story of Buddha, a prince who rejected the pleasures of this world because of their questionable nature, is supplemented by interesting tales narrated by *Barlaam*, and by other materials. Among them is one of the gems of world literature, a story about a traveller pursued by a unicorn. In order to escape from his pursuer he climbs onto a branch overhanging a ravine in which there lies a dragon, but the traveller catches sight of some honey on the tree, begins to eat it, and forgets about both the dragon and the unicorn. This symbolic tale speaks of the transitory nature of human life. Another tale tells of a bird who succeeded in obtaining his freedom from a hunter as a reward for telling the hunter the three most important rules of life: not to desire that which you cannot acquire, not to believe in things that seem false, not to regret things that were done in the past. However, the hunter forgets these rules when the nightingale tells him that it has a huge diamond in its stomach. Also interesting are the didactic tales recounted by *Barlaam*. The Slavonic translation of this work conveys the style of the original quite well. Its success among the Eastern Slavs is testified to by its popularity and its use (in the Ukrainian text from 1634) by poets even in the nineteenth century (by Franko among others). In the Kievan period it was included in *Prologue*, and individual tales from it were used by Kievan writers, such as Cyril of Turiv.

8. The "Story of the Indian Kingdom" is of Western origin. It appeared in the eleventh or twelfth century as the "Letter of Prester John" (a Christian Indian king) about his kingdom. A Christian utopia, the "Story of the Indian Kingdom" contrasts the strong Indian theocracy to the constant disorder in Europe. It is possible that this religious utopia was supplemented only later with legendary materials and descriptions of the luxurious life in this kingdom. In Byzantium this work came to be viewed as a pamphlet directed against the pretentiousness of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (the story was in the form of a letter from Prester John to Manuel), whose worldly orientation is contrasted to the Indian theocracy. Translated from Latin into Slavonic somewhere in

Dalmatia, the "Story of the Indian Kingdom" undoubtedly first found its way to Galicia in the thirteenth century. (At this time one of Manuel's relatives was temporarily hiding in Galicia.) The description of the huge utopian kingdom (in one direction, it is said to extend a distance that would require a ten-month walk; in the other, the end "cannot be reached"), its mythical inhabitants (satyrs, creatures which are half-man and half-tiger, etc.), animals (griffins, phoenixes, etc.), precious stones, plants, the luxuries of the palace which exceeded those of its Byzantine counterpart, the beautiful castles and other wonders, but most importantly, the union of ecclesiastical and secular power—all this must have greatly interested its readers. The mythical details of this tale undoubtedly influenced the Galician epos (about Djuk Stepanovyč and Čurylo—see Ch. IV, pt. F). It is even possible that it influenced the *Galician Chronicle*. A large part of it was also utilized in one adapted version (northeastern) of the *Alexandreis*.

9. As has been demonstrated above, the translated tales available in Kievan Rus' were quite diverse in nature. There were heroic adventure novels akin to the epos, novels similar to Lives, "ideological" stories and military tales. These various tales provided good examples of techniques of composition, linguistic exuberance, the genre of the fable, and conciseness of expression. The influence of this type of translated literature was great both in Kiev and in Galicia. It is interesting to note that these narratives even had an impact on genres such as the chronicle.

## E. POETRY

1. East-Slavonic literature appears to have had absolutely no poetry. In view of the fact that poetry was a significant genre in Czech literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in Byzantine literature, this may seem odd. In fact, the Byzantine verse form with its definite number of syllables in a line, its caesura (not obligatory), and perhaps also its stress on the penultimate syllable did come to Kievan Rus'. These old verses were recopied even later, but the features of verse that they contained were no longer noticed. Contributing to this was the change occurring in the language: by the eleventh century the back and front jers were no longer voiced. Indications are that no original poetry was written in Kiev. The word "verse" was used to designate prose adaptations of hymns.

2. The number of verses preserved is quite small. Most of them are from the Kievan period, while the later Russian ones derive from this earlier tradition. With the exception of such things as the two panegyrics to the Bulgarian king

Samuel (one of them is contained in the *Collection* of 1073), one prayer, and an introduction to the Bible in verse form, these verses were mainly of the acrostic type, in which the first letter in each line consisted of the letters of the alphabet in order. Some of these verses have over 100 lines. Here is an example (if the front and back jers are voiced, the first is similar in sound to the letter “i” and the second to the letter “u”):\*

	Number of Syllables when the jers were Voiced	Number of Syllables when the jers were No Longer Voiced
Az' slovom' sim' moljusja Bogu:	12	9
Bože v'seja tvari i zižditelju	12	11
Vidimym" i nevidimym"	12	10
Gospoda Duxa pos"li živuščago,	12	11
Da v"d"xnet" v" s"rd'ce mi slovo,	12	8
Eže budet" na uspěx" v'sěm",	12	8
Živuščim" v" zapověd'x" ti. . .	12	9

(“I pray with this word to God: Lord and Architect of all Creation, visible and invisible, send your living Holy Spirit to me so that He may inspire me with the word as it will be of benefit to all who live according to your commandments . . .”)

## F. THE SOURCES OF TRANSLATED AND BORROWED LITERATURE

1. While they accepted Christianity from Byzantium, the Eastern Slavs could not import a ready-made literature from this same source. Circumstances necessitated the formation of close ties with Bulgaria, the country from which both the alphabet and the ready-made translations of liturgical books, various other monuments, and some original literature came. Ties with Bulgaria had existed even before the Christianization of the Eastern Slavs. In the first fifty years of its existence, the links of the Church of Kievan Rus' were with Bulgaria, not Byzantium: it is logical to assume that the first Kievan Church hierarchy came from the same place as the East Slavic literary language and literature.

\*The so-called nasal vowels are replaced by “u,” “ju,” and “ja.”

2. The main translations of liturgical books were undoubtedly made already in the time of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia. From Moravia they were transmitted to Bulgaria and perhaps from Bulgaria to Kievan Rus'. The language of the East-Slavic liturgical books does not reveal any evidence of their Moravian origin: Church Slavonic arose under the influence of Macedonian as a literary language for various Slavic peoples. Works of the "Golden Age of Bulgarian literature," the epoch of Tsar Simeon (ninth and tenth centuries), also came to Kiev: the *Hexaemeron of John the Exarch of Bulgaria*, Constantine the Presbyter's commentaries on the Gospel, translations of John Damascenus' "Theology" and others. Furthermore, Svjatoslav's *Collection* of 1073, the multi-volumed *Menaea for Daily Reading*, the works of John Chrysostomos and the *Chronicle of John Malalas* were also borrowed from Bulgaria. Earlier literary historians considered almost all of the translated literature of the Kievan period to have come from Bulgaria. However, it was later demonstrated that a part of this literature must have been translated in Kiev since some of these monuments contain elements peculiar to the East-Slavic language.

The Kievan Church appears to have been linked to the Patriarchate of Oxrida in the far western part of Bulgaria. Most of the works mentioned above originated or are believed to have originated in eastern Bulgaria. Probably of western Bulgarian origin are those monuments in which the older Glagolitic alphabet is used, as this alphabet was rarely employed in eastern Bulgaria. Traces of western Bulgarian linguistic elements are to be found in the Book of Psalms annotated by Athanasius (manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries).

3. An especially interesting group of monuments of Moravian and Czech origin are those that originated during the period when the divine service in these areas was performed in Church Slavonic. Since the churches of the western Slavs were closely connected with the Catholic Church, the liturgical books employed were frequently translations from Latin. The language of these monuments contains typically Czech words [*ponevaže*, *peča*, *izvoliti* (to select), etc.] and elements of Catholic terminology: *oplatok*" (oblation), *papěž*" (the Pope of Rome), *kostel*" (church) and *Sv. Marija* (Virgin Mary, used instead of Mother of God). Such monuments survived for many centuries. *The Discourses of Pope Gregory* or the *Patericon of Rome* even became the source of some of the additions to *Prologue*. Among the monuments of Moravian origin we have the Lives of various Western saints—Benedict, Vitus, John the Good, Apollinary of Ravenna, Stephen, Chrysogonus and some others—as well as those of Czech saints—Wenceslas and Ludmila (especially interesting is the long Life of Wenceslas, the so-called Gumbold Life, translated from Latin). Also derived from this period of Moravian Church history are the Gospel of Nicodemus and some

prayers that make mention of Western saints—Florius, Walpurgis, Vitus, Magnus, Canute, Votus, and others. Works of Moravian origin were quite popular in Kievan Rus' and had a great influence on its literature. Thus, the influence of the Life of Wenceslas can be seen in the Lives written by Nestor (see Ch. III, pt. D, no. 2-4), while the Gospel of Nicodemus had an especially broad impact.

4. It is interesting to note that definite traces of certain Bulgarian and Moravian monuments which have not been preserved are to be found in the literature of Kievan Rus'. Thus, the tale about Svjatoslav in the *Chronicle* describes circumstances in Bulgaria with a degree of familiarity that could not have existed in Kiev; it is possible that this tale incorporated elements of Bulgarian tales about internal politics. In some of its variants the tale of Volodymyr the Great's baptism and especially his test of various faiths contains anachronisms (Patriarch Photius, the "philosopher" and missionary, Cyril), which indicate that this tale is an adaptation of the Bulgarian tale about the baptism of the Bulgarian Tsar, Boris.

Similar elements of Moravian origin are also to be found. The most important of these are the tales in the *Chronicle* about the development of the Slavic alphabet and the translation of the Bible. There follows an account of the migration of the Slavs, which includes details that could only have been of interest to the western Slavs. All these parts of the *Chronicle* could be adaptations of Moravian historical oral tales. The *Chronicle* mentions the Avars (*Obrě*), who greatly oppressed the Slavic tribe of the Dulebians and later disappeared without a trace, giving rise to the adage "*pogiboša aki Obrě*." These Dulebians are perhaps the Czech "Dudlebians," for the eastern Slavs had hardly any contact with the Avars; as a result, both the tale and the adage are perhaps of Czecho-Moravian origin. And finally, the tale by the Greek chronicler about the death of Attila reveals its Western origin by the use of such words as *kostel'* and *volox*" (an Italian).

5. However, more interesting from our point of view are those works that were translated in Kievan Rus'. In addition to certain phonetic and morphological features, words not employed by other Slavs, such as the Slavic words: *posadnik* (alderman), *grivna* (a monetary unit), *kuna* (coin), *nasad* (ship), *kožux* (fur coat, sheepskin coat); or the borrowed words: *plug* (plough), *tiun* (bailiff), *šovk* (silk), *žemčug* (pearl), *uksus* (vinegar), *kad'* (pail), *obez'jana* (monkey), *lar'* (chest); or the proper names: *Surož*, *Sud* (the inlet near Constantinople), *obez* (Georgian), etc., indicate the eastern Slavic origin of these translations (it is possible to distinguish between Kievan and Novgorodian monuments). Let us limit ourselves to the monuments mentioned above. Those translated in Kiev include the annotated letters of the Apostle Paul, the Song of Songs, the Book of

Esther, *Prologue*; the Lives of Andrew the Simple, Stephen of Surož, Theodore of Studion; the miracles of Nicholas the Wonder-Worker, some of those of Demetrius of Salonica, Cosmas and Damian in Korsun, and George; the sermons of Theodore of Studion; the Epistle by Peter of Antioch; the tales of the transfer of the relics of Nicholas the Wonder-Worker in Bari, of the building of the Church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople and of the statue of Theodore of Studion; the Pandects of Nicon of Montenegro. Among the apocryphal works, the Life of Moses, various tales about Solomon, the Life of Macarius of Rome and the tale of Abgar were translated in Kiev, while the more secular works include the works of Cosmas Indicopleustes and Josephus Flavius, *Physiologus* (second version), *The Bee*, Menander's aphorisms, the *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos* (translated at least with the aid of a Kievan), the stories about Digenis and Akir. As we can see this is quite an imposing list. While it is possible that some of these monuments acquired East-Slavic or Ukrainian features only after their initial translation, there were certainly many other translated works that have been completely lost. In any case, translated works of the Kievan period were numerous and varied, while activity in the field of translation was broad in scope.

### III.

## THE PERIOD OF MONUMENTAL STYLE (The Eleventh Century)

#### A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Our primary aim here is to isolate the general literary characteristics of this period of Ukrainian literature. However, this task is not an easy one, since very little work has been done on the stylistic aspects of eleventh century Kievan literature: most of the scholars of this period were adherents of either the philological or the sociological approaches. The accomplishments of the philological school are in the area of the explication (to the extent possible) of the histories of individual works of this period, their dating, origin, authorship, and so on. Unfortunately, the material available does not always allow definite conclusions to be drawn: some of the monuments are extant only in much later copies, frequently dating from the fifteenth or even the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; as a result they differ substantially from one another. In some cases, all efforts to establish the date of a monument (e.g., "The Supplication of Daniel," which has been said to have originated either in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries or in the eleventh) or the place of its origin (e.g., the *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos*, the linguistic features of which make the place of its origin uncertain) have resulted in failure.

The authorship of works also frequently remains uncertain; for example, various doubts have been expressed about Nestor's participation in the writing of the *Chronicle* and Theodosius' authorship of many of the sermons attributed to him. On the other hand, scholars of the philological school were often successful in tracing the pre-history of extant monuments from later references to them even when there was no direct evidence of their prior existence, and in

discovering literary influences to which no direct references are made (e.g., the influence of Moravian literature, etc.). This kind of work is unusually interesting and valuable, representing one of the important contributions of the philological school. Approaches of the sociological or historical type are of less value in that they are concerned solely with unearthing the historical determinants of literary monuments. Studies employing such approaches frequently provide good commentaries on isolated parts of literary works and occasionally also explain their ideological content. Studies devoted to the purely literary aspects of works, even such stylistically interesting ones as the *Chronicle*, are few.

In the opinion of this writer, a distinct stylistic change occurred at the beginning of the twelfth century, a change which can be observed by comparing the older version of the *Chronicle—Nestor's Chronicle* (including events up to 1113)—with the *Kievan Chronicle* (broader accounts beginning in the 1120s and 1130s) and the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. A similar difference exists between the sermons of the eleventh (Theodosius) and twelfth centuries, and the Lives of the eleventh century and the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery* of the thirteenth. Works in other literary genres also exhibit this same kind of contrast: the style of Volodymyr Monomax's "*Poučenie*" ("Instruction") contains features common to the eleventh century, while that of Daniel's "Supplication" belongs to the later period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Typical of the style of the later period is *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, which is linked stylistically with the sermons of Cyril of Turiv or the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. However, it must be noted that certain works of the eleventh century, such as Hilarion's "*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*" ("Sermon on Law and Grace") and especially the "Tale" ("*Skazanie*") of Borys and Hlib, also contain stylistic elements that are somewhat similar to those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In view of the fact that so few monuments from the eleventh century have been preserved, such exceptions are highly significant.

2. In general, the works of the eleventh century are characterized by a certain *monumentality* in style: that is, these works tend to employ a limited number of stylistic elements and stylistic embellishments, while focusing primarily on content. The dominant concern of the authors of this period appears to have been the businesslike exposition of their message. As a result, the structure of their works is relatively straightforward. Characteristically, thoughts are expressed in aphoristic form, usually toward the end of the work, but occasionally also in various places in the main body. The entire work or, minimally, each of its individual parts, is devoted to one thought and rarely deviates from it: the exposition is "mono-thematic"—it contains but one thought.

3. On the stylistic level, this monumentality in theme frequently gives rise

to obscurity in narrative structure and simplicity of syntax. When the author is faced with a large amount of factual material (as in Nestor's *Life of Theodosius*) or must express a variety of thoughts (Volodymyr Monomax's "Instruction"), he is not particularly concerned with putting these individual elements into a logical order, for he views them all as an organic whole, as being dominated by one or several main ideas: as a result, the narrative proceeds in simple chronological order (typical deviations from this ordering of events are introduced by a phrase like "Let us return to what we were discussing earlier"). This simple and sometimes even unorganized structure is in harmony with the simplicity of the syntax of these works: they are frequently composed of short sentences that follow one another abruptly, sometimes partly repeating each other. Repetitions of the subject or complement in successive clauses is frequent ("Go to the town and tomorrow I will leave the town and set off for my own town") as is the repetition of the name of a character (in the *Chronicle* under the year 1096 or in the *Life of Theodosius*).

4. Among the characteristic features of the style of this period belongs the use of set phrases, frequently repeated in one work, in one section of a work or in several of its parts. These set phrases were derived either from the Bible or from among those commonly employed in those times. Furthermore, repetition was a common device and was consciously used. Authors frequently included exact quotations both from their own works and from the works of other authors.

5. Stylistic ornaments are few. The most common device is parallelism of the syntactical structure of neighboring sentences or of the thoughts expressed in them, this being further strengthened by the repetition of individual words and names (see above). Another important device of the monuments of this period is alliteration, which also often serves to underscore the frequently encountered parallelisms. Similes and metaphors are not numerous but are clear and apt [arrows fall "like rain," enemy troops are "like forests" ("*aki borove*"), the hermit monk is a hero ("*bogatir*") and a warrior ("*xrabr*"), etc.]. However, the later symbolic aspect of similes and metaphors is still absent. A partial exception to this rule is Hilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace," modelled on Byzantine works. Epithets are also infrequent; with the exception of by-names ["*Svjatopolk-Okajannyj*" ("*Svjatopolk the Accursed*"), "*Bonjak Šoludyyvj*" ("*Bonjak the Mangy*"),], no group of preferred epithets was developed. In general, the embellishments do not expand into involved ornamentation, which would obscure the simple construction of sentences and the clear movement of thought or the apparent lack of it (the abrupt movement of the narrative referred to above), as the case may be.

6. It is also possible to indicate some of the main ideological features of this initial literary period. However, be it for the eleventh or the twentieth centuries, the formulation of a complete general characterization of an entire literary epoch is not an easy task. Nonetheless, two such general features are clearly visible: first, the ideology of statehood—the idea of the dynastic and tribal unity of Rus’—is present in spite of the fact that in reality such unity could hardly be said to have existed (dynastic differences are toned down in the *Chronicle*, while the independence of Novgorod, Polock, and Tmutorokan’, and the conflicts between Černihiv and Kiev are presented as exceptions to the general rule); secondly, Christian optimism, a joy that Rus’ was chosen by God to become part of Christianity in “the eleventh hour,” just before the end of the world. This baptism into the true faith is viewed as a pledge of salvation; the posture towards God is one of boundless gratitude and love; ascetic motifs are rare.

In comparison with these dominant ideological constants, all other ideological tendencies appear considerably weaker. There is, for example, a marked difference in various evaluations of the significance of the Greeks for Kievan Rus’: the stance taken toward Greek culture is occasionally panegyric but most often skeptical, negative, and even derisive (because the Greeks were believed to be deceivers—*l’stivi*). Alongside the feeling of unity we encounter traces of psychological (not solely political) frictions between the Poljanians and Derevljanians, between the Kievans and the Novgorodians, and so on; one need only mention the remnants of old prayers in which some sort of tension between the Varangians and the Slavs is evident. In this period, no meaningful distinction between religious and secular literature can be made. Those few monuments or parts of monuments that could perhaps be called secular (parts of the *Chronicle*, Volodymyr Monomax’s “Instruction”) were subjected to some kind of church “censorship” during this period and an even harsher one in later centuries; as a result, any ideological differences that may have existed between the religious and secular works were removed. All the monuments of this period express the same official religious ideology. The antagonism between Christianity and paganism is even less evident; when pagans are referred to, they are placed outside of the Christian milieu, which is regarded as the only possible one. The ideological unity manifest in the monuments of this period stems from the overwhelmingly religious character of their authors and copiers, who were either clerics or monks.

## B. SERMONS

1. In comparison to the number of translated sermons known in the early Kievan period, original sermons form but a modest addendum to the treasury of Byzantine homiletics. Furthermore, since a large proportion of the original sermons do not bear a precise date, they can be identified as originating in the early Kievan period only from various elements of their language and content. With the exception of Theodosius and Hilarion, very little is known about the authors of sermons. This anonymity is further complicated by the fact that these old sermons were later attributed to saints, Fathers of the Church, and so on. Unfortunately, literary scholars have not devoted sufficient attention to the style of these old anonymous monuments.

2. Fifteen works are ascribed to St. Theodosius (d. 1074); among them are prayers, ten sermons, epistles to Prince Izjaslav and several fragments of "instructions," which Nestor included in his Life of Theodosius. Indications are that the epistles to Izjaslav were not written by Theodosius, since they are replies to questions of a canonical character probably addressed to some scholar. Their anti-Catholic orientation suggests that they were written by "Theodosius (Fedos) the Greek" to another Prince Izjaslav a hundred years later. Theodosius' epistles to Prince Svjatoslav have not been preserved; we only know that he addressed the Prince in a very abrupt tone, comparing him with Cain. Nestor makes reference to the numerous sermons that Theodosius delivered, both to the people and to his fellow monks; unfortunately, none of those addressed to a general audience are extant. The interesting "Sermon about God's Punishments" included in the *Chronicle* was not written by Theodosius. Of the sermons directed at monks, five can be attributed with certainty to Theodosius.

Theodosius' sermons have a moral character. They are devoted in large part to reminding the monks of their duties, beginning with such things as going to church and maintaining a dignified posture during divine service, and ending with the inner requirements of goodness, hard work, humility, and patience. Those dealing with external duties are always short, frequently containing some biblical quotations and occasionally even overflowing with them. The language is simple. Typical Church Slavonic words are few: *dobročinstvo* (orderly behavior), *blagonravije* (good conduct), *dobrolipnij* (comely), etc., but one also encounters elements of the vernacular: *svita* (cloak worn by Ukrainian peasants), *postux* (obedience), *trivanie* (continuity), etc. However, it would be wrong to assume that Theodosius' sermons are devoid of purely literary qualities or values. On the contrary, Theodosius aptly describes such inner experiences as agitation, irritation, and elation: "the heart burns"; "the soul melts" ("*istaevaet*'"); "to shake

off sadness"; "with tears in my eyes I speak these bitter words"; he speaks of the "glow" in the soul, the "death of sin." Frequently he clothes his thoughts in the form of simple comparisons. Such is the biblical comparison from the parable of the wise and foolish maidens where the girls' "lamps" are their souls and the oil needed by the foolish maidens is their "offering to the poor." Theodosius also refers to the biblical tale about the vineyard and describes monks as having been led out of "the Egypt of this world" into the "waterless desert." Other apt metaphors include the following: a censer is the Holy Ghost, martyrs "shine like stars," a "wreath" is the reward for suffering, monks are God's slaves and must stand in church "with their hands tied." While all of these images are traditional, there are also some that are both extended and striking: thus Theodosius calls himself merely an instrument of God "for a quill will not write alone if there is no one who wishes to write with it and an axe will not become renowned without the person who chops with it"; he describes the stance that should be taken toward work: "If someone works in his field or vineyards, then—when he sees its fruits—he forgets about his [previous] toil in his joy and prays to God that he may succeed in gathering the fruit." Antithesis is also employed: "If we are not given clothes or a coat or something else indispensable we grieve about it deeply, but when we waste time, we do not think about it and do not grieve about it." Theodosius compares the key that the doorkeeper at a monastery holds to the fire from the altar (compare the tale about the key as a juridical symbol—see Ch. I, pt. C, no. 3); very interesting is the following extended military metaphor: a gong summons the monks to work; "when the marching draws near and the trumpet blows, no one can sleep: but is it good for a soldier of Christ to be lazy? Even soldiers for a small and transitory fame forget their wives, children and property . . . and even place little value on their own heads in order to avoid shame. But as they themselves are mortal so does their fame end with their lives. But with us it is not so. If we succeed in our struggle with our enemies, then as victors we will be granted infinite fame and will be worthy of indescribable honor. . . ." However, Theodosius' artistic accomplishments are not limited to the field of oblique language; he is also adept at expressing his main ideas: "We must feed the poor and the wanderers by our labor and not remain idle, moving from one cell to another"; or, speaking of confession: "Let us reveal our sins here before one person [a priest] so that they will not be uncovered there [at the final judgment] before the entire world." (This is a good example of antithesis.) In addition, Theodosius draws on the resources of translated homiletic literature—the sermons of John Chrysostomos, Theodore of Studion, Basil the Great and the rules of monastic discipline.

While his sermons are basically quite simple, their simplicity does not

detract from their exemplary homiletic style nor their emotional and intellectual appeal.

3. Alongside Theodosius' simple sermons, there are the sermons in high style by Hilarion, who was Metropolitan during the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (beginning in 1051) and the first non-Greek to hold this position. By 1054, the year of the death of Jaroslav, he no longer held this position; it is not known whether he died in this year or merely resigned (some scholars argue that he retreated to the Kievan Caves Monastery). Careful studies have revealed that the "Sermon on Law and Grace" is in fact a *collection of works* written by Hilarion between the years 1037 and 1051. Two of the works of this collection are of a very elevated character: first, the sermon contrasting the religion of the Old Testament, which is based upon submission to the "law," to that of the New Testament, which urges submission to the "grace" of God; and, secondly, the panegyric sermon devoted to Prince Volodymyr, the Christianizer of Kievan Rus'. Also included in this collection were Hilarion's "Confession of Faith," a small number of quotations from the Bible, a prayer, and a short autobiography. The very fact of the existence of such a collection of works provides an interesting testimonial about the literary life of Kievan Rus'. Both of the main works reveal Hilarion's learnedness and eloquence.

Three other sermons not included in this collection are also ascribed to Hilarion; however, his authorship of these sermons has not been established with certainty. The theory that Hilarion later became a monk in the Kievan Caves Monastery under the name of Nikon and participated in the reworking of the *Chronicle* (in 1073) remains highly questionable.

4. Much more extensive than Theodosius' sermons, Hilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" is rhetorical but is based on the dogmatic contrast between the Old and New Testaments—the "submission to law" in pre-Christian times and the liberation through "grace" offered by Christ. This sermon is not totally original, as historical contrasts of this type are to be found in the sermons by the Church Fathers. On the other hand, neither is it merely an imitation of some specific work of Greek literature (there is some similarity with Ephrem Syrus' sermon on the Feast of the Transfiguration). Hilarion also draws on the Bible, various apocrypha and the *Hexaemeron*. Characteristic of this sermon are its clear structural pattern, a good evolution of thought and an extremely sophisticated use of the devices of Byzantine rhetoric.

After a short panegyric introduction—an expression of gratitude to God for the Christianization of Rus'—Hilarion begins his comparison of the condition of mankind before and after the coming of Christianity. Christianity is portrayed as entailing a complete reversal of the historical direction of mankind. Such a

comparison is both natural and apt. Detracting from this is the fact that Hilarion chooses to contrast Christianity not with Slavic paganism but with the religion of the Old Testament. Nonetheless, the contrast between the Old and New Testaments is striking and well developed. The contrast or antithesis is first briefly stated and then evolved through the use of metaphor: the Old Testament is a moon, a shadow, the coldness of night, while the New Testament is a sun, light, the warmth of the sun. Toward the end of the first part, this antithesis is stated in terms of the previous paganism and the present Christianity of Kieven Rus': hopelessness versus hope for eternal life, blindness and deafness versus the "opening of eyes and ears," the stammering of paganism versus the "clear language" of Christians, and so on: "Once we were wanderers, once we were God's enemies and now we can be called God's people, and now we can be called the children of God." The metaphors in this sermon already have the symbolic meaning characteristic of the sermons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Hilarion develops his antithesis on the Old Testament models, in essence contrasting the "enslavement" of people under the law of the Old Testament with the "brotherhood" of man under the rule of "grace." In light of the fact that slavery was at that time a fact of life and a real threat to human life, this contrast must have been very striking indeed. Emerging from this antithesis is a good exposition of Christology as the union in Christ of two contrasting "natures"—divine and human. In seventeen antitheses Hilarion formulates a complete picture of the dogmatic teachings of the Church about Christ's two natures:

like a man He was swaddled,  
     as God, He led the Magi with a star,  
 like a man He lay in a crib,  
     as God, He received adoration and gifts from the  
     Magi,  
 like a man, He fled to Egypt,  
     and as to God, the man-made Egyptian [idols]  
     bowed down before You,  
 .....

like a man, You tasted vinegar  
 and gave up Your soul,  
     as God, You have held back the sun and shaken  
     the earth,  
 like a man, You were placed  
 in a grave,  
     and as God, You destroyed Hell and freed the spirit. . . .

A number of quotations from the Bible precede the panegyric to Prince Volodymyr. Each country glorifies its Apostle: Rome, Peter and Paul; Asia, John the Theologian; India, Thomas; Egypt, Mark; "All countries, cities, and peoples honor and praise their own teacher and Christianizer. To the extent that it is within our power, let us also praise with our feeble praises him who created the great and miraculous, our teacher and guardian, the great prince of our land, Volodymyr, grandson of Ihor, son of the celebrated Svjatoslav." After a delineation of Volodymyr's political significance as the "sole ruler" of the land of Rus', Hilarion moves on to describe Volodymyr's baptism and "how he lived, ruling his land justly, courageously and wisely thus becoming worthy of divine visitation." His conversion is ascribed not to the influence of the Greek sermon but to divine vocation: "God's all-merciful eye gazed upon him and implanted in his heart an understanding of the vanity of the pagan deception and a desire to discover the only true God. . . ." Only then does he turn to "Greece, the land of true faith" in order to be baptized: "Together with his clothing, the Prince cast off his old self, cast off all that was perishable, shook off the dust of disbelief and, having entered the holy water, he was reborn of the Spirit and the water, baptized in the name of Christ [and] clothed by Him. . . ."

Hilarion describes the land in the joy and light of the Christian faith and concludes with the following:

Christ has triumphed,  
 Christ has conquered,  
 Christ has ascended the throne  
 Christ has become celebrated. . . .

He then proceeds to praise Prince Volodymyr as a Christian, depicting his virtuous conduct in the last years of his life and the later development of Christianity in the land of Rus'. This panegyric culminates in an emotional apostrophe to Volodymyr: "Arise from your grave, venerated Prince, and shake off your sleep; for you are not dead but only sleep until the day of universal resurrection. Arise! You are not dead for it is not right that death should be the lot of one who believed in Christ, the Sustainer of the whole world. . . ." Hilarion continues in this same declamatory style:

Behold your son George\*  
 .....  
 Behold the pious wife of your son, Irene . . .

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\*George is the Christian name of Prince Jaroslav.

Behold your grandchildren and great grandchildren,  
 How they live,  
 How they are cared for by God,  
 How they preserve devotion according to your testament,  
 How frequently they go to church,  
 How they glorify Christ,  
 How they worship His name.

Behold the city radiant in its eternity,  
 Behold the flourishing churches,  
 Behold Christianity growing,  
 Behold the city, illuminated with holy icons  
 Fragrant with incense,  
 Ringing with praises and divine songs.

The sermon ends with a number of antitheses that again return to the general theme of the work—the contrast between the pre-Christian and Christian epochs in Kievan Rus’:

Rejoice, Prince-Apostle,  
 who resurrected us, whose souls were dead,  
 from the malady of idolatry  
     for thanks to you we  
     were revived and came to know the life of Christ,  
 hunched over as a result of the Devil’s  
 temptation,  
     thanks to you we have straightened our backs and  
     have moved onto the path of life  
 our eyes, being pitifully blind  
 as a result of the Devil’s temptation, we were blinded  
 by ignorance,  
     thanks to you we saw  
     the light of the triple-sunned Godhead,  
 being mute,  
     thanks to you we began to speak and today,  
     both young and old, we glorify the one and only Trinity!

The sermon-panegyric concludes with a prayer in elevated style.

5. In the above discussion of the content of Hilarion’s works, the main structural and stylistic devices were also noted: antithesis, repetition, apostrophe

(the author even addresses the city of Kiev) and especially the use of rhythmical prose, notably in the panegyric part, the rhythmic quality being underscored by parallelism. Parallelism is frequently amplified by rhyme: “*jasno i veleglasno*” (“clearly and loudly”); “*Izyde jakože i vnide*” (“He came out as he had entered”); “*Vsi v molit’vax” priležat’, vsi gotovi predstojat’*” (“All are praying zealously, all are ready to stand by”); “*Vižd’ cerkvi cvětušči, vižd’ xristianstvo rastuščē*” (“Behold the flourishing churches, behold Christianity growing”); “*Da sobljudet’ . . . Bog” ot” vsjakoa rati i plěnenia, ot” glada i vsjakoa skorbi i s”tuždenija*” (“May God protect . . . from all war and from captivity, from hunger and from all kinds of sorrow and from oppression”); “*Vižd’ grad” ikonami svjatix” osvěščaem” . . . i xvalami i božestvennymi pěsnmi oglašāem”*” (“Behold the city, illuminated with holy icons . . . and ringing with praises and divine songs”). Occasionally the rhythm stems from the structure of the sentences:

*ratnyja progoni,  
mir utverdi,  
strany ukroti,  
glad ugobzi,  
boljary umudri,  
grady razseli,  
cerkov’ tvoju v”zrasti,  
dostojanie tvoe sobljudi,  
muži i žen y mladency spasi . . .*

(“beat off [the enemy] troops, strengthen peace, pacify [the neighboring] countries, satisfy hunger, make the boyars wise, found cities, make your Church grow, protect your inheritance, save the men and the women and the children. . .”)

Another example of this type of rhythm is provided in the following passage:

*nagyja oděvaja,  
žadnyja i alčnyja nasyščaja,  
boljaščim” utešenje posytaa,  
dolžnyja iskupaa,  
robotnaa svoboždaa . . .*

(“clothing those who are naked, satisfying those who are thirsty or hungry, consoling those who are ill, redeeming those in debt, freeing slaves. . . .”)

The main purpose of the panegyric is to praise the newly Christianized land of Kievan Rus' by means of praising her famous princes: since the deeds of Jaroslav's father are eulogized, Jaroslav himself also shares in the eulogy. The success of Hilarion's sermon-panegyric is assured both by its outstanding literary merits, which are not destroyed by the occasionally complex language employed [many compound words: *blagopriziranie* (salutary concern), *ravnoumnyj* (equally wise), *ravnokristoljubec'* (equally Christ-loving), *mnogoplodne* (rich in yield), etc.] and by its content. Hilarion's sermon-panegyric influenced many later works—not only Ukrainian ones (Clement Smoljatyč; the panegyric to Volodymyr Vasyľkovyč in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is modelled on Hilarion's panegyric; in his verses on the subject of Sahajdačnyj's burial in 1621, Kasijan Sakovyč includes a reworked version of the beginning of Hilarion's panegyric, drawing on both Hilarion's work and *Perestoroħa* (*A Warning*, published in 1605) but also Muscovite and Novgorodian ones (Lives of Prince Dmitri Ivanovič of Moscow, Saint Leontius of Rostov, Constantine of Murom, Prokopius of Ustjug, Nyfont of Novgorod, Stephen of Perm', etc.) as well as works of Serbian literature (Lives of Simeon and Sava, written by the hieromonach Domentian).

6. As was mentioned above, several other works are also attributed to Hilarion. Of these, “In the Beginning Was the Word,” a short “instruction” containing features of the sermon, the prayer and the panegyric, is most likely to have actually been written by Hilarion; to the main text of this “instruction,” the author adds a commentary-panegyric and a prayer, the final part of which provides an effective conclusion to the work. While the seriousness of the content of another sermon, “On Spiritual Value,” suggests that it may have been written by Hilarion, the features characteristic of his style are lacking. And finally, it is also possible that the “Sermon to Those Who Have Abandoned This World” (also known as “Sermon to a Stylite”), where the author requires a more severe life from monks, is from Hilarion's pen; manuscripts originating in the southern parts of East Slavic territory do, in fact, attribute it to him. From the formal point of view, it is much simpler than the “Sermon on Law and Grace”; however, it is written in a good rhetorical style, with addresses to the reader, exclamations, antitheses and striking metaphors. Note the following comparison of the hermit's life amidst nature to the life of birds who offer praise to God in their songs:

In their ears there was no noise of the town,  
 no shouting of people,  
 the odious songs of a whore did not reach their ears,  
 they did not see how countries waged war against one  
 another,  
 . . . in their eyes there was only the swaying of trees,  
 [in their ears] the rustling of branches,  
 the songs of birds each singing their own song.  
 That is why they did not know grief  
 for they cast off grief when they abandoned the world. . . .

It is interesting to note that the author speaks ironically of orators who clothe their wise thoughts in very artificial language, for this is analogous to a doctor treating a wound “without removing the clothing which is covering it.” An excerpt from this sermon (or letter?) is utilized in a later sermon ascribed on good evidence to Clement Smoljatyč (see Ch. IV, pt. B). Some scholars consider it improbable that such harsh attacks could have been directed at monastic life at a time when only those who felt a definite calling for the ascetic life entered monasteries. However, there are two factors that may account for this: first, the sermons written in Kievan Rus’ followed in the already established tradition which included such criticism of the monastic way of life and, secondly, any kind of asceticism demands an exaggerated severity, making great moral flaws out of small ones or perceiving them where they do not exist at all. In any case, whoever the author may be, this sermon remains an interesting monument of Kievan literature.

7. A certain number of other sermons can also be ascribed to the eleventh century. Among them must be included the original form of the “Sermon of One Who Loves Christ” in which the author attacks the pagan faith and customs of his contemporaries. References to the gods “Perun, Xors, Syma-Rehl, Mokoš” and to customs associated with the cult of “Rod, Rožanyci” are linked with quotations from the Bible. This sermon was greatly altered in later times. In addition to the “Sermon of One Who Loves Christ” other sermons with the name “One Who Loves Christ” are also extant. Such are the “Sermon About Innocence” and the sermon about the necessity to submit to one’s spiritual father, where we also encounter many references to old customs: “*rožaničnu trapezu*” (“harvest feast”), “*molenie korovajnoe*” (perhaps a reference to the *korovaj*—wedding bread included in the wedding ceremony), “*želenija i karanija*” (“grief for the passing of the dead person”). It is possible that “One Who Loves Christ” (*xristoljubec*) meant a lay Christian.

Undoubtedly very ancient are the two homilies by Gregory (referred to in manuscripts as “the Theologian” but in reality Bishop of Bilhorod) directed against drunkenness. They combine relatively graphic descriptions of drunkenness with exhortations towards a Christian life: “Let us nourish ourselves on holy books, [let us quench our thirst] with the teachings and tales of the holy fathers and not with drink. This is considered holy by God! This makes the saints rejoice! This is salvation for the soul! This brings health to the body! This represents [the acceptance of] the ever-present watch of the guardian angel! This is the rejection of demons!” There are yet two more “instructions” for monks, which may have also been written by Gregory. Other extant “instructions,” whose content and language are also ancient, are directed against social oppression and slavery which occasionally even prompted people to take their own lives by “throwing themselves into water and destroying themselves with their own hands,” against interest payments (on land) which “devour the poor like a dragon,” against the hypocrisy of the rich who fast when it is required but continue to “consume the flesh of their brothers,” and against the princes who appear not to know what their administrators are doing. These attacks are perhaps linked with the social reforms brought in by Volodymyr Monomax toward the end of the eleventh century.

The description of the life of the rich in one sermon\* is reminiscent of some of those in the later epistles written by Ivan Vyšens’kyj. The rich man

lived in luxury on this earth,  
 was clothed in purple and silk,  
 his horses are well-fed pacers,  
 are proud of their golden attire,  
 his saddles are gilded,  
 walking in front of him are numerous slaves  
 clad in silk and golden necklaces,  
 while those behind him [wear] beads and bracelets,  
 .....  
 at dinner there are many servants,  
 the plates are chased in gold and silver,  
 the dishes [served] are many and varied,  
 grouses, geese, cranes, hazel-hens, pigeons,  
 chickens, rabbits, wild-boars, game animals and birds,

(There follow the names of some dishes still unexplained:  
 “šam”ri, tr”tove, pečeni, kr”panija, šem”lizi.”)

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\*This sermon is an adaptation of two Greek sermons attributed to John Chrysostomos.

.....  
 the cups are of silver and large,  
 the tankards and bowls are gilded,  
 there is much to drink—mead, kvas, wine,  
 pure mead and mead with pepper,  
 revelry continues throughout the night with  
 psalteries and pipes.

As some sermons refer to contemporary events, the approximate date of their writing can be established. When mention is made of the transfer of the relics of Saint Nicholas or the “newly Christianized” land of Rus’ as in the rhythmically structured sermon in honor of the Mother of God, then such a work can be ascribed to the eleventh century with a high degree of certainty.

Thus, the sermons dating from the eleventh century are varied both in content and form. Alongside the relatively simple ones dedicated to Lent, we encounter panegyrics that celebrate some deed or person (the resplendent sermon by St. Theodosius which was later included in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*—see Ch. IV, pt. D).

Eleventh century homiletics still offer ample scope for research both in the areas of the collection of materials and their elucidation. Studies of their stylistic aspects are all but absent.

### C. THE TALE

1. While the genre of the secular narrative either did not evolve in the old Kievan period or else all individual examples of it were lost, tales which are basically religious in character have been preserved in the *Chronicle* and occasionally also in separate copies.\* Tales of this type oscillate between the official, rhetorical style on the one hand, and a refined narrative style on the other. Characteristically, a religious tale contains a clearly stated “moral.” The *Chronicle* tales are not arranged within the chronological order of the *Chronicle* but are merely entered haphazardly under a particular year; however, each tale is complete in itself, with its own unique beginning and end, and occasionally even its own unique moral. The narrative about Borys and Hlib and a number of other shorter tales about miracles, relics (the discovery of the relics of St. Theodosius, the transference of the relics of Borys and Hlib), the building and consecration

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\*It is likely that some of the *Chronicle* tales existed as individual works but it is difficult to establish this with certainty. The “Tale about the Blinding of Vasyl’ko” is the only one which is clearly an independent work, as the author speaks from his own person.

of churches (Desjatylna Church in 996, St. George's Church, and the Cathedral of St. Sophia) and the foundation of the Kievan Caves Monastery also belong to this category. Some of these tales were included in the *Chronicle* as well as in various other works (*Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Prologue*).

2. There are two accounts about the murder of Borys and Hlib—the narrative in the *Chronicle* and the so-called “*Skazanie*” (“Tale” or “Legend”) both of which are not hagiographic works; as a result, Nestor considered it necessary to rework them in hagiographic style (see Ch. III, pt. D). It is difficult to identify the beginning of the narrative about Borys and Hlib included in the *Chronicle*. In any case, the events after the death of Volodymyr (1015) are narrated in the same unique style. The “Tale” is broader and more polished in form than this shorter narrative. Both stories either had a common source or the author of the “Tale” broadened and revised the shorter narrative from the *Chronicle* (that some monk called Jacob was the author of the “Tale” has not been conclusively demonstrated). Neither of these works depict the early life of Borys and Hlib and, therefore, do not follow the traditional hagiographic format. After a short account of the death of Volodymyr, the murder of Borys, on the orders of his brother, Svatopolk, and then that of Hlib, are described. Both works conclude with panegyrics to the two saints.

The “Tale” begins with a quotation from the Bible—“Blessed are the families of the righteous”—which indicates that the celebration of the two saints is meant to be extended to include the entire princely family. There follows an account of the death of Volodymyr. Then Borys is assigned a stylized lament close in spirit to its oral counterpart:

Woe is me, the light of my eyes,  
 the radiance and star of my face,  
 the support of my youth,  
 the enlightenment of my ignorance!  
 Woe is me, my father and lord!  
 To whom can I turn?  
 to whom shall I look?  
 Where can I delight in such good education  
 and instruction as derives from your wisdom?  
 Woe is me; woe is me!

Already aware of the threat to him from Svatopolk, Borys consoles himself with texts from the Bible urging submissiveness and love and reflects on the transitoriness of all things of this earth:

everything ceases to exist even more rapidly  
than a spider's web . . .  
What did my father's brothers and my father gain?  
Where is their earthly life and fame,  
and their purples and silks,  
silver and gold,  
wine and mead,  
tasty dishes and swift horses,  
and the beautiful and great buildings,  
and numerous estates  
and the countless tributes and honors,  
and their pride in their boyars?  
For them it is as if none of this ever existed,  
all of it died with them. . . .

Reflecting upon his fate, Borys wavers between self-pity—regrets about dying at such an early age—and pious thoughts about becoming “a martyr for the Lord.” The scene shifts to Svjatopolk, who sends emissaries bearing greetings as well as assassins, to Borys. The scene changes again: Borys has halted at the river Alta; his retainers have abandoned him, having discovered that he refuses to do battle with Svjatopolk. The murderers, who have surrounded his tent, hear Borys reading morning-service. From the Psalms normally read at this service, the author of the “Tale” has selected those parts which are most appropriate to the situation: “O Lord! How numerous are my enemies! How numerous are those who are against me.” Borys hears footsteps (or whispering) outside of his tent; his priest and servant see the glitter of armor and hear the clatter of swords. The murderers break into the tent and fall upon Borys. Mortally wounded, Borys prays for the salvation of his own soul and those of his enemies, while the few retainers that had remained with him reflect upon these events in the form of stylized laments. A new scene then shows Svjatopolk thinking that he ought to eliminate all of his brothers, otherwise, having joined forces, they

. . . will chase me away,  
and I will be far away from the throne of  
my father,  
and longing for my native land will torment me,  
and shame will fall upon me,  
and another will take my principedom  
and my courts will be deserted. . . .

He sends for Hlib, who sets sail for Kiev from Smolensk along the Dnieper. During this journey he receives news of the death of Volodymyr and the murder of Borys from Jaroslav. Hlib "laments" the deaths of his father and brother (again the lament follows the style of the oral *plač*). When Hlib's boats meet those of Svjatopolk's emissaries, the assassins jump into Hlib's boat with swords in their hands and "the oars fell from everybody's hands and everyone grew numb with terror." Hlib, who is still almost a child, begins to implore the murderers to spare him:

Take pity on my youth, my brothers and lords!  
 You will be my masters and I your slave.  
 Do not cut down a life which has not yet  
     reached maturity!  
 Do not cut off an ear still unripe but full of  
     the milk of good will!  
 Do not cut off a branch which is still green but  
     already bears fruit!

His plea is of no avail, neither is his moving prayer for Svjatopolk and his kinsmen. The horror of the scene is further strengthened by the fact that Hlib is slain "like an innocent lamb" by his own cook, Torčyn. The description of Jaroslav's defeat of Svjatopolk, of the semi-insane flight of Svjatopolk "who was not pursued by anyone" and of his death in the wilderness between Poland and Bohemia are quite brief. The "Tale" ends with a lofty panegyric to the two saints.

The narrative included in the *Chronicle* is shorter. It begins with Borys being informed of the death of his father. Following the narration of the events of the murder of Borys and Hlib (the lyrical passages are much shorter and Svjatopolk's thoughts are not given), is an elevated panegyric. Svjatopolk's fate is recounted in greater detail but is much more tightly woven into the framework of the *Chronicle*.

From the literary point of view both works are remarkable: the lyrical monologues are rhythmical and frequently stylized in the form of laments; the materials included in the morning prayers read by Borys are appropriate to his situation; the folk lament is employed; quotations from the Bible are used repeatedly throughout the work; traditional motifs referring to the deceptiveness and transitoriness of the things of this earth, are used; and the experiences and thoughts of Borys, Hlib and Svjatopolk are presented in a way that makes them appear true to life. Each character has his own peculiarities: Hlib is youthful and loves his older brother; Svjatopolk is attached to the "goods of this earth," etc.

Furthermore, the characterization is not presented in block form when the character is first introduced, but is dispersed throughout the narrative. Also interesting is the use of alliteration, especially frequent in the first half of the *Chronicle* account. The author also drew on the translated literature available in his time; he even mentions some of these works, such as the Lives of Nicetas, Wenceslas of Bohemia, Demetrius of Salonica, and the legend of Julian the Apostate. However, no close parallel exists between the translated works referred to and these two tales: such parallels are to be found in the tradition of hagiography. The subsequent popularity of the "Tale"—perhaps the most widespread work of early Kievan literature—is fully justified. Later it was translated into Belorussian and Ukrainian (beginning with the *Menaea* of 1489).

3. Another interesting example of a religious tale is the story about the first monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery (known both as "The Tale of the Four Monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery" and as "The Tale of Isaac") inscribed in the *Chronicle* under the year 1074 and later included in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*. In spite of the overall unity of this tale, it was frequently divided into four separate tales about four different monks. The content of the work is not complex. The tale begins by informing the reader that Theodosius selected only the most exemplary monks for his monastery, those "who shine in the land of Rus' like lamps" and then moves on to depict them as one in spirit, each filled with love and ready to help his fellow monks. Finally it focuses on a few individuals: Damian, who cares for sick children and adults, praying for them and rubbing them with oil; Jeremiah, to whom "God gave the ability" to foresee the future and read the thoughts of others; Matthew, who had visions which revealed the souls of others to him. (He saw the Devil in the form of a Pole walking around the Church and throwing flowers at the monks during the performance of divine service. The flowers stuck to them and the Devil left the Church never to return again. In another instance he sees a group of demons who tell him that they have come for Michael Tol'bekovyč. It is later revealed that his Michael is a monk who had just fled from the Monastery.) Isaac is presented in greater detail and, as a result, this part of the tale forms its focal point. A rich merchant from Toropec, Isaac decided to enter a monastery, gave his properties to the poor and to monasteries and came to Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery, who gave him the name "Isaac" and "clothed him in a monk's garments." Then Isaac began a hard and severe life—he donned a hair shirt, put a uncured goat's skin which dried out on his body over it, locked himself in a small cell and devoted himself to saving his soul for seven years, eating only one piece of consecrated bread each day and drinking only a little water, both of which were brought to him by Antonius. One night a light

began to shine in his cell and two young men appeared to him, saying: "We are angels and Christ walks behind us. Bow down before Him." Isaac bowed down before the figure he believed to be Christ and thereby fell under the power of the demons, for everything which he had seen and heard was but a deception. Isaac's cell is then filled with demons, who amuse themselves at his expense by making him dance for them. The following morning Antonius does not receive a reply from Isaac and, having opened the door to the cell, he finds Isaac only barely alive. He lay almost motionless for three years, only gradually learning how to walk and eat. Now he no longer locked himself in his cell but walked about the Monastery grounds, worked as a cook and assumed a posture of naive simplicity,\* both in the Monastery and outside of it, being rewarded with harsh words and even beatings. The tale gives a brief account of several other of his trials: his endurance of the extreme cold of winter, his stamping out of a fire in his cell with his bare feet and his act of taking a crow in his bare hands. Then he again retreats to his cell and the demons again try to deceive him or "scare him out of his senses,"\*\* but this time they are not successful and are forced to admit: "You have defeated us, Isaac!" After a brief description of Isaac's death, the author ends his work with a eulogy of the monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery.

If we examine this tale closely we will see that it is not merely four separate stories. Rather, it forms an integral whole, united by several main ideas. The basic concern of the tale is with "the gifts of the Spirit," such as the ability to heal, to read the thoughts of others, to foresee the future and to perceive the nature of other people's souls, which are described in the stories of Damian, Jeremiah, and Matthew. The central story of Isaac deals with one of the most important gifts of the spirit—"the ability to distinguish between spirits," the ability to be able to recognize the true nature of the visions which appear to us. Old Patericons frequently mention this particular gift. Isaac obviously did not possess this ability initially as he failed to perceive the true identity of the figures which appeared before him. The Devil's ability to transform himself into "the angel of light" is mentioned in the Bible (Corinthians), and in the apocrypha (The Confession of Eve) as well as in "In Memory and Praise of Prince Volodymyr" (see Ch. III, pt. D, no. 6). This tale demonstrates that this gift cannot be acquired even by the severest asceticism. Furthermore, asceticism

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\*Assuming this kind of a posture is a special form of asceticism: willful eccentric behavior which results in scorn and disrespect; however, this kind of ascetic may have a great influence, as he can speak openly about things which sane people would not dare do and so on.

\*\*The aim of the devils is to destroy a person's mental balance, thereby making him unable to think pious thoughts.

does not play a major role in the lives of the other three monks (only a few words are said about Damian's asceticism). The gifts of the spirit cannot be acquired "by force": the severe ascetic, Isaac, was not mature enough in spirit to be given this gift. Later, he says to the demons: "You overcame me in the image of Christ when I was yet unworthy to discern your deception." This brings us to another main thread running throughout the tale—the polemics with extreme asceticism, opposed by Theodosius. This tale about Kiev's first monks was in the spiritual tradition of the Kievan Caves Monastery.

Written in very simple language, this didactic tale is not rhythmical and does not contain affected figures or even quotations from the Bible. However, individual motifs are frequently reminiscent of ancient Lives, either the shorter ones contained in Patericons or the longer separate ones, both of which were already known in Kiev.

4. Still simpler and more secular in character are the tales about the "sorcerers" and about Prince Vasyľko. The story of the sorcerers contains three separate stories with a common theme. Inscribed together in the *Chronicle* under the year 1071, these three stories are unrelated to the historical events of this particular year. The sorcerers who praise their own omniscience and make prophecies about the future, do not foresee their own fates. Little is said about the first sorcerer who appears in Kiev: he prophesies that in five years "the Dnieper will flow backwards and countries will change their positions" but one night he himself disappears.

The second episode—about the sorcerers in the northern lands of the Finns—is told in more detail. Indications are that this tale, as well as a great deal of other information, was given to the chronicler by the retainer, Jan Vyšatyč. In the Rostov region during a famine, two sorcerers told the people that many women were hiding food with the help of sorcery; cutting the flesh on the backs of these women, the magicians made it appear that they were extracting the bread or fish magically hidden there by the women; they then killed the "guilty" women and took their possessions for themselves. Jan, who was then in the process of collecting taxes, detained the sorcerers and turned them over to the murdered women's relatives, who then hanged them on an oak tree: "Thus, both of them died as a result of their devilish skills; able to predict the death of others, they did not foresee their own. . . ." There follows an interesting account of the pagan beliefs of the Finns (*čudi*). The entire series of tales is completed by a short story depicting a pagan uprising in Novgorod (perhaps in about 1070) led by a sorcerer; only the retinue remains loyal to Prince Hlib and the Bishop. Then the Prince, hiding an axe under his coat, approached the sorcerer and asked him if he could predict the future. "Of course," replied the sorcerer. "And what will

happen today?" asks the Prince. "I will perform great miracles," replies the sorcerer. Then the Prince struck the sorcerer with his axe and killed him. Seeing this the people dispersed. This tale is narrated in a very straightforward manner, embellished with only occasional references to the sorcerers mentioned in the Bible. In this tale, Jan's actual experiences and the account of the pagan faith of the Finns stands together with the migratory anecdote which is associated in this case with Prince Hlib and the Kievan sorcerer. Thus, what we have here is a small collection of varied material linked by its common theme.

5. "The Blinding of Vasyl'ko" (entered in the *Chronicle* under the year 1097), is also presented in a very simple manner. Narrated by an eyewitness, Basil (probably a priest\* in Prince Vasyl'ko's house), this tale acquires a high degree of plasticity as a result of the dramatic nature of the events themselves and the author's ability to handle more extensive materials. After a relatively short annalistic account of the Princely Diet of Ljubeč where all the princes swore not to take up arms against one another (by kissing the cross), the tale about Vasyl'ko opens with the following words: "And Svjatopolk [of Kiev] and David [of Volodymyr] came to Kiev and all the people rejoiced; only the Devil was troubled by this show of love." Attributed to the Devil, the feuds among the princes are described in the form of a striking antithesis. "And Satan entered into the hearts of some people and they began to speak to David, son of Ihor, in the following words. . . ." The thoughts which lead David and later, Svjatopolk, to decide that Vasyl'ko is a threat to them and must be deprived of his political power are presented in dialogue form. The description of how Svjatopolk persuades Vasyl'ko to come to his castle is also narrated by means of dialogue: Svjatopolk invites Vasyl'ko to visit him on his name day; having just arrived at the Vydubec'kyj Monastery, Vasyl'ko refuses and then Svjatopolk suggests that he come at a more convenient time: "If you do not wish to wait until my name day, then come today. You can greet me and you, I and David can have a chat." In spite of the fact that he is being watched, Vasyl'ko goes to visit his brother as he cannot believe that any harm will come to him: "It cannot be that they wish to seize me. For not so long ago we kissed the cross and swore that if any of us should attack another, then the cross should stand against that person." Some time after Vasyl'ko has arrived, Svjatopolk leaves the room and Vasyl'ko talks to David. But David "does not speak and does not listen for in his heart there is terror and betrayal." Finally, he too leaves. Vasyl'ko is put in irons. There is a brief description of Svjatopolk's consultation with the boyars, his vacillations and David's successful attempt to convince Svjatopolk of the necessity to blind

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\*Some scholars believe that the author was a retainer. However, there is no evidence to support such a conclusion.

Vasyl'ko. At night, Vasyl'ko is transported to Zvynohorodka. The horrible scene of the blinding of Vasyl'ko is described in great detail. Vasyl'ko sees them sharpening a knife and understands their intentions. Two men enter the room where he is being kept, spread a rug on the floor and try to force Vasyl'ko down onto it but are not successful because Vasyl'ko fights back; then several others enter, force him to the ground and press a board against his chest; however, even when two men sit on this board, they are unable to hold Vasyl'ko down and they place yet another board on him, which they take from the stove, pressing down on his chest with such force that his ribs begin to crack. Now one of Svjatopolk's shepherds approaches Vasyl'ko with a knife in his hand, but his first blow misses Vasyl'ko's eyes, cutting his face instead; "then he struck him in one eye and removed it, then in the other and removed it." Vasyl'ko lay "as if dead." "And they raised him, put him on the rug as if he were dead, and carried him off to Volodymyr . . . and having crossed the bridge at the town of Zdvyžen', they halted at a marketplace, removed his shirt and gave it to a priest's wife to wash; after she had washed the shirt, the priest's wife put it on him [Vasyl'ko] while the others were eating and began to cry for he was as if dead. And he heard her weeping and asked: 'Where am I?' and she replied: 'In the town of Zdvyžen,' and he asked for water and he took a drink and full consciousness returned to him and he remembered all that had happened and touched his shirt and said: 'Why did you take it off of me? I would prefer to meet my death and stand before God in this bloody shirt! . . .'" After a description of the rage of the other princes and the beginning of their campaign against Svjatopolk and David—all of which may have been added by the chronicler—the author's account of Vasyl'ko's further fate continues: "One night when I was here, in Volodymyr, Prince David sent for me. And I went to him and his retainers sat around him and he asked me to be seated and said to me: 'I heard that Vasyl'ko said [the following]: 'If David were to follow my advice, then I would send one of my men to [Prince] Volodymyr [Monomax] to urge him to return [that is, to stop his campaign against Svjatopolk and David].'" Therefore, I send you, Basil, to Vasyl'ko with this message: If you wish to send one of your men to make Volodymyr return, then I will give you any town you wish—Vsevolož or Šepol' or Peremyl.'" While nothing comes of his mission, the author gives an account of his conversation with Vasyl'ko; Vasyl'ko blames his misfortune on his pride, on his grandiose plans, directed not against other princes but against the Poles and the Polovci: "I will either bring glory to myself or I will give up my life for the land of Rus'." Indications are that the following part of the narrative, which describes the war between Volodymyr and David, the freeing of Vasyl'ko and the final defeat of Svjatopolk, who had enlisted the

help of the Hungarians, was penned by the chronicler and not by Basil, the author of the tale proper.

Extant only in the adapted version included in the *Chronicle*, this tale provides evidence of the high level of literary development attained in eleventh century Kievan Rus'. The quotations given above reveal a developed skill in handling dialogue and in depicting the psychological conditions of the characters—their thoughts, emotions, vacillations, and so on. The literary technique of the work testifies to the author's artistic maturity and indicates that he had the ability to write more significant works.

6. Stories about the miracles performed by saints, a type of tale that remained popular in Ukraine until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (later works of this type were written by such people as Petro Mohyla, I. Galjatos'kyj and St. Dmytro Tuptalo of Rostov), also belong to the category of "Tales." There is a collection of such tales about the miracles performed by Borys and Hlib. Frequently tacked onto the "Tale" ("Skazanie") about Borys and Hlib, these short pieces originated as independent descriptions of such things as miraculous cures or releases from prison and are linked with the historical accounts of the transfer of the relics of these saints to Kiev and the building of the church named for them.

A later collection is devoted to the miracles of St. Nicholas and includes some translations as well as four original stories, dating from the middle of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth centuries. The events described occur either in Constantinople (in two of the stories) or in Kiev (in the remaining two stories).

The works mentioned above do not exhaust the narrative literature of the eleventh century. Of historical importance, the so-called "Korsun' Legend" describes Volodymyr's baptism in Korsun' (facts indicate that Volodymyr was baptized either in Kiev or in Vasyl'kiv before his expedition). However, this tale is extant only in the *Chronicle* version, which has been modified to such an extent by the inclusion of material from some epic tale that it is difficult to identify its original form.

The isolation of separate works included in the *Chronicle* still remains a potentially fruitful area for further research.

7. As we have seen above, eleventh century Kievan literature provides interesting examples of various types of tales. In all cases, these tales are concerned with depicting what was believed to be historical fact. But they are not merely short, dry accounts. All of the authors reveal their concern for the literary aspects of their works, attempting to make their tales interesting and dramatic. The most outstanding of these tales is that of Borys and Hlib

(“*Skazanie*”) with its rhythmical prose and complex literary devices, borrowed in part from the Bible and other books used for Christian worship. However, other authors also demonstrated a high degree of talent, especially in the use of monologs to communicate their thoughts and messages. In most instances, the manner in which the events are presented is quite simple and, as a result, embellishments are few; the main emphasis is on the action. But they present their material in a considerable amount of detail, emphasizing certain important moments and increasing the emotional intensity of others by retardation, as in the tale about Vasy’ko (the scene describing the blinding!). All the tales extant from this period are didactic but this didacticism did not lead to a neglect of purely formal matters. The tales of the eleventh century are among the best works of Kievan literature.

#### D. HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

1. Hagiographic works are clearly distinct in character from religious tales—they were written only about *saints*, that is, about historical personages whose saintliness had already been demonstrated by some well-established facts. The Christianization of the land of Rus’ was believed to have occurred “in the eleventh hour.” The numerous hagiographic works which were translated either in Bulgaria or Kiev, were sufficient to satisfy the needs of the time, especially as the oldest translated Lives included many that were interesting for their hagiographic content, for their form, or for their theological ideas (e.g., hagiographic works which touch upon the question of the end of the world, such as that of Andrew the Simple). Lives of Slavic saints were also known in Kiev: the Lives of Cyril and Methodius and the Lives of the Czech saints—Wenceslas and Ludmila. It was probably these Slavic Lives which provided the stimulus for the first original East Slavic Lives—those of Saints Borys and Hlib and St. Theodosius, in which one can detect echoes from the Life of St. Wenceslas.

To write Lives of the Saints of Kievan Rus’ required considerable boldness as it entailed equating the new East Slavic saints with their great predecessors. Thus, in the early stages of its development, the hagiographic literature of Kievan Rus’ was extremely humble in tone: there were few accounts of miracles; the saints were not praised to a very great degree; and there was a significant dependence on translated Lives and on those of West Slavic origin. However, this dependence was not slavish. Rather than merely recopying foreign Lives, the early Kievan hagiographic works attempted to present well-substantiated facts. Unfortunately, the information about the saints selected for inclusion in these Lives corresponded to that employed in the older foreign models. Kievan

authors undoubtedly followed this standardized pattern because it was standardized and represented an accepted norm of saintly behavior. On the other hand, if information about saints was lacking, their Lives were not written. This fact alone provides an acceptable explanation for the absence of hagiographic works about Ol'ha, Volodymyr, and even Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery. About such saints, there are only works akin to Lives but different in style—works of a type that do not require factual information. Nestor's Lives are classic examples of hagiographic literature.

2. A comparison of Nestor's Life of Borys and Hlib—the so-called *Čtenie*, with the "Tale" ("*Skazanie*") will clearly reveal the differences between these two genres. The Life begins with a prayer, an exhortation for God's help in the work which the author is undertaking in spite of "the coarseness and foolishness of his heart." He goes on to state that he is merely recounting the tales of the *Xristoljubci* ("Those Who Love God") and asks the reader to pardon his ignorance. This is followed by a lengthy introduction, expounding the history of the human race from the Creation through to the spread of Christianity; in the "last days," God in his beneficence decided to bring Rus' into the Christian community. Nestor also refers to the biblical tale of the vineyard, whose owner was looking for workers. The first part of the main body of the Life gives an account of Volodymyr's baptism—but makes no reference to the role of the Greeks in the Christianization of Rus'. Having mentioned Volodymyr's sons, Nestor then focuses on Borys, describing his youth, his love of books and prayers, his desire to follow in the footsteps of the saints. Hlib is a "child in body but a man in wisdom," a true friend to Borys and an almoner, extending his help to "beggars, widows and orphans." The characterization of Borys and Hlib concludes with a comparison of these two princes to the Saints whose names they had received at their baptism (Borys—Roman; Hlib—David). After noting the fact that Borys had already received his own principedom while Hlib was still living with his father (the "Tale" contradicts this), Nestor mentions that Volodymyr had sent Borys on a campaign against their enemies. Only at this point does the story of the murder of the two brothers begin in Nestor's Life. The "Tale," on the other hand, *begins* at this point. The events culminating in the murder of Borys are presented by Nestor in the same way as in the "Tale"; the only exceptions are that Borys says prayers instead of uttering laments and no detailed account of Svatopolk's actions is given. To an even greater degree than in the "Tale," Borys' words, prayers and actions emphasize his desire to remain loyal and submissive to his older brother. Nestor's version of the story of Hlib's murder differs from that of the "Tale" in that Hlib is caught at the Dnieper River—not while he is on his way to Kiev but rather as he is fleeing from

it. While Hlib does not give vent to his grief in a lament, he does utter a plea for his life that is very similar to the one in the "Tale" but does not include the images of the unripe ear and the green twig. In place of a description of the emotions experienced by Hlib's friends when he is attacked, Nestor merely makes the following simple statement: "Having put down their oars, they sat motionlessly." Little is said about Svjatopolk and the Kievan throne: Svjatopolk "fled not only from the city but also from his native land and lived out the rest of his life in a foreign country"; his "horrible death," an expected end for a "sinner," is presented only in the form of a rumor. After the death of the "accursed one," "power is assumed by Jaroslav, the brother of the blessed" Borys, whom Nestor mistakenly believed to be Volodymyr's true successor. This is all that Nestor feels compelled to say about the political ramification of the tragic fates of Borys and Hlib. However, in the tradition of hagiography, his work also contains a final section describing the miracles performed by these saints, the transference of their relics and the construction of churches named in their honor. In the oldest manuscript, the first part of the Life of Borys and Hlib occupies over six pages, the second (describing the murder of the two saints)—about eight pages, and this final one—thirteen pages. Included in the latter are ten separate stories which are said not to exhaust the entire complex of miracles performed by these saints. Following some reflections about the meaning of submissiveness, Nestor concludes his work with a eulogy to Borys and Hlib. He also refers to himself—"the sinner, Nestor"—as the author of this Life and the compiler of the required factual information.

3. From the stylistic point of view Nestor's Life is much simpler than the "Tale." Nestor's work is not written in rhythmical prose nor does it employ emotional laments or a large number of images. On the other hand, his selection and arrangement of materials is skillful and results in a well-structured work. His style of presentation is different because his purpose is different: he does not discuss the political aspects of the story of Borys and Hlib and replaces the laments and lyrical monologues found in the "Tale" with prayers; his heroes are saints who are always close to God. The most characteristic trait of Nestor's work is its lack of concrete details. Unlike in the "Tale," the names of the assassins are not given—they are simply "unrestrainable men"; the names of Volodymyr's other sons are not mentioned, while Jaroslav is only referred to in passing toward the end of the work; Borys' principedom and the Pečenegs are also not named [they are simply *ratnye* (warriors) or *pogani* (pagans)]. Cities such as Vyšhorod or Kiev are mentioned by name only once and thereafter referred to as "the above-mentioned cities" or "the celebrated cities" ("*naročityj grad*""). Other cities are not specified. Nestor also employs devices borrowed from

sermons (e.g., apostrophe to the reader). Many of the prayers in this work are skillfully formulated and the stories about the miracles are masterful syntheses of a variety of material. Nestor also employs comparisons: "The Prophet David did battle with foreigners and defeated them. . . . Saint David [Hlib] did battle with the enemy and defeated him. . . ." Antithesis is another favorite device: "The blessed [Borys] was going to his brother, not thinking of anything evil in his heart; but the accursed [Svjatopolk] was not only planning evil against him, but had already sent evil in order to destroy him. The blessed [Borys] was rejoicing on his way that his elder brother would ascend the throne of his father, while the accursed one grieved when he heard that his brother was coming to see him." Nestor frequently compares Borys, Hlib and Volodymyr to various saints and these comparisons reveal his sources. Volodymyr is compared to Eustaphius Placidus and Constantine the Great, Borys and Hlib—to Roman and David or Joseph and Benjamin, and Svjatopolk—to Cain; Judas, Zachariah and Demetrius of Salonica are also mentioned. But echoes from the Life of St. Wenceslas are perhaps the strongest. With the possible exception of that of St. Eudoxius, Byzantium did not have Lives of saints that were princes. Both in its Latin original and in its Slavic translation, the Gumbold Life of Wenceslas provided an excellent model of how the life of a prince was to be depicted. While Nestor did not adopt anything from the actual story of Wenceslas's martyrdom, he did borrow some images from Gumbold's work.

As was mentioned above, it must be assumed that when selecting facts for inclusion in his Life of Borys and Hlib (love of reading, interest in Lives of martyrs, the giving of alms, the fact that Borys agreed to marry only because of the wishes of the boyars and his parents, Borys' refusal to believe the rumors about Svjatopolk's evil intentions, etc.), Nestor followed the example set by the Life of Wenceslas, an earlier work about a "venerable" saint of the same type (a prince and a martyr) as Borys and Hlib.

The schematism and lack of individual color in Nestor's Life undoubtedly stems from the traditions of his genre. Hagiographic works strove to eliminate individual peculiarities as a means of universalizing their content and appeal: Lives were addressed to the entire Christian community and attempted to be works of universal Christian literature. Nestor's Life of Borys and Hlib could have become one of these universal works: as early as 1095, Borys and Hlib were among the saints in whose honor altars in the Sazava Monastery in Bohemia were consecrated (mention is made of this under the year 1095 by the monk from this monastery who completed the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*). Nestor has been reproached both for his lack of interest in realistic detail and for including various invented facts. It is hardly possible that a pious writer such as

Nestor, who assures his reader that he is recounting only what he has heard from the *Xristoljubci*, would falsify facts. By Nestor's time many facts about Borys and Hlib had already been forgotten while some incidents in their lives were presented in various ways. At this point in time, it is not possible to explain why Nestor chose to follow a particular variant. Similarly unjust are the criticisms in regard to the lack of color and individuality in Nestor's work; as was mentioned above, this is one of the features required by the genre.

The ideology of the Life of Borys and Hlib is also interesting. The orientation of this work is even more evident than that of the "Tale." Borys and Hlib are warriors for peace in the land of Rus', a peace that can be attained only if the relations between princes are built on definite moral and legal foundations. Nestor sees these foundations in Christian morality. From this point of view, the Life of Borys and Hlib is an interesting politico-ideological monument.

4. Nestor also wrote a second Life—that of St. Theodosius of the Kievan Caves Monastery. Structurally, it is weaker than the Life of Borys and Hlib, perhaps because there were no earlier works upon which Nestor could draw in this instance; as a result, he was forced to collect, select, and arrange all the materials himself. Since Theodosius had died in 1073 and Nestor was writing his Life around 1100, this task was not an extremely difficult one. He acquired some of the factual material about Theodosius' life from the monks at the Kievan Caves Monastery, who had known Theodosius personally (Nestor did not come to the monastery until after Theodosius' death). Information about his childhood was indirectly provided by his mother (her stories about her son were recounted to Nestor by one of the monks), who was a nun in one of the Kievan convents.

This Life also begins with a prayer of thanks to God for considering him worthy to be the biographer of saints. He refers to his Life of Borys and Hlib and begs the reader to pardon his lack of education and his ignorance. The main body of the work is divided into two parts: the first deals with Theodosius' life up to the time he entered the monastery, the second—with his life in the monastery (in the oldest manuscript these parts occupy approximately seven and thirty-three pages, respectively). There follows a short account of Theodosius' miracles (three in all) which is three pages in length, and a short conclusion.

Each part consists of a number of separate episodes. The first one (fourteen episodes) depicts Theodosius' development from his childhood up to the time that he entered the monastery. The narrative combines a clear psychological characterization of Theodosius and his mother with external motivation for their actions, that is, God is said to have led Theodosius along the path that brought him to the monastery and made him its spiritual leader. Both of

Theodosius' parents were pious Christians. His father appears to have been an official at the court of the prince for a time but later moved with his family to the large town of Kursk, where he died, leaving Theodosius an orphan in his childhood. It was in Kursk that Theodosius began his education. As a child he exhibited love of knowledge and a deep Christian piety which manifested itself in his attempt to flee to the Holy Land—he was prevented from reaching his destination and was returned to his home. Nestor attributes this turn of events to God's intervention, as it later made it possible for Theodosius to come to Kiev. The narrative then moves on to describe Theodosius' attempts to imitate Christ's submissiveness and humility; he wears modest clothing, works in the field, bakes the Host for the Eucharist (Theodosius chose this task, which was below the dignity of his position, in order to be "a co-worker on the body of Christ") and even wears chains on his body. All these things are continually opposed by his mother. Finally, he flees to Kiev where he unsuccessfully seeks admittance to various monasteries and is ultimately taken in by Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery. His mother discovers where he is but cannot convince him to return to his home and, following her son's example, she enters one of the Kievan convents. The second and longer part of Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* is weaker than the first; it consists of a large number of separate episodes (over forty) which merely follow one another in a haphazard way. While they contain a great deal of historical and ethnographic detail and serve to reveal Theodosius' personality, the episodes of the second part of this *Life* do not form the same kind of integral whole as those that recount the events of his youth. These forty some odd episodes can be divided into three groups: 1) those that delineate Theodosius' characteristics as an ascetic, priest and abbot; 2) those that describe his attitude toward the world; and 3) those that depict various miracles and miraculous occurrences, that is, various manifestations of God's grace toward the monastery. Nestor is very successful in describing Theodosius' life in the monastery, especially his type of asceticism; he is not a representative of extreme asceticism—the type that advocates escape from this world (Egyptian monasticism); his ascetic ideals are more closely aligned with those of the Palestinian tradition, which unites a relatively moderate self-denial with productive labor and an active concern for the betterment of the outside world. There is but one incident that can be labelled as mortification of the flesh: reminiscent of stories about Egyptian monks (Macarius), this episode depicts an instance in which Theodosius allows his body to be attacked by mosquitoes while he is working and praying. Neither is he an advocate of isolation: not only did he retreat to a cave for but a short period of time once a year, but also transferred the entire Monastery to the surface of the earth. On the other hand, much is said

about his physical labor: he cuts wood, weaves, carries water and helps to bind books; even more is told of the work of the monks as a whole. In addition, Nestor gives numerous accounts of Theodosius' spiritual practices, especially his praying and his struggle with his demon. Theodosius sleeps little and wears simple clothing, a fact that resulted in comical misunderstandings on more than one occasion. His most characteristic trait is his leniency towards the monks and the world; he does not reproach his monks for their sins or insist that they repent. Instead, he merely "laments" for those who flee from the monastery and gladly takes them back even if they have left it on more than one occasion. In a similar fashion, he releases thieves who have tried to rob the monastery. The monastery is not closed off from the world: a shelter for "beggars, the blind, the crippled [and] the ailing" is being constructed on its grounds. Nor is it wealthy, as Theodosius is more than once in straitened circumstances, without bread for the monks, without oil for the icon lamps, without wine for divine service. In spite of this, he still distributes whatever remains in the monastery: one of the monastery's friends or supporters always comes to the rescue. While Nestor categorizes this kind of unexpected and unsolicited aid as a miracle, it is in reality simply a concrete manifestation of the high esteem in which the Kievan Caves Monastery was held in the outside world. The only truly supernatural event is the appearance of the "luminous youth" who brings Theodosius three gold coins in a moment of dire need. Furthermore, he does not allow the monks to acquire any unnecessary possessions, be they clothing or food; he orders all superfluous items ("repugnant shares") to be burned or thrown into the Dnieper, but he does not punish those who are guilty of such acts. Only in political matters is Theodosius severe and adamant. Since the Kievan Caves Monastery had a considerable influence with the higher strata of Kievan society and with Prince Izjaslav, Theodosius could intercede on behalf of those who had suffered an injustice: "He defended many people before judges and princes." After Svjatoslav and Vsevolod had forced their older brother, Izjaslav, to flee from Kiev, Theodosius refuses to visit the victors: "I shall not go to Beelzebub's feast, and I shall not take part in a banquet full of blood and slaughter." Instead, he writes letters to Svjatoslav and, in one instance, even compares him to Cain, while the monks in the monastery continue to mention Izjaslav in their prayers. Rumors to the effect that the princes wish to have him removed as abbot merely stimulate further attacks against Svjatoslav on Theodosius' part. He is even eager to suffer for truth's sake [*Žadaše vel'mi, eže potočenu byti*] ("He desired greatly to be exiled"). However, even those princes whom he severely criticized, abstained from serious attacks against the monastery, for it was regarded as holy by the outside world; Nestor describes several miracles testifying to the

holiness of Theodosius and the monastery (various people see a light or a glow above the monastery) and the dreams of those who hold him in high esteem.

While Nestor was not always successful in structuring the wealth of material that he included in this work, the main ideas still emerge clearly: the years of Theodosius' youth are but a preparation for his life in the monastery and his pattern of behavior in both stages of his life is similar. His gentleness, kindness and submissiveness do not prevent him from being severe with the outside world (his mother, the princes), which he succeeds in overcoming. In addition, Theodosius' main views about monastic life are given (Nestor even includes short excerpts from his discourses to the monks). These features account for the great popularity of this work and for its strong influence on a great number of East Slavic hagiographic monuments.

5. In style, Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* is very complex. The language is simple and smooth, sentences are short, stylistic embellishments are few. However, there are quite a number of literary influences. In addition to the frequent quotations from the Bible, Nestor also includes passages from the *Life of Antonius* and from various *Patericons*; one can also detect the influence of the *Lives of Sabbas of Palestine* and *Wenceslas of Bohemia*. From the very beginning, he employs numerous formulaic expressions which are frequently without concrete meaning; however, only in the passages describing the significance of Theodosius' name, his lack of interest in games when he is a child, and his arrival at the monastery do we encounter borrowed *factual* material. The incident of the baking of the Host for the Eucharist is reminiscent of a passage from the *Life of Wenceslas*; however, it is not likely that this represents a direct borrowing from the *Life of the Czech saint*. More probably, the *Life of Wenceslas* merely served to direct Nestor's attention to the similar activity engaged in by Theodosius—a type of activity not documented in Greek *Lives*. There are also parallels between the *Life of Theodosius* and several Greek *Lives*, but here again, it must be assumed that these similarities derive from similarities in the actual lives of these saints. Furthermore, Nestor employs expressions derived from the hagiographic tradition. Such, for example, is his description of Theodosius as an "earthly angel and a heavenly man." Echoes of military tales are also present: ascetics are "mighty heroes" ("*xrabri sil'ni*"); the cross is "a weapon," "the shield of salvation," etc. (In a few instances the expressions employed have parallels in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*.) Among the other similes encountered in this work, is the comparison of Theodosius to "a shepherd of a spiritual flock" and the description of a boyar's son, who has decided to enter a monastery, as breaking away from his home like a bird or a gazelle from a snare. At important points in the narrative striking antitheses are employed: "While

Theodosius may have left us in body, he will always remain with us in spirit"; or it is said that Theodosius was respected not for his distinguished apparel or his great wealth but for the moral purity of his life, his luminous soul and his sincere teachings. Here also the narrative is written in the "impersonal" hagiographic style; no mention is made of the city in which Theodosius was born, the names of personages encountered in the work and so on.

6. As was mentioned above, there are no extant Lives of some of the saints which were most prominent in the spiritual history of the Eastern Slavs. Such is the case in respect to Ol'ha and Volodymyr the Great. While it is possible that tales about their baptisms did exist, those dealing with Volodymyr—the previously mentioned "Korsun' Legend" (see Ch. III, pt. C, no. 6) and others referred to in the *Chronicle*—are divergent.

Evidence of the existence of Lives of Ol'ha and Volodymyr is provided by one Kievan monument—"In Memory and Praise of Prince St. Volodymyr" ascribed to the monk Jacob. An important historical source, this work appears to be composed of three separate items—a eulogy to Volodymyr and the Lives of Ol'ha and Volodymyr; while there are extant copies of the Life of Volodymyr, they date back only to the sixteenth century. The traces of very old elements found in this work appear to be insufficient to allow definite conclusions to be drawn about the date of origin either of the work as a whole or of its separate parts.

There is also reason to assume that two other Lives also existed. The first of these is a short Life of two Varangian martyrs—a father and a son. According to the *Chronicle*, they were killed by a pagan mob, apparently because they refused to allow the son to be sacrificed to the pagan gods; the father's name appears to have been Tury or Tur. However, it is not known whether this Life, preserved in part in the *Chronicle*, was written in Slavic or Greek. The Life of Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery also has not been preserved but mention of it is made in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*. Indications are that this work gave a considerable amount of information about monks other than Antonius. Some scholars believe that it was not preserved because of its Greco-philic overtones. Only a few of its factual details, which were incorporated into the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, have come down to us.

Several very short old Lives (Borys and Hlib, Ol'ha, Volodymyr) were included in miscellanies. These "miniature" monuments have little literary significance.

## E. THE COLLECTION OF 1076

1. A collection of numerous short works, the *Collection of 1076* is a unique monument of Kievan literature. It includes three different "precepts" by

parents for children (“Instruction of a Father to a Son” and the instructions of Xenophon and St. Theodore); “Athanasius’ Replies,” which explain difficult passages from the Scriptures, excerpts from some uncanonical books of the Bible (“The Book of Wisdom” and “Sirach”); a story—“the Charitable Sozomenus,” and finally, quotations, phrases and proverbs, grouped by theme—the type of material most characteristic of the *Collection* of 1076. The entire work is intended for the layman; the most frequently recurring theme is compassion for the poor. Much of the advice given is of the secular variety; for example, suggestions about how people ought to behave towards “the powerful of this world” [“*Ne svarisja s’ člověk’ m’ sil’nym’*” (“Do not quarrel with a powerful man”)]. Some of the works included in the *Collection* were widespread even in later periods (up to the eighteenth century).

The *Collection* of 1076 follows a definite structural pattern. It begins with an introduction devoted to the benefits of reading: “The reading of books, brothers, is a good thing.” Succeeding this are the “instructions” by fathers to children and collections of quotations, among them “Advice to the Wealthy” and *One Hundred Maxims*. Excerpts from sermons come next and the work ends with “The Charitable Sozomenus,” a story which seeks to demonstrate that God rewards those who show compassion for the poor a hundredfold.

2. While it is known that the *Collection* of 1073 is a translation from Bulgarian and is composed solely of foreign materials, the origin of the *Collection* has not been completely explicated. The hypothesis which suggests that various parts of this monument originated in Kiev and can be attributed in part to Hilarion must be rejected, as Ihor Ševčenko has succeeded in discovering the Greek originals of almost all of its parts. However, the question of whether the translation was made in Kiev or Bulgaria still remains unresolved. The many East Slavic elements in its style and language suggest that it is at least in part of Kievan origin. We encounter word forms [“*vered*” (“caprice”), “*norov*” (“custom”)] and words [e.g., “*lar*” (“chest”—borrowed from the Scandinavian)] which are characteristic of East Slavic languages. An important feature of East Slavic texts in general and Ukrainian texts in particular is the substitution of the endings—“*m’* or “*-m’* in the instrumental case of masculine and neuter singular for the “*-om’* and “*-em’* of Old Church Slavonic and South Slavic. In the *Collection* of 1076, East Slavic forms occur the most frequently. Since “the philosopher, Cyril” is mentioned in the introductory piece, “About the Reading of Books,” it is clear that this part of the *Collection* must belong to the original literature of Kievan Rus’. But the translated parts also contain features which compel us to discuss them in conjunction with original East Slavic monuments.

3. A large part of the material included in the *Collection* of 1076 consists



*i ne naviděnie\* člověkom" tvoriti,* i-n-n-t  
*n" t"kmo ot" boga xvaly i milosti*  
*prositi . . .* n-t-i

("And to act not so that men can see but only to ask for praise and compassion from God. . . .")

At prayers:

*Ne směšai sloves" svoix" s" prostymi*  
*slovesy,* s-s-s-s-s  
*vědy, jako bogu s" běsed'nik" esi.* s-s

("Do not mix your words with common words, knowing that you are God's interlocutor.")

Or another example with imperfect rhyme:

*Egda že v"z"riši nošč'ju na nebo i na*  
*zvězd'nuju krasotu,* v-n-n-n-n  
*molisja vladycě bogu, dobruumu*  
*xytr'cu.* v-d  
*Zautra že osvěštaem" pripadi k" tvor'cju*  
*svoemu,* p-t-s  
*dav"šuumu ti c' den' na priloženie* d-t-s-d-n  
*životu.*

("When at night you look at the sky and the beauty of the stars, pray to God, the wise craftsman. In the morning, in the light of the day, bow down before your Creator who gave you this day to lengthen your life.")

There are also examples without alliteration:

*dnes' bo rastem"*  
*a utro gnjem"*.

("For we grow up today and perish tomorrow.")

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\**Naviděnie* is interpreted as two words: *na viděnie* (trans.).

*dažd' moknuštjumu suxotu,  
zimnomu teplotu.*

(“Give a dry shelter to him who is wet and warmth to him who is cold.”)

*xranisja ot pitija,  
oskv'rnjaet' bo molitvy tvoja*

(“Beware of drunkenness, for it profanes your prayers.”)

In some cases entire fragments are syntactically rhythmical:

*alč'naago nak''rmi . . .  
žad'naago napoi,  
stran'na v''vedi,  
bol'na prisěti,  
k'' t'm'nici doidi,  
vižd' bědu ix''  
i v''zd''xni.*

(“Feed the hungry, give water to the thirsty, receive the wanderer, visit the sick, enter the prison, look at their unhappiness and sigh.”)

In other cases, the repetition of words gives a rhythmical quality to a passage:

A boat cannot be made without nails,  
or a virtuous man without the reading of books;  
just as the heart of a captive is with his family,  
so [the heart] of a virtuous man is with his books;  
a warrior's beauty is in his armour, a boat's—in its sails,  
and that of a virtuous man—in the reading of books.

Frequently, the first words of sentences begin with the same sounds (anaphora):

one soul is given to man,  
one life does he have to live,  
one death—to endure. . . .

Or: meekly treading,  
meekly sitting,  
meekly gazing,  
meek in speech. . . .

There are also instances in which parallelism is employed without alliteration or rhyme:

Stand up like a publican,  
run, like a street-walker,  
be moved, like Ahab,  
cry, like Peter  
call out, like the Canaanite woman . . .

Or: grieve over sins,  
sigh over temptations,  
bemoan falling from grace.

4. One should also note the selection of sayings with beautiful and vivid imagery: “Avoid flattering words as you would avoid crows which peck out the eyes of your soul”; “If the inhabitants who live closer to the source of a river do not fill their containers with water or do not allow their cattle to drink, saying: ‘Let us leave the water for those who live further down stream and take little for ourselves’—then, this is false; rather, they should use as much water as they need and not be concerned about those who live down stream for the same river also flows past them. This is also the case with respect to wealth: do not worry about your descendants . . .”; “A dark cloud hides the beauty and light of the sun, an angry thought destroys the beauty of a prayer”; “Do not linger in the slime of sin until you suddenly disappear in it.” There are a number of effective antitheses: “Keep your head low but raise your spirit up high”; “With your feet step slowly but with your spirit run quickly to the gates of heaven”; “The joy of this world ends in tears as can be seen by comparing two neighbors: in one household there is a wedding, in the other—laments for a dead person”; “Fulfill [God’s] will in little things and He will fulfill yours for eternity.”

There are also graphic descriptions: “If you walk down the stairs cheerfully after an audience with a prince, see that those in your own home do not walk sadly but with the same joy as you”; “When quenching your thirst with a sweet drink, remember the person who drinks water warmed by the sun”; “When you are resting in a well-protected room and hear the sound of heavy rain, think of

the poor who now lie beneath the falling drops as under falling arrows”; “When in winter you sit in a warm room . . . sigh and think of the poor who are bent over a small fire—their eyes are sore from the smoke, only their hands are warm, while their backs and their bodies are exposed to the frost.” The description of Paradise in the story about Sozomenus is striking: “And he saw other trees, abounding in fragrant and beautiful fruits, with branches bent down to the earth, each one better than the other. And various kinds of birds were perched on their upper branches, leaning towards one another and singing sweetly and unceasingly. . . . And the orchards swayed to and fro, radiant in their beauty. Springs flowed from beneath the earth and a beautiful rainbow graced the sky. . . .” (Compare with the passage describing the beauty of the starlit sky quoted above.) The following depiction of a drunk is taken from a fragment mistakenly attributed to the prophet Joel: wine “transforms a daring person into a coward, a morally pure person into a debaucher, knows not the truth, deprives man of his senses and, just as water poured into fire, the unlimited [drinking] of mead extinguishes reason. . . . For [a drunk], the earth appears to be shaking and hills running around in circles. . . . His head does not remain erect but sways to and fro on his shoulders. . . . He has bad dreams. . . . They doze and sigh. . . . His vision is foggy.”

5. While the works from which the quotations cited above were taken are translated monuments, it is clear that a great deal of artistry went into their making: their translator did not ignore the purely literary aspects of the original and succeeded in capturing its most striking sections by means of his skillful use of the resources of the East Slavic language. From the point of view of form, the translated works of the *Collection* of 1076 are partly original.

There is little doubt that many of the expressions and proverbs in the *Collection* of 1076 became part of the oral tradition. In any case, this miscellany contains proverbs such as the following: “Laziness is the mother of a bad person”; “A fruit tree is recognized by the fruit it bears”; “Do not abandon an old friend, a new friend is not his equal”; or the later classic comparison of life to a rolling wheel; or: “The rich man is not the man who has a great deal but the one who does not require a great deal. . . . The poor man is not the man who does not have a great deal but the one who wants to have a great deal”—included in Skovoroda’s works. Sayings and proverbs are also found in other works of Kievan literature (in Volodymyr Monomax’s “Instruction,” in Daniel’s “Supplication,” etc.). In addition, there are many interesting words and expressions.

It is possible to speak of a definite literary “school” or trend in the eleventh century. Representatives of this trend include Hilarion as well as the translator (or translators) and compilers of the *Collection* of 1076. The *Collection* exhibits

features common to various works of this period; such, for example, is its predilection for aphorisms also characteristic of the *Chronicle*.

## F. THE WORKS OF VOLODYMYR MONOMAX

1. Volodymyr Monomax (1053-1125) is another eleventh century writer whose collection of works has been preserved. They were entered in the *Chronicle* under the year 1096 but in imperfect form: portions of the beginning have been corrupted and a page from the middle appears to be missing. Monomax's works consist of his "Instruction," a letter to Prince Oleh and an autobiography. A prayer (or several shorter prayers) concludes the collection. Modelled on traditional prayers, this final work does not represent an original contribution by Volodymyr Monomax.

The clearly panegyric elements in the *Chronicle's* account of the life and political activity of Volodymyr Monomax, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Monomax was unquestionably an eminent and popular prince, who wished harmony to be established among the various princes and a common front against the enemy—the Polovci. And he did succeed to a certain extent in attaining this goal. The *Chronicle* is not alone in its idealization of Volodymyr: Metropolitan Nicephorus' letter to Monomax begins with a eulogy, undoubtedly only partly motivated by the requirements of courtesy. Writing during Lent, Nicephorus does not find it necessary to explain the meaning of this time of the year to Monomax nor to rebuke him for his sins, as Monomax had a pious upbringing and his prudence is visible to all: he sleeps on the damp earth, does not require a shelter, does not wear "lustrous apparel," walks through the forests dressed like an orphan, wearing clothes appropriate to his position only in the city. Nicephorus praises Volodymyr for his hospitality and kindness and asks only one thing of him—that he forgive those that he has punished. While the image of Volodymyr Monomax that emerges here is clearly idealized, it also corresponds to the prince's own ideals.

The "Instruction" was definitely written before 1125 and possibly even before 1118 as it may have been included in the redaction of the *Chronicle* attributed to Silvester; however, it is more probable that it was incorporated into the *Chronicle* at a later date. The text of the work itself suggests that Volodymyr is preparing for his death—he is writing his "Instruction" "sitting on a sleigh" and he thanks God for "bringing him to these days." In Kievan Rus', the dead were carried on sleighs during the funeral ceremonies be they in summer or winter—a custom that was preserved in Ukraine up to the nineteenth century and in the mountainous areas—even into the twentieth.

2. The overall structure of the "Instruction" stands out in bold relief. It consists of an introduction and three distinct subsections. The first is of a religious and moral character, containing an abundance of quotations from the Bible and other religious texts. The second is more secular in nature, as advice concerned primarily with political morality is given: Volodymyr describes the duties of a prince (at home, during military exercises, during the inspection of his lands) and the obligations common to all men. In the final part he gives an account of his own life as an illustration of the precepts presented in the previous section. As we can see, the structure of this work follows a logical pattern. In the introduction, Monomax speaks of his age and asks his children and other readers of his work ("anyone else, who hears this 'Instruction' ") to read it attentively and to excuse him if they are displeased for he is an old man and may have "uttered some nonsense towards the end of my long journey, when I am already seated on my sleigh." The first part begins with quotations from the Psalter selected from among the portions meant to be read during the first week of Lent. Unpleasant news about the eruption of internal dissension leads Volodymyr to open his Psalter\* and catch sight of the following words: "Why do you grieve, O soul of mine? Why do you trouble me?" (Psalter, 41.12). Then he selects passages from it, the main theme being the damnation of sinners and the salvation of the righteous (36.1; 36.9-36.17; 36.21-36.27; 55.11-55.12; 58.1-58.4; 62.4-62.5; 63.33, 32.2). Monomax then includes the moral advice to the young from the "Instruction" by Basil the Great (perhaps taken from the *Collection* of 1076—see above) as well as some of his own. This advice is concerned in large part with discipline: "Mastery of one's own eyes, reticence of tongue, humility of spirit, the subordination of the flesh to the spirit, suppression of anger, purity of thoughts, the endeavour to perform good deeds." "If you are deprived of something, do not take revenge; if you are hated or persecuted, suffer in silence; if you are pursued, beg [for forgiveness] . . ." Among the obligations towards others, Volodymyr includes the following: "Release those who have been unjustly imprisoned, judge orphans [fairly], defend widows." This part concludes with a prayer in which Monomax pays tribute to God, primarily because He demands so little of man: "seclusion, monkhood, fasting" are not required; "three minor acts" are sufficient—"repentance, tears and prayer." He goes on to praise the wisdom of God as manifested in His creation. And finally, he asks his reader to fulfill at least half of these demands, especially that of prayer and urges that "Lord, have mercy"

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\*Some scholars regard this as an act of "fortune telling with a Psalter" (see Ch. II, pt. B, sec. a). What we have here is not fortune telling but rather an attempt to find spiritual strength in a favorite book.

be repeated “continuously, silently” during processions (this is reminiscent of the later “continuous prayer” of the Hesychasts).

Secular advice is sustained in the spirit of Christian humility. Monomax begins by urging that assistance be given to the poor, to orphans, and to widows and then moves on to discuss justice in general, advocating mild sentences (he is opposed to the death sentence) and the fulfillment of promises: he believes that a person should only swear to keep a promise by kissing the cross, if he is certain that he can do so. Required also are respect for the clergy and for the aged, care for the sick, the absence of pride, awareness of death and an attitude towards material values that is appropriate to this awareness: “Do not bury [your wealth] in the earth [for] this is a great sin”—rather curious advice for such turbulent times. These are followed by entirely secular counsels: prudence, personal attention on the prince’s part to all princely and domestic duties, hospitality and friendliness and defense of the people against despotism. A man should love his wife but not allow her to dominate him and he should work continuously, especially at acquiring knowledge (Volodymyr’s father, Vsevolod, who was married to a Byzantine princess, knew five languages): “Laziness is the mother of all [evil].” All these counsels are motivated in part by religious considerations, by “fear of God”; in part by ethical ones—all people are equal because all are mortal; and in part by practical ones—the victims of injustice will accuse the perpetrators of this injustice and a lack of prudence in a war may result in death; if a prince is hospitable and knows several languages, he acquires a good reputation. The passage presenting these secular counsels is concluded by a program of the prince’s day: he should rise before daybreak, be the first to go to church, then take counsel (“think”) with his retinue, perform his judicial duties, participate in a hunt, take a nap at noon, and so on.

3. The final part of the “Instruction” is Monomax’s autobiography, his reminiscences of his numerous (he says there were eighty-three) campaigns which led him all the way to the German town of Glogau; the fact that only seventy campaigns are mentioned in the text that has come down to us suggests that one page may have been lost. Monomax takes care to list all the Polovcian princes that were either captured or killed. And finally, he speaks of his “labours” in hunting and the dangers connected with them: “Two bisons attacked my horse and me with their horns, a stag butted me, two elks attacked me—one trampled on me with his feet, the other charged at me with its horns, a wild boar tore my sword from my thigh, a bear ripped some horsecloth off from around my knee, a wild beast leaped up onto my thigh while I was mounted, gashed my leg and wounded my horse.” Hunting was not merely an interest peculiar to Volodymyr Monomax; in both real and symbolic terms, it repre-

sented the conquest and cultivation of the land (compare the role of doing battle with beasts in the myth of Hercules and in the East Slavic "spiritual songs" about St. George). Volodymyr only gives brief examples from his own life: "I was never concerned for myself, for my own head. What should really have been done by a servant, I did myself . . . ; I did not rely on mayors and [other] capable persons but did what had to be done myself; I arranged everything in my own home myself; neither did I allow any poor bondsman or destitute widow to be mistreated; I even looked after matters pertaining to the Church and divine service myself. . . ." Then he states that he is not praising himself by recounting these things: "I praise God and glorify His benevolence for it was He who saved me, a sinner and an evil man, from death on so many occasions and it was He, who did not make me, an evil man, lazy by nature and unconcerned with all necessary human matters." In the brief conclusion, Volodymyr again mentions the importance of doing good deeds, "praising God and His saints."

4. In addition to the "Instruction" with its appended autobiography, Volodymyr's letter to Prince Oleh Svjatoslavyč, written after the battle in which Volodymyr's son, Izjaslav, was killed, has also been preserved. The beginning and end of this letter have been somewhat corrupted. As in the "Instruction," Volodymyr commences by speaking of his own spiritual struggle: his soul overcame his heart, having reminded him that all men are mortal (Volodymyr wrote these words in 1096 when he was only forty-three years old) and he and his family will be forced to face the final judgment as people who were unable to maintain good relations. He quotes passages that are concerned with love among brothers and reminds Oleh of the fact that he, Volodymyr, and his son, Izjaslav, attempted to put an end to the hostilities that plagued their family. Even immediately after the death of Izjaslav, Volodymyr still agrees to end the disagreements peacefully. In addition to these more general requests, Volodymyr also begs Oleh to release Izjaslav's widow. Volodymyr probably kept a copy of this letter for himself because in it were expressed his ideas about the necessity of peaceful cooperation among the princes of Kievan Rus' and his plea for the elimination of revenge.

In the manuscript copy, this letter ends with a prayer (or several short prayers) addressed to Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. Andrew of Crete. This prayer is clearly a compilation of Church prayers, for it is maintained in a style that is much closer to that of religious monuments than the main body of the letter. Intertwined in it are personal pleas and pleas for the country ("*grad*" ).

5. Monomax's works should not be regarded as occasional and extra-literary. The "Instruction" even makes reference to potential readers, to those other than Volodymyr's children who will "listen" to it being read. Instructions

for children were one of the favorite forms of Byzantine literature. It is even likely that Volodymyr read the instructions included in the *Collection* of 1076 (see Ch. III, pt. E), as he quotes from the sermon of Basil the Great. Volodymyr could also have been familiar with the instruction of Jaroslav the Wise, recorded in the *Chronicle* under the year 1054, and the apocryphal "Commandments of the Twelve Patriarchs." However, not all instructions were of such an elevated ethical and religious character as Monomax's. In Byzantine literature, we find instructions that are Machiavellian in character. On the other hand, it is possible that Volodymyr was also acquainted with Western works of this category: his wife, Gyda, was the daughter of Harold II (Kiev's ties with England date back to the times of Jaroslav the Wise when the son of King Edmund found sanctuary in Kiev), a Saxon princess, who fled to Denmark with her family via Exeter and Ireland and there married Volodymyr in 1074 or 1075. There is an English instruction dedicated to King Harold's family, which originated in Exeter and was written by Bishop Leofric, a cleric who was concerned with the upbringing of Harold's children.

As was frequently the case with old epistolary works, Monomax's letter to Oleh has a marked literary coloration and is meant not only for Oleh; it is really a kind of political pamphlet directed at a broader audience.

The content of Volodymyr's works provides indications of the nature of his creative process. As a person with a deep interest in books, he probably copied out passages from his reading which appealed to him: the "Instruction" reveals his knowledge of the Bible (possibly from the *Paroemenarium*), the *Collection* of 1076, *Hexaameron of Basil the Great*, *Physiologus* and other works, such as the apocrypha. From this collection of quotations he would then select material appropriate to his purpose. Furthermore, there is little doubt that other passages of the "Instruction," such as the formulaic expressions quoted above, were also derived in part from literary sources. In addition to his collection of quotations, Volodymyr probably also drew on his own diary in which he recorded information about his campaigns or at least their dates. While not followed absolutely, a definite structural pattern is discernible in the "Instruction."

The most outstanding features of Monomax's works are his psychological characterizations and imagery. Both the "Instruction" and the letter to Prince Oleh begin in the same way—with a reference to Volodymyr's own inner experiences. Before presenting his own thoughts, he introduces quotations, such as: "God's concern for a man is more important than the concern of one man for another." On the other hand, he expresses his thoughts about the beauty and harmony of the universe in his own words: "By thy skill, O Lord, the various animals and birds and fish are adorned! We marvel at the miracle of Man's

creation from dust and of the variety of human countenances which are so distinct that if the whole world were brought together, none of them would look the same but each one—thanks to God’s wisdom—would have his own likeness. . . .\*

And we must also marvel at the fact that celestial birds come from particular warm regions . . . and do not remain in one country but . . . disperse over all countries, according to God’s command, so that they will fill the woods and fields. . . . [And] Thou, O Lord, hast taught these heavenly birds—at Thy command they sing . . . [and] at Thy command, though they have voices, they become silent.” Volodymyr finds picturesque and vivid expressions for the simplest thoughts: one should rise early “so that the sun does not find you in bed”; about his march to the burned down town of Berestia he says—to ride “to a firestick”; describing a journey along the Dnieper on the banks of which hostile Polovcians stood, he writes: “They licked their chops like wolves . . . as they stood by the ferry and in the hills”; imagining how Oleh looked at his dead son, he says: “And you saw his blood and his body, wilted like a young flower . . . like unto a slaughtered lamb”; advising the princes to remain in their own principalities, he employs the image “to eat one’s forefather’s bread”; his plea for the release of Izjaslav’s widow is expressed as follows: “You must send my daughter-in-law to me . . . so that I may embrace her and lament the death of her husband with her . . . instead of singing wedding songs, for, because of my sins, I have seen neither her happiness nor her wedding\*\*; and the mourning over, I shall settle her here and she will sit and grieve like a turtle-dove on a withered tree.” The passages quoted above reveal traces of folk and literary imagery and testify to Volodymyr Monomax’s own poetic gifts.

The language is also interesting. With the exception of the prayers, Monomax’s works contain both Church Slavonic vocabulary and elements from the vernacular, certain traces of which remain to this day in Ukrainian: *vyrij* (warm regions to which birds migrate in winter), *paropci* [*parubky* (young men)], *lahodyty* (to prepare), *varyty* [*varuvaty* (to guard)], *horlycja* (turtle-dove), etc.

And finally, the works of Volodymyr Monomax present a striking portrait of an educated person from the secular domain of the land of Rus’; they not only reveal his reading habits and his literary talent but also provide an example of the Christian piety and the Christian political ideology of the day.

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\*This section is reminiscent of a passage from the work by a Byzantine voivode, Cecaumenus.

\*\*Perhaps “happiness” refers to the wedding celebrations as distinct from the wedding ceremony performed in church.

## G. "THE PILGRIMAGE OF ABBOT DANIEL"

1. "The Pilgrimage of Abbot Daniel," one of the most popular works of Kievan literature (about one hundred copies from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century have been preserved), only borders on *belles-lettres*. This work is primarily concerned with presenting a very detailed picture of Palestine and its holy places. While it is very valuable for its topographical details about the Holy Land, "The Pilgrimage of Abbot Daniel" is narrated in a religiously motivated emotional style. As a result, it does not fall into the category of a work about geography but rather into the genre of memoirs. Daniel's work also includes much information of value to the literary historian.

Daniel's pilgrimage was not an isolated phenomenon; evidence suggests that pilgrimages were a common fact of life in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery made a pilgrimage to Mount Athos, while the young Theodosius, enthralled by the tales of those who had been to the Holy Land, even tried to run away from home in order to make such a trip himself; in 1062 Barlaam of the Kievan Caves Monastery went to the Holy Land; at the Holy Sepulchre, Daniel himself met inhabitants of Kiev, and Novgorod who had also been there. The question of whether people should travel to the Holy Land is asked in "Kirik's Questions" (see Ch. IV, pt. J, no. 2), and in the *stariny* (epic songs) performed by legendary "cripples." Daniel, abbot of some monastery, organizes his pilgrimage on a broad scale; he takes his entire "retinue," acquires guides, and has divine services performed. Furthermore, even Baldwin, King of the Crusaders, took Daniel along with him and had him placed by his side during the Easter service; Daniel was granted access to any place he wished to enter.

Daniel was probably from the principality of Černihiv—he compares the Jordan River with the Snov' (it is true that there is also a river by this name in the district of Voroniž) and when praying for the princes, only mentions those from the southern principalities. The reason for his pilgrimage is the same as that of any pilgrim: he wants to visit the places where "Christ, our Lord, once walked." He must have decided to record his impressions of the Holy Land before he actually undertook the journey. As he says in his introduction, he did not want to be like "an idle slave" and decided to describe his journey for the faithful so that they would develop a longing for the holy places. He asks his readers to pardon his lack of skill. However, this introduction alone demonstrates that Daniel was a diligent and talented man of letters. During the course of his journey he must have kept a diary in which he recorded precise measurements, and distances, place-names and so on. Moreover, his descriptions were

well served by his familiarity with the Bible and apocryphal works. His pilgrimage to the Holy Land was made between 1106 and 1108.

2. It is impossible to summarize briefly a work so broad in scope. Daniel does not limit himself to a description of Jerusalem, but also gives his impressions of all of Palestine. However, his main interest is in the holy places, associated with the mortal life of Christ or with the events of the Old Testament and in churches and monasteries. In his descriptions of these places he occasionally also refers to countries, plants, animals, farming and rarely also to certain people—his guide, from the St. Sabbas Monastery in Jerusalem, his retinue, King Baldwin, the Arabs, Western Europeans, and so on. Such references are very brief as the following example indicates: “The Jordan River flows swiftly; its far bank is winding, while this one is straight. The water is muddy and very sweet to the palate so that one never tires of drinking this holy water and people do not get sick from it and it does no harm. The Jordan River is very much like our own Snov’ in width and depth as well as in the swiftness and unevenness of its flow. Its meadows are exactly like those near the Snov’.” “In width, the Jordan is exactly like the River Snov’ at its estuary. And on this side of the River, there is a small wood and there are many very tall trees along the shores of the Jordan and there are willows but not like our willows . . . there are many reeds. And here a multitude of animals lives; there are wild boars, a countless number of them, and many leopards. And there are lions on the other side of the Jordan in the rocky hills and many lions are born there. . . .” Another good example is his description of the environs of Bethlehem: “And this hilly land near Bethlehem is very beautiful and a great many fruit trees grow on the slopes, beautiful olive trees and fig trees and various others and there are many vineyards and in the valley there are fields—all this is found near Bethlehem.” Daniel also describes the wilderness and the wild mountainous landscapes, such as those along the road between Jericho and Jerusalem: “All the way it is flat, all is sand, the road is very difficult, many people cannot breathe from the heat and die of thirst. For not far from the road is Sodom (the Dead Sea) and from this Sea, stench and hot air emanate as from a burning stove and scorch the earth with this vile-smelling heat.” His descriptions of structures are less colorful. Such, for example, is the picture of the Church of the Resurrection of Christ in Jerusalem: “Its structure is amazing and it is very well built and its beauty is inexpressible; it creates an impression of roundness and awesomeness and its exterior, which is decorated with a mosaic, is amazingly and inexpressibly beautiful; and its walls are covered by slabs of marble cut from the most expensive stone and it is very beautiful. . . .” In addition to such inexpressive words as “amazing, beautiful, inexpressible, awesome,” Daniel occasionally also includes detailed enumerations of the

measurements of buildings, the number of pillars and so on. His descriptions of farm life are more successful. He depicts the acquisition of incense or the economy of Hebron area in the following words: "And today this land surely possesses all of God's blessings: grain and wine and oil and is rich in all raw materials and cattle and a great multitude of sheep and good calves are born twice a year and there are many bees in those rocks, in those beautiful hills; and there are many good vineyards on the slopes and numerous fruit trees—olive trees, fig trees, apple trees and cherry trees. Grapes and other fruits grow well and are better than those that grow anywhere else on the face of this earth—and neither are there comparable grapes anywhere and the fruit is like heavenly fruit."

People are mentioned only in passing. Even King Baldwin is not described in detail. Of all the people that Daniel comes across, only his guide is considered worthy of a few brief comments for he is a "holy man, old in years and very learned." The objective descriptive style is occasionally broken by passages in an emotional or elevated style; for a long time Daniel walks "lovingly" along the shores of the Jordan; "with love in their hearts and tears in their eyes," he and his retinue kiss the "holy spot" where Christ was transfigured; they are overcome with joy when they first catch a glimpse of Jerusalem—"no one can hold back his tears when he looks longingly upon this land and these holy places where Christ walked to grant us salvation." The concluding section of the work, which follows a separate part devoted to the appearance of the holy fire on Christ's grave, is equally joyous: "Enriched by God's grace, carrying gifts in my hands and a token from the holy grave, illuminating with them all places, we walked along joyfully, with a very great joy in our hearts, as if we had found some valuable treasure." The reactions of others are also recorded: during Easter service "Prince Baldwin stands in awe and in great humility and tears flow from his eyes as if from a spring" and all the people at His gravesite rejoice. "And he who did not see this joy on this day, will not believe the narrator."

Daniel's patriotism is revealed in his prayers for the princes, whose names he records in the commemorative book, and for the land of Rus'. The icon lamp which he places at the Holy Sepulchre on Easter is from "the entire land of Rus'" (by which he means Ukraine—see above, no. 1).

3. However, all these descriptions of landscapes, people and emotional reactions are merely embellishments; the main purpose of the work is the depiction of religious monuments. As many of the events of the Old and New Testaments were associated in Palestine with specific localities, they gave rise to the so-called "local legends" or tales. The admixture of historical and legendary in them was undoubtedly a product both of religious fantasy and a practical

desire to have something worthy to show the traveller in every area. Daniel visited many such places and refers to the biblical and apocryphal stories linked with them. His numerous allusions to apocrypha provide an indication of the wealth of such material already known in Kievan Rus' by this time. Thus, describing Golgotha, he mentions that beneath Christ's tomb lies "Adam's head"—at the time of Christ's death, the earth beneath it "cracked . . . and through this crack blood and water from Christ's ribs dripped on Adam's head and washed away the sins of the entire human race" (from the apocrypha, "The Tree of the Cross"—see Ch. II, pt. C, sec. b). Daniel also visited the cave where the Magi bowed down before Christ; the well, near which the Archangel Gabriel first appeared to the Virgin Mary (both tales are from the "Gospel of Jacob"); the place where Christ was tempted by the Devil; the tower in which David wrote the Psalms; the mountain on which Elizabeth hid with John the Baptist; ate fish from the Sea of Galilee, which Christ had particularly esteemed, etc. Daniel's work provides a wealth of material for the study of apocrypha as well as local legends.

"The Pilgrimage of Abbot Daniel" occupies an important place in eleventh century Kievan literature. While it only borders on *belles-lettres*, it, nonetheless, remains a work of literature—by eleventh century standards, "The Pilgrimage of Abbot Daniel" is not a purely "scholarly," geographic work. Its language is quite simple and bears traces of the vernacular. Especially striking is the use of the embryonic article: "*Grad*" *mal*" *stoit*' . . . *v' gorax tĕx*" . . . *posred'že grada togo cerkov' velika* . . . *Vlĕzuĕi-ž' v' cerkov' tu* . . . *est' peĕera* . . . *slĕsti po stupnem*" *v peĕeru tu*" ("A small city stands in those hills . . . in the middle of the town there is a large church. . . As you enter this church . . ., there is a cave, . . . one reaches this cave by going down some stairs") and so on.\* Unfortunately, the later redactions of this work (and only later copies—from the fifteenth century—have come down to us) did not preserve its linguistic peculiarities. The broad scope of "The Pilgrimage of Abbot Daniel," its emotional quality and the graphic nature of its descriptions, link it with the Kievan tradition. One need only compare Daniel's work with similar later works of Novgorodian origin (e.g., that of Antonius-Dobrynja of Novgorod to Constantinople around 1200) to notice the marked difference between them: written in a dry, official style, the later accounts of pilgrimages are more akin to catalogs than memoirs.

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\*Comp. Ševĕenko's "*krovaviji tiji lita*" ("those blood-thirsty times") and "*xryšĕenoi toji movy*" ("that baptised language"). Technically, this embryonic article is referred to as the nominal determinant. In old Kievan literature, clear examples of such constructions are to be found in the Lives written by Nestor.

## H. CHRONICLES

1. Kievan chronicles are interesting not only as historical monuments but also as literary works of high artistic value. Their annalistic structure is merely a formal device and a formal device which is rarely adhered to at that. A collection of the most diverse literary materials, which would otherwise not have been preserved, chronicles are, in fact, akin to encyclopedias. Furthermore, since they encompass several centuries, they could not have been written by one person: as the authors changed, so too did the style and perhaps even the content of these monuments, making the question of authorship very important. On the other hand, individual stylistic peculiarities were limited by the established tradition.

The oldest part of the *Chronicle* covers the period from the middle of the ninth century to the second decade of the twelfth century and concentrates on events in the Kievan principality. As was mentioned above, the *Chronicle* follows the strict annalistic form only rarely. In most cases, events are narrated as complete stories, only infrequently being divided up on the basis of their chronology and included as separate entries.

The oldest chronicle of Kievan Rus' has been preserved in varying manuscripts: the *Laurentian Chronicle* (in various copies from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) which ends with the year 1110 and includes a note by Silvester, abbot of the Vydubec'kyj Monastery near Kiev, who worked in 1116, and the *Hypatian Chronicle* (five copies, the earliest dating from the fifteenth century) where the text extends to the year 1117.

The narrative begins with the story of the scattering of mankind over the face of the earth after the Flood, special attention being given to the Slavs. Also included as part of this early history of the Slavs is the account of the Apostle Andrew's trip along the Dnieper. While the years are counted from the Creation, i.e., 5508 B.C., the historical narrative of the land of Rus' begins in 862 when the Varangian princes were summoned to Novgorod. There follows quite a detailed account of the history of Rus' until the reign of Volodymyr: the focus of attention is on the Kievan principality and there are occasional omissions of considerable spans of years (for instance, 867-878, 888-897, etc.). Under the year 898, the mission of Cyril and Methodius and the creation of the Slavonic alphabet is described, while the texts of treaties with the Greeks are inserted in a section composed of individual legends. A rather large amount of space is occupied by the account of Volodymyr's baptism which includes the stories of the Greek missionary and philosopher, of the "trying of various religions" by Volodymyr's messengers, of Volodymyr's baptism and march against Korsun'. Then again there is a yearly narrative, devoted in large part to the Kievan

princes. As in the earlier section, omissions are also encountered here: between the years 998 and 1013 only the deaths of various members of the princely family are recorded. Entered under 1015 is the story of the murders of Borys and Hlib. The entries for several years after 1037, which include a eulogy of Jaroslav the Wise, are quite brief. Beginning with 1043, the accounts are again more detailed: under 1051 there is a description of the founding of the Kievan Caves Monastery, under 1071—the tale about the sorcerers mentioned above, under 1074—the story of the death of St. Theodosius and the story of Isaac, under 1091—the transfer of St. Theodosius' relics, under 1096 (in the *Laurentian Chronicle*)—the “collected works” of Volodymyr Monomax and under 1097—the “Tale about the Blinding of Vasyľko.”

2. Thus, the *Chronicle* is composed of a great variety of materials: not only does it include other monuments, both written and oral, but also draws upon many other sources—the *Novgorod Chronicles*, and perhaps even written accounts from the Černihiv region, as well as oral tales from Tmutorokan' (on the Azov Sea), the stories from the history of the Kievan Caves Monastery and various documents (the treaties with the Greeks, the commemorative book of the Kievan princes, the testament of Jaroslav the Wise, etc.). Furthermore, foreign sources were also employed: Moravian (the story of the creation of the alphabet and one other historical work), Bulgarian (e.g., the baptism of King Boris), translated Byzantine works (the *Chronicles* of Hamartolos, Malalas, etc.), sermons (“Sermon about God's Punishments,” some by John Chrysostomos, etc.), and apocrypha (“The Revelations of Methodius of Patara” and the Life of Basil the New). The mere collection of all this material was a huge task. To isolate those elements in the *Chronicle* that were derived from the oral tradition (perhaps from epic songs) is much more difficult. However, in some cases, these borrowed elements can also be identified (see below, pt. I).

3. As the *Chronicle* is composed of a great variety of materials, a diversity of styles is to be expected, especially as many of these materials were merely copied verbatim from other sources. However, those sections which were actually written by the old Kievan chroniclers reveal a series of common features and testify to the great literary abilities of their authors.

When tales which may have been borrowed from the oral tradition (Scandinavian?) were discussed earlier, their rhythmical quality and predilection for alliteration were mentioned. In the later sections of the *Chronicle* this rhythmical quality is still encountered quite frequently: the simple syntax employed is a significant contributing factor. Such is the case in the following excerpt taken from the account of the battle of 1097 between the Polovcians, allies of Prince David of Volodymyr in Volhynia, and the Magyars, allies of Prince

Svjatopolk; it describes the manner in which the Polovcian khan, Bonjak, divines the outcome of the battle that is to take place on the following day:

<i>i jako bist' polunošči,</i>	i-b-p
<i>i vstav'' Bonjak''</i>	i-v-b
<i>ot'čxa ot voj,</i>	v
<i>i poča vyti volč'sky,</i>	i-p-v-v
<i>i volk'' ot'vysja emu,</i>	i-v
<i>i načša volci vyti mnozi;</i>	i-v-v
<i>Bonjak'' že pričxav''</i>	p
<i>pověda Davydovi,</i>	p
<i>jako poběda ny est' na Ugry . . .</i>	p

(“And when midnight came, Bonjak rose, rode away from the troops and started to howl like a wolf and a wolf answered him and many wolves began to howl; when he returned, Bonjak told David that they would be victorious over the Hungarians. . . .”)

Such excerpts, always brief, are quite frequent.

Aphorisms and adages, put into the mouths of the characters acting in the historical events, are frequently encountered. The Novgorodians inform Svjato-polk, who wants to send his son to reign over them: “If your son has two heads, then go ahead and send him” (1102). Preceding the battle, the princes say: “We shall either die or live.” After the victory over the Volga Bulgars, Dobrynja advises Volodymyr the Great: “They all wear boots, they will not pay us tribute; let us rather go and look for those who wear bast shoes.” This is the style of annalistic anecdotes of all periods and these anecdotes are probably derived from the oral tradition. Furthermore, there is a predilection for beginning accounts of political events either with sentences of this type or with a short exchange between two or more characters; summaries of events are frequently given in this fashion as well. In reference to an epidemic in Polock “people said: the dead (“*nav'e*”) are attacking the inhabitants of Polock”; at an assembly at Ljubeč the princes “say to themselves: ‘Why do we ruin the land of Rus’ by fighting among ourselves?’”; at a meeting of princes near Lake Dolob'sk, Volodymyr Monomax delivers a speech: “I see . . . that you can feel pity for the horses . . .; but why do you not wish to remember that a peasant will start to plough and a Polovcian will come, shoot him with an arrow, take his horse and then move on to the village where he will seize his [the peasant's] wife and children and his entire property; thus, you show pity for the horse but not for him [the peasant].’”

Such a speech—really merely an extended aphorism—was a favorite device of the chroniclers. Be they in the form of a dialogue, a speech or an interior monologue, these extended aphorisms give a dramatic quality to the *Chronicle* accounts, on the one hand, and serve to increase the dramatic tension by retarding the action on the other.

The use of fixed expressions in the description of set situations is another characteristic feature of the *Chronicle* and a feature that links it with the tradition of the epic narrative. Thus, the beginning of a battle is usually marked with the words “to hoist the flag” or “to break the spear”; troops or casualties are “countless”; the battle (*bran’* or *seča*) is either “ferocious” or such “as was never before seen”; princes gather “many and brave soldiers” (“*voi mnogi i xrabry*”), return from a campaign “with victory” or “with glory and great victory,” “wipe away sweat” after their return or “wipe away their tears” of grief for those who died; “to throw a knife between them” signifies provoking enmity in the camp of the enemy. Even some phrases which occur only once in the *Chronicle* are of this type; for example, the Greeks are characterized as follows: “The Greeks are deceivers [*l’stivi*] even to this day.”

Similes are frequently encountered: the army is “like a forest” (“*aki borove*”); the sun during an eclipse is “like the moon”; arrows fall “like rain”; Prince Svjatoslav “walked softly, like a panther [*bars*]”; attacking the Hungarians from three sides, Bonjak “flung them down as if they were balls, in the same manner as a falcon attacks a jackdaw.” Epithets are much rarer, consisting mainly of the names of princes or other personages.

Although they are rare and possibly borrowed from some poetic works not known to us, such as the epos, individual descriptive scenes are also of interest. Such is the account of the battle in 1024 between Jaroslav and Mstyslav of Tmutorokan’: “And during the night there was darkness, lightning, thunder and rain. And there was a ferocious battle and when the lightning lighted up the sky, weapons glittered and there was a tremendous storm and a fierce and terrible battle. . . .” Or the destruction of 1093: “We must suffer the consequences of our actions: all the cities are de-populated; when crossing the fields on which many horses, sheep and oxen once grazed, all we see today is emptiness—fields overgrown with weeds, which have become the home for wild animals”; the captives were kept in the tents of the Polovcians: “suffering, sad, tormented, numb with cold, hungry, thirsty and in misery, with thin faces, blackened bodies, in a foreign land, with parched tongues, they walk about naked and barefoot, their feet pricked by thorns, saying to one another with tears in their eyes ‘I was from such-and-such a town’ and being told by others ‘and I—from such-and-such a town.’ They questioned each other in this way, told of their

own families and groaned, lifting their eyes to Him who is in the heavens, to Him who knows all." Reminiscent of the Cossack chronicles and *dumy*, which deal with the destruction of the seventeenth century, sections such as this are not infrequent.

4. The language of the *Chronicle* should also be noted: the Church Slavonic elements of old monuments have been altered in the direction of the vernacular to such an extent as to be all but unrecognizable: the number of words which are interesting from the cultural point of view is striking: *grivna* ("necklace"—later a monetary unit), *gridnicja* (hall), *skot* (in the sense of "treasure"), *meduša* (wine cellar), *pavoloki* (silk), *komoni* (horses), *kotori* (wars between the princes), *tuten* (noise), etc. Only a portion of these words are to be found in other monuments of this early period, while some of them still exist in the Ukrainian language or its dialects: *samovydec'* (eye witness), *triska* (splinter), *rin'* (gravel), *svita* (retinue), *ženut'* (they drive), *strixa* (thatched roof), *žerelo* (spring). Similarly, there are certain grammatical forms which have also survived, such as the future tense of *iměti* ("to have"; today written *pysatymu*—"I will write," etc.) and forms which are used only in the Carpathian Ukraine—*ses'* (this one) or the future tense: *budu uhodyl* (I will agree), *budu prijal* (I will accept),\* etc.

5. As was mentioned above, the *Chronicle* could not have been written by one author. A close examination of the text allows us to identify the individual parts of the *Chronicle* on which various authors worked.

In the Kievan period (thirteenth century), Nestor, a monk of the Kievan Caves Monastery, was regarded as the author of the *Chronicle* and there is no evidence today that would contradict this belief. Nestor was probably the author and compiler of the version which ends with the year 1113 and which was copied by Silvester. The text itself contains various indications of changes in authorship. Under the year 1044, the *Chronicle* gives an account of the transfer of the bodies of Princes Jaropolk and Oleh Svjatoslavyč to Kiev, while under 977 it is said that Oleh's grave "is still" near Ovruch. Therefore, the author who made the entry for 977 continued to record events only up to 1044. Similarly, Prince Vsevolod is referred to as "still" living under 1044, while the entry for 1101 records his death; as a result, it can be assumed that the author who wrote of the events of 1044 completed his work on the *Chronicle* prior to 1101. On the basis of these and other breaks in the text, the dates bounding the participation of

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\*Older scholars, especially those of Russian origin and including even Buslaev, assumed that all forms shared by Ukrainian dialects and the Polish language were Polonisms. The examples given above reveal the erroneous nature of this assumption. In fact, this form is encountered in old Kievan texts as well as in other Slavic languages.

various authors in the writing of the *Chronicle* can be established: 1) up to 1044, 2) from 1044 to the eighties of the eleventh century, 3) from the eighties to 1101 and 4) from 1101 to 1113. Obviously, even the author of the portion extending up to 1044 could not have been an eye-witness to the events he recorded; however, it is more difficult to establish any dividing lines in this earlier section. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the following author did not only continue the *Chronicle* but appears also to have made some additions to or deletions from the earlier section. However, even in this case some conclusions can be drawn.

By studying the diversities in the style or character of the entries, scholars, such as Šaxmatov, were able to isolate additional dividing lines. With the year 1044, a new segment of the *Chronicle* begins. The narrative is broader up to the entry for 1037, where the building of a new castle and new churches (especially St. Sophia's) in Kiev by Jaroslav the Wise is described and the eulogy of Jaroslav is recorded. It is possible that on this momentous occasion, the establishment of the Kievan metropolitanate, the *Chronicle* was recompiled or reworked. From 1038 to 1043, the entries are short and supplementary in character.

The narrative again becomes more detailed in 1044; for several years after 1061, important events are carefully dated whereas beginning in 1073 the accounts become more fragmentary—the death of Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery is not recorded but other events occurring at the Monastery are described. The entries under the years 1066-67 create the impression that they were made not in Kiev but in distant Tmutorokan'. This fact suggests that the author of the section of the *Chronicle* from 1044 to 1073 may have been the abbot Nikon who was forced to flee from Kiev to Tmutorokan' in 1061 because he had angered Izjaslav and did not return until 1068. In 1073, the Kievan Caves Monastery opposed Prince Svjatoslav, regarding him as responsible for the war among the princes, and it is possible that Nikon was once again forced to flee from Kiev. Thus, Nikon (or perhaps one of the monks who accompanied him on his flights from Kiev) may have been the author of the portion of the *Chronicle* between the years 1044 and 1073 and could have been responsible for the insertion of materials from the Tmutorokan' area into the early parts of the work.

The next section can be said to end in the year 1093, as one extant manuscript contains an introduction which appears to belong under this date. This redaction also originated in the Kievan Caves Monastery but it is difficult to say anything definite about its author.

Nestor was almost certainly responsible for the version extending to 1113. Furthermore, it is probable that Silvester also did not limit himself to merely

recopying the text but made his own changes and additions, as did each of the subsequent chroniclers.

Fortunately, some fragments of the older redactions of the *Chronicle* have been preserved. In the *Novgorodian Chronicle* the exposition of events at the beginning is simpler and briefer than that in Silvester's version; furthermore, there are changes which cannot be attributed to condensation of the earlier text. Other fragments of old chronicles are to be found in various old monuments (such as "In Memory and Praise of Prince St. Volodymyr"—see Ch. III, pt. D, no. 6—or the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*—see Ch. IV, pt. D). The Polish historian Dlugosz, who wrote in the fifteenth century, used a chronicle unknown to us. A comparison of these various fragments allows definite conclusions to be drawn about the chronicles which have not survived.

6. Information about the authors of the *Chronicle* can be extrapolated from the text itself. The author of the first section wrote in 1037, probably in order to strengthen the argument for the establishment of the Kievan metropolitanate, and, as a result, directed his attention towards the history of the Christianization of Rus'. He utilized ancient oral tales and epics and possibly also various old historical monuments but his most important source was Church literature—Lives of Varangian princes killed in Kiev by the pagans, a work about the baptism of Ol'ha and Church records. While political events are recounted briefly, the accounts of the baptisms of Ol'ha and especially Volodymyr are presented in much greater detail, making ample use of folk tales. Thus, Volodymyr apparently did not accept the Islamic faith because it forbade the drinking of wine: "The inhabitants of Rus' love their swill, without it they cannot dwell" (obviously a folk saying). Only after the detailed exposition of the Christian faith by the missionary does the narrative begin to rely on memory as the source of information. The conclusion of this portion of the *Chronicle* includes references to the construction of churches in Kiev and a eulogy of Prince Jaroslav the Wise, who contributed significantly to the development of culture and the Church. The perspective from which events are viewed is frequently Greek: the history of the Kievan Church before the establishment of the Greek hierarchy is completely ignored. It is clear that an attempt was made to create the impression that Christianity in Kievan Rus' was solely of Greek origin.

On the other hand, the views of the author who extended the *Chronicle* up to 1073 are completely different. He criticizes the Greek hierarchy, recounts the story of the founding of the Kievan Caves Monastery and speaks of the fight it conducted against paganism (the tale about the sorcerers) without the help of the Greeks. It was perhaps this author who supplemented the older section of the *Chronicle* with details of the victories of Oleh and Svjatoslav over the

Greeks. Furthermore, he expresses definite ideas about the internal politics of Rus': he favors peaceful coexistence among the princes and, for this reason, even attacks Prince Svjatoslav Jaroslavyč, who was actively sympathetic towards the Kievan Caves Monastery. In addition, he sides with the urban population, stressing the injustice of the punishments ordered by the princes, etc. The increased information about Tmutorokan', possibly partly derived from Tmutorokan' epic songs, is also of note.

The ideology expressed in the introduction to the version of 1093 is quite similar to that of its predecessor, except that here there is a greater concern with social questions. The princes are accused of an "insatiability" that leads to the destruction of the population and the victories of the Polovci are interpreted as "God's punishment" for this. Furthermore, the role of the princely dynasty is elevated to an even greater extent than in the earlier versions: the author regards the princes as the legitimate rulers of all of Rus' (not merely Kiev but Novgorod as well) and the leaders in the struggle against the nomads of the steppe. It should also be noted that, like his predecessors, he also probably supplemented the older portions of the *Chronicle* and, on the basis of these additions, certain fairly well-founded hypotheses can be made.

The next person to re-work the *Chronicle* was Nestor, known to us from his other works (the Lives of Theodosius and of Borys and Hlib) as one of the most talented authors of the early period of Kievan literature. Nestor brought the *Chronicle* up to 1113 and made significant alterations in the preceding sections. In addition to the *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos*, he also drew on a great many other sources—Moravian monuments, oral tales, other written sources and perhaps even the epos. His contribution in part consists of the broadening of the scope of the narrative and he does not hesitate to move from Church to secular history. His text also indicates that he had a deeper interest in the general questions of the historical evolution of Rus' than the earlier chroniclers. Furthermore, those sections which identify the princely dynasty as of Varangian origin, theorize about the origin of Rus' and describe the treaties with the Greeks can be attributed to Nestor. From these treaties Nestor discovered that Oleh was a prince and not merely one of Ihor's voivodes as was indicated in the Novgorodian redaction and made the required corrections. To the introduction he added the story of the dispersion of mankind after the Flood and was probably also responsible for the stylistic re-working of some of the earlier portions of the text.

The last version of the *Chronicle* was compiled by Silvester, abbot of the Vydubec'kyj Monastery. The *Chronicle* found its way to this monastery when Volodymyr Monomax became grand prince; built by Vsevolod, Volodymyr

Monomax's father, the Vydubec'kyj Monastery was always closely associated with the Monomax family. This new version excludes all material which is sympathetic to Volodymyr's enemies, notably Prince Svjatopolk. It is also possible that Silvester was responsible for the inclusion of the story of the blinding of Vasyľ'ko, who was defended by Volodymyr Monomax, and of the Apostle Andrew's journey to Rus'. The latter story cannot logically be attributed to Nestor because Nestor rejects the idea that Rus' was visited by an Apostle in his *Life of Borys and Hlib*. At the same time, Monomax particularly revered Andrew and built churches in his honor. For similar reasons, it is also likely that Silvester incorporated Volodymyr Monomax's "collected works" into the *Chronicle*.

Silvester's version does not exhaust the various redactions of the *Chronicle* (the *Hypatian Chronicle* which ends with the years 1110-1118). With the same bias in favor of Monomax as Silvester's, this version further extends the *Chronicle* by adding material about Volodymyr's father, Vsevolod, and his family and about the deeds of Volodymyr's son, Mstyslav, in Novgorod. In addition to several minor corrections, there are a few entries which were either the product of the pen of Mstyslav himself or a transcription of his words. Similar to that of the versions of 1073 and 1093, the ideology of the *Hypatian Chronicle* also includes the idea of peaceful coexistence advocated by Volodymyr.

7. Also of interest is the question of the literary sources employed in the writing of the *Chronicle*. Some of these have already been discussed above. Especially important are the fragments of old Ukrainian monuments preserved in the *Chronicle*; for example, the Černihiv and Western Ukrainian Chronicles. The tales and sagas dealing with pre-Christian times or Tmutorokan' could have been derived from either written or oral sources (see Ch. I, pt. C, nos. 1-5). Furthermore, it is possible that the chroniclers employed the resources of the epic tales and songs (see below, pt. I).

Even more interesting is the fact that the deletions made by later chroniclers can still be identified in some instances. There are indications that details of the existence of Varangian and Slavic dynasties (e.g., among the Derevljanians, in Polock) other than that of Rjurik were eliminated: there are allusions to the existence of such dynasties in the old Novgorodian redaction of the *Chronicle* as well as in some of the later ones. Another area to suffer this fate was that of Christianity in Rus' before Volodymyr and those aspects of it which were not associated with Greece. Only from Western sources do we learn of Ol'ha's relations with Rome (a Catholic bishop even came to visit her), of the emissaries sent by the Pope to Volodymyr, and of the Catholic bishop who visited

Svjatopolk the Accursed. There is evidence that Volodymyr the Great's brothers, Oleh and Jaropolk, who ruled before him, were either Christians or were sympathetic to Christianity. In fact, the *Chronicle* itself hints at the existence of Christians in Kiev before the reign of Volodymyr: Kievans are said to have gone willingly to be baptized as "they had been taught earlier," etc. After the Christianization of Rus' in 988, Kiev did not have a Greek hierarchy until the period of Jaroslav; however, a hierarchy did exist and church literature of *Slavic* not Greek origin came to Rus'. Some sources suggest that between 988 and 1037, the Church hierarchy was Bulgarian but the *Chronicle* completely ignores this question as well!

Various other types of material, which did not correspond with the views or biases of later chroniclers, were probably also excluded. Hypotheses about some of the other sections eliminated from the older text could also be made but we need not do so here.

8. We have already examined the literary aspects of the *Chronicle*. An evaluation of the wealth of factual information contained in it would be beyond the scope of this work; historians can only frequently lament the fact that they are not elaborated upon. However, the ideology of the *Chronicle* is extremely interesting, for it presents the first concept of the historical evolution of Rus' even though it is primitive in character. In spite of the obvious Grecophile tendencies and dynastic biases, this conception is based on the conviction that Rus' is capable of having an independent political and historical existence. One need only compare this with Byzantine historiography, which regarded all other nations as dependent parts of the Byzantine world. In addition, most of the authors who worked on the *Chronicle* advocated ideas that were quite advanced for their time and a positive achievement in the realm of political consciousness—ideas of peaceful coexistence among the princes and social justice for the urban, and in part also for the peasant population, which was responsible for the material well-being of the country. On the other hand, these ideas are not always expressed forcefully and are accompanied by many historically limited and politically narrow views. Nonetheless, the *Chronicle* remains a valuable work on political ideology as well as an outstanding literary monument of the early Kievan period of Ukrainian history.

## I. THE EPOS

1. Unfortunately, a large number of the works of the old period have not been preserved, among them the old epos. However, it is possible to describe the nature of the works of this genre of Kievan literature, even though it be in very

general terms. Definite conclusions can be drawn about the content of the epos—its subject matter and its themes—but little can be said about its style, language, artistry or authors.

The themes of the old epos can be established with the help of several types of sources. The first of these are the chronicles, which contain many tales linked with the old epos; the later Russian chronicles (sixteenth century) such as the so-called *Nicon Chronicle*, are also useful in this respect. But the most important source are the Russian *byliny* (this name was created in the nineteenth century, the popular name being *stariny*). These are epic songs, discovered by scholars in the north of Russia in the nineteenth century; they have even survived up to the present in almost all areas of Russia. The heroes of the *stariny*, *bogatyri*, are associated in large part with Kiev and Prince “Volodymyr, the beautiful sun.” Several copies of *stariny* recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been preserved but they are unfortunately in prose. It is interesting to note that some elements of the East Slavic epos even found their way into the Western European epics.

2. The references to Kievan Rus' found in the *stariny* also pose an interesting problem. At present there are no *stariny* either in Ukraine or in Belorussia. However, there is evidence indicating that their themes are very old and that they did not die<sup>3</sup> out in Ukraine, the country of their origin, until the sixteenth or seventeenth century, being replaced at this time by a new type of epos—the *dumy*.

Testifying to the antiquity of the epos are the numerous details referring to the old period—personal names, place names, descriptions of settings (steppe landscapes) and customs. Consequently, the East Slavic oral tradition, like that of other peoples, must have preserved these details over the centuries and one of our tasks is to identify the historical events to which they refer. The greatest contribution in this area was made by Vsevolod Miller and his school, while M. Hruševs'kyj must be credited with the most thorough study of Ukrainian materials. An identification of the historical event referred to in a *starina* occasionally also makes it possible to establish the approximate date of its origin, for frequently the event or some of the details of the story are such as would not have been retained for a long period of time in the memory of the folk. On the other hand, the form of the old epos underwent many significant changes over the centuries.

The existence of the epos in the Kievan period is attested by various references to “singers.” Such references are numerous but fragmentary and not always convincing. *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* mentions the poet (“*pěsnotvorec*”), Bojan, and even lists the names of the princes whom he celebrated in

his songs. The *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* speaks of the “famous singer” Mytusa and recounts how after one successful campaign against the Jatvingians, “a famous song was sung” (“*pěsn’ slavnu pojaxu ima*”) for Daniel and Vasyľ’ko. Dlugosz also mentions such songs. Moreover, the epos also existed among other peoples, culturally linked with Kiev: in Byzantium (the theme of one of them being the adventures of Digenis—see Ch. II, sec. b), in Scandinavia (two of their poets, *skalds*, were at Jaroslav’s court). References to Kiev and Western Europe in general are found in the epic tales of the Polovci, mentioned in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (the poet, Or, and the tale about the magic herb *jevšanzillja*), and in those of the Goths who remained in the Crimea (mentioned in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*). Traces of the epic tradition are also to be found in ecclesiastical literature.

Allusions to “singers” in translated works cannot be weighted too heavily. However, those made by Cyril of Turiv (twelfth century) are worthy of note: contrasting “chroniclers” and “singers,” he states that the latter “observe the warriors and the battles between princes in order to embellish that which they have seen and celebrate those who fought bravely [*xrabrovavšaja*] for their prince. . . , and having celebrated them, to crown them with wreaths of praises.” That this was merely copied from the Greek original is highly unlikely, for Cyril is known to have excluded material which he believed would be alien to his listeners. In addition, the words “*xrabrovati*” or “*xrabr*” are characteristically used in reference to *bogatyri*—epic heroes (such is the case in Nestor’s *Life of Theodosius*).

For our purposes the most significant fact is that these tales about the *bogatyri* continued to exist in Ukraine until the sixteenth or perhaps even the eighteenth century. The *Menaea* of 1489, which contains a great many vernacular elements in its language (see Ch. V), refers to these epic heroes (“*xrabri*”), while at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Belorussian Skoryna described Samson as a *bogatyř*. Furthermore, the Polish author Sarnicki mentions the *bogatyri* (bohatrios) buried in the Kievan Caves in his *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae* . . . (1585), as does his fellow countryman, Marcin Bielski. Later, yet another Pole, Johann Herbinius, refers to these underground caves in his book, *Religiosae Kijovienses cryptae, sive Kijovia subterranea* . . . (1675), noting that he read of them in *Flos Polonicus* (Nuremberg, 1666). Similar information is also to be found in Russian sources (sixteenth century). But what is most important is that these sources mention the same *bogatyri* as the *stariny*. The Polish author M. Rej speaks of the Kievan “charlatan Čurylo” (*Zwierzyniec*, 1562), and this same Čurylo is mentioned by Klonowicz (*Worek Judaszów*, II, 1600). In a letter to the Belorussian Volovyč dated 1574, a Kievan, Kmita

Čornobyl's'kyj, laments the fate of Poland: "The time will come when an Il'ja Muravlenin and a Solovej Budimirovič will be needed." Erik Lassota, an emissary from Austria, visited the cathedral of St. Sophia in 1594 and saw the grave of "Il'ja Muravlin," who is called a *bogatyř* (bogater) and about whom many tales are told; "his friend" also is buried here. In the Kievan Caves Monastery he saw the relics of "the *bogatyř* and giant" Čobotko (Czobotko). Kalnofoisky (1638) mentions that St. Il'ja, who is buried in the caves and regarded as a giant in the oral tradition, is frequently referred to as Čobotko. Il'ja's relics were also seen by the Moscow priest Luk'janov in 1701. In addition, there were also images of Il'ja (engravings prepared for the *Patericon of 1650*), as well as other references.

Indications are that the old epos died out only in the seventeenth century, having been replaced by a new type of epos—the *dumy* (see Ch. VI).

3. It is unclear whether the old epos was initially linked with the traditions of the court (the singers that are mentioned were all court poets) or the folk. Analogies with Western and certain Eastern developments suggest that the epos arose in the upper circles and slowly filtered downward, first to the *skomoroxy* and then to the folk, where it is found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In our time, the remains of the old epos are encountered only among the peasantry, preserved in large part by fishermen, village craftsmen and even beggars.

The contemporary *stariny* can be divided into a number of thematic cycles. Let us examine each of these separately.

4. Vestiges of the pre-Christian epos are few and vague in character. Among its heroes we encounter Vol'ga or Volx Vseslavič. We are told 1) of his miraculous birth without a father, 2) of his adeptness at sorcery which allows him to transform himself into various animals, 3) of his skill in hunting, 4) of his magical conquest of the "Indian kingdom" and 5) of his meeting with the peasant *bogatyř*, Mikula. The very name "Vol'ga" suggests a link with Oleh and Ol'ha. According to the *Chronicle*, Oleh has the power of prophecy and is therefore a sorcerer; because of this belief about him, Oleh could have been the impetus behind the development of the second, fourth and perhaps even the first motif mentioned above. (It will be remembered that Oleh is said to have succeeded in taking Constantinople because he had his boats placed on wheels.) The motif about Vol'ga's skill in hunting would more probably have been associated with Ol'ha, for it is about her that the *Chronicle* speaks in this regard (eleventh century). Although there are ancient elements in it (the prince collects taxes himself), the fifth motif given above is probably of later origin. Recent attempts to identify Volx Vseslavič with Vseslav, prince of Polock, sorcerer and werewolf, are not convincing.

5. The largest single group of *stariny* are devoted to a Kievan prince named Vladimir (Volodymyr). In some instances this "Vladimir" actually refers to Volodymyr the Great. He is portrayed as a passive person who merely entertains the *bogatyri*. Significantly, Volodymyr's feasts are also mentioned in Nestor's *Chronicle*, by Hilarion and in later chronicles, even that of the German Thietmar of Merseburg.

Among heroes bearing historical names, one must note the uncle of Prince Volodymyr, Dobrynja, known to us from the *Chronicle*. In the *stariny* Dobrynja is credited with several actions: 1) he slays a dragon, 2) frees Volodymyr's niece, Zabava Putjatyčna, from it, 3) bathes in the Počajna River, 4) finds a wife for Volodymyr, and 5) brings water to his nephew. Motifs 1, 2, 3, and 5 are undoubtedly linked with the fact that Dobrynja and Putjata participated in the baptism of the inhabitants of Novgorod. Bathing and the acquisition of water are symbols of baptism while the dragon symbolizes paganism (note the dragon-slaying saints). Furthermore, the Kievans were baptized in the Počajna River (motif 3). Motif 4 has parallels in various tales and in the later chronicles. The motif of Dobrynja as matchmaker appears to belong to the tradition of Indo-European oral tales ("Nibelungen-Lied").

One of the tales of the cycle dealing with Volodymyr has been preserved in the *Chronicle* and in contemporary tales; it tells of the victory of a tanner (*Kožumjaka*) over a hostile giant, a theme which is widespread among various peoples (e.g., the story of David and Goliath). The *Chronicle* version, which contains numerous alliterations, could have originated among the urban population, for the prince's retinue is said to have been unsuccessful in its attempt to destroy the giant.

6. In other instances the "Vladimir" of the *stariny* is more likely Volodymyr Monomax, who became completely identified with "Volodymyr, the Beautiful Sun," only later. The most frequent theme of this cycle is that of Al'oša (Oleksandr) Popovič's battle with Tugarin Zmejevič, who had become friendly with Prince Volodymyr's wife, Opraksija, and spent a great deal of time at the court of the prince. It is easy to recognize in Tugarin the historical Polovcian prince, Tuhor-khan, whose daughter was married to Prince Svjatopolk. In 1096 Tuhor-khan waged a war against the princes of Rus' but was defeated and killed by Volodymyr Monomax. There are also some later references (from the thirteenth century and probably legendary in character) to Al'oša as a Rjazan' *bogatyř*. Consequently, we have in this instance a fusion of several historical events and personages.

In a little known *starina* about Gleb Volodevič, who frees the boats captured by Prince Marinka Kajdalovna, the actual historical events underlying

its theme have been well preserved. What we have here is an echo of the victory of the young Volodymyr and Prince Hlib over Korsun' in 1077. "Marinka" is Maryna Mnišek, the wife of Dimitri the Pretender, whose name was probably incorporated into this *starina* in the seventeenth century.

Also historical in character is the theme of the *starina* about Stavro Godinovič who was detained by Monomax and set free by his wife who is said to have come to Kiev disguised in men's clothing. While the *Chronicle* speaks of this arrest of Stavro (1118), some of the elements of this epic are legendary.

The subject matter of other *stariny* linked with Monomax seem to lack a historical base: one of these deals with Kozarin (a historical personage—see the *Chronicle* entry for 1106), who is said to have freed a captive girl and another with a horse race in which the horse owned by a Černihiv merchant, Ivan, beats Volodymyr's best animal. (A wanderer named Petreev was told of Monomax's famous horses in Moscow as late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Furthermore, Monomax himself referred to his love for horses.) In both of these *stariny*, Monomax is treated somewhat ironically: as a result, it is possible that neither of them is of Kievan origin (the first is perhaps Novgorodian, the second from Černihiv).

7. The *stariny* about Il'ja Muromec', one of the favorite heroes of this genre, appear to have originated in Černihiv. He is even mentioned in Western sources (the German poem *Ortnit* and the Norwegian *Tidrekssaga*). Il'ja was probably not from Murom—in the eleventh century an isolated provincial town in the northeast. In old sources, especially foreign ones, he is alternately referred to as Murovlin, Murovec', Muravic', and Muravlenin (by Kmita Čornobyl's'kyj—see above, no. 2). These and other geographical names in the *stariny* about Il'ja suggest that he was rather from the Černihiv towns of Muravs'k or Morovijs'k. While his name also suggests Murmansk, it is far less likely that he hailed from a region located in the far north. The following are the deeds linked with his name: 1) the liberation of the town of Černihiv from the Tatars, who have here replaced other steppe nomads, 2) a victory over the Brigand Solovej who sits on twelve oaks, 3) his transfer to Kiev where he is either killed or set free by Il'ja, and 4) the liberation of Kiev from the "Idol of the Heathen." Motifs 1 and 2 are associated with the Černihiv area (here there was even a village named Devjat' Dubiv—Nine Oaks). A famous brigand of the time of Volodymyr the Great, Mohuta, is mentioned in the later chronicles. But it is difficult to discover the historical event to which motif 4 is related; in later times Il'ja's name was linked with several legendary motifs such as that of the contest between father and son (see Ch. I, pt. D., no. 3).

The later Russian folk tradition transformed Il'ja into an old peasant, a Cossack, and so on.

8. Of the remaining heroes of the old epos, mention must be made of Solovej Budimirovič—a poet from beyond the sea, who comes to Kiev and builds a palace which arouses the interest of Volodymyr's niece, Zabava (see above, no. 5). The resolution of this story varies: having come to Kiev, Zabava either marries Solovej directly or else Solovej returns to Kiev after a lengthy absence just at the moment when Zabava is about to be engaged to another man. Some scholars see in this echoes of the engagement of Jaroslav the Wise's daughter, Elizabeth, to Harold the Bold, to whom a European legend attributes a verse (Solovej is also a poet) about an unsuccessful courtship. However, Harold the Bold did marry Elizabeth. The *stariny* about Solovej have several interesting features: Solovej's boat is similar to Scandinavian boats; Solovej is a merchant and a symbolic function is assigned to the merchant in wedding ceremonies. Individual geographical names are Baltic and so on. Nonetheless, there is no hard evidence indicating that Solovej should be identified with Harold the Bold.

The themes of certain local legends have been preserved either in the *Chronicle* or in contemporary oral tales. Particularly interesting is the *Chronicle* tale about the contest between the Tmutorokan' Prince, Mstyslav, and the giant Rededja in 1022 (a migratory theme) for it contains numerous alliterations. The *Chronicle* tale describing the war between Jaroslav and Svjatopolk (1016-1019) also contains ancient features which allow us to assume that it was based on epic works (songs?). Alliteration is frequent here as well. Epic elements are to be found in the *Chronicle* tales (e.g., about the war between Jaroslav and Mstyslav in 1024 and the war of 1097) up to the end of the eleventh century (see above, pt. H, no. 3).

9. Jaroslav the Wise, whose Christian name was George, may be the hero of one of the *stariny* preserved by the oral tradition. In addition to the secular epics discussed above (some of which may have been created by ecclesiastical authors—e.g., the tale of Dobrynja), there are the so-called spiritual songs: in one of these, the "long epic song" about St. George, St. George is Prince Jaroslav. The short version of this same epic has parallels among almost all European peoples: it describes St. George's victory over a dragon from whom he wishes to liberate a captive girl. Some aspects of the longer version are most unusual: 1) St. George is either from Jerusalem or Kiev; a successful campaign is waged against him by the enemies of Christianity and he finds himself in a dungeon; 2) after a considerable length of time, he manages to escape and begins his battle against his enemies; 3) he frees the other captives, among which are his sisters; 4) he clears a path to the Dnieper by stopping the movement of the ambulating cliffs; 5) he frees Rus' of the dragons and wolves which had infested it; and 6) he ascends the throne of Kiev. While these motifs are legendary in character they

can all be linked with events in Jaroslav's life. First, after Volodymyr's death, the Kievan throne was occupied by Svjatopolk who did not allow his brother, Jaroslav, Prince of Novgorod, to enter Kiev; Jaroslav (= George) fled and did not again appear in Kiev until four years later (this part of Jaroslav's life corresponds to that of George's imprisonment). Secondly, the rule of Jaroslav-George commenced with the freeing of those who were captured by the Poles, among them Jaroslav's sisters (a historical fact). Thirdly, the Dnieper trade route from Scandinavia to Constantinople was opened during the reign of Jaroslav. Fourthly, the motif of the ambulating cliffs which hinder the passage of ships is from Greek mythology: these cliffs are the so-called Symplegades, which in this instance symbolize the constricted relations between Kiev and its northern neighbors. Fifthly, the battle against wild animals refers to cultural work. As was mentioned above, Volodymyr's autobiography emphasizes his skill in hunting and, at that time, hunting was considered to be part of the cultural sphere. And finally, the outcome of the spiritual song is a happy one: Jaroslav-George ascends the throne of Kiev. Thus, since this spiritual song reflects the events of Jaroslav's life, we can be assured that it was initially an epic about Prince Jaroslav.

10. The existence of epic songs in the Kievan period is also testified to by *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, which refers to the ancient poet, Bojan, and gives the themes of his songs: he sang of the contest between Mstyslav and Rededja, of Jaroslav (see above, no. 8), of "the beautiful Roman Svjatoslavyč," to whom only a brief section is devoted in the *Chronicle*. To depict the inspired character of his songs, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* compares Bojan with a nightingale, an eagle and a wolf; says that the strings of his instrument appear to move of their own accord, and employs one of Bojan's proverbs ("It is difficult for a head without shoulders; it is difficult for a body without a head") in reference to Svjatoslav who had gone on a campaign that took him far from his native land. This fact also explains the following reference to Svjatoslav in the *Chronicle*: "He searched for foreign lands and neglected his own." And finally, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* employs phrases akin to those of Bojan:

It was not a storm that carried the falcons across  
the wide fields,  
crows speed to the great Don. . . .

Horses neigh beyond the Sula,  
glory reverberates in Kiev,  
bugles blare in Novgorod.

These passages provide examples of some of the features of Bojan's style: he employs negative parallelism ("It was not a storm that carried the falcons . . ."), metaphors (the falcons refer to the Ukrainians, the crows—to the nomads of the steppe), epithets ("wide fields"), alliteration ("bugles blare") and syntactical parallelism, which gives his works a rhythmical quality (the second passage quoted above). If it could be established that the section of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* dealing with Vseslav was also either a quotation from Bojan or a paraphrase of one of his songs, much more could be said about his style.

11. In Western Europe, ecclesiastics are known to have participated in the composition of epic songs. The possibility that old Ukrainian epics (such as that about Dobrynja—see above, no. 5) had a more religious coloration in the earlier stages of their evolution, must not be ignored. Contemporary spiritual verses exhibit certain features characteristic of the style and rhythmical structure of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, it is possible that the verse about St. George discussed above was written in honor of Jaroslav, for Jaroslav was responsible for elevating the cultural level of Rus', opening a route from Kiev to Novgorod, uniting these two princedoms and freeing his sisters from Polish captivity.

12. Very little can be said about the form of the old epos. Even the very basic problem of whether these old epic songs were poetic in form cannot be settled conclusively, although some scholars (N. Trubeckoj) contend that their rhythmical structure links them with the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is the only epic from the twelfth century that has been preserved and, in its written form, it is not divided into verse lines. In any case, old Ukrainian references and Indo-European parallels indicate that ancient epics were "sung" and any kind of "singing" would require that the lines possess some sort of rhythm. The language employed in these works was undoubtedly closer to the vernacular than that of written works. Furthermore, the language of the epos frequently contains archaisms. Such is also the case with respect to contemporary *stariny*, where words that have long since been dropped from current usage, especially in the Russian language, are still to be found: *grudnja* or *gridnicja*, (the dwellings of the retinue, of Scandinavian origin), *iskopyt'* (hoof-mark), *polenica* (heroine), *stol'nyj grad* (capital), *napoli* (half), *ribnyj zub* (a walrus' tusk, also encountered in the *Hypatian Chronicle* of 1160). There are also many ethnographic details: the feudal division of the land and villages, the collection of taxes (*poljudie*) by the prince himself, the type of weapons used (bows, arrows, spears, etc.), the steppe landscape (hills and a kind of prairie grass not found in the north) and so on.

A few of the stylistic features encountered in the *stariny* were probably

shared by the old epos; these same features are also found in the epics of various other Indo-European peoples, in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and in the epic portions of the *Chronicle*. Among them are the abundant use of epithets, repetitions of phrases and words (in the *stariny*—repetitions of a group of lines as many as ten or more times), alliteration (not frequent in the *stariny*), numerous comparisons, parallelism of imagery (the new moon refers to the birth of Vol'ga; clouds, to an enemy host), hyperbole, numerous fixed phrases (to be expected in the oral tradition where they serve to aid the listener in retaining the important aspects of longer works) such as those referring to mounting a horse, saddling a horse, shooting from a bow, hunting, extending greetings, the galloping of a horse, etc. On the other hand, most of the fixed expressions used in the "military tales" included in the *Chronicle* are not found in the *stariny* (for example, the frequent comparison of arrows to rain or the designation of the beginning of a battle with the phrase "izlomiti kop'e"—"to break a lance"); there are but a few exceptions to this general rule (e.g., the heroes of the *stariny* "strike the earth" when they are in combat, that is, they throw their foes to the ground just as Mstyslav does with Rededja). In addition, a certain number of these fixed expressions were undoubtedly borrowed from oral tales ("morning is wiser than evening," etc.). Occasionally the *stariny* employ a broad symbolism: at the birth of Vol'ga, who was to become a skillful hunter, all animals try to hide in places that are the farthest away from him; while still in the cradle, Vol'ga is surrounded by weapons (also found in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* in reference to the soldiers of Kursk). The best evidence of the southern origin of both the ancient and contemporary epos is provided by the expressions used to describe the southern steppe land: wide steppe, clear field, hills, hunting of the type that is characteristic of this area and steppe fauna. (The northern bear is never present.) However, such obviously ancient references are few. Furthermore, all the stylistic features listed above are to be found in *various* genres of the Ukrainian and Russian oral traditions as well as in those of other Indo-European peoples. As a result, very little can be said about the peculiarities of the old Ukrainian epos.

The problem of the nature of the changes sustained by the old epos still awaits a thorough investigation, but before this can be done, careful studies of the remains of epic themes and epic stylistic features in various old Kievan monuments must be made.

## J. LITERATURE OF A PRACTICAL CHARACTER

1. In later periods literature of a purely practical character will not concern us. However, all the eleventh century monuments are of interest, even if they are

without a purely literary value, as they will provide valuable information about the literary attainments of Kievan Rus'. Furthermore, the division between *belles-lettres* and practical literature was obviously not the same in the Kievan period as it is today and we cannot assume that monuments of a practical nature will be devoid of artistry. For example, alliteration is employed in the ancient Oscan-Umbrian Inscriptions and in the Frisian Laws. Let us briefly examine the main monuments that fall into the category of practical literature.

2. First of all there are the religious texts—prayers, liturgical books and so on. All liturgical books belong in part to the category of *belles-lettres* for they are in fact collections of religious poetry. While it is true that the original Kievan liturgical books followed Greek models (in translation) quite closely, they were frequently extremely successful from the literary point of view. However, the most important religious works are the prayers. In addition to the prayer by Volodymyr Monomax, included in the eulogy of him, there are two others, ascribed without total justification to Theodosius. A number of prayers entered into the composition of other works: one is included in the collection of works by Volodymyr Monomax and several in various sermons. A monk of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Gregory, is credited with the authorship of services for saints. Unfortunately, his authorship of the oldest of these—those to Volodymyr and Theodosius and those on the occasion of the transfer of the relics of Borys and Hlib and of St. Nicholas—cannot be established with certainty. To Metropolitan John I (beginning of the eleventh century), who was either Bulgarian or Greek, are attributed services in honor of Sts. Borys and Hlib. Another work that belongs to this category is a eulogy of St. Theodosius; written shortly after 1096 (the attack of the Polovcians is mentioned) and preserved in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, this work blends the style of the sermon with that of the prayer. Eulogies are also to be found in the *Chronicle* narrative about Borys and Hlib as well as in the "Tale" ("Skazanie").

The available material (i.e., the texts themselves; studies of their literary aspects are mostly superficial) allows us to draw certain conclusions about the stylistic peculiarities of these religious monuments: in all cases there is a heavy reliance upon liturgical and hagiographic works; the language employed is close to the Church Slavonic norm, and, because it is modelled on that of the services in honor of Christ, the Virgin or saints, it is strongly rhythmical and occasionally even contains consonances. The first example quoted below refers to Borys and Hlib, the second to Theodosius:

*daeta ic'elen'e:*  
*xromym" xoditi,*  
*sļepym" prozřen'e,*

*boljaščim” cělby,  
okovannym” razrěšen’e,  
temnicam” otverzen’e,  
pečal’nym” utěxu,  
napastnym” izbavlen’e . . .*

(“[You both] are healers: you made the lame walk, the blind see; you heal the sick, free the chained, open the prisons; you give comfort to the sorrowful; you grant freedom to those in peril. . . .”)

*apostol” i propovednik”,  
syj nam” pastyr’ i učitel’,  
syj nam” vožd’i pravitel’,  
syj nam” stěna i ograždienie,  
poxvala naša velikaja j dr”znovenie . . .*

(“[He] is an apostle and a preacher; he is our shepherd and teacher; he is our leader and ruler; he is our wall and protection, our great glory and courage. . . .”)

All of the numerous and striking images in these works are borrowed: God and Christ are the sun; grace is the light of the sun or a river; saints are stars, streams, shepherds of spiritual flocks, laborers in God’s vineyards. In spite of the derivative nature of liturgical literature, it reveals the great artistic abilities of its authors-compilers.

3. Of less interest are the epistles of the Greek hierarchs—Metropolitan Leon (a questionable work dating from before 1004), George (died in 1072), John II (from about 1089) and Metropolitan Nicephorus (1104-1120, directed against the Latin Church). These epistles are in large part merely enumerations of often very insignificant differences between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Probably translations from the Greek, these works do not testify to the empty formalism of Kievan Christianity but to the decline of Greek theology.

4. Much more significant is Metropolitan Nicephorus’ (1104-1120) letter to Volodymyr Monomax. In addition to a brief eulogy of the prince, the letter contains an exposition of the then current science of psychology (of ancient origin). The soul possesses three main faculties—reason, passion and will. Just as a prince rules his country with the help of his subordinates, so too does the soul control the body through the five senses—sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch.

On the practical level, the letter appears to have been motivated by the need to defend the Church hierarchy or some other personages from attacks launched against them, for the letter pauses to point out the unreliability of the sense of hearing, through which "an arrow enters" into the prince's body and "causes harm to his soul" and then goes on to ask that the people concerned be pardoned. In any case, the clarity of the exposition and the appropriateness of the imagery, in which the abstract thoughts are clothed, are a clear demonstration of the skill of this author and translator.\*

5. The so-called chronographs, surveys of universal history, must also be mentioned. Very early in the history of Christian Rus', the available translated chronicles were not sufficient to meet the needs of the times. As early as the eleventh century a chronograph based on the *Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos* (see Ch. II, pt. D, sec. a) and supplemented by Kievan materials had been compiled (*Chronograph According to the Long Text*). This monument has not been preserved but fragments from it were included in later works. In the entry under 1114, the *Chronicle* states that its information here is derived from a chronograph which synthesized the "Chronicles" of Hamartolos and Malalas. Similar compilations of historical material were made in the following centuries.

Legislative monuments have no purely literary significance. The most important of these, *Rus' Law* is a collection of the laws enacted by Jaroslav and his successors as well as the Church statutes attributed with a certain amount of justification to Volodymyr the Great and with very little justification, to Jaroslav the Wise. For the literary historian the value of *Rus' Law* lies in its language which is very pure East Slavic, almost totally free of Church Slavonic elements; the sentences are very simple and clearly constructed; and the vocabulary is quite unique, containing words whose meaning is no longer entirely clear. *Rus' Law* is the kind of work that can be used to measure the amount of vernacular elements contained in other monuments. However, the primary significance of legislative monuments is not literary but cultural and historical.

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\*It is possible that the works of the hierarchs were either written or translated by their Slavic secretaries. Therefore, even though they followed the Byzantine tradition very closely, these epistles should not be completely excluded from the realm of original Kievan literature. It must be remembered that their authors were not the Greek hierarchs whose names appear on them, but some anonymous local clerks.

## IV.

# THE PERIOD OF ORNAMENTAL STYLE

### A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. The new period of Kievan literature that emerged in the first decades of the twelfth century has much more distinctive features than the period of monumental style. Kiev retained its position of cultural leadership and, in spite of the decline and devastation of Kiev, as well as the disappearance of the very idea of a unified land of Rus', the new literature continues to draw on Kievan literary traditions. But, in addition to Kiev and Novgorod, new centers rise, first to political and then to cultural prominence—Suzdal in the northeast and Halyč in the west. However, a literary period cannot be defined by political factors alone. Far more important is the fact of the emergence of a different literary style and ideology.

2. To a certain extent, the style of the twelfth century can be described in a negative manner—that is, by isolating those features of the eleventh century style which are no longer present in the twelfth. While the literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries shared certain stylistic traits, the latter added some new ones of its own. The single-minded monumentality of the eleventh century is replaced by variety in ornamentation; in extreme cases, the maze of embellishments obscures the main idea of the work completely, thereby changing its character. In other cases, no thematic unity of any sort is present as the content itself ceases to be as uniform as it was in the eleventh century: twelfth century authors collect old materials and use them as a source of embellishment for their own works (the collection of proverbs in Daniel's "Supplication," various references to the princes of earlier times, the utilization

of the style of Bojan in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*). In still other instances, the main idea is not developed in a straightforward fashion; instead it is expressed in numerous individual motifs (compare especially the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery* or *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*). Occasionally, a work may even have a mosaic-like structure, being composed of very distinct elements. Such, for example, is the case in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, where events from the contemporary scene alternate with references to the past—both literary (Bojan) and historical; also alluded to are the *Kievan Chronicle* and *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, in which the literary tradition is felt at almost every step. It is interesting to note that this alternation in themes, this tendency to stray from the main theme of the work, does not create an impression of disorder as it did in eleventh century monuments: the reader feels that this intricate and complex structure, with all its deviations and digression from the main theme, constitutes the essence of the style of the work, a style which may be compared to a multi-colored patchwork quilt.

3. Underlying this structural complexity is the fact that the world view expressed in the monuments of this period contains the basic feature of all medieval perceptions of the world (including the Byzantine); that is, this world is viewed “symbolically,” all objects of the real world are also signs of something else, something higher which man can not have or of which he is not allowed to have direct knowledge. Employed by the literature of all periods, even the “most realistic,” symbolism as a literary device acquires special significance in certain periods (the Baroque and Romantic as well as the Medieval)—in those periods when the predominant world view is not founded on the concretely perceptible reality alone but strives to see something beyond it, a deeper and “more real” reality. This symbolic world view unquestionably underlies all the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was this world view which led to the evolution of the “symbolic style” of this literary epoch.

Simple similes are replaced by complex symbolic scenes: a battle is either a feast or a wedding, spring is a symbol of resurrection. Even Hilarion's works, in which symbolism already plays a very significant role, seem quite primitive when their numerous, but essentially straightforward, comparisons are compared with the symbolic images employed by a writer such as Cyril of Turiv. In the monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reality is quite often no longer described but merely hinted at by means of a variety of images. The use of symbols is more than a literary device; it is to some extent also an end in itself.

4. Other literary devices are also treated in this way—rather than being subordinated to the content, they become important in themselves: one need

only compare Hilarion's works—in which the number of embellishments is above average for the eleventh century—with those of Cyril of Turiv; in the latter, the embellishments develop into a large network which periodically obscures the content. Similarly, the historical “embellishments” in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* veil the purpose of Svjatoslav's “golden word” and Daniel's “Supplication” is but a stylistic game, lacking any concrete narrative purpose (lacking a “communicative” function).

That the stylistic devices employed are ends in themselves is supported by the fact that the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are devoted to less historically important subjects. The purpose of the numerous embellishments in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is the glorification of a relatively insignificant and unsuccessful campaign led by princes of secondary importance; chroniclers give ornate descriptions of unmomentous and everyday events and so on. The explanation of this development does not lie solely in the political decline during this period but also in the fact of the predominance of stylistic ornamentation over content.

But the accumulation of embellishments is not the only trait characteristic of the style of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Examples of such accumulations, also found in earlier works, are the extended alliterations in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, the accumulations of similes in the works of Cyril of Turiv or the detailed descriptions of the realm of the demons in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*—in the Life of Theodosius, little attention is devoted to the “temptations” of this saint. The excessive use of exaggeration or hyperbole is also characteristic of this new style. Furthermore, it is possible to isolate various groups of recurrent epithets. While fixed epithets reminiscent of folk poetry can really only be discussed in relation to *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, recurrent epithets (the most typical of the spirit of the time being the epithet “golden”) are frequent in various works of this period, as is a complex and often involved syntax. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries valued originality in literary works—the stylistically new and unusual.

5. A change in ideological content is also clearly perceptible. In the first place, there is a distinct change in the nature of the Christian ideal, which is now truly ascetic. But asceticism goes hand in hand with the feeling of the great power of the forces and temptations of this earth. In the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, worldly waves drown even the monastery itself. From a quiet battle that occurs within the confines of underground caves, asceticism is transformed into a war with all that surrounds the ascetic, even the monks in the monastery. Equally as important as these concrete changes in monasticism is the way in which the unchanged aspects are presented in the literary works of the

period. In the literature of the eleventh century, the tale about Isaac was concerned with describing the monastic way of life but its purpose in doing so was to issue a warning against extremism. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, asceticism is depicted as the highest ideal. The earlier Christian optimism is replaced by a pessimistic view of life to the point where Serapion can describe the earth as wanting to shake from her body every last sin-stained representative of mankind.

It is interesting that the definite decline in the material standards of life in this period did not prevent the "world" from remaining conscious of itself and even arrogant. An important feature of the ideology of this period is the world's *self-awareness*. Thus, literary reality clearly does not always correspond to the reality of the concrete world. In the twelfth century, the Kievan state, a major European power, was replaced by several small principalities, which were themselves already beginning to lose their significance within Eastern Europe (with the exception of the Galician-Volhynian principality, which, however, could not hope to rule over the north and the northeast as Kiev had) and whose sovereignty was actively beginning to be violated by the nomadic Polovcians. Nonetheless, much more luxury, glitter and "gold" is described in the monuments of this period than in those of the previous century. The "world" had not even become stronger in relation to the Church. In fact, it was being progressively Christianized (that is, in the realm of law). On the other hand, the secular realm did consider itself to be largely independent of the Church and the preeminent power; the Church reacted by considering it more dangerous and threatening than it had previously. This ideological change may best be characterized as the destruction of that harmony between the "world" and the Church which had seemed capable of realization in the eleventh century. The destruction of this harmony increased the self-confidence of both parties: in the religious sphere opposition to the world grew; in the secular, indifference to the ideals of Christianity became more pronounced.

6. This literary development (and in part also the ideological one) may be regarded as resulting from the strengthening of those Byzantine influences which were already present in the eleventh century. These influences were (initially) limited but increased in strength throughout the century. Furthermore, new Byzantine literary and cultural influences made their appearance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The literature of the twelfth century developed on the basis of the same Byzantine tradition as that of the eleventh but acquired a deeper knowledge of it and followed its patterns more closely. However, the most important fact is that the Byzantine tradition gave further sustenance to the new style and partly also to the new ideology discussed above.

## B. SERMONS

1. In comparison with translated sermons, which were numerous and dealt with quite a broad range of subject matter, the original ones form but an insignificant group. By and large, they are ornamental in style. A few of the anonymous ones can be ascribed to the twelfth century but there are also several others whose authors are known and whose literary value is high.

2. The most talented authors of sermons and perhaps the most talented of all old Ukrainian writers is Cyril of Turiv, bishop of the city of Turiv in the second half of the twelfth century. His parents were well-to-do inhabitants of the city of Turiv, capital of the small principality of the same name. He was born between 1130 and 1140.\* His life testifies to his knowledge of theology (it has recently been established that he read theological works in the Greek original) and to his asceticism. Although very young when he became a monk, he was already a well-known writer. On the wishes of the prince and "the people" he was consecrated bishop of Turiv, and it is to this period of his life that some of his works belong. Among these are his letters to Prince Andrew Bogoljubskij (which have not been preserved), sermons, prayers and theological works. His sermons are included in various collections together with the great sermons of the Greek Church.

3. Eight sermons which were unquestionably written by Cyril of Turiv are devoted to the eight holy Sundays during the Easter season, beginning with Palm Sunday. Describing Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, Cyril calls upon his listeners to prepare themselves spiritually to greet Christ. Christ's entry into Jerusalem symbolizes the spiritual acceptance of Christ into the "chamber of the soul." The "Sermon on the First Sunday After Easter" (the Feast of Thomas) employs both an extended comparison of spring and Easter as well as dialogue between Christ and Thomas. Another sermon begins with a moving "lament" uttered by Mary under the cross. Joseph of Arimathaea comes to her assistance and succeeds in acquiring from Pilate the body of Christ, over which he also laments. Then there is a description of the women anointing Christ's body with myrrh and the appearance to them of an angel. The sermon ends with a eulogy-acathistus to Joseph. Yet another of Cyril's sermons describes the healing of the sick man in the bath house in Siloah. The narrative is in the form of a dialogue—Christ speaks with the sick man, the sick man with the scholars. The

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\*Since he was an inhabitant of Turiv which is located on the Ukrainian-Belorussian border, both by birth and because of the style of his writing, Cyril unquestionably belongs to Kiev. However, the Belorussians also have grounds for claiming him as their own. *Where* he actually gave his sermons is not known.

remaining sermons, also based on biblical tales, clarify the symbolic meaning of these tales and focus attention on the Church's teaching about Christ—on "Christology." The final sermon is devoted to the anti-Arian Council, that is, also to Christology; the participants of the Council are compared to warriors. The sermon ends with an extended eulogy to these ecclesiastics.

The fact that the general ideas expressed in Cyril's sermons are reminiscent of those contained in the classics of Greek homiletics was pointed out many years ago. However, it has just recently been established that Cyril's sermons are actually *modelled* on them. For each of his first seven sermons, Cyril derived his main ideas and sometimes even his main images from a group of two or three Greek sermons (translated). For the final sermon discussed above (about the Church council) he drew on some Greek historical work (in the Greek original). However, Cyril was not merely a compiler; he reworked his material into a new literary whole, lengthening or shortening passages and embellishing his works with those kinds of rhetorical devices which would better speak to the minds and hearts of his listeners. While this lack of originality may decrease our interest in Cyril as a theologian, it can only increase our interest in him as a writer and orator—he does battle in the literary arena with his great predecessors and emerges victorious. For many centuries the artistic excellence of his works gave them a place among the best examples of homiletic literature (such as, in the collection, *Toržestvennik*). His style warrants closer examination.

4. The symbolic character of Cyril's sermons has already been noted above. The explication of religious symbols lies at their core. Easter and resurrection, for example, are compared to spring:

Today the heavens grew light, threw off their dark  
clouds, like a veil, and the bright skies proclaim  
the glory of God,—

I speak not of these visible heavens, but  
of the spiritual ones; of the Apostles  
who, when they came to know God,  
forgot all their sorrows. . . . Enveloped  
by the holy spirit, then confidently  
prophesy Christ's resurrection.

Today the sun, radiant in its beauty, is rising into the  
heights, rejoicing and warming the earth,

for Christ is the sun of truth, which  
has risen from the grave and will  
save all who believe in it. . . .

Today the spring, radiant in its beauty, brings  
life to the  
earth and the turbulent winds blow gently, multiplying  
the harvests and the earth, giving nourishment to the  
seeds, giving life to the grass,—

spring is the beautiful faith in Christ,  
which renews man's nature through  
baptism; turbulent winds are sinful  
thoughts which through penance are  
transformed into good deeds and give  
nourishment to spiritually useful fruits;  
and the earth of our nature which  
accepted the word of God, like a family, . . .  
gives birth to the spirit of salvation.

Today, the newborn lambs and calves run and  
jump about  
friskily and, returning in short order to their mothers,  
bound about joyously; the shepherds likewise,  
playing on their reeds, praise Christ joyously:

the lambs, I say, are those gentle people from  
among the pagans, and the calves—the idolaters  
of the unbelieving countries, . . . who having turned  
to the Holy Church, suck the milk of its  
teachings while the teachers of Christ's flock . . .  
praise Christ the Lord.

Today the trees send forth buds and fragrant flowers  
bloom,  
and behold, the gardens already emit a sweet fragrance,  
and people work in the fields with hope, acclaiming  
Christ as the source of all fruit,—

for earlier we were like the trees in a forest  
which bear no fruit but today Christ's faith  
has been grafted onto our unbelief, and . . .  
we await the dawn of a new paradise;  
so also do the bishops and abbots who  
have worked for the Church, await their  
reward from Christ.

Today the industrious bees, like monks, reveal their  
wisdom  
and amaze everyone; for like those monks who live  
in the  
wilderness, they provide for themselves and cause both  
men and angels to wonder, so also do they [the bees]  
fly to flowers, fill honeycombs with honey and furnish  
sweetness for man and what is required by the Church.

Today all the song-birds of the Church choirs rejoice, for  
they are building their nests, that is, the Church Laws:  
bishops and abbots, priests and deacons and cantors,  
all sing their own song and in so doing praise the Lord.

Cyril compares clergymen, bishops, "all the teachers of the Church" to architects; Peter and John as they stand by Christ's grave—to the Old and New Testaments; Christ after His resurrection—to a shepherd who, upon awakening from a nap, finds that his sheep have wandered off in all directions and then proceeds to gather them together again, or with a father who has just returned home from a long journey and is joyously greeted by his wife and children. In addition to such extended comparisons, Cyril also employs comparisons which are so brief as to be little more than hints.

5. Another characteristic feature of Cyril's sermons is their dramatic quality; the biblical characters in his works speak to one another. Requiring great oratorical skill, such speeches and dialogues understandably gave an immediacy to the sermons and increased their emotional impact.

The laments uttered by Mary at the cross and by Joseph of Arimathea over Christ's grave number among the most dramatic moments in Cyril's sermons:

"All of creation responds to my grief, my son, seeing how unjust was your death! I am overcome by grief, my child, my world . . ., my creative creation. What is it that I should now lament: perhaps the

fact that you were ridiculed? Or perhaps those slaps which you endured, or those beatings that you suffered? Or perhaps, the fact that your holy face was spat upon? —All this that you endured at the hands of the unbelievers, as payment for your goodness. . . . —O woe is me! You who were innocent, were dishonored and suffered death on the cross! . . . I see you, my beloved child, hanging from the cross sightless and deprived of your soul. . . . And my soul is deeply wounded: I wish that I could have died with you. . . . Today I see you as a thief; for you died among thieves, as a corpse with your ribs pierced by lances. . . . I do not wish to live; it would have been far better had I preceded you to Hell. Listen to my words, O, heavens, earth and seas, hear the sobbing of my tears! For your Creator is at this moment accepting death at the hands of priests—the only saintly man is dying for the sinners and unbelievers! O woe is me! Whom can I call upon to join me in my lament, with whom can I share my flood of tears? All have abandoned you, all your family and friends. . . . Where are your seventy pupils today? Where are your apostles? . . . O woe is me, Jesus! . . . How can the earth remain undisturbed while you hang from the cross. . . . Come, and behold the mystery of the divine prophecy: come and behold how He who gave life to all creation has himself suffered a cursed death!”

Joseph of Arimathaea’s lament over Christ’s body is similar:

“O Lord, sun which never sets, creator of all and Lord of all creation! How can I dare even to brush against your body, that is purity itself when even the heavenly powers which serve you with awe dare not do so? With what kind of muslin can I veil your body when you veil the earth in mists and the sky in clouds? Or what kind of fragrances can I pour upon your holy body when Persian princes brought gifts of fragrances to you? What kind of funeral songs can I sing on the occasion of your death, when seraphims sing to you unceasingly?”

Joseph delivers a speech to Pilate in which he begs for the return of Christ’s body; Christ talks with the sceptical Thomas; an angel addresses the women who came to anoint Christ’s body. Furthermore, the sermon about the sick man is in the form of a dialogue. Christ asks him, as he does in the Bible, if he wishes to be well and he replies:

“I pray to God, but he does not hear me for my sins  
are so numerous that they extend above my head;  
All my property has gone to pay for doctors but I  
have received no help from them;  
There are no herbs that can negate God’s punishment;  
My acquaintances scorn me, because my stench has  
deprived me of all happiness;  
Even my family scorns me;  
I have become a stranger to my friends because of  
my suffering;  
Everyone curses me and I can find no one who can  
lighten my spirits.”

There follows a description of the sick man’s condition:

“Can I call myself a dead man when my stomach  
craves food and my tongue becomes dry from thirst?  
Can I consider myself alive when I not only cannot  
raise myself up from my bed but neither can I  
even move; my legs cannot walk and my hands  
not only cannot work but I cannot even touch myself  
with them:  
In my opinion, I am a corpse which has not yet  
been buried:  
my bed is my coffin,  
I am a dead man among the living and a living  
man among the dead,  
for I take sustenance, like a living man, but like  
a dead man, I do no work. . . .

Hunger tortures me more than my illness;  
for even if I am given food, I cannot raise it to  
my lips,  
I beg everyone to feed me,  
and share my poor repast with those who feed me.  
I moan, and sob, tortured by the pain and no one  
comes to visit me.

And if the scraps from the tables of God-fearing  
 people are brought to me, then the servants from  
 the sheep bath immediately descend upon me and  
 devour my alms more quickly than the dogs devoured  
 Lazarus' scabs.

I have neither property from which I could get money  
 in order to pay someone to look after me . . .  
 Nor do I have anyone who would care for me without  
 scorning me.

I have no one who would give me a bath!"

Christ responds to this speech with a speech of his own: All of religious history,  
 He says, is the history of God's service to man; from the creation of the world to  
 the manifestation of God in the flesh:

"Why do you say that you have no one?  
 I became a man for your sake, I am munificent  
 and benevolent and have not betrayed the  
 solemn promise of my revelation in the flesh. . . .

For you I abandoned the sceptre of the heavenly  
 kingdom and am wandering about the earthly one  
 and serving mankind:

I did not descend in order that others should serve  
 me, but in order that I myself may serve.

I, who am non-corporeal, have manifested myself  
 to you in the flesh so that I may cure  
 all mankind of their spiritual and physical  
 ailments.

I, who am hidden even to the eyes of angels, have  
 manifested myself to all mankind. . . .

. . . I became a man, in order that man may become God. . . .  
 Who could serve you more faithfully?  
 It is for you that I created all of creation.

The heavens and the earth serve you: one by providing moisture, the other—fruit.

The sun provides you with light and warmth, while the moon and the stars illuminate the night.

The clouds water the earth with their rains.

And the earth nourishes all sorts of plants which produce seeds, and fruit-bearing trees for your benefit.

Rivers carry fish for your benefit while the wilderness nurtures wild animals.

And you say that you have no one!

Who can be more just than I, for I have not betrayed the solemn promise of my revelation in the flesh!"

Scholars discuss the healing of the sick man. . . . In another sermon, the man whose sight has been restored praises Christ and in still others, angels, prophets and saints speak of the ascension of Christ.

Thus, dramatization is one of the most important of Cyril's devices. While these monologues and dialogues are rhetorical in character, they nonetheless succeed in bringing some warm, human and intimate notes into the sermons.

6. Another of Cyril's favorite devices is the extended antithesis or contrast, which helps the reader to better follow the flow of ideas. Like Hilarion, he frequently contrasts the human and the divine natures of Christ.

“Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified like a man,—	but, like God, He darkened the sky and made the moon bloody and it was dark every- where on the face of the earth.
--	--

Like a man He cried out and gave up His soul,—	but, like God, He shook the earth and the rocks crumbled.
--	---

Like an earthly king He was guarded by a guard and lay enclosed in a grave,—	but, like God, with armies of angels He punished the demonic forces in the fortress of Hell. . . .”
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Another good example of Cyril's use of extended antitheses is provided by the angel's speech to the women who come to anoint Christ's body:

“He descended from the  
heavens and revealed  
Himself in the flesh,—

so that the putrid would  
be regenerated and raised  
up into heaven.

He was innocent but He  
was led to his death,—

so that those who are  
covered with sin may be  
released from the power  
of the Devil.

He tasted vinegar and bile  
on a sponge held by a  
reed,—

in order to remove all  
record of man’s sins.

His ribs were pierced  
by spears,—

in order that the fiery  
weapons that prevent man  
from entering paradise may  
be turned aside.

He shed His own blood,—

and cleansed man of his  
physical blemishes and  
sanctified the human soul.

He was bound and a  
wreath of thorns was  
placed upon His head,—

so that man would be  
freed from the chains of  
the Devil and the thorn of  
demonic deception would  
be destroyed forever.

He darkened the sun and  
shook the earth and caused  
all of creation to weep,—

in order to destroy the  
storehouse of Hell (. . . and  
lead the souls who inhabi-  
ted this region into the  
light and transform Eve’s  
lament into joy).

He was placed in a grave  
like a mortal,—

so that He would bestow  
life upon all those who had  
died from the beginning of  
creation.

His grave was closed up  
with rocks and sealed,—

so that He could com-  
pletely destroy the gates  
and the hinges of Hell.

All could see that He was  
watched,—

but, unseen, He descended  
into Hell and bound Satan. . . .”

The eulogy of Joseph of Arimathaea and the acathistus on the resurrection of Christ, to mention but a few more examples, are also built on antitheses. Antitheses are also frequent in the laments and monologues quoted above.

The examples of laments, speeches, and antitheses given above fall into rhythmical units; if Cyril's sermons are read carefully, the oratorical rhythm and rhetorical stresses can be felt. This rhythmical quality becomes even more apparent in those passages where parallelism is extensively used, where sentences are similar in structure and content. As a translation would obscure this rhythm, we will present our examples in the original. Easter is—

*udivlenie na nebesi,  
i ustrašenie preispodnim”,  
i obnovlenie tvari,  
i izbavlenie miru,  
razrušenie adovo,  
i popranie smerti,  
v”skresenie mertvym”,  
i pogublenie prelesnyja vlasti diavolja,  
spasenie že čelovečeskomu rodu  
xristovym” voskreseniem”,  
obnišćanie vetxomu zakonu,  
i porabošćenie subotě,  
obogašćenie Xristovyja cerkvi,  
vocarenie neděli . . .*

(“Wonder in the heavens, and fear to those under the earth and regeneration of creation, and the salvation of the world, the destruction of Hell, and the trampling down of death, the resurrection of the dead, and the destruction of the seductive power of the Devil, the salvation of mankind through Christ's resurrection, the impoverishment of the Old Testament and the enslavement of the old Sabbath, the enrichment of the Church of Christ, the enthronement of the new Sabbath. . . .”)

Or the account of the charity exhibited by Christ, who

*bliz'' k'' sebě privede,  
i vsego čelověka zdrava s''tvoriv'',  
razslablenago v''stavi,  
xromyja ubystri  
prokažennya očisti,  
slukyja ispravi,  
gluxia i němya dobrě slyšašča i glagolivy s''tvori,  
suxorukya ukrěpi,  
běsy ot'' čelověk'' progna,  
slěpya prosvěti . . .''*

(“brought us close to Himself, made all men healthy again, made the paralyzed stand up, quickened the lame, made the lepers clean, straightened the crooked, made the deaf and the dumb hear and speak well, strengthened the withered arms of the paralyzed, freed man from the demons, gave sight to the blind. . . .”)

This rhythmical quality is also present in the eulogies, especially in those which are in the style of the acathistus, and even in the attacks on Arianism:

*slyši, Arie,  
nečistiva duše,  
bezglavnyj zvěrju  
okajannyj čelověče,  
novyj Kaine,  
vtoryj Ijuda,  
plotjanyj děmone . . .*

(“Listen, Arius, unclean soul, headless beast, cursed man, new Cain, second Judas, corporeal demon. . . .”)

Cyril continues in the same fashion for sixteen more phrases. The rhythmical units sometimes also accidentally rhyme [*obxožu–poslužu* (walk around–serve)]. There is no alliteration.

Some scholars have tried to link certain features of Cyril’s sermons with the oral tradition but with little apparent success. Such is the case with the opening lines of the story of the sick man:

*Neizměrna nebesnaja vysota,  
ne ispytanna preispodnjaja glubina,  
niže svědomo Božia smotrenia tainstvo.*

(“Just as immeasurable as the heights of the sky, just as unknown as the bottom of the deep, so unfathomable also is the mystery of God’s care.”)

While some of the phrases are reminiscent of the formulaic expressions of folklore, especially of some variants of the *starina* about Solovej Budimirovič, they are really taken from the Bible.

In his sermon on the anti-Arian Church Council, Cyril refers to “song-writers” who sing about military exploits, compares the Church Fathers to soldiers and their campaign against Arius to a battle, but this is hardly sufficient justification for claiming that Cyril was influenced by the military epos. It is, in fact, much more plausible that Church rhetoric influenced the later oral tradition than vice versa.

Cyril’s language is simple and, while it does not deviate significantly from the Church Slavonic norm, it also includes words from the vernacular. However, the rhetorical structuring of his sermons derives from the tradition of high style employed in Greek homiletics. Because of the obvious similarities between the two, one could be led to think that the laments in Cyril’s sermons were influenced by the folk lament, but their origin is literary—they stem from the apocryphal “Gospel of Jacob.” One also finds traces of the “Gospel of Nicodemus”; the references to “Adam’s manuscript” describing “Eve’s lament” after the expulsion from Paradise may have been derived from the apocryphal “Life of Adam” and “Eve’s Lament” and so on. The rhythmical quality of Cyril’s sermons is very similar to that of Church songs and prayers.

However, Cyril modifies his images to correspond more closely to his own environment. Thus, for example, he employs the comparison of Easter and spring, which is borrowed from a sermon by Gregory the Theologian, and extends the images of cultivation of the land but excludes those referring to the sea which would be alien to most of his listeners.

7. There are a number of sermons, Cyril’s authorship of which is questionable. As it is possible that Cyril’s homiletic style was not tied exclusively to the Greek tradition of high style, we will discuss these sermons here. Among them are such simple sermons as that on Whitsuntide which clearly and briefly describes God’s desire to save the sinful by delivering a sermon or points out the importance of theology, concluding with the following effective passage:

“If each day I distributed gold or silver, or honey or wine, would you not come voluntarily and urge others to do the same? And today I am distributing the words of God, which are unmeasurably more valuable than gold and precious stones and sweeter than honey and honeycombs. . . .”

As there is no necessary reason that all the sermons by one author be in the same style, these sermons could quite possibly have been written by Cyril. It should also be noted that those of his sermons which are on themes from Christology were preserved as a separate whole, as a separate “edition” in manuscript form. Along with the collected works of Hilarion and Volodymyr Monomax, Cyril’s “edition” of sermons testifies to the high cultural level attained by old Ukraine.

Their lack of originality in content notwithstanding, Cyril’s sermons became very popular among other Slavs—they found their way as far as the Balkans and were included among the most authoritative works of the Church Fathers. In later centuries (seventeenth and eighteenth), they appeared in printed form in anthologies of sermons. Petro Mohyla refers to Cyril as one of the outstanding writers of sermons in Rus’ while Kyrylo Trankvilion Stavrovec’kyj imitates Cyril’s style in his *Učytel’noje jevanhelije (Instructional Gospel)*. Borrowings from Cyril’s works are also encountered in seventeenth century Russian literature.

8. More outstanding as a thinker than the poet, Cyril, and an older contemporary of his, Clement (Klym) Smoljatyč was a monk of the Zarub Monastery near Kiev.\* Undoubtedly because of his fame as a sermonizer and “philosopher” who, according to the *Chronicle*, had no equal in the land of Rus’, he was consecrated as metropolitan of Kiev in 1146 but without the “blessing” of the Patriarch of Constantinople; as a result, until 1164 Clement was both metropolitan and pretender to the metropolitanate. We know that he was famous for his knowledge of theology and that he was an adherent of the symbolic approach to the interpretation of the Bible (see pt. J, no. 2). Unfortunately, no sermons which could be ascribed to him with certainty have been preserved.

A sermon eulogizing the Holy Fathers, which is similar to prayers in praise of individual saints, may have been written by Clement, as it contains a reference to the slaying in Kiev in 1147 of the prince and monk, Ihor. The general

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\*The hypothesis that Clement was a Belorussian from Smolens’k is groundless: “*Smol-jatyc*” does not refer to Smolensk as the town which he came from, but more probably is a name derived from a profession (*Smoljar*—pitch burner) or from his father’s first name, “*Smola*.”

characteristics of the Holy Fathers, monastic life and “scorn for the worthy” life “in the world” are presented in rhythmical prose. Some passages are reminiscent of the sermon on monastic life attributed to Hilarion (see Ch. III, pt. B, no. 6). However, as was mentioned above, Clement’s authorship of this sermon cannot be established with certainty. Another sermon “about love” is shorter and simpler. Built around quotations from the Bible, mainly from the Gospel of John, it employs paradox to emphasize the meaning of Christian love: “In the absence of love neither baptism nor penance will save us,” for love is

Protection from the heat of sin  
 the tower and wall against enemies  
 treatment for the sick  
 the key to the kingdom . . .  
 the doors to heaven  
 which lead into eternal life. . . .

And the sermonizer calls upon his listeners:

*Tu v"zljubim",  
 toju priblizimsja k" Bogu,  
 toju serdca svoja s"pletem",  
 toju dušu svoju s"tvorim,  
 ta bo vraždu vsjaku razorjaet',  
 ta privodit ny k" Bogu . . .*

(“If we love this, through this we shall be brought closer to God, through this we shall intertwine our hearts, through this we shall create our souls, for this will destroy all hostility and bring us closer to God. . . .”)

While these sermons may not have been written by Clement (the second is reminiscent of his epistle in certain respects—see pt. J, no. 2), they nonetheless demonstrate that some of the characteristic features of the sermons of Cyril of Turiv, such as their rhythmical quality, and their use of syntactical parallelism, are also generally characteristic of the style of this period.

9. Also of this period is the anonymous sermon known as the “Sermon on Princes,” which is related to the feast-day of the transference of the relics of Borys and Hlib and calls upon the princes to abandon their “quarrels.” This sermon probably originated in the Černihiv region as a result of the events of 1175. Borys and Hlib are portrayed as models of submissiveness and true lovers

of peace. In addition to eulogizing these princes, the author presents his own sharply critical views of the political situation:

“Listen to my words, you princes who stand opposed to your older brothers, make war and lead the pagans against your brothers! Do you think that God will not condemn this on the Day of Judgment? What have the holy Borys and Hlib suffered at the hands of their brother? Not only were they deprived of power but also of their lives! You are unable to endure the words which your brothers utter, engage in death-dealing hostilities and enlist the support of the pagans against your own brothers all because of some small affront.”

The author supports his ideas with examples from the Bible as well as from the lives of Volodymyr, Borys and Hlib and from that of a prince “from his own land” (the Černihiv region)—David Svjatoslavyč (d. 1123). He gives accounts of the miracles which occurred after the death of David—the attic of his palace dissolved (as in Svjatoslav’s dream in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*), a white dove flew into his room and sat on his chest. During his funeral a star appeared in the sky and the sun did not rise until the prince had been buried for he

“had no quarrels with anyone. When someone took up arms against him, he survived this war by his submissiveness; . . . when one of his brothers did him an injustice, he simply endured it. Once he kissed the cross, he never during his life violated the vow he had made to anyone in this way; when someone violated the vow which had been made to him, he still continued to live up to his. He never committed an injustice or an evil deed. . . .”

Even though he lived in the outside world and had a wife and children (Nicholas Svjatoša, a monk in the Kievan Caves Monastery, was one of his sons—see Ch. IV, pt. D, no. 4), David was a saintly man. From the example of David, the author concludes that it is also possible to attain salvation in the outside world—“You who take up arms against your brothers and people of your own faith ought to be overcome by shame! Fear God and fall down before Him in tears lest you lose your good name [in heaven] solely because of your vindictiveness.”

This structurally and stylistically simple but moving sermon is also interesting for its advocacy of peace among the princes. In this respect it is somewhat reminiscent of *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*.

10. One “Epistle” by George of Zarub, a monk in the same monastery as Clement Smoljatyč, has been preserved. Probably written not later than the

middle of the thirteenth century, this epistle is ascetic in nature, urging people not to search out wise teachers, for the author himself can tell them what is necessary for their salvation in spite of his "lack of learning." George not only gives instruction in the Christian virtues but advises that worldly culture be spurned, that is, "buffoons, . . . fiddlers and players of reeds," which people listen to "for their own pleasure"; "this is the beauty and joy of frenzied youths," but Christian music, the Christian "psalter is the beautiful, sweet-sounding Book of Psalms by means of which one should make merry before Our Lord, Jesus Christ." But the advocacy of "simplicity" and the desire to introduce asceticism into the outside world expressed in this sermon are characteristic of the increasingly manifested ascetic ideology which was later to find an outstanding supporter in Ivan Vyšens'kyj.

11. A sermon by Moses, abbot of the Vydubec'kyj Monastery, is preserved in the *Chronicle* under the year 1199. It is an expression of gratitude to Prince Rjurik Rostyslavyč who had a wall built near the monastery in order to protect the buildings on its grounds from any damage they might suffer as a result of a possible landslide (the monastery was located on the bank of the Dnieper). Solemn, lofty and salutary, this sermon employs a wide range of devices of the lofty oratorical style: the voice of self-abasement (he speaks not only of his own "lack of learning" but also about the "poverty of the mind") and the exuberant comparison of "the honorable words, the deeds inspired by true love of God and the autocratic state" of Rjurik, which are known not only "in the far reaches of the land of Rus'" but also far beyond the sea, with "the light from the sun, the waxing of the moon, the beauty of the stars and time which does not alter the laws of the Creator." This comparison is even given a philosophical base: Rjurik's generosity can be compared with the universe, for "the soul of the man who has been inspired by the wisdom of God is like a small sky," that is, it is like a "microcosm." Rjurik's generosity is meant as an example for others, an example which would lead them out of "the enslavement resulting from a lack of generosity and the darkness of miserliness." The sermon abounds in biblical quotations: "As you are standing not upon a river bank but upon a wall which you yourself have created, I sing to you the same song of defeat as once I did to Miriam" (from the Old Testament). There are also references to the folk legends which provide their own explanation of the fact that the church on the monastery grounds was not destroyed in spite of the landslides along the bank of the Dnieper: some say that the church moves back from the bank of the river, others—that it is supported by a single golden hair, lowered from the heavens (like St. Sophia's in Constantinople). This entire arsenal of symbols, rhetoric and learnedness is employed to describe a local event of limited significance.

A panegyric sermon of this same type, but devoted to a nonsecular topic has also been preserved. It is a eulogy of St. Clement, whose relics were kept in the old Desjatynna Church, and of the prince (perhaps the same Prince Rjurik) who “restored” it. It is modelled on an older panegyric sermon (eleventh century?), the text of which has not survived in its full form, thereby making a stylistic comparison of the two works impossible. The later sermon possesses a rhythm which stems from the rhetoric employed in it. Recalling the deeds and miracles performed by St. Clement, the author speaks of the significance that St. Clement’s relics had for Kiev in the past and asks for this saint’s protection in the future. Just as he had protected “the child in the sea” from “beasts who never see the sun” (the tale about Clement’s miracle in an underwater church, was known even in the eleventh century), so too will he protect those who love him from the “invisible beasts” of the earth, and so on. The conclusion focuses on the idea of the “seniority” of Kiev, at that time already in political and economic decline. The author plays on the word “*starejšensťovati*” which means seniority both in age and in political power:

“Entreat God, Clement, to grant our Christ-loving and just prince not only a good life here on this earth, but also eternal blessedness, for he continued the tradition of benevolence of his forefathers and restored your Church. . . . Let him now rejoice as the elder among the princes. . . .

May he [the Metropolitan] also rejoice who, being the elder among the bishops, is fortunate enough to touch your sacred objects and consecrate the faithful! May the citizens of our city, the eldest among cities, rejoice in your protection and remain with you always.

May the light celebrate your fortunate clergy, the eldest among all the clergy [of Rus’].

May all who value your memory by their faith and love celebrate handsomely.”

12. The atmosphere in the sermons of Serapion, bishop of Vladimir (in the principality of Suzdal) is completely different—it is one of moral severity. Serapion and his listeners had experienced Tatar raids, the destruction of Kiev and the principality of Suzdal, which were suffering political and administrative decline, and the subjugation of the Christian princes by their pagan counterparts. The sole theme, running through all of Serapion’s sermons like a leitmotif, is “God’s punishment” of Rus’.

Little is known about Serapion: in 1274, at which time he was the archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, he was consecrated bishop of

Vladimir but died in the following year. That his activity as a preacher was not limited to the five sermons that have come down to us is supported by the words of Serapion himself: "I have told you many times," "I always sow heavenly seeds in the fields of your hearts," "I, who am a sinner, always instruct you," and so on. Serapion's sermons can be dated on the basis of various references he makes in them to specific "heavenly retributions": earthquakes, heavenly signs, an epidemic (1230), a Tatar invasion (1237), and finally the flood in Durazzo (1273). One of them definitely belongs to Serapion's Kievan period. A second can also be ascribed to this period on the basis of the fact that Serapion addresses his listeners as "brothers." Both the content and the form of the address employed [*čada* (children)], indicate that the remaining three sermons belong to the final years of his life when he was already bishop of Vladimir.

Serapion's first Kievan sermon deals with evil signs—darkenings of the sky and misfortunes—the earthquake, the epidemic and war. The second of the Kievan sermons and one of the later three are devoted to the Tatar invasion. Serapion interprets these misfortunes as "God's punishment" for man's sins, and it is upon these sins that he focuses his attention. In the remaining two, he attacks various superstitions—the persecution of witches and sorcerers, disinterment of the bodies of those who died an unnatural death by drowning or suffocation; believers in these superstitions will be punished by God. All of Serapion's sermons portray the present reality as a movement towards its final end. This gives rise to their moral severity and solemn tone.

The new ascetic ideology does not result in a lack of concern for the purely literary aspects of the work. Serapion's sermons are at least as refined in this respect as those of Cyril of Turiv, except that their content is real rather than symbolic. The dominant literary device in Serapion's sermons is their rhythmical structuring, the impact of which is further strengthened by the accumulation of images of the "punishments of God" and the "sins of man." When he employs repetition as a means of making his ideas more easily perceptible, it can be concluded that he is directing his words not at his fellow-monks or the upper classes of society, but rather at the "common" people. The following passage is a good example:

We did not harken to the Gospels,  
did not harken to the Apostle,  
did not harken to the Prophets,  
did not harken to the glorious saints. . . .

Or: Many times have I instructed you, wishing to turn you  
away from your evil practices; but I see that you  
have not changed in the least:

He who was a bandit has not abandoned his banditry,  
he who was a thief has not stopped stealing,  
he who hated his friends has not given up his  
hostility,  
he who oppressed and plundered has not been satiated,  
he who collected interest has not stopped collecting  
interest,  
he who was a debaucher has not given up his debauchery,  
he who cursed and drank has not forsaken these practices.

Elsewhere: There is no punishment which we have been spared  
and [God]  
punishes us unceasingly today, but  
  
we have not turned to the Lord,  
have not repented of our lawlessness,  
have not forsaken our evil practices,  
have not cleansed ourselves of the filth of sin,  
. . . . Therefore the misfortune that tortures us does  
not cease. . . .

Or: You have abandoned truth,  
you are deprived of love,  
envy and deception feast in your midst,  
and your soul has become arrogant.  
You subscribe to pagan customs:  
you believe in sorcerers  
you burn innocent people.

Serapion enumerates God's punishments—heavenly signs, epidemics and diseases,  
the pagan onslaught and all the misfortunes connected with it, in the same way:

We saw the sun die,  
the moon darken,  
the stars move in the heavens,  
and today we see the earthquake with our own eyes. . . .

a cruel people have descended upon us,  
conquered our cities,  
destroyed our holy churches,  
killed our fathers and brothers,  
dishonored our mothers and sisters. . . .

It is terrifying for a person to suffer God's wrath.  
What have we not endured in this life?  
What have we not brought upon ourselves?  
What kinds of divine punishments have we not endured?  
Is our country not in bondage?  
Have our cities not been seized?  
Have our fathers and brothers not been slaughtered?  
Have our wives and children not been taken as captives?  
Have they not been made slaves by these foreigners?  
We have endured this affliction and torment for almost  
    forty years,  
and the heavy taxes are not lightened,  
hunger and epidemics plague our land,  
and we cannot enjoy eating our daily bread,  
and our bodies are being wasted away by our suffering  
    and grief.  
Who brought us to this?

    Our own lawlessness,  
    our own sins,  
    our own disobedience,  
    our own refusal to repent. . . .

God— willed upon us these cruel people,  
these fierce people,  
these people, who show no mercy for youthful beauty,  
the sickness of the old,  
the youth of children. . . .

God's churches have been destroyed,  
holy vessels have been defiled,

sacred places trampled under foot,  
 bishops have been devoured by the sword,  
 the blood of our fathers and brothers has watered  
 the earth,  
 the might of our princes and voivodes has vanished,  
 overcome by fear, our heroes have fled,  
 most of our brothers and children have been taken captive,  
 our villages have been overgrown by weeds,  
 and our greatness has been humbled,  
 our beauty has been destroyed,  
 our riches have been taken as booty,  
 the products of our labor have been taken by the pagans,  
 our land has become the property of foreigners,  
 we were disgraced in the eyes of our neighbors,  
 we were held in contempt by our enemies. . . .

The rhythmical quality of Serapion's sermons, which is almost completely lost in translation, is strengthened by the use of repetition [*naše, naš* (our); *viděxom* (we saw); *ašče* (if); etc.]. Alliteration is all but absent. Occasionally, the final words of adjacent phrases or clauses rhyme:

*zemlju naša pustu stvorīša,*  
*i gradi naši plētnīša,*  
*i cerkvi svjatija rozoriša,*  
*otca i bratiju naša izbiša . . .*

(“They transformed our land into a wilderness, and captured our cities, and destroyed our churches, killed our fathers and brothers. . . .”)

Rhetorical devices are few but suited to the overall style, consisting mainly of various types of addresses to the listener. The frequency with which rhetorical questions are posed creates the impression that the preacher not only *expects* his listeners to fulfill God's commandments, but wishes to obtain a personal promise from them. Exclamations are rare (“O, evil insanity!”; “O, you who have little faith!”; “Is this your penance?”). The predominant tone is that of a conversation with the listener. They kill witches: “One man is motivated by hatred, another by the vile benefits that may accrue to him and yet another, who is not sound of mind, merely wants to kill and rob but knows not whom to kill or why he wishes to do so. . . .” Antithesis is encountered infrequently:

I *always* sow divine seeds in the field of your hearts,  
I have *never* seen them grow to fruition.

When the Lord created us we were *great*,  
but because of our disobedience we have become *small*. . . .

Now that we are *small*,  
we fancy ourselves *great*. . . .

On the other hand, Serapion is fond of comparisons:

“A mother does not grieve so deeply when her children *suffer* from bodily ailments as do I, your sinful father, when you *suffer* from lawless deeds”; “I *always* sow divine seeds in the field of your hearts”; “Just as the *wild animal* craves to gorge itself on flesh, we are driven continuously by the urge to destroy everyone. . . . The *wild animal* can eventually satiate its appetite, but *we* cannot satiate ours”; “Do not be like the *bulrush*, which is bent by the wind”; “If the *shepherd* cannot be gladdened when he sees his sheep being carried off by a *wolf*, how can I be gladdened when I see the evil wolf-like *Devil* doing harm to any one of you?”

Serapion’s images grow into horrifying visions of the Last Judgment. He senses the approach of the final days of mankind and his planet and speaks of them; “God’s punishments” are occasionally portrayed as being the final ones:

“The earth was created as a stable and immovable object but today God has commanded it to move, and it quakes under the impact of our sins, no longer able to sustain our lawlessness”; “Today [God] is shaking the earth and causing it to tremble: his aim is to shake our numerous sins from the face of the earth like leaves from a tree.”

But this tone of impending doom is not all pervasive; Serapion also tries to instill hope into the hearts of his listeners:

“Look honestly upon your deeds, learn to hate them and then reject them and repent. God’s anger will abate, his benevolence will rain down upon us and we will live joyously on this earth”; “If we obey God’s laws, we will be able to live out our lives in peace. . . .”

In addition to the five sermons mentioned above, there are two others which are very similar in style and content but cannot be ascribed to Serapion with certainty. It is possible that they were written by another author who used Serapion's sermons as a model.

13. The remaining extant sermons which definitely or probably belong to this second Kievan period will not be discussed here, as the works discussed above provide sufficient evidence of the high level of literary artistry attained in this genre.

However, the great variety manifested even in the small number of sermons which have been preserved is worthy of note. Ukrainian authors did not uniformly choose to model their sermons on but one of the several types known in early Christian literature. By so doing they were apparently attempting to satisfy the spiritual needs of various social groups and it is precisely this fact which critics of the old socio-political school failed to appreciate. For them the significance of the old Ukrainian sermon was not unquestionable and the refined style of Cyril of Turiv nothing more than an unnecessary game, "an exercise in rhetoric." In the rationalistic and positivistic spirit that was prevalent in their time (the end of the nineteenth century), they recognized as significant only those sermons that were moralistic in character and, as we have seen above, these were not lacking in old Ukrainian literature. Such an evaluation is clearly ahistorical in nature. In addition to moral instruction, the sermon also attempted to explain the basic doctrines of the Christian faith. That these doctrines can be elucidated in various ways is self-evident. Cyril of Turiv chose to employ images, metaphors and symbols. That this technique has been validated by history is also self-evident, as representatives from various epochs repeatedly return to it. Furthermore, from the point of view of cultural history, there can be little doubt that the explication of theological ideas is at least as important as the onslaughts against drunkenness, exploitation and other moral defects. Highly successful from the literary point of view, the sermons of Cyril of Turiv and his "school" (or trend) occupy an important position not only in the history of Ukrainian literature but also in Ukrainian spiritual history.

### C. THE TALE

1. In contrast to the trend in all other literary genres, the number of original tales written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not increase but decreased. It is possible that some of the original tales included in *Prologue* were written or re-worked in Kiev but this cannot be proven.

2. Two of Cyril of Turiv's symbolic tales have been preserved. The content of both is not original; one of them employs a subject encountered both in the East and the West, while the second draws on *Barlaam and Josaphat*.

The first tells of a wise husbandman who entrusts the task of guarding his vineyard to a lame man and a blind man, who together could see and hear everything but individually would be unable to steal anything from their master. But the lame man climbs upon the shoulders of his blind companion and together they are able to reach the vineyard. The symbolic meaning of the story is described in considerable detail; the husbandman is God, the lame man—the body, the blind man—the soul.\*

The second tale, which is based on *Barlaam and Josaphat*, is about a foolish king who "feared neither God nor man." Having been driven out of the city, he wanders about and stumbles upon a cave full of armaments; also in the cave is a man who is rejoicing. The explication of the symbolism is more extensive than the narrative: the city is man's body, the king—his soul, the cave—a monastery with its spiritual armaments and so on. The work is concluded by a eulogy of monastic life. Cyril does not apply embellishments as generously in his tales as in his sermons but they are still numerous. As in his sermons, passages are frequently rhythmically structured or given a rhythmical quality by the use of short clauses.

The symbolism is extremely broad and intricate; thus, having compared the city with man's body, Cyril pauses to discuss the significance of all of man's senses as sources of temptation—these are the inhabitants of the city; having pointed out that the armaments in the cave are spiritual weapons, he goes on to describe the kinds of weapons. Cyril expands on the borrowed material quite extensively (for example, there is no mention of weapons in *Barlaam and Josaphat*), especially in the realm of symbolism.

3. The remaining tales are those contained in the *Chronicle*. As was the case with the tale about Borys and Hlib, these narratives are a kind of rough draft for future Lives. However, the Church did not always find it necessary or possible to canonize all the heroes of these tales.

A tale about the death of Ihor is included in the *Hypatian Chronicle* (under the year 1147). Unfortunately, it is fused with another account of the same

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\*The similarity of this tale to a section in the Talmud has been pointed out. However, there was also a Greek text (the apocryphal "Book of Ezekiel") from which Cyril of Turiv could have borrowed; the complete Greek text has not been preserved but quotations from it are employed by the Church Fathers. Cyril could have drawn on the Greek original. On the other hand, it is also possible that a Slavonic translation of the work existed at that time.

events which focuses on Izjaslav. The tale about Ihor can be isolated from the surrounding material only on the basis of its hagiographic style, its hostile stance towards Kievans and the absence of features characteristic of the *Chronicle* accounts proper—dialogues, around which the tales are built.

During the war between the Kievan prince Izjaslav and the princes of Černihiv, Ihor Olehovyč was captured by Izjaslav and became a monk. Recalling the unpleasant events associated with the captive Prince Vseslav, the Kievans decide to kill Ihor. The author places various pious thoughts in Ihor's mind, individual phrases of which are reminiscent of the story of the murder of Borys and Hlib. The conclusion of the work is very much in the style of hagiography: "He gave up his soul in the hand of God and, throwing off his corporeal attire, he drew on Christ's attire of suffering for which he was crowned with a martyr's wreath."

4. The tale of the murder of Andrew Bogoljubskij (1175) has been more adequately preserved. A powerful enemy of southern Rus', a brave warrior and an astute politician, Andrew Bogoljubskij transferred his capital from Kiev to Vladimir in Suzdal in imitation of the Kievan princes who maintained a residence close to their capital city (Vyšhorod); he lived not in Vladimir but in the village of Bogoljubovo. He was killed by his own boyars who feared his autocratic approach to government and his persecution of the boyar opposition. The account of his death was written by someone from Kiev or Perejaslav who had been close to him (possibly in the hope that he would be canonized). This tale is even recognized as a discrete work in the *Chronicle* where it appears under a separate heading.

The narrative begins with a broad description of the churches funded by Andrew Bogoljubskij; the ornate style is characteristic of the times. The prince

decorated it with multicolored icons,  
gold and precious stones,  
and huge priceless pearls,  
and decorated it with various tablets,  
and decorated it with slate tablets,  
and clothed it beautifully in various ornaments,  
and it was so dazzling that you could not look upon it,  
for the entire Church was of gold. . . .

His goodness and his stance toward the Church are described by the use of biblical quotations:

. . . his good deeds were numerous,  
and all his practices were good. . . .

he loved the non-corporeal more than the corporeal,  
and the heavenly more than the temporal,  
and the holy kingdom . . . more than this  
transitory kingdom.

This eulogy is concluded by a comparison of Andrew Bogoljubskij and Borys and Hlib. Unable to link the death of this prince with his virtuous deeds, the author still says the following: "This God-fearing Prince . . . laid down his life not for a friend but for the Creator himself." He addresses Andrew Bogoljubskij as a martyr and asks for his prayers. Quotations from the Bible and formulas from hagiographic works are scattered throughout the realistic narrative. The prince is compared to martyrs, several prayers and devout thoughts are placed in his mouth. A description of his funeral and the later transferal of his body to Vladimir conclude the tale.

5. The older variant of the tale about the murder of Prince Michael of Černihiv by the Tatars, which is mentioned in the *Chronicle* under the year 1245, has not been preserved. Broader accounts—the later northern falsifications, are attributed to Michael's priest.

The tale of the severely punished bishop of Suzdal, Theodore ("Fedorec") is also undoubtedly but an addition to the *Chronicle* (1172). It is not of the ecclesiastical or even of the Christian type (for example, "He who is cursed by the people, will be accursed" and so on). Furthermore, there are several tales about the transferal of relics, the building of churches, etc.

A simple tale about the healing of the monk, Martin, by the relics of Borys and Hlib has been preserved in *Prologue* and other such collections. Originating from Turiv, it is interesting as an evidence of the existence of literary activity in such a small center.

#### **D. THE PATERICON OF THE KIEVAN CAVES MONASTERY**

1. The *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, the work of two thirteenth century monks, bishops Simon and Polycarp, is one of the most extensive monuments of old Kievan literature and one of the most valuable sources of

cultural-historical information. The prehistory of this monument is known in considerable detail—an unusual phenomenon in old literature. It appeared in printed form on numerous occasions, beginning with the 1661 edition of Inokentij Gizel' and Sylvestr Kosiv. Two redactions of the *Patericon* have been preserved—the older Arsenian redaction of 1406, which arose on the initiative of Arsenius, bishop of Tver, and the Cassianian redaction of 1462, which was reworked in the Kievan Caves Monastery.

The kernel of the *Patericon* consists of the correspondence of the Kievan monks. Simon, who was bishop of the Suzdal city of Vladimir from 1215 to 1226, wrote a letter to Polycarp in which he attempts to dissuade Polycarp from giving in to the sin of ambition and becoming a bishop. Simon writes that he himself would gladly return to the Kievan Caves Monastery: "I would regard all fame and honor as dirt and even if I were to become the refuse which is thrown into the Caves Monastery and trampled under foot or one of the beggars who stand by the gates of our honorable monastery, all this would still be better than this fleeting honor."\* In addition to the letter he has sent nine tales dealing with the lives of eleven monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery; these tales had been written long ago and have been altered only by the addition of certain instructional passages. Following Simon's example, Polycarp wrote eleven tales of his own about thirteen monks also in epistolary form and addressed to the abbot of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Acindynus (1214-1231). As Polycarp and Acindynus lived in the same monastery and Polycarp himself admits that he has already described some of the events from the history of the monastery to him, it is obvious that the epistolary form is merely a literary device. Later these two groups of tales were grouped together and supplemented by various works dealing with the history of the Monastery, such as the tale about Isaac, the Life of Theodosius, etc.

In its original form the *Patericon* was not a collection of Lives. Rather it was a typical Patericon, that is, a collection of tales about separate episodes in the lives of monks, episodes which provide ample scope for moral instruction but are not necessarily laudatory in character. In fact, the tales typically deal with the temptations of the monks. The heroes are not portrayed as saints and it was not until 1643 that they were canonized by Petro Mohyla.

Both of the authors consciously modelled their works on older Patericons—see Ch. II, pt. C, no. 2, and employed various written materials which have not

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\*One cannot help but be amused when certain Russian scholars argue that Simon was the first "Suzdalian" writer and that the entire *Patericon*, which was written mainly in Kiev, belongs to the literary heritage of the northeast.

been preserved—the *Rostov Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, the *Life of Antonius*, etc.

2. The content of the tales is quite varied. One group describes events that offer scope for moral instruction, another—those that will bring credit to the monastery, events from the lives of saintly monks and even martyrs and miracle workers. Most of the tales are legendary in character, having been preserved in oral form within the monastery. In fact, only two of those written by Simon are eye-witness accounts. Most of the tales belong to the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries.

Simon begins with the story of Onicephorus, a monk who could see each person's sins or their amelioration. Two others are devoted to two martyrs, Eustathius and Nikon, respectively, who were able to convert their tormentors to Christianity. The account of Poemen "the faster" occupies only a few lines; his spiritual powers enable him to learn of the death of the saintly Kukša, a missionary among the Vjatičians, at the hands of the pagans. This section clearly reveals how little the Patericon tales have in common with works of hagiography. Of all the tales included in this collection, that about the Prince of Černihiv, Michael Svjatoša, most closely resembles this genre. Another four of Simon's tales are similar to the account of the monks who fall into sin: the monk Erasmus admitted that he was "a sinner but has not repented even to this day" but God gave him credit for his assistance to the Church, for his interest in its welfare; the "miserly and unmerciful" monk, Aretas, is similarly forgiven by God after all of his gold is stolen. Two monks—the priest, Titus, and the deacon, Evagrius, always quarrel; an example of a monk who is spiritually dead, Evagrius will not even make peace with Titus when Titus is on his death bed. The tale about Athanasius the Hermit is a tale about the fall of the entire monastery; when Athanasius dies his fellow monks do not even care to bury him "as he was very poor and had no worldly possessions and was scorned because of this." However, two days later Athanasius rises from the dead and lives for another twelve years.

The tales written by Polycarp are equally varied. Laurentius the Hermit drives out demons; Agapitus is a kind doctor, more skilled than his worldly counterparts; Gregory the Miracle Worker has the power to perceive hidden thoughts and foresee the future—he is murdered by order of the young prince, Rostyslav, who later dies by drowning in the Stuhna (the *Chronicle* and *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* also refer to this incident), according to Gregory's prophecy. Moses the Hungarian and John the Hermit do battle with the temptations of the flesh for many years; in times of famine, Prochorus made bread from pigweed and salt from ashes; Spiridion, the baker of the Host, put out a fire with water

that he brought in his cloak; angels painted icons for the icon-painter, Alipius; Mark, who was responsible for burying the dead, could forestall the death of those monks whose graves were not ready, make the dead anoint their own bodies if their cells were too small to allow him to do this, and so on.

Included among the tales of successful temptation is that of Nicetas the Hermit. Having been tempted by a demon who appeared in the form of “an angel of light” and endowed him with wisdom, eloquence and even the power of prophecy, Nicetas would teach only from the Old Testament and did not even wish to read the Gospels; his fellow monks succeed in freeing him from the Devil by their prayers. The monk Theodore also at first succumbed to the temptation of the Devil who led him to a Varangian treasure and enticed him to flee from the monastery with his newly found wealth. However, he is saved by his friend Basil who is able to make him completely forget the location of the treasure. Later, both Theodore and Basil are tortured to death by the son of the Kievan prince, who wanted to acquire the treasure for himself.

The introductory tale, which describes the founding of the Kievan Caves Monastery Church, is interesting for its depiction of the alien cultural forces with which the monks were confronted: the Varangian—the funds for the building of the Church were donated by the Varangian “Prince” Šimon; and the Greek—the Church was constructed by Greek masters, who were miraculously invited to come to Kiev either by the already deceased saints, Antonius and Theodosius, or by angels.

3. From the point of view of cultural history, these varied tales are of tremendous importance: they provide outstanding pictures of monastic and secular life and convey the atmosphere of the late princely era when the monastery was isolated from the secular world and evaluated it negatively. However, even all that is said about the monastery is not positive, for in addition to those monks who remained true to the traditions of Theodosius—the traditions of work and charity—we also encounter self-seeking, egoistic and malicious monks. And it is for this reason that an asceticism more severe than that described in the Life of Theodosius comes to the fore. However, it must be noted that a few warnings against the dangers of such a severe form of asceticism do appear in the tales.

Several tales of both authors are linked to the tale about Isaac, which appears as the progenitor of the *Patericon*, as it contains many of the motifs employed by Simon and Polycarp—temptation by the Devil who has assumed the form of an “angel of light” (Nicetas, Theodore) and the notion of the “gifts of the spirit”: Onicephorus, Poemen and others are able to foresee the future, Agapitus has the power of healing, Laurentius drives out demons, Spiridion

cope with fire in much the same way as Isaac. Of course, materials were also drawn from other Patericons but apparently only those which were already sanctioned by tradition (see Ch. III, pt. D, no. 1).

4. The style of the two authors of these tales is different. Simon's is simpler, having many features in common with that of the chronicles: he favors the use of dialogue—a device which allows for the broadening of the scope of the narrative, lingers over individual actions, thoughts, reflections and decisions of the characters. Occasionally passages are very reminiscent of the *Chronicle* or the tale about the murders of Borys and Hlib, many quotations from the Bible are employed and the language is frequently rhythmical. In some of his tales Simon builds dramatic tension by withholding the most interesting pieces of information until the end (compare the technique employed in the tale about the death of Oleh). The material is well-chosen and effectively ordered; there are no unnecessary digressions.

Polycarp's tales are artistically much more accomplished. They contain subjective overtones, employ general statements as starting points, make use not only of simple dialogue but also prayers, and include many apt comparisons: "He was struck by the arrow of envy," "Temptations are spiritual beasts." His comparisons are frequently traditional: "In the world man stands on the edge of an abyss, in a monastery—far away from it," "on firm ground"; asceticism "cleanses" a person "as gold does fire"; the Devil is a hunter who shoots arrows into the hearts of men, etc. However, such traditional images give rise to vivid and occasionally even well-rounded portraits of the monks; such is the case in respect to Prochorus who "walked lightly along his path," living "like some bird," and even carried his pigweed "as if he were propelled by wings." In addition to quotations from authoritative religious sources, Polycarp occasionally employs proverbs: "That which you sow also shall you reap." On the other hand, he also sometimes reveals himself as an educated man who is not willing to lower himself to the level of the common man's language and milieu; for example, instead of employing the "vulgar" form *loboda* (pigweed) he writes: "*zeliĵe, jako Źe preŹde řex*" ("the weed mentioned earlier"), etc. Certain exclamations also belong to this learned style; for example: "This deed performed by the Lord testifies to His glory."

Polycarp does not limit himself solely to material directly related to his stories. Scattered throughout his tales are references to historical, legendary and various other types of events. For a *Patericon* tale, the stories of Theodore and Basil (see above) would have themselves sufficed; however, Polycarp also weaves the migratory legend about the demons who help the saint to build a church into the fabric of his narrative. Theodore forces the demons, who were interfering

with his building of a cell, to help him by carrying and piling up the wood prepared on the bank of the Dnieper for the construction of church buildings; the “servants” and drivers whose work had been done by the demons and who were therefore deprived of their pay, demand payment from Theodore; “an unjust judge” hands down the following decision: “Let the demons who helped you with the work also help you to pay.” The tale about Theophilus, a monk who kept his tears of repentance in a dish, is highly successful; while he is on his death bed an angel appears to him and brings an earthen pot full of fragrant “myrrh”—these were those tears which Theophilus had not collected but had let fall onto the earth or wiped away with a towel. In these and other tales folk legends of a religious character occupy the most prominent position. The first one of these mentioned above (about demons giving aid to a saint) is encountered in all parts of the world, even among non-Christian peoples.

Polycarp’s tales number among the best examples of psychological characterization in old Ukrainian literature. In most cases the inner lives of characters are revealed through dialog, monolog, prayers or first person narration, on the one hand, and realistic narration in which metaphors and comparisons become reality, on the other: for example, John, who is possessed by licentious thoughts, feels flames rising upward from his legs and making his bones crackle.

The stories of Theodore and Basil can truly be described as novels, as can the tale of the adventures of Moses the Hungarian, the brother of one of Prince Borys’ servants. Having been taken prisoner by the Poles during the war between Jaroslav and Svjatopolk (1015-1019), Moses becomes the object of the erotic feelings of some rich and influential Polish woman. Moses secretly becomes a monk. His debates with the Polish noblewoman, her passionate love, his ultimate release from captivity and his life in the Kievan Caves Monastery are described in considerable detail and presented dramatically—not merely as a series of adventures but also as a psychological conflict. The tale about Prince Michael Svjatoša (probably “Svjatoslav”) of Černihiv is also quite detailed in nature. The inner makeup of this prince, who rejected the world and lived out his days in the Kievan Caves Monastery, emerges from his discussions with his doctor.

In comparison with the secular monuments and sermons of this period, the *Patericon* tales are quite simple in style, as their authors preferred to concentrate on the presentation of the story itself rather than on the embellishment of their language. On the ideological level, a wide gulf separated these tales from the monuments that inspired them—the tale about Isaac and the Life of Theodosius; the ideals of limited asceticism and productive labor, the ideals of the complete fusion of the material and spiritual lives of the monks in the Kievan Caves Monastery, are replaced by a severe asceticism. Personal salvation overrides all

else, pushing the ideals of service to the world and communal life into the background. However, it must be remembered that the *Patericon* belongs to the dark period in the history of Kievan Rus'. As if sensing the impending demise of the culture of the princely era, the authors of the *Patericon* produced a work which was later to have perhaps a more profound impact on the spiritual life of Ukraine than any other old Ukrainian monument—an impact that was to endure at least until the general awakening of interest in the past, that arose in the Baroque period when the *Patericon* was reprinted, and even into the nineteenth century.

## E. CHRONICLES

1. Five redactions of the *Kievan Chronicle* containing supplementary Galician-Volhynian entries have been preserved. The best known of these is the so-called *Hypatian Chronicle*, which includes the old *Chronicle*, the *Kievan Chronicle* from the twelfth century, and the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (1205-1289); in the latter, most of the material does not appear in the form of yearly entries but is woven into one complete narrative (in some of the later manuscripts this narrative is ineptly divided into yearly entries, the final one being mistakenly dated 1292).

The *Kievan Chronicle* is composed of a number of elements whose relationship has not yet been satisfactorily explained (the most significant attempts were made by Kostomarov, Hruševs'kyj and Priselkov). Since its final editor (perhaps Moses, abbot of the Vydubec'kyj Monastery) and his predecessors significantly altered the original text, it is difficult to isolate its constituent elements. Information about other principalities from other sources was incorporated into it. Only in three or four instances can fragments be identified as probably belonging to individual works of a different character (see above, pt. C, nos. 3-5).

The situation with respect to the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is quite different—up to the entry for 1260, it consists of a unified narrative by one author.

2. One of the most outstanding features of the *Kievan Chronicle* is its ample use of the dialogue form as a means of recounting the events of a story. This device is encountered even in the earliest longer narratives (1128). The characters converse and in their dialogue they provide information about their plans, intentions, relationships and also in part, about events. Most importantly, the princes speak to each other (directly or through emissaries), to their retainers, to the people, etc. Conversely, direct discourse is also employed by

their retainers, their enemies and the people. Long speeches are rare, most of the dialogue being limited to short statements introduced by phrases such as “he said” or “they said” (“*řex*,” “*rekořa*,” “*naća molviti*,” “*naćařa povědati*,” etc.). It is not unusual to find four to six of them on one page as in the following example:

News was brought [to Prince Izjaslav] from his friends in Černihiv: “Prince, do not leave your present place of abode, . . . [for] they want to kill you. . . .” After he had heard this, he sent emissaries to Černihiv with the following message: “We have made plans for a great expedition and have . . . kissed the cross; therefore, let us reassure [one another] once again. . . .” But they replied: “Why should we kiss the cross again? It is not necessary. . . .”—and they refused to kiss the cross. Izjaslav Mstyslavych’s emissary said to them: “Can it be a sin to kiss the cross as a sign of mutual love? . . .” Izjaslav had said to his emissary: “If they refuse to kiss the cross . . . tell them what we have heard.” And Izjaslav’s emissary said to them: “I have been informed that you are deceiving me. . . . Is this true, or not, brothers?” They could say nothing in reply. . . .

Frequently, an introductory phrase does not accompany the characters’ direct speech:

They complained that he has a pact not with the Mstyslavyches but with *our* enemies . . . .

And he kissed the cross: I am going to Suzdal now. . . .

And a warrior from the city overtook him: “Do not come to the city, prince, [for] the common council has been called. They are beating your retinue, and wish to seize you [also]. . . .”

While these varied forms of dialogue themselves lend a vitality to the narrative, the authors of the *Kievan Chronicle* attempted to further emulate the traditions of the old *Chronicle* by including apt expressions modelled on proverbs and quotations from literary sources in the statements made by their characters. Unfortunately, they were not as successful as their predecessors. Note the following examples of such statements from the *Kievan Chronicle*: Prince Andrew Volodymyrovych refuses to accept the throne of the principality of Kursk: “I prefer death with my retinue in my homeland . . . , to the principality of Kursk”; Prince Izjaslav says to Prince George, who had betrayed the oath he had made by kissing the cross: “One cannot play games with one’s soul”; the

same Izjaslav tries to comfort his retinue which is disturbed by the appearance of numerous enemy troops on the far bank of the Dnieper: "God willing, we will be able to defend ourselves; unlike birds, they do not have wings and are unable to fly over the Dnieper and land on our side. . . ."; thirty years later Prince Ihor's retinue says much the same thing: "Prince you cannot fly across like a bird. . . ."; the Galician Prince Volodymyrko, having been accused by an emissary from Izjaslav of violating the oath he pledged by kissing the cross, says: "It was only a small cross!"; Prince Ihor (hero of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*), at first refuses to try to escape from his captors: "It was in order to preserve my honor that I did not flee from my retinue and neither will I follow an inglorious path today. . . ." On other occasions, genuine proverbs are employed: "Peace exists prior to war and war prior to peace"; "The city does not come to its mayor but the mayor to the city"; "We must take care of ourselves lest others take care of us"; "Today he has punished someone else, tomorrow it will be our turn." The proverb "Ratša destroyed Kiev, Tudor-Vyšhorod" is associated with events in Kiev.

Maxims of a religious character are not as frequent. A number of them are derived from the Bible but a much larger proportion are simply general statements sustained in the style of religious monuments: "How good and how pleasant is it when brothers live in harmony" (from the *Psalter*); "The evil man will die an evil death"; "They came with ambitious ideas but returned home in humility."

The theme of misfortune as "God's punishment" encountered in the old *Chronicle* is also to be found in the final sections of the *Kievan Chronicle*. This theme is occasionally expressed through aphorisms: "This is God's whip and we have been lashed so that we may become humble and turn away from the path of evil." There are also aphorisms relating to God's punishment of the proud.

3. There are few expressions of a religious character in the *Kievan Chronicle*, because it is in essence a "military tale," a tale about military events from the point of view of Kievan "chivalry." The style of these tales is constant and polished. The same expressions and phrases are encountered repeatedly. Descriptions of preparations for a campaign begin with the phrases: "They collected their warriors," "They made ready for the campaign," "He mounted his horse." The prince gathers a "great multitude" ("*mnoгое мно́жество*") of warriors, "a tremendous force" "from all corners of the land" "the like of which has never before been seen"; later these forces are "like forests." There is a great unity among the princes: "We are all for one"; hearts "are aflame"; the prince "exhorts his retinue" or "his warriors into battle." On occasion, the prince even makes a short speech. The battle is signalled by certain phrases: "The trumpets

sounded," "the drum roll began and the trumpets sounded," "the drums' roll began," etc. Infrequently, the military "call" to arms is mentioned. The actual beginning of the fighting is indicated by expressions such as "they took up the banner," "they raised the banner," "they brought forth the banner"; then they "strike the enemy" and the prince is first to "break the lance" ("kop'e izlomi"). The description of the battle frequently includes various specific details, also expressed in fixed phrases: initially, "arrows are shot" and the prince sends "his bowmen against them"—the Polovcians; "when they meet the opposing forces, arrows are shot from both sides." In other cases, the description is much more limited: "They fought valiantly," "they advanced valiantly from the city" (or castle), the battle is "a fierce contest," a "valiant contest," "a ferocious struggle" ("bran'"), "rocks fall from the castle like rain," "and many men fall on both sides," "much blood was spilled and many lay dying," "and the wounded [jazvenyx] were numerous." The following are typical of the descriptions of battles found in the *Kievan Chronicle*:

And the fighting was very fierce on both sides and many fell on both sides and it was as horrifying to behold as the end of the world [the Second Coming].

And there was great confusion and much moaning and a huge uproar and unknown voices; lances were breaking, and armor clashing and such a cloud of dust aroused that neither the calvary nor the infantry could be seen. And so they fought fiercely. . . .

The enemy has been defeated, "trampled under foot" and "having been put to shame," the opposing forces scatter and flee or retreat in an organized fashion ("the regiments retreat"). Then the rewards of victory are described: the destruction of their enemies' property or the taking of their lives, the acquisition of captives (*opolonišisja, ispolomšisja*) and other possessions which the chronicler occasionally enumerates in exuberant language, and less frequently, the release of the captives taken by the enemy (*otpoloniša*). In some cases, the campaigns described are unsuccessful: the prince either "dismounts" even before the beginning of the battle or "returns to his kinsmen" after certain events have occurred on the field of battle, "having accomplished nothing." The dead are also occasionally mentioned: "We cannot raise them from the dead." The heroes "wipe away their tears," "wipe away beads of perspiration" and return home "to great honor and acclaim," "with great honor and to great acclaim," "with great honor," "with great fame and honor," etc.

Formulaic expressions are also used in explaining the causes of these wars.

Among the most important of these is a prince's desire to revenge himself for "an affront"\* he had suffered, an affront "which can be atoned for only by death" and therefore the "affront must be avenged," the "dishonor wiped away." The "dishonor must be eliminated" because "dishonor is worse than death": "it is better to die, brothers, than to live without honor." A second important cause of hostilities is the quest for "honor": "We will acquire honor," "I will find my honor and the aspiration of my thoughts." This idea is even expressed in general form: "Brothers and retainers! The land of Rus' and her children were not created by God for dishonor, honor was acquired in all corners of the land. Grant us honor today, O Lord, in our battle with the foreign invaders. . . ." This quest for honor also takes on egoistical overtones: Princes are concerned about their personal "share" of "the land of Rus'" and are not hesitant to wage war to acquire their "fair share": "I will go in quest of Novgorod by good or evil means." Defense of seniority is a further variation of this theme. The prince's goal is always described in the same way—"to sit upon the throne of his fathers and forefathers."

The population is also given a role to play in the events of the first half of the century. Hostile postures toward its princes are described variously, but favorable ones are always portrayed with the help of formulaic expressions: "We will stand with you, wherever your banner flies"; "If it is your desire, we will follow you with our children"; "Even with our children at our sides, we will gladly fight for you"; "We wish to lay down our lives in order that the honor of your father be preserved." Generalized motivation for actions is frequently presented as a choice between two alternatives (either . . . or): "Either misfortune or good-fortune awaits us all"; "We must either deliver our wives, children and retainers into captivity or lay down our lives"; "I will either lay down my life or take revenge for the dishonor I have suffered."

The chivalrous world view expressed by the chroniclers and their heroes is also Christian in character but in the same unique way as that of the Christian knight in Europe. God is always seen as the final cause. Formulas such as "and so we will see" or "this is the right moment" (formulas referring to the propitiousness or unpropitiousness of the moment) are rare. In most cases "they place their faith in God"—things will be "as God wills them to be." God is called upon to judge the claim of disputants: "Let God judge between us" (also "the Saviour" and the "holy cross"); "O, Lord, grant that we may regain our honor"; and even "God used his power to grant victory to our enemies but honor and

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\*The word employed in the original text is "*obida*." While it may occasionally be translated as "injustice" it lacks the moral overtone implicit in the word "injustice."

glory to us" for "God and the power of the cross is the cause of all things." Furthermore, the *Kievan Chronicle* frequently views entire episodes from this same point of view, especially from about the year 1170 (the work of Abbot Moses?): God, "the holy cross" and the Virgin Mary give aid to one side and punish the other; quarrels and rivalry are the work of the Devil.

Even while they are in reality waging wars for some trivial "affront" they have suffered, or for their "share" of the country, the heroes of the *Kievan Chronicle* view themselves as defenders of the "land of Rus'" (which refers only to Ukraine) and the "Christian people." However, they are occasionally really called upon to defend their country from its main enemy at that time—the Polovcians. The following is a typical example of the views of the chroniclers and their heroes: "I will struggle for the sake of the land of Rus'"; peace is preserved "for the sake of Rus' and the faithful"; "O, Lord, grant that we may lay down our lives for the faithful and the land of Rus' and be numbered among your martyrs."

The ideal of Christian chivalry that inspired the princes of the twelfth century emerges more clearly in the sections of the *Kievan Chronicle* (the entries under the years 1188 and 1190) devoted to the crusades led by Frederick Barbarossa:

In the same year, the German King set out to do battle for the grave of our Lord, for God commanded him to do so through an angel. And when they reached [the Holy Land], they fought fiercely with those ungodly Turks. . . . Like saintly martyrs, these Germans and their princes gave up their lives for Christ. And our Lord revealed his approval of their action through a sign: When one of them was killed in battle with these foreigners, then after three days their bodies were removed from their coffins by an angel; the others beheld this and longed to suffer for Christ. God's will was manifested and they were included among the chosen, among the martyrs [for the faith].

The use of numerous formulaic expressions creates two differing impressions—extreme resplendence, on the one hand, and a definite monotony, on the other. The monotony of what seems to be endless repetition is relieved only by individual interesting episodes or unusual events, which are painted in brighter colors and employ more dazzling images.

On the other hand, the other types of ornamentation frequently employed in other monuments of this period are all but absent. Only rarely do we encounter rhythmical passages so common in both religious and secular works.

The passage which describes Prince Ihor's (hero of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*) thoughts about his "sins" is one of them:

Then innocent Christians endured much misfortune,  
 children were torn away from their parents,  
 brother from brother,  
 friend from friend,  
 wives from their husbands,  
 daughters from their mothers,  
 women from their women friends,  
 and tranquility was destroyed by enslavement,  
 and grief existed then,  
 the living were jealous of the dead,  
 and the dead rejoiced. . . .

And now the Lord has given me my reward:  
 where is my beloved brother today?  
 where are my brother's sons today?  
 where is the child which I fathered?  
 where are the boyars who gave me counsel?  
 where are the brave warriors?  
 where are the regiments?  
 where are the horses and the valuable arms?  
 I lost all of this  
 and the Lord gave me into the hands of the heathens. . . .

Alliteration is rare:

<i>tako umre Jaroslav" edin",</i>	t-u-e
<i>u tolitě silě voi,</i>	u-t-v
<i>za velikuju gordost' ego,</i>	v-e
<i>poneže ne imějāše na Boga nadeži,</i>	n-n-n
<i>no nadějaset'sja na množestvo voi.</i>	n-n-n-v

("So from among so great a number of warriors, Jaroslav alone died because of his immense pride; for he did not place his faith in God but in the vastness of his army.")

<i>i tako ustroi Bog'' m'glu,</i>	i
<i>jakože ne viděti nikamo že,</i>	n-v-n
<i>toliko do konec' kop'ja viděti,</i>	k-k-v
<i>i postiže dožt',</i>	i-p
<i>i v tom'' priprošasja ko ozeru oboi,</i>	i-p-o-o
<i>i razide ě ozero,</i>	i-o
<i>i tako nělzě by ni oněm'' oněx'';</i>	i-o-o
<i>m'gla že pod''jasja v'' pol''dni</i>	p-p
<i>i ujasnisja nebo,</i>	i-u
<i>uzrěša polki oba poly ozero,</i>	u-o-p-o
<i>i tako b'jaxutsja na krilěx'' polkom''</i>	
<i>ot'' oboix''*</i>	i-p-o-o

(“And so God caused a fog to form, a fog so dense that no one could see beyond the tip of his lance and then it began to rain and it was under these circumstances that both sides approach the lake and the lake separated them and neither one could reach the other; at midday the fog lifted and the sky grew bright and when the regiments saw both shores of the lake, the wings of both regiments fought against each other.”)

On occasion there is a complete parallelism between two events—mostly in connection with the condition of the two opposing forces (is this perhaps unintentional, the natural result of the use of formulas?):

When day began to dawn, it was in George's regiment that drum rolls were first heard, trumpets were first blown, and preparation for battle begun—and then in the regiments of Vjačeslav, and Izjaslav and Rostyslav, drum rolls were heard, trumpets blown and preparations for battle begun. . . .

In another section, four visits made by Prince David while he was in Kiev in 1195 are described on one page using exactly the same words.

The monotony of the narrative tone is relieved by the insertion of passages in a different style, predominantly that of religious literature. There are prayers which are written in the elevated religious style and frequently structured

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\*There are some corrupted sections in this passage.

rhythmically. In the later section of the *Kievan Chronicle*, there is a necrology of the princes which provides interesting examples of literary portraiture. And there are individual tales—about the death of Prince Ihor at the hands of the Kievans (1147), about the murder of Andrew Bogoljubskij (entered under the year 1175—compare Ch. IV, pt. C).

The tale about the death of Rostyslav (1168) is also an insertion. Written in the style of hagiography, it is embellished with the prince's discussions of spiritual matters, his prayers and the following closing passage:

And he looked at an icon of the Creator Himself and began to speak in a low voice and tears flowed from his eyes: "Today, O Lord, You will dispatch Your servant from this world in accordance with your word." And tears lay on his face like seeds of pearl. And thus did he die while wiping away his tears with a handkerchief. . . .

The laments included in the *Kievan Chronicle* are also interesting.

These inserted tales and passages which are in a style other than that of the military tale contain a great many interesting stylistic features. In addition to quotations from the Bible, there are formulaic expressions of a non-military character; for example, compound words which are common in religious monuments [*blagoumnij* (noble-minded), *visokoumie* (high-mindedness), *paguboubijstvennij* (homicidal), etc.].

4. The *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is quite different in style. Its complex content, which describes events in the principalities of Galicia and Volhynia from the year 1205, was well characterized by the author himself in one of his subtitles: "*Bezčislennyja rati i velikyja trudi, i častyja vojny i mnogija kramoly, i častaja vostanija, i mnogija mjateži. . .*" ("Numerous armies and great feats, and frequent wars and many insurrections, and many uprisings and many disturbances"). The period of Daniel, which appears to extend to the year 1260, is narrated as a complete whole, that is, it is not divided into yearly entries. This is followed by a section written by different authors whose style was partly influenced by that of their predecessor. The final portion (1287-1289), or at least that part of it which relates to Volodymyr Vasyľ'kovyč, is again the product of a single author, and is stylistically quite different from the preceding parts of the work.

5. The style of the first part of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*—the account of the reign of Daniel—unlike that of the *Kievan Chronicle*, is "bookish" in character. Its author was undoubtedly a learned man (hence his references to the scholar Timothy and the poet Mytusa—his fellow men of letters—and to Cyril, a scribe in the prince's chancellery). Complexly structured sentences,

archaic language, rare words, striking images and comparisons, unique situations—all this is characteristic of his “biography” of Daniel.

Perhaps the most typical feature of his style is his use of participial constructions, especially the so-called dative absolute. The following example describes the omens seen during an expedition:

*Ne došedšim že voem' rěki Sjanu,  
sošedšim že na poli voružit'sja,  
i byvšu znameniju sice nad" polkom";  
prišedšim" orlom" i mnogim" voronom",  
jako obloku veliku,  
igrajuščim" ze pticam",  
orlom" že klek ščuščim"  
i plavajuščim krilomy svoimi,  
i vospromětajuščim" sja na vozdušě,  
jako že inogda i nikoli že ne bě . . .*

(“Before the troops had reached the Sjan River, they dismounted in a field to ready their weapons and many eagles and ravens appeared in the sky like an immense cloud and the birds flew about playfully, the eagles searched, glided on their wings and floated through the air in an unheard of fashion.”)

As in the *Kievan Chronicle*, dialogue is used to lend a dramatic quality to the narrative. However, in Daniel’s “biography” it is occasionally employed with such persistence that the narrative disintegrates into individual dialogues. Not surprisingly, this learned author embellishes his text with various phrases, historical aphorisms and proverbs; for example: “It is better to die in one’s homeland than to win fame in a foreign country.” At the end of the account of Mstyslav’s unsuccessful campaign against Halyč, the boyar Elias (Il’ja) Stepanovyč takes Mstyslav up mound Halyč and “scornfully says to him: You have sat upon mound Halyč, Prince, and have therefore been prince of Halyč!” Or Daniel says: “Christians draw their strength from vast expanses, Tatars—from confined quarters.” Real proverbs are also used: “One stone can break many earthen pots”; “You must kill the bees before you can eat their honey”; “Evil which is more malicious than evil.” In addition, there are quotations from the Bible, from translated works and so on. And finally, descriptive words are linked to names: “Benedict the Torturer,” “the arrogant Filja,” or “the great Filja”

(Magyar voivodes). Semjanko, a Galician boyar is “unrestrained, fierce . . . [and] similar to a fox because he has red hair.”

The fixed phrases found in abundance in the *Kievan Chronicle* are also used here, but much more sparingly. The author of this first part of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* prefers to offer more original scenes and images: within the walls of Volodymyr of Volhynia’s castle “armed warriors stood in ranks, their shields and arms glittering in the sun”; in Daniel’s army “the horses were clothed in masks and leather trappers and the men—in armor and his regiments gleamed in the sun because their armor glittered. And he himself rode alone . . . as was the custom in Rus’: his horse was a marvel to behold and his saddle was gilded and his arrows and sword were adorned with gold . . . and his purple cloak was made of Greek cloth and embroidered in smooth patterns of gold and gold also decorated his boots of green morocco leather.” The following descriptions of battle scenes are also characteristic:

and when the lances were broken it was as if a peal of thunder  
had resounded through the sky and on both sides many were  
falling from their horses and dying and others were wounded. . . .

lances and fire-sticks flew through the air like flashes of  
lightning and rocks fell like rain from the heavens . . .  
and others fell from the bridge into the ditch like sheaves  
of wheat;  
the ditches were very deep but they were completely  
filled with bodies so that it was possible to walk over  
the bodies like a bridge.

Individual heroes are given much more attention than in the *Kievan Chronicle* where they are referred to only rarely. The following passage describes Daniel’s performance in the battle with the Magyars:

Prince Daniel rode up from the rear and began to pierce them with his sword. . . . Daniel struck a warrior with his lance and when his lance broke, he drew his sword; when he looked around in all directions and saw that Vasyl’ko’s banner was still standing and that he was fighting well and pursuing the Magyars, Daniel drew his sword and went to his brother’s aid, wounding a great many of the enemy and killing others. . . . When he reached his brother’s position, he did not see one warrior but only the servants who were

watching the horses; they did not recognize him and lunged at him with their swords but God in his infinite mercy saw fit to bring him through this incident without a scratch.

The *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is also richer in linguistic embellishments. Rhythmical passages, such as the following famous description of Roman, are encountered quite frequently:

*prisonopamjatnago samoderž'ca vseja Rusi,  
odolěvša vsim'' pogan'skym'' jazykom'',  
uma mudrost'ju xodjašča po zapovědem'' Božiiim'':  
ustremil bo sja bjaše na poganyja jako i lev'',  
serdit'' že byst' jako i rys',  
i gubjaše jako i krokodil'',  
i prexožaše zemlju ix'' jako i orel'',  
xrabor'' bě jako i tur''. . .*

(“an autocrat of all Rus', whose memory will live in eternity, his mind, in its wisdom, observing the commandments of God; for he had attacked the pagans like a lion, he was as enraged as a lynx, and he destroyed as a crocodile; he moved over their lands like an eagle and was as audacious as an aurochs. . . .”)

The passage quoted above is one of many which are reminiscent of the epos. There is also the reference to Volodymyr Monomax “drinking water from the Don from his golden helmet” (compare *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*), the legend about the magic herb *jevšan-zillja*, which was probably derived from the Polovcian epos, the story about the Polovcian khan Končak who “drained the Sula manually with only a pot” (such hyperboles are characteristic of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*). However, let us return to the topic of rhythmical language. The following is the speech made by Ihor's supporters to the people of Peremyšl:

*Brat'e! počto smuščaetesja?  
ne cii li izbiša otci vaši i brat'ju vašju?  
a inči iměnie vaše razgrabiša?  
i dščeri vašja daša za raby vašja?  
a ot'č'stvii vašimi vladěša inii prišelci?  
to za tex'' li xočete dušju svoju položiti?*

(“Brothers! Why are you confused? Were not these the ones who killed your fathers and brothers? While others pillaged your estates and married your daughters to your slaves? While other strangers have control of your patri-monies? And is it for these people that you wish to sacrifice your souls?”)

In most instances, however, such rhythmical passages do not resemble those of the old *Chronicle* or even the *Kievan Chronicle*; rather than the simple sentence structure of its predecessors, the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* prefers rhetorical complexity.

Plays on words also belong to the category of rhetorical embellishments: “*Dněstr zlu igru sygra Ugrom*” (“The Dniester played a malicious trick on the Magyars”); “*Bojarin bojarina plěnivše, smerd smerda, grad grada*” (“One boyar was captured by another, one peasant by another, one city by another”). The source of the first is Malalas, while the second is modelled on a type of repetition employed in the Bible and in sermons.

The author reveals an even greater tendency to use the type of language characteristic of rhetorical prose. He prefers complexly structured sentences and will use abstract words to describe very concrete phenomena; for example, instead of saying “They were driven out,” he says “*Nyně že izgnanie byst’ na nix*” (“Today expulsion was their lot”); instead of “They were wounded by lances”—“*Ujazveni byša ot krěposti udarenija kopějnogo*” (“They were wounded by the forceful impact of a lance”); instead of “He was slashed by a sword”—“*Ot kon’ca ostroty mečevyi . . . peretjatě byvši*” (“He was slashed by the blade’s sharpness”); and so on.

Synonyms and obscure words are also favored. In some cases, a translation accompanies difficult words: “*riks*”, *rekomyj korol’ ugor’kyj*” (“the Magyar king”), “*vsja okresnaja vesi, rekomaja okolnaja*” (“all the surrounding villages”).

6. The final portion of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is much simpler in style. Devoted in large part to Volodymyr Vasyl’kovyč, an intellectual, scholar, amateur scribe and man-of-letters, this narrative provides quite a moving account of this prince’s illness (cancer of the lip) and death. The fact that Volodymyr Vasyl’kovyč was also a hunter and warrior is referred to only in the past tense.

The sentence structure (dialogs, participles) employed here is much the same as that in Daniel’s “biography.”\* However, many of Volodymyr

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\*The dative absolute does not appear as frequently.

Vasyl'kovyč's monologs are presented in the form of letters and some of his decrees or parts of them are included in the text. The events described are of a more peaceful nature. The prince's monologs contain references and symbolic statements characteristic of a learned person. His entire conversation with the Bishop of Peremyśl, who came to ask that Berestia be given to Prince Lev, is carried on in enigmatic language: the Bishop asks that "the candles [on the grave of Daniel's uncle in Xolm] not be extinguished" for Berestia "could be your candle"; the prince, who "understands aphorisms and the hidden meaning of words" because "he was a learned man and a philosopher the likes of which the land of Rus' has not known before and will never know again," refuses the request in the same enigmatic style.

In the many passages devoted to eulogizing Volodymyr Vasyl'kovyč, the elevated religious style is used to describe secular opulence and the wealth of the Church. These passages simply glitter with gold, silver, marble, enamel, etc.:

And the holy vessels which he had placed before the holy Virgin were made of gold and decorated with precious stones. . . . For his own monastery he himself copied out the liturgical text of the Bible and the books of the Apostles. He also gave a liturgical text of the Bible which was bound in silver and inlaid with pearls and which he himself had copied out to the bishopric of Peremyśl, while to the bishop of Černihiv he sent a copy of this same text written in gold, bound in silver, inlaid with pearls with an image of the Saviour in enamel, in the center. . . . He also had many churches built: he had the Church of St. George built in Ljuboml; it was constructed of stone, decorated with forged images and liturgical vessels, embellished with velvet coverings embroidered in gold and pearls and with cherubim and seraphim while the muslin covering the altar was embroidered and gold and other coverings were of white silk. . . .

And it is because of his tremendous contributions to the Church that the author's eulogy of the deceased prince employs the devices of the lament and is in the form of an acathistus.

The language as well as the style of this part of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is frequently modelled on that of the religious monuments. Furthermore, it is perhaps more consistently sustained on this level than is the language of any of the other old Ukrainian chronicles. We encounter words such as *mnogocinnnyj* (very valuable), *blagopoxval'nyj* (worthy of praise), *dobrovonnyj* (fragrant), *dobropreliubnyj* (most beloved), *mnogoderznovenie* (great courage), etc.

7. Literary sources also had an impact on the Ukrainian chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the *Kievan Chronicle*, these influences were simpler in nature, consisting of the usual formulae of the military tale, either actually borrowed from translated monuments (from Flavius, the *Alexandreis*, the Bible, and *The Deeds of Digenis*) or formulated under their influence. As was demonstrated above, they contribute to the stylistic unity of the work.

The author of Daniel's "biography" uses such literary sources in a different way. First, he reworks some of the best passages from various historical monuments. The speech of the emissary of the Magyar King Bela, for example, is borrowed from the Bible (Isaiah 26). However, Daniel's "biographer" was also influenced by the old Chronicles—Malalas, Hamartolos, Flavius' *History of the Judaic War*, the *Alexandreis*. Indications are that he did not employ these works *per se*, but was rather in possession of a chronograph compiled on the basis of them. Certain passages are almost totally composed of borrowings from these historical monuments: the characterization of Roman parallels that of Hercules in Malalas and Alexander of Macedon in the *Alexandreis*. The phrase "zlu igru sygra Dněstr" was derived from Malalas where it was used in connection with the Scyrtus River, while the quotation from Homer was probably taken from some collection. The description of the Galician army is reminiscent of descriptions in Flavius and Hamartolos; one of Daniel's speeches—of a speech made by Darius in the *Alexandreis*; the battle scenes—of those in Flavius' *History*; and so on.

From the stylistic point of view, Daniel's "biography" is one of the most outstanding works of old Ukrainian literature, the borrowings referred to above notwithstanding. Characteristic of the literature of the Middle Ages, such borrowings constitute but a small fraction of the work as a whole and are stylistically reworked. Furthermore, by his choice of imagery, the author succeeded in creating many original, vivid scenes.

The narrative about the death of Volodymyr is also a highly accomplished work of art. While the style of this portion of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is much more in the tradition of religious literature, the images employed to describe Volodymyr's last days are frequently very realistic.

8. Changes in style indicate changes in authorship. In the *Kievan Chronicle* narration in the "military" style begins in approximately the year 1146. The subsequent portions are always linked with the person of one prince. The most original and stylistically accomplished of these individual narratives is the tale about Izjaslav. It is possible that its original author was a layman and that his work was later rewritten by a cleric who was responsible for the few extraneous remarks and for the broader passages. The following entries appear to have been made by a variety of authors but at the end of the century the entire chronicle

was reworked for Prince Rjurik probably by Moses, abbot of the Vydubec'kyj Monastery, who was also the author of the eulogistic sermon which concludes the work.

Two of the various sections of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* are clearly distinct. (We are here concerned with that part of this text which has been preserved as a unified whole. The fragments of some Galician Chronicle included in the *Kievan Chronicle* suggest that this text is not complete.) The first of these is the "biography" of Daniel. Spanning the years 1205 to 1260, this account of Daniel's life is not organized in the form of yearly entries and appears to have been written after the events it describes. The style of the narrative identifies its author as a learned layman with a great deal of literary talent. This, coupled with the fact that his sympathies lie with the prince rather than his boyars, suggests that he may have been a clerk in Daniel's chancellery, while his description of Galicians as "godless" indicates that he was a Volhynian. The second discrete section of this chronicle is devoted to Volodymyr Vasyl'kovyč (according to the Hypatian manuscript, it encompasses the years 1287 to 1288) and is undoubtedly also the work of a clerk, perhaps the prince's chief scribe (excerpts from Volodymyr Vasyl'kovyč's decrees are given in the text). It has even been suggested that the author was the same Xodorec' or Xodorok Jurijovyč who copied the prince's testament (also cited in this text). Very little of a definite nature can be said of the various other authors.

9. In the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, wholesale borrowings are few; all material borrowed from other sources is completely reworked. On the other hand, the *Kievan Chronicle* employs material derived from chronicles which have not been preserved and provides us with information about the literary life of the time which would otherwise be unavailable. Under the year 1172 as well as elsewhere in the work, a wealth of information about Rjurik II's family is provided, notably in the necrology which appears to be the remains of some sort of family chronicle kept by the Rostyslavyč dynasty.

The fragments of the *Černihiv Chronicle* which were preserved in the *Kievan Chronicle* are of greater interest. Given over quite an extensive period of time (from 1146), accounts of events in the principality of Černihiv focus on Ihor (prince of Černihiv from 1198 and hero of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*) and his family. The dominant role assigned to Ihor suggests that the *Černihiv Chronicle* may have been written under his auspices. In addition, the *Kievan Chronicle* also occasionally records events occurring in the principality of Perejaslav. While it is possible that information about this neighboring principality filtered through to Kiev directly, proof of the existence of local Perejaslavian annals is provided by Suzdalian chronicles which themselves include references to local events in this

principality up to the year 1228. That Suzdalian chronicles employed Perejaslavian sources is not surprising as Perejaslav became a Suzdalian protectorate at the end of the twelfth century. Northern chronicles also testify to the fact that the recording of events in Kiev did not stop at the end of the twelfth century—the *Suzdalian Chronicle* includes extensive narratives about events in the principality of Kiev during the years 1203-1205, which are sustained in the style of the *Kievan Chronicle*. The Polish historian Długosz (compare his eleventh century sources—see Ch. III, pt. H, no. 7) is believed to have drawn on northern sources for his information on the period beginning with the twelfth century. It is impossible to establish whether his copy of the *Perejaslav Chronicle* recorded events beyond the year 1128. On the other hand, there is positive evidence of the existence of the *Galician Chronicle* prior to the thirteenth century: the form in which information about events occurring in Galicia in the twelfth century is presented in the *Hypatian Chronicle* (references to passages not included in the *Hypatian Chronicle*), indicates that this information was drawn from some other monument which has not been preserved.

## F. THE EPOS

1. It is possible to draw some definite conclusions about the nature of the themes of the twelfth and in part also of the thirteenth century epos, considered to be the forerunner of the northern *stariny* (see Ch. III, pt. I). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there are lamentably few parallels between the epos and the chronicles. Isolated from the other principalities, Kiev had already begun to decline in the twelfth century, especially in the political arena: the new trade routes from Europe to the Orient and to Constantinople deprived Kiev of its importance within Europe. As a result, in this period there are few epic themes of Kievan origin and Kiev is scarcely remembered in the north: thus, for example, the *Novgorod Chronicle* does not even mention the destruction of Kiev by the Tatars. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was the rise of western Ukraine and the Tatar onslaught that provided fertile ground for the germination of epic themes.

2. The *starina* about Djuk Stepanovič is of Galician-Volhynian origin. It describes the hero's journey from India to Halyč (sometimes "*Galič-Volincja*") and from Halyč to Kiev; the characterization of Djuk Stepanovič is limited to a description of his wealth, given initially by the hero himself and later, when doubts arise, by emissaries dispatched by Prince Volodymyr. However, these dispassionate observers feel that they must decline to write such a description of

Djuk because they would have to sell Kiev, to purchase the required amount of paper, and Černihiv, for the necessary quantity of ink. In Kiev Djuk occasionally engages in rivalry with Čurylo, another hero of the same type; their competition involves jumping over the Dnieper on horseback or changing clothing at appointed times during the day and Djuk is the victor. The very name "Djuk" indicates the western origin of this hero. In fact, the descriptions of Djuk's riches are borrowed from the "Story of the Indian Kingdom" (see Ch. II, pt. D, no. 8), which probably came to Galicia during the period of Jaroslav Osmomysl. Evidence of the luxurious life style of Jaroslav and his boyars is provided in the *Chronicle*. The name "Djuk" (Byzantine—*dukas*) and the patronymic "Stepanovič" (Stephen is a favorite Magyar name) could be of Magyar origin as is Djuk's legendary horse (compare the tales about Magyar horses in Kiev in 1150). It is interesting to note that some of the details about the clothing worn by Djuk or Čurylo are derived from the original text of the "Story of the Indian Kingdom," not from the Slavonic translation, a fact which provides further proof of the Galician origin of this epic work.

Legends about Čurylo undoubtedly existed in Galicia, for his name is preserved in Galician folksongs and in the works of the Polish writers, Rej and Klonowicz (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). Čurylo is the same type of cavalier as Djuk but less noble in character—he is a charlatan. "Čuryliv" or "Džuryliv" was the surname of a western Ukrainian boyar family after whom the city of Čuryliv (later Džuryn) in Podillia was named. In those contemporary *stariny* which are akin to very short stories, Čurylo appears at Volodymyr's court with his retainers, becomes Volodymyr's "drinking companion" and drives Volodymyr's wife to suicide (his beauty so overwhelms her that she slashes her wrists). Ultimately, his love affair with the wife of the boyar, Bermjata, costs him his life. His rivalry with Djuk has already been mentioned above. One Podillian song portrays him as the leader of "an army of girls." However, these contemporary *stariny* appear to have been considerably reworked in later periods (in Moscow?). As a result, it is difficult to specify the nature of the themes about Djuk employed in the old epos; one can only say that he was a character of the same type as Don Juan.

3. The third Galician-Volhynian epic is about the dragon-slayer Michael Potok. Evidence of the Galician origin of this work is provided by the song about the girl who "looks at Džurilo with one eye and at Potok with the other." The name "Potok" is otherwise unknown among the eastern Slavs and is probably based on the life of the Bulgarian dragon-slaying saint, Michael of Potok. The chain of events narrated in this epic is quite complex. Mixail (Michael) marries but his wife dies soon after their marriage and Mixail requests

to be buried with her. When a dragon appears in the burial vault, Myxail forces it to bring him some "living water" with which he then revives his wife. The motifs in this work are clearly of a legendary character and may have been based on some Bulgarian legend about Michael of Potok. In any case, references to Podillia and Lithuania testify to its western origin. The impetus for this epic may have come from the transfer of St. Michael's relics to Trnovo in 1206. News of this event could easily have spread to Galicia, which was close to Bulgaria (located on the lower Danube) and had cultural ties with it.

4. The *starina* about Dunaj may also be of Galician-Volhynian origin. Dunaj (1) succeeds in acquiring for Volodymyr the hand of the Polish princess, (2) meets the daughter of a cavalier in the field and marries her and finally, (3) having accidentally killed his wife in a shooting match, he takes his own life; from their bodies flowed the waters of the Danube and Dnieper ("Nipro," etc.). The first motif may perhaps be linked with one of Volodymyr Vasyľ'kovyč's voivodes; the *Chronicle* mentions that a voivode named Dunaj was sent as an emissary to the Mazovian prince Konrad in 1280. However, such an association remains tenuous. Even more tenuous is the association of the various "Romans" mentioned in *stariny* with Roman of Galicia. On the other hand, the content of these *stariny* can be broken down into various legendary motifs.

5. The themes of another group of *stariny* can be linked with the Tatar invasions. Older epic themes are modified in the light of the new historical conditions, the Tatars replacing the earlier enemies of Rus'. However, the Tatars seem to have been an integral part of the *stariny* about tsar Kalin, Vasilij Ignatovič (or Pjatnycja) and the battle on the River Kama from the time of their first appearance.

The content of these *stariny* is as follows: the death of all the heroes in the battle on the Kama River, the attack on Kiev led by Kalin and repelled by Il'ja, and the attack launched by Batiga who is killed by Vasilij Ignatovič. The happy endings in the last two of these were obviously later additions. The *starina* about Vasilij Ignatovič begins with the Virgin Mary's lament over the imminent destruction of Kiev. The form of this lament—the Virgin Mary talks with aurochs—is puzzling. In the *stariny* about the battle on the Kama River and about Kalin, the Tatars appear on two separate occasions, a fact which corresponds with historical reality (the battle near the Kalka River in 1223 and Batu's campaign of 1237-1241); the names Kama and Kalin probably derived from *Kalka* or *Kalec'* (the name of a little known river on which the battle of 1223 was fought), the name Batiga—from *Batu*; the death of heroes may refer to the death of many princes in the battle on the Kalka River or to the death of Al'oša Popovič and others mentioned in the northeastern Chronicles. However, it

is not known whether these first epic songs on the theme of the Tatar invasion actually arose in Kiev or were only linked with it in later times.

6. There were undoubtedly also many epic works in Kiev and Galicia which were not transmitted to the north and preserved in the form of *stariny* but became the basis for some Ukrainian prose legends. As in the case of the epos, it is only possible to draw some general conclusions about the nature of the themes of these legends. One such epic theme describes the deeds of Demjan Kudenevyč, recorded in *Nicon's Chronicle* (a later Muscovite work) under the year 1180. It is of Perejaslavian origin (there is a village named Kudniv near Perejaslav). According to *Nicon's Chronicle*, Demjan first defends Perejaslav against the forces of Hlib, prince of Novgorod-Siversk; in a truly epic fashion, Demjan and his servant Taras alone vanquish Hlib's entire army. Then the Polovcians appear on the scene and Demjan faces them alone and without any weapons. Other legends are devoted to Roman of Galicia, who is mentioned both in Ukrainian and Polish Chronicles; Długosz quotes some proverbs mentioning Romans which were used by the Polovcians to frighten their children into obedience. Other sayings were: Roman plows the "Lithuanian people"; "You must kill the bees before you can eat their honey." Later sources have also preserved an account of an encounter between Roman and the emissaries sent to him by the Pope and Leszek. Refusing to meet with either the Pope or Leszek, Roman's reply to the Pope has a distinctly epic flavor; drawing his sword, Roman asks: "Does the Pope have a sword the likes of this sword of Peter?" A further epic tale which has been preserved only in the form of Ukrainian prose legends is that of Myxajlyk; the details of the various versions of this legend differ considerably but all are linked with the fall of Kiev: Myxajlyk, a young cavalier, leaves Kiev carrying the Golden Gates with him on his lance. While *stariny* based on this legend and on the legend of Ivan and his father, Danylo Lovčanyň do exist, they are of much later origin. In any case, later written and oral sources provide evidence of the existence of epic works in old Kiev and in Galicia.

In the *Chronicle* under the year 1151, there is a reference to two mounds known at that time as the "Perepet" hills (now Perepjat or Perepjatyxa). In a contemporary legend, Perepjat departs with his army and, after several years, his wife begins to search for him but when she finds him she fails to recognize him, kills him, and then herself.

Thus (as in Ch. III, pt. I), while the existence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of epic works on the above-mentioned themes can be established, nothing definite can be said about their form. Even *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is of little help, for the extent of its stylistic peculiarity cannot be determined with certainty.

## G. THE TALE OF IHOR'S CAMPAIGN

1. *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is the one monument of old Ukrainian literature that is familiar to a wide range of readers. However, its popularity arises from an entire complex of erroneous notions about its significance and its literary character. The first of these is the belief that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* occupies a unique position in old Ukrainian literature as it differs markedly from all other monuments. In reality, this work is tightly bound by the conventions of its time and the traditions of the past. The second erroneous notion is that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is a typical example of the extinct epic genre of the oral tradition. However, in reality, only a few indefinite conclusions about the form of the old epos can be drawn on the basis of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*. As a poetic masterpiece, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is unique and cannot be used to draw conclusions about other lost monuments which could not have attained the same level of poetic excellence and therefore cannot be said to have had a similar form.

*The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* was discovered toward the end of the eighteenth century in a collection of works which were predominantly of a secular nature (for example, *The Deeds of Digenis* was also included in the collection). Fortunately, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* was recopied and published before the collection in which it appeared was destroyed by fire in 1812. As a result of the relatively recent character of this manuscript and the inexperience of its publishers, certain passages of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* are obscure. In spite of the fact that the manuscript was lost, doubts as to the authenticity of this epic steadily decreased over time. The discovery of numerous parallels to the obscure passages, the fact that the language does not deviate from what are now believed to have been the norms of the twelfth century (because of their more limited knowledge, the eighteenth and early nineteenth century publishers of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* had entirely different conceptions), the numerous historical facts included in the work, the quotations from it in other old monuments and the fact that *Zadonščina* (*Tale of Events Beyond the Don*—a Muscovite work from the fourteenth or fifteenth century) was clearly modelled on it—all this serves to prove that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is an authentic work of the twelfth century. The doubts raised in recent times do not stand up under scrutiny.

2. The content of this relatively short monument will be familiar to most of my readers. *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* tells the story of the unsuccessful campaign against the Polovcians led by Ihor of Novgorod-Siversk and his brother, Vsevolod. After an initial victory, their army is overwhelmed by the

Polovcians and Ihor is captured but succeeds in escaping with the help of one of the Polovcians. A year later his son, who had married the daughter of the Polovcian khan Končak also returns from captivity. However, the content of the work is certainly not limited to its *fabula*. Following the description of Ihor's defeat, there is the Kievan prince Svjatoslav's "golden word" to the other princes, accounts of earlier historical events and the lament uttered by Ihor's wife, Jaroslavna. In fact, the entire work is laced with literary and historical digressions and, as a result, its content is unusually complex.

The composition of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is easily discernible. After the short prelude in which the author expresses his intention of not deviating from the historical truth—of not "singing" in the style of Bojan—the description of Ihor's campaign and its unsuccessful outcome begins. In the second part, set in Svjatoslav's "golden-roofed" palace in Kiev, Svjatoslav has a somber dream, receives the no less somber news of Ihor's defeat and utters the "golden word" to the other princes whom he would like to persuade to join together in a campaign against the Polovcians. Furthermore, the "golden word" does not have a discrete ending—Svjatoslav's words imperceptibly give way to those of the author who plunges into reminiscences of the past. Jaroslavna's lament forms the third part, while the conclusion consists of but the final few lines—the eulogy of the princes and warriors.

While the work as a whole is divided into distinct parts, the same cannot be said of the structure of these individual parts themselves. Only in Jaroslavna's lament does a pattern emerge: there are four "strophes," three of which begin with the same words—"Jaroslavna laments early in the morning." The structure of parts one, four, and especially that of part two, is occasionally extremely intricate. One feels that the author has deliberately clouded the structure of his work—he refers to the eclipse on two separate occasions but skirts over the most important moments: for example, Ovlur's ("Lavor" in the *Chronicle*, the Polovcian who helps Ihor to escape) actions are not motivated; it is not always clear where the characters' speech ends and the narrator's begins—that Svjatoslav's "golden word" has ended and the narrator is again speaking can only be concluded from the fact that the princes are addressed as "my lords," a phrase that would be used only by a subject; descriptions of events occurring in Ihor's time are interwoven with reminiscences of the past. Furthermore, comments pertaining to literary matters are also scattered throughout the text: the characterization of Bojan's style, the quotation from his work and the imitation of his style are almost an attempt at parody. In light of the structure of Jaroslavna's lament, the intricacy of the remaining sections can only be regarded as deliberate.

Some scholars have suggested that this apparently obscure structure resulted from the ineptitude of the scribes who, in recopying this work over the centuries, altered the original order of sentences and pages. However, an analysis of the text demonstrates that this theory is both superfluous and erroneous: for example, the eclipse of the sun, which actually occurred while the campaign was already in progress, is presented as an omen of what is to happen before Ihor sets out with his troops. Such a violation of historical fact can be linked with the heroic tradition where a somber tone frequently dominates from the very beginning of the work (*The Iliad*, *Nibelungenlied*); furthermore, this unfavorable omen does not deter Ihor, thereby underscoring his courageousness and decisiveness. Similar structural arguments can be applied to other apparently misplaced passages.

3. The style of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is equally complex. The language is highly figurative; almost every word has a second level of meaning, performs a function in the poetic structure of the work. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of this epic is its intricate symbolism. While some events are described realistically, others are presented solely in symbolic form. Thus, even Ihor's defeat is described only in the following words: "Ihor's banners fell. . . . The supply of bloody wine ran dry and the wedding feast of the courageous warriors of Rus' came to an end: they fed their guests and laid down their lives for the land of Rus'. The grass wilts in sorrow and the tree bends to the ground in grief." The boyars inform Svjatoslav about all the events of the campaign: "Two falcons have flown from their paternal throne of gold and seek to find the town of Tmutorokan' or to drink of the Don with their helmets. The wings of both falcons have already been clipped by pagan swords and they themselves have been fettered in iron chains. On the third day it grew dark, both suns were eclipsed, both scarlet pillars were extinguished. On the banks of the Kajala darkness obscured the light. . . . And infamy prevailed over glory, freedom was struck by misfortune and Dyv swooped down upon the earth." This passage is laden with symbolism: "bloody wine" = blood, "wedding feast" = battle, "suns" and "scarlet pillars" = princes, "eclipses" = defeats. This passage is not metaphorical but symbolic, for the normal words used to describe particular objects or actions are not employed. Such symbolic passages are encountered frequently throughout the text.

In some cases, the symbolism employed in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is reminiscent of that of Scandinavian poetry (*kenningar*—see Ch. I, pt. C, no. 4); for example, "young moons" = the young princes, "a slave's saddle" = captivity, etc.

Simple comparisons are rare. Reality almost completely disappears behind

the veil of symbolism. Prince Vseslav “jumps like a ferocious beast” or “like a wolf” (the instrumental case used in the original has a double meaning; it can be interpreted as both a simile and a metaphor); he “jumped into the bulrushes like an ermine, and into the water like a white duck”; “He jumped from his horse like a wolf with white paws (or “like a gray wolf”) . . . and flew through the mists like a falcon.” The battle is described as a “wedding feast,” or as the sowing or harvesting of a field: “The black earth was sown with bones, watered by blood and grief sprung up throughout the land of Rus’ ”; “No good was sown on the bloody banks of the Nemyha, for they were sown with the bones of the sons of Rus’ ”; “On the Nemyha they strew heads like sheaves, threshed them with iron flails, scattered lives on the threshing floor and winnowed soul from body.”

The many devices of foreshadowing employed in the work—dreams, forebodings and unfavorable omens—are also a type of symbolism. Such, for example, is Svjatoslav’s dream in which various traditional omens of misfortune are used: “the black quilt” (the color black symbolizes misfortune); “blue wine mixed with grief” (cloudy wine also signifies misfortune); “pearls”—an indication that tears will flow; the screech of rooks, the sleigh (a symbol of death—see Ch. I, pt. C, no. 2 and Ch. III, pt. F, no. 4); the falling of the tip of the “golden-domed” roof of the palace in Svjatoslav’s dream (an omen of death). The eclipse of the sun is also a device for foreshadowing. In fact, all of nature responds to the lot of the heroes: “On the second day blood red gleams of dawn announce the beginning of a new day. Black clouds move inland from the sea in an attempt to veil the four suns and emit blue flashes of lightning. . . . The earth moans, rivers become cloudy and dust covers the fields”; “the leaves fall ominously from the tree”; “the grass wilts in grief” (see above).

The images in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* are all symbolic, even the many types of birds which appear throughout the text (the author may have been an inhabitant of the forested zone of the steppe in which a great variety of birds are found): the nightingale = Bojan or a joyous herald of the approach of dawn; sinister black rooks foreshadow misfortune and symbolize the pagan Polovcians; heroic falcons and gyrfalcons symbolize the “courageous sons of Rus’ ” who are always prepared for battle (“to battle the birds”); the eagle is a symbol of poetic inspiration or a harbinger of victory which invites the animal kingdom to come and feast “on the bones of the Polovcians.” The animals which appear in the work, the sun, the moon, the fog, the redness of the sky at dawn and dusk also have similar symbolic meanings.

Reality is almost completely veiled by this complex web of poetic images; and it is precisely in this striking interplay of the two levels of meaning (realistic

and symbolic) that the originality of this epic lies. Both levels of meaning have an equally forceful impact on the reader. To assure that this balance is sustained, poetic devices other than symbolism are employed. The numerous hyperboles transport the reader into a semi-fantastic realm, thereby sharpening his perception of reality. After his victory over the Polovcians, Svjatoslav is not an ordinary mortal but an elemental cosmic force: he “descends on the land of the Polovcians, crushes hills and destroys ravines, muddies rivers and lakes, causes streams and marshes to dry up and, like a whirlwind, sweeps the pagan Kobjak from the midst of his numerous invincible regiments and casts him into one of Svjatoslav’s chambers in Kiev.” Jaroslav Osmomysl of Galicia is described in a similar fashion: “Sitting high up on your throne of gold, bracing Magyar crests with your iron regiments, barring the Magyar king’s advance, and locking the Danube’s gates, you fling your heavy shafts beyond the clouds and send your judges to the Danube.” Rjurik and David Rostyslavýč “in their gilded helmets floated on seas of blood.” Vsevolod’s soldiers from Kursk were “swaddled by military trumpets, grew up in helmets, were nursed by the point of a spear; they are familiar with every trail and know every ravine; their bows are held in readiness, their quivers are open, their swords are sharp and, like unto wolves, they bound across fields seeking honor for themselves and glory for their prince.” Vsevolod of Suzdal is described as follows:

O, exalted Vsevolod! In your great wisdom you will not hesitate to rush from afar in order to defend the throne of your fathers. For you alone can empty the Volga with your oars and drain the vast Don with helmets. If you were present today, female slaves would sell for a song and bondsmen for a farthing for you could launch the courageous sons of Hlib over the dry land. . . .

4. Mythological images are another characteristic form of ornamentation employed in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*. By the twelfth century, Christianity was well established in Kievan Rus’ so that the numerous references to pagan gods in this work may seem unusual. However, mythological images are traditionally employed in epic works: the gods of antiquity survived in the epos until the end of the era of Classicism, while more pious authors occasionally replaced these “pagan” figures with Christian ones; rejecting the heritage of Classicism, the Romantics turned to their own national mythology. There is little doubt that the pagan mythological figures which appear in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* also belong to this category. The poet Bojan is the “grandson of Veles”; the “inheritance of Dažboh’s grandson” is destroyed by the quarrels among the

princes; and the winds are "Stryboh's grandchildren." The description of Vseslav of Polock, who is portrayed as a sorcerer and werewolf, takes us into the past (eleventh century, perhaps modelled on the works of Bojan): "Prince Vseslav passed judgment on all his people and put other princes' cities in order but at night like a wolf he ran all the way to Tmutorokan' by dawn and as a wolf he crossed the path of the great Xors [probably refers to the sun]." It is interesting to note that Vseslav is also endowed with certain supernatural powers in the *Chronicle*.

In addition to the pagan gods, there is the figure of Diva Obyda, who "rose among Dažboh's grandchildren, entered the land of Trojan like a maiden, fluttered her swan-like wings over the blue sea near the Don and frightened away the days of prosperity." When Ihor rides into the steppe with his army, "the darkness moans threateningly, the birds are aroused by the howling of beasts and from atop a tree Dyv calls out a warning to the alien land"; after his defeat—"Dyv has already swooped down upon the land."

Trojan is the most obscure of the mythological figures which appear in this work. There are references to "Trojan's trail," "the land of Trojan" (the land of Rus' or the "meadow land" near Tmutorokan?), "the seventh age of Trojan" (the period of Vseslav who died in 1101) and the past "ages of Trojan." At present nothing definite can be said about this mysterious figure. On the other hand, the pagan gods can be identified much more easily as they are mentioned in Christian monuments of Western, Byzantine and East Slavic origin—in the old *Menaemum* (the so-called *Codex Suprasliensis*) in Hamartolos' "Book of the Wisdom," in the *Chronicle of John Malalas* and so on. In some cases, the pagan gods are described as demons but more often they are said to be princes from the days of old, magicians or brigands who were deified by the superstitious masses. This type of explanation (the so-called "euhemerism,"—see above, Ch. II, pt. D, sec. a, no. 2; no thorough study of the mythological figures in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* has yet been made on the basis of this theory) was particularly suited to the task of eliminating the remnants of paganism as it reduced the pagan myths to the status of legends. Even the author of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* appears to adhere to this theory for he implies that Veles was the first poet of Rus' (Bojan is his "grandson") and that Dažboh was one of its princes (the princes of the Kievan period are his "grandchildren"). Xors, who was regarded as the god of the sun in the Romantic period (he is not characterized in any way in older works of literature), probably also became a legendary figure in the same way; however, he never grew to mythological proportions. Stryboh, on the other hand, was definitely a mythological figure and, because of this, it is more difficult to establish if he was still regarded as a

“god” or merely as a fantastic figure such as Diva Obyda (a sorceress), or Dyv, or even a human sorcerer. In any case, all these figures were derived from earlier myths of secondary importance and are but another form of ornamentation employed by the author.

5. Abounding in alliteration and other forms of euphony, the language of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is unusually melodious. In most instances alliteration extends over only a small number of words: “*Se větri Striboži vnuči*” (“These winds are the grandchildren of Stryboh”); “*Porosi polja prikryvajut*” (“Dust is covering the fields”); “*uže bo Sula ne tečēt' srebrenimi strujami*” (“for the Sula no longer flows in silvery streams”); “*ta predi pēs'n' pojaše*” (“and before this he would sing a song”); “*Knjazi šami na šebe kramolu kovaxu*” (“The princes forged dissension against one another”); “*Se li štvoriste moej srebrenej šēdině?*” (“Why have you done this to my silvery hair?”); “*stojat' stjazi*” (“the banners stand”); “*t'ščimi tuly poganyx' t'kovin*” (“empty quivers of the pagan nomads”); “*rišča v' tropu Trojanju*” (“rushing down Trojan's trail”); “*větre vētrilo*” (“o wind, blustery wind”); “*molodaja mēs'jaca*” (“young moon”). However, occasionally alliteration is sustained over lengthier passages of the text: “*Kamo Tur' poskočjaše svojim' zlatym' šelomom' posvēčivaja, tamo ležat' poganya golovy Poloveckyja, poskepany sabljami*” (“Wherever the Aurochs does battle with his golden helmet ablaze, there, clefted by sabres, lie the heads of the infidel Polovcians”); “*S' zaranija v' pjatok' potoptaša poganya pl'ki Poloveckyja i rassušjas' strělamy po polju, pomčša krasnyja dēvky Poloveckyja, a s nimi zlato i pavoloky*” (“Early on Friday morning they trampled down the Polovcian regiments and, scattering over the fields like arrows, they carried off fair Polovcian maidens as well as gold and silks”).

Assonance and consonance are also frequent in short phrases or clauses: “*Oba esvě Svjat'slavlyčja!*” (“We are both the sons of Svjatoslav!”); “*Tugoju im' tuly zatče*” (“Their quivers were locked by grief”); “*Oleg' i Svjatoslav' t'moju sja povolokosta*” (“Oleh and Svjatoslav were obscured by darkness”); “*Svjatoslav' izroni zlato slovo slezami směšeno*” (“Svjatoslav uttered a golden word mingled with tears”—s and z in combination with l and v); “*letjat' strěly kalenyja, grimljut' sabli o šelomy, trěščat' kopia xaralužnyja*” (“tempered arrows fly, sabres crash against helmets, steel lances clash”—r and l); “*Edin' že izroni žem'južnu dušu iz' xrabra tēla čres' zlato ožerelie*” (“You were alone when you dropped your soul from your brave body, like a precious pearl from your neckpiece”—ž and z). Jaroslavna's lament is built on the sound l. Occasionally, one sound dominates even in fairly lengthy sentences or passages: “*V polě Olgovo xorobroe gnězdo, . . . ne bylo ono obidě poroždeno*” (“Oleh's valiant

brood [slumbers] in a field, . . . not born for dishonor”); “*Rěka Stugna, xudu, struju iměja, pož’rši čuži ruč’i i strugy prostre na kustu, unošu, knjaziu Rostislavu zatvori na Dněpr’*” (“The Stuhna is a shallow river, it devoured other brooks and streams, overflowed the bushes on its bank, and locked young Prince Rostyslav in the Dnieper”—*u* and *ju*). Such repetitions of sounds are not accidental for they are encountered at almost every turn.

Also quite common is the repetition in one word or in two neighboring words of the same syllable or a syllable similar in sound: “*Vsevolod’*”, *odin*” (“Vsevolod alone”), “*esyě Svjat’*”*slavličja*” (“sons of Svjatoslav”), “*za zemlju*” (“for the land”), “*temno bo bě*” (“for it was dark”), “*oba bagrjanaja stl’pa pogašosta*” (“both scarlet pillars were extinguished”), “*s’ nima molodaja*” (“and with them the young [moons]”), “*na krovati tisově*” (“on my bed of cedar”), “*ne mysliju ti preletěti*” (“it is not for you to fly in thought”), “*oběsisja sině m’glě*” (“when the blueness of the sky had grown dark”), “*strany radi, gradi veseli*” (“the land is happy, the cities rejoice”), *myčjuči* (rushing), *lelějuči* (glimmering), etc. In some cases, it even appears that the words were chosen solely because of their sound: “*Po loziju polžoša*” (“They climbed in the willows”), “*rozšibe slavu Jaroslavu*” (“shattered the glory of Jaroslav”), “*Gorjačjuju svoju lučju . . . žaždeju im’ luci s’ prjaže*” (“Your burning rays . . . made their bows thirst”), “*Po unoši knjazi Rostislavě: Unyšja cvěty*” [“The flowers grieve . . . for the young Prince Rostyslav”—elsewhere “*Nečit’ trava*” (“The grass wilts in grief”)], “*na lono . . . na boloni*” (“upon my chest . . . in the lowlands”), “*Stugna . . . i drevo sja tugoju k’ zemli překlonilo*” (“the Stuhna . . . and the tree bent to the ground in sorrow”). One also encounters a device characteristic of contemporary folklore—the coupling of words derived from the same root: “*truby trubljat’*” (“trumpets are blown”—occurs on two occasions), “*svět’ světlyj*” (“a bright light”), “*mosty mostiti*” (“to build bridges”), “*ni mysliju smysliti*” (“no longer can we imagine in our minds”), “*ni dumuju sdumati*” (“nor conjure up in our thoughts”), “*pěvše pěsn’*” (“having sung a song”), “*pěsn’ pojaše*” (“sang a song”).

On the other hand, rhyme is rare and its infrequent occurrences are accidental; for example:

*Vseslav’ knjaz’ ljudem’ sudjaše,*  
*knjazem’ grady rjadjaše . . .*

<i>togda po russkoj zemli</i>	г
<i>rětko rataevě kikaxut’,</i>	г-г
<i>n’ často vrani grajaxut’,</i>	г

*trupia sebě děljače* s  
*a galici svoju reč' govorjaxut' . . .* g-s-r-g

*kotoryi dotěčaše,*  
*ta predi pěsn' pojaše:*

*staromu Jaroslavu,*  
*xrabromu Mstislavu*

*tu sja kopiem" prilamati*  
*tu sja sabljam" potručjati . . .*

(“Prince Vseslav passed judgment on all his people and put other princes’ cities in order”; “then in the land of Rus’ ploughmen rarely called to one another; ravens did not screech often for they shared the corpses, and the jackdaws babbled in their own jargon”; “whichever one he overtook, would sing a song: in praise of old Jaroslav and valiant Mstislav”; “here lances will be shattered, here sabres will be blunted. . . .”)

Alliteration becomes prominent in those languages which do not have rhyme and vice versa. In fact, only in the nineteenth century are these two forms of euphony combined.

However, the language of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is extremely rhythmical. This is achieved both by the use of simple parallelism and parallelism strengthened by repetition of words or sounds:

*čto mi šumit',*  
*čto mi zvenit'?*  
*uže snesesja xvalu na xvalu,*  
*uže tresnu nužda na volju,*  
*uže vr'žesja Div" na zemlju.*

*ni mysliju smysliti*  
*ni dumoju sdumati,*  
*ni očima s"gljadati . . .*  
*zastupiv" korolevi put',*  
*zatvoriv" Dunaju vorota . . .*

(“What is that din that I hear, what is that ringing that I hear?”; “now infamy prevails over honor, now

freedom has been struck by misfortune and Dyv has already swooped down upon the land"; "no longer can we imagine in our minds, nor conjure up in our own thoughts, nor with our eyes behold. . . ."; "barring the King's advance and locking the Danube's gates. . . .")

In addition to passages such as those quoted above (with repetitions), there are also many that employ simple parallel structuring:

*nastupi na zemlju Poloveckuju,  
pritopta xl''mi i jarugy,  
vzmuti řěky i ozera,  
issušy potoky i bolota . . .*

*togda vrani ne graaxut',  
galicy poml''kořa,  
soroky ne troskotařa,  
po loziju polzořa tolko,  
djatlove tektom'' put' k'' řečě kařut',  
solovii veselymi pěsn'mi svět'' povědajut' . . .*

(For translation of the first passage, see above, no. 3: "then the crows did not screech, the daws grew silent, the magpies ceased their clamor, only the woodpeckers climbing in the willows showed him the way to the river by their tapping, while nightingales gaily announce the approach of dawn. . . .")

There are very few rhythmical units that are extended over several sentences or clauses (for a translation of the following passage see above, no. 3):

*a moi ti Kurjane  
svědomi k''meti:  
pod'' trubami poviti,  
pod'' řelomy v''zlelějani,  
konec'' kopija v''skr''mleni,  
puti im' vědomi,  
jarugi im' znaemi,  
luci u nix'' naprjařeni,  
tuli otvoreni,  
sabli iz''ostreni . . .*

The very fact that there are only a few individual passages that rhyme indicates that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* cannot be regarded as verses: all attempts to detect a consistent rhythmical pattern have been unsuccessful. However, there can be no doubt that the author himself regarded his work as a "song," although it may have been the type of song which is sung in recitative with musical accompaniment.

6. The language of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is unique in yet another respect; in comparison with other old monuments, even the chronicles, there is a distinct weakening of Church Slavonic elements. However, this difference stems in part from the fact that this epic includes types of material not dealt with by other works—descriptions of nature, references to the animal and bird life of the steppes, etc. and it is because of this that the language creates an impression of unusual expressiveness. One need only note the wealth of sound imagery encountered in the work—people, animals, and nature all have their own voices. The author himself and Bojan "sing," the foreigners in Kiev "sing of the glory of Svjatoslav," the singing of the Gothic maidens in Crimea and the songs heard near the Danube ("Voices weave their way to Kiev from the sea") are mentioned; there are also the laments "of the women of Rus'" (Jaroslavna and Prince Rostyslav's mother) and the "shouts" of the "offspring of the Devil (the Polovcians) form a wall across the field," the shouts of Jaroslav of Černihiv's regiments "defeat the regiments" of the enemy; perhaps the "glory" which resounds prior to the campaign is also a reference to a military salvo; the wounded "bellow like aurochs," while near the town of Rym "the cries of people being slashed by Polovcian swords are heard." The sounds of battle are also described—"trumpets blow," "lances clash," "swords crash against helmets"; after the defeat "the trumpets of Horodno play a somber tune," "the banners speak" (perhaps a reference to the sound they make when fluttering in the wind), "horses neigh" as Oleh's troops gallop towards the land of the Polovcians, carts screech like frightened swans ("kričat' telěgi polunošcy, rci lebedi rozpuženi"); the author hears the Gothic maidens "jingling the gold of Rus' . . . on the shores of the blue sea"; there are also occasional references to the sounds of everyday life—the calls of the plowmen ("rataevě kixakut'"), "the bell of St. Sophia," calling the faithful to morning Mass.

The steppe is also full of sounds; the calls of various birds predominating: nightingales "trill," rooks "frolic gaily" ("grajaxut"), magpies "cackle" ("vstroskotaša"), jackdaws "call out in their own jargon" ("svoju řeč govorjaxut'"), the cuckoo "whistles," eagles "shriek" ("kleptom" na kosti zvěri zovut'), woodpeckers "tap" ("tektom" put' k' řečě kažut'), foxes "lie," wolves "call out threateningly(?)" ["v'srožat'"]—perhaps from *voroh* (enemy)]. Even nature has



the Polovcians and their khans "horrible," wild animals "fierce," the dew "cold," the soul "pearly," etc. In its abundant use of epithets, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is reminiscent of folk poetry, especially as some of these epithets can still be found in the oral traditions of the Slavic peoples.

7. The epic's primary concern is the presentation of events and one does not therefore expect subtle psychological characterization. However, in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* there are some original attempts to describe the moods and inner lives of the characters. There are references not only to the "joy" and "songs" after a victory, to "laments," "moans" and "tears," and to the external appearance of the characters (by giving an indication of their inner make-up, these external descriptions produce rounded, living characters; for example, "like unto wolves, they bound through the fields seeking honor for themselves and glory for their Prince"), but also to inner conflicts (of moods, thoughts, and feelings). The reason that the eclipse did not deter Ihor from launching his campaign against the Polovcians was mentioned above: "His soul\* was ablaze with passion and his desire to taste the mighty Don overshadowed his fear of the evil omen"; furthermore, "purpose rendered his soul taut and sharpened his heart with courage" (a reference to the sharpening of swords before a battle). After Ihor's defeat, "the souls [of Svjatoslav's boyars] are held captive by grief." "Thought spurs the spirit [of the brave] into action." While in battle Vsevolod forgets his wounds, "forgets honor and life, the city of Černihiv, his paternal throne of gold and the love and caresses of his beloved wife, Hlib's beautiful daughter." Jaroslavna "tells" Ihor that she believes him to be dead and "early in the morning sends her tears down to the sea." "A martial spirit fills" the souls of the warriors. More often the inner life of the characters is portrayed by the use of symbols, such as the awe-inspiring Karna and Zelja who "sweep dryness upon the land from a fiery horn." Or: "Your heart is bound with strong chains of iron and tempered by courage." These few examples will suffice to demonstrate that psychological characterization was not unknown to the epic.

8. Another very interesting stylistic feature of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, which is already familiar to us from other monuments, is its use of proverbs and aphorisms. They are of two types: firstly, refrains and compact epic formulae which are repeated from time to time—a device characteristic of the epic works of various peoples and eras. During the campaign the warriors "seek honor for themselves and glory for their Prince"; their goal is the Don—they wish "to drink of the Don from their helmets"; as they advance into

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\*The old word *rozum*, which can mean mind or reason, is best translated as "spirit" (the Greek *nous* or *noos*).

the steppe, they sigh sadly: “‘O, land of Rus’, you are already beyond the hill” while during the battle “the warriors of Rus’ barred the vast fields with their red shields”; after Ihor’s defeat (or over the dead body of Rostyslav), “the grass wilts in grief and the tree bends to the ground in sorrow”; and Jaroslavna “laments early in the morning on the ramparts of the city of Putyvl, saying . . .” (three times). Ihor’s defeat makes Svjatoslav think about launching another campaign against the Polovcians because “Ihor’s valiant troops cannot be resurrected.” He calls upon the other princes to join in another campaign against the Polovcians “for the land of Rus’, for the wounds suffered by Ihor, the audacious son of Svjatoslav.” Formulaic expressions are also used in the flash-backs: “The princes forged their own misfortune” and “the pagans descended upon the land of Rus’ from all sides.” It must be noted that some of the formulae mentioned above occasionally appear in a slightly altered form. Aphoristic phrases and the quotations from Bojan are the second type of refrain used in *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*: “Neither the clever nor the lucky . . . can escape the judgment of God”; “It is difficult for a head to survive without shoulders, or a body without a head.” Similar expressions are encountered in other old monuments; for example, the second of those quoted above is used in “The Supplication of Daniel” (see pt. I, no. 1). In addition, *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* includes some phrases akin to proverbs which were either the product of the author’s own imagination or were borrowed from some monuments which have not been preserved, for example:

*koli sokol’ v’ mytex’ byvaet’,  
vysoko ptic’ v’zbivaet’*

(“When the falcon loses its feathers, it is attacking some other birds high up in the sky.”)

As in the *Chronicle* the text of this epic is also amply endowed with dialog. In their dialogs and monologs, the characters frequently assume the function of the narrator; Vsevolod greets his brother, Ihor, and then proceeds to characterize his warriors from Kursk, while Ihor says to his army that “it is far better to be dead than to be captured.” The princes speak to each other (“This is mine and so is that”); the women lament (“No longer can we see our beloved husbands even in our thoughts”), etc. Svjatoslav recounts his dream to the boyars, the boyars inform him of Ihor’s defeat and then Svjatoslav utters his “golden word,” in which the words of other princes are quoted: Jaroslavna laments the death of her husband, addressing the wind, the Dnieper and the sun; Ihor thanks the Donec for helping him make good his escape and the Donec

speaks to him; the Polovcian princes, Gza and Končak, discuss (in enigmatic, symbolic language) their plans for Ihor and his son. Even the author has a voice; he addresses his readers [*“bratie”* (“brothers”)], poses rhetorical questions to himself (*“čto mi šumit?”*) and speaks to the princes (in his continuation of the “golden word”). Thus, dramatization of the narrative is also a characteristic feature of this monument.

9. While at first glance *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* may appear to be a unique monument with little or no connection with the traditions of the past or the norms of its own time, this is not the case. Recent studies have demonstrated that in style, phraseology and vocabulary *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* is bound by the same traditions as other twelfth century monuments. The fact that it even shares features with works of different genres (sermons and Lives), further underscores its dependence on tradition.

Let us first examine the language used in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*. Firstly, there are a great number of words which are either unknown to us from other sources (other old monuments and the contemporary vernacular) or are used with a different meaning.

Some rare or borrowed words such as *“šerėširi”* (some sort of weapon), *“ortma”* (“cover” or “shroud”), *“xaralužnij”* (“iron”) and *“čaga”* (“female captive”) are either found only in this work or are very rare; however, rare words are also used in other monuments, especially in descriptions of everyday life (compare the names of various types of food, Ch. III, pt. B, no. 7). Some of the other rare words are found in various Slavic languages, especially in the Ukrainian language and its dialects: compare *“potručjatysja”* (“to scuffle,” “to fight”) with the Ukrainian *vtručatysja* (“to interfere,” “to meddle”); the word *žalošči* (“grief,” “compassion”) is still used in the Ukrainian language: *jaruha* (“ravine”) and *smaha* (“dryness,” “sunburn”) are found both in Czech and Ukrainian [compare *smažyty* (“to fry”)]; rare in old literature, the word *bolon’* (“field”) is still used in certain Ukrainian dialects.

Some passages can be interpreted variously: screeching of wagons is compared to the cries of “frightened” swans. The hypothesis that, in the original, the word used was *rozpuženi* from *rozpuditi* (“to frighten off,” “to disperse”) seems legitimate. This word is also encountered in the Life of Theodosius (“dispersed that heavenly flock [the monks] like a wolf”), in the letters written in the sixteenth century by the inhabitants of Lviv who complain that Bishop Hedeon Balaban has “dispersed” the Lviv Brotherhood and in the Czech and Polish languages.

However, most of the words and phrases employed in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* can be found in other old Ukrainian monuments and frequently also

in the contemporary folk songs of the Slavic peoples. For example, the people of Rus' are referred to as "falcons" but this word is also used by Długosz to describe Mstyslav Mstyslavovyč and is frequently encountered in Ukrainian folk songs ["*Sokolen'ko na vyleti, kozačen'ko na vyjizdi*" ("A Cossack in a campaign is like a falcon in flight")]. *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* mentions falcons "who are losing feathers" ("v' mytex'") in an attempt "to protect their nest from dishonor," while in an old sermon about saints we read the following: "They take to the air like hawks, escaping from grief by rising into the clouds" ("*Mytjatsja jako jastrebi . . . v' zvišajutsja v' oblaki bezpečalia*") and in the tale about Akir—"When a falcon is shedding its feathers, it will not allow itself to be taken from the nest" ("*Kogda bo sokol' trex' mytej byvaet, on' ne dast' sja s' gnězda svoego vzjati*"). "It is better to die than to suffer defeat"—a feeling expressed by the warriors in this epic—is also encountered in various military tales, in religious monuments and in the *Chronicle*. Symbolic scenes, such as the depiction of battle as a harvest or wedding feast, are quite frequent in old monuments, in folk songs and even in later works: in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* "beneath the horses' hoofs the black earth was strewn with bones and watered with blood" ("*čr'na zemlja pod' kopyty kost'mi byla pošejana a kroviju pol'jana*"), while in folk songs we encounter passages such as the following:

*čorna rillja zaorana,  
kuljamy zasijana,  
bilym tilom zvoločena,  
i krovju spološčena . . .*

("The black earth has been plowed, seeded with bullets,  
harrowed by white flesh and washed by blood.")

In another song, Xmel'nyč'kyj begins to "plow the earth with horses' hoofs and water it with Moldavian blood" ("*zemlju kins'kymy kopytamy oraty, /krovju moldavs'koju polyvaty*"). In *The Deeds of Digenis*, battle is compared to the mowing season; in the Bible, in Flavius' work, etc., to harvesting. In the Ukrainian song about Perebyjnis, the hero "seizes Poles as if they were sheaves and piles one on top of the other" ("*vzjav ljaxamy, jak snopamy, /po dva rjady klasty. . .*"). In *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* the battle is compared to a (wedding) feast: a similar comparison is used in Flavius' work ("They went into battle as if they were going to a wedding feast") and in Ukrainian folk songs:

*Dobre dbajte, barzo hadajte,  
iz ljaxamy pyvo varyty začynajte.  
Ljads'kyj solod, kozac'ka voda,  
Ljads'ki drova, kozac'ki truda . . .*

(“Take heed and think quickly, begin to brew beer with the Poles. Polish wine is Cossack water, Polish firewood is Cossack labor.”)

Similar parallels can be cited for almost every image and scene employed in this work.

10. Thus, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* incorporates certain stylistic features of the old military tale, the Bible, and the Ukrainian folk song. However, it would be a mistake to assume that this work testifies to the existence in the twelfth century of folk songs employing the same images as are found in their contemporary counterparts. On the other hand, it is possible that these images, themes and devices were transmitted even over this long period of time; contemporary *stariny* have preserved the subject matter, themes and names of the epos of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, there are echoes of the Gothic epos about Bus-Booz (seventh century), who lived several centuries earlier. All this notwithstanding, it remains impossible to assume that the author was influenced by the oral tradition of his time. His work undoubtedly belongs to the literature of the court, not the people. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the formal aspects of the Ukrainian folk song were greatly influenced by the contrived poetry of the Baroque; in fact, the poetry of the upper strata of all nations had an impact on that of the folk. Therefore, it is more logical to assume that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* provides evidence of the influence of the poetry of the court on the oral tradition. However, on the basis of this sole surviving monument, we cannot conclude that all twelfth century epics were of the same type. Thus, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* should be viewed in isolation from the general issues of the old epos and folk poetry—it should be viewed as merely an unusually interesting and masterful monument of the past.

Parallels with the Western epos provide further evidence that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* was a product of court literature. However, such parallels are not numerous. In its briefness, unusual density of poetic material and accumulation of poetic ornamentation, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* differs from its Western counterparts, which are broad in scope and frequently verbose. Of all these epics, *Beowulf* (an eighth century English work), French poems (devoted to Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Palestine), and the Celtic epos (especially in its

use of alliteration) bear the greatest similarity to *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*. The individual images shared by these monuments are too general to allow any meaningful parallels to be drawn (the heroes are compared to falcons, eagles hover over the battle field, there are descriptions of the rewards of victory, battle is compared to a feast, blood to wine, prophetic dreams and laments are used, there are references to the shaking off of dew and to the fact that death is preferred to defeat, etc.). While certain stylistic devices employed in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*—repetitions, refrains, the frequent cryptic passages, alliteration—have parallels in the Scandinavian sagas, there are also so many important differences that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* remains a unique monument within the scope of both Kievan and European literature.

The author and date of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* can only be identified in general terms. It was probably written after Ihor's return from captivity, which could not have been later than 1187 because Jaroslav Osmomysl of Galicia died in that year (the work refers to him as being alive), but not prior to 1187 when Ihor's son Volodymyr returned from captivity. It is possible that the author of the chronicle account of this campaign used *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* as a source but the similarity between these two works is not great.

The numerous images pertaining to hunting and military life suggest that the author was both an avid hunter and a warrior, while his apparent familiarity with the old epos and the history of his country (from the epos or the chronicles?) reveal him to be a talented man of letters with a discriminating literary palate and an intense interest in literature. He is acquainted with both secular and religious literature. The clear images of the many princes that appear in his work indicate that he was closely associated with the court circle—most probably, he was a member of the retinue and perhaps even a participant in Ihor's campaign. It has also been suggested that he may have been of the princely family. His native city could have been either Černihiv or Kiev, as an unusually prominent position in the work is given to Svjatoslav, Prince of Kiev; on the other hand, the fact that he praises Jaroslav Osmomysl makes it equally possible that he was one of those Galicians who escorted Jaroslav Osmomysl's daughter to Ihor's court. Perhaps his most interesting characteristic is his patriotism, his love for the land of Rus' (which for him does not appear to include Novgorod and is associated with a loyalty to the dynasty of "old Volodymyr"). In any case, one can speculate that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* attained its highest degree of success in the court circle—among the members of the princely family and their retinue.

The further fate of this epic is obscure. It was undoubtedly committed to paper shortly after it was composed, as such an unsuccessful campaign could not have been of interest many decades later, but whether this was done by the

author himself and is faithful to the original is not known.

*The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* somehow found its way to the principality of Pskov where certain passages from it were quoted in *The Apostle of 1307* and in the *Chronicle* under the year 1514; in fact, the manuscript which was destroyed in 1812 contains features peculiar to the Pskovian variant of the East Slavic language (the confusion of the letters "ž" and "c") and its orthographic system. As a result, the sole manuscript to survive into the nineteenth century must have originated in the sixteenth century. However, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* was also known in the northeast in the fourteenth century because it became the basis for the *Tale of Events Beyond the Don*—a tale of the victory of the Muscovite army over the Tatar khan Mamaj, probably written by someone from Rjazan' but preserved in a poor and corrupted copy.

In the Ukrainian lands the traditions of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* appear to have died quite quickly in the unfavorable literary climate of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even the author of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, whose knowledge of literature in general and the military tale in particular is apparent, did not employ this work. On the other hand, the author of the panegyric to Prince Ostroz'kyj from the year 1515 does quote from *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*.

Preserved only by chance, this unique gem of old Ukrainian literature still remains partly enigmatic although the scholarship which has been devoted to it over the past one hundred years has contributed to our understanding of its close ties with the literature of the Kievan period as a whole.

## H. THE TATAR INVASION

1. The Tatar invasion—the initial defeat of Rus' on the Kalka River in 1223 and the attack on Kiev in 1240 following the devastation of the northeastern principalities—was reflected not only in sermons and chronicle entries but also in individual tales included in the chronicles. Such old Ukrainian tales are few in number and have been preserved only in a severely reworked form. The style of the tales in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* has been altered to such an extent that only individual phrases from the original text remain.

2. The tale about the battle on the Kalka River appears in a less corrupted form in the *Suzdalian Chronicle*. In the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* it is abridged and includes information about Prince Daniel. However, the Suzdalian version which is written in the style of chronicle entries is clearly of Kievan origin as years are designated in relation to the period of rule of the Kievan prince Mstyslav Romanovyč. Furthermore, the striking details scattered

throughout the text are undoubtedly remnants of the original version. This tale tells the story of a campaign against the Tatars, which after an initial success, ends in overwhelming defeat. Hyperbole permeates the tale: while crossing the Dnieper the army of Rus' "appears to be walking on dry land" because the waters of the river are completely covered by boats: standing on wagons in the city, a few princes successfully battle the Tatars for three days; all the captured princes suffer a particularly horrible form of death by suffocation—the Tatars put boards on their chests and sit on them while they eat their meal. It is also interesting to note that cavaliers such as Dobrynja and Al'oša (who are referred to as inhabitants of Rjazan') are mentioned in the northern versions of this tale.

3. A tale about the destruction of Kiev is also found in various chronicles. As was the case with the tale about the battle on the Kalka River, this work has also been thoroughly incorporated into the stylistic fabric of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* as a whole; the most striking passages do not appear to have been taken from the original text. The following is a general outline of the events of the story: Batu is overwhelmed by the size and beauty of Kiev; "and he besieged the city . . . and, because of the screeching of his wagons and the tremendous uproar raised by his camels and horses [no one in the town] could hear what was being said [to him]." The Tatars succeed in breaking through the wall that surrounded the city "and one could see lances being broken, shields being slashed and arrows darkened the sky." The fortifications around the Church of the Holy Mother behind which the Kievans had taken shelter give way and the city is taken by the Tatars. Because of his bravery, Demetrius, the voivode in charge of the city, is spared. From the point of view of style, this tale is reminiscent of the *Kievan Chronicle* from the twelfth century. The quoted passages echo various sections from Flavius or the Bible (the coming of Assur = the arrival of the Assyrians in Palestine, etc.).

It is interesting to note that there are echoes from these tales in the *stariny* about Kalin and that this fact testifies to the antiquity of this epic.

4. These two tales are important in that they represent an attempt to create a new literary genre. As discrete tales about military events and not merely chronicle entries, these tales are something new in Kievan literature. Earlier tales are either religious in character or present secular events from a religious point of view (for example, the tale about the murder of Borys and Hlib). "The Blinding of Vasyl'ko" is the sole exception to this rule but even it does not focus attention on historical events—the author is primarily interested in the persons of the two princes. Therefore, in spite of their briefness, these two tales are important as examples of a newly emerging genre.

However, this genre was not developed by subsequent authors—no other

tales of this type have been preserved. One can only cite the thirteenth century tale about the death of Batu, which originated in the northeast (included in the Chronicles under 1247).

## I. TWO WORKS OF QUESTIONABLE ORIGIN

1. There are several monuments which unquestionably belong to the Kievan period but whose time and place of origin is obscure. We will discuss only the two most original works of this type, the Kievan origin of which is relatively certain.

The first of these is the so-called "Supplication of Daniel the Exile" ("*Molenie Daniïla Zatočnika*")—the supplication of an unidentified monk to a prince whose name varies in various manuscripts. In any case, the prince in question appears to have been from Perejaslav but it is unclear if the Perejaslav referred to was that of the north (in Suzdal) or the south. The date of this monument is equally obscure. It has been variously placed anywhere between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries but it is unlikely that such a stylistically intricate work originated as early as the eleventh century. All the manuscripts are from a much later period—sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

While the work appears to be a petition, the author gives no indication of what it is that he is asking for and, instead of petitioning his prince, he praises him and "instructs" him in an unsystematic fashion. In the past a great deal of energy was expended on attempting to establish the object of Daniel's supplication (Daniel is still referred to as "*Zatočnik*"—the Exile, as if he had been exiled to some part of the north; however, the text itself gives no indication that this was actually the case), his identity and the social class to which he belonged. In fact, "The Supplication of Daniel" is a purely literary work, directed at a general audience and not at some specific prince. Furthermore, it appears to be a blend of several literary genres. Firstly, it is akin to the Byzantine petitions in verse form by Theodore Prodromos (several petitions in epistolary form) and Michael Glykas (one such letter to the Byzantine emperors). Secondly, it bears a certain similarity to collections of quotations and aphorisms, such as *The Bee* or the one section of the *Collection* of 1076, except that here this material is presented within the framework of a petition. Such collections are also to be found in the Bible (the proverbs of Solomon, Book of Sirach). Thirdly, this work is also an "instruction" [compare "*Tajemnycja tajemnyc*" ("The Mystery of Mysteries")—see Ch. V, no. 7]; to "improve" the ruler meant to improve society! The extensive use of aphorisms and quotations, especially when the authors are cited, makes the work appear more authoritative. One need only recall the role played

by quotations in the *Chronicle* and in the translated ideological novels (see Ch. II, pt. D, nos. 5-7).

Because of this particular aspect of its form, "The Supplication of Daniel" was frequently revised and expanded: some of these additions contained geographic and personal names and are responsible for the extremely varied but erroneous conclusions that have been drawn about the author as well as the time and place of origin of his work.

2. As a purely literary monument, "The Supplication of Daniel" emerges as an extremely varied work. It includes quotations from the Bible: "I thirst for your mercy as a deer for a spring of fresh water" ("*Žadaju milosti tvojeja, aki jelen' istočnika vodnogo*"); "Behold the heavenly birds which do not sow, do not reap, do not gather up the harvest into the barns, but rely solely on God's mercy" ("*Vozri na ptica nebesnija, jako ni sėjut', ni znut', ni v' žitnica sobirajut', no upovajut' na milost' Božiju*"); "Every man sees his neighbor's twigs but fails to see his own beam" ("*Vsjak vidit u druga sućec' vo očiju, a u sebe ni brevna ne vidit*"). Furthermore, the authorities being quoted from are frequently named—Solomon [*"Solomon tako že reče"* ("this says Solomon")], the Book of Psalms (the Psalms of David), Hosea, Sirach, Isaiah, etc.; Ezekiel is mentioned and a passage from the "Song of Songs" is used to eulogize the prince in question. Other quotations are borrowed from the individual collections included in the *Collection* of 1076 (e.g., Gennadius' *One Hundred Maxims*), from *Physiologus*, perhaps also from "Akir the Wise" but most importantly from other collections of quotations and proverbs (the author does not, however, seem to be familiar with *The Bee*). It was probably from such sources that the author derived the rare quotations included in his work, such as that from Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle. It should be noted, however, that some of the quotations were probably added by the scribes who recopied this monument. In addition to such quotations, "The Supplication of Daniel" also includes material from the chronicles and from legends; the following phrases are attributed to Rostyslav: "I prefer death to the rule of Kursk" ("*Lučše bi mi smert', neželi kurskoe knjaženie*")—according to the *Chronicle* these words were uttered by Andrij Volodymyrovyč of Perejaslav and "Good men cannot be bought with gold but gold, silver and cities will be taken by good men" ("*Zlatom bo mužej dobryx' ne dobudeš', a muži zlato, i srebro, i gradov dobudeš'*"); in the *Chronicle*, Volodymyr the Great says that "silver and gold will not buy me a wife but a wife will bring me silver and gold"). Some versions of this work contain the phrase "Svjatoslav, son of Ol'ha" (tenth century), the origin of which is not known. While popular proverbs are also quite numerous, none of them are derived from the oral tradition of the folk although this may stem from

the fact that the language of the work is akin to that of religious monuments, for example: "It is not the boat that is the cause of a person's drowning but the wind"; "Rust corrodes steel and grief a person's soul"; "The sea cannot be drained with a ladle (*upolovneju*)"; "You should not have eaten butter that had been in the sand or drunk goat's milk" (the Greek proverb refers to milk from a bird or chicken); "A crab is not a fish, a porcupine is not a ferocious beast and whoever obeys his wife is not a man"—all these are secular aphorisms. Among the witticisms derived from the folk are those of a "geographical character": "Some may prefer Perejaslav but I'll take Horeslav' (*"komu Perejaslavl', a mně Goreslavl'"*)—compare Oleh Horyslavyč in *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*; the northern geographic names were probably added subsequently: "Some may prefer Bogoljubovo but I prefer overwhelming grief" (*"Komu Bogoljubovo, a mně gore ljutoe"*); "Some may prefer Beloozero but I prefer black tar" (*"Komu Bělozero, a mně černěe smoly"*); "Some may prefer Lake Lače but I prefer a multitude of tears" (*"Komu Lače ozero, a mně mnogo plača ispolneno"*). Some of the aphorisms are also employed in later eras: the author of "The Supplication of Daniel" says that he prefers the prince's water to the boyars' mead while in the works of Skovoroda we encounter the following: "I prefer dry bread with water to sugar with misfortune" (*"Lučče mni saxar z vodoju, neželi saxar z bidoju"*). Furthermore, there is a reference to people who are constantly concerned about other people's misfortunes but do not consider their own, which is reminiscent of the moral of one of the chronicle tales about a sorcerer who does not foresee his own death (compare Ch. III, pt. C., no. 4); a variant of this ancient motif is also employed by Skovoroda—he speaks of a witch who knows about everything which occurs in other people's houses, but shows little concern for her own. The proverb which states that it is far better to smelt iron than to live with an ill-tempered woman is encountered in the poetry of Klymentij [seventeenth century, except that Klymentij writes "than to *teach* an ill-tempered woman" (*"niž ženu zlu učyty"*)], etc.

Aphorisms, gnomes and proverbs are frequently extracted from other individual works or legends. It is even possible that the aphorism about "smelting steel" is a reference to the legend of the young man with an axe. Furthermore, the introductory passage is reminiscent of the beginning of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, for both are emotional in tone and apostrophize their "brothers"; "The Supplication of Daniel" begins as follows:

*Vostrubim ubo, bratie, aki v zlatokovannuju trubu,  
v" razum" uma svoego i načnem" biti v srebrennyja*

*argani—vo izvēstie mudrosti, i udarim v bubny  
uma svoego pojušče v bogodoxnovennyja svirěli, da  
vosplačjutsja o nas dušepoleznyja pomysly.*

“Let us blow our golden trumpets in praise of reason,  
let us beat our silver drums to proclaim the importance  
of wisdom, let us strike the drums of our minds and  
play upon our divinely inspired reeds so that thoughts  
beneficial to our soul may cry out in our minds.”)

The parallelism in this passage is striking: trumpet = “razum” *uma*”; “argani” = “izvēstie mudrosti”; “bubny” = “um’”; “svirěli” = “pomysly.” Most of the proverbs have a two-part structure; for example, the author uses the following proverb to describe the attitude of the rich: “Those who have colorful clothes, speak honorable words” (“Ix že bo rizy světly, těx i reči čestny”). In some cases the two parts of such formulaic expressions are rhymed:

*Dobru gospodinu služa, doslužitsja svobody,  
a zlu gospodinu služa, doslužitsja boľšie raboty.*

*Komu Perejaslavl’,  
a mně Goreslavl’ . . .*

*Obrati tuču milosti tvoeja  
na zemlju xudosti moeja . . .*

(“If you serve a good master you will earn your  
freedom, but if you serve a bad master you will only  
be given more work”; for a translation of the second  
aphorism, see above; “Turn the clouds of your com-  
passion upon the land of my poverty. . . .”)

Perhaps the most interesting from the formal point of view are the alliterations which resemble those of *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*:

<i>Bogat muž’” vozglagolet</i>	m-voz
<i>vsi molčat i slovo ego do oblak vozesut;</i>	v-m-voz
<i>a ubog muž’” vozglagolet,</i>	m-voz
<i>to vsi na nego voskliknut . . .</i>	v-n-n-voz

<i>ne zri na mja,</i>	n-z-n-m
<i>aki volk" na agneca,</i>	a-n-a
<i>no zri na mja,</i>	n-z-n-m
<i>jako mati na mladenca . . .</i>	m-n-m

(“When a rich man speaks everyone is silent and praises his words to the skies; but when a poor man speaks, everyone shouts at him”; “do not look at me as a wolf looks upon a sheep but as a mother upon her child.”)

“The Supplication of Daniel” makes no explicit requests; the author’s supplications are of a general nature—he pleads for “compassion” and protection from misfortune, asks the prince to heed his words and remember him, etc. In addition he praises the prince and the state in the same gnomic style: “You, O prince, are to your people as gold to a woman” (“*Zlato krasa ženam*”, *a ty, knjaže, ljudem*” *svoim*”); “You, O prince, are to your people as a captain is to his ship” (“*Korablju glava kormnik*”, *a ty, knjaže, ljudem*” *svoim*”); “Psalteries are tuned by fingers, and our city by your rule” (“*Gusli strojatsja persty, a grad naš’ tvoeju deržavuju*”), etc. The instructions given to the prince are not profoundly moral in character. The author emphasizes the need for “wise” advisers whom he appears to consider more valuable than an army; wisdom and learnedness (“*knižnoe počitanie*”) are praised. In addition, he speaks about wicked women (the advice given in this case may have been borrowed or added at a later date) and monks who have entered a monastery without feeling a particular spiritual need to do so. Toward the end of the work there is a description of athletic and circus exercises (perhaps of Byzantine origin), and this is the only part of “The Supplication of Daniel” which is not sustained in the gnomic style.

As was mentioned above, the time and place of origin of this work are obscure but it unquestionably belongs to the Kievan period and is an interesting example of a secular monument in which a great variety of Byzantine influences are felt. It is interesting to note that one of the oldest copies of “The Supplication of Daniel” (the oldest ones date from the sixteenth century) originated either on Ukrainian or Belorussian territory (V. Peretc’s manuscript) and contains certain Ukrainian orthographic and lexical features. In all probability the redaction entitled “Daniel’s Sermon” is the oldest. However, the question of the identity of the author has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

3. The second work whose time and place of origin is obscure is “Adam’s Speech to Lazarus in Hell”—a highly original apocryphal work without any

known parallels in the literatures of other nations. In spite of the fact that it was preserved only in copies dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, some scholars (Franko, Peretc) believe that it originated before the end of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Its subject matter is that of “The Gospel of Nicodemus”—Christ’s descent into Hell—but the manner of presentation is original. Having heard the news of the birth of Christ and the approach of the moment when Hell will be destroyed, David sings a joyous song. There is a conversation between the Prophets and then, when the day of Lazarus’ resurrection draws near, Adam asks Lazarus to convey his repentant supplication to Christ on earth. The end of the work—the account of Christ’s descent into Hell—is extant only in a corrupted form.

4. The form of “Adam’s Speech to Lazarus in Hell” is of particular interest—its language is strongly rhythmical and it abounds in poetic imagery. After a brief introductory passage (poorly preserved in all extant manuscripts) which is reminiscent of the beginning of *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign*, David begins his song:

“O warriors, let us sing a joyous song today,  
let us abandon our lament and rejoice”—  
says David, sitting in the abyss of Hell  
laying many-eyed fingers [sic] on live strings,  
he strummed his psaltery and said:  
“The joyous hour has arrived  
the day of salvation has dawned!

For I hear the shepherds  
playing in the stable,  
their voices penetrate through the gates of Hell  
and reach my ears.

I hear the stamping of the Persian horses  
which bear the Magi and their gifts  
from their kings to the King of Heaven,  
Who was born on earth this day. . . .

And Him, o warriors,  
we have awaited for many days. . . .

The Virgin Mother  
covers Him with swaddling clothes,

just as He Himself covers the sky with clouds,  
and the earth with fog. . . .”\*

The prophets complain:

But who can give Him  
a message from us?  
The gates are of brass,  
the columns of iron  
the locks of stone,  
tightly sealed. . . .

Adam also complains bitterly, for he and his descendants

have endured this grief  
and misery for many years. . . .

I beheld Thy divine light for but a short time,  
and have not beheld Thy brilliant sun  
for many years now,  
nor heard Thy stormy winds. . . .

O Lord, no longer do we see  
Thy luminous sun,  
nor Thy beneficial light,  
sorrow has enveloped us,  
we are overcome by grief. . . .

The image of the “singer,” who strums the “living” strings is reminiscent of *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* as is the beginning of the work as a whole: there are many similar phrases and clauses—“for a joyous time has come” (“*se bo vrem’ja veselo nasta*”); “for, my brothers, an unhappy hour has arrived” (“*uže bo, bratie, neveselaja godina v”stala*”); “sorrow has enveloped us” (“*tugoju oderžimy esmy*”); “sorrow has imprisoned the mind” (“*tuga um” polonila*”); “O Lord, no longer do we see Thy luminous sun” (“*Uže, Gospodī, ne vidim” svētozarnogo tvoego solnca*”); “No longer can I behold the strong and wealthy rule . . . of my brother” (“*Uže ne vižu vlasti sil’nogo i bogatogo . . . brata moego*”); “we have endured this misery for many years” (“*mnogo lēt” v obidě esmy*”); “born for sorrow” (“*obidě poroždeno*”). However, even the general tone of individual

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\*There is a similar passage in the works of Cyril of Turiv.

passages parallels that of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and the epic tradition of the warrior class, which is occasionally encountered in the chronicles. "Adam's Speech to Lazarus in Hell" was known in the Ukrainian lands and appears even to have been echoed in the works of Kyrilo Trankvilion Stavrovec'kyj.

5. Other monuments that could be mentioned here are less interesting. At one time, certain scholars argued that the "Sermon on the Destruction of the Land of Rus'," a thirteenth century monument which is somewhat reminiscent of the introduction to the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, was a monument of old Kievan literature. However, it can now be stated with a great degree of certainty, that this short work is merely the introduction to the secular biography of Alexander Nevskij, which originated in the north. Recent Soviet hypotheses to the effect that the author of this biography was the author of that of Daniel of Galicia (in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*) are completely unfounded.

Another such monument, which undoubtedly belongs to this old period, is the "Sermon of Cyril the Philosopher" on the evils of intoxication, in which the allegorical figure "Intoxication" tells about drunkenness. This work is in no way linked with Cyril the Philosopher (the Slavic missionary). As the manuscripts in which this monument was preserved originated in later times and contain many Russian linguistic features, very little of a definite nature can be said about it.

## J. LITERATURE OF A PRACTICAL CHARACTER

1. Some of the twelfth and thirteenth century monuments of a practical character must also be discussed briefly here.

In addition to being the most outstanding homilist of the second period of Kievan literature, Cyril of Turiv was also the author of a number of stylistically masterful prayers, which were used by the Church for many centuries. There are three or four prayers for each day of the week and they are arranged chronologically (by the days of the week and the daily order of divine services). Those designated for Sunday are addressed to the Savior and the Trinity; those for Monday, to the angels; those for Tuesday, to John the Baptist; those for Wednesday, to the Virgin Mary; and so on. Each prayer includes a "eulogy" and ends with thoughts about death, the Last Judgment and the future life. Furthermore, Cyril is also thought to be the author of the "repentant canon." In general, the mood of the prayers is extremely pessimistic as they focus upon the complete unworthiness of man; in fact, in Cyril's eyes, man has become so morally corrupt that he can attain salvation only by means of God's mercifulness, to which Cyril addresses himself:

I do not dare to raise my eyes to the heavens: for  
     my body has been pierced by malice,  
 or stretch my arms out in supplication: for they are  
     full of evil  
 or move my lips in prayer: for they would be fused  
     by the evil words that I would utter,  
 self-aggrandizement plagues me unceasingly,  
 I have weighed my heart down with vile food,  
 clouded my soul with unmercifulness,  
 weakened my body by my laziness,  
 my feet crossed from the stone of love to that  
     of pleasure,  
 I gave ear to temporal earthly praise,  
 covered my face with shamelessness,  
 my nostrils smell the stench of my deeds,  
 I am like unto a tree which bears no fruit,  
 or clouds which do not bring rain . . .  
 the thief of my soul is hidden in my own heart,  
 biding its time,  
 for it sees that I am not kneeling in prayer,  
 and rushes to steal the small estate that is my faith. . . .

Cyril begs for God's mercy, divine aid in fighting off the Devil, and the strength to wash away his sins with his tears, to cure himself of his diseases, to regenerate and purify himself. An expression of Cyril's ascetic world view, these prayers are beautiful examples of the religious lyric.

In addition, Cyril may have been the author of the "canon" to St. Ol'ha which is extant from the twelfth century. Quite different in style and tone, this panegyric canon links eulogies to Ol'ha with eulogies to Christ and the Virgin Mary. The author brings Ol'ha "flowers of praise," Ol'ha is compared to a "wise bee," which flies up onto the palm ("*finik*"") of virtuous deeds on its wings, which have been silvered by baptism, etc. The tone of this work is festive and joyous.

Vivid imagery is characteristic of the panegyric canon, the prayers and the works of Cyril of Turiv in general; for example, "the day is already bowing out and the sun prophesies the approach of evening"; man's evil deeds are "evil tax collectors who sit by the heavenly gates," etc.

2. One monument of a purely theological character has also been preserved—it is an epistle to Thomas by another famous twelfth century author,

Clement Smoljatyč. According to the testimony of the epistle itself, it is but one of several such letters written by this author. Thomas accused Clement of considering himself a “philosopher” and drawing on the works of Homer, Aristotle and Plato in an attempt to achieve fame now that he has become metropolitan (therefore the epistle must have been written after 1147). Clement says that he has read this letter by Thomas, a fellow student of his many years ago in Smolensk, to Prince Izjaslav and others and then attempts to justify himself in the face of these accusations. He refers to an earlier letter that he had written to Rostyslav of Smolensk in which he defended his action of accepting the metropolitanate without having received the blessing of the patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, this epistle is interesting if only for the fact that it provides us with certain information about twelfth century literary life. It indicates that correspondence dealing with theological problems or matters of Church politics were of interest at least in court circles; furthermore, the fact that Clement employed the works of Homer, Aristotle and Plato (probably known to him from various collections of quotations and not from the original), testifies to the mild posture assumed towards “secular literature.”

The theological content of this epistle is also interesting. Clement reveals himself to be an adherent of the symbolic approach to the Scriptures, which is later encountered in the works of Cyril of Turiv and forms the basis of Skovoroda’s philosophy in the eighteenth century. Employing the form of question and answer, already used in certain sections of the *Collection* of 1073, Clement gives detailed explications of various passages from the Bible, which, in his opinion, has not only a “literal” but also a deeper, hidden meaning; for example, in the sentence “Wisdom built herself a temple on seven pillars,” Wisdom = God, temple = a person, seven pillars = seven temples. For his explications Clement draws on similar works by Theodorus of Cyprus and Hippolytus, on apocryphal monuments, on literature such as *Physiologus* and the *Alexandreis*. Poetic descriptions of halcyons (kingfishers), echini (sea urchins, which can foretell the arrival of a storm), salamanders and so on embellish this work, which has unfortunately been preserved only in a version reworked by a monk named Athanasius. Indications are that the symbolic approach to the Bible was a peculiarity of the Kievan school, for it was not the dominant trend in Byzantine theology.

Clement’s epistle is not the only work to employ the Byzantine form of question and answer, which later even influenced the oral tradition (the spiritual song). In fact, there are echoes of Clement’s work in “Kirik’s Questions,” a Novgorodian monument which originated between 1130 and 1156. It consists of questions and answers pertaining to practical problems of ecclesiastical life; Kirik

poses the questions while the answers are given mainly by Nyfont, the bishop of Novgorod, but also by other people, among whom is Clement—perhaps Clement Smoljatyč.

Little can be said about the style of Clement's epistle and "Kirik's Questions" (those parts of it that bear traces of the influence of Clement's epistle) or about the literary achievements of Clement himself, for both of these monuments have been preserved only in reworked versions.

3. Another insight into the literary life of this period is provided by an epistle of one Izosima addressed to Anastasia. The publisher of this epistle, Sobolevskij, believed that "Izosima" was really "Siman" (Simon), one of the authors of the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, and that Anastasia is the same Princess Anastasia-Verxuslava with whom Simon himself stated that he corresponded. In this compilatory letter, the author first reminds his "spiritual daughter," who is a nun, of the saintly women (drawn from the *Menaea* and *Prologue*) whom she should emulate and then mentions the Last Judgment (based on a sermon by Simon of Mesopotamia). In any case, as the sole surviving example of a personal didactic correspondence, which plays such an important role in the history of spirituality, this epistle is an invaluable document.

4. Chronographs also continued to be compiled (see Ch. III, pt. J, no. 5) employing a variety of sources, or mainly Greek ones (the *Hellenic and Roman Chronograph*, the first redaction of which is of Kievan origin and the second— from the thirteenth century—of Suzdalian origin), or the Bible (the *Judaic Chronograph*). It is not known which chronograph was employed by the author of Daniel's "biography" (he mentions a chronograph and the fact that he has drawn on it for some of his information) but it must have been original in character.

The *Annotated Palea*—Old Testament stories up to the time of David, with commentaries and polemics against the Hebrew faith, which probably originated in the thirteenth century (some scholars argue that it is a much earlier work)—may also be regarded as a historical monument. "The Words of the Holy Prophets," which originated on Belorussian territory not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, is similar in character but is based on the material of the prophetic books of the Old Testament.

5. Mention should also be made of the monuments of practical literature which consist mainly of the "Epistles of the Hierarchs." Among the oldest of these are the epistles of Theodosius (previously considered to be St. Theodosius but more likely "Fedos the Greek"), to Prince Izjaslav II (twelfth century), which attack Catholicism and discuss the question of fasts. Those dating from a later period were already written in Suzdal.

Juridical monuments, namely the “*gramoty*” (documents), provide a yardstick against which the language and certain other aspects of literary monuments can be measured.

## K. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LITERATURE OF THE KIEVAN PERIOD

1. The literature of this old period may appear to have little relevance for most of the subsequent developments in Ukrainian literature—neither for the contemporary period, nor for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially not for the epoch of national rebirth. While it is true that old literature is frequently cited in polemics directed against those poorly informed non-Ukrainians who doubt the existence of Ukrainian literary, cultural and national traditions, it is also true that some of those Ukrainians who employ this argument have a poor grasp of the literature of this period, their formal education notwithstanding. Histories of old Ukrainian literature are either too specialized (Hruševs’kyj, Voznjak) or too superficial, give little attention to the purely literary characteristics of the old monuments and, as a result, consist mainly of summaries of their contents. Therefore, even the “defenders” of Ukrainian literary traditions often assert that *The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* (about which many misconceptions have been created by works of a popular or superficial character) alone merits the attention of the modern reader, a view which itself denies the existence of those selfsame traditions.

The importance of historical tradition must not be underestimated for it is an active force in our modern world even if we are scarcely aware of it and do not actively cultivate it. Political and cultural changes notwithstanding, the past continues to have an imperceptible impact on each individual. Fragments of the past have been preserved not only in the customs of the people and in their oral tradition, but also in the language of everyday life, through all ideological changes, and in the national character, which is formed by the impact of all historical epochs and all historical events. I am not one of those who believe that the nature of national character can be easily isolated and defined: on the contrary, I have fundamental doubts that this could be accomplished at any time and for any nation. But national character is that mysterious force which manifests itself in all aspects of the life of each nation, in all its accomplishments and misfortunes, in its periods of flowering and decline. However, it is obviously the great periods of flowering which have the most profound effect on the development of the character and the peculiar historical strengths of a nation.

2. The literature of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries is precisely this

type of crucial period in the history of Ukrainian culture, perhaps the most crucial of all periods—for the cultural revival of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was significantly less impressive while the tremendous influence of the nineteenth century renaissance can be explained in part by its proximity in time.

The very fact of Christianization and the subsequent evolution of a literature that was broad in scope, profound and artistically accomplished revealed the hidden potential of the Eastern Slavs and their ability to absorb the most valuable aspects of a foreign cultural heritage. The cultural flowering during this period is of much greater historical significance than the temporary expansion of political and economic power. The Kievan period brought Ukraine into the European cultural arena.

By this point, the reader will be familiar with Kievan Rus'’s tremendous accomplishments in the realm of literature: the development of the language, the evolution of a literary style as well as the absorption of an entire complex of universal human themes. However, it should be stressed that the repertoire of literary works, both in its general character and occasionally in more concrete respects, parallels that of the early Middle Ages in the West. The relatively few monuments that have been preserved are sufficient to give us an indication of the tremendous scope and variety of this repertoire. This spiritual preparation, this initial flowering, could not be erased even by those centuries which were less favorable for literary development. In fact, it was precisely the traditions of old Kievan literature that made the later cultural revivals possible—both the unexpected, but less brilliant, renaissance of the Cossack era as well as that of the nineteenth century (on a different linguistic base).

An interest in the past does not necessitate that we distort or exaggerate the true value of a particular epoch; however, there can be little possibility of this happening in relation to the princely era, for the high literary value of many of its literary monuments is an unquestionable fact.

3. On the other hand, each epoch has its own peculiar weaknesses and deficiencies. In spite of its tremendous creative accomplishments, the princely era all but ignored at least one category of cultural activity which was at that time an integral part of literature—scholarly work. Only a few insignificant fragments of the initial stages of its now obscure beginnings have come down to us; for reasons which do not concern us here, neither theology (initiated by Clement Smoljatyč) nor the secular “sciences” evolved into full-fledged disciplines. This deficiency in old Kievan literature was to weigh heavily upon future centuries, when each step forward in this area came only after a great deal of intensive work, many errors and unnecessary digressions. Literature was predominantly concerned with expressing religious and aesthetic emotions rather

than ideas or thoughts. The repertoire of old Ukrainian literature is also deficient in works of a subjective character. Erotic themes are all but absent: only a very few monuments—*The Deeds of Digenis*, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* (Jaroslavna's lament), *The Deeds of Troy*, and some Patericon stories (the story of Moses the Hungarian in the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*)—even *allude* to erotic experiences. It is possible that subjective motifs were employed only in oral monuments, whose existence is testified to by contemporary folklore: erotic motifs are encountered in the *stariny* about Čurylo and Solovej Budimirovič. On the other hand, written works of this type may have been lost as a result of a failure in understanding or the negative stance taken towards them by later scribes who were mainly monks. The works which have been preserved deal solely with subjective experiences of a religious and, occasionally, of a purely moral character (certain sections of Volodymyr Monomax's "Instruction," the tale about the blinding of Vasyl'ko, the chronicle account of Ihor's campaign, etc.). Thus, in this respect as well, old Ukrainian literature suffers in comparison with that of the West.

Furthermore, the merits of the adaption of an artificial Slavic literary language in this period can also be debated as, in fact, they were in the nineteenth century by both the Romantics (Kuliš) and the Realists (S. Jefremov). However, the most convincing negative evaluation was given by A. Brückner who contrasted the development of East Slavic and West European literature. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the literary language of the European peoples was still predominantly Latin; Latin not only did not hinder the development of literatures employing the vernacular but greatly aided in the cultural development of the Western European nations by providing direct access to the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature. In Ukraine, Latin would have been replaced by Greek. The potential impact of such a possibility need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the adoption of Greek as the literary language would have made much more of the cultural heritage of antiquity available to at least a small circle of people than Latin. However, even the numerous translations made throughout the entire period testify to the fact that the knowledge of Greek in Kievan Rus' was not as limited as it may seem. Greek remained the language of a few professions which decreased in number in the fourteenth century.

In the fourteenth century, isolated from the European cultural arena, Ukrainian literature begins its independent existence. Although the incipient stages of both chivalrous and courtly literature can be detected even as early as the twelfth century, neither of these categories of literature was developed in later times. For almost three centuries, Ukrainian literature not only remained

within the religious sphere but also did not even attempt to comprehend the deeper foundations of religious thought, for this would have been possible only in original works even if their originality were of a limited nature.

Thus, the fourteenth century saw the beginning of a period of decline which manifested itself even more strongly in the emerging Muscovite state. A new beginning was necessary, but it came only toward the end of the sixteenth century.

## V.

# THE LITERATURE OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

1. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries most of the Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Lithuanian and Polish kingdoms—a fact which is undoubtedly at least partially responsible for the cultural decline. The magnificent courts were no more, the wealth of Ukraine diminished and the metropolitanate was moved to Moscow, temporarily depriving the formerly powerful state of Kievan Rus' of even this vestige of authority. However, the cultural traditions of the past continued to be dominant, with new influences from Byzantium and the West filtering through only very slowly. Only a few literary works from this period have been preserved, perhaps as a result of extra-literary factors—attacks by the Tatars; the events of the seventeenth century; the relative underdevelopment of the art of printing; the fact that a large proportion of the patrons of the arts, i.e., the nobility, joined the Polish Catholic camp; and finally, the most important factor, the lack of interest in old literature manifested in later epochs. Also lost during this period were many works from the princely era, preserved for us only in manuscripts of northern origin.\* As a result, the renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drew partly on the resources of the distant heritage of Kievan Rus'.

The literary style of the monuments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is substantially the same as that of the twelfth and thirteenth. However,

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\*The fact that a significant number of monuments of the princely era are extant only in northern redactions is frequently used as "proof" that the literature of this old period is exclusively Russian (that is, Great Russian). If such reasoning were to be applied uniformly, then the relatively large number of Bulgarian monuments also preserved only on Russian territory must be regarded as Russian, while those preserved solely in Ukraine (such as the *Tverian Chronicle*), as Ukrainian.

the literature of this period is stylistically “vague,” lacking the vividness of the masterpieces of the princely era. Furthermore, its ideological posture is equally vague for, of all the new trends of thought that appeared, no single one succeeded in gaining widespread acceptance. Many ideas were explored but no established norms emerged.

2. The preservation of the heritage of the past is a significant aspect of the literary activity of any epoch. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, work in this area was unambitious in character and came to be limited to the copying and editing of old monuments. Prayerbooks, including prayers of local origin (such as those of Cyril of Turiv), were compiled and additional material added to the *Paroemarium* and various collections of sermons. In some cases, either the structure of the original text was significantly altered, or its language modified in the direction of the vernacular (e.g., the *Menaea* of 1489, which has been preserved in a manuscript of Belorussian origin). In addition, both the style and the structure were simplified (the same *Menaea*, the new redaction of the *Patericon of Skete*). Some old works, such as the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, were supplemented by totally new material which was partly of an ideological character. Extensive monuments were recopied: the *Chronicle*, the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, chronographs and, of course, liturgical literature.

3. The fifteenth century introduces a few quantitative changes into the literary arena: literature of a lighter character develops more rapidly, new embellishments are used and more South Slavic elements are assimilated into the orthographic system.

Far more important, however, was the influx of new religious monuments from the South Slavic lands: the *Areopagitika*, the works of Basil the Great, Isaac the Syrian, Abbot Dorotheus, Simeon the New Theologian, Gregory the Sinaiite, Gregory Palamas, Kabisilas, Maximus the Confessor, new redactions of previously known works (“Climax”), texts of the Bible with commentaries, new “Lives.” While it is possible that some of these works were already known in Ukraine, there can be no doubt that this period saw the influx of a great variety of new monuments.

This new literature is largely a product of that Bulgarian literary movement associated with the name of Euthymios of Trnovo (patriarch from 1372), who introduced a new orthographic system, demanded accuracy in translation (translation that followed the original as closely as possible), had old translations checked and assembled a group of translators and scribes who followed his guidelines. While Euthymios intended that only the “purest and most pleasing language of Rus’ ” (Church Slavonic with East Slavic elements) be used, the

translations of this school understandably deviate significantly from the literary language of the late princely era which had already acquired a regional flavor. In addition, his orthographic system was alien to the eastern Slavs and his insistence on almost verbatim translations yielded works that were both stylistically heavy and difficult to understand. The tremendous impact of his reforms in the East is largely due to the decline of local literary activity.

4. The influence of this school was spread in Ukraine through the efforts of Metropolitan Cyprian (already in Kiev in 1373-74), whose activities in the areas of translation and copying have as yet not been adequately studied, and Gregory Camblak—the leading figure in this movement. On the request of Metropolitan Cyprian, Camblak travelled from Ukraine through Belorussia to Moscow (from 1407 to 1410 he was probably either in Ukraine or Belorussia); in 1415 he became the Orthodox Metropolitan of Poland and Lithuania but, having been accused of harboring Catholic sympathies, he fled to Volhynia in 1419 or 1420.

Cyprian's contributions were almost exclusively in the area of the acquisition and translation of new literary works of Bulgarian origin. Gregory, on the other hand, wrote several works of considerable literary value during his stay in Ukraine: sermons eulogizing Euthymios, Cyprian and St. Demetrius, five sermons on other themes, a confession of faith, and two speeches to be delivered in St. Constantine's Cathedral; his later works were probably also known in Ukraine. From the point of view of composition and style, they are reminiscent of the works of Cyril of Turiv. We encounter the same type of symbolism: Cyprian's tongue was a spring and, when it dried up after his death, the leaves on the trees of his spiritual flock withered from the lack of water. Cyprian is the "nightingale of the Church"; there are biblical comparisons (the lament over the body of Cyprian and the lament of Babylon), exclamations, laments (again the lament of the Virgin Mary!) and occasionally also descriptions of nature such as the following:

*Razrěšisja bezdoždje,  
Naskoro otveržošasja xljaby nebesnyja.  
Podvigošasja větri, oblaki nosjašče, jako měxy  
ispoln' vody  
i upoša issoxšuju zemlju.  
Bystro sotvoriša i prozračen" s" gustivšijsja vozdux".  
Potekoša naglo issoxšii potoci i istočnici.*

("The drought ended and the abysses of the heavens opened up. The winds began to blow, bringing with

them clouds which were like sacks filled with water, and the parched earth was revived. It lasted but a short time and the sky was quickly clear again. The dried-up streams and springs began to flow again.”)

Rhythmical figures and repetitions are frequent, as in the following passage which describes a rich man’s worries:

At night he is consumed by anxiety—  
how to purchase much for a small sum,  
how to build two or three story buildings from the profits,  
how to distribute his wealth among his children,  
how to run his estates and villages,  
how to plant his vineyards,  
how to increase his herds and flocks,  
how to rig out a ship,  
how to load it with his purchases,  
how he will embark on a long sea voyage. . . .

At times, such passages are linked by rhyme (the rhyme which appears in the passage quoted above is lost in translation):

*Oružija opl’čajutsja,  
mečeve obnažajutsja,  
slugy podvižajutsja . . .*

(“Weapons are being prepared for the campaign, swords are being drawn, servants are hard at work. . . .”)

Like those of Cyril of Turiv, Gregory’s sermons aim not only to instruct but also to move the listener. However, the literary activity of this talented author is only territorially linked with Ukraine.

5. The school of Euthymios of Trnovo developed no peculiar ideology of its own. On the contrary, it adopted a Greek form of mysticism developed on Mount Athos at the turn of the thirteenth century—the so-called “Hesychasm,” the basic goal of which was union with God. Asceticism, then, was the means by which this mystical experience could be attained; however, for the Hesychasts, asceticism did not mean mortification of the flesh, but “intellectual activity” aided by certain specified external conditions—complete physical immobility, silence, unceasing repetition of “prayers to Jesus Christ” and the focusing of all

thought on the divine. In the realm of translated literature, the two main representatives of this current were Gregory the Sinaiite and Gregory Palamas.

But a few traces of the influence of Hesychasm on Ukrainian literary activity remain; for example, the short description of life on Mount Athos written by Dositheus (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries), abbot of the Kievan Caves Monastery, and preserved in Cyprian's redaction of the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery* (1462); and the work of the scribe, Athanasius of Rus', conducted on Mount Athos in 1431. There were no eminent representatives of Hesychasm (such as Nil Sorskij in the north) in Ukraine until the end of the sixteenth century when Ivan Vyšens'kyj belatedly raised its banner (see Ch. VI, pt. E, no. 8).

6. Only in later folk legends about the creation of the world are there any traces of Bogomilism, a Bulgarian dualistic heresy. However, Bogomilism could easily have come to Ukraine together with other late Bulgarian influences, for it was in the fourteenth century that this heresy began to make significant gains in Bulgaria. Certain Bogomil themes are encountered in Ukrainian legends—the creation of the world by both God and Satan, the emergence of sin from the sexual relationship of Adam and Eve. However, it is not known whether Bogomilism was ever well established in Ukraine or active in her literary arena.

7. More interesting are the Western spiritual influences, about which very little factual information is available. Perhaps the first of these to have an impact on the eastern Slavs in general was the heresy of the *strigol'niki*, a mysterious phenomenon known to us only vaguely from its manifestations in Novgorod and Pskov. However, traces of the influence of this sect in Ukraine are few and inconclusive.

Our knowledge of most of the remaining Western spiritual currents which came to the Ukrainian lands is equally vague, for information about them was preserved accidentally and is available only from later monuments.

The ideas of the European Flagellantes, prominent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, also penetrated into Ukraine. Particularly large public displays of repentance—processions during which the participants flagellated themselves—erupted in Europe in 1261 and 1349, when they even spread to the Czech, Polish and Hungarian lands. The movement of the Flagellantes did not completely disappear in Europe until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Two translated monuments connected with this movement in Ukraine have been preserved: 1) “Letter from Heaven”—“Epistle About Sunday” (“*Epistolija o neděľě*”)—the original dates from a much earlier period (sixth century), but it became popular only after 1261. This letter, which is said to have been written by God and cast down to the earth from heaven, is an appeal for repentance,

requiring the fulfillment of both spiritual and more strictly formal prescriptions (not to violate the holy days—Sunday, Wednesday, Friday) and employing threats of terrible punishments reminiscent of the biblical prophets; 2) “The Dream of the Virgin Mary” (“*Son Bogorodici*”) is an account of new torments to be endured by Christ. Christ promises salvation to those who will always carry this letter with them, read it and heed His words (again the requirements about the holy days). Both of these works were transcribed from a late fifteenth century manuscript by Jakym Jerlyč, a chronicler of the Baroque era. However, they have also been preserved in other manuscripts, in legends, and partly also in folk songs.

While Polish sources indicate that Hussitism had an impact in Ukraine, no traces of this impact can be found in the extant monuments of this period. However, it does appear to have influenced a sect later referred to as the Judaizers. Information about this sect comes primarily from Novgorod and Moscow but the heresy itself appears to have been brought to Novgorod from Kiev in 1470 by a Jew who was associated with the court of Prince Michael Olel’kovyč. A more important role in the spread of this heresy was undoubtedly played by the nobility from the prince’s court. Furthermore, it may have come to Moscow from the Hungarian and Wallachian Hussites. The description of the Hussites preserved in the works of their enemies is quite accurate: their main demand was that secular persons be allowed to receive communion in both kinds—not relevant in Orthodox countries where this had always been the case. On the other hand, other criticism directed at established religious practices and the Church by the Hussites did appear among the Eastern Slavs: demands that the cults surrounding icons depicting saints, relics and prayers for the dead be repudiated; criticisms of the condition of the Church; attacks against priests who took money for performing Church services (compare their attacks against simony); criticisms of the notion that prayers said in church have a unique legitimacy. The Judaizers are said to have demanded that all be allowed to preach the word of the Lord and stressed the importance of the Old Testament. References to the most radical assertions to emerge from the Hussite movement also appear—rejection of the idea of the Trinity, of prayers to saints and the Virgin Mary and scepticism about the divinity of Christ. Although all these are ideas advocated by the Judaizers, no written apology of their beliefs has been preserved.

The Judaizers also translated many of the books of the Old Testament from Hebrew, some of which were not previously available in translated Orthodox versions—the Pentateuch, Joshua, Ruth, Daniel, the Psalms, the “Song of Songs,” the “Books of Solomon.” Their work required that they seek

assistance from Jews. However, a larger proportion of their activity was devoted to the translation of “scientific” works and leads us to the Lithuanian Commonwealth. Among them is a group of philosophical works, including the “Logic” of the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides, used as a text book during the Renaissance, and “The Philosopher’s Aims,” an introduction to philosophy by the Arabian philosopher Algazali (1059-1111). By comparing the old Slavic translation of Algazali’s work (which contains certain Ukrainian linguistic features) with a somewhat later Latin translation of the same text, the Russian scholar Vasilij Zubov has demonstrated that the translation made by the Judaizers was highly successful, for it enabled its readers to easily follow Algazali’s reasoning. That this was the case is revealed by the fact that some reader added the parallel philosophical and mathematical terminology employed in the old translation of the *Hexameron* (see Ch. II, pt. D, sec. a, no. 4) to his copy of this translation. In addition to philosophical monuments, the Judaizers also translated works dealing with astronomy, one of the best known of which is the Lunar Table “The Six Wings” (*Šestokril*). Vasilij Zubov has also established that the original from which the fifteenth–sixteenth century “Cosmography” was translated was the English scholar Sacrobosco’s *Spheres*, an introduction to astronomy used even in the seventeenth century. The language of this translation is similar to that of translations made in the western areas of Rus’ and must therefore be ascribed to the Judaizers. The copy of this work made in the Xolm area is unfortunately not available. Also ascribed to the Judaizers is a translation of the “Secret of Secrets,” preserved in what appears to be a Belorussian manuscript. One expanded version of a pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomy of Arabic origin (the original text dates from the tenth–eleventh century), the “Secret of Secrets,” describes Aristotle’s advice to Alexander of Macedon on matters pertaining to government and the activities of a monarch. The success of the translation made by the Judaizers derives from the clarity of its language and sentence structure. In addition to those mentioned above, there are but two or three other translations which can be attributed to this religious sect.

The works translated by the Judaizers are of Jewish origin and are a product of a developing interest in Jewish scholarship but do not contain any elements of the Hebrew faith. However, for the literary historian, they are interesting primarily from the point of view of language: by developing a philosophical and mathematical terminology at a relatively early stage (from the fifteenth century), these monuments contributed significantly to the extension of the base of the literary language. While the terminology employed is at least adequate, the sentence structure is not. Note the following examples of the terminology which appears in the translations made by the Judaizers:

<i>deržitel'</i> (subject)	<i>ujem</i> (denial)
<i>oderžanij</i> (predicate)	<i>vsjačnij</i> (general)
<i>osud</i> (court, statement)	<i>častnij</i> (partial)
<i>umisel'</i> (purpose)	<i>obritenije</i> (existence)
<i>privod</i> (cause)	<i>tvoriti</i> (activity)
<i>vina</i> (cause)	<i>stradati</i> (suffering)

Among these words are some for which there are no longer any corresponding forms: participles such as *oderžanij*, infinitives used substantively (*tvoriti*, *stradati*), etc. Similar new words were created to express mathematical terms:

<i>tička</i> (point)—R. <i>točka</i>
<i>šnur</i> (line)
<i>obraz sredotočij</i> (circle)
<i>dalenie</i> (distance)
<i>javlenie</i> (surface)
<i>protijvenstvo</i> (parallelism)

The scholarly works translated by the Judaizers indicate that, while this heresy had its roots in Hussitism, it developed in a completely new direction, perhaps under the influence of the European Renaissance which demonstrated this same interest in works of Arabic origin (the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides also wrote in Arabic and the Judaizers translated his works as well as those of other Arabic philosophers). However, it should also be noted that these Arabic works were greatly influenced by the traditions of Greek philosophy (especially that of Plato and Aristotle).

Having devoted considerable attention to the translations of scholarly works (of a philosophical, mathematical, and astronomical character) made by the Judaizers, we cannot ignore their contributions in the field of religious literature. In addition to the translations mentioned above, an epistle, formally akin to that of the Letters of the Apostles—the “Laodicean Letter”—has also been preserved. This falsification has only begun to be studied in recent years and, as a result, the “theology” of the Judaizers still remains relatively obscure. In fact, the very name of this sect originated from their poorly informed enemies.

The general interest in western European religious currents is also testified to by the collection *Pritočnik* (1483) which was intended for private use and contains many echoes of European religious tales (= events).

8. However, all of this activity was limited to the absorption of foreign material, a situation which is later repeated in connection with the development of the tale (see Ch. VI-VII). In fact, even the contributions of a purely Ukrainian

origin lacked originality, as they consisted of the reworking and enlargement of earlier texts. The *Menaea* and the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery* have already been mentioned. The latter was supplemented with material based on the *Chronicle* (the discovery of the relics of St. Theodosius) or various other sources (Michael Svjatoša's entry into a monastery, the death of Polycarp, etc.) including the works of the Hesychasts.

Only the chronicles of this period—the so-called “chronicles of western Rus’”—have a claim to true originality. However, they cannot be included within the realm of literature for they are limited in large part to the presentation of dry factual information. Furthermore, some of the artistically composed passages must be regarded as separate monuments which were incorporated into the chronicles. All the chronicles of this period are narrow in scope and differ significantly in various redactions. The language employed extends all the way from the traditional variant with Church Slavonic elements that is encountered in the chronicles of the princely era to a very pure form of the bureaucratic language of this time (it contains only a few traces of the vernacular). We will discuss only the most important aspects of these chronicles here.

In part a compilation of older northern chronicles, the *Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* employs original sources, such as a eulogy of Prince Vytautas, for its account of the history of Lithuania, in particular, and of the later period (fourteenth century), in general. The author of a part of this monument (after 1382) was a Kievan. The *Short Kievan Chronicle*, which was not composed in Kiev, is a compilation of Novgorodian sources and only refers to events occurring in Ukraine in the final years of the fifteenth century (1480-1500) and to the victory of Prince Constantine of Ostrih over the Muscovite army at Orša in 1515. The narrative is occasionally quite lively: events are frequently presented in the form of dialogue (an old tradition in Ukrainian chronicles); in the account of the death of Bishop Macarius Čort, the author gives way to a religious reverie; and the story of the attack launched against Volhynia by the Tatars includes a prayer. However, it is the eulogy of Prince Constantine that is the most accomplished from the literary point of view: there are stylistic echoes of *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* (which may have influenced this eulogy only indirectly—via *Tale of Events Beyond the Don*) and allusions to the Bible as well as to old monuments. (Prince Constantine is compared to King Porus from the *Alexandreis*.) The later *Lithuanian Chronicle* (it extends to 1507 and is extant in a manuscript from the end of the sixteenth century) is written from the perspective of the aristocratic circles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and bears traces of the influence of the old Kievan chronicles.

9. The remaining works of this period are quite narrow in scope and not

purely literary in nature. The epistle of Metropolitan Michael to the pope (1470) is verbose and emotional but contains a number of interesting passages (the equal authority of eastern and western Christianity, the comparison of the pope to the good shepherd and the local Catholic clergymen to the evil people). The epistle from the Orthodox Council of 1490 to the pope is less verbose but employs the same pathetic style; the pastoral epistle of Metropolitan Joseph Soltan is devoted to the theme of the "multiplication of sins" (compare Serapion's sermons).

10. The literature of the fifteenth century is limited in scope and heterogeneous in content. All of its purely literary accomplishments are somehow linked with the stylistic traditions of the past. All the traces of the new European religious currents, either Orthodox (Hesychasts) or "heretical" are insignificant and of little interest for the student of literature. The Judaizers alone had a developed literature but those monuments of this literature which have been preserved are far from purely literary in character; they belong to the category of scholarly literature—not *belles-lettres*—and are peripheral to the religious interests of this sect, for their theological works (if such in fact did exist), with the sole exception of the rather obscure "Laodicean Letter," have all been lost. The other religious currents have left only a few traces (Bogomilism, the Flagellantes) or none at all (Hussitism in its pure form). The interest in these currents appears to have been short-lived and, at a time when literary activity was quite limited, they either failed to find literary expression or, more probably, their literary manifestations disappeared together with the currents themselves; the religious literature of the Judaizers was purposely destroyed.

The period extending from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries represents a distinct pause in the development of Ukrainian literature, but such pauses have occurred periodically in the spiritual, cultural and literary life of Ukraine. While the "wasted years" in the history of our people may evoke feelings of regret, we should bear in mind that periods of stagnation are always followed by epochs of vigorous blossoming.

# VI.

## RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

### A. RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION IN LITERATURE

1. The Renaissance was a turning point in the spiritual history of Europe.\* This is how it was perceived by its participants and this is how it came to be regarded by future generations—it was the Renaissance that they used to date the end of the “Middle Ages” and the beginning of the “modern era.” However, when faced with the problem of specifying the new elements introduced by this revolutionary epoch, the problem becomes much more complex. A good knowledge of the literature and languages of antiquity—the so-called “humanism”—can hardly be used to characterize that tremendous change which is said to have brought about the “rebirth of Classical sciences and art.” The new content, even if it was a blend of elements from previous eras, had to consist of those things which excited the imagination of Renaissance Man. Both at the time and in later

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\*Some of the passages quoted in the following chapters, primarily Chapters VI and VII, are given in modern orthography. As there are no established rules for the modernization of old Ukrainian orthography, I will limit myself to the few generally accepted ones. (The transliteration scheme employed will only make two of these visible—the replacement of “e” by “i” and the elimination of the back “jer.” *Trans.*) However, the rhymes employed in the poetry of this period indicate that the pronunciation of words had already deviated from their orthographic representations. For example, there are rhymes such as: *tovarišov-prišol*, which suggests that in appropriate instances “l” was pronounced as “v”; *drevnee-mriet*’ apparently pronounced *drevnije-mrije*. (On the other hand, rhymes also demonstrate that in some cases the ending “t” in the third person singular of verbs of the first conjugation continued to be pronounced.) Therefore, the changes that I have made in the orthography employed in the monuments of this period do not always reflect all the changes that had occurred in the spoken language.

centuries, scholars isolated three of its constituent elements: the Renaissance reintroduced the Classical ideal of beauty as harmony and balance; the Renaissance “discovered” and “liberated” man; and finally, the Renaissance “re-discovered” nature. All this, obviously, provides sufficient grounds for regarding the Renaissance as initiating a new era in European cultural history. In fact, this definition of the Renaissance provides an excellent starting point for further analysis, for the three constituent elements listed above encompass almost all the accomplishments of this era. That there was a flowering of the arts in forms that do not create the impression of a complete break with the late Middle Ages nor an overly close link with Classical traditions is an unquestionable fact. However, in unqualified form, this statement can only be applied to the plastic arts; in music, a “return” to Classical traditions was impossible as no traces of them remained; in the literary arena, where there was an abundant supply of Classical models, the canons of Classical poetics (based on Horace’s *De arte poetica*, a work which does not fall into the mainstream of the Classical tradition) were revived, but literature *per se* was much too slavishly imitative in character and patterned after the more easily accessible materials (Roman rather than Greek), materials that were of later origin and therefore only tangentially related to the basic traditions of Classical literature as a whole. In the realm of philosophy where ties with antiquity already existed, the Aristotelian traditions that were dominant in the Middle Ages were replaced by those of Plato—also known in this earlier period but less widespread; in addition, there was an attempt to move from antiquity to the Eastern philosophies (medieval Arabian and Jewish philosophies, namely the mystical Hebrew system of theosophy and scriptural interpretation known as cabala). The question of the Renaissance’s “discovery” of man is more complex, for Christianity had always regarded man as its central concern. The “discovery” of man was rather a battle against the Church’s understanding of his essence and its authority over him. The Renaissance certainly did “liberate” man but it failed to ask the all-important question: did this “liberation” from the authority of the Church and frequently also from all moral and social authority really lead to the “discovery” of man’s essence, or was it merely a digression from the true path to this goal? In fact, in the Classical world, man was unusually tightly bound to society and the state—the intricate processes of struggle for the ideal of “inner freedom” in antiquity (from the Stoics to the Epicureans) was reinterpreted by the Renaissance from the point of view of its own ideals. The positive ideal of man as possessing a knowledge of and interest in all facets of human life (although examples of this ideal were perceived not only in tyrants but even in contemporary bandits—the *condottieri*) was that new feature of the Renaissance which was most reminiscent of

antiquity. However, the elucidation of this ideal was left to the future—to subsequent centuries of spiritual history. And finally, let us turn to the third constituent element of the Renaissance—“the discovery of nature.” This is perhaps the most questionable aspect of the traditional view of this epoch. A desire to return to nature, to conquer nature and the idealization of nature as the object of artistic endeavor—all this is certainly characteristic of the Renaissance. On the other hand, the scientific conquest of nature—the revival in physics and astronomy, the development of modern mechanics—was a product either of the late Middle Ages, as has been demonstrated by P. Duhem (that Copernicus’ ties with the spirit of the Renaissance were superficial—a fact that was known previously), or of the late Baroque, to which both Galileo and Kepler belong. For the Renaissance, there remained only dreams of contributions already made by those representatives of “late scholasticism” at the Sorbonne and elsewhere, towards whom the man of the Renaissance had to take a hostile stance, but which were later rediscovered by those who rejected a large portion of the “achievements” of the Renaissance and made an attempt to revitalize “the old,” i.e., many of the most important ideals of the Middle Ages; these were men of the Baroque period, whose contributions to science were far greater than those of the exalted Renaissance Man.

The Renaissance (or “rebirth”) touched on Ukraine only at the very end of its development, and that by way of Polish culture. In the West, in the sixteenth century, currents which on the one hand sought an actual “rebirth” of ancient spiritual ideals as they understood them, and on the other hand hoped to liberate man from those fetters with which the authoritarian Middle Ages had bound him, were already living out their last days. However, the accomplishments of the Renaissance were unable to satisfy even its sixteenth century followers. The Renaissance sought “enthusiasm,” but was able to cultivate only a rather cool rhetoric; it sought a superior, universally developed man, but egoism, amorality, and anarchy were the only results; the Renaissance set itself as a goal the exploration of nature, but natural science in the Renaissance remained in a kind of wonderland, patronizing magic, alchemy, and astrology. The Renaissance sharply criticized the superstitions and prejudices of earlier times, but itself remained under the influence of superstitions of a more modern variety. The cultural significance of the Renaissance, the great “secularization” of culture, i.e., its transformation from the purely religious to the “secular” sphere, the establishment of a relatively independent secular culture, cannot be questioned. But with the exception of the new ideal of beauty, the Renaissance lacked a distinctive new content. The new literature and art were based on this new ideal of beauty, which to a large degree aspired to repeat and reinstate that

of antiquity. In literature this resulted in a return to ancient forms. The contents which the "new" secular man inspired were somewhat new; subject matter was enriched by "secular" themes—e.g., erotic themes, the idealization of strength, and the "well rounded" and full life.

2. The world-view of the Renaissance underwent a severe crisis in the sixteenth century with the appearance of the currents of the Reformation, for while some of these proceeded along lines similar to those of the Renaissance, others threatened to undermine several major and very fundamental Renaissance ideals. The Reformation remained a staunch supporter of individualism. The nature of this religious individualism (the direct bond between man and God with the reduced role of the Church as a middleman), however, was quite distinct from the egocentric individualism of the Renaissance. The fate of Erasmus of Rotterdam is an excellent example of the dual relationship of the two trends. Although steeped in the ideals of the Renaissance, Erasmus was caught up in the excitement of the Reformation, but was never able to decide just what his final attitude to the movement should be. While the Renaissance sought a full life, and had as its prime goal the ideal of beauty, the Reformation longed for a life which would be completely and consistently built on a religious foundation. Ancient times were contrasted with the early Christianity to which the people of the Reformation sought to return, and which they tended to perceive in terms of the more severe forms of Old Testament religious devotion. Thus, the Renaissance and Reformation were left with but one common approach—criticism of the Middle Ages, which, for both, was symbolized by the Roman Catholic Church.

3. The Renaissance was rather late in coming to eastern Europe, and the Reformation followed quickly on its heels. In Poland the Renaissance had been instrumental in bringing about the first flourishing of literature (J. Kochanowski), but side by side with it stood the Reformation which also found an immediate literary response (M. Rej). The direct influences of both currents came to Ukraine primarily via Poland.

Ukraine entered the sixteenth century still closely tied to the Byzantine cultural sphere, and this despite the fact that from the end of the fourteenth century there had been no lack of various responses to Western currents which had brought about unrest and had resulted in a definite decline of the one-sided and once indivisible domination of old Byzantine traditions.

In Ukraine the influences of the Renaissance, as we shall see, were rather insignificant: they were restricted to the borrowing of certain literary themes, a process which survived even to Baroque times. The most difficult problem—the creation of a new literary style—was not resolved, primarily because familiarity

with the literature of the Renaissance presupposed a familiarity with ancient Latin literature, which would have necessitated the reading of the original texts. Translations were almost nonexistent. Numerous attempts were made by the Muscovite exile Prince Kurbskij, but his translations, even on the linguistic level, were influenced by his Lithuanian-Ruthenian surroundings. The attempts of Ukrainians themselves were still heavily influenced by the old Byzantine tradition, to which only certain and not very numerous stylistic elements of the Renaissance were added. The themes of the secular Renaissance found almost no receptive ground.

4. The influences of the literary Renaissance were further prevented from taking root in Ukraine by the religious unrest which enveloped the country in the second half of the sixteenth century, and which made it far more susceptible to the influences of the Reformation than to those of the Renaissance. The Protestant reformation movement had, in fact, spread even to Ukraine, although it had attracted almost exclusively the rather restricted circles of the gentry. However, the significance of the Reformation and, in Ukraine itself, of the influences on these circles of Anti-Trinitarianism (Socinianism or "Arianism") was immense. It was these very movements which brought their followers, both from among the Ukrainian gentry and from the merchant class, into a closer alliance with the intellectual culture of western Europe. But this same alliance caused the loss of the sense of national identity in the Ukrainian disciples of Anti-Trinitarianism. Its effects on literature were not numerous—Ukrainian Anti-Trinitarians wrote either in Latin or in Polish. Only a few echoes of the ideas of the Reformation succeeded in penetrating the broader circles of the Ukrainian people. The Reformation advocated some specific changes in religious traditions. The "Word of God," the Holy Scripture, was considered to be above the authority of the Church. In addition, the Reformation brought to the attention of individual representatives of Lithuanian-Ruthenian literature the problem of a literary language, which had to be the language of the people, since the Word of God was to be accessible to all peoples. But Catholic forces took a stand against the Reformation as they had already done against the Orthodox Church. In this most difficult situation, the Orthodox population revealed both its great devotion to the Orthodox Church, as well as its organizational abilities. However, this national religious movement which grew out of the problem of the "Union" resulted in the adoption of the literary traditions of neither the Reformation nor the Renaissance. When we encounter any influences of either of these two major movements in the Ukrainian literature of the sixteenth century, they are both weak and far from widespread; e.g., some elements of Renaissance poetics were adopted, but Renaissance themes were of little interest. Likewise, attempts were

made to take advantage of specific elements of the traditions of the Reformation but these were limited to the linguistic level, and to some of its negative features (polemics against the Catholic Church). For this reason, it is not surprising that the most outstanding phenomenon of Ukrainian sixteenth century literature is the polemical writing of the genius Ivan Vyšens'kyj, which was directed against both the Renaissance and the Reformation, and set as its goal a return to old Byzantine tradition. Without a doubt, the spirit of this polemical writing, through its language, and to some extent its content (Vyšens'kyj believed that religious individuality is no less significant than the Church), reveals the influence of the Reformation, but its style is that of the Renaissance (see below). Even more important, however, was the fact that this most brilliant writer did not turn Ukrainian literature back to the past, but pointed it in a new direction—toward the Baroque, which was in a sense the successor of the Renaissance. Therefore, the “spirit of the times” demanded not a return to the old, but progress towards something new, containing elements of both the Renaissance and the Reformation. But contemporary Ukraine did not accept and adopt this “something new” consciously; the process was somehow only semiconscious and at times hardly perceptible. There is no doubt that the influences of the Renaissance and Reformation in the Ukraine were more widespread and more deeply felt in day-to-day life, and especially in the lives of individual people, than in literature. Ukrainian literature of the sixteenth century not only manifested very few elements of the Renaissance and Reformation, but was also of limited significance as a whole. There is no need to conceal this fact, in view of the magnificent literature of the Kievan and Baroque periods. The single truly outstanding phenomenon of the century is Ivan Vyšens'kyj who was ahead of his time, standing apart from contemporary traditions and already visibly close to the Baroque. Ukrainian literature of the sixteenth century would be even less significant if its volume had not been enriched by the literary activity of the Belorussians, to whom Ukrainians of the sixteenth century were related culturally, and from whom they were not yet separated linguistically.

## B. THE TALE

1. Very rare are those new Ukrainian-Belorussian tales inspired by the quickening of interest in Western literatures which accompanied the Renaissance. Such tales had already begun to appear at the end of the fifteenth century and a large number of them originated in Belorussia. Their character is partly religious and partly secular. Probably only some of them were translated directly from the Latin originals—most from Polish and Czech. It should be noted that some of

the translations which possibly served as the sources for translators are still unknown to us.

2. To the religious tales belong: "*Muka Xrystova*" ("The Passion of Christ"), a compilation of various Latin works, some of which are still unknown. The tale served to satisfy the same interest as did the apocryphal writing in the old period; it supplemented biblical stories by various legends and sometimes with nonreligious themes, e.g., the biography of Pilate, the so-called "*Zolota legenda*" ("Golden Legend"), reworked from a Western collection of legends dating from the Middle Ages; stories about the three Magi who paid tribute to Christ; the life of St. Alexis (both from Latin originals, the former perhaps through a Polish intermediary, the latter from a Czech one); the "tale" about the "Illustrious Prophetess," ("*Svitla proročycja*" from the Czech); the tale about the knight Tundal who lived in the next world (perhaps from the Czech; its Latin original is of Irish origin). These are all old tales from the Middle Ages, and the role of the Renaissance in their adaptation is limited to the fact that the spirit of the Renaissance brought Western literature to the attention of the eastern Slavs and gave them enough spiritual independence from Byzantine tradition to allow them to turn to the religious tales of the West.

3. Some secular tales were already known in old Ukrainian literature, but now appear in new redactions of Serbo-Croatian origin. The first of them, the new redaction of the well-known *Alexandreis*, originates from a Serbian revised translation. It is even possible that a new redaction of *The Deeds of Troy* also appeared at this time. The famous tale of Tristan and Isolde from the end of the sixteenth century directs us to the Serbo-Croatian translation of the Italian original as well (cf. in Ukrainian literature, Lesja Ukrajinka); also from an Italian original was the chivalrous tale (not at all widespread) about Bova the prince—which came to Ukraine via a Serbo-Croatian translation. The tale about the "seven wise men," is of Eastern origin, and was transmitted to Ukraine through a Latin revision and a Polish translation: it is the story of a mute young prince who is slandered by his stepmother before his father, and who is subsequently saved by the seven wise men who tell the father a tale with the "moral" that one should not follow the advice of a woman; finally, the prince regains his power of speech and explains the situation to his father. This type of "moral" tale with shorter stories included within it was known in Ukraine from the oldest times. There are some secular tales which are tied to the Renaissance. But it is sufficient to note that none of these tales gained widespread popularity and many are known to us only from a single manuscript; furthermore, the themes of such works were frequently modified at a later date (*Alexandreis*). We see, then, that the influence of secular Renaissance was not very great.

4. Both religious strife and religious polemics provided material for some of the tales. This material was not vast—e.g., the story about the pope, Joan, who had supposedly been a Roman pope and had given birth to a child during a procession. This tale—of late origin—is sometimes found together with yet another which is also found separately, “*Petro Huhnyvyj*” (“Peter the Snuffler”), who, having been punished by the Roman emperor, cunningly destroys him. A shorter story retold by Vyšens’kyj, but also found earlier as a separate story, can be included in this group of tales. It concerns the miracle on Mount Athos when, during the attempts to establish a Union with Rome, a wall of the Church fell, crushing the supporters of the Union.

5. Thus the striking enrichment of themes in this period can be attributed to the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Stylistically, however, only a scant few “modern” traits can be found in the new tales and the new redactions of the old ones. A particularly striking feature in *Alexandreis* is the large number of emotional elements. The “erotic” themes of Tristan and Bova are new, but they are not very well handled from the point of view of style.

### C. HOLY SCRIPTURE

1. Work on scriptural texts began as a result of the Reformation movements. Some work was stimulated by the Czech “pre-reformation” of Hus, some later by the sixteenth century Reformation. The most valuable work, however, was that which used as its basis the traditions of the Eastern Church.

The conditions under which the first printing house, belonging to the German Schweipolt Fiol in Cracow, worked have yet to be clarified. His publishing house also did work for Ukraine, and in 1491 had prepared the *Oktojix*, *Časoslovec*, both *Triodi* (*Pisna* and *Cvitna*) and, as it seems, the Psalter. There is no doubt that other sections of the Bible were to be printed in addition to the Psalter, but the publishing house was closed and its books confiscated. Fiol was himself no more than a printer-shopkeeper, and exactly what circles prompted the action—Lithuanian, Moldavian-Wallachian, or other—no one has yet been able to determine.

2. Those revisions of the text which profited from Czech translations and which used a “common” Ukrainian-Belorussian language most assuredly had ties with Lithuanian-Ruthenian literature and the Czech religious movements. Such translations exist in handwritten copies but, more important, in printed form as well. They were printed by Francisk Skoryna, a merchant from Polock who had studied in Padua, during the years 1517-1519 in Prague (parts of the Old Testament), and in 1525 in Vilnius (Acts of the Apostles). Very interesting are

Skoryna's prefaces which reveal the motives behind his work; they are in part national: "According to divine laws, all creatures have great love for the place where they were born and nurtured" (*"Ihdi zrodyly sja i uskormleni sut', po Bozi k tomu mistu velykujy lasku imajut'"*). Skoryna writes: "If we cannot be of great service to the simple people who speak the Ruthenian language, we bring them at least these little books, the fruit of our labor" (*"Ne možemo ly vo velykyx poslužyty pospolytomu ljudu Rus'koho jazyka—syji malyji knyžky praci našej prynosymo jim"*). Skoryna considered the Bible to be the encyclopedia of all human knowledge, a point of view held by the Catholics as well, but which was most typical of the Protestants. Likewise, typical of Protestantism was Skoryna's bent towards a simple language and the fact that he generally published books of the Old Testament. But Skoryna should not be considered as a representative of the Reformation. Evidence indicating that this was not the case is provided by his prefaces as well as by the character of his *"Mala podorožna knyžycja"* ("A Small Travelling Companion Book"), which consists of Orthodox prayers; the spirit of the Czech "pre-reformation" had only influenced him to a very limited extent. Skoryna's publications met with success, as is demonstrated by the number of copies printed.

3. Some attempts at translations of the Bible into the national language were definitely linked with the Reformation movement; this may have been the case with others as well. We must not view every translation as a product of Protestantism, but the idea itself was most probably prompted by the spirit of the Reformation. The Ukrainian version of the Gospel is the so-called *Peresopnyč'ka Evanhelija* (from 1556-1561, but we know it only from the 1571 and 1701 copies), which is, for the most part, a rather moderate "Ukrainianization" of the evangelical text. Let us consider the following text: "*Čolověku edinomu bohatomu zrodilo pole vel'mi, i movil sam" v sobě, rekuči: što maju činiti, ne maju gde byx" zobral" žita moi [or pašnju]. I rekl': tak" učinju, rozmeču žitnicju moju [klunju or stodolu]. I bol'šij pobuduju.*" ("One rich man had an abundant harvest and said to himself the following words: What am I to do, I do not have anywhere to collect my grain [or feed]. And he said: This is what I will do, I will tear down my granary [barnyard or barn]. And I will build a larger one.") Valentine Nehalevskyj's translations of the Gospel (1581) with their Ukrainian and Belorussian elements were certainly influenced by the Protestant movement. Based on the Polish translation of M. Czechowicz' *Krexivs'kyj apostoł*, the Ukrainian text also makes use of the Polish Bible of 1563, the Slavonic text and Skoryna's edition; a translation of the Polish Bible by Budny (1572) was also eventually printed, as was the Gospel translated by the Belorussian V. Tjapyns'kyj. Consider the following sample of the language of

the *Krexivs'kyj apostol*: “*O bezrozumnyi Halati, xtož vas podmanul, iżby este pravdy ne byli poslušni, pered kotoryx očyma Xristos pered tym byl napysan i mežy vamy rozpjat. . .*” (“O foolish Galatians, who has led you astray from the truth—you, before whose eyes Christ was formerly portrayed, and crucified among you.”) Generally speaking, translations of the Holy Scripture into the national language play a significant part in the development of a literary language. But not a single Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Belorussian translation reached a wide audience. Thus, these translations could not have similarly influenced the development of the literary language in Ukraine.

Several manuscripts which to a greater or lesser degree expand the text of the Gospel and contain some brief explanations have survived to the present day. They represent a transition to “didactic gospels,” which were published later as well (e.g., Kiev, 1637, etc.). Consider these examples of the texts: from the *Volyns'ka evanhelija* (The Volhynian Gospel, 1571): “*Čelověk někotoryj byl bohattyj, kotoryj že to obolokovalsja v porfiru i visson (v šarlat i v dorohoe oděnie) i na každyj den byval velmi vesel. Byl tyž nikotoryj ubohyj, ktoromou to bylo imja Lazar, kotoryj to ležal u vorot eho, buduči trudovatym.*\* (“A certain man was rich and he garbed himself in purple robes and fine cloth [in a cloak and expensive clothes] and was very happy every day. There was also a certain poor man, whose name was Lazarus, who (being a leper) used to lie at his gate”); or from a Gospel from the end of the sixteenth century: “*Čelověk*” *nekotoryj byl bahattyj i obolokalsja u krasnyi šaty i u porfiru i visson, toe u dorogii šaty, i veselilsja na každyi den' zavše krasno, byl že tyž tam ubohyj nekotoryi, ktoromou to bylo imja Lazar*”, *a byl povr'ženyj pred dvermi eho, abo ležal u gnoju nemocnyj*” (“A certain man was rich and used to dress in beautiful cloaks, purple cloths and fine cloth that is expensive clothes, always enjoyed himself very much each day; there was also a poor man there, by the name of Lazarus, cast out at his door where, covered in sores, he would lie helpless”); or from 1604: “*Čelověk někotoryj bě bohat i odevalsja ustavične v*” *perfiru i visson i veseljaščejsja na usjak den' krasno. Byst že tam někij inšij imenem Lazar, kotoryj to ležal gnoen pred dvermi ego*” (“A certain man was rich and dressed himself in the latest fashion in purple robes and fine cloth and enjoyed himself well each day. There was also another one there by the name of Lazarus, who would lie, covered in sores, before his gates”). Thus, these translations clearly attempted to bring the language of the Holy Scripture closer to that of the vernacular, undoubtedly seeking to reach much broader circles than the Reformation had succeeded in doing.

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\*Almost the same text is found in the *Peresopnyč'ka Evanhelija*.

4. The most frequently published biblical text and the one which was most widely distributed was the *Ostroz'ka biblija* (Ostrih Bible, from 1581). It employs Church Slavonic consistently throughout, and contains no elements of the Ukrainian vernacular. The initiator of the project was the Orthodox patron of learning, Prince K. Ostroz'kyj, who opened a well-known Orthodox school in Ostrih and set the teachers at the school, and other Ukrainians as well as foreigners, to work on the biblical text. The committee which worked on the text relied on various Slavic and Latin manuscripts, but most influential were the Greek texts. From the theological point of view, the text of the Ostrih Bible was a great success, but from the literary point of view, it succeeded only in cementing the rift between the Church (Slavonic) and literary (semi-vernacular) languages. But most important, this Church Slavonic text could never become the norm for the literary language of Ukraine. Of course, the return to the linguistic traditions of the Church can be explained in the first place as a protest against the Union which was turning away from "Orthodox tradition"; however, it was also a protest against the participation of the Orthodox people, together with Protestants of various inclinations, in the battle against Church Union. (On Ukrainian territory, as well as in areas adjacent to it, were the settlements of the dissident "Czech brethren," the Lutherans, and the almost "godless" Unitarians, the "Arians.") . . . Cooperation with the Protestants had still been possible in Ostrih where the political power of Prince Ostroz'kyj had stood firmly behind the Orthodox people. Some linguistic elements of the Ukrainian language do appear in one part in the Ostrih Bible: in "*Knyhy Makavejs'ki*" ("Books of the Maccabees"); not only the first, a semi-canonical book, was included in the Bible, but the second and even the third, which, the editors note, had not previously been translated into any other Slavic language. But elsewhere the translators simply followed the northern text, revising it here and there.

And so after this return to the tradition of the Church language, Church Slavonic became the norm for the Ukrainian literary language. No other authoritative basis for the Ukrainian language was established until the end of the eighteenth century.

#### D. POLEMICAL LITERATURE

1. The religious strife of the end of the sixteenth century constitutes some of the most interesting, as well as the best known, pages of Ukrainian cultural history. The Ukrainian townsmen—who had been generally abandoned by the nobility (the majority of whom had crossed over to the Catholic camp or followed Protestantism), supported by the influence of Prince Ostroz'kyj for

only a short time, betrayed by a large portion of the Orthodox hierarchy—were nevertheless able to resist the terrifying attacks of the Catholic Church (attacks condoned by official government authorities) by means of their own organizations (brotherhoods). But this illustrious page in Ukrainian cultural history is not equally illustrious in the area of literary output. However, although neither voluminous nor illustrious, the polemical literature of this period is very significant for the development of Ukrainian literature: slowly, new literary forms and literary values were taking shape. The brilliant representative of polemical literature, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, stands above the confines of his time.

2. The beginnings of polemical literature are linked with Ostrih, and that school which was established there through the efforts of Prince K. Ostroz'kyj. The circle of Ostroz'kyj's co-workers consisted not only of Ukrainians, but also of Greeks and Poles. Working toward a rebirth of the old Orthodox tradition (see above—references to the Bible), the Ostrih circle must have been influenced by the Renaissance in their introduction of secular learning into the academic curriculum. In fact, even the Reformation left its mark on the activities of the Ostrih circle, for in its struggle against Catholicism it employed Protestant co-workers, but even more significantly, drew on Protestant literature. The Ostroz'kyj academy disintegrated after the death of Prince Ostroz'kyj, whose heirs joined the Catholic camp. The publications of the Ostrih (and later Derman', L'viv, and other) publishing houses provided Ukrainian literature with a Bible, the occasional ecclesiastical-political work and some works of the fathers of the Church, but its main literary significance lies in the fact that it had begun to publish contemporary authors: namely, several works of polemical literature.

3. The first of these printed works is Herasym Smotryc'kyj's *Ključ carstva nebesnoho* (*Key to the Kingdom of Heaven*, 1587). The first part of this book is dedicated to the defense of Rus' from attacks (of the Jesuit, B. Herbst). The second part is a defense of the old (Julian) Calendar and other disputes between the Eastern and Western Church. There is little concrete argumentation: the major part consists of pathetic and sometimes lyrical or even witty exclamations, questions, reminders, attacks and sometimes even curses. The foreword is rhetorical; the language is at times slightly rhythmical and even rhymed: “*Povstante, počujte sja y podnosite očy duš vašyx, a obačte z pil'nist'ju, jak sprotyvnyk vaš, dijavol, ne spyt', i ne til'ko jak lev rykajučy šukajet' koho požerty, ale javne v paščegy jemu mnohyje . . . vpadajut'*” (“Arise, awaken your senses, raise the eyes of your souls and you will see most clearly that your adversary, the devil, is not asleep, and that he not only stalks around looking like a lion for someone to devour, but that many do actually fall between his jaws”). He speaks of the Church in the following way: “*Bolizno vas porodyvšy, vodoju*

*svjatoju xreščenija omyvšy, dary Duxa svjatoho prosvityvšy i xlibom žyvotnym . . . vozkormyvšy . . . z vamy vično carstvovaty pevna byla*” (“Having given birth to you with much pain, having washed you with the Holy Water of Baptism, having illuminated you with the gifts of the Holy Ghost and having nurtured you with the living bread [the Church] was sure she would reign with you forever”). Of the popes he writes: “*Jedyny novyny ustavljajut’, a druhye staryny popravljajut’, i jak odstupyly dorohy pravoju, zavždy sja mišajut’, da ynšyx do toho ž prymušajut’, i strašat’, že jim toho ž ne pomahajut’*” (“Some of [the popes] establish a new order while others correct the old, and if they leave the right path they always go astray and cause others to do the same, and in addition intimidate them into helping them”). Its author knows how to appeal to the common man. The rhythmical language is sometimes reminiscent of the rhythmic pattern of the *dumy* or some poems. In the text we also find a considerable number of proverbs.

4. The treatise by Vasyl “Ostroz’kyj” (1588)—broad in scope and generally of a theoretical theological content (relying on Maxim the Greek), is rather difficult as a piece of literature, but quite certainly intended for another type of reader than was Smotryc’kyj’s. L. Zyzanij (Vilnius, 1596) introduced a new thematic element into the polemics of the time—the Protestant belief that the pope was an anti-Christ. The style of the work is also close to that of scholarly works. A serious scholarly work is the anonymous *Apokryzys* (Apocrisis; Ostrih, 1598) by the Protestant Polish writer M. Bronski. The style of two works, written under the pseudonym Klyryk Ostroz’kyj (The Clerk of Ostrih, 1598-1599), is both emotional and ironical, and at times even pathetic: “*Perestupyly jeste otečeskije hranyci, narušyly jeste starožytynu viru! . . . Poroskopyvaly jeste hroby predkiv, porušyly kosty otec! . . . Zatoptaly jeste jix stežky, zatmyly jeste jix prisvitluju spravu!*” (“You have overstepped the boundaries of your fathers, you have violated the ancient faith! . . . You have dug up the graves of your forefathers, stirred the bones of your fathers. You have trampled their paths, you have beclouded their glorious cause!”). Written in basically the same style as Herasym Smotryc’kyj’s *Key to the Kingdom of Heaven*, this work possesses prayerful, pathetic and rhetorical overtones. Most important, however, the forewords to various editions acquaint us with one of Ostroz’kyj’s workers, Demjan Nalyvajko; as a writer his language is also rhetorical, only more heavily colored by Church Slavonic elements. Far simpler linguistically are the sermons (unpublished at that time) of Father Iov Zalizo of Počajiv. The rhetorical quality of the polemic writings is most striking: this is perhaps where the influence of both the style of the sermon of the religiously unsettled century of the Reformation, and the rhetorical school of Renaissance

style, had its greatest impact: perhaps even less familiar to us is the Ostrih "Ciceronian" style.

5. The last work of this literature—*Warning* (*Perestoroĥa*, written before 1605)—stands apart. Here we have an attempt to present the struggle of the Church as its battle against the Devil; many apocalyptic notes are sounded in the work. But here the rebirth of the Church is most closely tied to a rebirth of culture, the elevation of the level of learning (including the rejection of "pagan philosophy"). The style is very uneven and interesting only because of its rhetorical aspects, among which are the unusually talented speeches which the author puts in the mouths of Prince Ostroz'kyj and others. Even here there are ties both with the psychology of the Reformation (the cult of the Apocalypse, perhaps under the influence of the followers of Flacius)\* and the rhetorical style of the Renaissance. This work, perhaps the most interesting work of polemical literature, is so full of varied stylistic embellishments that it can be safely assumed that it was written by an entire committee of co-workers—by various authors from various cultural circles. It is very possible that such a group did work together on the *Warning*. If we reject this proposition, we must assume that there existed some person, unknown to us, who was well acquainted with the religious literature of various schools and of various scholarly characters. *Warning* reached a certain (though not very wide) circle of readers only in handwritten copies. Serious polemics, as soon became apparent, had little significance since the compulsory "reform" initiated by the Union was defeated by tradition, and a country faithful to these traditions upholding them from social motives.

6. Perhaps the most famous polemicist, the Ukrainian Adam Ipatij Potij, belonged to the Uniate camp. He was more productive than any of his Orthodox adversaries, and wrote both in Polish and in everyday Ukrainian. We have several of his works in a Ukraino-Slavic language ("*Unija . . .*"—"The Union . . .," 1695; "*Spravedlyvoje opisan'e . . . soboru berestejs'koho*"—"A Just Description . . . of the Council of Brest," 1596-1597; "*Antyryzys*"—"Antithesis," 1599; "*Rozmova berestjanyna z brat'čikom*"—"A Conversation Between a Follower of the Union of Brest and a Monk," 1603; "*Oborona soboru florentijs'koho*"—"A Defense of the Council of Florence," 1604; "*Posel'stvo do papeža . . . Syksta IV*"—"A Letter to Pope Sixtus IV," 1605; "*Harmonija al'bo sohlasije viry*"—"Harmony, or Unity of Faith," 1608). His style is the same as that of the Orthodox polemicists, only in his works there is less lyricism, more pathos, rhetoric, wit,

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\*I have in mind here the Protestant theologian Flacius Illyricus, a representative of radical German Protestantism of the sixteenth century.

and invective; his serious arguments are connected to the emotional ones in the same work, and even on the same page. His Ukrainian sermons have been lost.

In the Ukrainian works of Potij we can find all the typical rhetorical devices of that time: the accumulation of synonyms, strings of words: “*Pijanstvo, lakomstvo, svjatokupectvo, nepravda, nenavyst’, potvary . . . , pyxa, i nadutost’ . . . panujut’, tut ves’ma*” (“Drunkenness, greediness, simony, falsehood, hatred, slander . . . , arrogance and pride . . . reign here [in the Greek Church]”); short sentences follow one after the other:

*“spil’nye duši, myslj, volj,  
spil’nyj Boh,  
spil’naja pobožnosty kuplja,  
spil’noe spasenije  
spil’nyj podvyh i pracja,  
spil’naja mzda i vinec’.”*

(“common souls, thought, wills; a common God; mutually bought devotion; a common salvation; mutual exploits and work; a common reward and wreath.”)

He likes antitheses—in his opinion the following happened in the partnership between the Orthodox and the Protestants:

*starožytnoje z novotoju utverždenije  
i kamen’ nedvyžymyj z lehkomyśl’nosty trostynoju  
žyrota z tisnotoju,  
plidnist’ z neplodijem,  
svjatoblyvost’ z prokljatijem,  
dobryj porjadok z pomišanijem, . . .  
myro blahouxannoje z hrjazju,  
svitlost’ z temnostju,  
Xrystos z Veliarom . . .*

(“ancient beliefs [combined] with new ones; an immovable rock with frivolous reed; broadness with narrowness; fertility with infertility; holiness with execration; good order with confusion, . . . ; fragrant myrrh with mud; light with darkness; Christ with Belial . . .”)

Antitheses are also encountered in his exhortations:

*ne mišajte luds'kyx sprav z Božs'kymy,  
myrs'kyx z duxovnymy,  
zemnyx z nebesnymy,  
dočasnyx z vičnymy. . .*

(“Do not confuse human issues with divine ones,  
secular with spiritual, earthly with heavenly, temporal  
with eternal. . . .”)

Potij's style is somewhat reminiscent of Vyšens'kyj's, only Potij's works possess neither the wealth nor the diversity of Vyšens'kyj's.

7. Some shorter and, in some cases, older handwritten monuments have also been preserved—polemics against both Catholics and the “evil ones,” the Lutherans. Their style is slightly more straightforward, but even here we find in embryonic form new stylistic elements which appeared in the works of later polemicists (see Chapter VIII).

## E. SATIRE

1. There is no doubt that the limited satirical output of this period is in many ways indicative of the new times. Its spirit is reflected in the preferred forms: the bold plays on words, the parodied figure of the ancient “Castellan of Smolensk” who represents the ideals of antiquity while polemicizing against them, and puts into full view all their petty, provincial arrogance. However small as such a work might be, and frivolous in some of its witticisms, the very genre in itself demonstrated that a new kind of literature was beginning to develop.

The single satire which has come down to us from the sixteenth century is a short speech of “Castellan of Smolensk” Meleško, which was supposedly delivered before King Sigismund III at the diet (in 1589). That this work is a parody, for some strange reason, escaped detection even by scholars (the “speech” was first published as an historical monument). Its contents are quite straightforward: the speaker, “who had never been at such a gathering and had never sat down with His Majesty the King,” (“*na hetakix z'žzdax njakoli ne byval i z korolem*” *eho milostiju nikoli ne zasědal*”), speaks about anything and everything that comes into his mind. But most importantly, he attacks modern times—from the Germans, who had recently fallen into great favor with the kings, to the “bare-bottomed chickens” (“*kury holohuzi*”), to the “stallions” (“*koni drygantovi*”), to the clock whose repair will cost almost as much as a new

clock, and so on. On the other hand, he does praise the old.

2. The literary technique of the "speech" reveals a lack of skill: it was apparently not difficult for the author to write in Belorussian (he uses words such as *hetakyj*, *heto*, *hetoho*, etc., *njakoli*, *nasmotryusja*, *moučkom*, and so on). The author is not averse to employing colloquialisms: the Germans serving the king, and his own countrymen who had given themselves over to the new way of life annoy Meleško. He expresses his feelings in very colloquial terms: "*Da koli ž*" *by ja hetoho čorta kulakom*" *v*" *mordu*," . . . "*a koli b*" *hetakoho bęsa kulakom*" *v*" *mordu*, *zabyv*" *by druhyx mutyty*" ("If only I could give that devil a knock in the jaw," . . . "and if I were to rap that devil in the jaw, he would soon forget how to lead others astray"). The German or his wife "*dorohim pyžmom [bizamom] vonjaet*" ("smell sweetly of expensive musk [elder]"); and his countrymen, followers of the times—"Xot' *naša kostka*, *odnako sobačim mjasom obrosla i vonjaet*" ("Although their skeleton is like ours, it has grown over with canine flesh of which it also smells"). Finally we find here various word games, interpolations of foreign words ("*portuhale ili fortuhale*"). Occasionally there are even rhymes ("*korolevali, čto voevodami byvali*"). The cleverness of the work derives from the unsuitability of its "sententious" tone and the form it is given—that of a speech to the diet: Meleško's complaints are everyday and commonplace, whereas the form in which they are presented would tend to anticipate accusations of a political nature. Only one such political charge is levied—against the "Germans" in the king's service. The remainder—the keeping of "Polish servants," ("*sluhi-ljazi*"), "stallions," ("*koni-dryganti*"), "bare-bottomed chickens" ("*holohuzi kury*"), the purchase of the clock, the "expensive gowns" ("*dorohi sukni*") worn by the women—are the problems peculiar to the gentry. And Meleško, who complains about the horses and the Polish grooms, the clock, and the expensive gowns, only demonstrates that he himself had likewise yielded to the fashion of the time by accepting all these things as part of his way of life and is, therefore, in fact, accusing himself as well.

The past which Meleško praises has a dual nature—in the first place, it is a "primitive" time when "they danced without trousers like the Bernardines" ("*bez nohavic, jak Bernardini, huljali*"), and wore shirts "to the ankles." The old way of life was also more satisfying than the new one—it knew nothing about "seasonings" ("*prismaky*"); however, the dishes which "Pan Castellan" enumerates are hardly plain: goose with mushrooms, kasha with pepper, liver with onions or garlic, and as a splendid delicacy "*na prepjšnyje dostatky*"—rice kasha with saffron. His contrast of Hungarian wine ("*vengers'ke vino*") which, as it were, had not formerly been available, and malmsey, which he says they drank

humbly (*"skromno pijali"*), for malmsey was not at all inexpensive, is humorous. Furthermore, the speaker's self-confidence is transformed into self-caricature, beginning with the impression that Pan Castellan will dress as he would at home (*"jak po-domovomu"*), that he is now working for his "little woman" (*"maľžonka svoja"*), for whom he is an unlimited source of happiness (*"ščo natišyt'sja i nasmotrit'sj jaľ na menja ne možet'"*), and including the mention of the fact that they had held consultations not only in Smolensk, but even in Mozyr to decide "what wise man should be sent to this gathering" (*"Koho b mudroho do vas na tot z'jizd vybraty"*). They chose Pan Meleško, who reminds the king: "I only remind Your Grace so that I would also be remembered however many senators and Lithuanians there might ever be at the court of His Grace. . . ." (*"To til'ki vašej milosti primoninaju ščob navsihdy, skilki senatoriv i paniv Litovs'kych pri koroni joho milosti bulo, buv by i ja. . . ."*).

3. This interesting trifle from the literature of the court, of which we have no other examples, presupposes a completely different type of reader than the one who read the religio-didactic works which have survived from the previous period. This satire does not ignore the private life of the Old World lords—Pan Meleško alludes on several occasions to the moral decline, the nonsensical romancing (*"ljubitel'na brednja"*) of the white-faced feudal woman (*"bilo-žonky"*); to the German living with his woman (*"z žonkoju našoptivaet'"*); and to the Polish servant who "quietly begins to make advances towards his woman as soon as the master leaves the house" (*"skoro z domu ty, to vin movkom prilaskajet'sja do žonki"*), or "He neighs like a colt near the girls, like a stallion by a mare; hire two Lithuanians as guards for him, for the devil himself could not watch him" (*"Kak žerebec ržet kolo dčevok, kak" drygant" kolo kobyl'"*; *pryjmi z" k" nemu dvox" Litvinov" na straž"*, *bo i sam" dčedko ne upil'nuet"*). And finally, he criticized fashions which, in his opinion, hinder modesty in erotic matters. . . . These few illustrations, without exception, make it even more apparent that satire is indeed a private sort of literature, which at this particular time began to find its reader among the nobility. This literary tradition survived with similar motifs even into the nineteenth century.

To a certain degree, this parallels the satirical attacks of the Western Renaissance on the culture of the Middle Ages, except that here the object of the satire is not intellectual culture as in the famous *Listy temnyx ljudej* (*Letters of the Unenlightened People*), but life in the Middle Ages, in general. "Meleško's Speech" was recorded in the seventeenth century (but there is no conclusive evidence indicating that it originated in the seventeenth century).

## F. POETRY

1. The beginning of Ukrainian poetry dates back to the sixteenth century. Folk songs had obviously existed prior to this period, although it was only in the second half of the sixteenth century (1571, in the grammar by Jan Blahoslav) that the first one was actually recorded (its formal character has yet to be determined). Later songs were greatly influenced by the artistic verses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: in general, the oldest "verses" in Skoryna's Bible can hardly be classified as poems; they have neither a definite number of syllables in a line (e.g., 8, 12, 9, 8, 8, 7, 9, 9, 11), nor a definite rhyme scheme, and the rhyme which does exist is scarcely more than an approximate similarity of sounds ("jedyna"–"bludna," "slavi"–"poxvali," "veseliju"–"naučeniju"). Its ties with Polish or Czech poetry are doubtful, and those with the rhythmical pattern of religious chants have not yet been studied.

2. The Ostrih school produced poetry of a new type. Poetry (by H. Smotryc'kyj) was included in the Bible of 1581. Its principal features are rhyming couplets and a stanza-like structure. But the rhymes are often only "approximate" (e.g., "oružie"–"božije," "obojudu"–"pobidu," "lesty"–"spasty," etc.). The number of syllables in a line varies (e.g., 13, 21, 15, 12 . . .). The same year a special publication in verse, *Xronolohija* (*Chronology*) by Andrij Rymša, appeared in Ostrih; in it there is an almost perfect thirteen-syllable line with a caesura after the seventh syllable:

*Žydove suxo prošly/ Čyrvonoe more,  
kormyl Boh jix na puščy,/ ne bylo jim hore.*

("The Israelites crossed the Red Sea without getting wet, God fed them in the wilderness, they were not left in distress.")

In the various verses inscribed on "emblems" (coats of arms) dating from very early times (before 1605), lines of both even and odd numbers of syllables can be found. The syllabic principle was more closely adhered to in the editions which came out in Lviv several years later (the greeting, in verse, to Metropolitan Myxajlo Rohoža, "*Prosfonima*," in 1591).

The origins of Ukrainian poetry of a different, "more modern" type, which is akin to Polish verse, are not clear. Indications are that a collection of fifty songs (probably translated from German) of a religious nature with some Protestant coloring, belonged to as early a period as the middle of the sixteenth century. The language of this collection alternates between Ukrainian and

Belorussian (in rhymes the “jat’ ” is sometimes written as “e,” sometimes “i”). Bodjans’kyj published only six of these poems and now it seems that this collection has been lost. The verses sometimes contain an even number of syllables in a line and full rhymes. The song about the Incarnation of Christ includes stanzas of this type:

*Prestol on svoj ostavil  
pohybšix čtob izbavil  
Rovno Bohu bohotyř  
svyše pryselilsja v mir . . .*

(“He left His throne to save those who were lost. A hero equal to God, He came down to earth from above. . . .”)

But side by side with this we find:

<i>Svjat v jaslex vozsijaet</i>	(7 syllables)
<i>svet noščiju oblistaet</i>	(8 syllables)
<i>tma pohibnet,</i>	(4 syllables)
<i>věra javljaetsja.</i>	(6 syllables)

(“A holy child illuminates the manger, the light shines at night, darkness is overcome, faith appears.”)

Rhyme, as we see, is not regularly employed but even the occasional lack of a consistent measure does not affect the lyrical character of the poem:

<i>Xvalyty načynaem,</i>	(7 syllables)
<i>Boha proslavljaem</i>	(6 syllables)
<i>za dary, čto my braly</i>	(7 syllables)
<i>ot ruky eho dostaly.</i>	(8 syllables)

(“We are beginning to sing praises, we glorify God for the gifts which we took, and were given by His hands.”)

Further on, a regular syllabic structure is maintained:

*On dušu blahodatno  
i plot’ nam dal priyatno,*

*tu vĕrno soxraniti*  
*On sam izvolit bdeti.*

(Perhaps “*bĕti*,” in the sense of “following,”  
 “watching.”)

(“Benevolently with pleasure He gave us soul and body,  
 deigning himself to watch over its faithful preservation.”)

The long and varied poems (48 poems, over 1,000 lines; probably from c.1590) directed against the Protestants (Arians) are surprising for the regularity of their measure and rhyme. For example:

*O, Xryste preblahyj, mylostyv budy!*  
*syloju tvojeju bljudi tvoja ljudy . . .*  
*Rozbijnyku za viru raja otverzajš*  
*bludnyc' i mytarej z hrixov oĉyščajš.*  
*Tomu vsi virnyji velyčije dajte,*  
*slavu i poxvalu veselo spivajte.*

(“O most kind Christ, be merciful! Guard your people  
 with your strength. . . . You open Paradise even to  
 criminals if they have faith; harlots and publicans you  
 cleanse from sin. And so all ye faithful give adoration,  
 happily sing honor and praise.”)

These verses demonstrate that the imitation of Polish metrics, which we know existed, was not very difficult and often gave rather happy results. We can assume that these were not the only poems that were written, but at the moment we do not know of any other of a similar quality which date from the same period. The development of Ukrainian versification belongs completely to the seventeenth century (see Chap. VIII).

3. In his grammar of 1596, Lavrentij Zyzanij also presented a theory of poetry, but one which was totally unsuited to Ukrainian verse, for this theory is built on the differentiation of long and short vowels (the long ones being: *i*, *jat'*, “*ot*,” *ja*; the short ones: *e*, *o*, *u*; *a*, *i*, “*jus*,” “*ižycja*” could be either long or short!). But even the author of this odd theory did not follow it in his own poems.

4. At the same time, a new type of folk song—the *duma*—began to develop. This new Cossack epos completely supplanted the old Ukrainian epos, the remnants of which remained only in the prose oral tradition or in the “form” of

the verse, and which underwent some linguistic change when it reached Russian territory. The *dumy* were first collected and written down in the nineteenth century, but in the process they were partially reworked or falsified. Many aspects of the *dumy* still remain obscure. *Dumy* can be divided into two groups—those with “anonymous” heroes, and those whose heroes are named. From the thirty various *dumy* which are known to us, we have been able to date only a few, employing the same methods used to date the old epics. But even in those *dumy* whose heroes are famous people there exist some insurmountable problems with regard to their dating, since many refer to events which could have taken place more than once. This is the case with the famous *duma* about Marusja Bohuslavka, who became “Turkified and Moslemized” (“*poturčyvsys*’, *pobusurmenyvsys*’”) in Turkish captivity, and nevertheless frees at Easter “poor captive Cossacks from captivity” (“*Kozakiv bidnyx nevol’nykiv*”). There is a long *duma* about Samijlo Kiška, and his victory at Kozliv (which exists in many versions): Kiška is a historical figure who gained fame in the years 1575-1602; however, some details in the *duma* are reminiscent of the printed story about the escape of Muscovite captives in 1643, so that even here researchers have doubts about the actual date of its origin. The *duma* about Ivan Konovčenko-Udovyčenko contains a very general, although masterfully constructed story about the death of its hero while doing battle with the Tatars. The hero is perhaps a poeticized Xvylonenko, a contemporary of Hunja and Ostrjanycja, or perhaps Udovyčenko, the Cossack chief from the seventies of the seventeenth century. Similarly doubtful are other attempts to establish accurate dates. “Anonymous” *dumy* (e.g., the escape of three brothers from Oziv, the cry of the captives, the death of three brothers near Samara, the storm on the Black Sea, and so on) provide no helpful bases for their dating or else have sources which are too indefinite. In the *duma* about the storm we find among others, the name of Oleksij Popovyč (A’loša Popovič in the *stariny*), which may have found its way into this *duma* from the old epos. Only the equally unhistorical Gandža Andyber, it seems, points to the source of the *duma* about him—the later period of social strife in the lands of the Cossacks. In the sixteenth century, Lithuanian-Ruthenian culture still preserved the memory of the famous old *bahatyri* (*bogatyri*) of the Volodymyr cycle: this provides a more definite base for dating the new epos which completely replaced the old. We can presume that the *dumy* began to appear in the sixteenth century.

5. *Dumy* are a very unique type of epos, an epos without a great central hero, an epos with a tendency towards anonymity. The psychological soundness of its characterizations surpasses that of both the old Ukrainian and the Serbian epos: it is sufficient to recall the individual characteristics of the three brothers

who escaped from Oziv, the moods of the captives in captivity, Marusja Bohuslavka, etc. Unusually impressive are the picturesque descriptions of the steppe landscapes or the Black Sea, pictures drawn with very limited artistic devices.

6. The artistic form of the *duma* is also unique: the verses are made up of lines of uneven length, which, in contrast to similar forms of the verses, are very rhythmical; they can be compared with some attempts at versification in the seventeenth century (see Chap. VIII about Kyrylo Trankvillion Stravrovec'kyj).

The poetics of the Ukrainian *dumy* bear certain similarities to the Serbian epos, but the means by which the Serbian epos may have come to Ukraine is unknown; it is possible that what we have here is merely the innate resemblance of works of the same genre. The *dumy* are also similar to laments; but this, it seems, is a general feature of the epos (the Russian epos with Russian lament). The *duma*, like songs in general, was fond of employing parallels and contrasts. But there do exist some features specifically characteristic of the *dumy*: the frequent use of double synonyms: *dolom–dolynuju*, *kumy–pobratymy*, *plače–rydaje*, *bižyt'–pidbihaje*, *kvylt'–proklyvlaje*, *kljane–proklynaje*, *hraje–vyhravaje*, and so on. Favorite epithets were: *bujnyj viter* (blustering wind), *bystryj kin'* (swift steed); *jasnyj sokil* (resplendent falcon); *syva zozulja* (gray cuckoo); *siryj vovk* (gray wolf). Epithets associated with the heroes are generally maintained throughout the entire tale: “*divka-branka, Marusja popivna Bohuslavka*” (“Marusja Bohuslavka, a girl captive, the priest's daughter”). The use of Church Slavonic forms and compound words (characteristic of the Church Slavonic language) led some researchers to believe that the *dumy* had a “bookish” origin; however, it is possible that the national language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still contained some Church Slavonic elements which disappeared only later.

## G. THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1. As we see, the great national awakening at the end of the sixteenth century was not paralleled by equally outstanding achievements in the literary arena. That which was truly significant—Ivan Vyšens'kyj, the *dumy*—was not closely tied to those new trends, influences, and currents which came to Ukraine. The polemical literature of the sixteenth century is not of very high literary value; only at the very end of the period did *Warning* raise some—and only a few—truly basic questions; up to that time, only secondary questions (regarding the calendar), or formal ones concerning the legality of the Synod at Brest, were discussed. The Uniates' attacks centered not on the teachings, but

rather on the rites of the Orthodox Church. Characteristic of almost all the literature of the time was its rhetorical nature, its oratorical style. In addition, the satire, "Meleško's Speech," shared many features with this polemical literature which was central to the time. The poetry was clumsy, and, in large measure, rather uninteresting forms such as emblematic poems were cultivated. Linguistic reform (translations of the Scripture) was unsuccessful; the language of the Church remained Church Slavonic. The Ukrainian renaissance cannot even be justified by the fact that it was, as it were, only a beginning. Old Ukrainian literature had proven that these "beginnings" could immediately become the peak of development.

2. The authentic *dumy* belong to folk literature, which was developing along an independent path, not yet well known to us. Ivan Vyšens'kyj, the single valuable and significant figure in the written literature of the sixteenth century, developed from different roots than did the rest of the literature of his period—partly from the patristic tradition, partly perhaps from the folk literature and possibly even from the very spirit of the Ukrainian language itself. His ideology was the ideology of reaction, but strangely enough a fresh and lively breeze seemed to spring from it! But history bypassed Vyšens'kyj: in place of a return to Byzantium, Ukraine turned to the West. Only some and not very numerous phenomena of the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be traced back to that tradition which Vyšens'kyj tried to establish as the cornerstone of Ukrainian culture (Z. Kopystens'kyj, P. Velyčkovs'kyj). History bypassed even these intellectual successors of Vyšens'kyj, but this, of course, in no way lessens his importance or the significance of his works. However, the entire sixteenth century remains for us a period which looked to the past, more so than had the flourishing period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, more so than did the unique, and to a large measure unfamiliar, period of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Baroque.

## VII.

# BAROQUE

### A. THE NATURE OF LITERARY BAROQUE

1. The idea of a literary Baroque was accepted only quite recently, after World War I. The term "Baroque" had formerly been limited to the sphere of plastic arts (architecture, sculpture, painting), and only much later was it realized that the style of other art forms (music and literature) shared certain features with the plastic arts. Research into Baroque literature is still incomplete. The least attention has been devoted to this problem among the Slavs: only Polish and Czech Baroque literatures have been relatively well researched. Little work has been done on the Ukrainian Baroque, although some of the material has been available for quite some time.

2. Unable to establish a firm attitude to Ukraine Baroque literature (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries) the old Ukrainian literary historians could find no inner unity in either its form or contents and, because of this, considered its basic features as simply the manifestation of individual arbitrariness, caprices, and extravagances. Paying no attention to the distinctive character of the world view of the writers of the Baroque, old historians of Ukrainian literature and culture measured the ideological content of Baroque literature according to the standards of their own times. For this reason, Baroque literature was judged as "removed from life," foreign to the interests of the people, "scholastic," of use to no one. Its form was condemned for being amazingly contrived, extremely awkward, and quite inept, etc. Compounding this severe criticism was the fact that Kotljarevs'kyj's language reforms had made the language of the Baroque "old-fashioned," archaic, and once again, "unnational."

3. Although scholars agree in large measure on the characteristics of Baroque style, there still exist many differences of opinion as to the source of the criteria which conditioned the character of the Baroque style. Even today it is widely believed that Baroque culture was the culture of the Catholic Anti-Reformation. This view completely ignores the fact that some Protestant countries and nations developed a most brilliant Baroque culture. In Ukraine, as we will see, Orthodox circles were far more active in the creation of a Baroque culture, especially in literature, than were the Catholic ones. Closer to the truth are those who see in Baroque culture a "synthesis," a coalescence of the cultures of the Middle Ages ("Gothic"), and of the Renaissance. For, in fact, the culture of the Baroque, while not rejecting the accomplishments of the Renaissance era, in many ways returned to the themes and forms of the Middle Ages. In place of the clear harmony of the Renaissance we find the complex multiplicity of the Gothic; in place of the anthropocentrism, the placing of man in the center of everything during the Renaissance, we find in the Baroque a clear return to theocentrism, with God once again occupying the central position, as in the Middle Ages; in place of the liberation of man from the bonds of social and religious norms, we see in the Baroque once again a strengthening of the role of the Church and the state. But, as we noted earlier, the Baroque likewise assumed many of the features of the Renaissance. Especially important was its complete acceptance of the "rebirth" of ancient culture. Admittedly, it interpreted this culture very differently than did the Renaissance and tried to reconcile it with Christianity. The Baroque, like the Renaissance, afforded great attention to nature, but the Baroque considered nature to be important primarily as a path to God. Neither did the Baroque reject the cult of the "noble man"; however, it sought to educate this "strong man," to bring him up to serve God. But what was peculiar to Baroque culture, and especially to its art, what gives it its distinctly individual character is the movement, the "dynamism" of the Baroque. In the plastic arts it appears in the preference for the complicated curved line over the straight line, the sharp angle or the semi-circle of the Gothic or Renaissance. In literature and life it appears as the longing for movement, change, travel, tragic emotions and catastrophes, a predilection for bold combinations, for arguments. In nature the Baroque finds in place of staticism and harmony, great stress, struggle and motion. Most importantly, the Baroque does not shy away from a decisive "naturalism," the representation of the hardest, strictest and often most unaesthetic aspects of nature. Side by side with the representation of a colorful life full of tension, we find in the Baroque a certain predilection for the theme of death. The Baroque did not consider it the role of art to awaken a calm religious or aesthetic feeling—the creation of a vivid

impression, excitement and turbulence were of greater importance. To this attempt to stir up, excite and agitate the people are tied the main traits of the style of the Baroque which manifests itself in the desire for strength, the use of exaggeration, hyperboles, the love of paradoxes and of monstrous and unusual "grotesques," contrasts, and perhaps even the predilection for large forms, for the universal, the comprehensive. These peculiar traits of the Baroque are also the source of those very dangers which threatened Baroque culture and especially Baroque art—namely, the frequent over-emphasis of form at the expense of the content, emphasis on pure ornamentation as a result of which the meaning of a passage is either completely lost or forced into a secondary role. This desire to exaggerate, to heighten every source of tension or contradiction, and all that is impressive or peculiar, brought the Baroque to an excessive fondness for artistic games, poetic sports, oddities, originality and even eccentricity. Baroque works are frequently overburdened, overloaded and overcharged with formal elements. The Renaissance school of poetics contributed to this, to some degree, since it had taught the Baroque the subtleties of the classic teachings about poetic forms and poetic devices ("tropes and figures"). In some branches of literature (e.g., sermons) declamatory, theatrical style predominated.

We must not, however, forget that Baroque art, and especially Baroque poetry, was intended for the "people of the Baroque." The style of Baroque poetry seems strange to us, although we can objectively admire its subtlety. Consistency and sensuousness excited "Baroque Man"; it enchanted him, spoke to his aesthetic senses and thereby to his mind and heart. Love of naturalism, of the depiction of nature in its "low" elements as well, and of the concrete behind which Baroque always saw the spiritual, the divine, the ideal, turned the attention of art and poetry to the thus far neglected national poetry and folklore. In Baroque poetry we see the first step towards "folk spirit" ("*narodnist*"). The Baroque found a lively interest and following among the people and it is not surprising that unusually strong influences of the Baroque can be felt in all folk poetry and folk art in Europe even to the present.

4. The significance of the Baroque era for Ukraine must not be underestimated. This was a new period of flourishing, after a long period of decline, in art and culture in general. In the history of any nation, such times of flourishing not only have a purely historical significance, but also influence its subsequent historical development, contributing to the creation of "national character" or leaving enduring marks on its spiritual physiognomy. So, it seems, it was with the Baroque era in Ukraine. The Baroque left Ukraine many constructive elements which were reinforced by Romanticism (Romanticism shared many features with the Baroque—see Chap. XI). Of course, not all the elements which

the Baroque left in Ukrainian culture were positive ones. Nonetheless, Baroque culture played no mean role in the determination of the "historical fate" of Ukraine.

5. Baroque culture is certainly not limited to those "formal" features which have been discussed above. But the religious substratum of an individual historic era is generally characterized not by one but by several religious currents, which, as a rule, converge around two diametrically opposed poles in the intellectual sphere. So it was in the Baroque era: at one pole was nature, and at the other, God. The Baroque era saw on the one hand a great flourishing of natural science and mathematics (for the study of nature for Baroque man was based on number, measure, and weight), and on the other, a flourishing of theology, attempts at theological syntheses, a great religious war (the Thirty Years' War), and great mystics. A man of the Baroque either escaped into solitude with his God, or, on the contrary, threw himself into the vortex of political strife (and the politics of the Baroque was the politics of broad general plans and desires), crossed the oceans looking for new colonies, made plans to improve the state of all mankind, be it by means of political, ecclesiastical, scientific, linguistic (the creation of artificial languages) concerns, or attempted various other types of reforms.

In their ideal form both of the possible paths open to Baroque man led to the same goal: through the "world" (nature, science, politics, etc.) man always came to the same end—to God. Whoever remained too long in this world was merely considered to have gone astray. Thus, if Gothic culture was fundamentally religious and even ecclesiastical, if Renaissance culture was fundamentally secular (although there were attempts at spirituality), Baroque culture must have had both a religious and a secular domain; however, in some instances—and not infrequently—the religious element was either very strong or even predominant. It is this very type of predominance which we find in the Ukrainian Baroque.

## B. IVAN VYŠENS'KYJ

1. Alongside the polemicists who focused primarily on the secondary issues and only occasionally referred to the fundamental problems, there appeared a writer whose works were stylistically akin to those of the other polemicists, but who was as different from them as is day from night. He stands apart mainly because he was ordained to be a writer. He is Ivan Vyšens'kyj, one of the most prolific Ukrainian writers of all times, and the only writer of his era who has not been forgotten; his popularity in later times was due in large part to Ivan Franko's poem about him.

2. Vyšens'kyj possessed the inspiration of a real prophet and for that reason, even though he often dwells on questions of only secondary importance, he succeeds in connecting the arguments of these secondary questions into a tight whole and in instilling them with such biblical-like pathos that the reader is forced to believe, or at least to feel, that the matter at hand is not trivial, but one which concerns the eternal questions of the human race. But Vyšens'kyj is not only superior to his fellow polemicists because of his style. Not infrequently, he ignores the concrete trivialities of polemics (other writers, as it were, were writing enough about them) and introduces such fundamental and basic questions that his "polemic" extends beyond the limits of his time and his country: e.g., he discusses the question of the Christian ideal of the Church—the true Church being similar not to the ruling Catholic Church, but to the persecuted and suffering early Christian Church. Such a fundamental approach is unusually refreshing and gives life to the "polemic": strangely enough, in the opinion of modern historians of literature, Vyšens'kyj was actually deviating from the "major issues" of the religious controversy.

Vyšens'kyj's style is somewhat reminiscent of that of his fellow polemicists, although more masterful than theirs. (Whether his accomplishments on the stylistic level are a result of inspiration or some literary tradition is of no importance.) The main characteristic which it shares with these other works is rhetoricism, not to be understood in a negative way, but rather as a definite literary form which expresses all its thoughts in oratorical style, exhorting, rebuking and addressing the reader. . . . But whereas we could assume that the Ostrih or Lviv polemicists were influenced by the rhetoric of the Latin school, Vyšens'kyj's style is too much unlike the "Ciceronian" style, and his views on Latin culture too negative to allow us to assume that his literary techniques were derived from ancient rhetoric. His pathos is "biblical," but his style is not particularly reminiscent of the Old Testament prophets. It is more certain that he was influenced by the sermons of the Holy Fathers, perhaps mainly by *Chrysostom*, but even here the similarity is not very great.

Vyšens'kyj differs from his contemporaries in one major area: although he may have been bound by the traditions of his time (the usual assertions about Vyšens'kyj's "lack of culture" are groundless), he considered both the Renaissance and the Reformation to be no more than the manifestations of the decline, the disintegration of the anti-Christ "heresy." What he longed for was a return to Byzantine tradition, to ancient times. If Vyšens'kyj does indeed belong to the Ukrainian "Renaissance," then he is a Ukrainian Savonarola who would not relent until all the acquisitions of the new culture had been destroyed and who never expressly outlined or developed his positive ideal. Had he done so, we

would probably have found in it not only the desire for a return to ancient times, but also a large measure of late Byzantine mysticism (Hesychasm), which had taken root on Mt. Athos where Vyšens'kyj himself had spent the greater part of his life and from where he appealed to his contemporaries and countrymen. It is not accidental that of Vyšens'kyj's works only one was published during his lifetime—a work in which he appears as a representative of the monastery on Mt. Athos, as a monk from Mt. Athos. The polemicists in Ukraine and their patrons did not set for themselves the extreme goals to which Vyšens'kyj aspired: they sought only to protect the Orthodox Church from attacks, while Vyšens'kyj clearly desired the victory of Orthodox Christianity over all other “sects and beliefs.” (We see a similarly radical approach partly in the late *Warning* and in Bronski's work.) The Ukrainian Orthodox people effected a certain synthesis of Western and Eastern cultures (the Ostrih school), and each year drew more and more heavily from the coffers of Western culture; but Vyšens'kyj accepted nothing which originated in the West. In Ukraine, desperate attempts were made to create circumstances which would allow the Orthodox Church to survive within the existing bounds of the contemporary, national and social system. Basing his views on the ideals of ancient Christian “asceticism,” Vyšens'kyj voiced such radical and negative criticisms of the political and social order that its positive counterpart could only have been “the Kingdom of God on earth.” None of his contemporaries even hoped for such a transformation of the Commonwealth (*Rzecz Pospolita*) and, if Vyšens'kyj did in fact have any real or active followers, to his Ukrainian contemporaries he would have appeared as a dangerous man. Vyšens'kyj did not develop a following because he never put forth a concrete program of action; his contemporaries (mistakenly) considered him a partner, and only because of this, his works were read, recopied (although not printed), and in this way transmitted to us.

3. One of the stylistically most characteristic of Vyšens'kyj's works (of which nineteen are known to us in addition to the previously mentioned letter of the “monk of Mt. Athos”) is the early work, *Pysanyje do vsix u Ljads'kij zemli* (*A Letter to All the People Living in Polish Lands*). In it, Vyšens'kyj in fact addresses himself not only to those of the Orthodox faith: “*Tobi v zemli, zovemoj Pol's'koj, meškajučomu ljudu vsjakoho vozrasta, stanu i preložestva, narodu Rus'komu, Lytovs'komu i Ljads'komu v rozdilenyx sektax i virax rozmajityx sej hlas v slux da dostyže. Oznamuju vam, jak zemlja, po kotoroj nohamy vašymy xodyte v neže v žyzn' siju roždenijem projizvedeni jeste i nyini obyčajete, na vas pered Hospodom Bohom plačet', stohnet' i vopijet', prosjačy stvorytelja, jako da pošlet' serp smertnyj . . . , kotoryj by vas vyhubyty i*

*iskorenyty . . . mih.*” (“May this loud call reach you the people of every age and station living in that land called Poland—Ruthenian, Lithuanian, and Polish of divided sects and varying beliefs. I announce to you that the land on which you walk with your own feet, into whose life you were brought through your birth, and where you now live, is crying, moaning, complaining about you to the Lord God begging the Creator to send forth the sickle of death . . . that it might destroy you and consume you.”) This motif can be found as well in Serapion of Vladimir: “*De nynti v Ljads’kij zemli vira? De nadižda? De ljubov? De pravda i spravedlyvist’ suda? De pokora? De evanhel’skyje zapovidi? De apostol’s’kaja propovid’? De svjatyx zakonny? . . .*” “*Da prokljati budut’ vладыky, arxymandyty, i ihumeny, kotorije monastyry pozapustivaly i fol’varky sebi z mist svjatyx počynyly i samy til’ko z sluhovynamy i pryjatel’my sja v nyx tilesne i skots’ky perexovyvajut’. Na mistax svjatyx ležačy, hroši zbyrajut’. Z tyx doxodiv, . . . divkam svojim vino hotujut’. Syny odivajut’. Ženy ukrašajut’. Sluhy umnožajut’. Barvy spravujut’. Pryjатели obohačujut’. Karyty zyždut’. Viznyky sytyji i jedynobraznyji sprjahajut’. Roskoš svoju pohans’ky ispolnjajut’. Nist’ mista ciloho od hrixovnoho neduha—vse strup, vse rana, vse puxlyna, vse hnyl’stvo, vse ohn’ pekel’nyj, vse bolizn’, vse hrix, vse nepravda, vse lukavstvo, vse xytrist’, vse kovarstvo, vse kozn’, vse iža, vse mečtanije, vse sin’, vse para, vse dym, vse sujeta, vse iščeta, vse pryvydinije.*” “*Pokajtesja ubo, Boha rady, pokajtesja, doneliže pokajaniju vremena imate! . . . Hotovite dila, hotovite čystoje žytije, hotovite Bohouhodženiye.*” (“Where today in Polish lands is there faith? Where is there hope? Where is there love? Where are there truth and justice in the courts? Where is there humility? Where are the commandments set forth in the Gospels? Where are the laws of the Holy Ones?” “Accursed be the bishops, archimandrites and abbots who have neglected the monasteries and made villas for themselves out of holy places and who hide themselves there, with their servants and friends and living lustfully like animals. Lying in holy places they collect their money. From this revenue they prepare dowry for their daughters. They clothe their sons. They adorn their wives. They increase the number of their servants. They acquire liveries. They make wealthy their friends. They build carriages. The coachmen want for nothing and harness horses which are matched. They live their life of pagan luxury. There is not a single place free of this immoral sickness—all is covered with scabs, sores, swellings, decay. It is all infernal fire, illness, sin and untruth, hypocrisy, cunning, insidiousness, craft, lies, caprices, straw, steam, smoke, vanity, emptiness, and specter.” “Repent, for God’s sake, repent while you still have time for repentance! . . . Perform your work, lead a clean life, perform deeds pleasing to God.”) This is, it is true, perhaps the most “rhetorical” passage in all of Vyšens’kyj’s works. But generally

speaking, he did remain faithful to this style throughout his life, always preferring the genre of the epistolary sermon. The principal works of this style are: *Porada* (*Advice*), a letter to the runaway bishops (1597-1598), *Kratkoslovnyj otvit Feodula* (*Terse Reply of Feodul*), *Začapka* (*Cautious Objection*), *Oblyčenie diavola myroderžca* (*The Unmasking of the Devil, the Ruler of the World*), *Termina o lži* (*Sermon about Lying*), and finally (c.1614), *Pozoryšče mysennoje* (*The Spiritual Theatre*).

In his works, Vyšens'kyj touches on not only the contemporary questions concerning the religious strife ("the runaway bishops" were those who had "escaped" from the Orthodox Church and joined the Union); his works often transcend his time, concerning themselves with topics which, as we see from the quotations above, were contemporary issues then, but which remain basic issues throughout all time.

4. Vyšens'kyj's program for the Church was the same in all his works and is quite straightforward—the preservation of the old: "*Do cerkvy na pravlylo sobornoje xodite i vo vsim po ustavu cerkovnomu—ni prylahajušče od svojeho umysla ščo, ni otimljušče . . . , ni rozdyrajušče mninijem tvorite.*" ("Go to the prescribed Church services, follow the Church rules, neither adding nor subtracting anything according to one's own imagination . . . or bringing discord through one's own opinion.") But Vyšens'kyj even urges the preservation of the archaic: "*I Evanhelija i Apostola v cerkvy na lyturhiji prostym jazykom ne vyvoročajte*" ("Do not pervert the Gospel and Epistles in Church at the liturgy in the common language"). He does, however, approve of the use of the vernacular in the sermon: "*Dlja vyrozumninja ljuds'koho poprostu tovkujte i vykladajte*" ("Explain and teach simply, so that the people will understand"); but in his opinion, all books ought to be printed in the Slavonic language ("*slovens'kym jazykom*"; he places the Slavonic language above Greek and Latin). In general he writes: "*Čy ne lipše tebi izučyty Časoslovec', Psal'tyr, Apostol, i Jevanhelije . . . i byty prostym bohohodnykom i žyzn' vičnuju polučyty, nežely postyhnuty Arystotelja i Platona i filosofom mudrym sja v žyzni sej zvaty i v hejenu otity? Rozsudy!*" ("Is it not better for you to learn the Breviary, the Psalter, the Epistles, and the Gospels . . . and be a simple pious person and receive life everlasting, than to come to understand both Aristotle and Plato, become known in your lifetime as a wise philosopher and depart unto hell? Decide for yourself!") In his opinion, it is totally unnecessary to devote any time to the question of the Union which he rejects on the ground that it is something new. (He plays on the words *unija*—union, and *junaja*—young.)

Vyšens'kyj never urges an outright confrontation, but he does advise: do not accept ("*ne pryjmujte*") priests who have been ordained against the laws of

the Holy Fathers (“*pravyl svjatyx otec*”). In his eyes, Rome was Babylon and the king, insofar as he supported the Union, was Nebuchadnezzar. Salvation would come only if individuals preserved the old laws (*pravyla*). Regarding these and the lesser laws (*malen'ki pravyl'cja*), he wrote: “*Pravoslavnyje u malen'kyx pravylec' pry pravdi doma sydjat'; nexaj doma u malen'kyx pravylec' istyny šanujut', nexaj doma malen'kymy pravyl'cjamy sja spasajut', kotorymy . . . zapevne spasut'sja. Avy juž tam z velykymy Skaržynymy jako xočete tak sobi postupujete.*” (Let “the Orthodox faithful hold to these lesser laws at home; let them guard the truth at home in these lesser laws, let them be saved at home by these lesser laws by which their salvation is assured. And you out there with the great rules of Skarga act as it pleases yourself.”) This is not a philosophy of aggression, but of passive resistance.

5. Vyšens'kyj favors ancient times, the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel, and rejects “Aristotle and Plato,” favors Church Slavonic books and is against their being read in the vernacular. He makes similar demands of the schools: grammar, Greek or Slavic, he still recognizes, but beyond that he seeks to replace “fallacious dialectics” (“*lžyvaja dijalektyka*”) with the Breviary, logic and rhetoric with the “pious and prayer-like” Psalter (“*bohohodno-molebnyj psaltyr*”), philosophy with the *Octoechos* (*Os'mohlasnyk*). The lessons of the Gospels and the Apostle were to be taught by explanations which were simple rather than intricate (“*prosto a ne xytro*”). The philosophy taught was not to be that of Aristotle, the pagan teacher, but that of Peter and Paul, the teachers of the truth (“*Filosofija ne pohans'koho učytelja Arystotelja, ale pravoslavnyx Petra i Pavla*”). In later years he even devised a plan for the printing of a complete anthology (*sobornyk*) consisting exclusively of the words of Christ, the Apostles and the Holy Fathers, a plan which was partly realized 150 years later by P. Velyčkovs'kyj (see Chap. VII). It is not surprising that Vyšens'kyj, as is evident from his letters, arriving in Ukraine in the year 1605-1606, was rather unfavorably impressed by all the activity surrounding the cultural Westernization which was beginning at that time. And in one of his last works (using a concrete example), he openly rebukes those who lean toward Latin models. Admittedly, at the time this was written (before 1621) attempts were being made to have Vyšens'kyj revisit Ukraine, but it is unlikely that he would have been satisfied by the cultural conditions in his native land had he seen it even then.

6. In effect, the themes of spiritual culture are not as frequent in Vyšens'kyj as are the themes of external culture, those concerning life, and social conditions. The great change which the Renaissance wrought in the way of life in Poland is well known. This change also had an impact on the Ukrainian nobility and even on some of the clergy. The corruption of the Ukrainian clergy

before the Union is well known, but it is very possible that it was exaggerated in the polemics, and that specific cases have been generalized to include the clergy as a whole. (In Germany, for example, the corruption of the Catholic clergy, at the time of Luther and the Reformation, was already largely a thing of the past, but this did not prevent it from playing an important role in the literature of the Reformation.) In any case, it is only in his letter to the “runaway bishops” that Vyšens’kyj attacks the specific faults of particular people. In other letters he depicts the life of the clergy as a whole; it may have even been accurate for isolated cases, but isolated cases are not important for Vyšens’kyj: his picture was intended as a general one. And, as we see from some of his works, he is likewise incensed by the way of life of the laity, for his ideal was completely beyond the realm of the possible. Its logical extension could only have been a general monastic life for the whole of mankind. The unobjective, hyperbolic picture that Vyšens’kyj paints is unusually interesting from the literary point of view: it represents the first attempt in Ukrainian literature to depict the ways of life (*pobut*) of various social groups; the pictures are painted in vivid colors and with broad strokes. Such portions of Vyšens’kyj’s works are well known and often quoted. Consider the following example in which Vyšens’kyj defends a monk who does not know how to carry on a secular conversation because he does not understand worldly matters: “*o tyx mnohyx mysax, pivmyskax, prystavkax čornyx i šaryx, červonyx i bilyx juxax, i mnohyx skljanycjax i kelyškax, i vynax, muskateljax, malmazijax, aljakontax, revulax, medax, i pyvax rozmajityx*” (“those many dishes, side dishes, black and gray broths, red and white soups, the many glasses and goblets, the wines, muscatels, in Malvasia, Alicante, Rovigno wines, meads and various beers”). “*V statutax, konstitucijax, pravax, praktykax, svarax, . . . pomysla o žyvoti vičnim pidnjaty i vmistyty ne možet’ . . . V smixax, ruhannjax, prožnomovax, mnohomovstvax, kunstax, blaženstvax, šyderstvax . . . pomysla o žyvoti vičnim vydity nikoly sja ne spodobyt’ . . .*” (“In statutes, constitutions, laws, practical matters, arguments, . . . he could neither raise nor include any thoughts on life everlasting. . . . He will never be able to think about life everlasting amidst laughter, swearing, empty chatter, ramblings, jokes, buffoonery or mockery.”) Of course it is quite natural for Vyšens’kyj to blame the bishops: “*Lupyte i z humna stohy i oborohy voločyte. Sami z svojimy sluhovynamy prokormljujete onyx trud i pot kryvavyj, ležačy i sidjačy, smijučys’ i hrajučy požyrajete, horilky prepuščanyje kuryte, pyvo trojakoje prevyboroje varyte i v propast’ nenasytnoho čreva vlyvajete. . . Vy jix pota mišky povni–hrišmy, zlotymy, taljaramy, pivtaljaramy, orty, četvertaky i potrijnyky napyxajete, sumy dokladajete v škatulax . . . A tije bidnyci šeljuha, za ščo soly kupyty, ne majut’ . . . Tije xlopy z odnoje mysočky polyvku*

*al'bo borščyk xlebčjut', a my predsja do kil'kodesjat' pivmyskiv rozmajitymy smakamy ufarbovanyx požyrajem.*" ("You flay and drag bundles and stacks of hay from the barnyard. You feed yourselves and your servants at the price of their labor and bloody sweat; lying down and sitting, laughing and playing you gorge yourselves, distill filtered alcohol, brew select beer of three different kinds and ensure perdition as you pour it into an insatiable belly. . . . Your sacks are filled with their sweat—with money, gold pieces, thalers, half-thalers, *ortas*, quarters, and thirds you fill them, always adding more to your cash box. . . . And those poor bending souls do not even have enough to buy salt with. . . . Those fellows drink up their soup or *boršč* from a single dish, while we devour tens of courses seasoned with various flavors.") Numerous similar instances have been viewed as "social protest"—whereas in truth they represent a Christian-ascetic protest, directed not against any specific form of oppression, but against all contemporary society and culture. Vyšens'kyj only rarely mentions spiritual culture, but for him it is synonymous with "malmsey" and "side-dishes"; he is likewise opposed to the "constitution," to "comedies," and even to carols (*koljady* and *ščedrivyky*)! All this, together with logic, rhetoric, Plato and Aristotle, lies beyond the bounds of ascetic monastic culture.

7. Vyšens'kyj expresses his views on the "world" in the most general and fundamental form in *The Unmasking of the Devil, the Ruler of the World*, a dialogue between the Devil and a naked pilgrim ("*holjak i strannyk*"), who represents Vyšens'kyj himself. This is a parallel of sorts to Comenius' *The Labyrinth of the World*, except that Vyšens'kyj does not depict all facets of secular life, limiting himself to those which place the reader in Christ's position when he was tempted by the Devil. From the words of the Devil it appears that he is the omnipotent lord over all spheres of earthly life. "*Dam mylosty nynižneho vika, slavu, roskiš i bohatstvo . . . Jesly xočeš byty preložonym [duxovnym] . . . ot mene iščy i mni uhody, a Boha zanedbaj . . . a ja skoro tobi dam. Jesli xočeš byskupom byty pad poklony my sja . . . Jesly xočeš papežem byty—pad poklony my sja, ja tobi dam . . . Jesly xočeš vijs'kym, pidkomorym ili sudijeju byty . . . budy doskonalyj uhodnyk muj, ja tobi dam. Jesly xočeš hetmanom ili kanclerom byty. Jesly xočeš korolem byty obiščajsja mni na ofiru v hejenu vičnuju, ja tobi i korolevstvo dam . . . Jesly xočeš xytrcem, majstrom, remesnykom rukodil'nym byty i druhyx vymyslom prevozyjty, čym by jesy i od susid proslavyvsja i hrošyky sobraty mih, pad poklony my sja, ja tebe upremudrju, nauču, nastavlju i v doskonalist' tvojego prahnennja mysl' tvoju pryvedu. Jesly xočeš poxoty tilesnoji nasytytysja i hospodarem domu, dreva i zemli šmata nazvtysja, pad poklony my sja, ja tvoju volju ispolnju, ja tobi ženu pryvedu, xatu dam, zemlju daruju . . . tol'ko pojiščy, poprahny i mni sja*

*poklony, vsja syja az tobi dam.*” (“I will give you all the favors of today’s world: honor, luxury, and wealth. . . . If you want to be cleric of superior rank . . . seek this from me, be pleasing to me and neglect God, . . . I will grant this to you quickly. If you want to be a bishop, fall down on your knees before me. . . . If you want to be a pope, fall down on your knees before me, and I will grant it. . . . If you want to be a warrior, a chamberlain, or a judge, fall down on your knees before me and I will grant it. . . . If you want to be a hetman or a chancellor . . . , serve me willingly and effectively, and I will grant it. If you want to be a king, promise yourself to me as an offering for eternal Gehenna, and the kingship will be yours. . . . If you want to be a cunning person, a skilled man, a master of handicrafts and want to surpass others with your skills which would make you famous among your neighbors and would enable you to collect your money, fall down on your knees before me and I will make you all-knowing, I will teach you, direct you and will bring you to perfection in whatever field you choose. If you wish to satisfy bodily pleasures and be called the master of the house, woods and land, fall down on your knees before me and I will fulfill your wish, I will bring you a wife, give you a house, present you with land . . . you have only to seek, desire and fall down before me, and I will grant you all of this.”) The “Pilgrim” responds to the Devil on behalf of all mankind: “. . . Što za požytok z toho darovannja, koly od tebe, dyjavola, za hordist’ z nebesa na dil zverženoho, toje dostojinstvo pryjmu, a ne od nebesnoho Boha? . . . Što ž za požytok z toje vlasty pastyrs’koho, koly ja rab, nevil’nyk i vjazen’ vičnyj hrixovi jesm’, za kotoryj v hejenu vičnuju otydu? . . . Što ž my za požytok z toje maloji roskošy, koly ja voviky v ohni pečysja i smažytysja budu? . . . Što z my za požytok z toho svojego myrs’koho tytulu, koly ja carstva nebesnoho tytul pohublju? Što ž my za požytok z toho . . . korolevstva, kanclerstva al’bo vojevodstva, koly ja synovstvo božije straču, bezsmertnyj tytul? . . . Što ž my za požytok z slavy i česty susidskoho, koly ja v lyku . . . dobre Bohu uhodyvšyx slavytysja ne budu? Što ž my za požytok z mnohyx fol’varkiv i ozdob domku, koly ja krasnyx dvoriv hornoho Ijerusalyma ne uzrju . . . Što ž my za požytok z toje ženy, koly ja Xrysta, ženyx [v] svojeji ložnyci serdečnij pryšedšeho uspokojtysja i spočynuty, vydity ne mohu? . . . Što ž za požytok z toje maloji zemlyci i hruntuku, koly storyčnoji zaplady rečennoji Xrystom v carstvi nebesnim za ostavlenije syx ne pryjmu i žyvota vičnoho naslidnykom i didyčem byty ne mohu? . . . Preto da znaješ, dyjavoľe, jak ja od tebe žony, domu, zemli dočasnoji ne prahnu, tobi poklonytysja ne choču. Hospodu Bohu . . . poklonjusja i tomu jedynomy poslužu.” (“Of what advantage are your gifts if by accepting these honors from you, the Devil who was thrown out of heaven for your pride, I must reject those from God who is in heaven? . . . Of what advantage are those

pastoral powers if I myself become a servant, a slave, a perpetual prisoner of sin, for which I will be condemned to Gehenna forever? . . . Of what advantage are those small pleasures, if I will have to bake and fry in the fires forever? . . . Of what advantage are worldly titles if I lose my title to the heavenly kingdom? Of what use the kingship, chancellorship, or command if I lose my filial ties to God, my eternal title? . . . Of what use glory and honor among my neighbors, if I am not glorified among those who have pleased God? Of what use the many manorial and household decorations, if I will not see the beautiful courtyards of heavenly Jerusalem. . . . Of what advantage that wife if I will not be able to see Christ, the bridegroom come, in the chamber of my heart, to calm and rest himself there? . . . Of what benefit that small bit of land, of earth, if I do not receive rewards a hundredfold in the kingdom of heaven promised by Christ to those who foresake all these, and if I cannot be the heir, the inheritor of life everlasting? Furthermore, O Satan, know that I desire from you neither wife, nor home, nor temporal lands, and will not fall down on my knees before you. I will fall down on my knees before the Lord God . . . Him alone will I serve.”)

To be a pilgrim (“*strannyk*,” “*pel'grym*”—words which Vyšens'kyj uses frequently) is a Christian's only possible attitude to the world. Vyšens'kyj would like to say of himself as did Skovoroda: “*Svit mene lovyv, ale ne spijmav*” (“The world tried to catch me but did not succeed”). For, in Vyšens'kyj's opinion, the world was not only in sin (“*v hrisi ležyt*”), but was also totally within the domain of the Devil. This brief dialogue expresses most vividly Vyšens'kyj's attitude to the “world” and all secular culture in general.

8. There is no doubt that Vyšens'kyj highly cherished the Christian ideal. This is best seen in his attitude to his neighbors, likewise interpreted as a “social protest.” Vyšens'kyj, however, does not demand some sort of rights, “statutes,” for the lower classes, but a Christian brotherhood encompassing all mankind: “*Dobre, nexaj budet' xlop, kožemjaka, sidel'nyk i švec! Ale vspomjanite, jako brat vam rivnyj u vsim jest*. . . *Dlja toho, iž vo jedyno treipostasnoje božestvo i odnym sposobom z vamy sja krestyv*. . . *I odnoju pečatiju Duxa Svjatoho na xrystijanstvo zapečatan jest*” (“Fine, let there be a peasant, a tanner, a saddlemaker and a shoemaker. But remember that your brother is equal to you in all things. . . . For this reason, there is only one God, although in three persons, who was baptized in the same manner as were you. . . . And who is likewise sealed in Christianity by the stamp of the Holy Ghost”). While it is true that Vyšens'kyj wishes to eliminate existing social differences, he wants to establish other new ones: “*Podvihom i viroju dil'noju možet' byt' kožemjaka od vas lipšyj i cnotlyvijšyj*. . . *Daleko xlop od šljaxyčča roznist' majet*. *Xto ž jest' xlop i nevil'nyk? Til'ko toj, kotrij myru semu jako mužyk, jako najmanec', jak*

*nevil'nyk služyt'.*" "Xto ž jest' šljaxyč? Tot kotorij z nevoli myrs'koj k Bohu vernet' i svyše sja od Duxa Svjatoho porodyt'" ("Through his effort and by means of an ardent faith the tanner can be better and more valuable than you. A peasant is very different from a nobleman. Who then is a peasant and a slave? Only he who serves this life like a muzhik, like a servant, like a slave. . . . Who then is a nobleman? He who returns to God from the prison of the world and is reborn again from the Holy Ghost").

The only path to God in Vyšens'kyj's view is an inner or spiritual one; it is a mystical path, a path of self-purification and self-enlightenment, a path the Hesychasts of Mt. Athos had rediscovered from the traditions of the ancient mystics: the mystic, "*svoje načinnja dušenosnoje očystyv . . . i tot sosud duševnyj sl'ozamy pomyv; postom, molytvoju, skorbmy, bidamy, trudom i podvyhom vyžeh, vypik i vypolerovav, i novoje čystoje nasinnja bohoslovija posijav*" ("cleaned the vessels of his spirituality . . . and washed these spiritual dishes with his tears; he heated it, baked it and polished it through fasting, prayers, humility, poverty, hard work and good deeds, and planted it with new and clean divine seeds"). Purification leads to "*osvěščenija uma ot' kotoroho sja i tělo světit', . . . za kotorym' idet' v' dospěvšyx' neizrečennaja radost', utěxa, myr, slava, lykovanie i toržestvo neizrečennaja so anhely*" ("the enlightenment of the mind by which the body is also enlightened . . . which is followed by radiant and unspeakable joy, happiness, peace, glory, rejoicing and undescribable celebrating with the angels"). There is no doubt that in Vyšens'kyj's view, the ideal type of person was one who had reached this stage of "maturity," i.e., a mystic.

"Social injustice" and "worldly teaching" are the two obstacles on the road to inner perfection and it is for this reason that Vyšens'kyj fights against them. In any case, it would be unjust to depict him simply as a social radical and a cultural reactionary: both his "radicalism" and his "reactionary" tendencies have as their source a singularly important motive—mystical asceticism.

9. In citing passages from Vyšens'kyj for the purpose of pointing out the characteristic features of his world view, we were able to present at the same time material which was typical of his style. It is the same rhetorical style as that of his fellow polemicists. In Vyšens'kyj, however, there is much more ornamentation: he clusters epithets, comparisons, questions, exclamations. His linguistic artistry is so great, however, that these accumulations do not create an unfavorable impression. Vyšens'kyj's nouns and verbs are always weighty, colorful, and saturated with meaning. His language is unusually close to the vernacular. It has already been pointed out that this rhetorical style is in the tradition of the religious literature of the Renaissance. However, Vyšens'kyj's works also

resemble those of certain Polish writers—Rej, Wujek, and Skarga. Some passages are even reminiscent of the writings of the Czech Protestant, Havel Žalanský; even more frequent are those passages which are stylistically related to the works of Comenius. There remains only one question: how could Vyšens'kyj, who completely rejected all that was modern, especially secular education, become so concerned with the spirit of his time, come so close to the rhetorical style of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Baroque? For he states quite explicitly: “*A latynoju zo vsim na vsim ostavymo . . . Ni jix nauky . . . slušajmo! Nyže jix xytrosty na naše . . . polerovanije učymsja! . . . My že budem pered očyma jix po evanheliju—prosti, hlupi, nezlobyvi! Dosyt' nam spasty nas samyx!*” (“But we will abandon Latin in everything and for everything. . . . Nor will we listen . . . to their teachings! Nor will we learn their cunning for our . . . advancement . . . For before their eyes we will be as [described] in the Gospel—simple, ignorant and meek! It is enough for us that we save ourselves!”).

The spirit of the times overwhelmed Vyšens'kyj as a stylist. But he remains one of the best examples of the fact that a genius can rise above the limitations of his epoch, its stylistic limitations, and his own limited world view, for in his magnificent style, his originality, his combinations of the ponderous and the light, he comes very close to the best examples of Baroque style which did not become dominant until almost the end of Vyšens'kyj's life.

10. Completely unsuccessful and built on misconceptions are the recent attempts to compare Vyšens'kyj and the Russian Avvakum. The only similarity between them is the originality of their language. But, whereas in Avvakum this originality takes him beyond the bounds of religious problems to the question of his own personal tragedy, Vyšens'kyj's is a bold attempt to speak about deep theological questions in a “simple language” and we must acknowledge that he was highly successful in what he attempted to accomplish. Avvakum's theological sermons (we are not speaking of his “autobiography”), on the other hand, only demonstrate his complete lack of understanding of theological problems. Vyšens'kyj's linguistic talents led him to develop a new literary style—Baroque; Avvakum's language (perhaps “unfortunately”) led Russian literature nowhere, and remained only a useless offshoot in the development of Russian literary language.

### C. LITERARY BAROQUE IN UKRAINE

1. The Literary Baroque in Ukraine is a phenomenon of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Baroque plastic arts were sometimes designated as “Cossack Baroque” but such a term is misleading, for the Cossacks were by no

means the only culturally productive group in Ukraine at that time. There is even less ground for referring to the Literary Baroque as "Cossack": Ukrainian writers of those times were, in the main, not Cossacks but monks, and the principal consumers of literature were by no means the Cossacks. In Ukraine, the Baroque was not the universal phenomenon it was in the West, for in it we see the heavy dominance of religious elements over secular ones. A greater dominance of this type can perhaps only be found among the Czechs. Secular elements are not totally absent: there are secular lyrics, and novellas, and occasional secular elements in drama. Finally, there are secular chronicles, letters, and scientific tracts. But "religious" elements are the dominant elements of content. Completely absent are treatises on natural science which were so characteristic of the Baroque in general: at first there was simply no institution (of higher learning) which would foster this type of literature, and later (in the eighteenth century), Ukrainian natural scientists were able to find receptive ground only in foreign (Russian) scholarly literature.

2. Ukrainian and foreign elements in Ukrainian Baroque literature merge into not entirely usual forms. Ukraine, as we saw, did not possess a distinctive or characteristic Renaissance literature. As a result, the penetration into literature of secular elements, especially familiarity with classical antiquity, was still underway in the Baroque era and was never transformed into a struggle, or a revolution against Church tradition. The culture of antiquity did not come to Ukraine until after its reconciliation with Christianity, in the form of the Baroque synthesis of the Christian and the mythological. For this reason, slowly but relentlessly, the use of mythological images spread: religious lyrics are protected by the ancient "Muse," the Blessed Virgin becomes "Diana," the cross is compared to Neptune's trident, Amor and Cupid appear in mystical treatises, etc. The Baroque was established on Ukrainian territory without any great literary struggle and took root like a new plant on fruitful soil. The only person who might have fought against the Baroque, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, was actually very close to the Baroque in his literary style (see above), and was therefore quite likely instrumental in its success. Vyšens'kyj, however, would have never accepted "syncretism," the merging of Christianity and antiquity.

3. When did the Ukrainian Baroque begin? This is a complicated question not only for Ukraine: having begun in southern Europe around the middle of the sixteenth century, the Baroque was only able to slowly supplant the traditions of the Renaissance in some countries. In Ukraine, the first writer in whom we see signs of the Baroque style is Ivan Vyšens'kyj: his long digressions, accumulation of parallelisms, bold contrasts, his oratorical, or rather, his prophetic style, the almost unbelievable accumulation of formal embellishments (which never

obstruct nor detract from the content) would justify the inclusion of his works in the literature of the Baroque, if only the sources of his style had been different: but his sources are the Scripture and the Church Fathers, and perhaps most of all, *Chrysostom*. It is true that Vyšens'kyj may have already been familiar with the Baroque style from Polish polemical literature and may have been influenced by it. However, his ideology is also foreign to the Baroque: he did not wish to synthesize the valuable elements of the Renaissance with old traditions, but rather to return to pure tradition. The curious example of Vyšens'kyj's "baroqueness" before the Baroque, however, characterizes the affinity of the Baroque and the Ukrainian religious style; similarly typical is the "baroqueness" of the haughty "late Byzantine" style of some of the pages of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.

The real beginning of the Baroque comes with Meletij Smotryc'kyj, the sermons, and in part the poems of Kyrylo Trankvillion Stavrovec'kyj; and the triumph of Baroque with the founding of the Kievan Academy. The cultural-political accomplishments which played a significant part in the history of Ukrainian Baroque literature were the following: the reestablishment of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1610, and the founding of the Kievan Academy in 1615 and its reforms which were carried out by Mohyla (1644), and by Mazepa (1694). The new hierarchy and the professors of the Academy were the main representatives of the Baroque.

The Baroque, which began unnoticed and developed quite slowly, dominated the Ukrainian literary scene for an unusually long period of time and was unusually tenacious. Almost throughout the entire eighteenth century, Ukrainian schools of higher learning taught Baroque poetics, and nurtured Baroque poetry. Almost never overstepping the bounds of tradition (though he effected some decisive reforms regarding specific questions) was H. Skovoroda, the last great writer of the Baroque era. With him, the flame of Baroque literature not only burned more brightly, but reached the peak of its intensity and burned itself out completely. It died out at the same time as did the literary language of the Baroque: in its place came the native language (vernacular).

In some countries, the final period of the Baroque era created a style of its own, "Rococo." This courtly style, light and gracious, although at the same time playful and frivolous, did not develop in Ukraine, for in the middle of the eighteenth century there was no court in Ukraine and the noblemen who were fashion-conscious became greatly Russified. Only in the north, at the Court of Empress Elizabeth, was there an attempt to develop a Ukrainian Rococo, which was only reflected in some Ukrainian lyric poetry, in the rewriting of some folk poetry, and the musical rendering of others. A few attempts at original creations

were made, but they had neither literary pretensions nor literary significance.

4. The Ukrainian Baroque, like the era of Romanticism, was a time of borrowing not only from contemporary works, but from old ones as well. Writers sought out what had been neglected for centuries. Translations of literature dating from the Middle Ages, and even works of the fathers of the Church in new linguistic attire, arrived in Ukraine at this time. This is typical of periods of literary flowering; it was in this way that Shakespeare was later brought to Ukraine by the Romantics and the Realists. And just as the Romantics and Realists perceived Shakespeare in their own way, so also did the era of the Baroque perceive the works of olden times. Just how the people of the Baroque viewed these old works has not yet been established.

5. The Baroque changed and developed in the relatively brief period of its existence: from its beginnings through high Baroque (which was given various names in various countries, usually according to the most outstanding representatives of its style—Gongorism, Marinism, etc.), and finally, to Rococo. In Ukraine, the change was neither as decisive nor as noticeable. Some time after 1680, Ukrainian literature experienced a period in which the style was unusually flowery, overburdened with formal decorative elements (I. Velyčkovs'kyj, Stefan Javors'kyj), but there was no lack of representatives of the more moderate school and, what is most important, religious writers approached the literary radicalism of the secular poets only in exceptional cases. There followed a politically instigated decline which rarely favors literary radicalism.

On the other hand, the poetics of the Ukrainian Baroque did sustain certain rather radical reforms, notably those made by Skovoroda; however, Skovoroda's reforms had not yet taken root by the time the Baroque period came to an end.

6. Ukrainian Baroque literature did not develop the great variety of genres associated with the Baroque in other countries: circumstances hindered the development of many genres, notably secular ones. An especially significant factor was the difficulty of getting certain types of works printed: for this reason there were no long novels, for they were not suitable for distribution in handwritten copies and almost no epics, not even in translation (for exceptions, see below). We have, then, the following genres to discuss: 1) lyrics, 2) epics, 3) tales, 4) dramas, 5) sermons, 6) chronicles, 7) treatises. Some genres, however, found widespread popularity and were developed extensively.

Much of Baroque literature in Ukraine is still somewhat unfamiliar to us, although we are acquainted with a relatively large number of authors. There remain many writers about whom we know nothing or very little more than their names.

7. A very interesting problem is presented by the language of Ukrainian

Baroque literature. It remains fundamentally Slavonic, as in the previous period, but having absorbed a large number of elements of the vernacular language of the people, it did not function according to any set norms. For this reason we find many deviations—sometimes towards the vernacular language, sometimes towards Polish, sometimes—only in the eighteenth century and then only rarely—towards Russian, sometimes towards elements of the Church Slavonic. The language varies with the genre of the work or even within a particular genre—one part to another: e.g., in certain dramatic scenes, the language approaches the vernacular. A similar tendency can be found in humorous songs, whereas the tendency towards Polish is characteristic of works originating in the circles of the nobility (e.g., “emblematic verse”). Some forms foreign to the Ukrainian language became the standard in cases where the Ukrainian form did not seem logical; for example, the Polish model for the use of the past tense of the verb was adopted (*pysalem, pysales'*, etc.), and probably became widespread because it seemed clearer and more logical a form than *pysav*, which had replaced the old forms (*pisal'' esm'*, *pisal'' esy*, etc.). There are other similar examples. But the Ukrainian language always differed greatly from the Muscovite type of Church Slavonic, so that “translation” from one language to the other became ever more frequent as did the “revision” of Ukrainian texts which came to be printed in Moscow. (This ruined many Ukrainian works of the Baroque period which were printed only in Moscow.) A closer relationship between Ukrainian and Russian did develop in the eighteenth century—when the Russian language was influenced by Ukrainian: the number of Ukrainians among the translators (even in the seventeenth century) in government, in ecclesiastical positions, and later in the universities was so significant, that many Ukrainian elements found their way into Russian bureaucratic court and educational terminology, and finally even into scientific vocabulary. There might well have been an element of national self-preservation in the fact that Kotljarev's'kyj completely rejected the traditions of old (Baroque) Ukrainian to which Russian had become so similar, and began to create a new literary language on an entirely new base—the vernacular. This marked the end of Baroque literature, which had outlived its time, and the beginning of a new epoch in Ukrainian literature.

#### D. VERSE POETRY

1. Old Ukrainian poetry was later forgotten, more than likely because of its “outdated” language, but also because of the verse form it used. As we saw (Ch. VI, pt. G), versification began in Ukraine immediately before the Baroque period. Under the influence of Polish verse, Ukrainian verse adopted in Baroque

times the “syllabic” form, in which the rhythm of the verse derived from the set number of syllables in a line; each line ended with a feminine rhyme, as also in the Polish, i.e., with the stress on the penultimate syllable. Only as an exception were masculine rhymes (with the stress on the last syllable) and dactylic rhymes (with the stress on the third syllable from the end) permitted.

Consider the following example of syllabic verse. The theme is one of the favorite Baroque themes, death—the lines concern Sahajdačnyj’s funeral:

*Koždyj, kto sja urodyv, musyt' i umerety,  
 Žaden sja čolovik smerty ne možet' operety.  
 Nemaš na nju likarstva, nemaš i oborony;  
 Z samyx carej zdyraket' svitnyji jix korony,  
 Ne bojit' sja žovnistva, vkruh carja stojačóho  
 Z oružijem i stril'boju, jeho vartujučóho . . .*

*Žyješ tak, jakobys' nihdy ne miv umerety,  
 Xočeš vsi bahatstva na zemli požerety,  
 V čim slavy porožnej na tom sviti sukaješ,  
 A že maješ vmerety, na to ne pamjataješ.*

(“Everyone who is born must also die,/ No man can avoid death./ There is no medicine against it, no manner of defense;/ Even tsars lose their glorious crowns to it,/ It is not afraid of the soldiers standing around the tsar/ Protecting him with munitions and arms. . . ./ . . . You live as though you had never to die anywhere,/ You want to devour all the wealth of the earth,/ That which you seek on earth is only vain glory,/ But that you must die, this you forget.”)

Or another poem on the same theme by monk Klementij:

*Ubohyj vmyrajučy ni v čim ne žalijet',  
 ničoho bo žalovat', že skarbov ne mijet'.  
 Bohatyj že ne xočet' z skarbom rozlučyty:  
 gdy by moščno, miš by uves' skarb v trunu vložyty.  
 Bo gdy vlastel, to vspomnyt' svij vysokyj tytúl,  
 i pred konannjem mnoho z skarbom uzryt' škátúl,*

*I mnohocinnyx mnoho vysjaščyx sukmaniv,  
i sribjanyx na stolax stojaščyx dzbaniv,  
I uzryt', že mladaja žona pred nym xodyt',  
taja hirš do kripkoho žalju pryvodyt' . . .*

(“The poor man regrets nothing when he dies/ he has nothing to regret since he has no wealth./ The rich man does not want to part with his riches:/ if it were possible, he would want to put all his wealth in his coffin./ For wherever there is a landowner, he remembers his high title,/ and before death he will see his many coffers of wealth,/ And his many priceless robes,/ and the silver jugs on the tables,/ And will see his young wife walking before him,/ and this will bring him deeper regrets. . . .”)

The lines of a syllabic poem need not always be of identical length; Ukrainian Baroque poets created many stanza forms based on lines of various lengths; e.g.,

*Smotry, čoloviče, i užasajsja,  
Každyj hodyny smerty spodivajsja,  
Xodyt' bo tajno, nahljadajet',  
I dil' tvoji rozsmotrjajet',  
Kak by ty žyv.*

*Ne zryt' na proz'bu ani na dary.  
Jak tja, čoloviče, viz'mut' na mary,  
Mynut' mysly i rozkoši,  
Ščo jesy zbyrav.*

(“Look, man, and beware,/ Expect death at any hour,/ For it stalks secretly and watches,/ And observes what you are doing,/ And how you might be living.

It does not look at pleas or gifts,/ When you, man, are put on a funeral hearse,/ The thoughts and pleasures will pass,/ Which you enjoyed.”)

Ukrainian poets make use of approximately 150 different strophic forms.

Side by side with syllabic verse, we sometimes find a type of verse close to folk tradition and similar to that of the *duma*, with its lines of uneven length. Kyrilo Trankvillion Stavrovec'kyj generally used this kind of verse; sometimes we come across it later as well—even St. Dmytro Tuptalo wrote his “personal” verses in this metre. Stavrovec'kyj treats the theme of death in the following way:

*De moji nyini zamky koštovne murovanyji  
i palacy moji svitne i slične maľovanyji,  
a škatuly, zlotom nafasovanyji,  
viznyky pid zlotom cugovanyji?  
De moji presvitlyji zlatotkannyji šaty,  
rysi, sobole sličnyji, karmazyny i dorohyji škarlaty?*

*Včora v domu mojim bylo hojne vesillja, muzykiv ihrannja,  
a spivakiv veseloje spivannja,  
i na trubax midnyx vykrykannja,  
skoki, tanci, veseloje pljasannja;  
vyna nalyvaj,  
vypyvaj, prolyvaj!  
Stoly moji koštovnymy sladkymy pokarmy pokrytyji,  
hosti moji pryjатели persony znamenatyji.  
A nyini mene vse dobroje i veseloje mynulo,  
Slava i bahatstvo naviky uplynulo.*

*De nyini vojinove hordlyvyji  
i mučyteli nevynnyx zloslyvyji?  
De s(t)rohyji i strašnyji het'manove?  
Nespodivane smertnym mečem posičeni  
i bez pam'jaty vo t'mi nyini zaključeni.*

*O smerty strašlyvaja  
i nežaloslyvaja!  
Ty, jako kosar nyini nerozsudnyj,*

*pid nohy svoji kladeš cvit barzo cudnyj,  
molodosty i krasoty žalovaty ne znaješ,  
ani na jedynim z tyx mylosty ne maješ . . .*

(“Where are my fortresses now, fortified at such expense/ and my palaces magnificently and wonderfully decorated,/ and the coffers full of gold,/ the coachmen teamed together in gold?/ Where are my most dazzling gold-trimmed garments,/ my lynxes, beautiful sables and expensive crimson robes?/ . . . Yesterday in my home there was a lavish wedding feast, with music playing,/ singers merrily singing,/ brass horns blaring,/ people jumping, dancing, clapping joyously;/ pour the wine,/ drink it, spill it!/ My tables were covered with expensive but sweet dishes,/ my guests and friends were famous personages./ Yet today all these good and happy things have passed from me,/ Glory and wealth are gone forever./ . . . Where are those proud warriors now/ and those wicked torturers of the innocent?/ Where are the strict and awesome hetmans?/ They were cut down by the unexpected sword of death/ and are now locked in obscurity and forgotten./ . . . O death, terrible/ and unmerciful!/ You act today like a hay-cutter lacking judgment,/ you let lovely flowers fall under your feet/ you have no pity for youth or beauty,/ nor do you show kindness toward any of these.”)

Only rarely were poems ever published; they were generally copied by admirers—religious or secular. Occasionally this resulted in large hand-written collections. Ukrainian verse spread not only to the very borders of the Ukrainian lands but even beyond to Polish and Russian readers. Only small collections dedicated to specific persons or events (e.g., Sahajdačnyj’s funeral) were published; but by the end of the seventeenth century, some of the better poets had published large collections. In the eighteenth century, a religious songbook, *Bohohlasnyk*, an interesting collection of religious lyrics of the Ukrainian Uniates, appeared in print.

Baroque writers often sought to “cycle” their poems, to put them in definite groups united by some inner elements, one of the latest and most

interesting collections being Skovoroda's *Sad božestvennyx pěsnej* (*Garden of Divine Songs*).

2. The religious song is the most frequently found type of Ukrainian Baroque verse. It assumes various shapes: we find here Christmas and Easter hymns, numerous songs about the Blessed Virgin, songs about particular holy days, about icons and miracles, songs dedicated to particular saints, etc. Besides these prayer-like songs and hymns we also find subjective religious lyrics: songs of "contrition," songs about death and about the Last Judgment.

The style of these religious songs varies greatly: from the hymn or ode to the Baroque grotesque song, a semi-parody which sought the most original expressions and often approximated the folk song.

Let us examine the various styles of Christmas songs:

*Vyflijeme hrade, hojne veselysja,  
Caru slavy myle svomu poklonysja!  
Vitaj, Caru, naroždenij  
i v jaslex položenij.*

*Pivci hučno, vdjačne pisni začynajte,  
Vysočajšym hlasom Pana pryvitajte!  
Vitaj, Caru . . .*

*Oraz vse stvorinnja do Tvorcja spišysja,  
Jedynomu Panu slušne poklonysja!  
Vitaj, Caru . . .*

("O town of Bethlehem, rejoice lavishly,/ Bow down kindly before your King of Glory!/ Welcome, newborn King,/ lying in a manger./ . . . Singers, loudly strike up your songs of thanksgiving,/ Greet the Lord with voices most high!/ Welcome, King. . ./ All creatures hurry at once to the Creator,/ To pay homage to their only Lord!/ Welcome, King. . .")

Or (Skovoroda's translation from the Latin):

*O noč' nova, dyvna, čudna,  
jasnujšaja svitla poludnja,  
kohda črez mrak temnij, černij*

*blysnuv soncja svit nevečernij.  
Veselytesja, jako z namy Boh!*

*Tam pid Vyflyjems'kym hradom  
pastuxy, pasušče stado,  
vsix pervije vist' pryjmljut',  
ščo k nam pryjde Xrystos na zemlju,  
črez angeliv, jako z namy Boh! . . .*

("O wondrous, strange, new night,/ brighter than the  
noonday sun,/ as when through the dark black fog/  
the bright rays of the sun broke through./ Rejoice,  
for God is with us!/ . . . Not far from the town of  
Bethlehem/ shepherds minding their flocks,/ are  
the first to receive the news from the angels,/ that  
Christ will come to us on earth,/ for God is with  
us! . . .")

Alongside these odes we find original pseudo-Baroque ones:

*Soberitesja, vsi čoloviky,  
na trijumf nyni, angeliv lyky,  
spivajušče veselo  
vyskakujte navkolo:  
hoc, hoc, hoc, hoc, hoc, hoc, hoc, hoc!*

*Bo nam Marija, Diva Prečysta,  
v ubohij šopi zrodyla Xrysta,  
kotoromu xot' v bidi  
hraet' Hryc'ko na dudi:  
hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, hu!*

*Havrylo staryj zlovyv barana,  
uzjavšy na pleč'i, zanis do Pana,  
na koljadu darujet'  
i v nohy cilujet':  
cmok, cmok, cmok, cmok, cmok, cmok,  
cmok, cmok!*

*Marija Diva sja prytuljajet',  
 aby ne zmerzlo, Dytja vkryvajet',  
 prytyskajet', prytuljajet',  
 peljuškamy obvyvajet':  
 lju, lju, lju, lju, lju, lju, lju, lju, lju!*

*A u bydljatok osel iz volom  
 stojaly v jaslex, xuxaly spolom,  
 ohrivaly Dytjatko,  
 nevynnoje Jahnjatko:  
 xu, xu, xu, xu, xu, xu, xu, xu, xu!*

("All men join together,/ rejoice today, hosts of angels/  
 are singing joyously,/ dance around:/ hop, hop, . . . !/  
 For our sake, Mary, the Blessed Virgin,/ brought forth  
 Christ in a poor stable,/ Hryc'ko plays on his pipe for  
 Him despite his poverty:/ toot, toot, . . . !/ . . . Old  
 Havrylo caught a sheep,/ and, placing it on his shoul-  
 ders, took it to the Lord,/ offering it to Him as a gift/  
 and kissing His feet:/ smack, smack, . . . !/ . . . The  
 Virgin Mary draws Him closer,/ covers the Child so  
 that He does not feel the cold,/ presses Him close,  
 draws Him near,/ covers Him with swaddling  
 clothes:/ lulla, lulla, . . . lullabye!/ Among the calves,  
 a donkey and an ox,/ stand in the manger, breathing  
 together,/ warming the Child,/ the innocent Lamb:/  
 whoo, whoo, . . . !")

There are thirteen such verses, each of which is also aptly "instrumentalized" (similar games can be found in German Christmas songs). There are also semi-parodies in the vernacular:

*Anhely svjatyji  
 dnes' dajut' znaty,  
 bo ššly pastyri  
 Boha vitaty.*

*A berehamy  
 Kas'jan lanamy  
 viz pyva bočku  
 tomu Otročku.*

*Savka z Jakymom  
z svojim pobratymom  
skoro pribihaly,  
zaraz zaspivaly.*

*Pylyp z Makarom  
pryjšov iz darom,  
pred Bohom staly  
i kurku daly.*

*Tuš iz Xomoju  
polonynuju,  
a Stax z Borysom  
pribihly lisom.*

*Usi pekari,  
molodi, stari,  
bižut' z orači,  
nesut' kolači.*

*A Marko ledom  
prybih iz medom,  
prudko stupajet'  
i vsix vitajet'.*

*Hraj že ty mylo  
v dudky, Kyrylo,  
a ty, Matviju,  
hraj v žolomiju.*

("The holy angels today tell the shepherds to go to greet God. . . . Savka and Jakym, his close friends, come quickly, immediately strike up a song. . . . Tuš and Xoma come over the high plain, Stax and Borys through the woods. And Marko runs over the ice with some honey; he moves smartly and greets everyone! And along the banks through the grainfields Kas'jan comes bringing a barrel of beer for this Child. . . . Pylyp and Makar come with a gift, stand before God, and offer a chicken. . . . All the bakers, young and old, come running with the plowmen carrying braided loaves. Play pleasingly on your flute, Kyrylo, and you, Matvij, play on your reed pipe!")

We need not be surprised that some of these songs became folk songs; even poems in the high style became part of the repertoire of *lirnyky* (lyre players).

3. Secular Baroque verse is much more varied thematically. Here we find melancholic lyric verse which is similar to the religious, erotic lyrics (ranging from melancholic to obscene), and political lyrics.

The themes of melancholic lyrics are the traditional "eternal" themes found in all lyrics—a longing for happiness and youth, complaints about one's fate. Occasionally personal notes are sounded amidst the philosophical reflections. Most characteristic are the various "worldly songs."

*A xto na sviti bez doli vrodyt'sja,  
Tomu svit marne, jak kolo, točyt'sja.  
Lita marne plynut', jak bystryji riky,  
Časy molodiji, jak z došču potiky.  
Vse to marne minjajet'.*

*Lipše by sja bylo nihdy ne rodyty.  
Nižly mizernomu na sim sviti žyty.  
Al'bo, vrodyvšysja, skoro v zemli hnyty,  
Ščoby bezdol'nomu na sviti ne žyty.  
Nexaj žalju ne bude!*

*Ej, dole ž moja, de ty v toj čas byla,  
Koly moja maty mene porodyla?  
Koly b meni kryla orloviji mity,  
Poletiv bym doli svojejij hljadity  
Na čužyji storony.*

("And for him on earth who is born without good fate./ The world is to no purpose, and he turns around senselessly like a wheel./ Vain years flow past like quick moving rivers./ Youthful days like rivulets of rain./ Everything passes in vain./ It would have been better never to have been born./ Than to live unhappily in this world./ Or else, having been born, to quickly rot in the earth./ Rather than live in the world miserably./ Let there be no regrets!/ Oh, Fate of mine, where were you at the time/ My mother gave birth to me?/ If I could don the wings of an eagle,/ I would fly to look for my fate/ In faraway places.")

Or:

*. . . po sviti blukaju, otrady ne maju,  
žalju ž mij, žalju, sam že ne znaju,  
ščo čynyty maju.*

(" . . . I wander over the earth, there is no hope for me,/ regrets, oh my regrets, I myself do not know/ what I ought to do.")

Or:

*Trudno syrotynци na čuzyni žyty. . .*

(“It is a hard life for an orphan in a strange country. . . .”)

Or:

*Xiba meni taja budet' ščyraja rodyna,  
sažen' na cvyntari, vysoka mohyla.*

(“Perhaps this one will prove to be a sincere family for me,/ the high burial mound when I am six feet under at the cemetery.”)

Or various complaints about man's fate:

*O vsesujetnoho svita  
mymo idut' naši lita,*

*Rozstupit'sja vody, ot zemli vstupite,  
Junist' molodosty ko mni pryvernite!*

(“Past the everboring world/ pass our years/ Waters divide! separate from the earth,/ and return me to the days of my youth!”)

But this melancholy is often transformed into philosophical reflection: “Happiness, where do you live?” asks Skovoroda, and reflects:

*Rozprostry vdal' vzor tvij i rozumni lučy  
i kinec' poslidnij pomynaj.  
Vsix tvojiх dil v kuju mit' strila ulučyt'?*

(“Direct your gaze and your knowing rays into the distance/ and remember the ultimate end./ At what time will the arrow hit all that you have accomplished?”)

Man himself was the author of his own fate and thus the subjective lyric merges with the religious lyric. However, the aphoristic form and images in some poems are formally akin to the folk song. Such, for example, is the following song by Skovoroda:

Stojit' javir nad vodoju,  
 vse kyvajet' holovoju,  
 bujny vitra povivajut',  
 ruky javoru lamajut' . . .  
 Na ščož meni zamyšljaty,  
 ščo v seli rodyla maty?  
 Nexaj u tyx mozok rvet'sja,  
 xto vysoko v horu dmet'sja.  
 A ja budu sobi tyxo  
 korotaty mylyj vik . . .

("A maple stands by the water,/ it always nods its head/  
 wild winds are blowing/ they break the maple's hands. . . /  
 Why should I care/ that my mother gave birth to me in a  
 village?/ Let him worry his head,/ who aspires to great  
 heights./ But I will quietly/ while away a pleasing life. . . ")

Here also we see the lyricist's longing for nature:

Ne pidu v horod bahatyj. Ja budu v poljax žyt'.  
 Budu vik mij korotaty, de tyxo vremja bižyt'.  
 O dubrava! O zelena! O maty moja ridná!  
 V tobi žyzn' uveselenna, v tobi pokij, tyšyna.

("I will not go into the rich city. I will live in the  
 fields./ I will pass my time, where time passes quietly./  
 O oak woods! O verdure! O dearest mother of mine!/  
 In you is the joyous life, in you is there quiet and  
 peace.")

Or:

O seljanskij mylij ljubyj mij pokoju,  
 vsjakoji pečali lyšennyj!  
 O istočnykiv šum, žurčščyx vodoju,  
 o lis temnyj, proxlaždennyj,  
 o šumjašči kudri volosiv drevesnyx,  
 o na lukax zelen' krasna,  
 o samota—maty rady dum nebesnyx  
 o sumna tyxist' užasna . . .

(“O, my favorite sweet country stillness,/ devoid of any sadness!/ O bubbling spring, gurgling with water,/ o cool dark forest,/ o branches rustling with leaves,/ o beautiful verdure-covered meadows,/ o solitude—mother of joyous heavenly thoughts/ o this sad quiet is frightful. . . .”)

(This is actually a translation from Latin made by Skovoroda.)

Side by side with these are erotic lyrics with similarly traditional motifs; here we find both first love and declaration of it:

*Nist' bo v vertohradi takovoho cvita,  
krasotoju, dobrotoju sred samoho lita . . .*

(“For in the whole garden there is no flower,/ of such beauty and goodness, not even in the very middle of the summer. . . .”)

Or:

*Zryš prečudno očenkamy až serden'ko mlije,  
duša horyt', serce bolyt', krasnaja lelija.*

(“You look so beautifully with your eyes that my heart becomes faint,/ my soul burns, my heart is sore, you are like a beautiful lily.”)

Or:

*Da j po sadon'ku ja xožu,  
da j ne naxožusja,  
ja na tebe, moje serce, hljažu,  
da j ne nahljažusja.*

(“And I stroll through the orchard,/ and I cannot find myself,/ I keep looking at you, my love,/ but I will never see my fill.”)

But love also encounters various problems:

*Xto v sekreti ljubov tyxo deržaty ne bude,  
tot propade za sobaku, jak diznajut' ljude.*

(“He who will not keep his love in secret quietly,/ will  
perish like a dog when people find out about it.”)

The greatest problem is parting:

*ryba z ryboju i ta sja zlučajet’  
moja slična dama mene pokydajet’ . . .*

*Čornyji očy, čornyji brovy,  
usta saxarni, zubon’ky perlovi,  
tjažen’ko vas spomynaty,  
ščo nel’zja z vamy rozmovljaty.*

(“Even a fish comes together with another fish,/ but  
my beautiful lady is leaving me. . . ./ Black eyes and  
black brows,/ a sweet mouth, little pearly teeth,/  
how it hurts to remember you,/ and now I cannot  
speak with you.”)

He does not even know where his loved one lives:

*O, rozkošnaja Venera, de nyny obcuješ?*

*Vyxodyv ja vsi dorožen’ky,  
vytoptav ja vsi stežen’ky,  
ne znajšov ja mylen’koi,  
de xodyly nižky jeji . . .*

*Pryšly, Bože, den’, čas, hodynon’ku tuju,  
ačej bym de znajšov divčynon’ku svoju.  
Ščob juž bil še ne tužyty,  
holovon’ky ne sušyty,  
molodyx lit svojix  
marne ne hubyty . . .*

(“O beautiful Venus, where are you today?/ I have  
travelled over all the roads,/ trampled all the paths,/  
yet I could not find my sweetheart,/ nor where her  
little feet had trodden. . . ./ Send me, dear God, the  
day, the time, that happy hour,/ that I might find  
my little girl./ So that I would no longer have to

yearn for her,/ worry my little head,/ and spend my  
youthful years in vain. . . .”)

A widely used motif was the sending of messages by carrier pigeons:

*Pyšu ja lystonky, na vsxid posylaju.  
Syvi holubonky, nexaj mni šakajut’  
molodoji divčynonky,  
v kotroji čorni očenky . . .*

*Na zapadnu stranu poslalem horlyci,  
a na juh i na siver—orly, lastovyci.  
Idit’, v pylnosty šukajte,  
a mni vidomist’ davajte . . .*

(“I am writing a note, sending it to the east./ Let the gray  
pigeons find for me/ a young girl,/ with dark eyes. . . ./  
To the country on the west I sent turtle doves,/ and to  
the south and north—eagles and swallows./ Go and care-  
fully search,/ and bring any news to me. . . .”)

Or:

*A ty, orle, bujajučy,  
v čystim poli huljajučy,  
dodaj krylec’ dopomočy,  
poletity na vsi nočy  
mylen’koji šukajučy.*

(“And you, soaring eagle,/ living in the open fields,/  
add your wings, give some help,/ to fly every night/  
looking for my love.”)

And erotic lyrics, by means of comparisons which were possibly borrowed from old folk songs and descriptions of surroundings where the love affair is taking place, evolved into lyrics about nature:

*Popid haj ričen’ka  
da šumyt’ bystren’ka,  
ryba do rybon’ky,  
a ja do divon’ky.*

(“Down in the meadow is a stream/ which rushes quickly,/ one fish swims to another, and I go to my girl.”)

Here we see both the language of the folk song and the phraseology of the nobility (“Venus,” “Lady,” etc.).

Ukrainian Baroque lyrics also devoted much attention to the political events of that tumultuous era. We find national heroes being honored: Sahajdačnyj–

*Nesmertel'noji slavy dostojnyj Het'mane!  
tvoja slava v movčannju nihdy ne zostane,  
poky Dnibr z Dnistrom mnohorybnyje plynuty  
budut', poty dijat'nosty tež tvoji slynuty.*

*Tut zložyv zaporozs'kyj Het'man svoji kosty,  
Petr Konaševyč, rannyj v vijni dlja vol'nosty  
otčyzny . . .*

(“O Het'man, worthy of immortal glory!/ your glory will never become silenced,/ as long as the Dnieper and Dniester flow resplendent with fish/ so long will the glory of your deeds live among us./ . . . Here the Zaporozhian Het'man laid down his life,/ Peter Konaševyč, wounded while fighting for the freedom of his fatherland. . . .”)

And Xmel'nyc'kyj (Skovoroda):

*Bud' slaven vo vik, o muže izbranne,  
vil'nosty otče, heroju Bohdane!*

(“Be forever praised, o chosen man,/ father of freedom, our hero Bohdan!”)

*Cest' Bohu, xvala! Na viky slava vijs'ku Dnirovomu . . .  
I ty, Čyhyryne, misto ukrajinne, ne menšuju slavu  
Teper v sobi maješ, koly ohljadaješ v rukax bulavu  
zacnoho Bohdana, mudroho het'mana, dobroho molodcja  
Xmel'nyc'koho čyhyryns'koho, davnoho zaporozčja.*

(from the *Chronicle of Jerlyč*)

(“Honor to God, and praise! Perpetual glory to the army of the Dnieper. . . / And you, Čyhyryn, Ukrainian city, no less glory to you/ You have now within your walls the mace in the hands/ of the worthy Bohdan, a wise het’man, a good fellow/ Xmel’nyc’kyj of Čyhyryn, an old Zaporozian Cossack.”)

But in Ukraine, there was no less cause for “weeping” and “lamenting” over political and national difficulties and calamities:

*O Bože mij mylostyvyj,  
vozzry na plač mij revnyvyj!  
De bidnycja jest’ takaja,  
jak ja, Rosija Malaja?*

*Vsi matkoju nazyvajut’,  
a ne vsi za matku majut’;  
druhuj xoče zahubyty,  
v ložci vody utopyty.*

*Oj, ne syny, oj, ne dity,  
xoščut’ mene zahubyty!  
Ljaxoljubci, lyxoljubci,  
tiji moji, tiji zhubci . . .*

(“Oh my gracious God,/ look down upon my bitter tears!/ Where is there another woman as wretched,/ as I, Little Russia?/ Everyone calls me mother,/ but not everyone treats me as such;/ others want to destroy me,/ drown me in a spoonful of water./ O these are not my sons, and not my children,/ who want to destroy me!/ They who love the Poles, who love evil,/ these, these are my slayers. . . .”)

Tradition ascribes the lovely song “*Oj bida, bida čajci nebozi*” (“Oh Woe, Woe, the Poor Gull”)—which has all the traits of an artificial origin—to Het’man Mazepa. The song “*Vsi pokoju ščyro prahnut’*” (“Everyone Sincerely Longs for Peace”) is definitely Mazepa’s.

*Zžal'sja, Bože, Ukrajiny,  
ščo ne vkupi majet' syny!*

*Lipše bulo ne rodyty,  
nižli v takyx bidax žyty!  
Od vsix storin vorohujut',  
ohnem, mečem rujinujut' . . .*

*ozmitesja vsi za ruky,  
ne dopustit' hor'koj muky  
Matci svojij bil'š terpity!  
Nute vrahov, nute byty!  
Samopaly nabuvajte,  
ostryx šabel' dobuvajte,  
i za viru xoč umrite  
i vol'nostej boronite!*

(“God, have pity on Ukraine,/ whose sons are not together!/ . . . It would have been better never to have given birth,/ than to live in such straits!/ They are warring on all sides,/ ruining with fire and sword . . ./ . . . all of you grasp hands,/ do not allow your/ Mother to experience any more bitter suffering!/ Come, come now, fight the enemy!/ Get your muskets,/ find your sharp sabres,/ and die for the faith, at least,/ and defend all liberties!”)

There is even a poem which tradition ascribes to the “last Zaporožian Cossack,” Antin Holovatyj, “*Ej hodi nam žurytysja pora perestaty*” (“Hey, we have done enough worrying, it is time to stop”), written on the occasion of the Zaporožian settlement in the province of Kuban’ in 1792.

Ukrainian poets also sang about the battles with the Tatars, and the Xotyn War, and the siege of Vienna. Some of these poems reached epic proportions (see below, pt. D).

We find other forms of secular verse as well: “scholarly” (e.g., in the praise of science and the arts in the Kievan *Evxarysterion*—(Eucharisterion, 1632), humorous (e.g., student verses), etc. Many are verses of welcome or panegyrics

(to E. Pletenec'kyj, P. Mohyla, the hetmans). There are verses of the ballad type, i.e., short narratives in verse form; a collection of these, for example, was published in 1705 by Ioan Maksymovyč, under the title of *Alfavit ryfmamy složennyj* (*An Alphabet Put Together in Verse*), which contains stories about punishments and wrongdoings, sins and godlessness.

4. Especially favored in Baroque times were epigrams, short verses of not more than two or four lines, very witty and abounding in puns, and consonances and repetitions. Religious verses of this type (praising the saints) were often grouped together in a cycle of 12 verses, called *vinci* (garlands). Some epigrams found their way even into liturgical texts, e.g., in the *Trioda Cvitnaja* (*Triodion for Eastertide*) of 1631:

*Sredě Učytelej stav" Isus" naučæet.  
V Sredu Prazdnykov, jako Posrednyk", javljaet".*

("Jesus teaches, while standing among the teachers./ One Holy Wednesday he appears as an intermediary.")

Here we find a play on the root, *sred*. Later, St. Dmytro Tuptalo also wrote such cycles of verse: e.g.,

*Záčataja bez hrixa, o Božija Maty  
Molju dažd' mi bezhrišno žytije začaty.*

("Conceived without sin, o Mother of God/ I pray you, grant me to begin my life without sin.")

(Here we have a repetition of the roots *záčat* and *hrix*.)

The master of the secular epigram was Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, the archpriest from Poltava. His epigrams are witty and biting.

*Ščo jest' smert', pytaješ mja. Esly bym znæv, uže  
byv by mertvym. Jak umru, pryjdy v toj čas, družel'*

("You ask me what is death. If I knew/ I would already be dead. When I die, come then, my friend!")

*Čomu sut' mudrišije muževe, niž žony?  
Bo z rebra bezmozkoho, ne z holovy ony.*

(“Why are men wiser than women?/ Because women were created from a senseless rib, and not from the head.”)

Or a longer one:

*Ščos' boz'koho do sebe pan Xmil' zakryvajet',  
bo smyrennyx voznosyt', vyneslyx smyrjajet'.  
Vyščije sut' holovy nad vsi člonky tila,  
a nohy tež v nyzkosti smyrenni do zila.  
Leč pan Xmil', gdy do koho v holovu vstupajet',  
holovu ponyžajet', nohy zadyrajat'.*

(“Mr. Hops is concealing something godly in himself,/ for he raises the humble and humbles the proud./ The head is higher than any other part of the body,/ and feet which are the lowest are most inclined towards evil./ But when Mr. Hops enters somebody's head, he lowers his head and raises his feet.”)

These are unusually precise translations of the well-known English Baroque epigrammatist John Owen. But Velyčkovs'kyj also wrote some original epigrams which were equally successful:

*Pyšuščemu styxy:*

*Truda suščeho v pysaniji znaty  
ne možet', iže sam ne vist' pysaty.  
Mnyt' byty lehko pysanija dilo:  
try persta pyšut', a vse bolyt' tilo.*

*Lěstvyca Iakovlja:*

*Svit sej snu jest' podoben, a ščastja–drabyni:  
vosxodjat' i nyzxodjat' po nij mnozi nyini.*

(“*To the writer of verse:* The toil involved in writing/ can never be known by him who knows not how to write./ He thinks it is an easy thing to write:/ three fingers write but the whole body aches”; “*Jacob's ladder:* This world is like a dream, and happiness—a ladder:/ many people climb up and down it today.”)

A large collection of epigrams (369)—longer ones, of ten or more lines—were left by the well-known, poorly educated, but very talented and witty poet, priest and monk, Klymentij. The themes of his epigrams vary greatly: we find here didactic verse, verse about craftsmen and other professions (e.g., musicians), satirical verses and verses on various strange themes; for example, “*O kotax*” (“About Cats”):

*Izvykly koty oči xmuryt', hlavy xovat' . . .*  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . *na peči sobi potjahajut',*  
*a zskočyvšy iz pečy po horškax nykajut'.*  
*A povynnist' bo kotam myšy ulovljaty,*  
*a bil's takyx, ščo vmijut' z mysok vosxyščaty,*  
*a osibnyj zvyčaj jix v sudna nanykaty,*  
*ježely xto zabudet' suden nakryvaty.*  
*A jest' takyj ljuđe, ščo toho ne dbajut',*  
*jednakože z toho sobi vredytel'nist' majut' . . .*

(“Usually cats screw up their eyes and hide their heads . . . / . . . they curl up on the stove, / or, jumping down from the stove, prowl around the pots. / But the duty of a cat is to catch mice, / but most of them, who find delight in bowls, / have the special custom of inspecting dishes, / especially if someone has forgotten to cover them. / And there are some people, who do not even mind / while others consider this to their own detriment. . . .”)

In some of his verses, Klymentij makes very unusual statements:

*Kotryj, movjat', čolovik dobre vypyvajet',*  
*tedy takomu pan Boh na pyvo davajet' . . .*

(“The man, they say, who drinks up well / will get money for beer from God. . . .”)

It is true that this is only a saying (*movjat'*), but Klymentij does perceive some “spiritual” benefits in drinking:

*. . . dobre, gdy ztroxa horlo promočylo:  
do ljudej vyrazniše budet' hlaholaty,  
i v cerkvi na krylosi hladšej zaspivaty.  
Začim, panove, sobi zdorovi buvajte,  
a gdy ly kolvik pyvo dobre potjahajte.  
A v holovi zdorovij vse ne perebyraj,  
da všeljakyj napytok zdorovno vypyvaj! . . .*

("It is good for a man to occasionally wet his throat:/  
he will speak more distinctly to people,/ and in church  
will sing more smoothly from the choir./ And so, men,  
fare ye well,/ and drink up your beer heartily./ And  
do not mull things over in a healthy mind,/ but in  
health drink up all manner of drinks! . . .")

In another poem he offers advice to musicians as well:

*Nexaj že bez linosty i muzyky hrajut'  
i veselosty ljudjam molodym dodavajut'.  
A nahravšysja nexaj troxa j spočyvajut'  
da po povnij skljanzi horilky vypyvajut'.*

("Let the musicians, as well, play without laziness/  
compounding the joys of young people./ And having  
played a while, let them rest a bit, too,/ and drink a  
full glass of whiskey each.")

In Skovoroda's epigrams, which are short and akin to proverbs, there are no verbal games:

*Komu menše v žyzni treba,  
toj blyžaja vsix do neba.*

\* \* \*

*Ne to skuden, ščo ubohyj  
a to ščo želajet' mnoho.*

\* \* \*

*Lučče mni suxar z vodoju  
nežely saxar z bidoju.*

(“He who needs less in life,/ is closer to heaven than the rest”; “He is not indigent who is poor,/ but he who demands too much”; “Dried bread and water are better, for me/ than sugar and troubles.”)

With the epigrams are often included “burial verses” (epitaphs) and the like. Epigrams (even entire *vinci*) were incorporated into dramas and into prose works (e.g., Skovoroda’s dialogues, the popular didactic work, *Dioptra*, the chronicles of Jerlyč and Velyčko, etc.).

5. Especially popular in Baroque times were “emblematic” verses. These were brief epigrammatic verses which accompanied drawings (“emblems”)—in other words, short descriptions with some symbolic significance. In his works, Skovoroda expounded an entire theory of “emblematics”: “The wise men of old had their own language, they painted their thoughts in pictures as if they were words. These pictures were representations of heavenly and earthly creatures. For example, the sun represented truth, the circle—eternity . . . , the dove—modesty, the stork—shyness . . .”.

In Ukraine the emblematic literature of the West was not unfamiliar. Some of it was translated (well-known collections: a Latin one by the German, Hugo, a Spanish one by Saavedra). A collection of original emblematic verse, *Yfika ijeropolitika* (*Ethica Hieropolitica*), was frequently republished. Some excerpts from this collection:

*Xotjaj Hospoda istynno ljubyty,  
vo strasi Hospodni potščysja xodyty.  
Siju bo ljubov strax Hospoden' rodyt',  
jako vitr plamen z uhlja izvodyt'.*

(“At least to love the Lord sincerely,/ humble yourself to walk fearful of the Lord./ Such love is kindled by the fear of the Lord,/ just like the wind draws out the flame from a coal.”)

(There is a picture of a fire being blown up by the wind.)

*Prostranno more syl'ni imat' volny,  
malyja riky ne tako dovol'ni,  
v čaši i six nist', ne dvižut'sja vody,  
i smirenija takovy sut' plody*

(“Far and wide the sea is covered with strong waves,/ small rivers are not so unrestrained,/ in the chalice there is none of this, the waters do not move,/ such are the fruits of humility.”)

The picture portrays the sea, a river, and a glass of water; the idea expressed is the same as in Skovoroda's poem, “*Stojit' javir nad vodoju*” (“A Maple Stands by the Water”) quoted above, no. 3. Prokopovyč also wrote emblematic verses and was preparing to publish a whole cycle of them dedicated to the memory of Metropolitan Varlaam Jasyns'kyj. Here is an extract:

*Vsi riky iznačala malyje byvajut',  
no, tekušče put' dovyj, vody umnožajut'.  
Podobni i Varlaam učenija rady  
prejde strany mnohije i mnohije hrady.  
I tako, od otčestva daleče stranstvuja,  
zilo sebe umnožy premudrosty struja*

(“All rivers are small to begin with,/ but as they flow along their long journey, their waters increase./ Similarly, Varlaam for the sake of learning/ travelled across many countries and many towns./ And so, wandering far away from home,/ the stream of wisdom multiplied itself.”)

(Here, probably, there was to be painted a river which increases in size as it flows ever further from its source.)

*Siji cinu javljajut', vydjat' bo xudaja, –  
voznosjat', i dolu nyzxodyt' druhaja.  
I dobroditel' ljubyt' tožežde mirylo,  
zilo bo čestna vo vsim, smyrjajet'sja zilo.  
Se že bo vo Varlaami izrjadne javysja:  
česten bo bi pače vsix, pače vsix smyrysja*

(“These show the price, for they see it is low, –/ as they raise it, another comes down./ And the virtuous man likes that measure,/ for it is very honest in everything, and truly humbles itself./ This appeared espe-

cially in Varlaam:/ for he was more honest than others  
and humbled himself more than others.”)

(Here scales were to have been drawn.)

A variation on emblematic verse was “heraldic” verse, found on coats of arms, unusually popular in Ukraine (as early as in the sixteenth century), especially in the dedication of books. Such verse was to explain the drawing on the coat of arms of the person being honored. Consider, for example, this excerpt from the verse on Mohyla’s coat of arms:

*... Dva meči v spravax rycers'kyx smilist' pokazujut';  
lylija z xrestom viru xrystyjans'kuju znamenujut'.  
V tim domu ščyraje pobožnist' obytajet',  
a slava nesmertel'naja naviky obyvajet'.*

(“The two swords show boldness in chivalrous matters;/  
the lily and the cross represent Christian faith./ In this  
household dwells sincere piety,/ and its immortal glory  
will last forever.”)

6. Very characteristic of Baroque poetry are “versified quips,” whose significance must not be overlooked: they were manifestations of a definite accomplished virtuosity in the manipulation of a poem. Ukrainian poets were very fond of such games. One of the most popular forms was the acrostic, where the first letter of each line or each strophe formed the name of the author. Consider this short acrostic by St. Dmytro Tuptalo (it spells DIMITRI):

*Daruj mni Tebe, Xrysta, v serci vsihda čyty,  
Izvol' vo mni obyaty, blah mni javljajsja,  
Mnohohrišnym, nedostojnym ne vozhnušajsja!  
Izčeze v bolizni žyvot mij bez Tebe, Boha;  
Ty mni kripost' i zdravije i slava mnoha.  
Radujusja az o Tebi i veseljusja,  
I Toboju po vsja viky, Bože mij, xvaljusja.*

(“Grant me, Christ, always to have You in my heart,/  
Live in me, and be merciful to me,/ Do not abandon  
this unworthy sinner!/ My life will pass in sickness  
without you, God;/ You are my strength, my health,

and my glory./ I rejoice in You and am merry,/ And  
I will praise You, my God, forever.”)

Sometimes, some letters of the poem were written or printed in the upper case; when these letters were read separately, they also formed the name of the author. In some cases, it was necessary to calculate the numerical value of the letter (in the Slavic alphabet) to get the year the poem was written. These are “cabalistic” poems. Compare this example also by St. Dmytro Tuptalo:

*IŽE v Runi inOhda preobrazovanna,  
Maty sOtvoršoho NAs vsiX zdi napysanna,  
Duševno I MyslIju Tu knyžku pRYmite,  
SAmi je Vnymajušče, I druhym proČtite.*

(Ieromonax Dimitry Savič)

The greatest master of figured verse was Velyčkovs'kyj. He cunningly works his name into the most varied little poems, e.g. (the capital letters must be read separately):

*Iz nesOzdANNa otca vosijavyj ěyste,  
VELYČaju z matKOju tja VseSladKIJ Xryste!*

Or:

*I O smerty pAmjataj,  
i Na sud'' bud' čutkyj  
VEL'mY Čas běžyt' sKoro  
V bžhu Svojym'' prudKYJ*

or even in reverse order (the words “*nastroj navpak cynobru*,” literally—“reverse the vermilion”—advise the reader to read the letters written in red vermilion in reverse order):

*NAstrOJ navpak'' cynobru, esly uhadaješ'',  
hořYY Kto z Syx'', VOIK'' ČY LEV'', to  
mene poznaješ''.*

(“Read the red letters in reverse, to see if you can guess,/ which of these—wolf or lion—you will recognize as me.”)

It seems there is no word he cannot incorporate into his poems; thus, as a great worshipper of the Blessed Virgin, he incorporates the name Maryja into verses employing leonine rhyme:

*MAty blaha, RYza draha, JAže nas kryet  
MALodušnyx, RYzonužnyx, JAko runo, hrěet.*

Velyčkovs'kyj also wrote "crabs," verses whose lines can be read in both directions, from the beginning or from the end, letter after letter, or word after word:

*Anna pyta my, ja maty panna,  
Anna dar i mně šěn' myra danna,  
Anna my maty i ta my manna.*

This is, of course, the Blessed Virgin speaking about her mother, St. Anna.

Velyčkovs'kyj also wrote the best "alphabet verses" in which each word or line begins with a different letter of the Slavic alphabet, in alphabetical order:

*Az blah vsěx hlubyna,  
Děva edyna.  
Žyvot začax zvanym,  
Isusa izbrannym,  
Kotrij ljude mnoju  
Na oběd pokoju  
Rajska sobyraet,  
Tune učreždaet.  
Umne Fenyks Xryste,  
Otče carju čyste,  
Šestvuj ščedrotamy,  
Matere mol'bamy.*

(There are two "u"s and two "o"s since in the Church alphabet there were two different letters for these sounds.)

To Velyčkovs'kyj belong also verse puzzles:

*So sm" bohom" deži  
nop nas" st bljusty bude.*

—where the underlined letters had to be read according to their names in the Slavic alphabet ("gryphic verse"), so that it would actually be read thus:

*So Slovom Bohom'' dobro est' zyvot'', ljudy,  
naš'' On'' pokoj, nas'' Slovo tvrdo bljusty bude.*

(“With God-the-Word, people, life is good,/ He is  
our comfort, the Word will protect us securely.”)

Verses with “echoes” were also common. In these, the final syllables of the poem were repeated, giving an answer of sorts. Sometimes verses were written to correspond to definite shapes: cross, half-moon, egg, cup, etc.

Such games manifest the sheer joy of poetic virtuosity, of the ability to deal ably with verse forms. The content did not always play a significant role. It is hard to understand why later literary historians attacked “figured” verses and criticized them so severely; among those attacked was the monk-priest Klymentij, who had written “*Raxuba drevam roznym*” (“An Enumeration of the Various Trees”) in three verses. It was the first poem to be written in Sapphic verse (three lines of twelve syllables and a fourth with eight syllables):

*Dubyna, Hrabyna, Rjabyna, Verbyna,  
Sosnyna, Klenyna, Ternyna, Vyšnyna,  
Jalyna, Malyna, Kalyna, V'jazyna,  
Lozyna, Buzyna, Bzyna . . .*

(“Oak, Yoke, Elm, Rowan, Willow,/ Pine,  
Maple, Bramble, Cherry,/ Fir, Raspberry, Cran-  
berry, Elm,/ Osier, Linden, Elder. . .”)

Some poets were particularly concerned with euphony; the masters of euphony were Velyčkovs'kyj and St. Dmytro. An excellent example of euphonic mastery can be found in an anonymous dialogue between a man and God about “faith and good deeds.” The dialogue is directed, evidently, against the Protestants. In it, separate words and even syllables are repeated so that together they form a mosaic of sound.

*Vira i dobroditel' sut' to dvoje kryla,  
na dvojix tix vsja vysyt' spasenija syla.  
Ne možet' jednym krylom ptycja ponestysja,  
ne vozmožno samoju viroju spastysja . . .  
I vira krasna v dilex, ne krasno bez viry  
dilo i vira bez dil ne krasna bez miry.*

(“Faith and good deeds are two wings,/ on these two is suspended the entire strength of salvation./ A bird cannot rise on a single wing,/ and it is impossible to find salvation through faith alone. . . / And faith is beautiful in good deeds, which are not beautiful without faith,/ good deeds and faith without good deeds are not beautiful if they lack measure.”)

In the first four lines separate sounds are repeated; we give them according to the lines:

vir-d-d-dv-kryl  
 n-dv-vs-v-s-s-s-s  
 ne-mo<sup>ž</sup>-kryl-p-p-st-s  
 ne-mo<sup>ž</sup>n-s-vir-sp-st

In the last two lines, entire words (underlined in the text) are repeated.

7. Baroque poets approached the verse form with the utmost care. Although we may not care for their language, we cannot help but be impressed by the almost unflinching attention given to formal questions. With time, the teaching of “poetics” in religious institutions resulted in a firm mastery of the form by Ukrainian poets. Masculine rhymes almost disappeared. However, enjambements, the running over of one line into the next (see above, Velyčkovs’kyj’s epigram about death), came to be very freely used. Rhymes became richer, and similar grammatical forms were only unwillingly rhymed (*znaješ–maješ*, *darujet’–cilujet’*, *berehamy–lanamy*); wherever possible different grammatical forms were used (“ungrammatical” rhymes were favored; for example, *zamyšljaty–maty*, *uže–družę*, *bude–ljude*, etc.). Because of this, the verse seems freer and lighter.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Skovoroda effected a further reform by introducing “masculine” rhymes (with the accent on the last syllable), previously allowed in only exceptional cases. Skovoroda writes entire poems with rhymes, such as: *tvojej–sej*, *otbižyt’–žyt’*, *žyvot–rod*, *pečat’–blahodat’*, etc. In Ukrainian, such rhymes are actually quite natural and are frequently employed in the modern period.

Skovoroda also introduced incomplete rhymes, where the endings differ somewhat: *suvory–ternovyj*, *nyvax–nežyva*, *xrest–perst’*, etc. This reform reflects the spirit of the language: incomplete rhymes are one of the most attractive features of Ševčenko’s poetry (the beginning of “*Kateryna*”–

“Catherine”: *nen'ky-serden'ko, hovoryt'-hore, pokryta-potužyty, vtyraje-spivajut', plače-bačyv*).

Later, poets used ever more varied forms, e.g., the “cantos” found in dramas. Dissatisfied with simply rhyming the final words of the lines, poets began to rhyme words within the lines as well. Such “internal rhyme” can be seen in the following excerpt from Skovoroda where we find both incomplete and masculine rhymes:

*Jazvy tvoji surovy/ –to moja pečat',  
vinec' mni tvij ternovyj/ –slavy blahodat',  
tvij sej ponosnyj xrest–  
se mni xvala i čest',  
o Iisuse!*

(“Your painful wounds/ –this is my seal,// your crown  
of thorns for me/ –the grace of glory,// yours is this  
heavy cross–// this for me is praise and honor// O  
Jesus!”)

And from Konys'kyj:

*Čysta ptycja,/ holubycja,/ takov nprav imijet':  
bude misto,/ de nečysto,/ tam ne počijet' . . .*

(“The pure bird, the dove, is peculiar/ in that it will not  
rest in an unclean place. . . .”)

Ševčenko was also fond of internal rhymes:

*ne dvi noči/ kari oči . . .  
ni rodyny/ ni xatyny . . .  
zmaljuvala,/ ne sxovala . . .*

The verse technique of the Ukrainian Baroque demonstrates the great attention paid by Baroque poets to formal problems and the careful work done on the verse form.

## E. THE EPOS

1. Neither a prose nor a verse epos developed in Ukraine. There are two main reasons: first, the Baroque did not create in Ukraine a class of poets, a

distinct circle of writers who might consider poetry as their vocation; clerics or monks were the only professional writers. For secular authors, literature remained an avocation. In addition, there were no opportunities to have secular literature printed. Together, these two factors greatly hindered the development of the epic genre. Nevertheless, some works of epic nature do exist from that time.

2. Half of a translation of Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated* survived in manuscript form. We can assume that the translators in the Baroque period considered this poem to be an instructive work. It appears that the poem was translated by (Belorussian?) Uniate monks. The translation was made not from the Italian original, but rather from the Polish translation of P. Kochanowski. The Ukrainian translation is cumbersome, and lacks the lightness of both the original and the Polish translation. Oftentimes, however, it aptly renders the epic quality and especially the broad ("extended") metaphors with which, as we will see, Ukrainian poetic theory was also concerned. For example,

*Argilljan . . . pobiže žyvot svijna šancu postavyty.*

.....  
*Jako i mesk vo pans'kyj stajni urodyvyj,  
 Jeho že točiju ku brani okormljajut',  
 Ehda že sja on urvet', bižyt' nevstjahlyvyj  
 Na sinožati ily de stada pasajut'.  
 Vyneslym karkom trjaset', a u hustoj hryvy  
 Pletenyje kosy so vitramy ihrajut',  
 Pisok v bystrom bihu kopytamy meščet',  
 I ržet' hlasom velijim, i nozdrjamy pryščet'.*

("Agrillan will run and put his life in the hands of chance./  
 . . ./ For he even lives in the master's handsome stable,  
 And they feed him for war,/ But as soon as he breaks loose,  
 he gallops never stopping/ To the hayfields or to where the  
 flocks are grazing./ His proud neck shakes, and the braids  
 of his mane frolick in the wind,/ He pounds the sand with  
 his horseshoes as he gallops on,/ Neighing loudly, his nos-  
 trils aquiver.")

Equally typical for the epos is the following description of morning (the translation is in the stanza known as the "octave"):

*Dyxajuščemu vitru zary, vsim želannoj,  
Taja od stran vostočnyx radostno zjavljaše,  
Imijušče na travi vonnosty rožanyj  
Vinec', iz vsim vonju sladku ispuščaše,  
Ščc zrjašč vsjakyj vojin javlejsja byt' otvažnyj,  
Jehože hlas trub sladkyx k tomu vozbuždaše,  
Poslišde vsja tympany hlas svij izjasnyša,  
V to vremja vse množestvo voj sja opolčyša.*

(“Like the light breeze at dawn which everyone longs for,/ The one which joyously rises in the lands of the East,/ Which covers the grass with the fragrance of a rose/ A wreath, which envelops everything else with its sweet fragrance,/ Seeing it, every soldier appeared emboldened,/ Encouraged by the sounds of sweet trumpets,/ Then the sound of the drums was clearly heard,/ And simultaneously a multitude of soldiers prepared for battle.”)

As we see, we cannot expect much from the translation of a secular epos, done by a writer accustomed to writing sermons and using ponderous Slavonicisms. The translation, it seems, was never published, nor did it receive widespread distribution. An attempt at a short historical epic by Bučyns'kyj-Jaskol'd about the war in Čyhyryn in 1678 was preserved in Velyčko's *Chronicle* (see below). Some historical poems, because of their length, almost qualify as examples of the historical epos. However, the Ukrainian Baroque did not produce a single great epic.

3. Several religious epics have been preserved. The Baroque, with its return to religion, produced a great number of different types of religious epos—various “Christiads,” etc. Inspired by this same spirit of epic poetry was the versification of the Book of Genesis and the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Both were even printed in 1697, and dedicated to Hetman Mazepa by their author, Samijlo Mokrijevč. His works have not yet been properly studied, and the condemnations and a rather negative reception given him by old scholars must be approached with some scepticism, for these scholars were generally incapable of dispassionately evaluating Baroque poetry. Among the attempts at a religious epos one could also mention a versified Apocalypse of which, unfortunately, only excerpts were printed. To the “learned” or didactic epos belong such works as I. Maksymovyč's “*Bohorodyce Divo*” (“Hail, Virgin, Mother of God”—23,000 lines!), and his “*Osm' blazenstv*” (“Eight Beatitudes”—6,000 lines). Neither of

these works has yet been closely studied. At this point in time, the negative stand taken towards his poetry appears to be totally unfounded.

To the “didactic” (instructive) epos belong other works of the eighteenth century as well. Such, for example, is one of the poems which can definitely be ascribed to “the Cossack Klymovs’kyj”—“*O pravosudyju, pravdi i bodrosti*” (“On Justice, Truth, and Courage”). This is a didactic epos, relatively short in length (902 lines), of a somewhat unusual character and written in 1724 obviously for Tsar Peter I. Klymovs’kyj’s work is not a panegyric, but an instruction for the tsar. Typical of the epos (compare below, the examples from Skovoroda’s poetics), are short descriptive metaphors:

*Jako pes, jehda budet’ kamenem jazvlennyj,  
ne za človikom imže kamin’ tot veržennyj,  
no za kamenem bižyt’, kamin’ uhryzajet’:  
semu na vlast’ hryžuščyjsja podobnyj byvajet’.*

(“He who grumbles about the authorities,/ is often similar to the dog which,/ when hit by a rock does not run after the man who threw it:/ but after the rock and chews on it.”)

These instructive lines are often reminiscent of epigrams when they play on words of similar roots:

*Cars’kaja jest’ duša pravda; jako že bo tilo  
bez duši nedijstvenno, mertvo jest’ i hnylo,  
tako car bez pravdy jest’ mertvyj, nedijstvennyj,  
ašče i mnyt’sja v žyvyx obrazom javlennyj  
otvni tila, no vnutr syj jest’ trupom sohnylyj;  
nist’ v nim duši pravdy, ležyt’ v hrobi ztlilyj.*

(“Royal is the righteous soul for a body/ without a soul is not real, but dead and decaying,/ likewise a tsar without truth is dead, unread,/ even if he thinks that he is among the living/ because of his flesh, inside he is but a decayed corpse;/ if there is no righteousness in him, he lies decayed in a grave.”)

A second author, St. Ioasaf Horlenko, a bishop from Bilhorod, wrote an original epos, “*Bran’ česnyx sedmy dobroditelej z sedmy hrixamy smertnymy*” (“The Battle Between Seven Virtuous Men and the Seven Capital Sins,” 1737).

The poem consists of prologue, epilogue, and eight “songs” (about 1,000 verses). It is written in various rhythms, and uses Church Slavonic with noticeable Ukrainian lexical elements: *lancužok* (chain), *pobožnost'* (piety), *doškuljat'* (torment), *korohov* (banner), *obmežennja* (delimitation), *utikaty* (flee), etc., but where St. Ioasaf portrays symbolic battles, modern military terminology also appears: *batal'jon* (batallion), *šlem* (helmet), *armata* (cannon), etc. Consider the following symbolic description of a battle:

*Načása že strojitys' tak: z vojskom od vostoka  
sta Dobroditel' vel'my mužestvom vysoka,  
a vrazi od zapada zilo mnoholjudni,  
obače malodušni i ko brani trudni.*

(“And they began to assemble in the following manner: in the east/ stood the Benefactor with his very brave army/ while in the west were his enemies, very numerous,/ but cowardly and slow to battle.”)

The Benefactor addresses his warriors:

*Vožd' ljubvy, ohn' ljubovnyj  
veržy v oboz toj hrixovnyj.  
Ty, posnyku, lehkyj voju,  
vizmy krotost' zo soboju.  
Udarite i spalite,  
vraha v pepel obratite!  
Boh z vamy, kripkyj v brani,  
se vam xrest v zaščytu dannij.  
Vo Bozi vozmahajte,  
vraha pobíždate!*

(“Leader of love, living fire/ sally forth into that sinful camp./ O you, faster, agile warrior,/ take meekness with you./ Strike and burn,/ turn the enemy into ashes!/ God is with you, strong in battle,/ the cross has been given you for protection./ Fight in the name of God,/ conquer the enemy!”)

Many of the themes and episodes are derived from military tales, but in addition to this, there is the symbolism traditionally employed in religious literature: the

cross is the sceptre, on which God caught the Devil, and so forth. Furthermore, we encounter the typical Baroque metaphors—e.g., spiritual choirmasters (*kapel'majstry*) of military music. Several letters are incorporated into the text: the letter of the virtuous men to God, one from Christ which was written down by John the Theologian, etc. Besides the virtuous men and the sins, other concepts are also personified (prayer, and so on). The action is developed, and events take place in accordance with the various holy days during the year. Although, according to Skovoroda, St. Ioasaf was very fond of Ukrainian folk songs, his poem does not draw upon the oral tradition.

4. While Ukrainian poetics was quite concerned with the epos, which was one of the fundamental forms of Baroque poetry, epic works from antiquity and the western Baroque were read in their Latin originals. There were but a few attempts to translate excerpts from these works, perhaps to serve as examples for study. Skovoroda worked on such translations. Below is his rendering of one broad epic comparison from the *Aeneid*. One of the Trojans unexpectedly attacks the enemy:

*Ostovbiv i pirvavsja vdruh nazad s slovamy  
Tak kak xto miž ternijem nevznačaj nohamy  
Nastupyt' zmiju, i vdruh zblidnet', odbihaja,  
A vona zlyt'sja, z jadom šyju pidnymaja.*

(“He was thunderstruck and suddenly retreated with his words/ Like one who unexpectedly among the thorn under foot/ Finds a snake, and suddenly turning pale runs away,/ While it becomes excited and raises its venomous neck.”)

A military skirmish is compared to a storm:

*Tak kohda zbižat'sja vitry povnomočno,  
Burnym vyxrom z zapada, juha i vostočnoj  
Storony, triščat' lisy, vopjat' voznesenni  
Volny, i z peskom rvut'sja vyspr' mista bezdenni.*

(“Like when winds clash at full force,/ Like a stormy hurricane from the west, south and east/ The forecasts crackle, again the waves have risen up/ The surging waves roar while the fathomless deep and sands rush upwards.”)

Influences of the epic style can sometimes be found in drama as well. But the Ukrainian Baroque was unsuccessful in establishing a secular epos of any consequence. Examples of the old epic style can be found much later, in nineteenth century translations of Homer, and in Ryls'kyj's version of *Pan Tadeusz*.

## F. THE TALE

1. The prose literature of the Ukrainian Baroque is quite extensive, but there is no great "epic" narrative literature. The novel, in the precise meaning of the term, i.e., a broad narrative, typical of the Baroque era, did not take root in Ukraine. The reasons are the same as those cited in the case of the epos. Very popular, however, were other types of narrative literature. Other traditional types of this literature did exist: first, Lives of saints, and apocryphal writings. In both cases, old sources were not merely transcribed but reworked—on the stylistic and, especially, on the linguistic level. It must be said, however, that this reworking destroyed some of the features peculiar to the old literature. The old Lives attained a certain finesse in their psychological characterizations, although through devices which were very different from those of the nineteenth century psychological novel; this feature is not present in the Baroque narratives, and disappears completely from new versions of the Lives. Apocrypha also differed from their original models and became more akin to the Baroque narrative. The most famous reworking of old material in a religious tale (Life) was St. Dmytro Tuptalo's well-known *Menaea for Daily Reading*, which was compiled in twelve parts. Its literary significance cannot be questioned; its Baroque quality is most striking (and derives, in part, from his reliance on Western sources). Its language was, unfortunately, corrupted during a subsequent printing in which Russian "corrections" were made. Some interesting examples of religious narratives about miracles have also been preserved, among them the works of Mohyla and Galjatos'kyj.

Mohyla wrote his works with a view to having them appear in printed form, but his hopes were never realized. However, we can see here the technique of the narrative—quite lively, with the obvious desire to reach a wide audience. For example, Mohyla frequently gives as a parallel the usual everyday word when he occasionally uses a word from the "high" style: "*želěžokovca . . . abije sljusar'*" ("ironworker . . . or locksmith"), "*zemnuju ogradu, se est' val'*" ("the earthly fold, that is, rampart"), "*lovcy, ix' že narycajut' sevruky*" ("huntsmen, they also call them watchmen"), "*na nosylax-marax*" ("on a funeral litter"), "*s'zdanie pyrha, se est' bašny*" ("the building of a stronghold, that is, tower").

The narratives vary: stories about miracles, an old genre in Ukrainian literature (compare Ch. III and IV—"The Tale"), frightful "modern" stories, e.g., how the bishop of Xolm, Dionysij Zbyrujs'kyj, on the advice of the sorcerers, tried to cure himself of a fatal disease by rubbing his body with the blood of his boy-cook, whose heart he ordered to be cooked and ate it like a beast. Charming are the short little tales in the style of the patericons (compare Ch. IV, pt. D and Ch. I, pt. B, sec. a, no. 2). The hero of several such stories is Father Leontij Karpovyč (see below—"Sermons," no. 3): he never left his cell (except to go to church) without his "clepsydra" (sand clock), to remember that no hour should pass without his performing a good deed. (The "deed" is, of course, a spiritual one, related to the spiritual conflict in man.) The same priest said: "If the smallest drop of ink falls on white cloth, it is immediately noticeable, whereas on black cloth even a large stain cannot be seen; similarly, when a man with a clear conscience falls into a small sin, he soon becomes repentant when he regains his senses; whereas a man whose conscience is not clear, is not even aware of his fall, and for him it is not an easy matter to improve." He, himself, believed in frequent Communion: just as the man who in the sunlight sees in himself darkness and the smallest stains, so the man who receives Communion frequently becomes aware of his sins. To this same type belongs the story about the hermit who was attacked by bandits who then watched as he was raised into the air while praying. . . .

2. Stylistically, Ukrainian Baroque narratives cannot be compared to the extremely refined Baroque verse. We do find some witty turns in the tales, some especially well-formulated sentences, and so on. The important part of a Baroque narrative was not in its form, but in its content. For the main part, this content concerned itself with the development of a theme, chains of events, interesting and intense situations, conflicts, and resolutions. As was generally the case in old literature, individual characters are interesting for the author and the reader only inasmuch as they are chess pieces, as it were, in a strained and complicated game, controlled by God, "fate," or demonic forces. It was up to the author or the person reworking the old material to make of it an interesting game. This does not mean that the Baroque tale lacked depth. It was often closely tied to the idea of a general pious life and included a "moral" or, in some cases, set itself goals of a sententious, moralizing, or philosophical nature (in the old tradition). A purely adventurous, completely "secular" tale did not develop in Ukraine. Even in the secular fable, there was always some religious moral, or at least a reference to some saint.

We might add that little work was done by Ukrainian authors on this genre of Baroque literature. Almost exclusively, we find the adaptation of old tales or

new ones of foreign origin. Western influence on the Baroque tale was very great, and only the Russians (who followed the paths of the Ukrainians and Poles in other branches of Baroque literature), and in part the Czechs, developed any sort of tale demonstrating some independence of style or literary character.

3. A great number of longer and shorter narratives, from miniature anecdotes to tales with numerous adventures, found their way into Ukrainian literature in the form of translations of several collections from the Middle Ages: *Velyke Zercalo* (*The Great Mirror*), and *Rymski Dijannja* (*Gesta Romanorum* or *The Deeds of the Romans*). In its most complete edition, *The Great Mirror* consisted of almost 2,000 separate stories. It came to Ukraine by way of Polish literature which had printed versions of this work. Some of the migratory anecdotes about wanderings included in it were already known in Ukraine, but from other sources—Byzantine collections of Lives (the so-called “Prologues”). Many were entirely new. Ukrainian translations consisted of only a selection (273) from the vast amount of material in *The Great Mirror*. But even this selection served as a reservoir for many genres—from sermons (where they were drawn on for didactic tales or examples) to folk tales. In *The Great Mirror*, for example, there is a story about an enchantress who was taken to hell by the devils after her death (the model for Gogol’s *Vij*). Another concerns a stubborn woman who argues with her husband about the semantic difference between two verbs: *pokošene* (literally, “mowed down”) and *postryžene* (literally, “sheared”), etc. In addition, in Ukraine, “examples” were also frequently drawn directly from the Latin original or Polish translation.

More secular in character are *The Deeds of the Romans*, a collection which also dates from the Middle Ages, and which contains 150 stories. In Ukraine we find some incomplete translations of the “stories,” and selections from, or translations and reworkings of separate tales. The basic source for these “stories” is again Polish translations. We find here a story about Pope Gregory which has nothing to do with real fact, but which provides a Christian version of the ancient story of Oedipus the King, who marries his own mother. The narrative about “Apollonius of Tyre” is a large adventure tale. It concerns the complicated adventures of two lovers separated by fate, but who come together again after long wanderings and various episodes.

4. Secular adventure stories were a characteristic feature of the Baroque era, although the actual stories were often much older.

In Ukraine some classical adventure stories became very well known. Among these we find *Peter’s Golden Keys* (*Petra Zoloti ključti*)—a story about two lovers, Count Peter from Provence and Princess Magelona (in Ukraine, Magylena), who remain faithful to each other in spite of the many trying obstacles

which separate them. This is an adventure tale of the chivalrous type. The chivalrous tale about Prince Bova did not gain widespread popularity, but it was well known (see Ch. VI, pt. B, no. 3). It is possible that other classical tales of the same type were also known (e.g., Melusina and Brunswick).

In the story about Emperor Otto we have a variation on the adventure tale. It is a story about the unjust condemnation of the Emperor's wife and her twin sons who were purposely lost by their mother. After numerous episodes, children and father are reunited. A similar theme is developed in the story about Countess Altdorf who orders that eleven of the twelve twin sons, to whom she had given birth, be killed. But the children are saved and later they once again return to their father.

The content of an adventure tale cannot be given concisely. The heroes are rarely fully drawn. The interest of the story lies in unexpected turns of events: lost children are found; those who are missing turn up alive; Gregory, a great sinner, becomes a saint and a pope. Baroque man liked this tension, the unexpectedness of the changes, the peripetiae, which were likewise characteristic of the life of this lively era.

5. The "philosophical" or "ideological" tales are of a completely different nature: this type was already common in old Ukrainian literature. The most famous tale of this type, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, survived in Ukraine to Baroque times and, with some linguistic innovations, was even printed in the seventeenth century (see Ch. II, pt. D, sec. b, no. 7). Another story of this same type, *Istorija semy mudreciv* (*The Story of the Seven Wise Men*—see Ch. VI), also survived to Baroque times and even longer. The story about the knight and Death is new: it takes the form of a dialogue between the knight and Death, and is a translation from the Latin; the conversation and chain of events climax in the victory of Death. The same idea about the vanity of life is found in another tale, written in prose, and which takes the form of a conversation between Life and Death. In both works we find the same idea, characteristic of the times, and which we come across in numerous poetic works of the time. Death, in an altercation with the knight, says: "My dear man, am I not lovely, . . . not beautiful, but I am very strong, too; young and old, rich and poor I destroy equally; remember dear man, how many tsars, princes, patriarchs, metropolitans, rich and poor people, old and young people there have been from Adam to the present day—old and young, I took them all. . . . Tsar Alexander who reigned over everyone—even him I took. I collect neither wealth nor beautiful raiments, but I am unmerciful and do not postpone anyone's time until later." "You have great wealth, but you cannot take it with you; you will have nothing left, except your own shirt." Ideological tales are also found in *The Great Mirror* and in *The Deeds of the Romans*.

6. Death uses Alexander of Macedon as an example of a most famous hero. He was the hero of old military tales (see Ch. II), which came to Ukraine in olden times. *Alexandreis* survived to Baroque times, and even to the end of the eighteenth century, but in a linguistically and stylistically more modern form. Kievan Ukraine was familiar with the "military" *Alexandreis*; the Baroque (under influences from Western sources) imbued it with a different character. *Alexandreis* is perhaps the "richest" tale known to Baroque times: various types of stories are found in it, although the military elements are not as strong as in the old *Alexandreis*. However, now to the military are added chivalrous, adventurous, ideological, and even Christian elements. "*Tak vel'my micno a okrutno bylo pobyt'tje, že sja sonce zatmilo, ne xotjačy vyhljadat' na onoje velykoje vylyttje krovy,*" "*Rušylosja vijs'ko tak micno i syl'no, až zemlja stohnala i dryžala.*" ("So great and cruel was the slaughter that the sun became dark, not wishing to witness such a shedding of blood." "The army marched forth with such power and strength that the earth moaned and shook.") This is still in the style of the old military tale. But Alexander is more than just a victorious hero. He writes to Darius, the Persian King: "*Vim, gdyž vsi v koli prutkom fortuny obcujemo, častokrat z bahatstva vo ubožestvo, z veselija v smutok, z vysokosty v nyzkist', i tudy i sjudy pereminjajemo . . . Ja zapravdu jestem smertel'nyj. A tak do tebe jidu, jako z smertel'nym čolovikom valčyt' . . .*" ("I know that everyone's life is in the hands of fortune; oftentimes we must exchange wealth for poverty, happiness for sadness, haughtiness for lowliness—changing sometimes one way and another. . . . In truth, I am mortal. And I am going to fight against you as another mortal.") In the later redactions of the translation of this text there are also some interesting dialogs, often very dramatic, as well as letters on various subjects. It comes as no surprise that this lengthy tale (which could perhaps also be called a novel) aroused such interest in the Baroque reader.

7. Erotic themes are rare, although eroticism of various types is not unfamiliar to the Ukrainian Baroque narrative (see above, nos. 3 and 4). Eroticism without an admixture of adventurous motifs can be found in a versified tale about Tancred, Guiscardo and Sigismunda, which was based on Boccaccio's *Decameron* in the Polish translation by Hieronim Morsztyn. Princess Sigismunda is in love with Guiscardo, a nobleman of insignificant birth; her father, Prince Tancred, sentences Guiscardo to death; Sigismunda poisons herself; the lovers, however, at Sigismunda's request, are buried together—a sure sign of reconciliation in a very tragic story. The Ukrainian version of the story weakens the erotic elements, but ably portrays the psychological sufferings by means of epic comparisons of a completely different character than those we find in Boccaccio. For example, Tancred's lament when he learns of Sigismunda's death:

*Vydja ž otec' smert' javnu dščery svojij mylij,  
 ne plakav, no rydav po tij vtisi cilij,  
 na sebe i na dočir svoju narikaja,  
 i den' tot svij neščasnyx hirko proklynaja.  
 Aky pry Meandrovyx brehax lebed' bilij,  
 tak žalisno nad dščerju plakav otec' mylij.  
 Lebed' hlasom plačevnym kryčyt', vozdyxaja,  
 i krylamy bystryji vody rozbyvaja,  
 pojet' pisl' pečal'nu hlasom umylennym . . .*

(“When the father saw the apparent death of his charming daughter,/ he did not cry, but lamented for her who had been his whole joy,/ complaining both about himself and his daughter,/ cursing bitterly that unhappy day./ Like the white swan by the Meander shores,/ so mournfully did the dear father cry over his daughter./ A swan cries out in a mournful voice, sighing,/ and beating the water quickly with its wings,/ sings her sad song in a sweet voice. . . .”)

8. Typical of the Baroque are demonic tales. Demonology became very widespread in the West during the Renaissance. A certain harmony in the world view of the Middle Ages did not call forth as great an attention to demonic powers, as did Renaissance and Baroque culture which differentiated between the religious and the secular. In those times, as is well known, interest in “magic” grew, and witch trials spread.

The content of the demonic tales is not new. It derives from the old ascetic tradition and is based on the ability of a demon to dominate man in any set of circumstances. The theme was developed in the old Lives, and in the Baroque era found its way into secular tales as well. We are already familiar with the tale about the enchantress, whom the devils stole from the church and took with them to hell (see above, *The Great Mirror*). From another tale we learn about a knight, a great sinner who wants to repent for his sins. The priest, who at first demands that he do penance for many years, finally settles for one night of prayer in the church. The Devil, however, is reluctant to part with his prey, and the Devil’s servants try to interrupt the knight’s penance, to frighten him with fire. They appear as his sister, wife, and children, and finally as the priest himself. But no one is successful in persuading him to leave the church, and his confessor

absolves him from all his sins. We also encounter tales about the sufferings of sinners in the next world: a sinful mother tells her priest-son of her sufferings (a theme which later became part of the folk tale, "*Babusja na tomu sviti*" ("The Little Old Woman in the Other World")). Stories about selling one's soul to the Devil, of course, were well known. Eladij, the hero of one Ukrainian tale does so in order to gain his lover as his wife, and is only released from his pledge by Basil the Great. We even find tales which parody belief in devils and their power, as in the story about the cunning woman who tricks three young people by taking advantage of their belief in miracles.

9. We also find other types of tales in Ukraine. But even the examples cited above should suffice to demonstrate the significance of the tale in Baroque times, even though it was not as well developed as were other genres. Numerous classical subjects found their way into Ukrainian literature and later became part of the folk poetry, stories and legends. Many were used by later poets. Franko drew heavily from the treasury of old literature in general and the oldest Ukrainian literature in particular, e.g., *Mij izmaragd* (*My Emerald*).

The Baroque tale had no great immediate influence on subsequent narratives. Through folk poetry, it did, however, exert some influence even on the Ukrainian narrative of the Romantic era.

## G. THE THEATRE

1. The theatre developed significantly in the Baroque era. With the advent of Shakespeare and the great Spanish and French dramatists, this era saw the second major flourishing of the theatre since the development of classical Greek drama. But the outstanding masters were not the only dramatists who were highly successful during this period. The Baroque, with its fondness for all manner of painting and decoration, for pathos and tension, was easily charmed by colorful theatrical performances and the declamatory speeches of the actors—even if the play was not of the highest quality. Under the influence of the Polish and Latin drama, the theatre arose in Ukraine at this time. In the West, drama evolved from the folk and Church traditions of the Middle Ages. In Ukraine, there were certainly no Church traditions and almost certainly no folk tradition from which drama could develop. For this reason, Ukrainian theatre is a product of Baroque dramatic art alone and, in particular, of the Jesuit drama, which had reached a high level of artistic accomplishment. However, there is another possible influence which ought not to be overlooked—the Protestant theatre—for the Protestants also had a "school" theatre and wrote numerous plays, e.g., the "school" games of Comenius.

Drama and comedy are the most common genres of Ukrainian Baroque literature. In this area, authors imitated foreign models, but worked independently. The influence of Ukrainian Baroque drama was strongly felt even beyond the borders of Ukraine, in Moscow, and in the Balkans.

2. In his time Vyšens'kyj was already complaining about some sort of "comedies," but it is possible that what he had in mind was only the theatrical style of the sermons. The initial attempts of the Ukrainian theatre were possibly in Latin and Polish, and, as such, intended solely for school productions. But soon drama outgrew the bounds of the school and its restricted circle of students, teachers and parents. The earliest dated printed work is from 1616—Pamva Berynda's dialog on the birth of Christ. However, it is a dialog or a declamation without any action. A second manuscript, "*Xrystos pasxon*" ("*The Suffering Christ*"), 1630, is more dramatic in nature; its dramatis personae are drawn from the Bible, and although they also speak in declamatory style, their speeches have a rather pronounced subjective tone (especially the moving laments of the Mother of God, a theme which had been earlier developed by Cyril of Turiv). Added to this play is an untheatrical dialog about Christ's resurrection. "*Rozmyšljannje o mucy Xrysta*" ("*Meditations on the Passion of Christ*") by J. Vovkovyč, printed in 1631, is a genuine play. Although the action takes place off stage and is only reported by messengers, there are "God-fearing souls" on stage who react in a most lively manner to the accounts of the messengers. Some of these "God-fearing souls" are even individualized to a certain extent. Such is the case of the young child ("*malyj otrok*"):

*A ja malyj otrok jesm', ne mohu movyty,  
ne mohu—uvy mni! ust mojix otvoryty . . .*

("And I am a small child and cannot speak, / woe is  
me! I cannot open my lips. . .")

Again, here we find a tearful speech of the "Blessed Virgin" with its moving laments:

*Uvy! tjažkaja skorb' mja obtočyla,  
Otxlan' okrutnyx smutkiv pohlotyla,  
Obišlo mene hlubokoje more,  
Hirkoje hore.*

*Juž moja radist', juž preč ustupujet',  
 Ljutaja tuha ljute obyjmujet',  
 Moja juž reč, juž utixa odxodyt',  
 V zemlju zaxodyt' . . .*

(“Woe is me! A heavy sorrow has come over me,  
 The abyss of the cruel sadness has swallowed me,  
 A deep sea has overcome me, / A bitter grief. / . . . /  
 My joy is already leaving me, / A violent grief is sur-  
 rounding me, / I am at a loss for words—my joy is  
 leaving me, / Entering the earth. . . .”)

Less theatrical are the poems about the resurrection appended to this edition of the play. There are also poems in dialog form about Christmas and other important events as well as in honor of the greatly revered K. T. Stavrovec'kyj. Some dialogs are complete, others fragmentary.

3. There were several basic types of Ukrainian Baroque drama and we will organize our discussion of the drama around these types.

Christmas plays were a favorite. Among those which have come down to us is the Christmas play of Dmytro Tuptalo. The play begins and ends with symbolic scenes. There is a “prolog” of sorts in which “Love,” “Fortune,” “Death,” “Earth,” “Heaven,” “Enmity,” and “Cyclopes” are the actors. A similar symbolic scene concludes the play. “Mysteries” are included to reveal the sense of the main action. The main action provides the series of events which comprise the Christmas story, first from the point of view of the shepherds, the astrologers (the Magi), and finally, from that of Herod and his court. Following the pantomime of the slaughter of the children, there is the lament of Rachel. The drama ends with Herod's death and his sufferings in hell.

Only Herod is individually drawn, but other persons are characterized by means of the language and content of their speeches as “types.” For example, Herod's “senators,” or “the shepherds,” are “types” as shown by their language and manner of speaking with folk coloring. Alongside the dramatic monologs (Herod in hell, Rachel) there are also lively dialogs (among the shepherds, and between Herod and the senators). Between the scenes are song or dance interludes (*intermedia*; for example, at Herod's court). The “echo” replies to one of Herod's monologs. The play was intended to be performed with various theatrical effects (see below, no. 9).

The other five Christmas dramas known to us (from excerpts or occasionally only from announcements) have a similar structure, the only marked difference

being the way in which the material is divided: sometimes the entire Christmas story proper disappeared, sometimes the shepherds were left out, the content of prolog and epilog varied from play to play, etc.

4. Easter dramas were built along completely different lines. In only two of those known to us do real events—the Passion and Resurrection of Christ—play a significant role. In some, only the instruments of Christ's Passion are brought on stage. For the most part, these are mystery plays, in which particular scenes from the story of man's fall into sin and his subsequent redemption are portrayed. In addition to these scenes, there are dialogs between symbolic figures, in which Christian and Classical elements are often found in imaginative combinations: "Human Nature," "Eternal Grace," the "Wrath of God," "Mercy"—these Christian virtues and sins stand together with the Furies or Nero. . . . Although some of the themes are didactic, there is no lack of brisk scenes in which contemporary figures appear (the eight revellers—*huljaks*), lively and almost biblical scenes (the Pharaoh and Moses, Peter the Apostle and the Jews), and finally, scenes in which Lucifer himself (the characteristic "hero" of Baroque literature), appears on stage. These mystery plays contain canticles, and the favorite type of monologs—laments of the Mother of God, of Peter who denied Christ, of Human Nature, and so on.

Standing apart from these is the "*Slovo o zburennju pekla*" ("Concerning the Destruction of Hell"), from Galicia, which was constructed in a straightforward manner. The action takes place in hell and the events occurring on earth (the crucifixion and death of Christ) are relayed to Lucifer by messengers, until Christ appears and destroys hell. The folk language, the verse which resembles that of the *dumy* (see Ch. VII, pt. F, no. 4), the witty lively discourses, are reminiscent of the folk scenes (*pastyry*) of the Christmas dramas.

5. Dramas about the saints stand apart. Several dramas have survived about Patriarch Joseph, St. Alexis, St. Catherine. Here, too, we can include Tuptalo's "*Uspinnja Bohorodyci*" ("Assumption of the Blessed Virgin"). Not all of these are alike. The first three contain a genuinely dramatic representation of events, whereas the last is more akin to a mystery play. The drama about Joseph, in a very lively fashion, although avoiding all "immoral" scenes, relates the story about Potiphar's wife; the drama about Catherine has some moments of great tension, but is written in a language which has been heavily Polonized. The drama about Alexis belongs to the best of the Ukrainian Baroque dramas. It contains the entire fascinating story of Alexis, who escaped from home before his own marriage. Returning home, he lives near his parents as a complete stranger for years, and reveals his true identity only as he is about to die. The plot of the play develops in a genuinely dramatic fashion. The language varies,

and in large folk scenes (with peasants or servants) approaches the vernacular. New are the prose laments of the father, mother and Alexis' fiancée. The play opens with a brief conversation among angels, and ends with Alexis' apotheosis, that he is rejoicing in heaven with the angels ("tišyt'sja na nebesy posredy anhel").

6. There are also several morality plays. They are allegorical plays in which the realistic level is not totally absent. Real figures sometimes appear as "types," or representatives of definite types: the Rich Man and Lazarus, or the Prodigal Son are favored. Several Ukrainian plays of this type have been preserved: "Užasnaja izmina" ("A Terrible Change") based on the Rich Man and Lazarus theme; "Tragedokomedija" ("Tragicomedy") by Skovoroda's teacher, Varlaam Laščevs'kyj, about the rewards for doing good deeds; to him is attributed another "Tragicomedy" preserved by Skovoroda, about the struggle between the Devil and the Church; "Voskresennja mertvyx" ("The Resurrection of the Dead") by G. Konys'kyj. Of a similar type is "Spir duši i tila" ("The Dispute Between the Soul and the Body") which has several versions, including a later one by Nekraševyč. "A Terrible Change" begins with a prolog with allegorical figures as the dramatis personae. The action follows—the fate of the "lover of feasts" who is reminded by the lament of Job (who appears to him in his sleep) and poor Lazarus that his happiness on earth is very insecure. The struggle between the body and soul of the "lover of feasts" forms but one episode: the "Judgment of God" condemns him to tortures, and the play ends with his sufferings. The epilog takes the form of a lament for the "lover of feasts" by the Orthodox Church.

This type of drama tends to merge with other dramatic forms: "A Terrible Change" is also a good example of the type of morality play in which the dramatic action is quite lively. Other dramas of this type are sometimes akin to mystery plays, sometimes to dialogs.

7. Ukrainian literature did not lack completely secular dramas; they were in the form of historical dramas. Three of them are drawn from Ukrainian history, one from Roman, and one from Serbian. Under the title "Fotij" ("Photius"), 1749, G. Ščerbac'kyj developed the theme of the struggle between the Orthodox and the Catholics (the Ukrainians and Poles). In his "Blahoutrobijji Marka Avrelija" ("The Kindness of Marcus Aurelius"), M. Kozačyns'kyj united the historical drama with a panegyric to the Empress Elizabeth. In 1733, while in Serbia, he had written a drama about Uroš the Fifth, the last Serbian tsar. This drama is a type of chronicle which portrays more important moments from Serbian history from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries; it is only known to us through later Serbian revisions. The oldest and most interesting dramas

dealing with Ukrainian history are “*Vladymyr*” by Teofan Prokopovyč, and “*Mylost’ Božija*” (“*The Grace of God*”) by an anonymous author.

“*Vladymyr*” is a drama about Volodymyr the Great to whom Prokopovyč compares Hetman Mazepa as his political descendant and heir. The drama begins with the agitation of the pagan priests Žeryvol, Kurojad, and Pyar who have received word from hell that Volodymyr (Vladymyr) is preparing to Christianize Kiev. Žeryvol, with the help of the evil spirits, wants to prevent him by poisoning him with the spirit of debauchery (a theme from the chronicles). Volodymyr listens to the Greek “philosopher” who tells him about the essence of the Christian faith and his controversy with Žeryvol. He takes council with his sons, Borys and Hlib, and in a long monolog after much indecision, decides to accept Christianity. The idols are destroyed. Andrew, the Apostle, appears on stage and reads the epilog in which Prokopovyč combines the prophecy about the future fate of Kiev (the first saints, the Tatar attack, etc.) with panegyrics to Hetman Mazepa, Jasyn’sky (who was metropolitan at that time), and the Kiev Academy. The action of the drama does not move quickly, and the strength of the play lies in its effective monologs and the witty and satirical depiction of the pagan priests, in which contemporary audiences could easily pick out members of the Orthodox priesthood.

If “*Vladymyr*” is dedicated to the first outstanding episode in the history of Ukraine, then “*The Grace of God*” is dedicated to the second significant moment, the times of Xmel’nyč’kyj. The drama opens with Xmel’nyč’kyj’s lament over the fate of Ukraine:

*Ehej slavy našeja upadok poslidnyj!*  
*Čoho v sviti žyvučy, dožyv kozak bidnyj!*  
*Dokozakovalysja i my pid ljaxamy;*  
*Čoho nam ne dilajut’ ljaxy iz žydamy!*  
*Čest’ i slavu našu nivoščo obraščajut’;*  
*kozac’koje potrebyt’ im’ja pomyšljajut’ . . .*

(“Oh, glory of ours, in final decline!/ What did the poor Cossack living on this earth survive to see!/ Cossack times also came to an end under the Poles;/ What don’t the Poles and Jews do to us!/ They turn our honor and glory into nothing,/ and are planning to destroy the Cossack’s good name. . .”)

The Hetman decides to engage in battle with the Poles.

*Krajnij ly pohybeli ješč<sup>v</sup>e vyhljadaty  
budem? . . .  
. . . Tatory, turky i nimci byvaly  
ne strašni— i ljaxy ly užasni nam staly?*

*Kohda šablja pry nas jest', ne zovsim propala  
mnohoimenytaja onaja poxvala  
naša . . .  
Ne otobraly ješč<sup>v</sup>e ljaxy nam ostatka:  
žyv Boh, i ne umerla Kozac'kaja Matka.*

(“Are we always going to wait for our ultimate destruction? . . . / . . . The Tatars, the Turks and the Germans were once here;/ they were not very terrible—and have the Poles become more terrible for us?/ . . . / When the sabre is at our side, we see that our pristine valor has not entirely disappeared . . . . / The Poles have not yet taken everything:/ God is alive, and Cossack Mother is not yet dead.”)

Apollo and the Muses foretell the destruction of the Poles. Xmel'nyc'kyj delivers a long speech to the Cossacks; the chief of the Cossacks answers:

*Vidajem, jaka vsim nam Ukrajina maty!  
Xto ž<sup>v</sup> ne poxoščet' pomošč<sup>v</sup>i podaty  
pohybajuščij matci, byv by toj tverdijščyj  
nad kamen', nad l'va byv by takovyj ljutijščyj!  
My vsi jak prežde byly, bez vsjakoj odmovy,  
tak i najpače teper služyty hotovi,  
budemo sebe i matku našu boronyty,  
ašč<sup>v</sup>e nam i umerty, budem ljaxiv byty.*

(“We know how good a mother Ukraine has been to all of us!/ Whoever, then, would not want to come to the aid/ of a perishing mother is harder/ than a stone; more fierce than a lion!/ We are as we were before, ready without hesitation/ to serve, above all now;/ we will protect ourselves and our mother,/ even if we must die, we will fight the Poles.”)

Ukraine begs God for help. Xmel'nyč'kyj's apotheosis upon his return from the war follows: he is greeted by children and Cossacks and he answers with a long speech. The play concludes with a thanksgiving to God by Ukraine, panegyric memorials to Peter II and Hetman Danylo Apostol, and finally, choirs of praise for Xmel'nyč'kyj.

As we see, Ukrainian drama with its variety of types was capable of satisfying the most diverse interests and tastes. Even comedies existed.

8. Comedy first appeared in Ukraine within the framework of Baroque dramas. In addition to less ponderous themes, moments of a "light" or humorous nature can be seen in the dialogs. A student remarks:

*Daj že, Xryste voskresšyj, ščob rosla kropyva!  
Otto to budet' moja hodyna ščaslyva!  
Okryj že, Pane možnyj, i lisy lystkamy,  
ščoby my v nyx huljaly sobi z teljatkamy,  
bo vže sja myni škola barzo izbrydyla,  
a jak u turmi temnij mene posadyla.*

*A koly b to kropyva, to b sja ja i sxovav  
i, xoč by m'ja šukav djak, v kropyvi b ja ne dbav . . .*

("Grant, o risen Christ, that the nettles may grow!/  
Then will my happy hour come!/  
Cover the woods with leaves, Powerful Lord,/  
so that we can gambol there with the calves,/  
because I am already fed up with school,/  
and feel as if I were locked up in a dark jail./ . . ./  
And if there were nettles, I would hide myself in them/  
and even if the deacon were to look for me, I would not mind as long as I were in the nettles.")

In some types of dramas, it seems that particular scenes were specially designated for the incorporation of humorous elements. In addition to idyllic shepherds of Dmytro Tuptalo, we find some completely humorous ones: in one excerpt from a Christmas play, shepherds describe the fall from grace in the following manner:

... Ne rozžovav Božeho slova došnyra,  
 da vtokmyv ves' rozum v molodyci,  
 i vkusyv tojej, ščo ne veliv Boh, kyslyci . . .

Et-eto jak napohanyt' inohdi kiška v stravu,  
 to až pasokoj vmyjetsja, jak tovcut' pykoju ob lavu . . .

Da ot narobyv xalepy, ščo za odnu kyslycju  
 zaper vsim ljudjam do raja hranycju.

("He did not completely understand the Word of God,/ so he put his whole reason in the young girl,/ and took a bite of that crabapple which God had forbidden them to touch./ . . ./ A similar thing happens when a cat happens to befoul some food,/ they beat their snouts so hard against the bench that they suddenly begin to bleed./ . . ./ And because of one crabapple this is how he created so much misfortune/ as he closed the door to Paradise for everyone.")

Humorous notes are sometimes sounded even in an essentially serious scene or uttered by a serious figure, as, for example, by Lucifer in "Concerning the Destruction of Hell":

*Ljucyfer* (do sluh movyt' i korohov sobi velyt' daty):

... Pyl'no sterežite  
 I v rukax svojix oružije micno deržite!  
 A jak do vas pryjduť, hrizno odpovidajte  
 I plečyma dveri micno pidpyrajte!  
 I jesli by sja lamav, anholiv zabyvajte!  
 Nexaj on tut ne idet'! Nikomu ne fol'gujte.  
 Bo ničoho tut.  
 Po nemu ne but'.  
 Koly on Božij syn, nexaj sobi v nebi sý'dyt'.  
 A vojuvaty sja z namy i peklom nexaj ne jidet'.  
 Koly on Božij syn,  
 Ja ne znaju, z jakyx idet' sjuda pryčyn,

*Ne majet' on do nas žadnoji spravy!  
I ne možu rozumity, ščo to za "car slavy."*

("Lucifer addresses his servants and orders the standards to be brought to him: Cautiously keep watch/ And hold your weapons tightly in your hands!/ And if they come to you, answer them threateningly/ And use your backs to force the door to remain shut!/ And should they break it down, kill the angels!/ Keep Him away from here! Give in to no one./ For there is nothing here./ Nor will there be anything more after He has been here./ If He is God's son,/ I cannot understand why He wants to come here./ He has no matter to settle with us!/ And I cannot understand what kind of "King of Glory" He is.")

Of a purely humorous, "comic" nature are the *intermedia* or interludes, short scenes which were presented between the acts of the drama. Ukrainian *intermedia* can be found in some Polish dramas, viz., in the dramas of Jakub Gawatowicz from 1619—"Prodav kota v mišku" ("He Sold a Cat in a Sack") and "Najlipšyj son" ("The Best Kind of Dream"), which later became famous as folk anecdotes. One of the special features of these *intermedia* was their multilingualism: in them we find Ukrainians, Belorussians, Poles, Gypsies, etc. The most interesting *intermedia* from the Christmas and Easter dramas are those in the works of M. Dovhalev's'kyj. They are not mere anecdotes, but, as is generally the case in comedy, they are directed against particular phenomena or persons: against astrologers, against the Poles whom the author accuses of political arrogance and social tyranny, against the Muscovites, and the wandering scholars. The author even pokes fun at the peasants. The situations found in the comedies are traditional ones: errors, misunderstandings, theft, deceit, arguments, fights and so forth. Their language is close to the vernacular, and at times is even vulgar. There are *intermedia* in Konys'kyj's dramas as well.

The *intermedia* revealed a tendency towards an independent existence in some humorous dialogs (as in the "lament" of the drunken monks), which, however, were not intended for theatrical performances, but only for reading. Without a doubt, the *intermedia* did exert a tremendous influence on the Ukrainian puppet theatre, the so-called *vertep*, which exists even to this very day. Later, after the Baroque era, Nekrasevyč (see Ch. VIII) imitated the *intermedia*. Traces of the influence of the *intermedia* and of the *vertep* which

was dependent on it, can be detected in the humorous stories of the nineteenth century as well as in the “Ukrainian school” of Russian literature (Gogol’ and others).

9. The technical achievements of the Baroque dramatists were very uneven. However, we must bear in mind that a great number of dramas have been lost, some even in our own time, and that some have survived only in fragmentary form.

In any case, a definite development from declamations spoken by characters who appear on stage one following another, to actual dialogs, conversations which include replies and exchanges of ideas can be clearly seen. Replies become shorter and some do not even fill an entire line; e.g.,

Bezumiye:

*Kako sja vam mnyt', druzi?*

Hrixy:

*Dostojna jest' smerty!*

Vojiny:

*Dostojna abije od ruk našyx umerty!*

(“Foolishness: What do you think, friends?

Sins: She is worthy of death.

Warriors: She is worthy of death at our hands.”)

Or:

Myr:

*Xto vy jeste; odkudu prytekoste simo?*

Volja:

*Az—volja.*

Rozum:

*Az že—rozum, da tebe uzrymo.*

(“Peace: Who are you; whence have you come?

Freedom: I am freedom.

Reason: I am reason and we have come to see you.”)

Or:

Dioktyt:

Ščo to, o tunejadci?

Žebrak I:*Nesem Hypomena**Mertva.*Dioktyt:

Znat', z p'janstva umre?

Žebrak II:*Vseho ujazvalenna**Obritoxom.*Dioktyt:*Nesite ž i v hnoji zahrebite!*

("Dioktyt: What have you there, sluggards?

1st Beggar: We are carrying dead Hypomen.

Dioktyt: So he died from drinking?

2nd Beggar: We found him covered with sores.

Dioktyt: Take him and bury him in the dung.")

These are partly conversations between allegorical figures from "*Mudrist' predvičnaja*" ("Everlasting Wisdom"). Very lively are the dialogs of the "shepherds," villagers, Herod and his senators, the pagan priests (*Vladymyr*), etc. The most successful dialogs are those in which we find a favorite feature of the Baroque—antitheses, and the tension between ideas or persons.

No less accomplished are the monologs. Dramatic monologs occur when the main character debates the pros and cons of a particular action or critically evaluates his own actions or beliefs. Good examples of this are the monologs of *Xmel'nyč'kyj*, or *Volodymyr* who must decide between paganism and Christianity. The language of the monolog is also lively and familiar (see above, the many enjabments in the speeches from "*The Grace of God*"). Laments were a favorite type of monolog. Consider the following excerpts from the lament of the Apostle Peter:

*O ljute mni o hore! de dnes' obraščusja?  
 I kamo pijdu i k komu hršnyj pryhornusja?  
 Zabludyx od puty dnes' istynna vo viky,  
 Poneže otverhoxsja tvorcja i vladyky.*

*O hory! pokryjte mja, da vnutr vas prebudu;  
 Strax dnes' neukrotymij obijmet' mja vsjudu.  
 O pad'te na mja, molniji, kamennyji stiny;  
 Drevesa mja bihajut', az ne imam siny;  
 Vozdux mja oblyčajet. Izlijtesja riky!  
 Da pijdu. Nism' dostojin žyty z čoloviky  
 Otverhoxsja—jeho že tverd', vozdux y more  
 Trepeščut', kincja zemli, o hore mni, hore!*

("O what a severe misfortune has come over me!  
 Where will I turn today?/ To whom will I go, and  
 from whom will I, a sinner, seek embraces?/ Today  
 I have strayed from the path of truth forever,/ For  
 I have renounced the Creator and the Lord./ . . . /  
 O mountains! Cover me, that I may spend time  
 within you;/ An implacable fear overcomes me  
 today from all sides./ Let the lightning strike me  
 and stone walls fall on me;/ The trees flee before  
 me until I have no more shadow;/ The very air  
 exposes me. Let the rivers pour forth!/ I will leave.  
 I am not worthy to live among men, for I have/  
 denied Him—before whom the firmament, the air,  
 the sea/ And the ends of the world are trembling,  
 o woe is me!")

In addition to dramatic monologs, there are also monologs which take the form of addresses, as Xmel'nyč'kyj's speech in "The Grace of God," the whole of which is built on the juxtaposition of iron and gold:

*Želizo dobre važte, i nad zlato.  
 Zlato bo potemnijet' bez neho, jak blato.  
 Čto zlato i čto srebro ljaxam pol'zovalo,  
 kolikije ž bohatstva želizo pobralo?*

*Z sribnyx polumys otci naši ne jidaly:  
 i z zolotyx puhariv ony ne pyvaly,  
 o želizi staralys', želizo ljublyly,  
 i velyku tim sobi slavu porodlyly.  
 onyx putem idite, onyx podražajte,  
 slavy išča, bohatstva by za nyčto majte.  
 Ne toj slaven, kotoryj mnoho ličyt' stada;  
 no iže mnohyx vrahiv svojix šlet' do ada:  
 semu jedyno tokmo želizo dovlijet',  
 a zlato ily srebro nyčtože umijet'.*

*Na poslidok hlaholju: samy ne kupujte:  
 luka, strilky, mušketa i šabli pyl'nujte!  
 Kupljamy bo obov'jazan žytejs'kymy vojijn,  
 imeni seho ves'ma takov ne dostojin.  
 I ditej svojix skoro otpravljat' nauky,  
 do sej že obučajte kozac'koji štuky.  
 Tako tvorja, vražiji potrete navity:  
 radost' siju na mnohi uderžyte lity . . . \**

("Value iron highly, even above gold./ For without it gold becomes as black as mud./ Of what use to the Poles was gold or silver,/ and how much wealth did iron bring them?/ Our fathers did not eat out of silver bowls:/ nor did they drink out of golden goblets,/ they sought iron, they loved iron,/ and it brought them great glory./ Follow the path, emulate them,/ seek glory, consider wealth to be worthless./ He who counts his large herd does not become famous;/ rather he who sends many enemies to hell:/ iron alone is the only pleasure for this type,/ and gold or silver is good for nothing./ . . . / Finally I say to you: do not buy them either:/ take care that you have bows, arrows, muskets and sabres!/ For a warrior burdened by worldly purchases,/ is totally unworthy of being called such./ And teach your

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\*The language here is so close to the vernacular that in the appropriate places, I have replaced "o" and "e" by "i."

children, too, that Cossack art as soon as they complete  
 their studies./ By doing this, you will dispel the enemy:/  
 and will maintain this happiness for many years. . . .")

This style of "extended sentence" is, perhaps, best known from Shakespeare's dramas. A favorite type of monolog is the monolog "with an echo," in which the latter, by repeating the final words of the character, seems to be answering him.

Many writers also showed themselves very able in the technique of describing the events taking place off-stage: the descriptions were generally given by "messengers." In "*The Destruction of Hell*," for example, "messengers" rush to hell to tell Lucifer what is taking place on earth: Christ was sentenced, died and has risen again . . . Lucifer's mood changes accordingly.

Individual characterization is rare—Herod, some shepherds in Tuptalo's work, the pagan priests in Prokopovyč's. The characters are more frequently "types": Xmel'nyč'kyj, for example, is never more than the usual knightly figure.

Together with the usual dramatic elements, we find numerous songs, canticles, close in form to religious hymns, except that their stanza scheme is generally more involved. Also part of this same ornamentation, the prologs and epilogs, when panegyric in nature, are reminiscent of heraldic verse. (Actual heraldic verse does sometimes occur in the dramas.) There is also emblematic verse (e.g., in respect to the instruments of Christ's torture) as well as epigrams—whole *vinci* (garlands) which are read when instruments or paintings of Christ's suffering are brought on stage, or when mention is made of Christ's crucifixion and death.

We have already seen how varied the language of the drama was. This depended in part on the taste of the author and the "school" to which he belonged, and in part on the nature of individual scenes.

Similarly varied were the theatrical productions of these plays. While this aspect of drama is outside the realm of literature, the Baroque drama cannot be evaluated if the complexity of its staging is ignored. The stage was composed of three levels—Hell, Earth, and Heaven. Although the greater part of the action took place on Earth, some scenes did move to Hell (Herod and the "lover of feasts" suffer there), or to Heaven (where "poor Lazarus" is consoled, and where the angels appear). This division allowed Herod to "fall to perdition" or the angels or other characters to "rise to heaven." Stage effects were numerous. In the stage directions we read that "heaven sends forth lightning, thunder and hail," or "thunder claps." There are dances as well as songs—e.g., at Herod's court, or effects such as the Cyclopes who sing while they forge on stage

(probably “below the earth” on the lower level), or “Wickedness” which overcomes the evil snake. The use of processions was very common—e.g., angels who carry the instruments of Christ’s suffering or shields. There were also pantomimes, such as the “silent” slaughter of the children in Bethlehem, etc.

The immediate importance of drama has already been mentioned. It must also be remembered that the later tradition of Ukrainian theatre was possibly connected in spirit with the flourishing of Baroque drama. The influence of Ukrainian drama, outside the boundaries of Ukraine, was very strongly felt in Moscow and in all of Russia, even as far as distant Siberia. Russian eighteenth century literature was to a large degree dependent on the Ukrainian tradition in general and on the drama in particular. Mention has already been made of the influence of Ukrainian drama in the Balkans (see above, no. 7).

## H. SERMONS

1. The sermon, which today is no longer a part of *belles-lettres*, was in Baroque times still considered as belletristic literature. Furthermore, it was one of the most important and most favored literary forms. There were various types of sermons, but especially characteristic for this period were the following three types: the sermon which was directly connected with Holy Scripture, the moralistic sermon, and the sermon-panegyric. The essence of the sermon, it must be noted, lay not only in its theme, but in its form as well. The form of the Baroque sermon was similar to that of the other literary genres of the time. The technique of the person delivering the sermon was to shock the listener, attack his reason or emotions, in order to arouse and sustain his interest; the listener in these stormy times was occupied with many non-ecclesiastical problems, and took part in a rather broad sphere of secular life which did not come under Church control. This explains the Baroque preacher’s fondness for the original, the surprising, for special effects, and his reliance on “sensationalism.” The late Baroque even developed a certain type of witty, sharp and paradoxical sermon (in Italian it was called a “conchetto” sermon).

Almost all these types of sermons appeared in Ukraine. Paradoxically, literary historians have often rebuked the preachers of this era for delivering sermons which were actually quite in keeping with the spirit of their times! Just as their Western counterparts, Ukrainian preachers differed—not by personal choice alone, but also because of the differing social and cultural milieus in which they lived and worked. If it is unreasonable to expect a preacher of the Baroque era to abide by the literary norms of antiquity, how much more unreasonable is it to require that he satisfy nineteenth or twentieth century

tastes! If it is unreasonable to expect a preacher who addressed himself to monks to attack the drunkenness of either peasants or landowners, how much more unreasonable is it to expect a preacher who spoke at either the Hetman's or the Tsar's court to discuss the failings in the lives of the general masses! The harshest criticism was levied against the witty Stefan Javors'kyj, who preached in "concerto" style; if we consider his sermons in historical perspective, the unfairness of such criticisms becomes apparent.

A large number of sermons which appeared in printed form have been preserved. Unfortunately, many of them were printed in Moscow and their language was extensively corrupted as a result of Russian "corrections." At the same time, a relatively large number of written sermons by the same preachers are available to us in correctly printed versions. It is impossible to examine all of the various types of sermons and all of their stylistic features in a general study of this type.

2. To the initial stages in the development of Baroque homiletics belong the sermons of Kyrylo Trankvillion Stavrovec'kyj, *Instructional Gospel* (1619, and reprinted in 1696).

As the title would suggest, these sermons are to a large degree based on the Scripture, but any direct ties with the Bible are weakened by the fact that the sermons are dedicated to certain holy days and saints. Their language is rather lofty—Slavonic. Several details place the author in this particular period. References to the "Arians" and the "Calvinists," quotations from "foreign" authors (Latin), rhetorical embellishments, exclamations and appeals both to the saints and the listeners, which take the form of questions and even rebukes, for example: "O, Petre! ščo tvoryš? Hdiže nyny tvoje onoje derzovenije?" ("O Peter, what are you doing? Where now is your former boldness?"). In Stavrovec'kyj's *Perly mnohocinni* (*Priceless Pearls*, 1646, 1690), we find sermons which are intended for reading. The sermon on the occasion of the death of Father L. Karpovyč, delivered by Meletij Smotryc'kyj in 1620, demonstrates that new directions in the sermon form were already discernible. Smotryc'kyj surprises the audience by telling them that there exist five forms of life and death: 1) natural life and natural death, 2) life of grace and death in Gehenna, 3) sensuous life and death of virtues, 4) worldly life and rapturous life—ecstasies in which the righteous join God transported in an unconscious state, and 5) a life of glory, and death of perdition, in the next life. He then proceeds to apply these distinctions to the life of Father Leontij. Certain parts of this sermon are panegyric in nature, while the conclusion is akin to a prayer. Euphony is frequent (alliterations: "pobožne požyly"), rhymes ("nadary . . . i osmotry," "zmohaješ . . . zažyvaješ") and the language is noticeably rhythmical. These

features reflect the style of the late Baroque sermon.

3. In Ukraine, the first theorist of the Baroque sermon was I. Galjatovs'kyj, although in Petro Mohyla's sermon of 1632 the later style was already rather well developed. Galjatovs'kyj published *Ključ rozuminja* (*A Key to Learning*, 1659, 1663 and 1665) as well as the theoretical *Nauka, al'bo sposib zložennja kazanj* (*The Teaching or the Manner of Composing a Sermon*, 1659, 1660 and others with many additions). He gives advice about choosing themes "to entice the people into listening," and although he bases his teachings on the traditions of the Holy Fathers and demands that the content remain quite orthodox, he also requires that the content correspond to the spirit of the time, that it contain "ideas both wise and strange, sometimes happy, sometimes sad to make the people keen on listening" ("*propozycij . . . mudryx ta dyvnyx, časom veselyx, časom smutnyx, kotri ljudej barzo oxočymy do sluxannja čynjat*"). In addition to the material from the fathers of the Church, he urges that writers make use of chronicles and histories, books about animals, birds, snakes, fish, trees, herbs, rocks and waters as well as the homilies of the various contemporary preachers. Galjatovs'kyj's rather simple plan for writing sermons is supplemented in his own works by a variety of extra material which is used as examples (taken from historical and other types of tales), or in metaphors, in various comparisons. The nature of these comparisons is similar to that of the comparisons used in emblematic verse, e.g., Galjatovs'kyj compares the Old and New Testaments to two celestial poles. In his own sermons, he actually makes use of all the scholarly forms which he mentions in his guide. Some of his sermons are built according to the rules of logic. He quotes numerous ancient and new Western writers. Varied, too, are his reactions to contemporary events. He is especially concerned about the strife at home ("*vijna domovaja*") and, among other things, relates a fable: "*Jednoho orla postrileno striloju, a gdy pozriv orel na tu strilu, pobačyv na nij pera orliji, i počav movyty: ne žal' mni, že mene b'jet' toje derevo i želizo, ale žal' mni, že moji ž pera orliji orla b'jut' mene*" ("A certain eagle was hit by an arrow, and when the eagle looked at the arrow, he saw eagle feathers on it and he began to speak: I am not sorry that this wood and iron are striking me, but that I, an eagle, am being struck by eagle feathers"; this is a quotation from Aristophanes).

4. Much more complex is the style of Galjatovs'kyj's contemporary, Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj, whose works include the collections *Ohorodok Mariji Bohorodyci* (*Orchard of Mary, Mother of God*, 1676), *Vinec' Xrystov* (*The Crown of Christ*, 1688), and some handwritten sermons. In spite of this complexity in style, the influence of contemporary times and folk literature can be felt. His sermons contain a certain amount of moralizing. Radyvylovs'kyj

frequently draws “examples” from *Gesta Romanorum* (*The Great Mirror*), and *Barlaam and Josaphat*, Polish sources and, it seems, even from the *Decameron* (X, 1). Characteristic of Radyvylovskij is the humorous modernization of antiquity: “*Mojsej, het'man ljudu Izrajl's'koho, xotjačy vijs'ko svoje . . . polkamy rušyty, ušykovavšy onoje, a vdaryvšy v bubny, trubny, napered kazav pidnesty značok polka*” (“Moses, hetman of the Israelites, wanted to move his army by regiments; he lined it up and sounding the drums and trumpets ordered the standard to be raised”). John the Theologian is referred to as the “secretary of heaven” (“*sekretar neba*”), John the Baptist as the “Lord’s majordomo” (“*maršalok Hospoda*”), etc. He frequently speaks about the shields and insignias of the saints: “*svjatyj arxystratyh Myxajil, iž v ony valečnij peršij v nebi z Ljuciferom potrebi nabuv mečem zvytjazstva, preto . . . dan (jomu) za herb meč*” (“Even in that stormy time the Archangel Michael was the first one to win a heroic victory in heaven by taking up the sword against Lucifer; because of this, the sword became his emblem”). Radyvylovskij’s works are full of proverbs, some of which are translations from Latin, others come from folk culture: “*Jakoje odijannja, takoje i pošanovannja*” (“Clothes make the man”); “*Iskra lyxaja . . . i pole vyžyhajet' i sama potim hynet'*” (“An evil spark destroys both field and itself”); “*Tonučyj xvatajet'sja j meča*” (“A drowning man will resort to anything”); “*Psu bytomu til'ku pokažy kyj, až zaraz utikajet'*” (“A once-beaten dog need only catch sight of the stick and he will run the other way”); “*Smil'shaja . . . baba za stinoju, nežely rycar' v poli*” (“A woman hiding behind a wall is more bold than a knight in the field”); “*U syroty tohdi praznyk, koly košulja bilaja*” (“It is a happy day for an orphan when he has a white shirt”); “*Jakij pan, takyj i kram*” (“The wares betray the master”); “*Holyj rozboju ne bojit'sja*” (“A naked man is not afraid of being robbed”), etc. (The monk Klymentij also makes use of such proverbs.) Radyvylovskij is fond of both dramatic scenes and dramatic dialogs: the Virgin Mary talks with an angel; Radyvylovskij poses rhetorical questions and then answers them, asks questions of the saints and rebukes them as well: “*Ax apostolove! Takaja ž to vaša protyvko Xrystu Spasytelevi, učytelevi vašomu, mylost'! Takaja virnist', že v neščastju i zlim razi vsi jeho ostavujete! O Petre! de onaja tvoja obitnycja: Hospody, z toboju hotov i v temnycju i na smert' ity, koly juž sja počynaješ zapyraty Hospoda svojego? dež, Fomo, onaja tvoja odvaha . . . ? . . . ne vsi movly: Hospody, se my ostavyxom vsja i vslid tebe idoxom? čemu ž teper ne idete za učytemem svojim? čemu Jeho samoho ostavujete v rukax nepryjatel's'kyx?*” (“O, Apostles! Such is your love for Christ the Savior, your teacher! So great is your faith that in misfortune and bad times you all abandon Him! O, Peter, where are all your earlier promises: ‘Lord, with you I am ready to go to

prison and die,' if now you are beginning to deny your Lord? Where, Thomas, is your former courage . . . ? . . . Did not everyone say, 'We have left everything and have gone after you'? Why do you not follow your teacher now? Why do you leave Him all alone in unfriendly hands?") Radyvylov'sky delights in drawing verbal pictures: he describes the solemn greeting of the Trinity by the angels or Christ's reception in heaven, etc. He is fond of symbolism and emblems, but also frequently comments on contemporary issues—national and social notes emerge clearly in his “moralistic” sermons. He appeals to the Cossacks: “*Prypomnite sebi svojix starodavnix predkiv, het'maniv, polkovnykiv, sotnykiv, osauliv i inšyx molodciv dobryx, Zaporožciv, jak z tym pohanynom otvažne morem i polem val'čyly . . . jako jix mnoho na pljacu klaly, jako mnoho v nevolju braly!*” (“Remember your old forefathers—the hetmans, colonels, centurions, deputy-hetmans and other brave and good Zaporozhians and how they boldly fought against the unbelievers on land and sea, and how many of them they killed on the battlefield and how many they took into captivity!”). He voices his response to the events leading up to the period of ruin: “*Ščo to čynjat' bohatyji i syl'nyji, gdy to lyxvamy, to poboramy tjažkymy, to pozvamy ubohšyx i podlišyx nad sebe ljudej styskajut'?* Jako ryby velykije menšyx rybok požyrajut'” (“What are the rich and the strong doing when they oppress those who are poorer and less fortunate through usury, heavy taxes, and summonses? They show that small fish are eaten up by larger ones”). “*Vyneset' Boh koho na staršynstvo, obdaryt' mudrist'ju, šljaxetnist'ju, bahatsvny, to uže sja podlomu čoloviku ne čynyt' bratom, ale hospodynom*” (“If God raises someone's birthright, endows him with wisdom, nobility and wealth, then, should this man be petty, then he is no longer a brother, but a master to the common man”). “*Jesly ženščyna jest' bahataja—ona čeljadku budyt' do roboty . . . Jesly zas' ubohaja, musyt' bidnaja vstaty, a, ostavyvšy v domu ditja svoje, pijty, . . . de by (mohla) osmačok jakyj zarobyty al'bo vyprosyt' u koho na požyvinnja svoje*” (“A rich woman rouses her servant girl to work. . . . A poor woman, however, must get up herself, and leaving her child at home go somewhere where she can earn a piece of bread or beg for some money to live on”).

5. Over the relatively straightforward style of Radyvylov's'kyj, towers the splendid style of the late Baroque: the sermons of Lazar Baranovyč--[*Meč duxovnyj (Spiritual Sword)*, 1666, 1686], and *Truby sloves propovidnyx (The Trumpets of Words Preached)*, 1674, 1679), of St. Dmytro Tuptalo and of Stefan Javors'kyj (printed later).

Dmytro Tuptalo, however, only began his career as a preacher in this pompous symbolic style. In his sermon for the funeral of Innokentij Gizel' (1685), he compares Gizel' to one of the columns of Solomon's temple, and

Solomon's temple to the Kievan Caves Monastery. His later sermons are not as rich in symbolism, but are frequently very dramatic. A preacher would almost have to be an actor to read the long dialogs (such as that between Abraham and God) well. The preacher speaks with the Apostles Peter and Paul, with John the Baptist, and David and studies his Psalter with the listeners; his sermons consist of long sections with numerous parallels and contrasts. Their structure is rather complex—long series of questions which are answered in separate parts of the sermon. Occasionally, he uses some artificial symbolism: e.g., the various symbolic connotations of the water which St. Dmytro proposes that the readers use instead of vodka to whet their appetites; or the symbolic connotation of the various trees from which, according to apocryphal tradition, Christ's cross was carved—cypress, cedar, palm; or the various types of bread. Sometimes there are extended descriptions—for example, the one traditionally found in Baroque literature and later employed by Skovoroda: that of life as a vast sea. Or we find the symbolic explanation of Adam's name—"microcosm" or "of a little world," which provide the author with a frame upon which to build his sermon.

St. Dmytro was particularly fond of surprising his audience with the unexpected: modern images in the middle of a biblical text, or a Classical anecdote among the dialogs in a sermon; there is also a conversation between a preacher and the dead. As in his verses (see Ch. VII, pt. C), St. Dmytro employs alliteration and other devices of euphony, for example: "*pryčascajsja časti časi Hospodni*"; "*pasjaše svynija i svyns'koju pyščuju pytaša'sja*"; "*vitru i volnam vovstavšym*"; "*o zlatoslove, zlatohlaholyve, Zlatouste loanne, zlatymy tvojimy ustamy...*". Not infrequently the language he uses is syntactically rhythmical.

But St. Dmytro is also adept at formulating theological or moral ideas. Beautiful and moving descriptions permeated by light humor are even more frequently encountered; for example, his depiction of the Nativity. The stable is filled with holy people, and "all around heavenly forces are singing in concert, with St. Gabriel conducting the choir by beating the rhythm with a lily which does not wither, even in the winter" ("*kruhom syly nebesnyji koncerty vospivajut', a xorom upravljajet' sv. Arxanhel Havryjil, bija taktu neuvjadajuščuju i v zymi lylejeju*"). But Tuptalo was also capable of courageously attacking the things which he believed to be wrong: before the eyes of Tsar Peter, he described Herod's banquet attended by the pagan gods, Venus, Bacchus, and Mars, thus alluding to the habits and occupations of the tsar. His best sermon, and one which is very moving, is reminiscent of Skovoroda's dream: the "Kingdom of Heaven" descends to the earth but can find no room for itself in the tsar's treasury, it finds much unjustly acquired wealth, collected through thievery, and by human suffering and tears ("*mnohaja bahatstva*

*nepravednaja, sobrannaja od hrablenija, od obid i sl'oz ljuds'kyx*"); it goes among the merchants and finds only deceit and lies; it goes to the courts where the judge speaks righteous words while thinking evil thoughts ("sudya myrnaja slovesa hlaholet', a duša joho pomyšlajet' zlo"); it goes to a banquet which, although merry, ends in an argument; it goes to the church and finds a lack of attention and piety not only among the laity, but the clergy as well; it then goes to a village where it finds poor hungry people, condemned by the courts, crying and sighing; seeing this, the Kingdom of Heaven decides to settle in the village, for here there is peace and it will be happy ("to vydja, nebesnoje carstvo vozljubylo na seli žyty: . . . sej pokij mij, zdi vseljusja"). There are several such gems of Ukrainian preaching in St. Dmytro's writings. The typical Baroque style is clearly evident here—the polished form, repetitions, parallels, contrasts, "rhetoric," and the desire to startle the listener by presenting ideas in new ways. In St. Dmytro's sermons we see the best example of the fact that this Baroque apparel need not obscure the meaning nor lessen the impact of images or ideas.

6. The most famous writer of sermons in the late Baroque style is Stefan Javors'kyj. Javors'kyj was the author of *Retoryčna ruka* (*The Rhetorical Hand*), one of many books of poetics written in the Baroque period. This work describes a great many (59) tropes and figures, many of which the author himself was fond of using. (It should be added that these were not new ornaments peculiar to the Baroque, but ones which belonged to Classical poetics.) Javors'kyj's sermons are, in fact, overburdened with embellishments. They are frequently constructed on the basis of extended metaphors; for example, his sermon about St. Nicholas is built on a comparison of the saint and a church altar. Javors'kyj examines the altars which are mentioned in the Bible. The material of which they are constructed has symbolic meaning—gold symbolizes love, copper—sonority, wood which does not decay—chastity, stone—masculinity and suffering, earth—humility. All these symbols are then related to the life of St. Nicholas. In other instances, the comparisons are rather unexpected: the Blessed Virgin or the twelve Apostles are compared to the signs of the Zodiac, the Holy Ghost to wine, etc. Javors'kyj also uses individual comparisons, examples (frequently Classical), questions and dialogs, puns (frequently Latin), assonance ("nehnijuščeje netlinnoj čystoty derevo, myslennaja maslyna"), rhymes ("vkorenyty i vsčepyty, zaključennyj—nasadžennyj"), and sometimes even incorporates rhyming couplets into his sermons. His sentences are built on parallels or contrasts—"Ty truždajššja, a my trudamy tvojmju počyvajem. Ty na smert' ustremľajššja, a my tim od smerty svobodni" ("You work, and we rest through your labor. You attack death, and because of this, we are free from death"); "Ty malo spyšy, a my bezsonnyceju tvojeju vysypljajemsja . . ." ("You

sleep little, but we sleep well because of your insomnia"); etc. He has a predilection for semi-humorous comparisons, as well: "*herb ahncja*," ("the coat of arms of the Lamb of God"); "*pryvyleja z samej kanceljarii nebes'koj*" ("a privilege granted by the chancellery of heaven itself"); "*Noj jest' pervym admiralom i vodnoho puty iz'javytelem. O Noje! o preslavnyj admirale! o kolykoje imamy vozdaty blahodarenije za tvoje od Boha dannoe masterstvo . . .*" ("Noah is the first admiral and initiator of water travel. O Noah! Most illustrious admiral! How we ought to give thanks for this talent which God gave you . . .") He turns to God with the following: "*O apykarju nebesnyj, kol' dyvna u Tebja abxymija, kol' čudesna u Tebja apteka, kotoraja i samyje jady v likarstva peretvorjajet' i samuju l'vovuju ljutist' v sladist' prominajet' i samuju žovč mannoju tvoryt'*" ("O heavenly apothecary, how strange is your alchemy, how wonderful your apothecary shop which is capable of transforming poisons into medicine, lion-like ferocity into sweetness, and bile, itself, into manna"). The content of the comparison is frequently traditional: for example, life is a sea—"Ščo jest' hrišnyk, ašč ne more Čornoje, bezzakonije očorniloje, dna i miri hrixam ne imuščeje, hordym volnenijem dmjaščejesja, vitramy duxov zloby koleblemoje, horist' i slanist' hrixovnuju v sobi soderžaščeje, kytov ads'kych pohloščajuščyx preispolnenoje." "Plovuščym nikohda v korabli kupcjam prebohatym, najdet' strašnaja burja, načnut' volny o korabl' šturmuvaty, strax na vsix velyk, pohrjaznovenije korablja blyz'ko, smert' tut pred očyma . . ." ("What is a sinner if not a Black Sea, lawless and dark, knowing no depth or limits to his sins, proud waves beating, made unsettled by the winds of evil spirits, harboring in itself the brine and the bitterness of sin, teeming with infernal whales eager to swallow him." "When a fierce storm rises and waves begin to pound the boat a great fear overcomes everyone; the destruction of the boat is near, and those very wealthy merchants who never sail in boats think that death is before their very eyes.")

Unfortunately, Javors'kyj's sermons were published in Moscow with the result that their language underwent some alteration and, for the most part, only his panegyric sermons were selected for publication. Javors'kyj likewise found a comparison for Tsar Peter similar to that used by St. Dmytro, namely Belshazar's feast. However, Javors'kyj deleted this comparison when he delivered this sermon, whose theme was similar to one used by St. Dmytro about the Kingdom of Heaven: the preacher is searching for truth, but cannot find it anywhere—"Xotiv ja jiji šukaty tu, v Moskvi, a meni dexto skazav, ščo zdaleka mynula horod, znaty, ščo bojalasja abo knuta, abo plaxy abo katorhy" ("I hoped to find her [Truth] here in Moscow, but someone told me she had avoided the city, meaning that she feared either the knot, or the scaffold, or penal servitude").

In any case, Javors'kyj's sermon represents very ably the Baroque style and is a masterpiece in its own right.

7. The ornamental Baroque sermon encountered a certain opposition in the works of Teofan Prokopovyč. He opposed both artificially imposed plans and theatrics in the sermon. Unfortunately, those sermons of his which were actually printed were chosen with a specific purpose in mind—all are panegyrics to Peter I. While Prokopovyč demanded that the content of sermons be didactic, most of his sermons which are known to us contain no religious elements at all, and are little more than political speeches. But in these, too, the use of all the rhetorical devices can be seen clearly, and they, too, require that the preacher make use of theatrical gestures and speak in declamations. They differ from Javors'kyj's sermons—their metaphors and symbolism are not as striking.

More straightforward in both content and theme are the more or less purely religious sermons of a more modest Ukrainian preacher, Havrylo Bužyn's'kyj. His sermons are primarily significant for the history of the Ukrainian sermon because they were carefully printed and the language was not altered.

The sermons of S. Todors'kyj, the favorite preacher at the court of Empress Elizabeth, are almost unknown. They are interesting because they reflect the great influence of Western (German) mystical thought on the author.

In Konys'kyj's sermons embellishments are also less frequent.

Two sermon-lectures by Skovoroda can be included among the sermons of the second half of the eighteenth century: in these works, he outlines his mystical world view in a manner that is reminiscent of an introductory academic lecture. But despite their philosophical content, their form is still traditionally Baroque: the author is attempting to startle his listeners, and in this way direct their attention to the ideas he is expressing. He begins his first sermon-lecture in the following way: "*Ves' myr spyt', ta šče ne tak spyt', jak o pravednyku skazano: ašče padet', ne rozbijet'sja . . . Spyt' hlyboko protjahnuvšys' . . . A nastavnyky, pasuščyji Izrajilja, ne til'ko ne probužyvajut', no šče pohlažyvajut': spy, ne bijsja, misce xorošoje, čoho opasatysja . . .*" ("The whole world sleeps, but it is not the sleep of the righteous man of whom it is said: If he falls, he will not hurt himself. . . . It sleeps soundly, having stretched itself out. . . . And the guardians keeping watch over the Israelites not only do not wake them, but caress them: sleep, and have no fears, it is a good spot, why worry. . . .") In the second sermon, he expresses his ideas about idolatry, and begins by describing the futility of seeking Truth and Christ in this world: "*Ne smyslym de iskat' . . . Mnohiji iščut' Jeho v jedy nonačal'stvijax Kesarja Avhusta, vo vremenax Tyverijevyx . . . Něšt' zdě! Mnohyji voločat'sja po Jerusalymax, po Jordanax, po Vyflyjemax, po Karmylax, po Favorax; njuxajut' miž Evfratamy i Tyhramy . . .*

*Něst' zdě, něst'! Mnohyji iščut' Jeho vo vysokyx myrskyx čestjax, vo velykolipnyx domax, vo ceremonijal'nyx stolax . . . Mnohyji iščut', zivaja, po vseholubim zvizdonosnim svodi, po soncju, po luni, po vsim Kopernykovym myram . . . Iščut' v dovhyx molennjax, v postax, v svjaščenyčes'kyx obrjadax . . . iščut' v den'hax, v stolitnim zdorov'ji, v plots'kim voskresenni . . . Něst' zdě!*" ("We do not know where to look. . . Many seek him in the one man rule of Caesar Augustus, in the reign of Tiberius. . . No not here! Many roam through Jerusalems, River Jordans, Bethlehems, Mt. Carmels, and Mount Tabors; they nose around between the Euphrates and the Tigris. No, no not here! Many seek Him in high worldly honors, in splendid dwellings, ceremonial feasts. . . Many seek Him, sighing, in the blue of the firmament, in the sun and in the moon, in every part of Copernicus' world. . . They seek Him in lengthy prayers, in fasts, in priestly rites . . . they seek Him in wealth, in centuries of health, in bodily resurrection. . . Not here!") Stylistically, Skovoroda's sermons are traditionally Baroque: appeals to the listeners, dialogs, humorous expressions (see examples cited above), symbolism even more daring and startling than the symbolism of other preachers, contrasts and paradoxes.

The Ukrainian sermon remained within the Baroque tradition for almost 200 years. In the nineteenth century the sermon was excluded from the realm of *belles lettres*. Its influence on literature is thus minimal. To the present time, literary history has done little research in this area. The treasures of the Ukrainian Baroque sermon—formal and intellectual—still await the attention of our generation.

## I. HISTORICAL LITERATURE

1. Historiography, like the sermon, belonged to *belles lettres* in Baroque times. Perhaps only purely annalistic works had a non-literary function. In any case, as early as 1670 a monk of Hustyn, Myxajlo Losyc'kyj, in the introduction to one of his chronicles, recognized Homer as the predecessor of the seventeenth century chroniclers; he saw in Homer a patriot as well as a poet.

That the achievements of the Baroque era in this branch of literature were significant can be seen in the very fact that historical studies at the time were very intensive, that the number of historical works of various types was quite large and that in these works we almost always find a distinct "nationalistic" world view. Sometimes interwoven with Slavic or Orthodox ideology, this national world view appears to be present in every historical work of the Ukrainian Baroque era.

Some works are still linked to the old chronicle (*litopys*) tradition: at the

turn of the century (c.1621), the *Hypatian Chronicle* (the so-called Pogodin collection) was rewritten, but even as late as 1670 there appears the so-called *Hustyn' Chronicle* (from the Hustyn' Monastery) which bears a close resemblance to the old type of chronicle. With time, many chronicles, diaries and notes (some of which have been lost) appeared. We will not discuss these works here as they are interesting only insofar as they reflect the literary tastes and ideology of their time. In addition to purely historical works, autobiographies also began to appear; as they tended to focus on religious rather than political events, they are interesting as revelations of the inner development of the author (e.g., the day-book of Anastasij Fylypovyč [c. 1645]. V. Hryhorovyč Bars'kyj's notes on his trip through the Holy Land [before 1745] represents another original type of record). Even if we take into account a few more diaries and notes which were devoted not to historical events but rather to the experiences of an individual, we are still faced with the fact that this favorite Baroque form, the autobiography, was not very widespread in Ukraine—a result of the marked religiosity in the educated circles in Ukraine, and the lack of interest in purely literary matters of a secular nature.

2. Several famous chronicles were compiled during this period; while they are called “chronicles,” they differ markedly from the genuine chronicles. The first of these is the *Litopys “Samovydcja” (The Eye-Witness Chronicle)*, the author of which has yet to be positively identified. *The Eye-Witness Chronicle* covers the period up to 1702, but its first version probably appeared after 1672, and included events only until 1674. The author's style is quite picturesque with beautiful descriptions and occasionally rather tensely dramatic narration. The language is quite simple, close to the vernacular and includes some proverbs. All this, however, is no more than a literary mask behind which the author hid his identity, and quite successfully, as his identity has yet to be discovered. His epic style is also a mask behind which lies a fundamentally tendentious treatment of the events from the point of view of the monarchy and the nobility. Consider the following example of the language used by the author: “*I tak narod pospolytyj na Ukrajinu poslyšavšy o znesennju vijs'k koronnyx i het'maniv, zaraz počalysja kupyty v polky ne til'ko tije, kotorije kozakamy byvaly, ale xto i nidy kozactva ne znav . . . Na tot čas tuha velykaja ljudem vsjakoho stanu znatnym byla, i naruhanja od pospolytyx ljudej, a najbil'še od hul'tjajstva, to jest' od brovarnykiv, vynnykiv, mohyl'nykiv, budnykiv, najmytiv, pastuxiv . . .*” (“And so the common people in Ukraine hearing about the rout of both royal and hetman armies, immediately began to group into regiments, and not only those who had been Cossacks, but even those who knew nothing of Cossack ways. . . . At that time a great grief came over men of all stations, and they suffered

outrages at the hands of the common people, especially the brewers, the wine-pressers, the grave-diggers, the watchmen, the servants and the shepherds.”)

3. Hryhorij Hrabjanka, the author of a second famous historical work, conceals neither his identity nor his point of view. Although he wrote his chronicle after 1709 and describes the history of Ukraine from its beginnings, he is primarily concerned with the era of Xmel’nyč’kyj. With the exception of but a few pages which are devoted to certain people or events to which the author is sympathetic or in which he is particularly interested, the section dealing with this period is the only one that is artistically accomplished. Hrabjanka relies not only on Ukrainian sources but also on Polish (in both Polish and Latin) and Western materials (e.g., Pufendorf) and does not hide this fact. In accordance with the norms of the Baroque historical style, Hrabjanka follows in the traditions of the Roman historians, notably Livy; unlike that of the *Eye-Witness Chronicle*, his style is “lofty.”

4. The most outstanding and the most extensive chronicle from this period is that of Samijlo Velyčko. Admittedly, parts of his work have been lost and, as a result, the extant portion only describes events up to 1700; however, it appears that the author had actually extended his narrative up to 1720. In the prefaces to the first and second volumes, Velyčko develops some of the basic ideas underlying his world view and his historical “methodology.” The sources upon which Velyčko draws are no less varied than those employed by Hrabjanka (he also uses Pufendorf, and the poet Tasso), while the influence of the style of the Roman historians is greater here than in Hrabjanka. Velyčko’s heroes utter short or long speeches modelled on those used by Latin historians. Velyčko’s style changes with the subject he is discussing, so that one can speak of various shadings in his style. “High” style, reminiscent of the language of the Baroque sermon, is used in speeches and in moments of pathos; in those passages in which Velyčko expresses his own views, a much simpler style is used. More straightforward still and more poetic are the passages describing various events. This variety of style is reminiscent of the old Ukrainian chronicles. Just as the old Ukrainian chronicles can be viewed as collections, encyclopaediae of old and frequently lost literature, the same can be said of Velyčko’s work: his work includes poems predominantly of a historical and political nature by many known (I. Velyčkovs’kyj) and unknown poets, as well as panegyrics, eulogies (epitaphs), etc. Velyčko’s work is essentially historical and not literary and in this lies the explanation of the fact that we find in it both documents and excerpts from some sources, as well as oral tales and so on.

Consider Velyčko’s melancholic description of Ukraine after her ruin:

*Pohljanuvšy . . . vydix prostrannyji tohobočnyji Ukrajino-malorosijs'kyji polja i rozlehlyji dolyny, lisy i obšymyji sadove i krasnyji dubravy, riky, stavy, ozera, zapustilyji mxom, troptijem i nepotrebnuju ljadynoju zaroššyji . . . Pred vijnoju Xmel'nyč'koho byst' aki vtoraja zemlja obitovannaja, medom i mlekom kypjaščaja. Vydix že k tomu na riznyx tam miscjax mnoho kosty čelovičes'kyx, suxyx i nahyx, til'ko nebo pokrov sibi imuščyx i rekox v umi—kto sut'syja?*

(“Looking around . . . I saw stretching before me on the other side, Ukrainian-Little Russian fields, expansive valleys, woods, large orchards and beautiful oak groves, rivers, streams and lakes—overgrown with moss, reeds and wild bush. . . . Before Xmel'nyckyj's war it had been as if another land, overflowing with milk and honey. And then I saw in various places small piles of human bones, dry and bare, guarded over by heaven alone, and I asked myself: whose bones are these?”)

Or this example of his narration:

*[Vijs'ko Sirka] rušylo vhoru Dnipra do Siči svojeji, majučy množestvo vsjakoji zdobyči kryms'koji, i jasyru tatars'koho z xrystijanamy v nevoli kryms'koji byvšymy trynadcjaty tysjač. Otdalyvšysja tedy Sirko zo vsim vijs'kom i koryst'my od Krymu u myl'kil'konadcjat', i stanuvšy nihdys' v prylyčnom miscu na popas poludnevnyj, veliv odnym kozakam po dostatku kaši varyty, žeby dlja nyx i dlja jasyru mohlo staty onoji, a druhym veliv jasyr nadvoje rozlučyty, xrystijan osobno a bisurman osobno.*

Some of the Christians wanted to return to the Crimea:

*Odpustyvšy tedy onyx ljudej do Krymu [Sirko] vzošedšy na mohylu tam byvšuju, smotriv na nyx potil', pokil' ne stalo jix vydno; a gdy uvydiv jix nepremiinnoje v Krym ustremlynje, tohda zaraz tysjači kozakam molodym veliv na kin' vsisty, i dohnavšy vsix . . . na holovu vybyty i vyrubaty. . . . Malo zas' pohodyvšy, i sam Sirko na konja vsiv i skočyv tudy, de jeho ordonanc soversavšsja skutkom . . . , do mertvyx trupiv vymovyv taki slova: Prostite nas, bratija, a sami spite tut do strašneho sudu Hospodnja, nežely byste mily v Krymu meždu*

*bisurmanamy rozmnožatysja na naši Xrystijans'kyji molodec'kyji holovy, a na svoju vičnuju bez xreščenyja pohybel'.*

("Sirko's army advanced up the Dnieper to its Cossack camp with a vast amount of booty from the Crimea, as well as Tatar captives, of whom there had been thirteen thousand in captivity with the Christians in the Crimea. Then, after he had gone several miles from the Crimea with his army and his loot, he halted them in a suitable spot for lunch. He ordered some Cossacks to cook sufficient gruel for themselves and the captives, and ordered another to divide up the captives, the Christians in one group, the Moslems in another. [Some of the Christians wanted to return to the Crimea.] Letting these people go, Sirko climbed up on a mound which happened to be there, and watched them until they disappeared from sight. Seeing their singular desire was to return to the Crimea, Sirko immediately ordered thousands of young Cossacks to mount their horses and overtake the former captives, attack them and slaughter all of them. Not only did he send out his men, but Sirko himself mounted his horse and galloped off to the spot where his orders were being carried out . . . , to the dead corpses, he spoke the following words: 'Forgive us, brothers, and sleep here until the last judgment. This is better for you than living in the Crimea, breeding among the Moslems at the expense of our brave Christians, and unbaptized, assuring your eternal damnation.' ")

As a whole, Velyčko's chronicle paints an unusually colorful picture of the interests, styles, experiences and manner of thinking of the man of the Ukrainian Baroque. Thus, his work (and to a lesser degree that of Hrabjanka) filled the gap left in Ukrainian Baroque literature by the poorly developed tale.

5. In addition to chronicles, the Ukrainian Baroque also produced scholarly treatises which attempted to give a synthetic view of Ukrainian history. Not all such works have a purely literary significance.

In 1672, Teodosij Safonovyč, a Kievan professor, compiled *Krojnyka z litopysciv starodavnyx* (*Chronograph Compiled from Ancient Chronicles*), namely, old Ukrainian and Polish ones. Although its author did not possess a great deal of literary talent, this work has a definite literary goal—to provide information about "everyone born of the Orthodox faith," and about the developments in Ukraine which brought it to its present state. Far superior in literary merit is Safonovyč's *Synopsis* (earlier credited to I. Gizel') which

appeared in 1674, was already reprinted in 1678 and 1680, and subsequently appeared yet another 25 times, even as late as 1861. This work deals primarily with Ukrainian history, with some events occurring on Russian territory included (but with large gaps) only to fill out the overall picture. In the spirit of "Slavophilism" and the historical universality of the Baroque, Safonovyč begins with the history of the Slavs in ancient times. He provides (fantastic) etymologies of historical names and titles, and takes into consideration Slavic paganism and old folk customs. That a conscious effort to provide a synthetic view of Ukrainian history was made in Kiev during this period is demonstrated by the fact that even later, in 1682, another work was compiled (by Koxanovs'kyj), *Obšyrnyj synopsys (A Comprehensive Synopsis)*. However, this work is merely a collection of a vast amount of material.

6. The historical synthesis which actually offers a complete picture of Ukrainian history from the Ukrainian national point of view, belongs to the post-Baroque era; it is the famous *Istorija Rusiv (The History of the Rusy)*, which covers Ukrainian history to 1769. Although the introduction refers to the work as a "chronicle" begun still in ancient times, it is quite clear that this work is not as much historical, as politically-nationalistic and literary. The author of the work was once considered to be H. Konys'kyj who purportedly conveyed the work to H. Poletyka, who was later himself thought to be its author. But it must be remembered that this work appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century on the initiative of some Ukrainian patriots who used the historical tradition of the Baroque to give substance to the political demands made to the Russian government by Ukrainians. The author of *The History of the Rusy* consistently develops the same idea which had already been touched upon in earlier literary works about Ukrainian history, that the political, national and cultural history of Ukraine has its own tradition stemming from ancient times. The Lithuanian and Polish periods of Ukrainian history are also considered from this point of view: it can even be said that in some cases the nationalistic intuition of the author did bring him to a correct understanding of the historical past. The author considers Xmel'nyč'kyj and Mazepa to be the central figures of Ukrainian history, although he does not devote much space to the latter. The author's political views are incorporated into speeches (Xmel'nyč'kyj and Polubotok), letters (Nalyvajko and Dorošenko), proclamations (Mazepa), judgments by foreigners about Ukraine and Ukrainians (Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII). At such moments, the author reveals himself as a writer with great power of expression, and in the epic sections demonstrates his narrative skill. The principal purpose of this historical narrative is the portrayal of the national and religious oppression of Ukraine by the Poles and later, by Moscow. It is not

clear whether the lack of unity in this work (some individual and relatively unimportant episodes remain without obvious connections to the whole) stems from a lack of polish or is a deliberate attempt to create the impression that this work is a "real chronicle." The language stands midway between Russian and Ukrainian; Ukrainian elements are the exception. This work can be included among those of the "Ukrainian school" of Russian literature which reached the pinnacle of its development with the appearance of Gogol'. Connections with the style of Ukrainian Baroque historiography are quite strong, but there are already many Classical elements in it (see Ch. VIII).

7. The national significance of Baroque historiography is unquestionable; the literary achievement it represents cannot be questioned: Ukrainian historical poetry and *belles lettres* rely on the works of Baroque historiographers for their sources. Ševčenko based his *Hajdamaky* on *The History of the Rusy*, Kuliš—his *Čorna rada (The Black Council)* on Hrabjanka, and so on. Not to be considered as unimportant are the works written in either Polish or Latin. The most important of these is the *Chronicle of Jerlyč*, written in Polish and of Polish orientation. Also helpful are the remarks and reports about Ukraine in foreign literature—a fruitful area for further research.

## J. THE TREATISE

1. The Baroque treatise was more than a literary form. For the most part, it was written in Latin. Among the treatises of the Baroque era are a large number of textbooks from the Kievan Academy, as well as other (both Orthodox and Catholic) schools. Of importance to literary history are those texts which discuss poetics, for in these the theory of Baroque belletristic literature is explained. Some theological works which were written in Latin—as, for example, the only existing major treatise concerning the essential difference between Catholic and Orthodox dogma, *Poxodžennja sv. Duxa (The Origin of the Holy Ghost)* by Adam Zörnikau, or Prokopovyč's textbook of Orthodox dogma—have not completely lost their validity even to this day. Also worthy of note are the linguistic works from the Baroque era—Meletij Smotryc'kyj's grammar, Pamva Berynda's dictionary. The Baroque treatise always takes some literary form used in belletristic literature and is usually a combination of several stylistic forms. Consequently, Baroque stylistics affected the style of scholarly works—even of physics and astronomy. Most immediately related to *belles lettres* are, however, the works written in a combination of Slavonic and Ukrainian: they appealed to a wide circle of readers and almost always possess a stylistically interesting form. We will consider only a few examples of the Baroque treatise.

2. The polemical treatise continued to be popular (see Ch. VI). Its style became gradually more complex, replete with witticisms, curses and other appeals to the emotions and the will, as opposed to the reason of the reader; ideas were relegated to a secondary level. The most characteristic of the works written in this complicated emotional style is Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos* (written in Polish). It is the lament of the Ukrainian Church in which she, as the true Mother, puts forth arguments against the Union and in defense of the Orthodox faith. Such a framework is in itself typically Baroque. In the first two parts Smotryc'kyj successfully imitates the form of the folk lamentation (*holosinnja*), with its rhythmical language, numerous repetitions, assonances, and its great vividness of expression: "*Hore meni bidnij,/ hore neščasnij,/ ax-z usix bokiv ohrabovani,/ . . . ruky v kajdanax,/ jarmo na šyji,/ puta na nohax,/ lancjux na kryžax,/ meč nad holovoju obosičnyj,/ voda pid nohamy hlyboka/ ohon' po bokax nevhasyj/ . . .*" ("Ah, what a bitter fate has befallen poor me who has been robbed from all sides . . . my hands are bound, my neck is yoked, there are fetters on my feet, chains on my back, a double-edged sword hangs suspended over my head; the water beneath my feet is deep, the fire on either side of me inextinguishable.") "*Prekrasna ja bula pered usima,/ ljuba j myla,/ harna, jak zorja rannja na sxodi,/ krasna, jak misjac',/ vyznačna, jak sonce,/ odynačka u materi svojej.*" ("Once I was more beautiful than everyone else, dear and pleasant, as lovely as the morning star in the east, as beautiful as the moon, as bright as the sun, my mother's only child. . .") "*Vsi mene odbihly,/ vsi pohordyly,/ rodyči moji daleko vid mene,/ pryjатели moji nepryjateljamy staly . . .*" (translated into modern Ukrainian by M. Hruševs'kyj). ("Everyone has fled from me, abandoned me; my parents are far away from me, my friends have become my enemies.") The personified Orthodox Church enumerates those many princely and noble families which abandoned Orthodoxy and converted to Catholicism to "Arianism," both of which resulted in de-nationalization! The Church turns to her sons, urging them to return to their faith; the entire lament is twenty-two pages long; the purely theological parts are also presented in artistic form—they are embellished with texts, and occasionally with quotations from the poets (Petrarch, among others), etc. *Threnos* did not mark the end of Smotryc'kyj's activity as a polemicist. He continued his polemic "from the other side" even later when he became a Uniat. The work of K. Sakovyč and the Orthodox work, *Lithos*, written as a response to it (possibly by Mohyla) are likewise outstanding works of polemical literature (also written from both points of view). The literary style of these works possesses the same Baroque pompousness, uncontrolled expressiveness, wittiness, and accusations. The most famous polemical work is Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's *Palinodija*, written in the years

1620-21. Fundamentally the work is a genuinely serious theological polemic. However, it is embellished with the same Baroque pathos, exclamations, pleas, witticisms, proverbs, panegyrics (to Ostroz'kyj), and with Herbut's speech to the Warsaw *sejm*—which the author clearly wrote with painstaking care.

3. Ukrainian Baroque literature also possesses treatises of a purely scholarly nature. Among the pioneers of Baroque stylistics is Kyrylo Trankvillion Stavrovec'kyj's *Zercalo bohoslovija* (*The Mirror of Theology*, in editions from 1618 and 1635 as well as others). "In this book, the common language has been put alongside Slavonic. . . ." The book contains an exposition of the theological doctrine concerning God, the four divisions of the world—the invisible world of the angels, the visible world, the human world, and the world of evil (that of the devils)—and finally the four last stages in a man's life: death, the last judgment, paradise and hell. The style is quite straightforward, the exposition is unencumbered by literary embellishments. A system of "moral theology" was put forth by Innokentij Gizel' in the *Myr z Bohom čoloviku* (*Man's Peace with God*, 1661 and 1678): in effect, it is a textbook to be used by priests during confessions. Here, too, the exposition is simple, even though the book was written at a time when the Baroque style was at its peak of popularity. The book possesses great force because the author draws on material from his surroundings (*pobut*), although only occasionally introducing folk language and never taking advantage of the oral traditions of the folk culture. Interesting but "chaotic" treatises come even from the region beyond the Carpathians, from the pen of Rev. Myxajlo Andrella; they are Baroque attempts at writing popular scholarly works of a theological nature.

4. The works of Havrylo Domec'kyj form an interesting page in the history of the Ukrainian treatise. Of his many prose works, some were printed, such as *Put' k vičnosti* (*The Road to Eternity*), a hundred years after his death (in 1784) in a Russified form; two others were published in scholarly editions in the twentieth century. Their content is traditionally ascetic and therefore of little interest. Their language, however, is greatly removed from the Church Slavonic, and, although it only closely approaches the vernacular, it remains one of the best examples of the language of the educated circles of the time—the end of the seventeenth century. (Domec'kyj's works, for the most part, were written between 1680 and 1690.) *O vozvannju do zakonu i o doskonalosty všedšyx v neho* (*Concerning the Call to the Law and the Perfection of Those Who Abide By It*), which was written for monks, is well constructed and quite systematic (three sections in twenty chapters), but, except for infrequent biblical quotations, is in no way reminiscent of Church language; even quotations taken from the fathers of the Church are written in the same language as are the remarks of

the author. To those who live by the letter of the law, he writes: “*Bo v nebi ne tyx koronujut', kotoryji načynajut', ale tyx, kotoryji až do smerty vytryvajut'. Ješče v pys'mi božom toje oznajmujet', iż Hospodu Bohu nihdy ne podobajet'sja hlupyj i nevmyj obit . . . ale ščo horšaja, že beščestyje Bohu prynosjat' i kryvdu čynjat', ponevaž, učynyvšy obit i vykonavšy prysjahu, ne zaxovujut', jako prystojit; na takovyx spuskajet' Boh luk hnivu svojego.*” (“For in heaven are crowned not those who began, but those who persevered to the end. Even in the Holy Scriptures it has been proclaimed that a foolish and faithless vow is never pleasing to God . . . but even worse are those who behave disgracefully before God, doing Him injustice, showing Him a lack of respect, for having made their vows and taken their oaths they do not keep them as they should; on these types, God sends down the bow of his anger.”) Domec'kyj writes the following in his *O poslušanyji* (*About Obedience*): “*Uvaž, iż zakon jest' slyčnyj i dorohyj vertohrad, porjadky i ustavy sut' ščepinnja dreves v nem, kotorye ščepyv sam Syn Božij . . . Sterečy toho vertohrada jest' svjatoje poslušanye, katoroje koždomu robotnykovi ukazujet', ščo majet' čynyty . . . Tiji, kotoryji opatrujut' drevesa i ščepinnja, to jest' zaxovujut' porjadok i ustavy, sut' barzo mylymy Hospodu Isusu Xrystu. Ale na neposlušnyja, kotoryje psujut' vynnycju jeho, jako možet' laskave na nyx zrity? . . .*” (“Take note that the law is like a good and dear vineyard, onto whose trees order and law have been grafted by God Himself. . . . Guarding this vineyard is a sacred duty, but one which shows the worker what he ought to do. . . . Those who take care of the trees and their grafts, that is, those who keep the laws and order, are very pleasing to the Lord Jesus Christ. But as for those who are disobedient, who destroy His vines, how can He look mercifully on them?”) In addition, this work is an interesting manifestation of the fact that there was a lack of definite linguistic norm for the various literary genres. While this undoubtedly enriched the linguistic possibilities within these genres, it hindered the development of a stylistic tradition on various linguistic levels.

5. Towards the end of the Baroque era, the treatise reached one of the peaks of its development in the works of H. Skovoroda. Skovoroda's moral theological treatise, *Načal'naja dver' ko xrystyjans'komu dobronraviju* (*The First Door to Christian Seemliness*), however, differs from the others since it was written for the lay reader. Generally speaking, this is the essence of Skovoroda's expositions: sometimes he develops his ideas systematically, while at other times he presents his ideas aphoristically. In those dialogs in which Skovoroda discusses his mystical, theological and moral views, both of these forms are combined. Skovoroda is particularly fond of contrasts and repetitions: “*V c'omu cilomu sviti baču ja dva svity . . . Svit vydnyj ta nevydnyj, žyvyj ta mertvyj, cilyj*

*ta rozpadlyvyj. Cej je ryza, a toj—tilo. Cej tin',—a toj derevo . . . Otže, svit u sviti je to vičnist' u tlinni, žyttja u smerti, probud u sni, svitlo u t'mi, u brexni pravda, v pečali radist', v odčaji nadija*" (translated by D. Čyžev's'kyj; "I see two worlds in this whole world. . . . A visible world and an invisible world, a live one and a dead one, a whole one and a crumbling one. One is the raiment, the other the body. One the shadow, the other the tree. And so the world in the world is like eternity in mortality, life in death, wakefulness in sleep, light in darkness, truth in the midst of lies, happiness in the midst of sorrow, hope in the midst of despair"). Or: "*Svit cej je velyke more. . . . Na c'omu šljaxu zustričajut' nas kam'jani skeli ta skel'ky; na ostrovax—syreny, v hlybynax kyty, u povitri—vitry, xvyljuvannja usjudy; vid kameniv—štovxannja, vid seren—zvedennja, vid kytiv zahlytannja, vid vitriv—protyvlenija, vid xvyl' potoplennja . . .*" ("This world is a vast sea . . . as we journey over it we come across rocks and boulders; on the islands—sirens; in the depths—whales, in the open air—winds. The rocks jostle us; the sirens tempt us; the whales swallow us; the winds drive us the wrong way; the waves drown us."). In addition to such external embellishments, Skovoroda's works also contain many striking comparisons, some short and some extended. He relates some rather lengthy stories which he later explains symbolically, and introduces shorter prose fables (of which he wrote a significant number himself), to which he adds only a short "moral." Occasionally he uses straightforward comparisons: "*Boh je podobnyj povnomu fontanovi, ščo napovnjuje rizni posudyny za jix vmistom. Nad fontanom napys: nerivna usim rivnist', Lljut'sja z riznyx rurok rizni toky v rizni posudyny, ščo kolo fontanu stojat'. Menša posudyna maje menše, ale v tomu je bilšij rivna, ščo tak same je povna*": "*Vsi . . . obdarovannja (ljudyne), ščo je taki rizni, čynyť toj samyj Dux svjatyj . . . U muzyčnomu orhani te same povitryja vyklykaje rizni holosy čerez rizni rurky.*" ("God is like that fountain which fills various containers according to their individual capacity. Above the fountain hangs a sign: unequal equality to all. Streams of water pour from various pipes into the various containers which stand around the fountain. A smaller container has less, but is equal to the larger one since it is likewise full." "All gifts bestowed on men, how various their forms may be, all come from the same Holy Spirit. . . . In a musical organ, the same wind calls forth different sounds from different pipes."). Skovoroda is fond of harmony on the linguistic level. His exposition abounds in assonances: "*nosymym nosyt'sja i deržymym deržyt'sja,*" "*molvyt' vsimy molvamy,*" "*vitreno veselije,*" "*bezzakonija bezdna,*" "*svit i sovit,*" "*more myra.*" In addition, some individual words are rhymed: "*biža i nabiža,*" "*čeho želat', a čeho ubihat'.*" Rhyme is frequent, especially in aphorisms: "*xto vo ščo vlyubvysja, tot vo to i preobrazyvsja,*" ("man becomes what he adores"), "*z pryrodoju žyt' i z*

*Bohom byt'*," ("to live in nature and be with God"). From such aphorisms it is but a small step to the epigram. The language is often rhythmical.

6. The dialog form of Skovoroda's works is also interesting. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that it is in large measure only a superficial embellishment, which does not tie in organically with the content of the work. Only rarely are the persons engaged in the dialog individually characterized, and the author sometimes, perhaps forgetting their individuality, assigns them different roles in subsequent parts of the same dialog. The questions posed by those taking part in the dialog in no way contribute to the development of the idea. Ideas are simply divided up among the speakers. Much more interesting are the dialogs written by Teofan Prokopovyč, who also wrote other treatises—*Pravda voli monaršej* (*The Truth of Rulers' Will*), and *Duxovnyj regljament* (*Concerning Spiritual Rules*)—which formed the foundation for Russian absolutism; these works are also interesting because they use the modern judicial theories of Hobbes, Grotius and others. Prokopovyč's dialogs, *Rozhovor derevodila z kupcem* (*The Dialogue Between the Lumberman and the Merchant*) and *Rozhovor hraždanyňa z seljanyňom ta pivcem cerkovnym* (*The Citizen's Conversation with the Peasant and the Church Singer*), which are concerned with religious issues (the former about the importance of the Church, and the latter, the importance of spiritual enlightenment) are in parts very successful as dialogs. The conversation progresses naturally, with one idea tied into the next; the speakers, even in their speech, are individualized.

7. The dialog form was not new to Ukrainian literature. Typical thematically of the treatise written in dialog form is *Knyha o smerti* (*A Book About Death*, 1626), which paints most terrifying pictures of the last stages of man: death, the last judgment, hell—and, rather briefly, paradise. The following example is typical of the angel's words to mortal man: "Tvoje tilo . . . vže teper, bidnyj čolovice, slabije, a po maloji xvyli i oderv'janije; . . . dryžannja sercja nastupaje, persy zadmut'sja, pul'sy vstanut', oči mhloju zajdut', jazyk umovkne, horlo oxrypije, zuby počornijut' i vsi členy, jak kamin' ztverdiťut' i poblidnut'. Doktory tebe odstup'jat', likarstva ne pomohut', otec', i maty, i bratija, i pryjатели vže tebe ne porjatuťut', potravy žadnoje i pyva dobryji košťuvaty ne budeš, z miscja na misce, a ližka na ližko perenosyťy tebe budúť, budeš xotity ščo movyťy, ale jazyk služyťy ne bude, xočeš vzdoxnuty, ale persy ne dopustjat', budeš xotity z pryjateljamy rozmovyťysja, ale ne vozmožeš; vnutrenosti bude harjačka pekty, a zvni xlad i pit zymnyj, znak defektiv tilesnyx na tobja sja pokaže; pryjатели pry tobi budúť stojaty, a ty jix vydity ne budeš, budúť z toboju movyťy, a ty jix slyšaty ne budeš, budúť nad toboju plakaty, ale tobi ničoho ne pomohut', budúť tja napomynaty, a ty toho rozumity ne budeš; a

*potim, kohda od tebe smrod zaxodyty bude, niž prežde umreš, vsi tebe ostavljat'.*" ("Now, my poor man, your body is weakening, and in a little while will become wooden; your heart will then begin to shake, your chest will be out of breath, your pulse stop, a mist will cover your eyes, your tongue will be silenced, your throat will become hoarse, your teeth will turn black, while all your members become pale and hard as stone. Doctors will abandon you, medicines will be of no help; neither father, nor mother, nor brothers, nor friends can save you now. You will never taste food nor drink good beer again. They will move you from place to place, from bed to bed. You will want to say something but will not be able to use your tongue; want to sigh, but your chest will not move; want to talk to your friends, but be unable to do so. Inside, a fever will be burning, while outside, cold and sweat will show the weakness in your body. Your friends will stand around you, but you will not see them, will talk to you, but you will not hear them, will cry over you but be unable to help you, will admonish you, but you will not understand. And then, when a smell starts to rise from your body, everyone will leave you—even before you are dead."). This is a most vivid example of typical Baroque "naturalism" and the manner in which the Baroque developed one of its favorite themes.

From the middle of the eighteenth century, treatises by Ukrainian authors became ever more frequently written in Russian. Such works must be considered in a study of the development of Ukrainian thought, but they do not belong to the Ukrainian literary heritage.

## K. UKRAINIAN BAROQUE LITERATURE AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF WORLD LITERATURE

1. The significant development which occurred in Ukrainian literature in the Baroque era established strong ties between Ukrainian literature and world literature, for a literature which undergoes a period of intense activity always draws on various other national literatures. On the other hand, one could expect Ukrainian literature to exert an influence on neighboring countries. In fact, such an influence, and not an insignificant one, did make itself felt but only in the territories of Ukraine's closest neighbors.

2. We have already seen that the religious element played a dominant role in Ukrainian Baroque literature. For this reason knowledge of Western literature and the uses to which it was put was rather one-sided. But a certain familiarity with secular literature is also apparent (see the sections on the epos and tale). Direct references to Western writers provide the most definite proof of this, although quotations were common only in polemical and scholarly works.

Further information is provided by the descriptions of the libraries of various Ukrainian scholars and leaders (for the most part, spiritual: Mohyla, Slavy-nec'kyj, St. Javors'kyj, Prokopovyč, D. Tuptalo, A. Macijevyč, although we do have some information about secular persons as well: cf. references in Ja. Markovyč and Xanenko). Ancient literature (notably Latin) and the works of the fathers of the Church (eastern ones primarily from Latin translations; Stavrovec'kyj even spoke Greek, while Kopystens'ky was at least able to read it) were well known. Mention is also made of the ancient philosophers; medieval scholasticism was well known in Catholic circles, as were the works of the representatives of non-Orthodox thought, in general. Especially interesting is the familiarity with the Renaissance thinkers (Machiavelli, Pico della Mirandola, Gemistus Pletho, Nicholas of Cusa, Zabarella, Peter Ramus, Giordano Bruno, Cardano, Erasmus, Agrippa von Nettesheim, Bodin, Vives), and even more so, of course, with those of the Baroque era (Bacon, Kepler, Alsted, Descartes, Locke, Hobbes, Grotius, Comenius, and perhaps even Spinoza). Broader still was the knowledge of religious literature which played an important role in belletristic literature (e.g., the religious song, the works of the mystics, and so on).

3. Translations were not numerous. This, however, is typical of Baroque culture: the Baroque was, to a large degree, intended for the religious and secular upper strata. There was no need for translations from Latin since these people knew Latin; even less necessary were translations from Polish. Thus, only the "lower" literary forms (tales meant for the people, verse) were translated—from Latin (see above—Velyčkovs'kyj, who translated Owen, the English epigrammist, Skovoroda, who translated Vergil, Ovid, Horace and the neo-Latin poets, Muretus, and Hosius, etc.), from Polish (tales and verses, see above), sometimes from Czech. There were even some translations made of German religious songs (S. Todors'kyj). However, translations of serious material were also made, among which are the translations—adaptations made from Plutarch and Cicero by Skovoroda. It would be far more interesting to discuss the foreign works which were used as models in this period (compare the reference to Boccaccio in the section about the tale), but little has yet been done in this area. Characteristically, the preachers frequently quote old and new Latin literature and even make their dispositions in Latin (Javors'kyj, Bužyns'kyj). But we have at the moment very little material about the extent of the use made of old and new Latin literature. Characteristic proof of the fact that Ukrainians did know neo-Latin literature is provided by the Ukrainian translators in Russia: their number was large and they translated hundreds of works, many of them Latin works of the seventeenth century.

4. The influence of Ukrainian literature on Russian literature was very

great in the seventeenth century and remained important in the eighteenth. We have already referred to more than one Ukrainian (e.g., the preachers), who worked in Russia. Frequently, Polish and Western works (e.g., tales—although in this area, Russian literature did make its own peculiar contributions) came to Russia by way of these Ukrainians. But it was the Ukrainians who generally introduced definite literary genres, e.g., verse and drama into Russia; a representative of the Kievan school, Symeon Poloc'kyj (a White Russian) revived the dying Russian sermon—and his successors were, for the most part, Ukrainians. Quite impressive also was the role played by Ukrainians in Russian scholarship, although the works (theological) written by Ukrainians were not infrequently banned, or the cause of persecution. Interestingly enough, even the theological literature of the “Old Believers” is to a large degree composed of Ukrainian works. As a whole, Russian literature of the seventeenth century can, at certain moments and in certain areas, seem to be but a “branch” of Ukrainian literature. Very great, although less easily visible, is the influence of Ukrainian literature on Russian literature of the eighteenth century: one of its founders, A. Kantemir, wrote in the tradition of Ukrainian syllabic verse; the influence of Ukrainian verse is quite strong (all the more so as syllabic verse existed for a rather long time in Moscow, side by side with the new tonic lines). The number of Ukrainian translators (among them H. Poletyka) was quite large, as was the number of Ukrainian scholars, who to a large degree, developed Russian terminology. Ukrainian poets writing in Russian (the most famous of whom are Bohdanovyč and Kapnist, who, by the way, translated Skovoroda) were brought up in the style of the Ukrainian Baroque, but wrote in the spirit of the new “classicism,” and introduced into Russian literature, sometimes in newer forms, the traditional themes of the Ukrainian lyric. A Ukrainian who was in many ways related to his countryman Skovoroda, Semen Hamalija, played the leading role in the development of eighteenth century Russian mysticism. Greater still was the influence exerted by the Orthodox, Pajisij Velyčkovs'kyj (see below, no. 6).

5. In Polish literature, the Ukrainian stream had established a definite “Ukrainian school” quite early, and certainly long before the nineteenth century. Understandably, the existence of such a “Ukrainian school” does not arouse very pleasant feelings in the hearts of patriotic Ukrainians, for it gives sustenance to certain not totally unfounded Polish pretensions regarding some areas of Ukrainian culture and reminds them of the loss to the Polish camp of Ukrainian writers, whose national feeling was weak. Ukrainian themes in Polish literature, of course, also point to that certain abundance of “potential energy” in Ukrainian culture, which, unfortunately, was sometimes spent only on foreign ground.

In this connection, one need only mention the very famous works which can be attributed to the "Ukrainian school" of Polish literature during the Baroque era. Already in the poems of the first representative of the Polish Baroque lyric, M. Sęp-Szarzynski (d. 1581), we find a quotation from a Ukrainian song. Latin poems written on themes from Ukrainian life, e.g., "Roxolania" by Klonowicz (1584), were imitated by such Polish poems as "*Sielanki*" ("The Peasant Idylls"), by Sz. Szymonowicz (1614 and 1628), and later in works by the brothers Zimorowicz, "*Roksolanki to jest ruskie panny*" ("Roxolanas or Ruthenian Girls," 1654), and "*Sielanki nowe ruskie*" ("New Ruthenian Peasant Idylls," published in 1663, but written earlier); finally, there are Ukrainian *intermedia* in the Polish dramas of Gawatowicz which were mentioned earlier, the *Chronicle of Jerlyč*, as well as the witty Polish verses of Danylo Bratkov'skyj (1697), a Ukrainian nobleman who even sacrificed his life in service to Ukraine. If we were also to include works not of the first calibre, or the occasional Ukrainian elements in the works that were written in Polish, the list would be extremely long. Ukrainian motifs are clearly perceptible in the poems of the famous Baroque poet, Waclaw Potocki (1625-1696). Both Ukrainian poets and prose writers contributed to the incorporation of Ukrainian elements into Polish poetry: Lazar Baranovyč published numerous poems in Polish as well; many works of polemical literature were published in Polish, as were numerous Orthodox writings, often simultaneously with the Slavonic edition (even publications of the Kievan Caves Monastery). More examples could be found if we were to begin to search out the less significant Ukrainian motifs in Polish literature: we would find, for example, many echoes of Ukrainian songs (e.g., the well-known *Kulyna*). No less numerous are the motifs derived from Ukrainian history which appear in poems as well as Polish Baroque chronicles. That no inventory of such Ukrainian motifs has been made by literary historians does a great injustice to Ukrainian Baroque literature. Many Ukrainian writers also lie hidden among the "Polish" authors of Latin works (see Ch. VIII).

6. Likewise perceptible is the influence of the Ukrainian Baroque in the southwest, in the Balkans. Reference to this was made above (Kozacyň'skyj's dramas, as well as his work among the Serbs). G. Stefanovič-Venclovič (eighteenth century) imitated L. Baranovyč. Of particular importance for the southern Slavs was Meletij Smotryc'kyj's grammar which was republished by the Serbs in 1755 and became the foundation for a Serbian language based on Church Slavonic—it was the prototype for several Serbian grammars until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Among the Bulgarians, this grammar was most important in the attempt to bring the Bulgarian language closer to Church Slavonic. In Rumania, Church life was revived by the son of the Ukrainian poet

Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, the "elder" Pajisij, who established an entire literary school there, and whose Slavonic version of *Dobrotoljubyje* (*The Love of Goodness*) was very significant for all Orthodox Slavs (but least of all in Ukraine). There is also a Latin idyll by an anonymous writer, dated 1658, which describes the life of Ukrainian shepherds in the Tatra mountains (possibly near the Poprad). Further research into Latin literature in Slovakia would also probably yield interesting results. The furthest outpost of Ukrainian Baroque literature was located in Trnava in Slovakia (although this must still be researched). Numerous Ukrainian students went even further west (as far as England and Spain). At the end of the Baroque era, in the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian Poletyka was a professor in Kiel, and Ivan Xmel'nyc'kyj was a lecturer in philosophy in Königsberg. Through their works they helped to enrich Western scholarship although to a very limited extent; much more interesting was the influence they exerted at home (see above, no. 2). In Halle, Germany, for a time around 1735, translations of German theological works as well as religious songs by S. Todors'kyj were published in the typical Slavonic-Ukrainian language of the Baroque.

7. Finally, Baroque literature—especially verse and drama—played a very significant part in the development of folk poetry in all parts of the world. Leaving aside the semi-mythical authors (Marusja Čurajivna) of folk songs in the Baroque era, we can observe concrete evidence of how the folk song acquired the stylistic elements of the Baroque verse, while, on the other hand, the Baroque itself was attracted to folk poetry and drew on its wealth of devices; for the Baroque poet, variety was important and material derived from the oral tradition served to give an added dimension to his works. Earlier, we intentionally paused to discuss the use of proverbs by both Baroque preachers and chroniclers. Proverbs are also frequently encountered even in verse. The proverbs were commonly translated from Latin; some were created by the writer himself, others taken from among the people. Similarly, in addition to verses which were written in accordance with Baroque poetics, there are also poems which give the impression of being "montages" of folk songs (this aspect of Baroque poetry has also as yet not been thoroughly investigated).

8. There has never been an historical epoch which developed, even within the confines of one country, one definitive ideology. On the contrary, for the most part, a given society develops diametrically opposed ideologies. From our temporally distant vantage point certain features common to all the currents of thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries become visible. We spoke of these earlier (Ch. VII, pts. A and B), but will mention the most important ones again here. The ideology of the Ukrainian Baroque, while remaining within the Old Ukrainian Christian tradition, at the same time absorbed some elements of

ancient (through the Baroque synthesis of Christianity and antiquity), and Western culture. Admittedly, only certain elements from antiquity and seventeenth century Europe were adopted in Ukraine; first a definite aesthetic ideal and a belief in the almost independent merit of aesthetic values, and secondly several elements of the political and national ideology of the Baroque. Baroque aesthetics deeply instilled in Ukraine the belief in the value of external form: the cultivation of the purely formal aspects of literature (especially in versified poems) and the introduction of formal embellishments into all genres of literature, even into those in which the main emphasis should be on content (sermon, chronicle, tract) become all the more striking when we compare Ukrainian Baroque literature to its Russian counterpart. The political and national ideology without a doubt strengthened the idea of a nationally independent Ukrainian people in many circles, and was instrumental in establishing the politically active man as a heroic chivalrous ideal. In both of these ideological acquisitions of the Ukrainian Baroque we can detect many negative features. But there is no doubt that both played a major role in the intellectual life of Ukraine in the nineteenth century. Especially important is the fact that they deterred Ukrainians from accepting abstract and utopian ideologies for a considerable length of time and assisted in maintaining literary and national traditions in times of great despair and in very difficult situations. Also very important were those tight bonds which Ukraine established with the West in the Baroque era. The Christian culture of the Ukrainian Baroque created and strengthened a certain broader outlook on "externals" in areas of both religious and national matters; "external" features were no longer as important as they had been for Ivan Vyšens'kyj, for example, and many of his contemporaries; at the same time, however, the "internal" was regarded as more important. Once again, one need only glance at the situation in Moscow at that time to appreciate the significance of this achievement: in Ukraine, a Russian *raskol*, and *starobrjadčestvo* were absolutely impossible. One could speak of the fact that the adopting of elements of Western culture resulted in a certain frivolous attitude to Christian tradition, but at the same time, it must not be forgotten that within its bounds, there was still room for such ascetics as St. Joasaf Horlenko, St. Dmytro Tuptalo, St. Innokentij Irkuts'kyj or a martyr such as Arsenij Macijevyč.

The names mentioned above lead us back to the question of the essentially Christian nature of the Ukrainian Baroque. Outside the area of theology, there is no other name to be found in the Ukrainian literature of the Baroque which would be considered important today: with the theological works of St. Dmytro Tuptalo we must also include those of Adam Zörnrikau (see pt. I, no. 1) as well as Pajisij Velyčkovs'kyj's, *The Love of Goodness*, (see pt. J, no. 6). Only one

attempt at a philosophical-theological synthesis survived from this period, and although not new in the details used, it is, as a whole, an independent artistic creation, the significance of which extends beyond its own era. This is the system devised by Skovoroda. The greatest ideological accomplishments of the Ukrainian Baroque belong to the nature of its literary creativity.

9. As for its national value, it must be said that Baroque literature did not come to use the vernacular, the language of the people. But a literary language need not be close to the vernacular, and the Baroque followed one possible course whose unsuitability became obvious only at the end of the eighteenth century when the upper strata of Ukrainian society began to appear and political oppression demanded a "radical" criterion for national awareness: the national language became this criterion. Meanwhile, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such a criterion was not yet necessary. What was necessary was the creation of definite linguistic, orthographic and stylistic norms. The religious school did not aspire to leadership in this area: no orthographic norms were established which might have decisively distinguished Ukrainian from other eastern Slavic languages with which it was tied, e.g., the change of "ѣ" to "i" occurs under Western influence. A grammatical norm was established only for Church Slavonic (important here was Meletij Smotryc'kyj's grammar). There was no attempt at all at resolving the question of the relationship between the level of language and its possible stylistic function. Nothing could have been more natural in the Baroque era than measuring the level of the Church Slavonic language by the character of the work (of the "high" style were liturgical books, religious treatises, scholarly works, "lofty" epics; in "low" style more vernacular elements were introduced) or the use of the vernacular in only certain genres (epigrams, fairy tales, comedies, etc.). Such norms were established (albeit, later) quite openly and according to a definite plan in Russian literature (and, curiously enough, possibly under the influence of a *theory* of Ukrainian origin); less according to plan, but rather consistently, it shaped the linguistic tradition of the literary Czech of the Baroque era (where it was a matter of distinguishing between the functions of a more archaic or more modern language); this did not happen in Ukrainian. For this reason, we have such examples as the religious treatises of Havrylo Domec'kyj in which use of Church Slavonic is minimal; and for this reason we have epigrams of a purely Church Slavonic nature (e.g., those of Dmytro Tuptalo and, so it seems, of Havrylo Domec'kyj; striking is the inconsistency of the language used by Velyčkovs'kyj in his epigrams). Such linguistic normalization could have greatly altered the further development of the Ukrainian literary language, but whether this would have been for the better or the worse need not be discussed here.

With regard to the protests against “outdated,” “narrow,” and “unnational” themes of the literature of the Ukrainian Baroque, we can only say that these protests reveal a lack of understanding: the themes found in Ukrainian Baroque literature, with but a few exceptions, are the same as those used in Baroque literature in general. Any deviations were the result of the difficult position of the Ukraine during this period—a position which hindered the development of a separate class of literary men. Ukraine lost many men of letters to foreign countries. Many left as a result of the general predilection of the Baroque man for spiritual wandering (Leibniz, the most outstanding representative of German Baroque, wrote the majority of his works in Latin or French). This “loss” was not so important to the Ukrainian Baroque which, if it had been in a more favorable political situation, would not have read those works which were Russified before publication or the Polish works of St. Dmytro Tuptalo, Javors’kyj or Baranovyč, but rather their Ukrainian versions, or at least, Ukrainian translations. The “loss” was to the nineteenth century, the historical development of which led to the neglect of such an interesting, and to a certain degree illustrious, page of the past—the Ukrainian Baroque.

The spiritual and national importance of the Baroque has been repeatedly noted. We will add in conclusion that the accomplishments of this era could have a positive influence on both the present and future generations of Ukrainians if their tremendous significance is recognized.

## VIII.

# LITERATURE WRITTEN IN LATIN

1. In the period extending from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries Ukrainian literature in Latin begins to appear. Latin was the international language of scholarship and, in Poland, the official language of the administration and the schools. At the end of the sixteenth century Ukrainian schools (especially that of the brotherhood in Lviv) were oriented toward the study of Greek. But as it soon became obvious that it was impossible to avoid Latin, the Ostrih school and then the Kievan Academy began to teach Latin and to use Latin as the language of instruction. From the time of Petro Mohyla, Latin became the norm, and Greek receded to a secondary level.

Latin became important when polemical literature began to develop, and as early as the sixteenth century we actually find works beginning to be written in Latin. Although the majority of these works cannot be classified as "belletristic" literature in the narrow sense of the term, they are important because of the light they cast upon the literature written in Ukrainian—upon the nature of its content and ideological tendencies as well as the sources and characteristics of its style.

Equally important is the fact that even the most superficially educated man at that time, while at school, had to read the Latin authors—"pagan," old Christian and contemporary. Cicero and Erasmus were most important in the teaching of style, and their works were ordered in large numbers for use in the schools.

2. At this time no survey of Ukrainian literature in Latin nor any preparatory work on the subject exists. As a result, we are forced to limit ourselves only to some general comments.

As early as the sixteenth century we find Ukrainians among the representative of Polish Protestant sects and, by the end of the century, among Uniate writers. An especially prominent Protestant publicist, Stanislaw Orzechowski (1513-1566), himself professed to be "Gente Roxolani," wrote his name in Latin as "Orichovius," adding afterwards "Ruthenus." As was mentioned earlier, the sympathies of the countrymen of Ivan Vyšens'kyj and Marcin Krowicki lay with the Orthodox Church. Some members of the Ukrainian gentry found their way into the camps of the radical Protestants, the "Socinians" or the "Arians," and took part in the religious polemics of the time.

3. More intense activity in this branch of Ukrainian literature took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since Latin became the language of instruction at the Kievan Academy and later in other schools of higher learning (the Seminary in Perejaslav, the Xarkiv Collegium), texts of Latin manuscripts were compiled: most numerous in the archives are textbooks of poetics, philosophy and theology. Almost every professor of these subjects left behind written notes which were rewritten and found their way to the far north and east; in the eighteenth century they came to be used in seminaries throughout the Russian Empire. Prokopovyč's textbook on poetics (*De arte poetica*, 1786), one of those which was later printed, is not characteristic of the Baroque (see above, Ch. VII, pt. H, no. 7). Four volumes of theological tracts written by Prokopovyč were published in Germany in the years 1782-84. This book was used in Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox seminaries for many years. Separate treatises also appeared in print: *Kamen' very* (*Rock of Faith*, 1782) by Javors'kyj, a collection of articles by Prokopovyč, *Miscellanea sacra* (1745), and *De processione Spiritus Sancti* by Adam Zörnigau (of German origin, published in 1773), which was the most valuable of all the theological treatises of the Kievan Academy. Also attributed to Prokopovyč are some parts of the response to Javors'kyj's anti-Protestant *Kamin'*, which a cunning Jena professor, Buddeus, published under his own name. Until the twentieth century, these theological works provided Western theologians with their only knowledge of Orthodox theology. A large number of Uniate treatises and some "Arian" ones were also written by Ukrainians (some of the Ukrainian "Arians" lived in exile beyond the Polish borders). Finally, there were several Ukrainian professors teaching at the Hungarian University in Trnava in Slovakia (until 1777, when it was moved to Pest); some of their works have also survived.

The works on poetics (which also use Slavonic material) have not yet been thoroughly studied, while philosophical texts published in *Universae matheseos brevis institutio* (1752) by Anton Revyc'kyj, one of the professors at Trnava, have not been studied at all.

Ukrainian authors wrote Latin verses for their textbooks on poetics; however, the writing of Latin verses was not limited to such purposes. Javors'kyj is credited with a beautiful elegy—a farewell to his library, Prokopovyč, with a panegyric to Kiev. Several Latin verses by Skovoroda have also survived.

Finally, there are letters. Almost every writer, whatever his field may have been, left behind a large number of letters in Latin, some of which have been published (e.g., 150 Latin letters by Skovoroda). Characteristic of the Baroque because of their literary form, they are potentially valuable sources for a study of the poetics of the time as well as the ideology and education of their authors. Even in letters written in the Slavic languages we encounter Latin terms, quotations or particular formulations, especially in those instances when the author required a special term to express his idea. In addition, excerpts from Latin, quotations, epistles, and entire plans for sermons can be found in the Slavonic sermons of Ukrainian preachers.

None of this material has yet been researched or even compiled.

## IX.

# THE LITERATURE OF “NATIONAL REVIVAL”

1. In general, it is difficult to assign a specific date to the beginning of any literary or historical period. Nevertheless, the beginning of modern Ukrainian literature is usually designated as 1798, the date of publication of Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* (*The Aeneid*). The isolation of this date is perfectly justified, for the appearance of the *Enejida* signalled the beginning of the use of the Ukrainian spoken language as a literary language. The establishment of the living vernacular as a literary device was not at all a “necessary” development: of all the Slavs, only the Slovenes and Belorussians were as resolute as the Ukrainians in adapting popular speech for literary purposes. In Ukraine, this change in the literary language was associated with the development of national consciousness (although the national movement as such began, in its new forms, only several decades later). It is not axiomatic that a modern literary language, whether vernacular or not, must be connected with a new national awareness. However, in Ukraine such a connection did arise and later generations regarded the linguistic reform of Kotljarevs'kyj as the beginning of the modern period of national life. As shall be seen, this judgment was not altogether correct.

2. The psychological link which was established between the vernacular as the basis of the literary language and the national consciousness had certain literary consequences. The principal one was that for a long time all works written in the popular language were, in the opinion of national circles, considered as one group. The emotion generated by the national revival blinded authors, readers and critics alike to differences of literary taste and to divergences of outlook in individual authors and literary currents. It was a time when world literature in the nineteenth century saw literary currents that were sharply

defined and differentiated one from the other and which often began their existence with the publication of literary "manifestos." However, it was not until almost the end of the nineteenth century that the Ukrainian writers and readers were conscious of any sense of the variety of literary styles and ideologies. In part, they accepted all older writing in the vernacular simply as such; in part, they misinterpreted it in the spirit of their own views. In this same manner, later Populist Realism earnestly sought out the democratic elements not only in Kotljarev's'kyj, but also in Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and other older writers. Likewise, representatives of the "moderates" purposely overlooked the social and political radicalism of Ševčenko, etc.

3. However, it is not simply that the differences in literary trends among the nineteenth century Ukrainian writers were not felt by the readers and critics. To a certain degree, these differences, in fact, did not exist. They did not exist because literature, just recently revived by the new language, was taking its "first steps" and was only gradually defining itself, breaking off into currents and becoming differentiated. Moreover, the later writer with his modern literary views recognized in every older writer who wrote in the vernacular not an enemy or rival but an ally with whom he was spiritually united through the use of the same literary language. All writers, regardless of the differences in their social situation, outlook, and style, etc., felt themselves to be members of one family with the same nationally oriented ideology. Clearly, this was a delusion, and it led to the fact that later writers neglected their own personal literary views and imitated their predecessors. Such imitation not only contributed to a definite stagnation in literary forms, but was also a considerable impediment to the individual development of particular writers. Even in recent times, literary creativity has often fallen back on works that have been preeminent in the development of the national literature, but which are antiquated in form, e.g., "kotljarevščyna," the cultivation of fables, etc.

4. Another consequence of the use of the spoken language by modern literature was that Ukrainian literature remained tied for too long to those sources upon which the modern literary language was forced to draw—folk poetry. As a result, the thematic material and the phraseology of literature narrowed somewhat, again impeding its development.

However, the narrowing in literary themes stemmed from yet another cause. It was not simply a whim of Kotljarev's'kyj and his followers that turned the vernacular into the literary language. Its establishment as such had a real basis: at the end of the eighteenth century in Ukraine certain culturally active strata became denationalized—in particular, the upper nobility and the higher circles of the clergy. Therefore, the task of the Ukrainian national movement during the

entire nineteenth century was to create its own circles of cultural leaders. The simple revival or "regeneration" of the "lost" strata did not succeed; the leading role was taken up by other, newly created strata. The Ukrainian nation, having lost its leading classes at the end of the eighteenth century, became a nation that was "incomplete"; similarly "incomplete" was its literature (see below). The entire meaning and thrust of the Ukrainian national movement during the nineteenth century consisted in "completing" the national organism, in raising it to a true culturally independent stratum. In the field of literature, this difficult task involved the creation of a complete system of literary forms. For a long time the attempt failed, especially since various social and political conditions stood in its way. Occasionally literature did attain its goal, only to be followed by a period of decline. Fundamentally, an "incomplete" literature was unable to satisfy the needs of even the culturally-leading class. The creation of a self-sufficient literature was achieved by Ukrainian literature only in modern times with its variety of literary genres and currents. However, here the obstacle of politics has arisen, for the Soviet regime purposely maintains all national literatures, except the Russian, at the level of "incomplete" literatures.

5. This designation of the entire literature of the nineteenth century as a literature of "national revival" or, more accurately, of "national awakening" necessitates certain observations about the discussion that is to follow. A literature that is insufficiently differentiated by trends can be divided into currents only to a certain degree and under certain conditions. Nineteenth century Ukrainian literature is characterized by many prominent writers of indistinct literary complexion. There are Romantics who imitated Classicism in either form or style; there are Realists whose creations were in the tradition of Romanticism and who also adopted certain elements of classicist poetics. Moreover, there are some currents represented in other literatures that did not develop in Ukraine at all. In addition, Ukrainian literature found itself losing its own identity from time to time under the inescapable influence of its strong neighbors. In itself, this would not have been so harmful (for both Russian and Polish literatures were in a period of full bloom); however, these foreign influences tore Ukrainian literature away from the wider sphere of world literature. Furthermore, they were not always well digested nor creatively reworked in consideration of the needs and problems of Ukrainian national life. It is only with qualification, therefore, that the following discussion sometimes will assign particular phenomena according to the literary principles of differentiation. And only under certain conditions will it venture forth from the sphere of Ukrainian literature into foreign (and not always fertile) fields.

There is a modification in the discussion in another aspect as well: beginning

with Romanticism, the material will be divided not according to literary genre, but according to author, for the Romantic period in Ukraine produced a fundamental change in the psychology of the author and in his attitude toward his work. In this world, man was the focus of attention for the Romantic worldview; and in works of literature, the subject was the author, either real or fictitious (as in instances of pseudonyms, or in attempts to speak in the name of an omniscient author, or a *kobzar* minstrel, etc.). Former times had numerous pseudonymous, anonymous, or "pseudepigraphic" works (attributed by the author to someone else—e.g., poetry or *Istoriija Rusiv* [*The History of the Russes*]). Since the time of Romanticism, every author has had his own literary biography (only *literary* biographies interest us in this book). Accordingly, it is impossible to fragment the creativity of a particular author, and to insert his individual works in different divisions in the book.

## X.

# CLASSICISM

### A. LITERARY CLASSICISM

1. The transition in world literature from the Baroque to Classicism was one of those typical transitions away from an “extremely ornamental, embellished style” (see Introduction) which the history of literature has undergone from time to time. In Ukraine, literature had already experienced such a transition by the thirteenth century when it was a phenomenon that was part of a certain literary decline. In the present period (Classicism), however, such a transition was in complete opposition to the style of the Baroque. In the West, it was practically a literary revolution at the base of which lay a change in literary tastes and objectives. Formerly, the aim of literary works had been to excite and arouse the reader, to create a powerful effect on him by their originality of structure and artistic devices. Novel, yet profound, ideas had been pursued, while old ones had been formulated in an unexpected, new way so as to produce an impression of unconstrained spontaneity. Now new literary ideals arose which eschewed this Baroque dynamism. The representatives of this new style consciously sought after the most precise expression for their ideas, clarity in form, and logic in construction. The work as a whole had to project the impression of tranquil harmony—in pursuit of which the ideal of beauty assumed prime importance. Not originality nor novelty but traditional canons became highly valued once more. Furthermore, the “grotesque,” which had played such a major role in Baroque literature, either became almost insignificant or receded altogether. The return to the ideals of the Renaissance was complete.

Classicism assumed a peculiar form in Ukraine where certain factors (see

below) precluded the establishment of any significant opposition to the Baroque. In addition, the new "classicist" style did not enjoy the wide development found in the West or among other Slavic peoples: Ukrainian Classicism was weak and rather poorly defined.

2. Classicism involved a return to the aesthetic ideals of antiquity, or more properly, to its own notions about these ideals. In reality, it made use of only certain elements of the aesthetics of antiquity—and then not always correctly: consequently, it did not develop its own aesthetic system. For this reason, "Classicism" might perhaps be called "pseudo-classicism" as some literary historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century have done. However, their particular use of the expression "pseudo-classicism" was altogether unhistorical since it was meant to imply the awkwardness, the imperfect nature and the relative insignificance of this literary trend; moreover, it merely paralleled the negative attitude of this later period itself (Classicism) towards its literary predecessor, the Baroque. It is advisable, therefore, to ignore this unhistorical and unfair label, "pseudo-classicism."\*

3. The literary theory of Classicism accepted—as did the Classicists as a whole—the canons of the literary theory of antiquity. Beauty once again became, along with sublimity, the fundamental aesthetic ideal. At the basis of this trend lay the fulfillment of a whole system of prescriptions which had more or less regulated classical poetry (Horace) and which were ultimately reworked by the theoreticians of Classicism (Boileau, for example). Like all precepts of artistic technique, these principles assumed fixed and perhaps even narrow proportions. Nevertheless, far from restricting the authors' basic, untrammelled creativity within their confines, these precepts actually facilitated it.

This system of prescriptions will not be examined in detail; however, it must be recognized as having been neither arid nor unduly limiting. Following the classical models, lyricism was allowed. As well, a specific place was reserved for pathos, humor and even "poetic disorder." The extraordinarily high value attributed to "the lofty and sublime" determined that the greatest role should be played by historical (either classical or national) motifs and figures (kings and heroes). Yet, the poetics of Classicism also found room for humor and satire, the common people and even their language, and the contemporary scene in all its diversity. Later of course, the depiction by the Classicists of all these spheres appeared artificial to succeeding generations; but this was a matter of literary

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\*In this discussion, the terms "Classicism" and "Classicists" will be used. The word "classics" will be avoided in order to prevent confusion with the other meaning of "classic"—a writer who belongs to that small circle of the greatest (i.e., classic) writers of a given nation.

taste. Classicism rejected altogether the excessively complicated style, the overburdening of details and the superfluity of formal embellishments characteristic of works of the late Baroque. Simplicity, clarity and lucidity of construction constituted its ideal.

The Classicist system of poetics was characterized by certain traditional literary forms, all linked with classical antiquity. A theory of genres was elaborated in detail covering: drama (including tragedy and comedy), *epos* (long epic poem in verse), the novel and other prose forms, and various types of lyrics (ode, satire, fable, lyrical epistle, idyll, elegy, epigram, etc.). For each of these categories there were fixed rules regarding content and form.

The fact that later the epic poem, tragedy and the ode were deemed to be the typical forms of Classicism is due partly to an error of historical perspective. In fact, this school provided the best modern examples of other genres as well, such as comedy, fable, satire. Another mistaken notion later held that kings and demigods were the typical heroes of Classicist literature. Yet common folk too were introduced into certain of its categories—the above-mentioned comedy, fable, satire, and, to a degree, the idyll and lyrical epistle, and the prose epic. In these latter genres, even contemporary life could be depicted; consequently, the charges concerning the preponderance of historical and abstract themes in Classicism are not altogether justifiable. To be sure, in comparison with the distribution and type of thematics in subsequent literature, Classicism suffers a great deal. And, while common speech found its way into this literature, it was, again, limited to particular forms such as the fable and certain secondary genres.

4. It was these “lesser genres,” specifically travesties, that acquired the greatest significance in Ukrainian Classicism. Probably to this day, travesties remain better known to readers in the Ukraine than elsewhere because of the archetype [*Enejida* (the *Aeneid*)] Kotljarev’skyj “turned inside-out.” Ukrainian travesties also claimed kinship with classical tradition, harking back primarily to the pseudo-Homeric “War Between the Mice and the Frogs” and works such as Seneca’s masterly parody on Emperor Claudius. The travesty genre spanned the entire history of European literature, incarnating in particular mankind’s natural impulse away from art which was totally serious self-representation and towards that which had some measure of lightness, amusement and spontaneous merriment.

In his system of poetics, Boileau sought to limit the possibilities of the travesty genre: he restricted the mock-heroic poem to “vulgar” motifs from everyday life and to heroes from social milieux unworthy of legitimate literary attention. But he also stipulated that the style, language and techniques of the poem must adhere completely to the canons of classical poetics. The

requirements set forth by Boileau and illustrated by the example of his own mock-heroic poem *Le Lutrin* (*The Lectern*) did not endure however. Even the older type of travesty, which treated "elevated" themes in "low" language and style, remained on the periphery of Classicism. Travesties were, nevertheless, common to all Classicist literatures, and in Ukraine it was precisely one such poem that initiated a new period of literary development.

5. Literary theory is not the only, nor always the principal, characteristic distinguishing the literature of a given era. The ideology of its time and the social structure of its society are also reflected in literary practice. Accordingly, because of its connection with "enlightened despotism," the political phenomenon which in almost all of Europe coincided with the time of Classicism, the literature of this particular period acquired a distinctly aristocratic cast. This outlook was adopted by works emanating from the provinces as well as those close to the centers of political power. In Ukrainian literature, such upper-strata coloration was slight.

Of the ideologies prevalent during the period of literary Classicism, the most influential was the philosophy of the "Enlightenment." Its representatives believed in "reason" as the loftiest and most essential manifestation of the human spirit and as the prime mover in history. In every instance, they dismissed lightly, or ignored altogether, the irrational forces that figure in the life of every man, in society and in the historical process, and which cannot be controlled by reason. Their attitude toward them was one of scepticism, indifference and disdain. Falling within this neglected and disparaged sphere of man's irrational feelings were his incomprehensible customs and traditions which the Enlightenment dismissed as superstition. The Enlightenment failed to understand a great deal of that which is involved in religious life, especially the sensuous aspects of worship. It misunderstood national sentiment or misinterpreted it through rational deduction, and it derided folk habits and customs insofar as they were not entirely "comprehensible." The Enlightenment narrowed the concept of devoutness and, in part, substituted morality for religion. National feeling was replaced altogether with that of the political and dynastic. Customs were revered only to the extent that they attested to the original "innocence" of common man. The Enlightenment acknowledged age-old traditions not for whatever specific meaning they had for the time, but for their universality, relevance and instructive value for the "enlightened" elements of contemporary society.

Clearly, there was much that was pernicious in the psychology of the period of Classicism. In Ukraine in particular, the social structure led to a narrowing of the thematic range of literature. At the same time, the ideology of the Enlightenment brought on rationalistic aridity and the neglect of a great part of

life—especially in that sphere which is so important to literature (and to all art in general)—that of the feelings.

6. The most illustrious flowering of Classicism took place in France where it had already evolved to a considerable extent alongside the literature of Baroque. In the eighteenth century, largely due to the influence of French Classicism, the literatures of two of Ukraine's neighbors, Russia and Poland, rapidly came of age. In both countries, Classicism enjoyed a wide development, and in Poland—an exceptionally brilliant one. In Ukraine, however, neither the political nor spiritual atmosphere was favorable to the development of Classicism.

During the second half of the eighteenth century almost all traces of Ukrainian autonomy were erased. The abolition of the Hetman state, the destruction of the Sič, the introduction of serfdom for the peasants were merely the main steps in the process of turning Ukraine into a Russian province. The only political force capable of perhaps arresting this process, the Ukrainian gentry, was mainly composed of recent aristocracy. As such, it was subject both to intimidation by the Russian government, and to capitulation because of various Russian inducements. Often employed in the higher ranks of government service, the Ukrainian nobility became, in fact, an instrument of Russian politics. Even the Ukrainian clergy, which had been such a significant cultural force during the time of the Baroque, was gradually stripped of all independence and the energies of its greatest representatives were wasted to a great extent in service in non-Ukrainian lands. For a long time the cultural needs of the country were neglected altogether. Schools such as the Kiev Academy—which in the mid-eighteenth century had still been able, by and large, to fulfill the demands for higher secular education—slowly became exclusively religious institutions. The gentry then grew dissatisfied with the educational system whose one-sided religious character kept it behind the needs of the times—needs which, in large measure, were only the demands of fashion. This resulted in the next exodus (this time, of Ukrainian youth) to St. Petersburg and Moscow, centers of suitably lofty status.

In this way the Ukrainian people became, in time, a typical example of an “incomplete nation,” a people deprived of those social classes vital to its culture—the senior clergy and upper nobility. Because of this factor, the number of creative groups decreased somewhat. More critical still was the dwindling away of those circles whose members were the principal consumers of literature, who were the arbiters of its social relevance, and who in the eighteenth century had contributed most to its development. That an incomplete nation spawns an incomplete literature is thus amply demonstrated by Ukrainian Classicism. During the period of the Baroque, when Ukrainian literature lacked only certain

genres, the average Ukrainian could, on the whole, still satisfy most of his literary requirements with Ukrainian works. During the time of Classicism however, Ukrainian literature was merely some sort of possible supplement to a foreign literature such as Russian, French or Polish. But this non-independent status of Ukrainian Classicist literature did not at all reflect any inferiority in the works themselves—among which figure those that are clearly superior. The problem lay in the fact that despite the existence of various literary genres, Ukrainian Classicism developed only a small number of them. And, in every instance, these genres were totally unable to satisfy even the most modest intellectual requirements of the modern man.

7. The significance of Ukrainian Classicism for Ukrainian literature extends beyond merely signalling a change in literary style. It consists in the change it brought about in the literary language—in the transition from the variegated language of the Baroque (with its two poles, the Ukrainian redaction of Church Slavonic and the vernacular) to a *single* literary language that was in addition the spoken language. In comparison with the reform or even revolution in the sphere of literary style, this development in language was something still more completely new, radical and far-reaching. It may be an exaggeration to define this innovation in language as a “national rebirth” or, as the Romantics began to say, “a renaissance”; but it was indeed a *literary* rebirth or awakening.

The conversion to the vernacular came about as a result of precisely those conditions discussed above and evaluated as the one great weakness of Ukrainian social life. For, while Ukraine’s loss of its upper strata of society, together with the concomitant narrowing of literary genres in Ukrainian Classicism, led to the “incomplete” status of Ukrainian Classicist literature, those genres which did evolve in Ukrainian Classicism (travesty, fable, comedy) were exactly those which most favored and, in fact, required the use of common speech. Of course, it was not until Romanticism and Romantic theory (see below, particularly regarding Kuliš) that the cultivation of vernacular as the language of *belles-lettres* was undertaken in a discerning and coherent fashion. The nature of the literary language and its development will be more closely examined later.

8. The linguistic innovation initiated by Ukrainian Classicism led to the anomaly that the works of this period retained their significance longer than was expected and, in some cases, longer than the works deserved. The tradition of Ukrainian Classicism dragged on until the time of Realism and then smouldered away until the very end of the nineteenth century. With few exceptions (such as Kuliš) succeeding generations failed to detect the stylistic and ideological limitations of these works. Until recent times these creations were elaborately misconstrued as the manifestations of a spirit totally different than the one from which

they actually arose. It was quite easy to overlook the "classicism" in Ukrainian "Classicism," for Ukrainian literature lacked those characteristic Classicist genres and stylistic and ideological traits (rationalism, "high style," etc.) which would have been unacceptable either to the Romantics or to the Realists. The works of Ukrainian Classicism had a lasting influence—in part enriching literature, especially the language of later periods. In part they impeded the process of literary development, blurring the lines of delineation between later styles, and promoting those general obstacles to literary differentiation discussed above.

Ukrainian Classicism was unique in any case—not merely because its language innovation bisected its development into two parts, but also because it was characterized by a very minimal use of "high" genres (employed by the writers of Ukrainian Classicism in their Russian productions) and of an elevated linguistic style. A high style becomes possible only after a language has been prepared for it by its preceding development: in Ukraine, the literary language was a recent phenomenon and still colloquial. Naturally, certain originality was also provided by the new linguistic levels, for the new language had not yet been normalized in either its lexical system or its style. In this respect the literature of Ukrainian Classicism is somewhat reminiscent of the Baroque. On the other hand, not having created a high style, it later appeared similar to Realism in certain linguistic features (i.e., insofar as this latter trend aspired to close assimilation with the spoken language). Clearly, it was the stylistic indistinctness of Ukrainian Classicism that contributed to its influence on subsequent literature.

## B. THE BEGINNINGS

1. Classicism did not come to Ukrainian literature as an already formulated aggressive theory. Unlike its appearance in other literatures, it did not arise in challenge to the prevailing Baroque, or combat it in order to assert its own place and then to establish its ascendancy in the literary world. Rather, Classicism emerged almost imperceptibly without any struggle whatsoever with Baroque literature which, with its variegated Slavonic-Ukrainian language, was bound to weaken and then perish. The demise of the Baroque was inevitable when Ukrainian life became completely provincial and when former centers of literary life, notably the Kiev Academy, gave over all their energies to the service of the new "all-Russian" centers.

Even during the Baroque period some Ukrainian writers, religious figures mainly, began to accept the new Classicist literary forms. Certain elements of the new, simpler, more harmonious, non-Baroque style may be found, for example,

in the sermons (although not the plays) of H. Konys'kyj. Closer still to the stylistics of Classicism was *Istoriija Rusiv* (which did not originate until the nineteenth century); however, this work, written almost entirely in Russian, stands more or less on the periphery of Ukrainian literature. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, some Ukrainians emerged as Russian Classicist poets. The most famous of them were Ippolit Bohdanovyč (1743-1803), Vasyľ Kapnist (1757-1823)—both of whom belonged to the most aesthetically dazzling stars in the galaxy of Russian Classicism, and who are both known by the idyllic coloration of their verses—and the less talented, but indefatigable journalist, Vasyľ Ruban (1739-95).

2. No doubt this transition to a new literary style in the new cultural centers of St. Petersburg and Moscow may have been reflected in Ukraine also, perhaps even directly in some poet's manuscript-relegated works. For the most part, however, the change to a new style meant a change to *Russian* Classicism with its own, non-Ukrainian language. The transformation of this language had already been begun in literature that was stylistically Baroque (Skovoroda). Thus, there arose the threat of the incontrovertible waning of Ukrainian literature as an integral whole. It was saved by the new psychology formulated by Classicism with its aristocratic tenor. For example, the Ukrainian language lent itself well to parody (an old Baroque genre), or to "drawing room" adaptations of folksongs, popular even in St. Petersburg. But these modern parodies were characterized by a new spirit: their authors seem imbued with enthusiasm for the Enlightenment; their attitude to religion appears ironic, even blasphemous. Also noticeable is a new aristocratic spirit characteristic of the Enlightenment's disdain for the beliefs of the common people. A final symbol of the new times was the apparent disintegration of the Ukrainian language: although the vernacular was used, some authors could not refrain from occasionally including Russianisms.

3. It is unimportant to note exactly which of the many Ukrainian poems of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were permeated with this new spirit. It is significant, however, that the features in them that were derived from this Enlightenment *spirit* are stronger than those that are attributable to Classicist *stylistics*. Their language is also indicative sometimes; for while the Ukrainian in which they wrote was fairly good, the authors used not the actual popular speech but rather a *coarse* one. And they treated it as they did everything emanating from the people—with unmistakable disdain and contempt.

An example is contained in the following lines, a parody of religious verses on the theme of the Nativity:

*Dja syx rodyn vsjak xrystyjanyn vymynaje kovbasy.  
 Baby, didy, pyvo, medy, horilku varenu  
 kuxlykom pjut', z knyšamy trut' svynynu pečěnu.  
 Xlopci, divky navperedky bihajut' pid xatky  
 i, jak vovky abo svynky, skyrhyčut koljadky . . .*

(“On the occasion of this birthday party, every Christian wolfs down sausages. The grannies and grandads guzzle beer mead and fermented brandy with a small dipper, and ‘polish off’ a roast pig with stuffed bread. The lads and lasses run ahead and under cottage roofs screech out carols like wolves or hogs. . . .”)

Following this is a scene which takes place in heaven:

*I uves' tut zahudiv ljud, mov litom ti bđžoly:  
 berut' žinok, idut' v tanok, zatykavšy poly . . .*

*Prorok Davyd tam ž sydyt' i v kobzu ihraje,  
 pishnu svjatu Spasu Xrystu z Psaltyri čytaje.  
 Čornjavyj Xam sydyt' tež tam i rižě v sopilku,  
 sam dobre pje i vsim daje kvartuju horilku . . .*

(“And all the people here began to buzz, like those bees in summer: they choose their ladies and join the dances, having tucked in their skirts . . .

There sits the prophet David, strumming his *kobza*, and reading from his Psalter a holy song to Christ the Saviour. The dark Ham sits there, too, rasping away on his flute. He drinks a good deal himself, and hands round a quart of brandy to everyone. . . .”)

This is typical of “manorial” poetry with its “enlightened” near-blasphemies and Russianisms. The Easter verse parodies are similar:

*Podaly jim xlib i sil',  
 koždomu po čarci pyva.*

*Tut Davyd narobyl dyva:  
 pryudaryv v husli tak,  
 ščo skakat' xotiv usjak,  
 Sara kynula i ložku,  
 pidnimala harno nožku . . .*

*Zasmijavsja tut i Boh.  
 Tut i babky, tut i vnučky,  
 vsi pobralysja za ručky  
 i pišly u xorovod . . .*

(“They gave them bread and salt, and to each one, a glass of beer. Then David wrought a miracle: he plucked his zither so that everyone wanted to jump; Sarah even threw away her spoon, and, daintily, raised her leg . . .

.....

Now God too began to laugh. Then the old grannies, and then their grandchildren all linked hands and joined the circle. . . .”)

This is another variant of the same verse:

*Kažut', bucem molodyci  
 nehodjajky, ledaščyci  
 i puhlyvi, jak zajci—  
 až nepravda, molodyci!*

*Se ž Marija sered noči  
 pustylasja zo vsij moči  
 plakaty na hrob Xrystov,  
 na Golgoфу, miž kustov.*

*Čoho, Maruse, tak ty plačeš?  
 Ja voskres—sama ty bačyš.  
 Žydy že jak na pup kryčat',  
 ščo ne rušena pečat' . . .*

*A Xrystos buv na roboti –  
pokaljajv sobi čoboty,  
pokil' peklo pohasyv,  
i Adama voskresyv . . .*

(“It is said that young wives are good-for-nothings, loose wenches, and fearful as rabbits— No, young fellows, that’s a lie! For Mary in the middle of the night started out, with all her might, for Christ’s grave upon Golgotha, there to weep among the shrubs.

.....  
Why, Mary, do you grieve so? I am risen—you can see for yourself. The Jews are bawling at the top of their voices that the tomb has not been unsealed . . .

.....  
And Christ was at His work —he soiled his boots all over while he extinguished the fires of hell and resurrected Adam. . . .”)

The dreadful accents (*narôbyv, pustylásja*) and Russianisms (*pryudaryv, nožku, nehodjajky, miž kustov*, etc.) oblige one to regard this literature as another sign of decline rather than of florescence as literary historians have sometimes thought.

4. In the category of works bearing traits of Classicist style must definitely be placed at least some verses of Ivan Nekraševyč (1780s–1790s). To a certain extent, his writings followed the devices of Baroque poetics and were directly connected with the tradition of the Kiev Academy, as, for example, his versified thank-offering (1787) or his dialog “*Spor duši z tilom*” (“An Altercation of the Soul with the Body,” 1773). His later verses, however, belong to somewhat more modern genres: “*Jarmarok*” (“The Fair”) and “*Spovid*” (“The Confession”) fall somewhere between the Baroque interlude and the Classicist idyll. Another of these new genres was the personal letter in verse, whose most interesting feature is its use of almost pure popular speech:

*. . . a mene bo navčyly otec' mij i maty  
koljadivok i ščedrivok, Boha zuxvaljaty,  
hoviju ja ščoroku, pjatinku šanuju,  
ne jim, ne pju, ne roblju do večera v tuju.  
Ot bryznula na hubu, jak syr odkydala,*

*čoho ja ne robyla, vves' rot poloskala  
Isuse, prosty mene, hrišnuju takuju,  
a bišče ja na sobi ničoho ne čuju . . .*

(“. . . and me, my father and mother taught to sing carols for Christmas and Epiphany and to praise God; I observe Lent every year, and keep Friday holy; I do not eat or drink or work until evening on that day.

Lo, when I was draining the cheeses, some splashed on my lips; what did I not do then! I rinsed my mouth completely. Dear Jesus, forgive me, sinner that I am. There is no other iniquity of which I am aware. . . .”)

This verse displays the same condescending attitude toward the common people as is seen in the parodies of religious chants. Yet, the works of Nekraševyč are an anticipation of Kotljarevs'kyj's, the founder of Ukrainian Classicism and modern Ukrainian literature, primarily because of the authenticity of their language. It appears that Nekraševyč arrived at his achievement by way of the same route taken by Kotljarevs'kyj—the travesty genres of Classicism. Although not as distinguished as his successor's, Nekraševyč's accomplishment, taken as a whole, denotes an interesting phenomenon illustrating the convergence of old and modern literature and of the two styles, Baroque and Classicism.

A genre that is typically Classicist, satire, was represented by a few works of local significance. These attempts at satire, perhaps derived from the Russian and Polish Classicist tradition, produced no outstanding achievements in Ukraine.

### C. THE MOCK-HEROIC POEM

1. The work which introduced the use of the vernacular as the language of literature, the *Enejida* of Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj (1769-1838), belongs to a specific genre of Classicist poetics, the “mock-heroic poem.” Kotljarevs'kyj was acquainted with one of the most popular Russian works of this category by N. Osipov (1751-1799). His *Eneida* (1791-96, later editions 1800, 1801) and its ultimate conclusion (editions 1802, 1806) written by A. Kotel'nickij (dates unknown) were themselves modelled on the work of the eighteenth century German writer Blumauer. The travesties of Vergil's *Aeneid* were the most popular of all the numerous travesties during the Baroque period. The most famous was the French *Le Virgile travesti* by Scarron (1648, with various

conclusions by different authors); several travesties of the *Aeneid* were also written in various French dialects. Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* appeared in 1798, without the author's consent. In 1809 he added part four to the third edition, and the last two parts, on which he worked for the rest of his life, were published posthumously (1842).

Kotljarevs'kyj made use of Osipov's work most of all. However, as a former seminary student, he was well acquainted with the Latin original of the *Aeneid*, and it seems that he also availed himself of Scarron's travesty. Yet Kotljarevs'kyj's "imitation" is neither a translation nor even a recasting. The Osipov-Kotel'nickij *Eneida* and Scarron's *Le Virgile travesti* each contains over 20,000 lines while Kotljarevs'kyj's work has a little over 7,000. As these figures suggest, Kotljarevs'kyj did not hesitate to expunge even crucial episodes of the action. Accordingly, the very popular second canto in Vergil's *Aeneid*, which describes the fall of Troy, is omitted altogether. Where Osipov's work appealed to him, Kotljarevs'kyj followed him very faithfully. But from the other versions of the *Aeneid* he took, for the most part, only the general outline. Sometimes, Kotljarevs'kyj abridged the narration of Osipov or the others; sometimes he expanded it, and at other times he went his own way entirely. Certain parts were derived from a different tradition: the best passage, Enej (Aeneas) in hell, was composed in fairly close imitation of the Baroque "*Pisni pro čotyry ostanni reči ljudyny*" ("Songs About the Four Ultimate Things of Man")—death, Judgment Day, hell and heaven. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian versions of these songs in part perished, and in part remained unpublished; however, Kotljarevs'kyj could have used either Latin or Polish works on the same subject. In any case, the important part of his poem is original, not imitative. The vast superiority of his work over Osipov's is unanimously acknowledged by both older and modern Ukrainian and Russian scholars.

2. In defining the character of the *Enejida*, it can be said to be a mock-heroic poem. At the same time, it is a travesty and is linked with the ancient tradition of burlesque. The role of the mock-heroic poem in the poetics of Classicism has already been discussed. It was a classical poem with a low subject (according to the theory of Boileau) or else a lofty subject depicted in low style. (In practice, even those poems expressly proscribed by Boileau's theory existed as well.) Poems of the second type had been known previously. If the lofty subject matter were taken from the old, traditional epics, it was called a travesty (of course, other literary genres could also be travestied). Works not of serious intent but written in jest were given the name burlesque (joke), another ancient but fortuitous term. In reality, burlesque works, too, often had a serious literary or ideological intent: Blumauer, an author of the "Enlightenment," wrote his

German *Aeneid* as a satire against ecclesiastic (primarily Catholic) pietism. And “jest” was, in the main, the literary aspect of burlesque—the playful application of literary forms and style for a specific purpose.

The content of *Enejida* was taken from Vergil. The story involves the wanderings of the Trojans who, following the fall of Troy, fled with Aeneas, one of the younger members of its royal family. After various adventures, they founded a new homeland in Italy where, having conquered the local ruler, Latin, they established the roots of the future Roman empire. A certain political tendentiousness characteristic of Vergil’s legend—as he attempted to link Rome with ancient history, even with Olympus (Aeneas as the son of Venus), in order to emphasize Rome’s lofty historical mission—was lost in travesties of the work. The *Aeneid* was chosen simply because it was a well-known work. The plot of the various travestied *Aeneids* held no particular appeal for their readers since the entire sequence of events was familiar to them beforehand, having been studied at school. Nor were the authors and readers of the travesties interested in the diverse historical, archeological and ideological motifs of the original.

What was new in the content and what did attract the attention of the readers was the variations on the individual scenes and episodes of the poem. In the tradition of travesty, the author replaces the particular historical and ideological atmosphere of the original work with another one. Accordingly, Kotljarev’s *kyj* transformed the Trojans—and indeed, the representatives of other nations (Carthaginians, Italians, etc.)—into Ukrainian Cossacks. The other-worldly inhabitants extolled in the ancient epic, the Graeco-Roman deities, were turned into Ukrainian landowners. All the details were incorporated into the texture of everyday Ukrainian life: Prometheus “*na lju’ku . . . ohon’ ukrav*” (“stole the fire for his pipe”); “*bohyni v hnivi—tak že baby*” (“infuriated goddesses are just like a bunch of old women”); “*Enej був парубок моторный i xlopec’ xot’ kudy kozak*” (“Enej was a daring young fellow and lusty Cossack blade”); Venus—“*mov sotnyka jakohos’ pani*” (“the wife of some Cossack captain”), etc. Everything was travestied: the psychology of the leading characters, the treatment of individual episodes, and the motivation for the heroes’ actions. However, even this transformation could not by itself have rendered the poem interesting for its contemporaries, much less for succeeding generations. For Kotljarev’s *kyj* paid little attention to the character of his heroes: they are completely non-individualized, their characters changing unrecognizably, in some cases, during the course of the poem. It is something else that enraptured the poem’s readers, and still does—its language and trappings such as details of Ukrainian history and everyday life, as well as certain formal stylistic features.

3. First and foremost, the language: Kotljarev’s *kyj* succeeded in creating a

Ukrainian that was extraordinarily colorful, rich and supple. His love of synonyms accounts for the extremely vivid quality of the language. Employing a different word each time for every notion including the most unusual, Kotljarev's'kyj created a lexicon that was inexhaustible. For example, to describe the various alcoholic beverages consumed by the Trojans, Latins and gods, he used the following battery of names: *horilka, braha, horiločka, syvuxa, slyvjanka, med, pyvo, horilka prosta i kalhanka, varenuxa, varena, z imberom pinna horilka, mokruxa, pinnen'ka, harjačyj, pyvce, syvuška, rens'ke z kurdymom ta pyvo čorneje z lyonom, sykizka, derenivka i kryms'ka vkusnaja dulivka, ščo tam ajvivkoju zovut', oxtyr's'kyj med, paljonka, z strjučkom horilka, hanusna, pid pinok, čykyldyxa, etc.*

The following passage also defies literal translation:

*Abo horiločku pyly--  
ne tjutjunovu i ne pinnu,  
ne tret'oprobnu perehinnu,  
nastojanuju na bodjan,  
pid čeljustjamy zapikanu,  
i z hanusom, i do kalhanu,  
v nij buv i perec', i šapran . . .*

Replacing the common verbs of motion—*pišov* (he left), *pojixav* (he rode off), *pobih* (he ran away)—is a multitude of expressions: *vvišly* (they entered), *vperlysja* (they pushed on), *hanjaly* (they drove), *dav drala* (he scampered off), *nu vin drala* (well, he's on the run), *dunuv vo vsi lopatky* (he ran off in great haste), *dmuxnim* (let's blow!), *dav vidtil' dropaka* (he ran away from there), *donosyvsja* (he reached), *išov* (he went), *liz* (he crawled), *račky liz* (he crawled on all fours), *mandruvat'* (to wander), *metnuvs'* (he sprang forward), *maxnula* (she ran away headlong), *mčyt'* (he is hurrying away), *neset'sja* (he rushes past), *pjatamy nakyvav* (he took to his heels), *nastupala* (she advanced), *počuxrav* (he ran off quickly), *popxavsja* (he dragged himself on), *pryplentavs'* (he came crawling), *pidtjupcem išla* (she went at a trot), *pomčalysja* (they darted off), *pomčaly* (they rushed away), *pryčvalav* (he came galloping), *pobihla* (she ran up), *prypxalys'* (they dragged themselves there), *pokotyła* (she set out speedily), *stežku protoptala* (she beat a path [to]), *poplelysja* (they sauntered), *pustylas'* (she started out), *poskakav* (he jumped a little), *polizly* (they climbed), *prut'sja* (they push off), *spišyt'* (he is hurrying), *slonjavysja* (he strolled about), *sunuvs'* (he crawled along), *sovavs'* (he kept on moving), *tynjavs'* (he rambled about), *dav tjahu* (he scampered off), *čkurnula* (she ran off), *čymčykuvav* (he walked

quickly), *šmyhneš* (you disappear in a flash), *šljalys'* (they gadded about), *švendajut'* (they roam about), etc.

In both instances, the choice of appropriate word is crucial. Kotljarevs'kyj also accumulates synonyms or semantically related words as in this scene describing the manner in which Hell Fury tortures sinners:

*robyla hrišnym dobru šanu,  
remnjamy drala, mov bykiv,  
kusala, hryzla, byčuvala,  
kryšyla, škvaryla, ščypala,  
toptala, drjapala, pekla,  
porola, korčyla, pylyla,  
vertila, rvala, špyhuvala,  
i krov iz tila jix pyla.*

(“She did the sinners proper honor, she lashed out at them with whips as though they were oxen, she bit, gnawed and flailed them, hacked them into small pieces, fried, nipped and stamped upon them, clawed, roasted, thrashed, rooted out, sawed, drilled, plucked and stabbed them, and she drank the blood from their bodies. . . .”)

In addition to these “ordinary” words, onomatopoeic ones may also be found in Kotljarevs'kyj: *xaramorkaly* (they mumbled), *even'katy* (to jabber), *cmok* (smack), *zamekekav* (it began to bleat), *šokala* (she shocked), *murmotalo* (it muttered away), etc. Kotljarevs'kyj had a special liking for rare words (for some of which he even gave the meanings): *dzyndzyver-zux* (gay, young fellow), *pudofet* (one difficult to move), *fil'tifiketnyx* (coquettish), *baskalyčytys'* (to resist), *tymfy daty* (to confuse, astound), *ryčka* (cow-maid), *furcjuvaty* (to express the sound of a flight or spurt), *soforok* (sauce), *žeretija* (gluttonous woman), *xaljandra* (gypsy dance), *šuxalija* (large boat), *jarmys* (method), *prydzyl'ovanka* (fidgety woman). Such examples are found on practically every line (the reader need only consult the pages from which the excerpts above have been taken). However, Kotljarevs'kyj rarely invented new words himself. Only a very few neologisms may be noticed in his work, such as: *druželjubyyj* (friend-loving), *obezhluzdyv* (he rendered stupid), *lycarkuvatyj* (having chivalrous manners), *herojity* (to play the hero), *korall'nyj* (made of coral), *bajevyyj–bajkovyyj*–(fable-like), *čortopxajka* (uncomfortable carriage), and a few others (some of which cannot precisely be determined as neologisms).

It was as though Kotljarevs'kyj wanted to incorporate in his poem the complete lexicon of the Ukrainian language of his time. Clearly, while making use of all these words he was not thinking of any *norm* for the Ukrainian language. For among the words he employed were numerous regional expressions (dialectalisms) and still more “*argot*” or “jargon,” the language of particular groups of people: drunkards, ox-cart drivers, townsfolk, seminarians, etc.

It is obvious that Kotljarevs'kyj's language was not always pure. It included a large number of Church Slavonicisms still present in the Ukrainian of the time and, in part, in the language of students and seminarians upon which Kotljarevs'kyj drew extensively. Some examples of such Church Slavonic expressions are: *neskazanno* (ineffably), *červ i prax* (vermin and ashes), *bezčuvstvenno* (insensitively), *ispuškala* (she released), *iskusno* (skillfully), *bohohodna* (pious), *v sije vremena* (at this time), *iskorenim* (let us uproot), *vred* (harm), *puskajuščyj* (who is setting free), *hlas* (voice), *hrad* (city), *nadežda* (hope), *naučaly* (they instigated), *črez* (through), *preslovytyj* (notorious), *oblobyzyv* (he kissed), *pobojščce* (slaughterer), *zrit'* (he sees), *iskoni be* (in the beginning was), etc. These Slavonicisms produced a somewhat disagreeable effect on later readers who mistakenly believed them to be “Great Russianisms.” The representation of the latter in the poem is, in fact, considerable: *vblyzi* (close by), *styšok* (rhyme), *kart'jožnyj* (gambling), *plut* (swindler), *jele* (hardly), *nehodjaj* (scoundrel), *ubirajsja* (be off!), *lyšnij* (superfluous), *beztolkovi* (absurd), *duralej* (nitwit), *mel'kom* (cursorily), *oplošaj* (fail), *obez'jana* (monkey), *izjan* (flaw), *vljublennyx* (beloved), even “*Poltava-matuška*” (mother Poltava), etc. Included in the poem too are entire sayings in Russian: “*žizn'-altyn, a smert'—kopijska*” (“life is three kopecks, death is a kopeck”). Admittedly, such expressions are often linked with Russian manners or with those elements of the Ukrainian way of life already affected by Russification: *altyn* (three kopecks), *mundyr* (uniform), *na perekladnyx* (by relay), *ranžyr* (line), *pylypony* (schismatics), *Tula ta Toržok*, *čynovnyky* (officials), *smyrytel'ni domy* (asylums), and expressions such as “*na prynadležnost'*” (“belonging”), “*dolžnostni*” (“official duties”), and others. Several Polish terms are also scattered throughout the text. Yet, on the whole, these incidental foreignisms only serve to enhance the lexical wealth of the poem.

Equally interesting is Kotljarevs'kyj's phraseology. Its variety reconfirms his genius for making the fullest possible use of the resources of the Ukrainian language. It is often difficult to say whether Kotljarevs'kyj employed expressions and turns of phrase that were already widely known or whether he invented them himself in the folk spirit. He readily availed himself of folk forms such as the type so characteristic of Slavic languages (although rare in their literatures)—

the short form verb.\* Some examples of this form are: *torox* (slap), *zyrk* (glance), *hljad'* (look out), *hul'k* (suddenly); *stryb-stryb* (with a hop and a skip . . .), *xlys'* (splash), *pljus'* (clash), *blys'-blys'* (flash), *skic'* (hop), *šust'* (in a twinkling . . .), *čerk* (with a swoop . . .), etc. But it is Kotljarevs'kyj's figures of speech which are the best: "*Naduvš', mov na ohni lopux*" ("He was as puffed up as a burr in a fire"), "*Vertilas', jak v okropi muxa*" ("She whirled around like a fly in boiling water"); *hiršyj vid percju*" ("stronger than pepper"); "*bucim v boloti čort, zasiv*" ("as if there were a devil sitting in the mud"); "*Naduvšja, jak indyk*" ("He was as puffed up as a turkey"); "*Zanudyvsja, jak po boloti' kulyk*" ("He was as bored as a woodcock in the mud"); "*Slova tak syple, jak horox*" ("He scatters his words like peas"); "*Nadojilo, jak čumakam došč voseny*" ("It was as annoying as autumn rain to čumaky"); "*Tulyvsja, mov od kota v komori myš'*" ("He cowered like a mouse in a pantry hiding from a cat"); "*Kryčav, jak v marti kit*" ("He bawled like a cat in March"); "*Propaly, jak Sirko v bazari*" ("They disappeared, like Sirko, the dog at the market"), and so on.

In addition to these images which, in their role of "metaphor," actually conformed to the requirements of Classicist poetics, Kotljarevs'kyj favored *sententiae* and proverbs which derived, in most cases, from the idiom of the people: "*velykiji u straxa oč'i*" ("eyes, wide with fright"); "*Ne liz' prožohom peršyj v vodu*" ("Do not rush headlong into the water"); "*De xto ne duma, tam nočuje*" ("Where one least expects it, there one spends the night"); "*Bida bidu-hovorjat'-rodyt'*" ("They say that misfortune begets misfortune"); "*De jist'sja smačno, tam i pjet'sja*" ("Where the food is tasty, drink is likewise"); "*Koly koho mix nalakaje, to pislja torba spat' ne dast'*" ("Once frightened by a large sack, henceforth even a little bag will confound your sleep").\*\* It is only conjecture that Kotljarevs'kyj himself coined the well-known adage, "*Mužyc'ka pravda jest' koljuča, a pans'ka na vsi boky hnuča*" ("The peasant's truth is thorny while the master's bends every which way"); the following maxim however, is definitely his own: "*Žyve xto v sviti neobačno, tomu nide ne bude smačno*" ("He who lives an incautious life will nowhere find contentment").

Nevertheless, it is not these sayings and edifying proverbs that constituted the most characteristic feature of his phraseology. It was rather expressions of an altogether different style that drew the travesty epic closer to the status of serious genres. These were rude vulgarisms and coarse (but non-folk), cynical and harsh expressions: "*Junona, suča dočka*" ("Juno, that daughter of a bitch");

\*Often incorrectly labelled a "verbal interjection," this form in Ukrainian is actually "a verb."

\*\*A collection of sayings of this type existed as early as the Baroque period; its compiler was the already mentioned Jeromonax Klymentij.

“*ljapas dat’*” (“to give a cuff on the ear”); “*Eneja za žyvit bere*” (“Enej is seized by a stomach ache”); “*Daly nam hreky pročuxana*” (“The Greeks gave us a thorough trouncing”); “*Mov zzadu pxaly jix čorty*” (“It was as though devils were pushing them on from behind”); “*Pyly, jak brahu porosjata*” (“They drank, like little pigs at their mash”); “*baby sučoji*” (“bitchy woman’s”); “*v mordu tyče*” (“aims right for his mug”); “*Jiv až za uxamy ljaščalo*” (“He ate so much, his ears started ringing”); “*xropty uklavsja*” (“he got ready to croak”); “*račky liz*” (“he crawled on all fours”); “*Turn, sobačyj syn*” (“Turn [Turnus], son of a dog”); “*zhamkaty, jak blyn*” (“to gulp [something] down like flat-cakes”); “*Trojanci zarevily*” (“the Trojans began to roar”); entire stanzas are filled with such phrases. Yet, although very successful in and appropriate to the travesty genre, these expressions offended readers for by then the poem had attained, to Kotljarev’skyj’s surprise, the reputation of a composition of *serious* significance, the first work of modern Ukrainian literature.

Within the limits of the travesty genre as such, Kotljarev’skyj can be faulted only for his adherence to its linguistic style even in those scenes (such as death or battle) which, although part of a comic work, are themselves serious: “*Holovku odčesav*” (“He cut off the hair on his little head”); “*Makitru oddilyv od pleč*” (“He severed the head from its shoulders”); “*Iz nosa bryznula tabaka*” (“Snuff sprayed from his nose”); “*U Turna okoliv u nohax*” (“At Turn’s feet, he croaked”); “*Pobjut’ v jaješnju*” (“They will beat [him] to a pulp”); “*puzo rozplataw*” (“he was disembowelled”); “*vlypyv takoho makohona*” (“he struck [him] such a blow on the head”); “*dutelja zjiv*” (“he died”), etc. Even on the few occasions when Kotljarev’skyj does use a serious tone, the context seems purposely vulgar: “*Rič taku jim udžygnuv*” (“He blasted them with such words”)—leads up to a speech that is very serious indeed. The lamentation of the mother of Evrijal (Euryalus) for her dead son (an interesting imitation of folk laments) is introduced by the following lines:

*I koly holovu piznala  
svoho synočka Evrusja,  
to na valu i rozplatalas’,  
kryčala, gedzalas’, kačalas’,  
kuvikala, mov porosja . . .*

(“And when she recognized the dear little hand of her beloved son Evrus’, she sprawled out on the ramparts, shrieked, ran about like mad, rolled around and squealed like a little pig. . . .”)

Because readers regarded the poem as a serious work, from a certain point of view, a negative impression was produced on them by the strange, coarse (and non-folk) “corrupted” words in its lexicon: *obtekar* (pharmacist), *kalavur* (sentry), *anaxtem* (anathema), *manixvest* (manifesto), *leport* (report), etc., and by its diminutives which were not of folk origin either: *duška* (tender soul), *holosok* (sweet voice), *hilečka* (twig), *holovka* (dear little head), *slizky* (little teardrops), *harnen’ko* (quite prettily), *smašnen’ko* (so deliciously). The readers’ national pride was insulted by the use of vulgarisms and even more by the trifling attitude toward the people which they detected in coarse expressions such as those above. Their reproaches were unjust, historically, for these linguistic features legitimately belonged to the travesty genre. Nevertheless, the influence that Kotljarev’skyj’s style had beyond the limitations imposed by the restrictive genre of the *Enejida* was, in fact, pernicious for Ukrainian literary development. The work of his epigones is proof of this.

4. For Kotljarev’skyj, words were also material for linguistic games—as they had been for his predecessors in Classicism and their somewhat belated parodies of Baroque word play. While Kotljarev’skyj’s lexicon is the most commanding aspect of his work, his word games are also excellent; they are, in addition, superior to Osipov’s and Blumauer’s, although not quite as successful.

The rhyming of foreign names with Ukrainian words falls into this category. In most cases, the rhyme is apt although sometimes Kotljarev’skyj purposely avoids true rhymes. Here are some examples: Troju—*hnoju*, Trojanciv—*lanciv*, Dydona—*motorna*, *pes*—*Zeves*, Kupydone—*stohne*, Palinur—*balahur*, Amata—*xata*, Astreji—*kaznačėji*, Ippolyt—*valyt’*, Kamylla—*kobyla*, Merkurij—*murjy*, Neptun—*škardun*, Lavyna—*slyna*, *idykiv*—*Ammalykiv*, Evrijalom—*kalom*, Emfiona—*makohona*, Holiaf—*hyltav*, *donju*—*Tezyfonju*, Karfageni—*don’ci i neni*, Turn—*verzun*, Eneja—*kereja*, Avanta—*seržanta*, *škelet*—*Avlet*, *filozopy*—*krutopopy* (dating from the old tradition), etc.

This same humor of apposition of two languages also occurs within Ukrainian names (an old device, dating back to the eleventh century translation of Hamartolos’ *Aleksandr Fylypovyč* (*Alexander the Great of Macedon*): *Enej—Anxyzyn’ko* or *Enej Anxyzovyč*, *Tales—Ahamemnonenko*, *Iul—Iul Enejovyč*, *Zeves—Saturnovyč*, *Ippolyt Tezejovyč*, *Pallant Evandrovyč*, *Hlyppenکو*, the son of Vulkan Cekul—Kovalenko. Names are Ukrainianized by other methods as well, as can be seen from *Eneječko*, *Evrus’*, or *Irysja*, *Lavysja* (women’s names), or this excerpt:

*Nevtesom vsi joho dražnyly,*  
*po našomu ž to zvavs’ Oxrim . . .*

(“They teased him with the name Nevtes while to us  
he was known as Oxrim. . . .”)

or the following passage describing Enej’s encounters in hell:

*po dorozı povstričavsja  
z hromadoju znakomyx duš . . .  
. . . znajšov z Trojanciv os’ koho:  
Ped’ka, Tereška, Šelifona,  
Pan’ka, Oxrima i Xarka,  
Les’ka, Oleška i Siz’ona,  
Parxoma, Is’ka i Fes’ka,  
Stec’ka, Onys’ka, Opanasa,  
Svyryda, Lazarja, Tarasa,  
buly Denys, Ostap, Ovsij,  
i vsi Trojanci, ščo vtopyls’,  
jak na čovnax z nym voločyls’;  
tut buv Vernyhora Musij.*

(“Along the way he came across a throng of familiar  
souls . . . among the Trojans he found were: Ped’ko,  
Tereško, Šelifon, Pan’ko, Oxrim and Xarko, Les’ko,  
Oleško and Siz’on, Parxom, Is’ko and Fes’ko. Stečko,  
Onys’ko, Opanas, Syvyryd, Lazar, Taras; there were  
Denys, Ostap, Ovsij, and all the Trojans who had  
drowned—his companions in wandering on the seas;  
Musij Vernyhora was here too.”)

This type of whimsical literary “bilingualism,” so seldom found in Ukrainian writing, is similar to the “macaronic” style of the Baroque. There are also Ukrainian-Latin passages in the *Enejida* that are completely macaronic and most ingenious, as for example:

*Enej, k dobru z natury sklonnyj,  
skazav poslam latyns’kym tak:  
Latynus reks jest’ nevhomonnyj,  
a Turnus pessimus durak.  
I kvare vojuvat’ vam mekum!  
Latynusa but’ puto cekum,  
a vas sen’jores bez uma;*

*Latynusu rad pacem dare,  
permitto mertvyx poxovare,  
i zlosty koram vas nema . . .*

(“Enej, inclined by nature toward benevolence, declared to the Latin envoys thus: King Latinus is restless, and Turnus, the worst fool. Wherefore do you fight with me! Latinus, I consider to be blind, and you officers out of your minds. To Latinus I gladly offer peace; I permit you to bury your dead, and I hold no malice against you. . . .”)

Another word game, based on the language of seminarians, consists in transposing the endings of various words (following Osipov’s model):

*Borščiv jak try ne poden’kuješ,  
na motorošni zaserdčyt’,  
i zaraz tjahlom zakyškuješ  
i v burkoti zakendjušyt’.  
Koly ž ščo napxom z jazykaješ,  
i v tereb dobre zžyvotaješ,  
to na veseli zanutryt’;  
ob lyxo vdarom zazemljuješ,  
i ves’ zabud svij zholoduješ  
i bih do horja začortyt’ . . .*

(“If you go without borshch for three days, you will become ill at heart, and right away you will feel something pulling at your intestines, and a rumbling in your stomach. When you cram something in with your tongue, and clean out your stomach well, your insides will rejoice. You will stop worrying, and you will forget all your hunger, and your grief will go to the devil. . . .”)

The conglomeration of synonyms or otherwise related words represents another type of word play in the *Enejida*; within this category fall abusive epithets:

*Pohannyj, merz’kyj, skvernyj, brydkyj,  
nikčemnyj, lanec’, katelyk,  
hul’visa, pakosnyj, prestydkyj,  
nehidnyj, zlodij, jeretyk!*

(“Vile, loathsome, nasty, abominable, good-for-nothing, wretch, Catholic, scoundrel, malicious, most shameful, wicked, thieving heretic. . . .”)

and curses (which were later developed into a fine art by Gogol’):

*mandruj do satany z rohamy,  
nexaj tobi prysnyt'sja bis . . .*

(“Go to the horned devil, may the fiend haunt your dreams. . . .”)

A still different kind of word game is contained in the numerous “catalogs” (see above; the lists of names and of the tortures of hell). The following is an excerpt from the catalog of the denizens of the underworld:

*Palyvody i volocjuhy,  
vsi zvodnyky i vsi pluty,  
jaryžnyky i vsi pjanjuhy,  
obmanšcyky i vsi moty,  
vsi voržbyty, čarodiji,  
vsi hajdamaky, vsi zlodiji,  
ševci, kravci i kovali;  
cexy, riznyc'kyj, konoval's'kyj,  
kušnirs'kyj, tkac'kyj, šapoval's'kyj  
kypily v pekli vsi v smoli.*

(“Madcaps and vagabonds, all the panderers and all the knaves, debauchees and all the tipsters, cheats and all the spendthrifts, all the fortune-tellers, sorcerers, all the *hajdamaky*, all the thieves, bad shoemakers, tailors and blacksmiths, craftsmen, butchers, veterinarians, furriers, weavers, felt-makers, all boiled in the pitch of hell.”)

5. One of the weakest aspects of the *Enejida* is its verse. There is no doubt about Kotljarev's'kyj's expertise with the four foot iambic meter (—'—'—'—') which he adapted from the Russian literary tradition, and in some cases used with greater originality. His handling of long words was especially apt: he reduced the numbers of stresses per line thereby making it sound better and more natural:

z obstryženymy holovamy            -' - - - - -' -  
 z obrizanymy pelenamy . . .        -' - - - - -' -

(“with shaved heads, with lopped-off skirts . . .”)

or:

jak rozihralos', zašypilo,            - - - -' - - -' -  
 zaparylos', zaklekotilo . . .        -' - - - - -' -

(“When it got into the mood of playing, it hissed, it steamed, it began to boil. . . .”)

The structure of Kotljarev'skyj's stanzas is sound, but the rhyme is poor. In most cases, it is weaker than the frequently stagey rhymes of certain Baroque poets. Often, it is grammatical (that is, the rhyming of identical grammatical forms); *motornyj*–*provornyj*, *kozak*–*burlak*, *Trojanciv*–*lanciv*, *dav*–*nakyvav*. Imperfect rhymes are also common: *Neptun*–*zabuv*, *poplyv*–*nastyh*, *pohlumyt'sja*–*spastysja*. Generally speaking, Kotljarev'skyj avoided incomplete rhymes: found in folk poetry, and used to a degree in Baroque verse (introduced by Skovoroda into comic poems familiar to Kotljarev'skyj), these rhymes later constituted the attraction of Ševčenko's verse (see Ch. XII, pt. F, no. 5). There are only a few examples of incomplete rhymes in the *Enejida*: *Enej*–*zleje*, *zišla*–*pomyšljav*, *preslovytyj*–*buty*, etc. The rhymes seem monotonous, due partly to the frequent repetition of certain words. Another cause of monotony is the almost complete absence of *enjambement* (the carrying over of a sentence from one line to the next) with the result that one line practically always comprises one entire sentence.

6. The greatest strength of the *Enejida* lies not only in its language but also in the abundance of those themes from everyday life whose presentation is the function of this language. As well as being the first broad dictionary of the Ukrainian national language, the *Enejida* was the first encyclopedia of Ukrainian ethnography. Through the medium of the linguistic wealth of the *Enejida*, the reader is witness to everything: the material culture of the people, their dwellings and wearing apparel, food and drink, music and dances, their forms of entertainment as well as their daily routine, superstition and religious customs.

An examination of some of this *pobut* is worthwhile. The passage below, for example, presents an account of diverse kinds of food:

*Tut jily rizniji potravy:*

svynjaču holovu do xrinu  
i lokšynu na pereminu,  
potim z pidlyvoju indyk;  
na zakusku kuliš i kašu,  
lemišku, zubci, putrju, kvašu  
i z makom medovyj šulyk.

I lasošči vse til'ky jily:  
slast'ony, koržyky, stovpci,  
varenyky pšenyčni bili,  
puxki z kavjarom buxanci;  
časnyk, rohiz, paslin, kyslyci,  
kozel'ci, tern, hlid, polunyci,  
krutiji jajca z syrivcem,  
i duže vkusnoju jaješnju . . .

. . . jily bublyky, kavjar,  
buv boršč do špundriv z burjakamy  
a v jušci potrox z haluškamy,  
potim do soku kapluny;  
z otribky baba, šarpanyna,  
pečena z časnykom svynyna,  
kroxmal', jakyj jidjat' pany . . .

Vbyraly sičenu kapustu  
šatkovanu i ohirky—  
xoč ce bulo v čas mjasopustu,—  
xrin z kvasom, red'ku, burjaky,  
rjabka, teterju, salamaxu . . .

(“Here they ate various dishes: . . . pigs’ heads with horseradish alternating with noodles, followed by turkey with gravy; as appetizers, corn flour gruel and grits, corn meal pap, onions, cooked barley, boiled sour-sweet dough and poppy seed honeycake.

And they fairly gobbled up all the dainties: the pastries, small biscuits, lady fingers, white wheaten varenyky, rich little caviar-stuffed bread puffs; garlic, mace, morels, crabapples, valerian herbs, sloes, hawthorn berries, strawberries, hard-boiled eggs with kvass, and a very tasty omelet. . . .

. . . they dined on rolls and caviar; there were gallons of beet borschch with pork, and in the broth a few dump-lings, followed by succulent capons; a meatless baba bread, garlic-spiced roast pork and farina which the landowners eat. . . .

They took in shredded cabbage chopped fine, and pickles, and—although it was Shrovetide—horseradish with kvass, radishes, beets, millet porridge, rusks, crushed garlic. . . .”)

Clearly, the cuisine of their masters has been mixed with that of the peasants. However, any loss in ethnography is compensated by the gain in cultural history. Attire, music, dances, etc. are treated in like fashion.

It is interesting that the oral tradition too receives its share of Kotljarevs’kyj’s attention. In addition to his intriguing references to songs and folktales, there are quotations from them as well as from proverbs and adages (see above, section 3). Kotljarevs’kyj cites sayings and fables such as: “*Zaxrymotila, kobyljača mov holova*” (“She made such a noise as might have come from the head of a mare”); “*Na nižci kurjačij stojala taxatka*” (“That house stood on a hen’s leg”); “*Ce kylym-samol’ot čudesnyj za Xmelja vytkavsja carja*” (“This magic carpet was woven during Tsar Hop’s reign”); “*Os’ skatert’ šl’ons’kaja . . . na stil jak til’ky nastely i zahadaj jakoji stravy, to vsjaki vrodjat’sja potravny*” (“Here is a tablecloth made of Silesian wool . . . the moment you place it on the table and think of some kind of food, all sorts of dishes immediately appear”); “*A ce sapjanni-samoxody*” (“And this is a self-propelled Moroccan leather vehicle”); “*Poodal’ buv malyj Telesyk . . . do joho kralasja zmija, krylataja z simju hlavamy*” (“At a distance stood Telesyk . . .; up to him stole a winged serpent with seven heads”).

There are also references to folk songs:

*Hrebci i vesla položyly,  
ta sydja ljulečky kuryly  
i kuhykaly pisen’ok!  
kozac’kyx harnyx zaporožs’kyx*

*pro Sahajdačného spivaly,  
lybon’ spivaly i pro Sič,  
jak v pikinery nabyraly,*

*jak mandruvav kozak vsju nič;  
 Poltavs'ku slavyly Švedčynu  
 i nenja jak svoju dytynu  
 z dvora provadyla v poxod;  
 jak pid Benderju vojuvaly,  
 bez halušok jak pomyraly  
 kolys' jak buv holodnyj hod.*

(“The oarsmen even put down their oars, and sitting down, let up their pipes and hooted out some ditties, fine Zaporozhian Cossack songs! . . . They sang about Sahajdačnyj, and probably about the Sič, how their lancers were drafted, how the Cossack wandered all night long. They sang the glories of the Swedish campaign in Poltava, and how mothers led their children from home and into battle. They sang of how they fought at Bendery, how they died from starvation once upon a time, during that lean year.”)

Mention is made too of popular chapbooks, e.g., “Bova,” and “Marzipan, the Famous Knight” (evidently a parody, for this story does not figure among known folk tales). Kotljarevs'kyj's debt to the folk tradition or ritual wailing at burial is apparent in the moving lament for Evrijal by his mother. One stanza is written entirely in the style of a folk song:

*Ne xmara sonce zastupyla,  
 ne vyxor poroxom vertyt',  
 ne halyč čorna pole vkryla,  
 ne bujnyj viter ce šumyt',  
 Ce vijs'ko jde vsima šljaxamy,  
 ce ratne brjaskotyť zbrujamy . . .*

(“It is not a cloud that has blocked out the sun, it is not a whirlwind that is whipping up the dust, it is not black crows that have covered the field, it is not a violent wind that is blustering nearby. It is the army marching on every road, it is the fierce clashing of their steeds' harnesses. . . .”)

Admittedly, this material is not always reliable, for Kotljarevs'kyj does not seem to make any distinction between that which is Ukrainian and that which is

foreign. There are occasional references in his work to popular stories that are Russian.

Kotljarevs'kyj draws attention to folk beliefs and to such phenomena as magical spells; here, his Syvylla (Sybil) declares:

*. . . ljudjam v nuždi pomahaju:  
ja jim na zvizdax vorožu;  
komu čy trjascju odihnaty,  
od zaušnyč' čy pošeptaty,  
abo i volos izihnat'—  
šepču, uroky prohanjaju,  
perepoloxy vylyvaju,  
hadjuk umiju zamovljat' . . .*

(“. . . I help people in need: I foretell their fortunes by the stars. Whether to drive off someone's fever, or to conjure away the fever or to drive away swelling of the gums, I whisper softly and expel the evil spirits; I heal those who are frightened, I know how to charm snakes. . . .”)

Even at the beginning of the twentieth century the following passage remained a compelling description of hell:

*Vid'om že tut kolesuvaly  
i vsix šeptux i vorožok . . .*

*na prypičkax ščob ne oraly,  
u komyny ščob ne litaly,  
ne jizdyly b na upyrjax;  
i ščob došču ne prodavaly,  
vnoči ljudej ščob ne ljakaly,  
ne vorožyly b na bobax . . .*

(“Here on the rack they tortured the witches and all the conjurers and sorceresses . . . so they would disturb no more the peasant's hearth, nor fly down his chimney, nor ride around on vampires; and so they would sell rain no more, nor terrify people at night, nor tell fortunes from beans. . . .”)

Another subject seized upon by Kotljarevs'kyj was Ukrainian antiquity which, since the days of his youth, signified that period of history known as the Cossack Era. It was transformed, first of all, into components of the travesty: King Latin speaks of "our Sič"; Enej describes himself thus: "I—Enej the Trojan—am a Zaporožian chief" (*košovyj*); Evrijal's father was as severe as a hetman's bodyguard (*serdjuk opričnyj*). Terms like bailiffs (*vozni*), quartermaster general (*oboznyj heneral'nyj*), ensign (*xorunžyj*), "the wife of some captain or other" ("*sotnyka jakohos' pani*"), etc. occur throughout the text. Kotljarevs'kyj also inscribed lines such as the following, and possibly from not altogether perfect knowledge:

*Tak vičnoj pamjati buvalo  
u nas v Het'manščyni kolys'  
tak prosto vijs'ko šykuvalo,  
ne znavy: "stij, ne ševelys'!"  
Tak slavniji polky kozac'ki—  
Lubens'kyj, Hadjac'kyj, Poltavs'kyj  
v šapkah, bulo, jak mak, cvitut'.  
Jak hrjanut', sotnjamy udarjat',  
pered sebe spysy nastavljat'—  
to, mov metloju, vse metut'.*

("Indeed there once was a time when the fame of our *Hetman* state seemed immortal. So perfect was the rank formation the troops drew almost unconsciously: "Halt, not a sound!" Renowned Cossack regiments were there then—from Lubny, Hadjač and Poltava, resplendent in their poppy-red caps. At the blare of trumpets, the companies strike out, bearing their lances at the ready—and, like a mighty broom, all sweep forward.")

However, having aroused in readers their sense of nationalism and even sovereignty, Kotljarevs'kyj deals them a bitter blow only a few lines later with this unheroic and vulgar tableau:

*Tak Sahajdačnyj z Dorošenkom  
kozac'kym vijs'kom velyčavs'.  
Odyn z bunčukom pered rattju,  
pozadu druhyj pjanu brattju  
dons'kym nahajem pidhanjav.*

(“Thus, Sahajdačnyj and Dorošenko prided themselves on their Cossack forces. One marched at the head of the host with the Cossack standard, the other brought up the rear, driving the drunken brethren on with his Don-made whip.”)

7. Nevertheless, serious ideological themes are not entirely absent from the *Enejida*. Kotljarev'skyj was a religious man, adhering to conventional spiritual beliefs; but at the same time he was very much taken with the Enlightenment, especially its humanistic aspirations. Far from being limited to the touching scene of Evrijal's mother's lament, Kotljarev'skyj's sensitivity and even sentimentality may be found in several places in his work: “*Enej spodar posumuvavšy, . . . poplakavšy i porydavšy . . .*” (“The commander Enej, having grieved awhile . . . wept and lamented . . .”), “*Proščalysja i obnimalys', sliz'my hirkymy oblyvalys'*” (“They bade farewell to one another and embraced, shedding bitter tears”). Nyz tenderly reminds Evrijal about his “aged mother,” then Evrijal asks Iul Enejovyč to look after his mother for him. Just before dying, Turn calls to mind his “aged father”; Enej “could scarcely stop weeping,” etc. Of course, alongside such depictions of tender feelings, there are instances of sheer caprice: Anxiz, weeping as he bade farewell to Enej in the underworld, “*kryčav jak v marti kit*” (“bawled like a cat in March”), etc. A serious tone is maintained for certain elevated passages—such as one of Venus' addresses to Zeus or some of the more or less pathetic scenes in the various parts. Certain descriptions are also written in a serious vein; for the most part, however, they are not very successful, and in any case contain a considerable number of vulgar words. Possibly the only places in which Kotljarev'skyj refrained from using travesty are those having a moral or humanistic character:

*De obščeje dobro v upadku,  
zabud' otcja, zabud' i matku—  
lety povynnist' ispravljat'.*

*Za mylu vse terjat' hotovi—  
klejnoty, žyvoty, obnovy;  
odna dorožče myloj—čest'.*

(“Wherever the general good is threatened, forget your father, forget your mother too—and fly to carry out your duty. For your sweetheart you are ready to lose everything—attributes of power, sustenance, amusement.

But there is one thing more dear than a sweetheart—  
honor.”)

His description of the horrors of war is a stirring evocation:

*Hude v Latiji dzvin viščovyj  
i haslo vsim k vijni daje,  
ščob vsjak latynec' buv hotovyj  
k vijni, v jaku jix zlist' vede.  
Tam kryk, tut ha'las, tam klepalo,  
tisnyt'sja ljud i vse triščalo . . .  
Vijna v kryvavyx ryzax tut;  
za neju rany smert', uviččja,  
bezbožnist' i bezčoloviččja,  
xvist mantiji jiji nesut'.*

(“The assembly bell rings out in Latium and gives everyone the call to arms, so that every Latin might prepare himself for the war, the outcome of their wrath. Yonder a shriek, here an uproar, there a sound of pounding; the men press together and everything is crashing. . . . Here war is gowned in bloody raiment. In her steps come wounds, death, mutilation, ungodliness and inhumanity, carrying the train of her mantle.”)

The entire lengthy description of the underworld is, on the whole, somewhat of a departure from the overall character of the rest of the *Enejida*. In it, Kotljarevs'kyj drew on completely different sources from those used for the mock-heroic poem proper—namely, Baroque religious poetry. Admittedly, the style of the underworld tableaux is in general that of sustained parody on folk beliefs (although heaven is parodied still more). However here, motivated by the moralism native to his spirit, Kotljarevs'kyj remains fairly aloof from vulgarisms. He presents a catalog of sins that is altogether traditional, and places these lines, not without reason it seems, near the beginning of the section:

*Paniv za te tam mordovaly  
i žaryly zo vsix bokiv,  
ščo ljudjam l'hoty ne davaly  
i stavyly jix za skotiv . . .*

(“It is for this reason that the masters were tortured and were being roasted on all sides—they denied their people any rights, and treated them like cattle. . . .”)

Nor is Kotljarevs’kyj lax in designating the appropriate punishments awaiting “all officials . . . without exception,” “judges, jurymen, clerks” “who did not carry out justice according to the law.” Kotljarevs’kyj concludes the caricature with this edifying discourse by Sybil who characterizes the inhabitants of paradise:

*Ne dumaj, ščo buly čynovni*

*abo ščo hrošej skryni povni,  
abo v jakyx tovstyj žyvit,  
ne ci te, ščo v cvitnyx županax,  
v karmazynax abo sapjanax;  
ne ti z, ščo z knyhamy v rukax,  
ne lycari, ne rozbyšaky;  
ne ti ce, ščo kryčat ‘i paky,’  
ne ti, ščo v zolotyx šapkah . . .*

(“Do not imagine that they were high officials nor that they had coffers full of gold, nor that any were ample of girth. They were not those who dress in bright mantles, or gowns of crimson or shoes of Moroccan leather. They were not those who wander about book in hand, nor were they knights or highwaymen; they were not those who chant in church, nor who wear golden caps. . . .”)

Clearly, this passage does not denote any special love for the common people. It simply expresses the typical Christian viewpoint found in writings and paintings dealing with Judgment Day and “the other world.” Kotljarevs’kyj continues this Christian account of the righteous: “*Ce bidni nyšči*” (“Nay, these were miserable wretches”), “*ce vdovy bidni, bezpomoščni*” (“these were poor, helpless widows”), “*ce divy česni neporočni*” (“these were chaste, unblemished virgins”); these were orphans, these were people “*ščo ljudjam pomahat’ ljubyly*” (“who loved helping others”). “*Tut tak že staršyna pravdyva*” (“Here there was also an honest official”), “*no til’ky troxy c’oho dyva*” (“but such a miracle was

rare indeed”), adds Kotljarevs’kyj in another traditional motif. Finally, there were people “*vsjakoho zavitu . . . kotori pravedne žyly*” (“of every faith who led a pious life”). This last motif identifies Kotljarevs’kyj, in his depiction of the other world, as a “man of righteousness” for whom a person’s salvation is not connected with fealty to any particular faith or belief.

Thus, gradually, certain indications emerge from the *Enejida* about the character of Kotljarevs’kyj. He appears as a sensitive, sentimental person, religious, but in the somewhat more modern, not old-fashioned sense. Small wonder then that this “enlightened” religious man was librarian of his local biblical society. However, he could not discover the appropriate serious forms for his thoughts and ideals. The works he produced (for more of his works, see below) belonged to such restrictive genres that they might have been appendages to some other literature such as Russian or French. Such was the difference between his era and the Baroque when a poet of similar temperament and equal interest in antiquity and national life and customs would have produced not a travesty, not a work whose genre lay on the periphery of literature, but a work of truly important significance. Admittedly, throughout the entire period of the Baroque there was nothing which could be compared with the *language* of Kotljarevs’kyj. It is not surprising then that Ševčenko could write “the *Enejida* is good, but still only a farce in the Muscovite manner.” For Kuliš, whose view was totally in accord with Romantic ideology, the *Enejida* was nothing but a parody on the way of life and even the language of the peasant, a parody showing “a lack of respect” for the Ukrainian people. Later, Kuliš wrote that Kotljarevs’kyj “himself did not exactly know what he was doing” but, in his handling of the common language and in his subsequent establishing of a new Ukrainian literature, he was following “some unknown command of the popular spirit.”

8. Kotljarevs’kyj’s travesty has only a few stylistic similarities to works of the Baroque. Besides the already mentioned word games, perhaps the sole features related to Baroque stylistics are the numerous repetitions, the play on synonyms and words of similar meaning, and the accumulation of these techniques. The greatest concentration of these features occurs, in fact, in the depictions of hell and heaven, the passages whose themes and Baroque-like language most recall the poetry of the Baroque (see above, pt. A, no. 7). The travesty genre itself was a legacy Classicism inherited from the Baroque, although Boileau, a thorough-going Classicist, had wanted to remove this category from literature practically altogether. Kotljarevs’kyj, however, like other Classicists who wrote travesties, did avail himself of the Baroque tradition to a certain limited degree. But he had far greater recourse to the stylistic theories of Classicism. Indeed, in some parts of his poem it would not be difficult to

transform the piece into a serious work. One need only remove the linguistic elements of the travesty—the vulgarisms, the overly colloquial expressions, the ethnographic details, etc. It would not be necessary to change the style—it is completely classical.

9. Apart from the echoes it produced in other genres (to be discussed later), Kotljarevs'kyj's travesty spawned innumerable epic imitations which altered the mock-heroic poem in various ways (to be sure, the times themselves were unfavorable to the classical genre). Mention need be made only of P. P. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko (1774-1856) who wrote, among other Ukrainian and Russian works, the poetic travesty *Horpynyda, abo vxoplena Prozerpyna* (*Horpynyda, or Kidnapped Proserpine*, unpublished until 1871). This work, too, is based on a traditional travesty theme elaborated in 1653 by the French poet Charles Coypeau d'Assoucy (1605-1675) and rendered into Russian in 1795 by J. Ljucenko (1776-1854) and Kotel'nickij. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko's work, which follows the latter version fairly closely, is of interest for the history of literature primarily in pointing up, by contrast, the refinement of Kotljarevs'kyj's literary taste. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, in imitating the *Eneida*, was unable to refrain from using numerous coarse and indecent witticisms and turns of phrase. Despite the fact that the author was concerned with ethnographic matters, the work offers very little in this area. Moreover, his attitude to the language and life of the common people seems ironic and disdainful.

In the tradition of travesty, there is another, later reworking of the old mock-heroic poem by K. Dumytraško (1814-1886), entitled *Žabomyšodrakivka, z hrečes'koho lycja na kozac'kyj vyvorot na švydku nytku pereštopana* (*The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice, Greek Material on One Side, Cossack on the Other, Darned Anew with a Nimble Thread*, 1859). In language and verse it is weak. In content it is a Polonophobic and Russophilic adaptation of political events of the seventeenth century in the form of a tale about a war between the mice (the Poles) and the frogs (the Cossacks) who are aided by the crabs (the Russians).

A mock-heroic poem was also begun by Jakiv Kuxarenko, a Kuban otaman (d. 1862). Entitled *Xar'ko Zaporožs'kyj Košovyj* (*Xarko, a Zaporožian Chief*), this unfinished poem imitates the plot of the *Eneida*, while reducing the elements of burlesque and emphasizing the patriotic motifs.\*

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\*The name of O. Lobysevyč, a priest who translated Vergil's *Bucolics*, should perhaps be mentioned as one of Kotljarevs'kyj's forerunners from the late eighteenth century. However, his travesty has been lost and it is therefore impossible to speculate about its relationship to Classicist travesties.

## D. VERSE POETRY

1. One type of lyric among those most favored by Classicist poetics was the ode. Several examples of the genre may be found in Ukrainian in the post-Kotljarevs'kyj period. For the most part, however, they were the work of literary dilettantes who turned to this form in the spirit of Russian patriotism to extol the events of 1812 and 1855. Even in the ode, it is travesty which, surprisingly, plays the greater role.

This type of composition may be traced to an ode of Kotljarevs'kyj's dedicated to "the Little Russian Governor-General" Prince Kurakin. The actual aim of the work is the consolation of the addressee; accordingly, the expressions of the author's respect for the high personage in his performance of office are sincere: "*Ne žaliže žyvota dlja nas svoho*" ("In serving us, he does not hesitate to sacrifice his own life"), "*Jarmo ty tjahneš, ne hnučys, jak dobryj vil*" ("You bear the yoke unflinchingly, like a faithful ox"). Yet, despite its intention, the tone of the ode is entirely that of travesty. For example, classical antiquity is Ukrainianized: Orpheus is depicted as a "poor old thing" ("*neborak*") and as a *kozak* strumming his *kobzura*. Also, folk expressions and vulgarisms abound: in the office the clerks "*tovčut'sja*" ("thrash about as if possessed"); "*treba vsjakuju papiru pidvesty jak raz do šnyru*" ("every piece of paper must be scrutinized right down to the last period"); "*nikoly boršču s'orbnyty*" ("never slurp your boršč"); "*skil'ky vzjav ljudej ty z hrjazi i . . . až u knjazi jix uper*" ("the number of people you pulled out of the mire and set up like princes"). Most importantly, Kotljarevs'kyj himself assumes the pose of a simple person who does not understand what goes on in "the higher world" or even in the provincial office, and who speaks of everything as if it were some sort of marvel. In point of fact, the poem is poorly executed, containing several errors in rhyme, etc.

2. Next in importance to Ukrainian literature's master of epic travesty is its master of ode travesty, Petro Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (1790-1865). His unlikely background—an unsuccessful professor of dubious scholastic merit or achievement, but with the psychology and ambition of a Russian civil servant and the political ideology of a Russian monarchist—does not alter the fact that he was an extraordinarily talented poet who surpassed Kotljarevs'kyj in technical proficiency.

Hulak-Artemovs'kyj began as a student, paraphrasing Boileau's comic poem *The Lectern* into a language that was almost Church Slavonic. Later, he translated works of Baroque and classical poets (Rousseau, Milton, Racine) into classical "high style" Russian. He started to write poetry in Ukrainian in 1817,

the beginning of a lifelong creativity. While few in number, his verses are, from the point of form, exceptionally masterful.

Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's travesties of the odes of Horace, *Pisni Haras'ka* (*Songs of Haras'ko*) are the most successful examples of their type. These paraphrases invariably transform the basic thought of the ode to a plane whose style and language are thoroughly vulgar. The level of vulgarization may vary however. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj seems to favor the speech of drunkards and buffoons; however, serious, lyrical language may also be found in his work.

The following is Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's version of that ode in which Horace counsels Dellius to preserve tranquility of soul, for life devoted to the pursuit of pleasure ends inexorably, as do all other forms of worldly activity, in death:

*Parxome, v ťcasti ne brykaj!  
V nud'zi pryt'mom ne liz' do neba,  
ľjudej pytaj, svij rozum maj;  
jak ne mudruj, a vmerty treba . . .*

("Parxom, when in luck, do not buck! When in misery, ask not for mercy. Learn others' thoughts; keep yours to yourself. No matter how clever you are, you must die someday. . . .")

The travesty also ventures this portrayal of the various human types:

*Ďy korotaješ vik v ťurbi,  
Ďy to za postavcem horilky  
v ťynku narizujut' tobi  
cymbaly, kobzy i sopilky,  
  
Ďy pjanyj pid tynom xropeš,  
Ďy do hospody lizeš raĎky  
i ťinku makohonom bješ,  
Ďy sam tovĎešja na kulaĎky . . .*

("Whether you spend your life in sorrow, or whether behind your glass of brandy you are serenaded in the tavern by the *cymbaly, kobzy* and *sopilky*, whether you lie beneath a hedge drunk and snoring, or whether you homewards crawl on all fours and beat your wife about the head, or thrash yourself in fisticuffs . . .")

Then, on a more somber note, this truth:

*Ory i zasivaj lany,  
kosy šyroki perelohy,  
i hrošyky za baštany  
lupy—ta vse odkyneš nohy . . .*

(“You may plow and sow your fields, mow your fine broad meadows, and for your melon gardens, exact good money, yet in the end, to death you’ll have to go. . . .”)

In this lexicon, even dying is expressed by “*odkynuty nohy*” (“to stretch out one’s legs”), or “*zjisty dulju*” (“to swallow a fig”), and death by the epithet *skažena* (rabid). Music does not play, but rather *narizuje* (cuts), and the *lasošči* (sweets) which the hero of the poem may think of are *paslin*, *cybulja* (nightshade, onion). Accordingly, while the highest level of worldly existence may be represented by the “*soc’kyj*” (“county policeman”), human endeavor, truth, and the job of “*oraty, zasivaty ta kosyty lany y perelohy*” (“to plow, sow and mow the fields and fallow lands”), normal earthly pursuits are passing one’s time “*na peči*” (“on top of a stove”), sitting “*za postavcem horilky*” (“behind a glass of brandy”), and all those others cited in the excerpts above. That Hulak-Artemovs’kyj could also write in a different style is indicated by his paraphrase of another ode of Horace. Addressed not to Chloe, but “*Do Ljubky*” (“To My Sweetheart”), replaces Horace’s sustained classical laconicism with a language that is broadly sentimental and completely Ukrainized:

*Na ščo ty, Ljubočko, kozac’ke serce sušyš!  
Čoho, jak kizon’ka manen’ka ta v boru,  
Ščo—čy to nižkoju suxen’kyj lyst zvorušyt’,  
čy vitrec’ šepne, čy žovna de koru  
na lypi dodovba, čy jaščirka zelena  
zašelestyt’ v kušči, vona mov toroplена  
dryžyt’, žaxajet’sja, za matir’ju vtika . . .*

*Oj čas vže divčyni divoc’ku dumku mat’:  
ne vik že jahodi pry hilci červonity,  
ne vik pry materi i divci divuvat’;  
Oj čas teljatočko vid matky vidlučyty.*

(“For what reason, sweetheart, do you desiccate a Cossack’s heart! Why are you like a tender little kid in the forest which— if its little foot makes a withered leaf rustle, or if a zephyr is whispering or a woodpecker is pecking away at the bark of a linden tree, or a green lizard stirs in the brushes—seems startled and shudders frightfully and runs after her mother . . . . Oh, it is now time for a young lass to give thought to her maidenhood: it does not take forever for a berry to ripen on the vine, nor should a lass spend a lifetime by her mother’s side; Oh, it is time for the little calf to be weaned from its mother.”)

But, as always with Hulak-Artemovs’kyj, this “Ukrainization” is a kind of deviation of the language. It has, for example, an unnaturally sentimental tone (*kizon’ka*—little kid, *manen’ka*—dear little, *suxen’kyj*—dry, shrivelled-up, etc.). It is interesting however that, this feature notwithstanding, Hulak-Artemovs’kyj was somehow able to retain the general intonation of the original even though he replaced Horace’s meters with the more common Russian ones. Thus, in the bacchantic lyric “To Parxom” there is a discrepancy between the travesty’s overall content and tone which are comic and its “sound” which is actually quite moving. This is one of the secrets of the comic impression of Hulak-Artemovs’kyj’s travesties. Of course, he also wrote travesties that were entirely in the “low style,” such as the *pjanyc’ki* (drunken) lyrics:

*Ox! ox! ox! ox!*  
*Zubiv ščos’ z dvox*  
*i nih ne doličusja!*  
*Žyvit na smix—*  
*z koval’s’kyj mix.*  
*Zdajet’sja ž, i ne dmusja! . . .*

*Odna noha*  
*ščos’ škutyl’ha*  
*druha zovsim zakljakla*  
*Taka nud’ha,*  
*taka tuha,*  
*ščo čort zna, de i dit’sja!*

(“Oh! oh! oh! oh! My teeth—around two, I think, and my feet—I cannot count them all! My stomach is mockery—it is

a smith's bellows. Maybe I won't manage to get there! . . .  
 One foot is somehow lame, the other is completely numb.  
 Such weariness, such affliction, the devil knows what I  
 can do with myself!")

3. Besides his humorous travesties, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj wrote serious works, including fables (numbering seven in all). One of the most popular genres of Classicism, fables could be written in a more colloquial and "low" language. Their plots were very often traditional, passing from one fabulist to another. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj took his plots from the Polish fables of I. Krasicki and then expanded them, often to a considerable extent. For example, from the four lines of Krasicki's "*Pan ta sobaka*" ("The Master and the Dog"), Hulak-Artemovs'kyj creates 183! He could do this by adding numerous little details and anecdotes based on various folk sayings appropriate to his theme. Occasionally he borrowed from the oral tradition—as in the catalog of absurdities in the lengthy fable *Solopij ta Xivirja*. The vocabulary, comprising only a few vulgarisms, contains many diminutives found rather infrequently in the common language: *slizon'ky* (teardrops), *rybka* (small fish), *rotenja* (dainty little mouth), *xvostyk* (short little tail), *rizočky* (little sticks), *uzen'kyj* (awfully narrow), *kaška* (pap), etc. In most fables a "moral" or didactic lesson follows the narrative proper. In Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's fables—whether it was because he could not formulate a moral in general terms or could not find the appropriate words to express it in the vernacular—the moral always takes the form of a concrete image as in the following examples:

*Oj, pravdu djadyna neboha hovoryla:  
 Ščo til'ky na sviti velykym rybkam žyt'  
 A nam malym v kulak trubyt'!*

("Oh, my poor old auntie spoke the truth: That in this world only big fish can survive, while we small fry have to go begging!")

or:

*Ščo Boh poslav, čy to bahato, čy to trošky, –  
 V kušyr zalizšy, jila movčky . . .*

("Whatever God sent, whether a great deal, or only a little, –  
 She would crawl into her water-plant and eat quietly. . . .")

The most popular of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's fables was the lengthy *The Master and the Dog*. Perceived as a satire against serfdom, the work does contain, in fact, bitter words about the peasant's lot. He also wrote fables (*prykazky*) such as:

*Cikavyj ta movčun.*

*Cikavuj, movčuna zustrivšy raz, spytav:  
 "Vid čoho holosnyj tak dzvin toj na dzvinnyci?"  
 – "Vid toho ščo (koly ne vtneš seji durnyci)  
 v seredyni, jak ty, porožnij vin" skazav.*

The Busybody and the Saynothing.

The Busybody meeting the Saynothing one day asked:  
 "Why is that bell in the bell tower so loud?"  
 – "Because of the fact, that (if you really want to know)  
 it is hollow at the core, like you," he replied.

The avoidance of serious words to express moral themes is also seen in the unfinished "message" (another classical conceit) to Kvitka, entitled "*Spravžnja dobrist*" ("True Goodness"). However, serious words (albeit rather ponderous) may be found in Hulak-Artemovs'kyj in his paraphrases of the Psalms. These indicate that, when he wanted to, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj could write in a different type of language and that he could have created an elevated Ukrainian classical style:

*Kudy vid duxa ja Tvoho i de sxovajus'?*  
*De vid lycja Tvoho vteču ja i prytajus'?*  
*Čy v nebo polynu, to y Ty ž na nebesy,*  
*čy v peklo zsunusja, to y v pekli Ty jesy.*  
*Pozyču kryla ja u rann'oji zirnyci,*  
*kraj morja poleču, de y ne litaly ptyci–*  
*i tam pospiješ Ty rukoju zaxopyt'*  
*druhoju v hlybyni mene mors'kij spynyt' . . .*

("Whither can I flee Thy spirit and where can I hide?  
 Where can I escape Thy face and conceal myself? Should  
 I soar to the firmament, Thou too art there in heaven;

should I descend to hades, there too, in hell, Thou art. I shall borrow the wings of the first star of morning, to the ends of the ocean shall I fly, where even birds never flew—and there too will Thou be to seize me with one hand and with the other to retain me in the depths of the sea. . . .”)

But Hulak-Artemovs'kyj did not create a high style for Ukrainian literature. In the work of this representative of Ukrainian Classicism, Ukrainian literature was comprised of odd genres of largely vulgar language and remained merely an appendage to other literatures.

It is consistent with Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's not very lofty literary-theoretical thinking that he accepted the new post-classical literature without any of the resistance typical of Classicists elsewhere. He even “translated” some works of the new, non-classical type—e.g., the ballads “*Pan Tvardovs'kyj*” by Mickiewicz and “*Rybalka*” (“The Fisherman”) by Goethe. However these translations, too, came out as travesties. Goethe's serious ballad turned into:

*Voda ŷumyt' . . . voda hulja! . . .  
Na berezi rybalka moloden'kyj  
na poplavec' hljadyt' i promovlja:  
lovit'sja, rybon'ky, velyki i malen'ki . . .*

*Ščo rybka smyk, to serce t'ox! . . .*

*Až—hul'k! Z vody divčynon'ka plyve,  
i kosu zčisuje i brivkamy morhaje . . .*

*Vona j morha, vona j kyva: . . .  
Koly b ty znav, jak rybalkam  
u mori žyt' iz rybkamy harnen'ko,  
ty b sam pirnuv na dno k lynam  
i paruboc'keje oddav by nam serden'ko . . .*

*Vona j morha, vona j spiva . . .  
Hul'k! . . . prysnuly na synim mori skalky! . . .  
Rybalka xljup! . . . za nym ŷubovst' vona!  
I bilš nide ne bačyly rybalky . . .*

(“The water murmurs . . . the water dances! . . . On the bank a youthful fisherman gazes at his rod’s float and declares: bite, dear fish, both large and small. . . . With every tug on the line, this heart pounds madly! . . . . Then suddenly, from out of the waves a maiden emerges, she combs her tresses and, showing her dainty brows, winks! . . . And she winks, and she beckons: . . . If only you knew how grand it would be for fishermen to dwell in the sea with the fishes, you would yourself plunge into the deep to join the carp and trustfully confide to them your tender heart. . . . . And she winks and she chants. . . . In a flash . . . the sunbeams on the blue waves shatter! Splash goes the fisherman! With the maid rushing after! And never again was the fisherman anywhere to be seen. . . .”)

Included here are forms considered dialectal today: *hulja, morha, spiva*. Also, there are so many verbal forms that their use creates an impression of parody: *smyk, t’ox, hul’k* (twice), *xljup, šubovst’*. The diminutives provide the main interest; their frequent use by Hulak-Artemovs’kyj suggests a desire to increase the “folk” quality of the language: *moloden’kyj, poplavec’, rybon’ky, serden’ko, koxannač’ko, divčynon’ka, brivkamy, ljuben’kyj, harnen’ko, soneč’ko, červonen’kyj, veselen’ki, ziron’ky, nižen’ky, kistoč’ky, hlybšen’ko*. All this occurs in the space of forty lines! If one were not familiar with Hulak-Artemovs’kyj’s paraphrases of the Psalms, one might think that he considered the Ukrainian language unfit to convey serious ideas.

Worse still is his “paraphrase” of a romantic elegy by Lermontov, the tragically somber *Pečal’no ja gjažu na naše pokolen’e (Sadly I Behold Our Generation)*. While the author of the elegy grieves over the lack of creativity in the current generation, the “paraphrase” rendering is a travesty in such lines as:

*Z poxmilla nudjat’sja, jidjat’ za horobcja,  
Ob Semeni dryžat’, ob Petri zranku mljijut’;  
a sxopyt’sja trjascja . . . gvalt! klyčte panotcja! . . .*

(“Faint from their hangovers, they eat like sparrows,  
Semen is seized by shuddering, in the wee hours Petro  
succumbs to swooning; then a fever flares up . . . help!  
Call the priest! . . .”)

Whereas Lermontov laments that his contemporaries will not bequeath to posterity a worthy spiritual heritage, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj travesties the idea:

*Nixto po jix duši ta y ne lyzne horilky.  
I rokiv čerez sto na cvyntar pryjde vnuk,  
de hrišni kosti jix v odnu kopycju sperly,  
poverne čerep jix, ta v lob nohoju stuk!  
ta y skaže: "jak žyly, tak durnjamy i vmerly!"*

("No one will refuse a swig of brandy to save his soul. A century passes, and a grandson enters the churchyard where their sinful bones lie in a heap, one on top of the other. He will turn over a skull, and with his foot give the forehead a poke! And he will say: 'Fools they were in life and fools they have died!' ")

4. The linguistic mastery of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's works must be acknowledged. Their rich lexicon includes numerous rare words as well as the normal quotidian vocabulary; it also embraces jargon (primarily of drunkards, carters and seminarians) and, above all, vulgarisms. The wealth of phraseology, equal to Kotljarevs'kyj's, consists of individual expressions probably carefully collected during the course of a lifetime. In addition, the language of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj cannot be charged with the minor impurities (Russianisms, Polishisms, Slavonicisms) found in Kotljarevs'kyj. Even in his paraphrases of the Psalms, the Slavonicisms are not numerous—perhaps fewer than in Ševčenko. This led to the high regard in which his works were held by the Romantics (Kostomarov, Kuliš) who otherwise felt completely alien to their spirit. It is interesting that in his imitations of folk songs (their themes taken from his own family life), Hulak-Artemovs'kyj employed a traditional folk meter rather than the usual "tonic" versification he used elsewhere (in imitation of Russian verse—see Ch. XII, pt. F, no. 5).

5. The influence of both masters of travesty may be seen in the works of other writers such as Kvitka's six "*Špyhačky abo po-moskovs'komu epihramy*" ("Little Stingers or Moscow-Style Epigrams"), published in 1833, and Bilec'kyj-Nosenko's over 300-fable *Prykazky* which did not appear in print until 1871. (In his other works [translations] Bilec'kyj-Nosenko was already imitating the Romantics [see Ch. XII, pt. H].) Stepan Rudykovs'kyj (1784-1851) also left fables and tales; Stepan Pysarevs'kyj (d. 1839)—songs, among other things; Petro Pysarevs'kyj—fables; K. Puzyna (1790-1850)—odes including the Ukrainian

populist ode *Malorossyjs'kyj krest'janin* (*The Little Russian Peasant*) and politically radical odes in classical form. An extra literary work is the coarse verse tale about the death of a drunkard, *Vakula Čmyr*, which appeared in Pavlovs'kyj's Ukrainian grammar (1818).

None of these authors produced anything above mediocre quality. The most notable attempts at verse poetry were the imitations of folk songs: the best may be found in the plays of Kotljarevs'kyj and Kvitka arranged in the sentimental, tender "salon" style (see pt. E). Their renditions follow the classical norm according to which the folk song was only a literary trifle. This theory was completely reversed by the Romantics.

6. Western Ukraine was dominated for a long time by a formless "classicism" together with an admixture of the old Baroque tradition. Typical of its works were panegyric odes and creations in the high style such as *Domobolije* (*Nostalgia*), 1822, by O. Levyc'kyj and *Vozzrynije strašylyšča* (*Vision of Terror*), 1838, by S. F. Lysynec'kyj. Attempts to move from the Church Slavonic-Ukrainian tradition to the Russian were not successful despite Levyc'kyj's enthusiasm for the language in which he wrote:

*Puskaj vezdě pisat' iskusstvo soveršenko,  
ty znaješ', čto jazyk naš lučše nespravnenno,  
ne sobran iz drugix, on drevnij korennoj,  
ispolnen vsěx krasot, bogatyj sam soboj;  
v nem ptič'ix posvistov, protjažnyx nět napěvov,  
ni zvukov nemilyx, ni dikix uxu revov,  
kakija slyšatsja v čužix jazykax nam,  
zatěm, čto naš jazyk ot nix svoboden sam . . .*

("Though the art of writing is perfect everywhere, you know that our language is incomparable, not a compilation from other tongues; ours has ancient roots, possessing every possible charm; it has a wealth all its own. In it there are not the whistlings of birds, no drawn-out melodies, it has no unpleasant sounds nor bellowing terrifying to the ear such as we hear in foreign tongues, for our language has freed itself from them. . .")

These lines, while relatively successful in themselves, would suggest even the most romantic notions about the musicality of the language! In Transcarpathia, limited attempts were made to paraphrase Russian Classicists (Sumarokov); the

most interesting was that of the talented Vasyl' Dohovyč (1783-1849), who in 1832 published eighteen such poems. His compositions included not only odes written entirely in Slavonic, but also Classicist “folk songs” containing strong elements of the vernacular:

*Zaspivaj my, zozulen'ko—ku!  
Koj ty spivaješ, mni lehen'ko—ku, ku!*

*Po zelenyx dubrovynax, ku!  
čuty holos po zvorynax, ku, ku!*

(“Dear little cuckoo, let’s have a tune—coo! When you sing I feel so fine—coo, coo! Throughout the green groves, coo! You can hear your voice across the valleys, coo, coo!”)

Dohovyč also wrote travesties and “drunken” songs (*pjanyc'ki*) such as:

*Duren' bem ja žurytysja  
ta y dekoly ne vpytysja,  
koj i tomu čas.*

*Naj sja durjat' stari didy,  
kotrym braly uže sidy, —  
stari didy—skupindy!*

*Malo ščastja tu na sviti—  
bida v zymi, bida v liti  
syrotam ljudem . . .*

(“A fool would I be to worry all the time and never take a drink on occasion, when I had the chance. . . . Let the old fogies make fools of themselves, those who were hoarders are already gray haired old fogies—the misers! . . . Scant happiness is there in this world—misery in winter, misery in summer for poor orphaned mankind. . . .”)

or:

*Ljuba moja holubyce,  
horilčana korčažyce!*

*ne dav bem tja i za sestru  
y za maj mylu posestru.*

*V tebe rotyk hej kruhlyčka,  
a jšče jaki mudri lyčka.  
Koby ty mja cjulovala,  
naj by sobi žona spala . . .*

*O, koby mož zvorožyty,  
tebe na žonu zminyty,  
obes' rodyla divčyny,  
xoč čotyry korčazynty . . .*

(“My precious little darling, my good old brandy jug!  
Not even for my sister would I trade you nor for my  
sweetheart fair. Round as can be is your little mouth,  
and your face, how wonderful. If only you were here  
to kiss me, I would let my wife go right on sleeping.  
. . . O, if only I were a magician, I would turn you  
into my wife; would that you give birth to girls—four  
little brandy pots. . .”)

Another Transcarpathian, Myxajlo Lučkaj, noted for his 1830 Church Slavonic-Ukrainian grammar, travestied Ovid. The tradition of ode-writing continued in Galicia and Transcarpathia until recent times.

## E. DRAMATIC LITERATURE

1. Most dramatic works of Ukrainian Classicism also belonged to an uncommon genre—that of “comic operas.” Originally meaning light comic scenes with incidental songs, comic operas were linked to the Baroque dramatic tradition of *intermedia* and interludes and to both the Western and Russian “comic opera.” The most famous Russian example was the work of A. Ablesimov (1748-1783) entitled “*Mel'nik—koldun, obmanščik i svat*” (“*The Miller-Sorcerer, Cheat and Match-Maker*”), first performed in 1799. During the Baroque period the comic scenes had been merely intermission entertainment for serious dramatic presentations. With Classicism, Russian “operas” developed alongside serious tragedies and comedies, but Ukrainian drama was characterized by the same basic trait common to all other genres of Ukrainian Classicism: it was an “incomplete literature” of an “incomplete nation.” In every instance,

however, dramatic literature contributed to the national awakening in the same way as other genres—through the introduction of the vernacular.

2. It appears that the first efforts were again by Kotljarevs'kyj: the "operetta" "*Natalka Poltavka*" ("*Natalka from Poltava*") and the "vaudeville" "*Moskal'-čarivnyk*" ("*The Soldier-Sorcerer*"), both first staged in 1819. The plays are miniatures in form. Their content is traditional: *Natalka* is deeply in love with Petro, a poor youth who is seeking his fortune in a foreign land. Meanwhile, *Vybornyj* (an elected deputy) enters into matchmaking with her on behalf of *Voznyj* (bailiff), whom *Natalka's* mother prefers as a son-in-law. However, Petro returns and the bailiff himself expedites the union of the happy lovers. "*The Soldier-Sorcerer*" consists of the elaboration of a trivial anecdote and is modelled on a French vaudeville: in the absence of her *čumak* (husband), *Tetjana* is visited by the clerk *Fyntyk*. Just as they are sitting down to dinner, *Tetjana's* husband, *Myxajlo Čuprun*, returns home. A soldier freshly billeted there has overheard *Tetjana's* conversation with *Fyntyk*. Claiming to be a sorcerer, he uncovers (with the help of his "magic") some food and then the "devil," *Fyntyk*, whom he succeeds in expelling from the house.

Kotljarevs'kyj's considerable dramatic skill is readily apparent, particularly in "*Natalka Poltavka*." To his credit are the clear development of the action, the exceptionally lively dialog and the definite moments of dramatic tension to the fullest extent possible in light drama. The characters are well drawn through their language and, in part, through their psychology. Admittedly, Kotljarevs'kyj's originality here is not very great: he followed non-Ukrainian tradition as well as that of *intermedia* and *vertep*. Individual roles are well constructed; but there are some scenes and situations that are primitive to the point of caricature, and sentimental to the point of artifice. The peasants are not treated as peasants here but as elegantly dressed "salon" style *paysans*, as required by Classicist poetics. However, their dramatic qualities as well as their historical value have insured for these plays a permanent place in theatrical repertoires.

The language is very good, almost totally stripped of the coarse caricature-like elements found in *Enejida* and in the odes. But the strongest aspect of both plays is their songs, especially in "*Natalka Poltavka*" which has twenty while "*The Soldier-Sorcerer*" has twelve. There are many different kinds—Russian and Ukrainian, typical opera and vaudeville pieces, satiric songs (*kuplety*), arias, duets and ensembles as well as sentimental romantic numbers. They also contain imitations of folk songs which sometimes seem quite funny (e.g., when non-folk song stanzas are used). In these songs, the best of which became actual folk songs later, Kotljarevs'kyj employed an old method familiar to Baroque verse writers—creating a humorous song from excerpts of various folk songs. It is

particularly interesting that while he maintained the Russian tonic verse in his Russian numbers, Kotljarev's'kyj wrote his Ukrainian songs in a meter which deviates the most from the tonic principle—the rhythm he adopted here was that of the traditional Ukrainian folk song.

Songs such as “*Vijut' vitry*” (“The Winds Are Blowing”), “*Did rudyj*” (“Red-Haired Grandfather”), “*Čoho ž voda kalamutna*” (“Why Is the Water So Troubled”), “*Oj, pid vyšneju*” (“Oh, Under the Cherry Tree”), contain some ornaments not typical of the folk style. Among them are traditional sayings usually found in comic songs of the era, like “*Bidnist' i bahatstvo jest' Boža volja, z mylym jix dilyty-ščaslyvaja dolja*” (“Poverty and wealth are decided according to God's will; to share them with a loved one is a happy fate”) or “*De zhoda v simejstvi, tam myr i tyšyna*” (“Where there is family harmony, there is also peace and tranquility”). There are also expressions of sentimental melancholy: “*Zhornu ja ručen'ky, zhornu ja bilen'ki, ta j nežyvyj stanu*” (“I will fold my little arms, my tender white arms and will quietly die”) and (since in general there is constant lamenting in Kotljarev's'kyj), “*A ja marmo časy traču, odyn v sviti til'ky plaču*” (“But in vain do I waste my time, alone in the world, all I can do is weep”); of romance: “*Spišy, mylyj*” (“Make haste, dear one”); and of Russian patriotism: “. . . *car bilyj, duže smilyj*” (“. . . the white tsar most bold”).

However, these songs do contain, in addition, ornaments which are typical of folk song style. Among them are epithets: stormy (*bujni*) winds, a black-browed (*čornobryvyj*) sweetheart, just a tiny (*nevelyčka*) little rivulet, a clear (*čyste*) field, tender white (*bilen'ki*) little arms; lexically coordinated compounds: *sriblom-zolotom* (silver-gold), *vynom-medom* (honey wine); repetitions: “*vijut' vitry, vijut' bujni*” (“the winds are blowing, blowing wildly”), “*homin homin po dibrovi*” (“an echoing, echoing through the grove”); and parallelisms: “*Čoho ž voda kalamutna? Čy ne xyylja zbyla? Čoho ž i ja smutna teper? Čy ne maty byla?*” (“Why is the water so troubled? Surely a strong wind must have churned it up? Why too am I now so distressed? Surely, my mother must have beat me, perhaps?”), “*Vijut' vitry . . . O, jak bolyt' moje serce . . .*” (“The winds blow . . . oh, how my heart aches”), “*Tuman pole pokryvaje . . . maty syna prohanjaje*” (“A fog covers the field . . . a mother drives out her son”). There are also snatches of lines from folk songs such as: “*Oj buv, ta nema, ta pojixav do mlyna*” (“Oh, he was here, now he's not, for he has gone to the mill”), “*na poli, na pisočku, bez rosy na sonci . . .*” (“in the sun, on the dewless field and sand . . .”). And in his use of Slavonic verses, Kotljarev's'kyj imitated both the *vertep* tradition as in “*Oj, hore mni hrišnyku sušču*” (“Oh, woe is me, a true sinner”) and the Baroque “worldly song”: “*Oj dolja ljuds'kaja—dolja jest' slipaja*” (“Oh,

human fate--fate is blind"), dedicated to Dmytro Tuptalo. Another song begins with the Skovorodian "*Vsjakomu horodu nrav i prava*" ("Each city has its own customs and laws"); it continues, however, in a vein that is not only un-Skovorodian but hardly even in the oral folk tradition of the "*lirnyky*."

Thus, no less than *Enejida*, Kotljarevs'kyj's dramatic works are repositories of Ukrainian material. However, the image of folk life conveyed by them is not as vivid as in the *Enejida*. For while the travesty genre of the *Enejida* demanded a certain "uncultivated" quality, the genre of the "comic opera," based on folk life, required "drawing room gentility." Accordingly, Kotljarevs'kyj created plays from peasant life but for the *salon*, and songs which, despite their many folk elements, are really "pseudo-folksongs." Nevertheless, the father of modern Ukrainian literature should not be blamed for this aspect of his work, for the style of his works was determined by the style of his time and by the poetics of Classicism.

3. Kotljarevs'kyj's plays, especially "*Natalka Poltavka*" also contain a definite ideological coloration characteristic of their author—"enlightened humanism." Honesty and goodness triumph over all obstacles, although the obstacles in these plays are not very large. Kotljarevs'kyj's heroes are soft-hearted and sensitive like himself. And insofar as the plays were close to reality, if only for their language (as against the unnatural, non-vernacular language of Russian "comic operas"), they had national significance for they awoke a love for the Ukrainian people. Kotljarevs'kyj himself showed definite affection in his plays although admittedly toward the Ukrainian *paysan* rather than toward the true peasant. Such idealization has prevailed into modern times: no wonder then that even in the twentieth century Vynnyčenko could still write the comedy pamphlet "*Moloda krov*" ("Young Blood").

4. Vasyl' Hohol'-Janovs'kyj (died 1825), the father of Mykola Hohol' (Nikolaj Gogol'), wrote two plays. One, "*Roman ta Paras'ka*" or "*Prostak*" ("*The Simpleton*"), has survived, while the other, "*Sobaka-vivcja*" ("*Dog or Sheep*"), is known only from tradition and quotation. "*Dog or Sheep*" is based on an oral anecdote about a soldier who tricks a peasant by convincing him that an old nag of a horse (in Hohol', a sheep) is not an old nag, but a soldier: "*ne škapa, a moskal'*" (in Hohol', a dog). The plot of "*Roman ta Paras'ka*" is a rather complicated variant of "*The Soldier-Sorcerer*" although, unlike Kotljarevs'kyj, Hohol' does not use elements of French *vaudeville*. Hohol' 's play has in some scenes considerably more caricature than has "*The Soldier-Sorcerer*". It also lacks the numerous songs and artificiality of the opera genre and thus is closer to genuine comedy. The most original feature in Hohol' 's works is its "macaronism": operative in "*Dog or Sheep*" because of its main characters, it is

also found in its mixture of various languages—Ukrainian, Russian and Church Slavonic (spoken by Hohol' 's *djak*, the counterpart of Kotljarevs'kyj's Fyntyk). It is this linguistic potpourri that is one of the main stylistic devices used by Hohol' 's son in his early Russian tales. On a theatrical and literary level, "*Roman ta Paras'ka*" is equal to the dramas of Kotljarevs'kyj.

5. A somewhat backward step is represented by Kvitka's Ukrainian opera "*Svatannja na Hončarivci*" ("*Matchmaking in Hončarivka*"). Its plot is primitive—the engagement of a wealthy but dull-witted youth, and it has a happy ending. Again, there is the soldier who dupes the Ukrainians but, this time, to the satisfaction of the heroes. The more than twenty songs are composed in the same way as the various types of musical pieces in "*Natalka Poltavka*." However, they contain fewer folk elements: e.g., the numbers, based on the folk songs "*Čy se ž taja krynyčen'ka*" ("Is This Really the Same Well"), and "*Obmitajte dvory*" ("Sweep Out the Yards"). There is more vulgarity and parody in them: e.g., "*Xarcyzyjaka mene byv*" ("The ugly cut-throat beat me"), "*na kuročci pirjačko rjaboje*" ("the poor chicken with the speckled little feathers"). And, the play's characters are not individualized at all. Such shortcomings cannot be redeemed—either by the play's pleasant (though overly simple) language, or by any of its individually successful features such as its witty "drunkard" motif.

Weaker still is Kvitka's vaudeville "*Boj-žinka*" ("*The Termagant*") whose songs are in part borrowed from Kotljarevs'kyj. In his later plays Ukrainian is used only partially—a demonstration of Kvitka's belief that the Ukrainian language had a limited role in literature, that it was unsuitable for the portrayal of educated people, landowners and even petty officials! Among Kvitka's bilingual Ukrainian-Russian plays are the popular "*Šel'menko—volosnyj pysar*" ("*Šel'menko—the District Clerk*") and "*Šel'menko—denščyk*" ("*Šel'menko—the Orderly*"). These, along with two later Russian plays on the life of Ukrainian gentry, appear to be better constructed. However, even here Kvitka was unable to rise above a fairly primitive brand of comedy.

While the plot of Kvitka's comedy "*Priezžij iz stolicy*" ("*A Visitor from the Capital*") may have inspired Gogol' 's "*Revizor*" ("*Inspector General*") and while "*Šel'menko—the Orderly*" remained in the repertory of the Ukrainian theatre up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the literary and theatrical merits of Kvitka's plays are not very great. It appears that the only reason "*Matchmaking*" is still played today is that it allows for the performance on stage of song and dance.

Also for the stage Kvitka rewrote one of his prose tales "*Ščyra ljubov*" (see below, pt. F, no. 2), it became the first serious Ukrainian drama; unfortunately, its theatrical version did not improve the story, one of Kvitka's weakest. Its

overly "psychological" plot—the renouncing of her own personal happiness by the middle-class heroine (her marriage to an officer—her beloved—so as not to jeopardize his career) precluded the possibility of lively, brisk action. Also, mingled with the serious scenes were scenes of vulgar parody such as the episode of the unsuccessful matchmaking of the functionary-drunkard. In fact, the seriousness itself often descended into melodrama. For these reasons the play, which was published only later, was never performed on stage.

6. In Ukrainian literature the style of "*Natalka Poltavka*," of the comedy-operetta, flourished far too long. It was even found in later plays already displaying certain hints of romantic motifs as well as a romantic attitude toward folk poetry. However, this does not mean that these plays were Romantic; in fact, they remained closely linked to the old classical genre of "comic opera." Such plays include a "*Natalka Poltavka*" set in the Kuban', "*Čornomors'kyj pobut na Kubani*" ("*Life of the Kuban' Kozaks*") by Kuxarenko (1836) and "*Čary*" ("*Sorcery*") by Kyrylo Topolja (1837). The theme of "*Sorcery*," based on the folk song "*Oj, ne xody, Hrycju*" ("Oh, Hryc, Don't Go . . ."), gives rise to a tragic plot which, however, does not compare with the motifs of romantic ballads; also, the folk songs used in this work for the song selections are authentic. Other plays of this type were "*Kupala na Jvana*" ("*St. John's Eve*") by Stephan Pysarev'skyj (1838, published 1840), and the anonymous operetta written in the 1830s, "*Ljubka, abo svatannja v seli Ryxmax*" ("*Sweetheart, or Matchmaking in the Village of Ryxmy*"), another poor copy of "*Natalka*." These works are imitations, although in the process of vulgarizing their models they emphasized the *ethnographic* elements and to a certain extent, introduced *tragic* situations into the comedies. Plays of this type still appeared on the Ukrainian stage throughout the next decade.

## F. PROSE

1. In the history of literature the development of prose often follows that of verse. Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century adheres to this pattern: during the first half of the century there were relatively few literary works in prose. It is with the stories of Kvitka-Osnovjanenko (1778-1843) that Ukrainian prose begins. Kvitka was a writer of considerable talent but his style set him apart; for all its original artistic devices it was "antiquated," having little relation to contemporary Ukrainian and foreign literatures. He remained, on the whole, within the thematic and stylistic limits of Classicism, although his period of writing coincided with the flowering of Romantic literature—from which he did adopt, perhaps, a few themes and techniques.

Having already written several “old-fashioned” anecdotal stories in Russian, Kvitka, in 1833, began his Ukrainian tales. His first, “*Saldac'kyj patret*” (“Portrait of a Soldier,” 1830) was a travesty. Affirmation of the genre is contained in the work’s title, “*patret*,” a vulgarism, and in its subtitle, “*latyns'ka pobrexen'ka*” (a Latin tall tale), “*po-našomu rozkazana*” (“told in our own words”). The story involves two anecdotes, one about a painter whose works (in particular, a portrait of a soldier) cannot be distinguished from their live subjects. The other is about a cobbler who, having pointed up the artist’s flaws in his rendering of boots, proceeds to criticize the clothing portrayed in his painting; he is rebuked: “*Švec' znaj svoje ševstvo, a v kravectvo ne mišajsja*” (“Cobbler, stick to your own trade and do not interfere with the tailor’s”). Woven into the story is a description of a market that is rich in parody.

As well as such travesties, Kvitka wrote caricatures, using another form typical of Classicism—the anecdotal sketch. These stories were constructed on the basis of popular anecdotes: “*Parximove snidannja*” (“Parxim’s Breakfast,” 1841) is an anecdote about a fool who bought horseradish for breakfast—“*Bačyly oči, ščo kupuvaly, jizte, xoč povylaz'te*” (“Eyes, [you] see what you bought; eat it up though you may pop out of your sockets”). “*Pidbreač*” (“The Liar’s Helper,” 1843) involves a matchmaker who exaggerates not only the positive but even the negative characteristics of the young suitor. “*Na pušcannja-jak zavjazano*” (“How to Do it Up Right During the Fast,” 1841) relates an attempt to consume enough food all at once to last the entire Lenten period. “*Kupovanyj rozum*” (“Purchased Intelligence,” 1842) is an anecdote about a schoolboy who loses his mind completely as a result of having to attend school in a foreign land. The genre outlived Classicism—to be retained in the works of Romantics (Storoženko), Realists (Nečuj-Levyc'kyj), and later, *feuilleton* writers, as well as in other literatures (for example, the impressionist Chekhov). Even elements of the “coarse” language found in Kvitka survived for a long time.

The themes of three of Kvitka’s tales were borrowed from the tradition of popular legends. “*Mertvec'kyj Velykden*” (“Easter of the Dead,” 1833) is based on the superstition that Easter Mass is celebrated for the dead by a priest who is also deceased. The popular belief is “explained” as the experience of a drunk peasant and is transposed from Easter Day to the first day of Lent and the ritual of rinsing the mouth. “*Konotops'ka vid'ma*” (“The Witch of Konotop,” 1837) recounts how a Cossack captain and a clerk drowned witches in a pond. “*Ot tobi i skarb*” (“What a Treasure!” 1837) tells the story of Xoma Masljak who, having squandered his fortune in a search for treasure, decides to sell his soul to the devil; and during his rendezvous with Satan he swears an oath. But it is to no avail for he gets caught on some thorns and when he is rescued he recounts his

adventures and dies. Kvitka made substantial alterations to these legends which he regarded as expressions of popular ignorance; for him they become mere anecdotes. This was at a time when works were already appearing in Russian treating this same Ukrainian material aesthetically (e.g., stories of N. Gogol'); not only was it presented in an engaging form but it was permeated with the spirit of Romanticism. According to this world view, these traditional themes were the deepest expression of the national soul. Later, these same superstitions were given new and symbolic significance by Ševčenko [see below, "*Vid'ma*" ("The Witch")] and the treasures in "*Velykij l'ox*" ("The Great Vault"). Kvitka's attitude toward popular beliefs was one of typically enlightened disregard and even scorn.

Kvitka's moralistic stories must be considered next. The most typical of them, "*Dobre roby—dobre j bude*" ("As You Sow, So Shall You Reap," 1837), depicts the ideal peasant, Tyxon Brus, who singlehandedly saves his whole community from starvation—a story modelled perhaps on Karamzin's "*Flor Silin*." "*Perekotypole*" ("The Feathergrass," 1843) is a tale about a murder in the steppe and about its disclosure by a clump of feathergrass called by the dead man to witness against the murderer. The disturbing recollection of his victim's dead body, provoked by the confrontation with the feathergrass last seen in the dead man's fist, leads the murderer to confess [a variant of the famous plot from Schiller's ballad "*Die Kraniche des Ibykus*" ("The Cranes of Ibykus")]. "*Kozyrdivka*" ("A Lively Wench," 1838) is the story of a girl of such spirit that in her bid to free her fiancé from an unlawful charge she petitions the highest authorities "*až do gubernatora*" ("right up to the governor himself")—a motif perhaps derived from Puškin's "*Kapitanskaja dočka*" ("The Captain's Daughter").

The transition to "tragic" content is marked by "*Serdešna Oksana*" ("Poor Oksana," 1841), the story of a peasant girl who is seduced and abandoned. The tale reminds one of Ševčenko's "*Kateryna*," a work written at almost the same time, although quite independently. The heroine of Kvitka's story displays considerable moral strength which enables her to save herself as well as her child. In the same vein is "*Boži dity*" ("God's Children," 1840) the story of two children adopted by a compassionate neighbor after their parent's death. One of them becomes a soldier, serving as an officer during the 1831 Polish uprising, and later marries happily.

Two tales with tragic endings form a separate group: they are nevertheless closely related to the stories of preceding groups through their general tone and idealized heroes. They are "*Marusja*" (1833) and "*Sžyra ljubov*" ("Sincere Love," first Russian version 1839), another work whose plot Kvitka rendered in

dramatic form (its Ukrainian text appearing later). The heroine of "Sincere Love," a girl from a middle class family, refuses to marry her beloved, an officer, so as not to harm his career, then pines away with grief and dies. In "*Marusja*" the heroine dies during the absence of her fiancé; the fiancé thereupon enters a monastery. The mood of both extremely sentimental stories is quite different from that of Kvitka's moralistic tales. However, the narrative tone is the same—broad and tranquil: their sad endings notwithstanding, the final chords of both stories are those of reconciliation, affirming faith in the life after death.

2. All of Kvitka's works are distinguished by considerable artistic skill. The plots are simple; apart from their various complications and the narrator's digressions (see below), they remain in each story the focus for the entire tale. There is quite a variety of characters, but with a preponderance of idealized figures, some of whom are far too exalted and some of whom are simply "good folk" with no trace of unusual heroism. Kvitka's talent for portraying good folk or "positive types" recalls that of some later writers such as Marko Vovčok and the Russian Leskov. At times his storytelling ability is incomparable: he narrates on a broad scale pausing to include those details which conform to his taste for ethnographic description and the *minutiae* of *pobut*. The inner experience of the characters are often conveyed through external details: "*Hirko-hirko zaplakav*" ("He wept bitter bitter tears"), "*Blidnyj—blidnyj, . . . oči, mov u mertvoho dyvljat'sja j ne bačut' ničoho; ruky nače sudorohy pokorčyly, a sam jak lyst trusyt'sja*" ("He was pale as a ghost . . . his eyes, like a dead man's, gazed out but saw nothing; his hands were contorted as if seized by convulsions, and he himself shook like a leaf"); "*Ruky j nohy zatrusylysja, u žyvoti poxololo, i dux znajavs', a sam ni z miscja*" ("His arms and legs began to tremble, he felt a cold sensation in his stomach, he lost his breath and he froze in his tracks")—describing the awakening of love; "*Zdryhnuv kripko, nače jomu xto snihu za spynu nasypav*" ("He shuddered from head to toe as if someone had put snow down his back"); "*T'oxnulo v žyvoti*" ("There was a flutter in his stomach").

All of Kvitka's tales are constructed as actual accounts not of the author but of some particular, although otherwise non-characterized, narrator (known in Russian as the *skaz* narrator)\*. From time to time the storyteller expresses his opinion: "*Ta sčō j kazaty*" ("What more can be said"), "*Hospody! jak povalyv narod . . .*"; ("Lord! what a crowd there was . . ."), "*Toj rušnyk . . . ta sčō to vže*

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\*"Skaz" style is the attempt to write in the name of a fictitious author; its language recalls that of actual storytelling, systematically employing features of conversational style. "Skaz" assumed its greatest importance during the period of Realism when it was also practiced by a few Ukrainian writers. It did not, however, acquire its theoretical base until more recent times.

*harno vyšytyj buv!*" ("What a towel . . . was it ever beautifully embroidered!"). He says in an aside "*O bodaj tobi,*" ("Oh, how could you!"), etc.; or he interrupts himself: "*Kete lyšen' tabaky!*" ("Only give me enough tobacco"), "*Til'ky u neji i na dumci ščo . . . til'ky xotiv bulo rozkazaty, ob čim naša xorunživna dumala, . . . taž os' i pryšla do neji babusja*" ("What she was thinking about was that . . . I only wanted to relate to you what was on our heroine's mind . . . and then her granny came into the room"). The narrator may suffer a temporary lapse of memory about something: "*Buv . . . jakyjs' maljar . . . os' na umi motajet'sja, jak joho zvaly, ta ne zhadaju . . .*" ("There was this painter . . . his name is somewhere in my head but I just can't think of it . . ."); a page later it will have come to him: "*Te, te, te, teper zhadav*" ("Yes, yes, yes, now I remember"). This, of course, increases the impression of authenticity conveyed by the story. Kvitka's storyteller, "the fictitious author," is—although denied further characterization—supposed to be a simple, apparently uneducated fellow, little concerned with moralizing (see below). And, all the characters—except for a few landowners (who, on occasion, even speak Russian) and the rare clerk, ensign or captain—are peasants, either poor or rich.

Accordingly it is this standard, set by the narrator, which determines both the language and style of the stories. The style is broad, encompassing reports of events and, at times, extended tableaux of folk scenes and customs such as the market, Easter, breaking the Lenten fast, weddings, matchmaking, "little graves," funerals, spell-casting, etc. The occasional accounts of superstitions are treated with irony, as if they were mere anecdotes. On the whole, the language is fairly homogeneous although individual instances of word games à la Kotljarevs'kyj are to be found. The devils in hell speak French; the peasants fracture the Russian language ("*uhomonna palata,*" "*projisxodytel'stvo*") as does the narrator himself: "*prokljatyj kompot*" instead of "*kapot*" (damned compute, instead of confounded housecoat). Following the tradition of *vertep* and of "*The Soldier-Sorcerer,*" is the "learned" clerk's "Slavonic." It is florid beyond measure: "*Voždelinnogo umoizstuplenija, za dnevnym mistoprebyvanijem, vam, pane sotnyku, utreusugubljajemo.*" Russian usage is caricatured in the spurious form, "*jiskafes.*" Songs are also found ("*Marusja*") as well as proverbs and sayings such as "*Švec', snaj svoje ševstvo . . .*" ("Cobbler, stick to what you know") and "*Jižte oči . . .*" ("Eat up, you eyes . . ."). The phraseology contains such folk material: "*Napik rakiv*" ("He turned red with shame"), "*bil's kopy lyxa ne narobljat'*" ("They can't cause much greater misfortune"), "*Xoč do sto bab ne xody*" ("Don't even consult a hundred old women"), "*povernuty u Brexunivku*" ("to return to Liars' Town"). The comparisons too are the popular type: "*Dyvyl'sja . . . očycjamy, odnym u Kyjev, a druhym u Bilhorod*" ("He

gazes . . . with one eye toward Kiev, and the other toward Bilhorod”), “*Rozlyvajut’sja jak ta rička*” (“They are overflowing, like that little rivulet”), “*Nače joho xto trjoma kožuxamy vkryv*” (“It was as though some one had covered him up with three sheepskins”), etc. Popular anecdotes are also used (for example, in “There’s a Treasure . . . !”) as well as favorite traditional anecdotal situations such as the conversation of the brave young woman (“*kozyr-divka*”) and the judge who does not understand Ukrainian.

The language is vernacular; the occurrence of vulgarisms is much rarer, however, even in the anecdotal stories, than in Kotljarev’s *kyj*. Nevertheless, they are to be found—often in serious context where they create an extraordinarily incongruous effect. Some examples are “*patret včěše*” (“he dashes off a portrait”), “*povedencija*” (conduct), “*šljatys*” (“you gad about”), “*švendjaty*” (“to roam about”), “*Molodycja harna, ne uzjav jiji kat*” (“The devil take it but she is a beautiful woman!”), “*Vesillja udraly*” (“They forced their way into the wedding celebrations”), “*ljapasa po mordi daty*” (“to give a slap across the face”), “*Včystyv hramotu*” (“He did away with the document”), “*utne*” (“strike up [re: church chants]”), “*molotyty*” (“to thrash away”—referring to eating), “*učyste po uxu*” (“he boxes him across the ears”), “*mota varenyky*” (“he devours the varenyky”), “*čěše*” (“he dashes off”), “*škvaryty*” (“to beat”—[literally, to roast]). As well, there are rare words such as “*tymfa*” (meaning *pynxva*—coarse jest), a favorite of Kotljarev’s *kyj*; diminutives including even “*serdyten’ko*” (“in a little bit of a tiff”); and dialectal forms (from the Xarkiv area): “*mota*” instead of *motaje* (dissipates) and “*učyste*” instead of *včystyt’* (disposes). Short verbal forms abound: *sip*, *hul’k*, *fit’-fit’*, *čerk*, *pljus’*, *šelest’*, *berkyč*, *zyrk*, *šarax*, *dryb-dryb-dryb*, *xrjap*, *ljap*, etc. Invectives also occur, although they are rare and always quite refined. Yet, on the whole, Kvitka does approach a kind of normalization of language albeit at the “low” level of peasant speech (a result, perhaps, of the peasant themes of his stories). While it was unsuitable for depicting city life and educated society, much less for use in the high genres, the language of Kvitka was, potentially, more compatible with a “complete literature” than that of all other writers of the Classicist period.

Kvitka’s lexicon, however, is inferior to Kotljarev’s *kyj*’s. Here and there descriptions of garb, food, beverages may be found which require a complex vocabulary, but such instances are few. The following, for example, are accounts of the beverages at a Black Sabbath.

*Bulo i rens’ke, bulo i dons’ke, včěčo po četvertaku  
butylka; buly usjakiji vyna, i červone, i žovte; buly*

*pljašky i zasmoljuvani i drotom pozaplitovani;  
 bula i vyšnivka, i ternivka, i dulivka, bulo i  
 pyvo kabac'ke, tak, deševen'ke, dlja usjakocho rozxodu,  
 ta buv i hruševyj kvas, vže spytyj. A usjaki horilky  
 okremo stojaly; ta i do bisa ž jix tam bulo!  
 Bula i pinna, i poluharna, i zapikanka, i polyn'kova,  
 i korinkova, i na kalhan, i na sosnovi šyšky hnata . . .*

*Pyv maderu, šataj-morhaj, šataj-na-xvist, rejeveje, barbos'ke,  
 šalpans'ku i porčene pyvo.*

(“There was both Rhenish wine and some from the Don, at a quarter of a karbovanets’ a bottle; there were all kinds of wines, both red and white; there were little flasks sealed with tar and some with braided wire; there was cherry brandy, and blackberry liqueur and pear cordial, there was also tavern beer and so cheap that every-one could afford it, then too there was pear *kvas*, now quite weak. And over to one side stood all kinds of brandy; and what a devil of a lot of them there were! There was brandy and a half gallon, and spiced whisky and absinthe, and spiced brandy distilled from galingale and pine cones. . . He drank madeira, some “sway and wink,” some “shake your bottom,” a dog’s drink, champagne and foul beer.”)

As the excerpts show, Kvitka progresses from the material of an ethnographic compilation to a parody of the corrupted peasant language.

3. It is difficult to determine the basic sources of Kvitka’s style. To a large extent, it appears that Kvitka was an original writer without models or sources. Relatively speaking, his writing was a belated phenomenon. While he was familiar with Romantic literature, his only borrowings from it (from Gogol’, for example) were minor motifs and, to a certain degree perhaps, its interest in ethnographic details. Moreover, his attitude toward folk life did not in any way resemble the ideological infatuation typical of Romantics. Kvitka recounts everything in an epic fashion, even when he is enthusiastic over something specific, such as the beauty of folk clothing. For, in the common people he was seeking not that which was peculiarly Ukrainian, but that which was universal. Still less did he believe that popular customs and superstitions contained any sort of profound meaning. His perspective on the world was characteristic of the

Enlightenment—from above. This attitude may even be detected in the *skaz* of his narrator, although he is a peasant himself.

Kvitka's attempts at historical writing were in Russian. Two examples—"Golovatyj" (1839) and "Tatarskie nabegi" ("Tatar Raids," 1844)—reveal that he treated Ukrainian history as if it too were anecdotal material. This, again, was typical for Classicism. Kvitka's adaptations from Russian Sentimentalism (see Ch. XI) were few. In the latter's "philanthropic" strain in particular (represented by Dostoevskij's early stories of the 1840s), it brought to the forefront the figure of the "sensitive" and "tearful" author and hence was the opposite of Kvitka's epic narrative. The simple plots of Kvitka's historical stories were old, in part (see above).

The folk tale genre was not a new phenomenon. It had influenced the later attempts by George Sand, B. Auerbach, Grigorovič and Turgenev, along with the later attempts of the "natural" school (see Ch. XIII). In fact, the writings of Kvitka's Russian contemporaries, M. Pogodin, Dal' and Gogol' resemble his own: even Kvitka's *skaz* technique may be explained, to some degree, through their influence. As for the depiction of bourgeois, merchant life—it had already been undertaken by the Classicist of Russian literature: V. Lukin, "Ščepetil'nik" ("The Punctilious One," 1765); M. Čulkov, "Peresešnik" ("The Scoffer," 1789); Ivan Novikov, *Poxoždenie Ivana, gostinnogo syna* (*The Adventures of Ivan, the Innkeeper's Son*, 1785-86), and some articles in N. Novikov's satirical journals, 1772-74); P. Plavilšykov, the comedies "Bobył'" ("The Landless Peasant") and "Sidelec" (published in his collected works, 1816), and, on the threshold of Sentimentalism, A. Radiščev's "Putešestvie" ("Journey [from Petersburg to Moscow]," 1790, and even his "anonymous" articles, 1772). Whether Kvitka was actually familiar with many of the works of this tradition is unimportant. The fact that he began his career as a Russian writer indicates that he was interested in Russian literature. As such, he also could have been acquainted with Western European experiments in the "peasant novel"—for example, in German literature, those of I. H. Pestalozzi (1781), and of H. Zschokke (1823), the idylls of W. Miller and the Alemanian poems of J. P. Hebel (translated into Russian by Žukovskij), etc. From works such as these, Kvitka might also have learned about the serious treatment of folk themes and the serious use of the vernacular.

This does not, however, diminish Kvitka's reputation and importance as a writer who towered as far above his predecessors of the eighteenth century as Kotljarev's'kyj towered above Osipov. He created his own style—although within the bounds of the classical tradition of the folk tale. For Kvitka was a "belated" Classicist, writing at a time when Ukraine was becoming profoundly

“provincial,” lagging behind Russian “centers” by about ten years. And because of this he was able to extend his hand to the first representatives of Realism which, in some respects, harked back to Classicism.

4. Kvitka’s tales are of note from the ideological point of view as well. Because he remained within the religious, Christian tradition of Classicism, Kvitka, far more than his spiritual kin Kotljarevs’kyj, was able to give vivid representation in his stories to the fundamental ideas of his world view. Christianity is thus embellished with practicality as Kvitka preaches a “Christian humanism”: “*Brat naš–usjak čolovik, xoč z našoho sela, xoč z druhoho, xoč z horoda, xoč nimec, xoč turok, use čolovik, use bože sozdanije*” (“Every man is our brother, whether he be from our village or from another, or from the city, whether he be a German or a Turk, he is still a man, still a creation of God”). In this world all of us are “*taki ž hosti, jak ty i usjak čolovik–čy car, čy pan, čy arxyjerej, saldat čy lyčman*” (“guests, the same as you and every man whether he be tsar, master, bishop, soldier or old shepherd”). This tendency later gained for Kvitka the sympathy of the “populists” among Romantics and Realists alike. Less attention was given to the frequent strains of Christian moralism: in almost every story Kvitka earnestly presents some kind of “moral,” some useful teaching. This feature sharply distinguishes him from the Romantics for whom poetry is its own end.

Kvitka may also touch upon Christian dogma as in “*Marusja’s*” final chord of reconciliation “*Day Hospody myloserdnyj, ščob ty tam znajšov svoju Marusju*” (“May merciful God help you find your Marusja in the other world”). He may allude to a Christian moral as in “*Sincere Love*”: “*Ja spolnyla samyj svjatišyj zakon Joho: dušu moju položyla za moho druha, ščob vidvernuty vid n’oho hore! Sebe ne zmohla, ne združala zberehty . . . Ja staralasja . . . ne zmohla . . . ja čolovik*” (“I fulfilled His [God’s] most sacred commandment; I sacrificed my soul for my friend to save him from woe! Myself, I was unable, I did not have the power to save. . . I tried . . . I failed . . . I am human”), or in “*The Feathergrass*”: “*Tak-to sud Božyj ne poterpiv nepravdy; i xoč jak kinci buly zaxovani, tak Boh objavyv*” (“In this way, Divine Justice did not suffer falsehood; and even though the traces were hidden, God revealed the truth”). Sometimes the moral is quite primitive as in “*The Liar’s Helper*,” “*Duže nedobre dilo brexaty*” (“It is a very bad thing to lie”). Most often the “moral” is set forth in general terms at the beginning or the end of the story and in the same language as the tale itself. Interestingly, Kvitka at the outset of “*Sincere Love*” even ventures an exposition of Aristophanes’ theory of love from Plato’s *Symposium*. And in “*What a Treasure!*” the description of hell borders on parody and seems inspired by E. Swedenborg.

Clearly, Kvitka was a “tendentious” writer. Occasionally, however, this propensity was carried to extremes, outweighing the artistic aspirations of a work, and eventually spoiling it, as in “As You Sow, So Shall You Reap” and in many places in other works. In “*Marusja*” for example, the heroine delivers a harangue against evening parties! Kvitka’s exaggeration and “idealization” know no bounds. At times, the style used in the depiction of his heroes is so excessively lofty that the characters almost seem like caricatures. In fact, for *Marusja* and *Haločka* (“Sincere Love”) the descriptions of both their exterior appearance and spiritual nature approach parody.

The morality preached by Kvitka is almost exclusively universal. Only infrequently is there a hint of anything resembling national sentiment such as “*Xiba treba soromytysja svoho rodu!*” (“How is it possible to be ashamed of one’s origins!”). Topical satire is also infrequent. A rare example is the sharp, witty account in “*A Lively Wench*” of contemporary judicial practice, or rather malpractice. Surprisingly, Kvitka, despite such moral sensitivity, could also portray scenes of cruelty, sometimes without any trace whatever of human feeling. One such instance, a witch-drowning, which proves fatal for some of the victims, is followed by the remark “*Tut jij i amin’*” (“And it was curtains for her”). Then, the casual narrative report “*Kotru vtopyly, a kotru vidvolaly*” (“Some women they drowned and others they rescued”), and an utterance by one of the meekest peasants “*Spoločit’ moju žinku . . .*” (“Give my wife a scare . . .”). Hence, it appears that in his works, Kvitka’s “morality” was both too strictly preached and imperfectly practiced. If it were not for this “tendentiousness” (another old-fashioned, non-Romantic trait), Kvitka, of all his contemporaries, would be the writer closest to our own times.

5. As a publicist, Kvitka’s writings are limited to the preface to “Portrait of a Soldier” entitled “*Suplika do pana izdatelja*” (“Supplication to Mr. Editor”) and the brief “*Lysty do ljubeznych zemljakiv*” (“Letters to My Dear Countrymen,” 1839).

Both articles demonstrate even more forcefully than his stories the inadequacy of his stylistic and linguistic devices to the task of creating a modern literature. The “Supplication” (1833) is written in the style of travesty: “*nexaj že znajut’ i našyx*” (“let them know our people too”), “*konponuje*” (“he is composed of”), “*navernjakaly*” (to constantly say “probably”), “*zakolupne za dušu*” (“it pricks the soul”), “*kyšky boljat’ vid smixu*” (“his guts hurt from laughing”). Such phraseology hardly supports the idea that the Ukrainian language could “produce” (*vtjaty*) a work that would be “both ordinary and tender, clever and useful.” The “Letters,” aimed at the masses, was an attempt to popularize certain concepts about the tsarist regime. While it sustained a

serious tone on the surface, it remained at a very primitive level: “*Ne ležy: sjudy-tudy motnysja, sokyркоj porubaj, cipkom pomaxaj, skotyckoju poroby, ot v tebe vpjat’ hrošyky*” (“Never rest, bustle about here and there, hack away with your hatchet, swing your club, work like a horse, now you’ve got a few coins again”). In this work Kvitka presents some fine paraphrases from fables as well as an excellent portrait of a drunkard:

*Pyka jomu nevmyta ta . . . podrjapana, volossja rozkudovčene,  
šapky kat-ma! . . . Xoč i pidperezanyj, tak odyň kinec’ tak  
i voločyt’sja za nym; soročka rozxrystana, a časom i porvana,  
jak i svytyna; spyna vsja u hlyni, odyň čobit na nozi,  
a druhyj, jak spav vin u šynku, tak znjato . . .*

(“His mug was dirty and scratched; his hair dishevelled and he had no hat at all! . . . And though he did wear a belt, one end of it dragged along behind him; his shirt was unbuttoned to the waist and even torn in places; so was his jacket; his back was all muddy, he had one shoe on, the other had been pulled off when he was sleeping in the tavern. . . .”)

However, this language, even though slightly more serious, has only a limited function. The ideology of the “Letters” is, like that of the later Gogol’, reactionary. Nevertheless, it also contains the thought that “*Ne vse ž dlja moskaliv, može treba i dlja nas ščonebud’*” (“Not everything is for the Russians; perhaps we deserve to have something too”). In a letter to Maksymovyč, Kvitka declared that it was imperative to write in that language “which is spoken by ten million people and which has its own charms which cannot be expressed in another language, its own phraseology, humor, irony and everything else which a proper language should have.” Kvitka’s prose, as the highest achievement of the “old school” of Ukrainian literature in the vernacular, itself demonstrates the need for some sort of new ideology which would raise Ukrainian to the level of other “proper” languages.

Kvitka also translated a few texts from the Scriptures for Sreznevs’kyj’s *Slov’jans’ka čytanka (Slavonic Reader)*. These excerpts (including the Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and the beginning of the Gospel According to St. John), constituted Kvitka’s first attempts at high language. Apparently, he never began work on a planned *Istorija Ukrajiny (History of Ukraine)*.

6. Among the prose efforts of others, the writing of Hulak-Artemovs’kyj is worth mentioning: e.g., his travestied ode *Deščo pro toho Haras’ka (A Note*

*About That Horace*) for which he provided only the parody introduction “*Vono to bač, po našomu Haras’ko, a po-moskovs’ky Horacij—O! vže vony xoč ščo,—perekoversajut’ po-svojemu*” (“You see, we say Haras’ko, but in Russian it’s Horace—Oh! no matter what it is—they twist it to their own way”). In this same style he wrote “*Pysul’ka do redaktora Ukrajins’koho Hincja*” (“A Note to the Editor of the *Ukrainian Messenger*”) which contains not only vulgar witticisms (the confusion of “*latyns’kyj*” [Latin] with “*lytvyns’kyj*” [Lithuanian]), but also a lexicon in the same style as that used for the travesty of the Odes of Horace. Instead of *hovoryty* (to speak), there are the verbs: *brjaznuty* (to make a jingling sound), *verzty* (to babble), *rozdabarjuvaty* (to digress), *papljaty* (to prattle); for writing verses—the terms *najalozyty* (to grease), *perom nadrygaty* (to jerk with the pen), *bazhraty* (to scribble). The phraseology consists of examples such as: “*Jaka vže tam u xrina robota*” (“What kind of work could there be”); “*Rodymi šče ne povylazyly*” (“The birthmarks haven’t yet appeared”); “*A tam sxovajus’ v domovynu ta j pokažu jim z-za pazuxy ot-taky zdorovec’ku dulju*” (“I’ll hide there in the grave and from within my coffin I’ll flash them a royal fig sign like this”). Naturally, in a language such as this nothing could be written except travesty. It is interesting that the Romantic Hrebinka, in his articles in Ukrainian [the preface and afterword to *Lastivka* (*The Swallow*), 1841], employed a style of the same level, although of a different tone (sentimental-idyllic): “*Už ja tak dumaju, ščo nema i na sviti kraščoho miscja, jak Poltav’ska hubernija*” (“I firmly believe that there is no place on earth more beautiful than the province of Poltava”). After praising Ukrainian maidens and Pyrvatyn buns (a passage, reminiscent in its context of Kotljarevs’kyj) Hrebinka bids goodbye to his simple countrymen with farewell wishes such as “*Ščob vynnyci davaly nam z kožnoho puda vidro pinnoji horilky*” (“May the vineyards give us a bucket full of brandy for each pound of our weight”). Clearly, among prose writings of the same level, it is Kvitka’s tales with their stylistic peculiarities and serious language which are to be preferred.

## G. THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF UKRAINIAN LITERARY CLASSICISM

1. The literature of Ukrainian Classicism heralded Ukraine’s literary rebirth, and, to a certain limited extent, its national awakening. In every instance, the authors of this period began to use the vernacular consistently for the first time—although not usually in serious works or high genres. The practice was undertaken partly as a diversion and partly in imitation of foreign literatures which relegated to the low genres (travesty, grotesque, burlesque) those dialects

and languages which did not yet have their own literatures, e.g., the Italian dialects and the Provençal language. Politically and culturally the period of Classicism was the time of Ukraine's greatest national decline. It was not that the process of denationalization had itself progressed very far, but that it embraced precisely that group of people who, in times such as these, should have been the leaders of its cultural life: the nobility and the higher clergy. As a result, Ukraine was "incomplete" as a nation.

Its literature was likewise incomplete. At the head of its established genres stood the mock-heroic poem, the comic opera, the travestied ode, and, among the more "legitimate" categories, the tale and fable. The characteristically classical high style was represented only by the paraphrases of the Psalms by Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (whose writings were, in any case, an anachronism, appearing at a time when the ideology of Romanticism was already beginning to prevail). Even the venerable category of satire, to which transition easily could have been made from travesty, did not exist! Creditable efforts in the serious ode, epic and tragedy were all lacking. Because this incomplete literature could not possibly satisfy all intellectual interests, it was relegated to the status of an appendage to other literatures.

2. Another symptom of national decline was the appearance of "Ukrainian" works in foreign languages. Admittedly, there are only a few examples of the phenomenon: in the Polish poem "*Sofijówka*" by S. Trembecki (1735-1811), there is a description of the Ukrainian landscape. Ukraine is treated fleetingly by J. U. Niemcewicz (1758-1841) in his *Śpiewy historyczne* (*Historical Songs*, 1816) and by T. Swencki (1774-1837) in his "*Opis starożytnej Polski*" ("A Description of Ancient Poland"), as well as by N. Muśnicki (1765-1806) in *Pultawa* (1805).

The most representative writing of this type was done, however, by Ukrainians themselves. Among the first was Vasyl' Narižnyj (1780-1825), a native of Myrhorod. He was a talented writer of Russian novels that were at least twenty years out of date in literary terms. Following the style and pattern of the Classicist adventure novel (with very insignificant elements from Russian Sentimentalism), they portrayed characters who were predominantly Ukrainian types. *Rossijskij Žil' Blaz* (*A Russian Gil Blas*, 1814) includes not only a Ukrainian milieu, but even Skovoroda. Other works were completely dedicated to Ukraine: the moralizing, didactic novel *Aristion* (1822), the historical adventure *Bursak* (*The Seminarian*, 1824), the "*pobutova*" comedy *Dva Ivana* (*Two Ivans*, 1825) and the unfinished historical novel *Garkuša*. Also of interest is *Slovenski večera* (*Slavic Evenings*, 1809-1819), a collection of fictional tales dealing with the ancient princely era of Ukraine. Narižnyj's works occupied an

important position in Russian literature of that time exerting certain influence on N. Gogol'.

The Russian language works of Kvitka deserve mention. Besides the translations of his Ukrainian tales, he published numerous stories in Russian (most of which were stylistically antiquated) as well as the popular novel *Pan Xaljavs'kyj* (1840). His old-style comedies remained in theatrical repertoires until the twentieth century: among the most notable were *Šel'menko pisar* (*Šel'menko—the Clerk*, 1831) and *Šel'menko denščik* (*Šel'menko—the Orderly*, 1840) in which the role of Šel'menko is played in Ukrainian throughout. In the field of light comedy, a few rather weak comedies based on Ukrainian life were written by Prince A. Šaxovskij, a belated Russian Classicist, but without any knowledge of the Ukrainian language or way of life. His most famous work, *Kazak stixotvorec* (*The Cossack Poet*), performed in 1812 and published in 1815, had contributed to the staging of *Natalka Poltavka*. In the early nineteenth century during the brief period of Russian Sentimentalism, there appeared a number of accounts of journeys through Ukraine which were of interest partly because of their material on folk customs. Well received by readers of the day, these travel accounts included those of V. Izmajlov (1800-1802), Prince P. Šalikov (1803-1804), I. Dolgorukov (1810), the Xarkovite I. Vernet (ten articles, 1816-1819), and A. Levšin (1816). In this same style were the sketches, novels and tales written in the 1820s and 1830s (published in the 1850s) by the teacher of Gogol' and Hrebinka, I. Kul'žynskij; his writings probably contain more ethnographic material than those of all his contemporaries. The true flowering of the "Ukrainian school" in Russian literature, however, came only with Romanticism (see Ch. XII, pt. C).

3. Unlike Classicism in other literatures, Ukrainian Classicism did not disappear from the consciousness of Ukrainian society. For, in the first place, Ukrainian Classicism was "incomplete" and therefore "untypical" (later, it was not even understood to have been Classicism). Second, it was this period that introduced the Ukrainian vernacular into literature. Because of this accomplishment even its enemies, the Romantics and the Realists, either praised Classicism or became reconciled to it. It was also pardoned for its feeble national consciousness (enlightened Classicism tended toward cosmopolitanism) and its arrogant and disdainful attitude toward the common people. It is for these reasons that the traditions of "Kotljarevščyna" thrived in Ukrainian literature for such a long time. While the danger of travesty tradition was keenly sensed by a few Romantics (Kuliš), it survived nevertheless—right up to the present day.

4. Whereas the Ukrainian Baroque had penetrated national boundaries and fertilized the literature of several neighboring countries, Ukrainian Classicism

forfeited all its spheres of influence on foreign literatures. Even in the "Ukrainian schools" it was not Ukrainian *literature* which influenced these foreign literatures but Ukrainian life. One exception was Belorussia whose modern literature began with a Belorussian reworking of Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* (prior to 1845).

# XI.

## UKRAINIAN SENTIMENTALISM

1. Certain works examined in the preceding section, primarily the tales of Kvitka, as well as *Natalka Poltavka*, have sometimes been regarded by scholars as "sentimental." The term has been used not in the psychological meaning of the word, but in its historico-literary sense, as a particular literary current (Zerov) and related to the Russian Sentimentalist school of Karamzin.

The Karamzinian school, a specifically Russian phenomenon, numbered among its attributes a linguistic reform. According to it, linguistic variants used in certain literary genres either fell into decline or were abolished altogether. The literary genres themselves remained the same as those prevalent in Classicism. However, the genres which the Sentimentalists cultivated (poetic letter or epistle [*poslannja*], idyll, travel account) were different from those preferred by the Classicists: the ode, for example, fell into disuse, although tragedy was maintained by the Sentimentalist Ozerov. Moreover, the ideology of Russian Sentimentalism was different, reflecting the influences of the various forms (although not the basic ideas) of Western "Preromanticism," including that of the bourgeois novel. The combination of all these elements into a viable whole was the personal accomplishment of Karamzin and a few of his followers.

2. It is impossible to apply the characteristics of the Russian Sentimentalist school to Kvitka, or, to a lesser degree, to Kotljarevs'kyj. Some of Kvitka's stories are of the travesty anecdote type—"Portrait of a Soldier," "Purchased Intelligence," "Parxim's Breakfast," "The Liar's Helper"—and are written in a style totally alien to the sentimental tradition. Other stories are characterized by sensibility and tender scenes but they too lack a sentimental style—the sensitive depiction of events together with the subjective impressions of the author

himself (e.g., exclamations of “*ax!*” and “*uvy!*”). They bear no trace of Preromantic gloom (Ossianism), nor of the Karamzinian device of “periphrasis” (“diurnal light” instead of “sun,” “this noble animal” instead of “horse”), nor any detailed ironic descriptions (Sterne’s influence on the Karamzinian school). Perhaps the only feature linking Kvitka with Russian Sentimentalism is a love for moral maxims: a trait also common to Classicism. Although the same type of Christian world view is shared by Kvitka and some Russian Sentimentalists, this does not establish *literary* affinity. If anything, Kvitka’s moralism is more characteristic of the pre-Karamzinian era.

Kvitka’s type of story—smoothly flowing, with fully rounded images and precision of expression—is (although somewhat primitive) entirely in the tradition of Classicist prose. Nor does Kvitka’s independent discovery of material from peasant life in any way connect him with Russian Sentimentalism where this sort of subject did not exist. As for Kvitka’s sensibility, it was more likely influenced by the Ukrainian national character and folk song tradition. The sentimental elements in Kotljarevs’kyj are even more closely tied to this tradition, although here possible influences from Russian Sentimentalism should not be completely discounted.

3. Having brought about a linguistic and stylistic reform of Russian literature, Russian Sentimentalism, although not a widespread trend, rightly deserves delineation as a separate section in Russian literary history. In the history of Ukrainian literature, however, it is impossible to create a separate literary current out of a few works by Kvitka and a single work of Kotljarevs’kyj. If Kvitka and Kotljarevs’kyj really were subject in some small degree to the influence of Russian Sentimentalism or corresponding Western trends, it is probable that they themselves were not aware of any difference at all between these currents and their own. Such was their basis in the classical literary tradition. Similarly, neither did Hulak-Artemovs’kyj or Bilec’kyj-Nosenko realize, in paraphrasing the ballads of Bürger and Goethe, that these works belonged to a genre totally foreign to their own Classicist poetics. Given therefore that the degree of differentiation in Ukrainian literature of this period was so slight, it behooves literary historians to refrain from exaggerating it, trying to create various classifications for only a handful of poets.

## XII.

# ROMANTICISM

### A. LITERARY ROMANTICISM

1. Romanticism in literature was a literary current which arose in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and gradually overtook the literature of all Europe. It is difficult to give a scholarly definition of Romanticism since during the course of several decades and among various nationalities, Romantic literature assumed different forms, and since its individual representatives were quite distinct, one from the other. It is easier to present a summary of the characteristic features of the various Romantic trends, for Romantics everywhere paid great attention to the establishment and presentation of their ideology and to the formulation of the basic principles of their poetic theory.

2. The Romantic movement did not appear at the same time in every country. In Germany and England it arose around 1795; for the Russians and Poles it appeared after 1815; and for the other Slavs and for the French, still later. However, long before the emergence of actual Romanticism there were isolated figures and strains of Preromanticism. In England it partly took the form of Ossianism, the sombre poetry of "night and graveyard" inspired by the heroic Celtic songs of Ossian (in reality, the forgeries of James Macpherson); partly, it was characterized by the bourgeois novel. In France it took the form of "Rousseauism," the cult of feeling, which Rousseau evolved in theory and then applied to poetic practice. In Germany it encompassed "*Sturm und Drang*" ("Storm and Stress"), the cult of the "free" man, and some other tendencies; as well, it advanced the ideas of Herder, including his protest against placing too

high a value on reason, and his interest in folk poetry. Ukrainian Romanticism was also affected by these preromantic currents, although, for the most part, indirectly via Western Romanticism.

3. The most direct way to understand the nature of Romantic ideology and Romantic poetry is from the perspective of the historical opposition assumed by Romanticism in relation to the eighteenth century trends of Classicism and the Enlightenment. Reacting against the poetics of Classicism, Romanticism constructed its own theory of poetry which it followed in literary practice. In challenge to the philosophy of the Enlightenment, Romanticism developed its own world view without which it is impossible to understand the ideological content of Romantic works or even Romantic poetics. The leading ideas of Romanticism that are found in Ukrainian Romantic writers will be discussed later.

4. The Enlightenment belief was that reason was the fundamental power of cognition. The world and man were considered to be completely "knowable" either with the help of the intellect or the understanding of enlightened experience. Finally, all reality was thought to be the sum of (or constructed from) its simple elements. Conversely, the Romantic world view held that the intellect was only one of the faculties of human spirit, and not even the highest: it was incomplete and inadequate to perceive reality by itself. Reality was not seen as merely the sum of separate elements or parts. On the contrary, since the Romantics believed that the whole was always itself the predeterminant of its separate parts, reality was held to be not only broader, but higher than all its isolated parts (the separate elements making up the whole).

This change in the basic principles of outlook required new methods of perception. The Romantics therefore developed various theories which sought to correct traditional logic, either by altering or supplementing its rules. Most often, however, the demand was not merely for logical, but extra-logical perception, the cognition of the senses or "intuition," and sometimes "poetic intuition." Poetry stood next to science as another, not inferior, path to knowledge.

In rejecting the tradition of rational cognition, the Romantics began to notice and to seek out the internal contradictions, antitheses and contrasts in various spheres of existence. Perhaps their greatest service lay in recognizing in man, in the historical process, and in social life, those internal contradictions which prevented the very link between these spheres that was so eagerly sought by Romanticism. This search led the Romantics to important (although rarely implemented) discoveries in natural science, the social sciences and psychology.

5. Romanticism's attitude to the world, man, and God was different from that of the Enlightenment.

For the Romantics the world was not a simple mechanism composed of separate parts like a clock with its many cogs, but rather, a living organism whose parts were ordered and directed by the whole. They saw the world as being not completely accessible to our understanding, as revealing only particular aspects and spheres, preventing our apprehension of any others or of the whole. They believed, moreover, that there were forces and spheres in the world that were mysterious, hidden, unknowable. The investigations by the Romantics into these dark corners of the world, which they called the “night side of life,” not only revived old superstitions but were valuable contributions to scholarship.

Man was not merely a reasoning animal or mechanism (machine) as the most radical representatives of the Enlightenment had thought. According to the Romantics, he was a complex entity comprised of multifarious higher and lower elements. He belonged to two different worlds, in fact to many worlds: he straddled them and was subject to their influences. Man’s psychic life in particular was seen as dependent on the material sphere on the one hand; on the other, it was amenable to spiritual inspiration. Man was believed to contain as many mysterious forces as did the earth itself, a mysteriousness which, from the point of view of the intellect, stemmed from “the unconscious.” All deviations from “the normal,” reasonable states of mind—madness, dreaming, ecstasy, inspiration, premonition, “the dark side of the soul”—all such experiences, providing man an escape from commonplace existence into other perhaps higher spheres, were deemed to be profoundly significant. The Romantics attributed a particularly high value to love: it, they believed, opened the doors of “the unlimited” to man affording him glimpses of another world and experiences which would take him beyond the boundaries of everyday reality.

God was thought of not as merely the Creator who presented laws to the world and then abandoned it to their direction (eighteenth century “deism”), but rather as a live being. To be sure, the Romantics relegated this being to a mystical obscurity so lofty as to be generally inaccessible to human perception and national understanding, although somewhat more approachable via the senses. While undermining in this manner the meaning of dogmatic theology, Romanticism at the same time elevated the significance of Church ritual. For this non-intellectually-based tradition was thought to affect most strongly the deepest irrational facets of a human being and to probe most profoundly the roots of that distant past which, for the Romantics, were also related to the highest sphere of existence.

In essence, the philosophical world view of Romanticism was: the world is irrational, “miraculous” and complicated; man is fundamentally complex and

closely linked with other mysterious spheres; God ranges beyond all rational perception although he is nevertheless accessible through the media of the senses and tradition.

6. However, man does not simply stand between particular spheres and forces of being, nor is he merely an object of influences; he is also agent and subject in the historical process. For the Enlightenment this historical process signified constant evolution toward betterment—through continuous improvement and knowledge together with the various creative achievements of intelligent individuals. The Romantics' view of man and the historical process stemmed from their concept of man in general as having a dual nature. On the one hand he was a vital, free character, creating his own laws and transcending all the other spheres which surround him; on the other, he was only a component of larger totalities such as society, the religious community, the state, the nation. Hence, for the Romantics, man in history and society was a peculiar, paradoxical entity—free creative agent, yet mere tool of the historical process, of human institutions, and of higher phenomena such as “the spirit of the people,” “the spirit of history,” etc.

The Romantics, however, did not believe that the historical process was composed simply of isolated human actions. Rather, it was taken to be the manifestation of higher powers, a process which led to a lofty goal, although every stage in its development had its own inner meaning. The distant past was seen not merely as preparation for a better future, but also, because of its many contributions to spiritual wealth, as valuable in itself. In this way, those epochs forgotten or neglected by the Enlightenment, in particular the Middle Ages and in part the Baroque, were “discovered” by Romanticism. Even in such “pre-historical” areas as national customs, folk poetry, folk culture as a whole, and language, among other things, the Romantics perceived the deepest meaning and spiritual significance. They revived historical studies and played an important role in the establishment of scientific ethnography and modern linguistics. Of more consequence, however, than Romanticism's contribution to studies in history and the social sciences, were Romantic ideas on society and the history of national consciousness and of modern national movements. No longer were the concepts of nationality and national language somehow incomprehensible as they had been for the Enlightenment which would have preferred one common language for the entire world. No matter what their real natures, the national past and present assumed profound significance as the direct revelation of “the national spirit.” It was in this way that national movements acquired spiritual motivation and justification—as necessary elements of the historical process.

7. Romanticism also introduced radical changes in the areas of poetic

theory and practice. Just as its ideological changes were directed against the Enlightenment, the changes in poetics were a reaction against Classicism. The aim of Romantic poetics was simply the destruction of the entire system of prescriptions of Classicist poetics and, in fact, the repudiation of rules in general.

In its opposition to Classicism, Romanticism turned, in some cases, to a high appreciation of Baroque poetry. This led to "rediscoveries" of several forgotten poets of the Baroque, among which perhaps the most notable were Shakespeare and the Spanish dramatists.

8. As a result of the change in world view, the subject matter of works of literature was enriched to an extraordinary degree. The Romantics perceived and depicted the world altogether differently than had the Classicists: they brought to light the mysterious side of the world. Moreover, they regarded nature as a living thing, and everywhere revealed and emphasized its vital interconnection with man. Romanticism's new perception of nature also extended to that vast mysterious element in it and ultimately to those "other worlds" hidden behind its everyday appearance. These were the characteristics of the "night side" of nature which, the Romantics believed, were in fact most accessible to man at night. Night became a favorite theme of nature lyrics, giving rise to "night poetry." Traces of the "other worlds" broke loose into everyday reality in both personified and impersonal form with the development of the fantastic tale. Folk beliefs were used very effectively in this genre since the Romantics believed that it was through the fantastic figures of superstition that the existence of "other worlds" was most clearly sensed. In poetry too, such demonic forces came to play a considerable role. However, even without the presence of these fantastic characters, new methods of representing spiritual life were cultivated—such as focusing on abnormal or unusual experiences. Madness, sleeplessness, ecstasy, the "night side" of the psyche all were portrayed. Equally important to the Romantics were powerful experiences such as love and creative inspiration. Romanticism also stressed other deviations of spiritual life including dissoluteness, sin, crime. Often a person's life was described in terms of its dependence on his "fate" which was regarded as the reflection of a man's inner being. The fate of a particular person, or family, or nation thus became a favorite theme of Romantic poetry.

Romanticism was of particular significance in the portrayal of history in literature. The emergence of the modern historical novel, for example, is principally attributable to the influence of the Romantic world view. The Romantic writer wanted to see the past, first of all, in its own, original coloration; on the other hand, he saw in the whole of the past a gradual and meaningful development. This serious attitude of the poet to the past

completely altered the character of historical *belles lettres*. No longer did it comprise collections of curious anecdotes and adventures; rather, it consisted of attempts to understand and express the meaning and significance of past epochs of the national life. For the Romantic saw in the past not only its heroes but also society, the masses, and nations.

Religious poetry, steeped in the moralism of the Enlightenment, also assumed an emotional quality. In fact, a general religious tendency spread among many writers in all spheres and in all types of literature.

Opposing strict regulation of the formal side of poetry, Romanticism advocated the principle of “free creativity” of the poet, and of “free form” that was dependent on poetic inspiration alone. Free form was adopted by the already established genres: in order to convey this impression, poets often would purposely ruin structural order, impart incomplete form to their work, avoid compositional symmetry and permit various other vagaries in the formal structure. Another characteristic of free form was a deliberate vagueness in plot development: particular moments in the course of the action were left in unexplained obscurity.

Traditional ideas about poetic genres were destroyed. The Romantics relished a mixing of genres (a technique encountered earlier, but only rarely): prose was combined with poetry, and lyrical passages were introduced into epic poems, etc.

Finally, Romanticism introduced genres and forms that were altogether new. One of them, the Romantic or “Byronic” poem, named after its most famous practitioner, was totally different from the epic poems of Classicism (see below, pt. F). A genre that became very popular was the ballad, a short epic tale (often fantastic) written in verse and modelled on old traditional dance songs. Imitations of folk songs were revived, although this time not simply as “drawing room” diversions as they had been under Classicism. The Romantics endeavored to create the kind of work that would conform as closely as possible to the character of actual folk songs. Frequently, these imitations deceived scholars as well as the ordinary reader, even when this was not their conscious intention. Publications also appeared of collections of genuine folk songs. Among prose forms the tale flourished: no longer dismissed as a trifling amusement, it often contained serious matter. Imitations of folk tales appeared as well, along with accounts and collections of actual folk tales.

Clearly, style was another area in which Romanticism deviated from Classicism. Language, for example, was enriched in order to accommodate the new images and themes such as the “night side” of the world and of the soul. Interest in unusual states of mind required various new words and phrases to

describe the vague, unknown, mysterious, psychic conditions and moods. Style became more refined in order to convey the vague and mysterious generally. "Synaesthesia"—i.e., the technique of employing words in paradoxical combinations such as comparing sounds with colors—became widespread. Interest in history led to the use of numerous archaic words, especially in the historical tale. In their stylizations of folk poetry, writers adopted the same stylistic devices found in folk songs and tales. A certain number of vernacular and rare words were also introduced into the language, but for serious use, not simply as curios as they had been for the travesty forms of Classicism. In flouting Classicist injunctions, Romantic style underwent significant change among the various writers and genres, as well as from country to country.

One of the most characteristic features of Romantic poetics was "symbolism." Its theory was that if beyond this world of actuality there is another, higher world, then every object, every element of existence in this world points and alludes to something in this higher world of which it is the image and symbol. Accordingly, the Romantics availed themselves of old traditions, particularly of folk poetry, and cultivated symbolism to an extent hitherto unprecedented. Every poetic image, every picture, every thought in their writing was supposed to have a two-fold meaning. Everything had in addition to its direct meaning, a deeper significance denoting a specific element in the higher world. A similar phenomenon had existed in the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in Baroque poetry. Romantic symbolism used images which conformed to its world view, including psychological, philosophical, and historico-philosophical symbols which sometimes became crystallized into complex allegories or "mysteries" requiring special explanations and interpretation. Often, however, symbolic significance was also imparted to light lyrical landscapes and even to descriptions of *pobut*, and to Romantic verses and sketches.

It is interesting that Romanticism avoided the images, symbols and, particularly, the figures of classical mythology. Instead, images from national mythology were used.

9. The individual came into his own in Romanticism—as a being linked with the various spheres of existence, and as a creature whose character as a living physical and spiritual organism was a reflection of the organization of these other spheres in the universe, itself another living organism. Man was seen both as a repository of accumulated historical recollections and diverse social influences and as a creative essence. In poetry, the figure of the poet himself acquired a particularly preeminent role representing his aspiration to be an all-embracing, complete individual, a participant in the most varied forms of life.

The Romantic poet often attained this comprehensiveness because he became a volatile, perpetually variable character: like Proteus, he was constantly changing his style, his personality, his interests and sometimes even his views. Poetry was regarded as preceptor of the people; hence, the poet was supposed to be prophet, teacher, guide, as well as independent creator. This accounts for the fact that in Romantic literature, the poet frequently styled himself as a prophet and genius free from the laws and norms of everyday reality. Sometimes this pose was refined to such a point that the poet purposely portrayed himself as a "demonic" figure able to comprehend even negative states of being including madness and depravity. Works were composed in such a manner as to appear to have sprung purely from untrammelled inspiration, independent of any laws, rules or limitations. The cult of the poet as genius was one of the characteristic features of the literary culture of Romanticism: the poet was thought (or supposed) to be "the leader" of his nation, if not of mankind in general, he was the "prophet" of the future, and even a "god" (as the Russian Romantic Baratynskij termed the Polish poet Mickiewicz).

10. Like every cultural and literary trend, Romanticism had its inherent weaknesses which led ultimately to its decline. These negative traits included, first of all, a certain instability, a want of thought, and a tendency to leave great plans and designs unfulfilled. Plans, intentions, dreams and visions regularly took precedence over reality. Unrestrained fantasy and a contempt for concrete, common reality led Romantic poets into a world of fantasy. Only with great difficulty could they return to real life where they would remain "lost" forever. No less pernicious was the cultivation of sentiment and mood. The Romantic frequently regarded experience and spiritual states as fulfillment in themselves; he limited himself to them instead of realizing his ideals and dreams in real life. It was from criticism of these negative traits that later opposition to Romanticism often developed on the part of representatives of succeeding literary developments, especially the so-called Realists.

## **B. UKRAINIAN ROMANTICISM**

1. Romanticism was unique among literary tendencies in that it contributed to the "awakening" of young nations or those that had become detached from contemporary European culture. Its role in the awakening or rebirth of Slavic nations was particularly notable: it encouraged an interest in, and high regard for folk poetry, popular customs, and the past (especially its neglected, underestimated periods); and it fostered an interest in one's own nationality and a love for uncultivated nature. These considerations necessarily turned the

attention of spokesmen for the East European peoples toward their own antiquity, their own folk lore and way of life, and their own lands. The fact that the artistic devices of folk poetry were being used in literature was also significant: it undoubtedly inspired the representatives of those peoples in whom this poetry still thrived to make their own literature flourish and to develop it in new directions. Also important in this connection was the influence of the Preromanticism of Herder.

2. It is not surprising, therefore, that Romanticism influenced, by complex means, not only Ukrainian Romantic literature whose scope was relatively limited, but also Ukrainian literature generally. It left a marked impression on all subsequent literary development, and penetrated profoundly into the national consciousness.

The philosophy of Romanticism had, on the one hand, an extraordinary significance for the development of Ukrainian studies in all their branches. The historic past and its various epochs became factors of the national consciousness solely in the light of the Romantic attitude to the past. For this reason, historical studies constituted, during the period of Romanticism, an integral part of the national movement. On the other hand, national life itself appeared to the eyes of Romantics as exceptionally full, valuable, and rich. Not only the gathering of ethnographic material, but also its application in various cultural spheres, especially in literature, became another national goal. Thus, the two basic themes of Ukrainian Romanticism, "the people" and history, became at the same time the basic problems of the national movement.

The development of Ukrainian literature was aided to an extraordinary degree by the fact that its writers, in particular Ševčenko, were far more closely associated with the true life of the people than were the majority of Romantics in the West or in neighboring lands. Therefore, they were in fact able to make broader and freer use of the resources of folk poetry than was the case of Romanticism in many other countries. It was not even necessary for Ukrainian poets to turn to the Romantic theory of poetry for certain elements of their poetics. For, as it often seemed to these poets and as it often actually was, it was possible to adapt them for literature from folk poetry.

3. The problem of language was more involved. The first Ukrainian Romantics, including the brilliant writer Gogol', were lost to Ukrainian literature (see below, pt. C, no. 2) because they wrote in Russian. The exceedingly small amount of literature in the Ukrainian language which existed until 1825 belonged to the travesty genres and failed to inspire any imitations among the young writers that had been aroused by the ideology of Romanticism. They were justified to a certain degree in sensing that these works "made fun" of the

people, of folk poetry, and of the Ukrainian language. The early Romantics succeeded in replacing this mockery of Ukrainian provincial life with a "vogue" for all things Ukrainian. However, it was only after further evolution of the Romantic ideology that works of real creative power were produced in the Ukrainian language—by the younger generation of Ukrainian Romantics.

4. Romanticism in the West "rediscovered" Baroque literature—admittedly not in its entirety, but at least certain of its representative figures including Jacob Boehme, Friedrich von Spee, Angelus Silesius, as well as Shakespeare. Ukrainian Romanticism was not as fortunate since it was impossible to appreciate a literature written in a foreign language: Ukrainian Baroque literature was to be found in Church Slavonic (Ukrainian redaction) or in a "mixed" Ukrainian-Church Slavonic language. However, the Romantics were attracted to isolated literary figures (Skovoroda) and to the ideological content of particular works. Nor was it fortuitous that the Romantics discovered the Ukrainian chronicles of the Baroque period—significant both for Ukrainian national consciousness and for scholarship—and that they revived, to a certain degree, interest in Skovoroda. Nevertheless, the typical Romantic reaction was that of Kuliš who rejected outright all Ukrainian Baroque literature as "academic obscurity." With few exceptions, such as Maksymovyč, the attitude of other representatives of Romanticism to the Ukrainian literary Baroque was similar to Kuliš's—indifference or hostility or totally unhistorical criticism (e.g., condemning its failure to use the vernacular).

5. The development of Ukrainian Romanticism was a complicated process, linked with the various personal changes of fortune of individual writers and with the political conditions of this difficult period. Operative factors included the Romantic cult of personal goodwill, the Romantic individualism in the face of the deteriorating ties between the separate centers of Ukrainian life. These led to the fact that the Romantic movement broke down into the history of particular groups and sometimes into the biographies of particular individuals, as, in fact, had been the case in Western Romanticism.

The birth of Ukrainian Romantic literature and ideology took place in the 1820s and 1830s in Xarkiv, but by the beginning of the 1840s the literary movement in this center was practically dead. Toward the end of the 1830s a Romantic movement on a small scale was set into motion in Galicia. The 1840s saw the brilliant beginning of Romanticism in Kiev in the formation of the "Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius" (*Kyrylo-Methodijivs'ke Bratstvo*), but its development was arrested because of persecution from the authorities. The Romantic movement smouldered during the following years and was restricted to the individual efforts of isolated writers. Toward the end of its existence

it flared up once more in its new and final center in Petersburg during the term of the activity of the journal *Osnova* (*Foundation*). This period marked the end of the literary Romantic movement in the Ukraine on a broad scale although individual Romantics remained true to their ideology, altering it only to a certain extent under the influence of altogether new times.

In many Romantic circles a leading ideological role was often played by individuals who did not themselves become Ukrainian writers. A number of these ideologists of the history of literature must be acknowledged.

The Romantics' interest in history and in popular *pobut* engendered studies on the collection, publication and adaptation of this historical and ethnographic material. One by one, collections of Ukrainian folk poetry, primarily folk songs, were published by Prince M. Certelev (1819), a non-Romantic himself, and by M. Maksymovyč (collections published in 1827, 1834, 1849), I. Sreznovs'kyj (*Zaporožskaja starina—Zaporožian Antiquity*, 1833-38), and P. Lukaševyc (1836). Collections of Galician songs were published by the Poles Waclaw Zaleski (z Oleska) and Żegota Pauli in 1833 and 1839-40, respectively. At about the same time the Western Ukrainian *Rusalka Dnistrovaja* (*The Dniester Mermaid*, 1837) appeared. These Romantic publications ended with A. Metlyns'kyj's song collection (1854), P. Kuliš's *Zapiski o Južnoi Rusi* (*Notes on Southern Rus'*, 1856-57), and some later editions based, for the most part, on studies undertaken by the Romantics, including a collection of proverbs and sayings by Nomys (1864), and a collection of songs by Ja. Holovac'kyj (1863-65).

If the publication of works of folk poetry had the effect of sustaining the activity of Romantic poets, providing them with themes and motifs, and acquainting them with the folk outlook and devices of folk poetry, historical studies had a still greater significance. They revealed to the Ukrainian reader his first glimpse, albeit incomplete and inadequately elucidated, of Ukraine's past. Among these works were histories of Ukraine by Bantyš-Kamens'kyj (1822, with new editions in 1830 and 1842), Markevyč (1842), and Skal'kovs'kyj (studies on Zaporozhian history, 1840). Of special importance were the publication of the chronicles *Istorija Rusov* (1846), and of the Cossack chronicles of Samovydec' (1846), Velyčko (1848 and later), and Hrabjanka (1854). The appearance of stories about the Sič by the Zaporozhian centenarian Korž (1842), together with the numerous publications of documents to which Maksymovyč and Bodjans'kyj made a particular contribution, also served for the most part to fan the Romantic enthusiasm for Ukrainian history in much the same way as the later studies of Kostomarov did.

Travel accounts and descriptive writing about Ukraine contain the least reflection of Romantic views. The most important works of this type,

Zakrevs'kyj's description of Kiev (1836) and Svinjin's accounts of individual parts of Ukraine (beginning with 1829), have no trace of the Romantic world view.

6. Some Ukrainian Romantics lived to see not only the predominance of a different literary current, inimical to Romanticism (i.e., Realism), but also the reemergence at the end of the century of sentiments greatly reminiscent of the old Romanticism. These moods, which would soon develop into new styles, were those of impressionism, partly, and, to a greater degree, of modernism and symbolism. A considerable number of individual features of Ukrainian Romanticism survived, as well, in those immediately following generations whose outlook was altogether different. Other facets of this survival included not only the impression of continuity that was prevalent in Ukrainian literature throughout the entire nineteenth century, but also the acknowledged large, positive role played by Romantic motifs in the establishment of the Ukrainian national movement and modern Ukrainian literature. Still another factor was that the position of the greatest Ukrainian poet, Ševčenko, was never equalled among writers of the later period. In addition, because Ukrainian literature remained incomplete even after Romanticism, the Realists in their turn attempted to remedy this situation: their view was that literature should be a reflection of real life. However, since the conception of real Ukrainian life was for the most part limited to that of "the common people," any interest in this life constantly had to contend with the treatment already given it by the Romantics in their works and scholarly studies. For this reason, at least one branch of Realism—the ethnographic—was as closely tied to the Romantic tradition as was possible. In other kinds of Realism, significant although unconscious influences of Romanticism may be found. Another leading aspect of its "survival" was the definite kinship that existed between Ukrainian Romanticism and the Ukrainian national character and the personal character of individual Realists. It is interesting that those Romantics (such as Kuliš) who reappeared on the literary scene later were very often received with misunderstanding and hostility.

7. Among the important features of the activity of Ukrainian Romantics was their uncommonly keen aspiration to overcome the historical incompleteness of Ukrainian literature. Their conscious cultivation of multifarious literary genres together with their attempt to establish a direct relationship with world literature (by means of Ukrainian studies and translations) represent some of the most significant contributions of Ukrainian Romantics to Ukrainian literary development. In this way, even though its literary production was not large, Ukrainian literature during the period of Romanticism was approaching the ideal of a "full-fledged" literature, one that would satisfy the spiritual requirements of

all social groups. This triumph of Ukrainian Romanticism was but temporary: political conditions made the actual realization of a Romantic program impossible; moreover, the ideology and literary views of the Realists favored a renewed and considerable thematic narrowing of Ukrainian literature (see Ch. XII, pt. J, no. 7).

### C. "UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS" IN FOREIGN ROMANTIC LITERATURE

1. The fact that Ukrainian thematic material first appeared in the Romantic literature of foreign countries provides clear evidence of the political and cultural decline of Ukraine at this time. Her neighbors were already beginning to divide among themselves the territories of the once autonomous land, now in its death throes for several decades. However, while the emergence of the "Ukrainian schools" can be regarded as a deplorable sign, it is important to recognize at the same time the enormous significance contained in the introduction of Ukrainian themes to the literary stage. For example, valuable historical and ethnographic material was discovered; for when Ukrainian Romantics began to rework these themes, in every instance and often before everything else, they would seek to stress as much as possible those features peculiar to the people they were describing. Foreign language Romantic literature on Ukrainian themes served, even much later, to draw readers' attention to the Ukrainian people and to its history; it was also instrumental in awakening, in individual denationalized Ukrainians, a sense of national consciousness. As well, this literature demonstrated to Ukrainian writers at the very outset of their creativity that it was possible to treat Ukrainian themes in the context of modern literary poetic practice without necessarily descending to travesty.

2. Russian Romantics were attracted to Ukrainian themes as to all that was exotic. Moreover, the exotica of Ukraine (and the Caucasus) was, geographically, the closest. In addition, they were enraptured with themes from Ukrainian history and with its leitmotif of the struggle for liberation against Poland and against Russia. A sizeable contribution was also made to the rise of the Russian Ukrainian school by a number of Ukrainians working in the north who turned to literature to give expression to their longing for their homeland.

The first efforts of the school were the works of the Russian poet K. Ryleev (1797-1826). Under the influence of the *dumy* of Niemcewicz (see Ch. X, pt. G, no. 2), he wrote the *duma* "*Bogdan Xmel'nickij*" (1822), as well as other original ballad-style *dumy*. Following this he progressed to other Ukrainian themes. Under the influence of the *Istorija Rusiv*, recent scholarly literature

(Bantyš-Kamens'kyj, 1822) and information he received from Ukrainian friends, he began to dwell on his constant theme of the Ukrainian struggle for independence. His poems *Vojnarovskij* (1824) and *Nalivajko* (1825) with their forcefulness of expression and their idea of the fight for freedom had a powerful effect even on Ukrainians. On their behalf, M. Markevyč thanked Ryleev, adding "the spirit of Polubotok may still be found among us." The literary activity of Ryleev ended after the Decembrist Revolt when he was hanged along with other of its leaders. His legacy of unfinished works on Ukrainian themes included the poem *Xmel'nickij* and an outline for the drama *Mazepa*. In his works, Ryleev adhered to some degree to the poetics of Ukrainian *dumy* and folk songs.

Immediately following the poems of Ryleev and the second-rate novel of E. V. Aladin, *Kočubej*, (1827), Puškin appeared on the scene with his *Poltava*. This Byronic poem portrayed Mazepa as a negative, yet great figure: for, according to the theory of the Byronic poem, an unfavorable moral characterization does not in any way diminish the elevated stature of a hero. In the poem the theme of Ukraine's struggle for liberation was given vivid presentation although only as a secondary motif.

The twenties saw the beginning of the activity of Romantic authors of Ukrainian extraction who adopted Ukrainian themes for their works in prose or verse.

Various Ukrainian themes appeared in the writings of Orest Somov (pseudonym, Porfirij Bajskij, 1793-1833), a native of Poltava. He employed practically all the possible types of Ukrainian material in his works which comprised a historical novel (*Gajdamaki*, published in fragments, 1826-29), fantastic novellas based on folklore ("Rusalka"—"The Mermaid"; "Klady"—"Buried Treasures," 1829; "Kievskie ved'my"—"Witches of Kiev," 1833); a story dealing with a popular custom ("Svatovstvo"—"Matchmaking," 1831), and *Brodjačij ogon'*—*The Wandering Fire*, 1832, a work incorporating a conscious attempt to link contemporary Ukraine with the ancient princely era. Being a Ukrainian, Somov was able to portray the way of life of the peasants and small landowners, to present ethnographic details forcefully, to call upon historical anecdotes, and to transpose particular Ukrainian words into the Russian language of his works.

Mykola Markevyč (1804-1860), perhaps under the influence of Ryleev, began to publish in 1829 *Ukrainskie melodii* (*Ukrainian Melodies*, appearing separately in 1831), consisting of 36 Romantic ballads in Russian based on Ukrainian themes of a historical and fantastic nature. In a gesture which increased the authenticity of the ethnographic material, Markevyč attempted to present in the introduction and notes to the work a complete description of Ukrainian folk beliefs, of the national character and annual rituals, and of folk

poetry, both that which deals with *pobut* and that which deals with history. His description included all its heroes right up to Polubotok, Palij, Vojnarovs'kyj and Mazepa.

While these first Ukrainian Romantics of the Ukrainian school of Russian literature restricted themselves to a routine literary treatment of Ukrainian material, Mykola Hohol' (Gogol', 1809-52), the son of Vasyľ', represented a completely different kind of phenomenon. A writer of world stature, he began to publish stories on Ukrainian themes in 1830, and in 1831-32 and 1835 published four volumes (*Večera na xutore bliz Dikan'ki—Evenings on a Homestead Near Dikan'ka* and *Mirgorod*) which made Russian literary history. Somewhat later (1840) he produced his novel, the newly expanded *Taras Bul'ba*, and worked on a tragedy, which he later burned, dealing with the time of Xmel'nyc'kyj.

To this day, Gogol' 's relationship to the Ukrainian national problem has not been definitively established. His works certainly betray no concern for it: in the spirit of the best Romantic traditions, they unite interesting narrative with the resolution of certain purely literary exercises and ideological problems. Although he had not set himself the task of ethnographic and historical accuracy (for which he was criticized by Andrij Storoženko and Kuliš'), he was able to create sensitive, vivid, charming and (because of their general tone), extraordinarily faithful pictures of the Ukrainian landscape, life and national character. And, in *Taras Bul'ba* he succeeded in elevating scenes from Ukrainian history to the level of a great Romantic epic as he combined stylistic elements from folk *dumy* with the narrative approach of Walter Scott and Homer. In addition, Gogol' developed in his works the basic principles of the Romantic outlook and also alluded to the main features of his own ideas; his writings, therefore, are not merely amusing, but are the completely serious manifestations of his opinions.

Gogol' 's verbal talent was phenomenal: the rhythm of his language, his originality of expression (explained in part by his faulty knowledge of Russian), his use of Ukrainian phraseology, especially of folk songs (which he collected, carefully studied, and made the subject of an interesting article) with excerpts of which he sometimes composed entire pages of his stories. All of these features of Gogol' 's writings, along with their peculiar "bilingualism," make his work a true monument of world Romantic literature and one that succeeded in drawing many Ukrainians home again. It was not without reason that Ševčenko, in 1844, hailed him as "my great friend" and "brother."

Evhen Hrebinka (1812-48), a countryman and follower of Gogol', although hardly his equal, was another leading representative of the Ukrainian school in Russian literature (his activity as a Ukrainian writer *per se* will be examined

later). His works, published in three collected editions—1848, 1852 and 1901—enjoyed considerable popularity; in fact, some of his lyrics became Russian folk songs. Stylistically, his works are an imitation of Gogol', but without the latter's brilliant originality. They are practically devoid of any ideological content, and have a definite sentimental coloration. They include verses on Ukrainian motifs, tales of the fantastic, historical novels (*Zolotarenko*, 1842, and *Čajkovskij*, 1843) and even poems (*Bogdan*, 1843). Hrebinka's best works, however, are his unpretentious ethnographic sketches, based on folk anecdotes, on the life of small Ukrainian landowners. It is these sketches which establish Hrebinka's link with "Naturalism," the final stage in the development of Russian Romanticism (see Ch. XIII).

Next to the writings of these outstanding representatives of the Ukrainian school are a number of individual works on Ukrainian themes by well-known Russian writers. Worthy of mention are the novels of F. Bulgarin (1789-1859) for their depiction of the Ukrainian past: *Dimitrij Samozvanec* (*Dimitrij, the Pretender*, 1830) presented the first literary account of the *Sič*, and *Mazepa* (1833-34) offered a close portrait of its subject as a Ukrainian Machiavelli. Descriptions of Ukrainian superstitions and of the landowners' way of life are contained in *Savelij Grab* (1842) by V. Dal' (1801-72), a writer of Danish origin. And in "Petrus'" (1831), a story in the tradition of *Natalka Poltavka*, the characters actually speak fairly good Ukrainian: its author, M. Pogodin (1800-75) made the effort of mastering the language, perhaps under the tutelage of Maksymovyč.

Numerous Ukrainian Romantics also contributed to the Ukrainian school of Russian literature: Borovykovs'kyj, Kostomarov, Čužbysn'skyj, Kuliš, Storozhenko and even Ševčenko, whose Russian tales were published posthumously. Others wrote exclusively in Russian; one, Pogorel'skij (Perovskij, 1787-1836), master of the fantastic novella, was the author of *Monastyrka* (*The Cloistered Maiden*), an adventure novel providing the background for an ethnographic description of the life of Ukrainian landowners. Several were the authors of historical novels: P. Golota (*Mazepa*, 1832; *Nalivajko*, 1833; *Xmel'nickij*, 1834, in which the Ukrainian language, songs and ethnographic material were used extensively; A. Čurovskij [*Zaporožskie naezdy* (*Zaporozian Raids*, 1837)]; O. Kuzmič [*Kazaki* (*The Cossacks*, 1843), *Nabeg v stepi* (*Raid on the Steppe*, 1844), *Xmel'nickij*, 1846), etc.]; V. Korenevskij (*Getman Ostrjanica*, 1846). This same period saw the beginning of the literary activity of G. Danilevskij (1829-90), whose early stories on Ukrainian themes (tales, 1847-55) were closely related to Romanticism, but whose later work was in Realistic and Naturalistic sketches. Notable representatives of the naturalist trend of stories drawn from

Ukrainian life are M. Kovalevskij (from 1848 on) and K. Kotljarevskij (from 1851 on), among others. During the 1850s, O. Storoženko published a novel, *Brat'ja bliznecy* (*Twin Brothers*), as well as stories from Ukrainian life, and began to issue his works in Ukrainian (see below, pt. G, no. 6). This period also witnessed the rise of D. L. Mordovec' (Mordovec, 1830-1905), a writer of no fixed style: his first works using Ukrainian themes contained vestiges of historical Romanticism although later ones were completely different.

While the Ukrainian school of Russian literature is of considerable significance in the history of Ukrainian *culture*, it is of less interest to the history of Ukrainian *literature*. One problem worth investigating, however, would be that of the "adaptation" of many of these works: how successful, for example, are the Ukrainian translations of Narežnyj's *The Seminarian*, or certain works of Gogol'?

3. The Ukrainian school in Polish literature sprang up for partly the same reason as in Russian literature—the Romantics' attraction to the exotic. Another contributing factor was the lack of indigenous Polish historical songs: Ukrainian folk songs very easily, therefore, were able to become the source for Polish works as well. Moreover, there was the conscious aspiration of Polish Romanticism for a certain regionalism. A further motive which developed later was the longing of some Polish exiles for their homeland, for the majority of representatives of the Ukrainian school of Polish literature were born in Ukraine.

Strictly speaking, the Ukrainian school in Polish literature was limited to three Romantic poets: A. Malczewski (1793-1826) whose sole work, the Byronic poem *Marja*, portrayed Ukraine during its knightly Cossack period; Bohdan Zaleski (1802-86), whose numerous verses of different types such as his imitations of folk songs and *dumy*, celebrated an idyllic and elegaic Ukraine, enveloped in an atmosphere of authorial melancholy; and S. Goszczynski (1801-76), who used the style of "Romantic terror" in his vision of *hajdamak* Ukraine (*Zamek kaniowski—Castle of Kaniov*, 1828). While their attitude toward the past and the present was from the Polish point of view, the members of the Ukrainian school nevertheless had a sincere affinity for Ukraine: in fact, it was in their works that those characteristically Romantic Ukrainian themes were first recognized (the Cossack, the *hajdamak*, the *kobzar*—minstrel). They also made particularly effective use of the Ukrainian landscape for Romantic symbolism: night, steppe, wind, lone horseman, graves, etc. In addition, they frequently employed Ukrainian linguistic elements.

Apart from the Ukrainian school in the narrow sense of the term, there were numerous writers who either wrote individual works on Ukrainian themes, or employed certain Ukrainian material in their writings. In the works of Słowacki,

for example, a number of Ukrainian motifs may be found as well as separate works on Ukrainian themes (*Dumka ukraińska, Zmija—The Snake*) incorporating Ukrainian linguistic elements. The most popular writer who dealt with Ukrainian themes was M. Czajkowski (1808-86); his mediocre *Powieści Kozackie (Cossacks' Tales, 1837)*, Romanticized adventure novels, were enormously successful even with Ukrainian readers.

The theme of the Ukrainian material in Polish literature has not yet been properly investigated. Mention could be made of T. A. Olizarowski (1811-71), the brothers S. Groza (1793-1849) and A. Groza (1807-75), M. Goslawski (1805-1834) and especially of the writer, critic and scholar, Michal Grabowski (1807-63), the mentor of B. Zaleski and Kuliś (whose intellectual development, including his negative views on the Cossacks, was influenced by Grabowski).

Some figures in the Polish Ukrainian school, such as T. Padurra, S. Ostaszewski, A. Szaszkewicz, K. Ciegiewicz, went so far as to begin to use Ukrainian in their works (see below, pt. H, nos. 2 and 7).

4. On the whole, the most interesting of these Ukrainian schools, from the Ukrainian point of view, is the Russian. It provided an outlet for the literary aspirations of numerous Ukrainians. Indeed, many of its works read like direct translations from the Ukrainian; and frequently, traces of their authors' national consciousness could be detected in them. Moreover, the use of a foreign language which was at that time more highly developed permitted the introduction of the most radical and modern of literary forms (especially Gogol' and Hrebinka). The activity of the Polish Ukrainian school, on the other hand, did not extend beyond its Polish horizons. It had little linguistic or stylistic connection with Ukrainian folk poetry which had succeeded in fertilizing the creativity of the Ukrainian Romantics. Consequently, these Polish works offered little to Ukrainian writers beyond the example of their method of employing Ukrainian material and some isolated stylistic features.

Certain works by representatives of the Ukrainian schools became known in the West very quickly. Through the translations of Puškin, Gogol', Ryleev and M. Czajkowski, the West European reader was introduced to Ukraine. These works even inspired foreign imitations. In German literature, for example, although it would be an exaggeration to speak of a Ukrainian school, it should be noted that there was a sizeable number of works with Ukrainian material that came to German authors via the Ukrainian schools of Russian and Polish literatures (see below, pt. J, no. 4).

## D. THE XARKIV ROMANTIC SCHOOL

1. The first Romantic group in Ukraine centered around Xarkiv University, which had earlier played a prominent role in the development of intellectual life in the nation. It was here, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, that discussion had first focused on ideas important to the national development, such as German idealism and Romanticism (Schelling). However, the development of Ukrainian literary Romanticism was not directly associated with these beginnings of philosophic debate. It can be traced, rather, to the end of the 1820s when a small group of students gathered around Izmajil Sreznevs'kyj (1812-80), a young Russian student and later brilliant professor. A concern with modern literature, especially Russian and Polish, and with religious problems and German philosophy led them to ponder the issues of the philosophy of history. An ethnographic interest, primarily Sreznevs'kyj's, led them directly to the study of, and enthusiasm for, Ukrainian folk poetry. By means of the Ukrainian material compiled by Sreznevs'kyj himself and other members of the group, as well as their familiarity with the first folk song collections to be published, and their acquaintance with the Western Romantic attitude toward folk poetry, the Xarkiv circle came to understand the peculiar qualities of the Ukrainian people. For, according to Sreznevs'kyj, folk poetry was the essence of the Romantic: in it "everything is wild, like the leafy forests and the steppes," "everything is impulsive like a whirlwind flying across the steppe" with nothing of the "stiff elegance" of classical poetry. Even the Ukrainian *bandurist* reminded Sreznevs'kyj, steeped as he was in Romantic literature and ethnography, of the figure of a Scandinavian bard.

Besides Sreznevs'kyj, other members of the circle who assumed importance a little later were Amvrosij Metlyns'kyj (1814-70) and Mykola Kostomarov (1817-85), both of whom became professors also. Their philosophical notions went much deeper. For Metlyns'kyj, who combined the ideas of Herder with those of Romanticism and Hegel, folk poetry was "the revelation of the eternal ideas of the human soul," intimately bound up with all of existence and with the customs and the way of life of the people. Language, in Metlyns'kyj's view, was one of the most significant forces in national development; it was the basis of a nation's identity and of its very being. Kostomarov, a Romantic visionary at the time, believed that through folk poetry one could touch the very depths of the national spirit and the national character. For, according to him, a nation was a personality like man; it had its own definite ideal, its own character, and its own spiritual life whose most faithful reflection was poetry itself. Moreover, man was thought to have a "secret eye" which allowed him to perceive the spiritual

nature of a people, and a "secret voice" which revealed to him the link between a nation's spirit and its material existence (its *pobut*).

From this consideration of a people's present, it was natural to turn to the past. The *dumy* were found to contain the same vision of the past as that in *Istoriija Rusiv*, which was acknowledged as an important historical source. This enthusiasm of the Xarkiv group for the *Istoriija Rusiv* and for the *dumy* confirmed its members in the Romantic thesis that folk poetry provided the deepest possible reflection of the entire past history of a nation. In 1843, Kostomarov published a dissertation "*Ob istoričeskom značēnii russkoj narodnoj poezii*" ("On the Historical Significance of Folk Poetry") in which he stressed that the serious interest in folk poetry was associated with the decline of Classicism. Not surprisingly, his thesis was challenged by representatives of the old scholarship, Classicists such as Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, among others. Kostomarov also believed that folk poetry was thoroughly symbolic. As well as studying the symbolism of Slavic poetry, Kostomarov investigated Slavic mythology, thus anticipating late Romanticism in the West where symbolism and mythology figured among the principal interests (Creuzer, Schelling).

In addition, the Xarkovites undertook their own literary activity in the vernacular. This represented their attempt to become folk singers themselves, to participate in the creation of what they regarded to be the greatest national treasure, poetry. However, they did not take the path of simple imitation of folk poetry. Following the example of the Romantic poetry of other primarily Slavic nations, they produced works which, while in the popular spirit, were directed toward educated society. They chose not to step backward but to move forward.

The literary production of Xarkiv school found its way into separate publications of Russian periodicals, into individual collections of the members' works (Metlyns'kyj, 1839; Kostomarov, 1839-40), and into literary miscellanies published in Ukraine and elsewhere: *Ukrajins'kyj al'manax—Ukrainian Almanac*, 1831; *Utrennjaja zvezda—Morning Star*, 1833-34; *Ukrainskij sbornik—Ukrainian Miscellany*, 1838 and 1841; *Snip—Sheaf*, 1841; *Molodyk—New Moon*, four issues 1843-44; *Lastivka—The Swallow*, in St. Petersburg, 1841; and the *Kievljanin—The Kievan*, edited by M. Maksymovyč in 1840-41. In these publications, works of the older generation—the Classicists—were represented together with those of the Romantics.

2. The precursor of Xarkiv Romanticism was Lev Borovykovs'kyj (1806-89), who graduated from Xarkiv University before the actual flowering of Romanticism in the student circles. During his early years as a student in the provinces (Poltava and elsewhere) he wrote, over a period of time, about 75 verses in Russian and a great many (600 by his own account) "fables and

proverbs.” He himself managed to publish only a few of his verses; and in 1852, Metlyns’kyj published around 180 of his fables.

In several ways, Borovykovs’kyj was associated with the Classicist tradition. As a student he had acquired a good knowledge of Classical literature and had been obliged to study Classicist poetics. Moreover, of his 180 fables, a total of 42 appear to be imitations of the Classicist Polish and Russian fables of Krasicki and Krylov, respectively. In addition, elements of travesty can be detected in his fables (“*najlučša ptycja–kovbasa*” – “the finest bird is a sausage”). However, on the whole his tone is serious; it is based on Krasicki’s abbreviated, compact, sharp-witted style and then given a certain Romantic folk accent. Thus, the Pole’s refined style of clever disquisition is transformed in Borovykovs’kyj into the still more concise traditional folk style of proverbs and adages whose text is often shorter than in Krasicki. The following excerpts from paraphrased and original fables (respectively) by Borovykovs’kyj are illustrative:

*Skupyj ne spav–robjv, skupyj ne jiv–kopyv,  
a vid toho . . . “Šče bil’š rozbahativ?”  
Ni, okoliv.*

(“The miser didn’t sleep—he just worked; the miser didn’t eat—he just made his pile, and what did it get him . . . ‘Did he become wealthier?’ No, he croaked.”)

*Raz kryla v vitrjaka hudily j gergotaly,  
ščo vse selo vony nasušnym hoduvaly;  
a kamin’, pjaternja i koleso . . . movčaly.*

*Prykazujut’, ščo xto movčyt’,  
toj dvox navčyt’.*

(“Once, the windmill’s vanes hummed and gabbled that they provided the whole village with its daily bread. The millstone and the lantern wheel just kept quiet. . . . It is said that he who is silent is the wisest of them all.”)

The folkish quality here is not only vulgar (*okoliv*—he “croaked”), but also apt, stylistically (using an epithet—*našušnyj* [daily]—without its noun, bread, a common device in Kuliš). With Borovykovs’kyj the fable merges with other genres, such as the epigram:

*Drukarju, ne drimaj, de treba—točku stav,  
ščob mokrym nas rjadnom zlyj krytyk ne napav;  
bo je j taki: ne najde tolku—bude tyxo;  
ne najde ž točky—lyxo . . .*

(“Printer, don’t drowse. Where needed, put periods, so that some malicious critic will not suddenly attack us. For the species does exist: should he miss the meaning, he’s quiet enough; but should he miss a period—look out!”)

However, in other verses, Borovykovs’kyj appears as a true Romantic. His translations or paraphrases are totally different from Hulak-Artemovs’kyj’s travesties which were published at practically the same time (1838). He translated the same authors as Hulak (Mickiewicz, Puškin, Žukovskij), perhaps in order to emphasize the extent of the distinction between his Romantic conception of poetry and Classicist travesty. In a translation from Horace, lightly Ukrainianized, he describes rural life on a Ukrainian homestead (*xutir*):

*. . . jak blidnuju pokaže osin’ tvar,  
i spila ovošč požovtije,  
vin trusyt’ jabluka i sušyt’ na uzvar  
ta na zymu ozyme sijje;  
abo rozlišys’ spyt’ pid dubom na travi,  
pid bokom ričen’ka lepeče,  
v levadi pisen’ok spivajut’ kosari  
i soloveječko ščebeče.*

(“. . . when autumn reveals her pale face, and, ripening, colors the fruit, he shakes down the apples and dries them for a compote, and sows the winter wheat. Or else, he sleeps under an oak, stretched out on the grass while a little stream babbles nearby, and in the meadow reapers are singing and a little nightingale is warbling.”)

Borovykovs’kyj’s translations from Žukovskij and Mickiewicz are Romantic ballads. In “Marusja,” which was based on Žukovskij’s “Svetlana,” which in turn had been based on Bürger’s ballad “Lenore,” Borovykovs’kyj “Ukrainianized” a number of the ethnographic details. The thematic material, however, is genuinely Romantic—the flight at night with a dead lover, Romantic landscapes, and Romantic tableaux:

*Sily v sanky: koni mčat',  
 až iskrjat' nohamy,  
 položocky až šumljat',  
 snih letyt' kločkamy:  
 z zadu tak, jak dym kuryt',  
 Step kruhom synije,  
 misjac' iz-za xmar blyščyt',  
 til'ky—til'ky mrije . . .*

(“They settled down in the sleigh: the horses fly, their feet fairly flashing from the speed; the runners hiss, the snow whirls around in clumps. Just behind, there are curls of smoke and the steppe is turning blue all 'round. The moon glimmers from behind the clouds, only barely visible . . .”)

Moonlit landscapes appear in Borovykovs'kyj, both in “*Zymnij večir*” (“Winter Evening”) from Puškin, and in an original poem, “*Nič*” (“Night”). Typically Romantic images also are used in the ballad “*Farys*” (from Mickiewicz): one of them is the mad gallop of the Arab horseman across the desert:

*Mčy, litavče bilonohyj,  
 skaly i hraky—z dorohy! . . .*

*Jak čoven veselyj, vidčalyvšy v more  
 po synim krystali za vitrom letyt',  
 i veslamy vodu i pinyt' i ore . . .*

(“Fly, whitefooted meteor! Cliffs and rocks—out of the way! Like a happy boat, cast off into the sea, which races after the wind along the blue crystal waters, its rudder ploughing the waves into foam . . .”)

Attention to the rhythmic and musical aspects of the verses is characteristic of Borovykovs'kyj's translations.

Equally good, however, are Borovykovs'kyj's own original creations, chiefly ballads and *dumy*. The themes of the ballads include selling one's soul to the devil, murder, and poisoning. Borovykovs'kyj's treatment of these themes is often closely connected with folk songs which he sometimes simply adopted in composing his own verse:

*Na zaxodi rannje nebo  
 mov krovju zalyto,  
 pryšly visti do myloji,  
 ščo myloho vbyto.  
 Ne na vijni joho vbyto,  
 zatjahneno v žyto:  
 červonoju kytajkoju  
 ručen'ky prykryto . . .*

(“In the west the early sky seemed drenched with blood,  
 word came to the sweetheart that her lover was no more.  
 Not in battle was he killed and dragged into the rye: a  
 bit of red taffeta covering his dear hands. . . .”)

Borovykovs'kyj's *dumy* on various historical subjects are, for the most part, ballads. Here one encounters Cossacks, Palij, *hajdamaky* and, once again, night:

*Sadylosja sonce za synim Dniprom,  
 za sonečko, večir spuska vsja;  
 za vecorom—niččju, jak synim suknom,  
 i pole, i lis ukryvavsja.  
 Miž xmaramy misjac' tyxen'ko kotyvs',  
 i na nebi zvizdy zajmalys',  
 a pinjavi xvyli dniprovi dulys'  
 i bereh vysokyj lyzaly . . .*

(“Behind the blue Dnieper, the sun was setting behind the sun, evening was descending; and in the train of evening, the garment of night was enveloping field and forest. The moon rolled leisurely among the clouds; in the heavens, the stars were being lit while the foamy waves of the Dnieper began to swell, lapping the high shore. . . .”)

There are references to folk poetry and to gloomy Romantic solitary figures (here, in the Byronic mold!):

*Nesy mene, konju, zahraj pid sidlom,  
 za mnoju nixto ne žalije,  
 nixto ne zaplače, nixto z kozakom  
 tuhy po stepu ne rozsije.  
 Čužyj meni kraj svij, čužyj meni svit,*

*za mnoju simja ne zanyje—  
xiba til'ky pes mij, ostavšys' v vorit,  
holodnyj, jak ridnyj, zavyje.*

(“Carry me away, my steed, set the saddle afire with your speed. No one cares about me, no one will weep; for this Cossack no one will sow the steppe with grief. I am a stranger in my own country, and a stranger in the world; nor will any family pine for me—except perhaps my dog, left behind at the gate, hungry, who will howl, as if my kin.”)

Here are portraits of a *hajdamak* chieftain:

*Ponuryj otaman pid dubom sydyt'  
i usy na palec' motaje;  
ne xoče vin rady ni z kym rozdilyt',  
nixto joho dumky ne znaje . . .*

(“The morose *otaman* sits under an oak tree and winds his mustache 'round his finger; no counsel does he want with anyone, no one knows his thoughts. . . .”)

and of the demonic *Palij* (the final lines of the characterization being a variation of a motif from *Slovo o polku Igoreve*):

*De buv zamok—popelyšče,  
de buv horod—tam kladbyšče,  
vraž'e pole krovju močyt'  
i ob kamin' šablju točyt'*

*Xto v travi—vrivni z travoju?  
xto v vodi—vrivni z vodoju?  
xto u lisi—vrivni z lisom?  
niččju—perevertnem—bisom?*

*Palij!*

(“Where there was a castle—ashes remain, where there was a town—a cemetery lies; he drenches enemy fields with blood and sharpens his sabre on a stone. Who in the grass is as grass? Who in the water is as water? Who

in the forest is as the forest? And at night, becomes a werewolf? (Palij!)")

The style of Borovykovs'kyj's poems is entirely Romantic. The language is solemn even in humorous passages. Folk songs tend to be used, as well as diminutives, although only in moderation and only those which belong to the spoken language (e.g., *matusja*). Also found are epithets typical of folk poetry (bright eagle, gray geese, white swans, broad fields, black clouds, prickly thorn, high grave), and parallelism between two images, a common folk song device.

*Ponad hajem, ponad polem  
tuman naljahaje;  
v odnim šatri cyhanočka  
ohon' rozkladaje . . .*

("Over the meadow, over the field a fog descends; in a certain tent, a young Gypsy woman is kindling a fire. . . .")

"Incomplete" rhymes, another characteristic of Ukrainian folk songs, are sometimes used (*hory-holi, rada-sestra, step-serp, tuman-pidnjavs*); and sometimes there are direct quotations from these songs. All of these features, as well as the themes and images (see excerpts above) Borovykovs'kyj uses, define him as a Romantic poet. Other features are attributable to Borovykovs'kyj's own personal style and perhaps to the influence of Bohdan Zaleski. For example, his tendency (found in his fables too) toward short, aphoristic expression (see above, quotation from "Palij") which prevents his verses from becoming excessively diffuse and, at times, lends a proverb-like quality to individual lines:

*Bez xliba-syt, bez xaty-pan,  
hustyj tuman-joho župan.*

("He lacks food, but is full, he lacks a house, but is lord, the dense fog is his mantle."—Quoted from "*Volox*"—*The Wallachian*, a paraphrase from Puškin.)

Of course, there are also instances of muddled, complicated phrasing in his work.

It was with a purpose that Borovykovs'kyj was so attentive in gathering folk songs (some of which appeared in Metlyns'kyj's collection) together with "over 1,000" proverbs and sayings, recognizing them to be a "rich treasure-trove of ballads, legends and *dumy*"; for these were the true source of Romantic poetry.

Borovykovs'kyj used some of the material from his compilations in his Russian works as well.

3. The literary output of Amvrosij Metlyns'kyj (pseudonym, Mohyla, 1814-70) was considerably larger. Apart from the poetic pursuits of his early years (until 1850), Metlyns'kyj was also a professor of literature at Xarkiv University and Kiev, and the author of philosophical treatises on culture and literature in which he combined the ideas of Hegel with Romantic motifs. The task of art, he contended, was to create an ideal of beauty from its individual components scattered throughout the world. Since man stands midway between the material and spiritual worlds, and since "words" represent a union of both these worlds (their sounds expressing the material world, their thoughts, the spiritual), it is "words" which have an effect on the two sides of man's nature. And it is because poetry does engage, in this way, the whole of man's being that it produces such a powerful impression on the individual and on mankind in general. Metlyns'kyj, in according this great significance to literary creativity as a whole, naturally did not minimize his own poetic efforts: in them he expressed his deepest thoughts, desires and apprehensions.

Metlyns'kyj's poetry is characterized by a tone of gloomy melancholy. His favorite landscape is, like Borovykovs'kyj's, night--but night accompanied by storm, thunder, lightning and fire:

*Jak to v burju na nebovi halas povstane,  
v čornyx xmarax tak hrjakne, ščo strax,  
i za xvyleju vynyrne xvylja, ta j hrjane,  
j ozovet'sja v lisax, na horax . . .*

*V tuman ziron'ky poxovalys',  
i misjac' u xmary zaplyv;  
ričky doščovi snuvalysja,  
staryj Dnibr šumiv, homoniv . . .*

("When in a storm the heavens start crashing, from the black clouds there comes such a roar, it is terrifying! Wave upon wave, the thunder rolls in, reverberating in the forests and on the mountains. . . . The little stars were hidden in the fog and the moon floated into the clouds; rivulets of rain shimmered all 'round and ancient Dnieper rushed and roared. . . .")

or:

*Burja vyje, zavyvaje,  
i sosnovyj bor triščet'*

*v xmarax blyskavka palaje,  
 hrim za hromom hrjukotyť;  
 to, jak uhol', nič zčornije,  
 to, jak krov, začervonije.  
 Dnibr klekoče, stohne, plače,  
 hryvu syvuju trjase;  
 vin reve j na kamin' skače  
 kamin' rve, hryze, nese . . .  
 Hrim ščo hrymne, v bereh hrjane—  
 z puščy polumja prohljane.  
 Zapalalo i stemnilo,  
 zastohrnalo v nebesax;  
 došč lynuv . . . Zahomonilo  
 na horax, poljax, v lisax.  
 I z doščamy ta z hromamy  
 Dnibr reve miž berehamy—*

(“The tempest shrieks and howls, and the pine forest crackles, in the clouds lightning blazes, crash upon crash the thunder rages; the night blackens like coal, and now it flashes, blood-red. The Dnieper boils and groans and laments, shaking its gray mane it roars and surges up on the rocks, crumbling, gnawing and carrying stone away. . . . The thunder cracks, rumbling into the forest—and from a thicket there is a flash of fire. In the heavens a conflagration, then darkness. . . . And then a groan was heard; the rain came pouring down in torrents, resounding through forest, field and hill. And with all the cloudbursts and thunderpeals the Dnieper roars between its banks.”)

or:

*V čornyx xmarax, v čornyx xmarax  
 z nebom misjac' i zirky,  
 červonijut' v čornyx xmarax,  
 hrajut', hrajut' blyskavky.  
 Hrjak, i daleko zahurkotilo!  
 Viter sxvatyvsja, i zahulo!  
 V luzi, v dibrobi zahomonilo;  
 more povstalo i zarevlo!*

*Triskotnja v borax, bo sosny vitr i hrim striljaje;  
Halas! Hrim i viter zemlju j more b'je, karaje . . .*

("In the black clouds, the dark black clouds, the moon, the stars and the sky are all hidden, the black clouds glow red as flashes of lightning dart here and there. Thunder struck and rumbled off in the distance. The wind sprang up and suddenly died down! Through meadow and grove—a reverberation: the sea swelled up and began to roar! The pine forest crackles, its trees assaulted by the thunder and wind; crash! The land and the sea, too, are thrashed, chastized. . . .")

Alongside this violent, nocturnal landscape, there is another, the grave-covered steppe ("*na hrobovyšču v nič hlupu*"—"in a cemetery in the still of night"). For Metlyn'skyj, these *mohyly* (grave-mounds) with their corpses are the testimony of a past which seems to be gone forever: a *hetman* steps out of his grave and listens:

*Na storoži moje uxo,  
a vse tyxo, a vse hluxo . . .  
Čy kozak i kin' umer?  
Čy orel bez kryl, bez per?*

("My ears are on the alert, but all is quiet, all is still. . . .  
Can the Cossack and his horse be dead? Can the eagle  
have no wings or feathers?")

In other poems, fallen Cossacks hold disquisitions in their graves; but they, too, will be forgotten:

*De nedavno kozak homoniv . . .*

.....  
*tam po stepu tyxo  
tuman rozljahajet'sja,  
a misjac' z-za xmary  
pohljane y xovajet'sja . . .*

*Čuješ, jak i viter  
zasvystav, zahomoniv . . .  
Plače oplakuje  
kozakiv, svojix brativ:*

*Po stepax, po bajrakax,  
u piskax kistky poxovaje;  
pisnju pomynal'nuju,  
pisnju dovhuju spivaje . . .*

(“Where not long ago a Cossack spun his tales . . . . .  
now that steppe is silent, fog extends everywhere, and from  
behind the clouds the moon in hiding gazes out . . . . .  
Did you hear, even the wind whistled and sighed. It is la-  
menting, bewailing the Cossacks, its kin: it is burying their  
bones in the sands, in the steppes, in the valleys; it is sing-  
ing that endless song, their requiem. . . .”)

To Metlins'kyj it seems that only words and poetry are still alive in Ukraine. Accordingly, his next favorite image is that of the *bandurist*; however, he is the last *bandurist* (“*Ostannij bandurysta*”) simply expressing the hope that poetry will not die with him:

*Može i pisnja z vitrom xodytyme,  
dijde do sercja, serce palatyme;  
može j bandury šče xto učuje,  
j serce zanyje i zatoskuje . . .  
I banduru i mene  
kozačen'ko spomjane . . .*

(“Perhaps my song too will spread with the wind, touch  
someone's heart and will set it afire; perhaps someone will  
still hear the *bandura*, and his heart will ache and grieve.  
And both my *bandura* and I will be remembered by some  
young Cossack. . . .”)

Metlins'kyj addresses himself, either directly or through his heroes, to the reader, to nature, and to God. The extreme pathos in his appeals reflects his lack of certainty that anyone is listening:

*Xaj že hrim nas počuje, ščo v xmarax konaje . . .  
Xaj naš holos daleko po vitru nese . . .  
Xaj Dnibr starodavnij 'd nas pisnju počuje,  
poky vin nas v more ne vnese, ne vkyne,  
poky mova y holos v nas do tla ne zhyne . . .*

("Let the thunder hear us while chastizing the clouds. . . .  
Let the wind carry our voices far away. . . . Let the ancient  
Dnieper hear our song before he carries us off or throws us  
into the sea, and before our language and our voice perish  
altogether. . . .")

Metlyns'kyj sees himself as the last *bandurist* or the last Cossack ("*Kozak ta burja*"—"The Cossack and the Storm") whose voices resound throughout Ukraine for the last time, like the final flourish of national life. However, deeper and stronger than this voice is "the cry of the heart":

*Ni! kryk—to šče ne kryk, jakyj učuje uxo  
i do jakoho myr pryvyk.  
Otto strašnišyj kryk, jak tyxo, hluxo,  
zamovk jazyk, bo v serci kryk!*

("No! This cry is not a cry the ear can perceive, nor one known to the world. It is the most terrible cry, so quiet and still, the tongue is silent, for the heart is crying!")

Metlyns'kyj's poems, all equally pessimistic and gloomy, are themselves the embodiment of this "cry of the heart." His fervent desire is this:

*Hrim napusty na nas, Bože, spaly nas u požari,  
bo i v mene i v banduri vže hlas zamyraje.  
Vže ne hrymityme, vže ne horityme, jak v xmari  
pisnja v narodi, bo vže naša pisnja konaje. . . .*

("Unleash your thunder on us, God, let your fires consume us, for my voice and that of the *bandura* are now fading. No longer will our song, as if in the clouds, reverberate and glow in our people, for our song is now dying. . . .")

The figure of Metlyns'kyj as a poet is always highlighted by this hopeless tone of darkest despair. This same vein is also maintained in several poems which seem to have no symbolic significance; they simply present gloomy melancholy impressions. However, because no individual can truly live and create if he lacks all hope, there are some poems of Metlyns'kyj's in which he expresses the feelings of a Ukrainian and Russian patriot (a not infrequent combination at that time) and a Slavophile. Clearly, there was no contradiction for Metlyns'kyj

between his poems about his native language and customs on the one hand, and his historical and philosophical world view on the other.

The poetry of Metlyns'kyj is philosophical throughout—for the most part, historico-philosophical. Admittedly, it is that kind of philosophical poetry in which every thought appears only in concrete form, as an image. This accounts for the dearth of abstract words in his work which, however, is rich in the lexicon of the Romantic tradition (*kozak, hetman, mohyla, hajdamaka, bandurysta, bandura*).

The form which his poems assume is often fantastic or “free” with no definite plot and with frequent changes of rhythm. Only a few poems adhere to the Romantic genres of ballads—e.g., “*Pokoty pole*” (“The Feathergrass”) with the same plot as Kvitka’s poem “*Pidzemna cerkva*” (“The Underground Church”), seemingly based on Mickiewicz’s *Świtez*—and songs. Metlyns'kyj’s translations (from the Czech manuscript of *Dvůr Králové*, from works of the Czech, Čelakovský and the Germans L. Uhland, J. Kerner, A. Grün, and from Slavic folk songs) are, in some respects, closer to Ukrainian folk poetry than are his original poems. However, Metlyns'kyj’s language seems the farthest removed of all Ukrainian Romantics, from the folk language. Except for isolated diminutives (*xmarka, zirka, nič'en'ka*—the diminutives of cloud, star, night, etc.), there are very few folk song expressions (such as “*mohyla z vitrom hovoryla*”—“the grave-mound spoke with the wind,” “*voron krjače*”—“the raven is cawing”). While Metlyns'kyj’s vocabulary was not extensive, it was the first attempt to create a new language, a language for the educated person. The attempt failed; his words were forgotten, and now often seem quaint and awkward (even though his Russiansims and Slavonicisms are rare—e.g., *hlas*, etc. Nor is the contemporary reader impressed with Metlyns'kyj’s verse: the rhythm varies and is often incorrect; also, the rhymes are identical, mainly grammatical. Yet, while Metlyns'kyj’s poems would hardly be popular today, their historical importance cannot be denied.

4. Continuing in the same direction and with the same forms was the modest poetic legacy of the noted historian Mykola Kostomarov (pseudonym, Jeremija Halka, 1817-85). The sole difference was its tone, an optimistic faith in the future of the Ukrainian people. Kostomarov shared neither Metlyns'kyj’s gloomy prognostics nor his naive belief in “the white czar.” The images he used to describe contemporary life were, however, practically identical: the grave-mound in which “*maty ridnesen'ka*” (“our dear mother”) slept; and murky night:

*De Zadniprovsja kraj opustylj,  
de nema xat, bovsnyjuz' mohyly,*

*de nema halasu, vyjut' vovky,  
de bula Sič, žyly kozaky,  
xodyv ja niččju, misjac' červonyj  
sydiv u xmari i burju nahonyv . . .*

(“There in the deserted lands beyond the Dnieper, where there are no houses, only massive grave-mounds where no noise is heard except wolves howling, where the Sič once was and where Cossacks lived, I used to walk at night; the crimson moon sat in the clouds inciting a storm. . . .”)

But the singer is successful in calling the mother forth from the grave. Then, from out of the dark forest emerges “*jakas' molodycja*” (“some kind of young woman”), the poet’s muse who demands of him songs “*dlja vsjoho rodu, . . . dlja vsij rodyny*” (“for all his people . . . for all his family”). Kostomarov, like Metlyns’kyj, regarded song and poetry as perhaps the greatest force of the time that could regenerate the Ukrainian people. This rebirth was viewed by him within the wider framework of the regeneration of the entire world:

*Prokynut'sja vsi narody,  
zavit vičnyj pryjmut',  
vorohiv tysjačolitnix  
vorohy obijmut' . . .*

(“All nations will awake from slumber, and receive the immortal covenant, enemies will embrace enemies of millennia. . . .”)

The nations inferred are primarily the Slavic nations: Kostomarov responded to a much stronger degree than other Xarkovites to the ideology of Slavophilism.

Kostomarov seems to have had a fairly optimistic faith in the victory of the eternal forces of “*pravda j volja*” (“truth and liberty”) which, for him, were most clearly represented by Christianity. His poetry is suffused with the theme of “truth and liberty”: the poet rises up against “*rozvinčanyj pravdoju tyran*” (“the tyrant whom truth can overthrow”), against those who:

*. . . v haslo nevoli  
obertaje xrest vsečesnyj,  
haslo pravdy j voli . . .*

(“. . . would transform the all-holy cross, the signal of truth and freedom, into a signal of slavery. . .”)

and also against a culture which is alienated from the people. As a historian, Kostomarov saw clearly that times were changing. His poet, Mytusa, knows that after this period has passed (when “*hustijut’ xmary*”—“clouds have gathered”) then “*zнову rozkonyt’ sonce tuman vikovičnyj*”—(“once more, the sun will disperse the all-pervading fog”). Both the ancient princely era and the *hetman* period are celebrated by Kostomarov, the historian, in “Mytusa,” “*Lastivka*” (“The Swallow”) and “*Did pasičnyk*” (“The Old Beekeeper”), respectively. But, what is most important, he recognizes in this past the roots of a national tradition that has continued into the present. Into the mouth of a hero from the times of Volodymyr Monomax, he places these words:

*Blahoslovy, stara maty,  
na dobreje dilo,  
za svjatuju rus’ku zemlju  
oddat’ dušu j tilo . . .*

(“Give me your blessing, venerable mother, in this sacred mission: that I may give my soul and body for the holy land of Rus’. . .”)

However, the subject matter of this ballad is borrowed from a *duma* about Konovčenko; moreover, the work seems autobiographical in intent (as if addressed to his own mother!). For Kostomarov, the emphasis on the historical unity of Ukraine is associated with a consciousness of its territorial integrity:

*Od Sosny do Sjana vona prostjahnulasja,  
do xmary Karpats’koji vona dotorknulasja,  
Čornomors’koju vodoju umuvajet’sja,  
luhamy, jak kvitočkamy, kvitčajet’sja . . .*

(“She stretched from Sosna to Sjan, she touched the clouds of the Carpathians, she bathes in the waters of the Black Sea, and is bedecked with meadows, as if they were flowers. . .”)

Himself Kostomarov saw in the role of singer and prophet:

*Spivatymu, spivatymu, poky hlasu stane,  
xoč i sluxat’ ne zaxočut’, ja ne perestanu . . .*

("I will sing, I will sing as long as I have voice, even if they should not want to listen, I will not stop. . .")

A separate, although small group of Kostomarov's poems is composed of his philosophical poetry. Not only does he pay a debt to historiosophy, he also borrows from philosophic Romanticism. In the following typical example of philosophical "night poetry," Kostomarov develops the favorite Romantic idea (foreshadowing J. Kerner and Tjutčev) of the contrast between nature—everlasting, yet indifferent to man, and the world of man—mutable, yet self-important:

*Vyjdu niččju na mohylu,  
hroby bovvanijut',  
pohljažu ja v jasne nebo,  
tam zori zorijut'.*

*Rivnym ruxom, žyvym ruxom,  
vičnoju krasoju,  
bez upynu i bez liku  
plynut' nadi mnoju.*

*Plynut' zori v ladnim xori  
vičnymy šljaxamy,  
ne nam, ne nam, ditjam praxa  
ljubovat'sja vamy . . .*

*Nas nevolja naša dolja  
na svit porodyla,  
podražnyla svobodoju,  
ta j ne vdovol'nyla.*

*Dala rozum, piznavaty,  
ščo my durni zrodu,  
dala serce narikaty  
na vlasnu pryrodu.*

*Svitjat' zori, jak svityly,  
i budut' svityty,*

*a my, na nyx podyvšys',  
ljažem v zemlju tlity . . .*

("I climb the mound at night, the graves loom large, I glance up toward the bright sky, there the stars are shining. . . . With a steady, gliding motion and with infinite grace, freely and interminably, they sail over my head. The stars flow by in an orderly choir along countless routes; it is not for us to admire you, children of dust as we are. . . . Our fate bore us into a world of bondage; she teased us with freedom for a while, but then thwarted us. She gave us a mind to recognize our inherent ignorance; she gave us a heart to reproach our human condition. . . . The stars are shining, as they have in the past, and as they will in the future. But we, after we have done gazing at them, will lie down in the earth to decay. . . .")

Related to this historiosophic and natural-philosophic symbolism are poems of a lyrical, melancholy nature—"Tuha" ("Longing"), "Nadobranič" ("On Bidding Goodnight") which also render their due to certain Romantic subject matter. The remainder of Kostomarov's work consists of love lyrics in the style of folk poetry (e.g., parallelism between man's experiences and phenomena of nature), and translations (Byron, Mickiewicz, the Dvůr Králové manuscript).

The type of language used by Kostomarov is reminiscent of Metlins'kyj's. It, too, was an attempt to create a language of educated society, and it encountered the same difficulties as Metlins'kyj's. However, Kostomarov made more extensive use of the lexicon and phraseology of the folk song. He wrote paraphrases of folk tales, and in his love lyrics he imitated the language of folk songs. Apart from this, he wrote paraphrases of entire songs. These contained few quotations, but did adhere to the spirit of the song as this excerpt from the already-cited ballad "The Swallow." The following will illustrate this:

*Sidla konja, meč znimaje,  
ide za polkamy.  
Stara maty z žalju mlije,  
k zemli prypadaje,  
svoje dytja nepokirne  
speršu proklynaje,  
a napotim požalila,  
ta j molyt'sja Bohu,*

ščob dav Hospod' molodomu  
ščaslyvu dorohu . . .

.....  
Odmovljaje knjaz' staršy-  
"Česnaja vdovyce!  
Oženyvsja syn tvij mylyj:  
vzjav sobi divycju,  
narjadnuju j bahatuju,  
z mnohymy skarbamy,  
kosa jiji šovkovaja  
ubrana kvitkamy . . ."

("He saddles his horse, raises his sword and rides off to join the regiments. His aged mother, faint with worry, falls to the ground, at first cursing but then pitying her disobedient child; and finally she prays to God, beseeching him to grant the youth safe passage. . . . The prince in command announces: 'Esteemed widow! Your dear son is married. He took a rich maiden of great wealth, gorgeous raiment and silken hair adorned with flowers. . . .'")

However, even Kostomarov's imitations of folk songs were not without errors in language and cumbersome phraseology.

Kostomarov paid a great deal of attention to versification too. He introduced several innovations, including the use of "internal rhyme," the rhyming of individual words in the same line, as in a poem quoted above, "Zori" ("Stars"): "plynut' zori/ v ladnim xori; nas nevolja/ naša dolja." He instituted new meters, such as the successful "elegiac distych"; it is represented in a poem which, in extremely typical Romantic fashion, protests the overestimation of ancient Hellas (a tendency, revived with Classicism, which diverted the attention of contemporaries away from their own national life):

pamjat' posmertna tvoja zaslipljaje manoju nam oči, –  
my, na tebe hljadjučy, ne bačyly sami sebe.

("Your posthumous fame dazzled us with delusion; we contemplated you and were blind to ourselves.")

"Davnyna" ("Antiquity"), on the same theme, is another of these poems typified by foreign words (e.g., Sparta, *ilot* [helot]) and allusions to events outside the

poem. Such poems were introduced into Ukrainian literature by the Xarkiv Romantics with a view toward making it a more truly complete literature for a complete nation.

In addition, Kostomarov wrote several interesting Romantic folk-style ballads, often with fairy-tale plots.

5. Also characteristic of the attempt to create a "full-blown" literature were Kostomarov's dramatic efforts. During the brief period of his literary activity he completed the plays "*Sava Čalyj*" (1838) and "*Perejaslavs'ka nič*" ("*The Night at Perejaslav*," 1839) and began several other dramatic works, e.g., "*Kosyns'kyj*," "*Mazepa*," "*Ukrajins'ki sceny 1649*" ("*Ukrainian Scenes from 1649*"), and from Roman history "*Mučenyca Fevronija*" ("*Fevronija the Martyr*"). His Russian contributions included the drama "*Kremucij Kord*" and translations of Shakespeare (Kostomarov's principal mentor in dramatic poetry, although sometimes he looked to Schiller). The tragedies of Kostomarov are filled with dramatic tension and, in the Romantic tradition, end in the death of the heroes. Sava Čalyj (portrayed unhistorically as a 17th century figure) dreams of becoming *hetman*, but the elders choose his father, Petro. Sava decides to join the Polish side, but first he marries Kateryna, the fiancée of his friend, Hnat Holyj. The Poles demand of Sava that he agree to institute Church Union; meanwhile, Hnat is inciting the Cossacks against Sava. Thus, Sava finds himself alone between two opposing camps. The Cossacks finally kill Sava and Kateryna, and even Hnat, when they discover that his accusations against Sava were false. The tragedy "*The Night at Perejaslav*" combines tableaux of the national life of 1649 and of the uprising with scenes from the individual drama of the leader of the insurgents, Lysenko. His sister Maryna is in love with the Polish *starosta* (senior town official). Lysenko and the *starosta* fight a duel, wounding each other; thus, this drama, too, ends in the death of the two leading characters.

In Kostomarov's plays, the conflicts are not only external, but also internal, within the heroes' souls. Sava (like Shakespeare's Coriolanus) is the author of his own fate: he abandons his fatherland in the conviction that the Cossacks acted unjustly in failing to recognize his merit and to elect him as *hetman*. However, he remains conscious of his duty toward his own people and rejects the Polish proposal (Church Union) that would bring oppression to his homeland. Kostomarov complicates this internal conflict with others, both external and internal: Sava learns that Hnat has been courting Kateryna; also, his rival for the *hetmanstvo* is his own father, etc. Similarly, Maryna is beset by internal conflict: her soul is torn between love for her homeland and for one of its enemies. And, as a further complication of the conflict, Kostomarov makes Maryna the sister of the leader of the insurgents.

Kostomarov avoided, perhaps intentionally, almost all ethnographic detail. Nor was his presentation of historical background very successful (or, it may not even have been one of his concerns). But it is not really important that historical truth is undermined by the vagaries of the sources from which he drew (*Istorija Rusiv*, forged *dumy*). For Kostomarov's tragedies are "high tragedies" with abstract heroes. In fact, their speeches are, in the Shakespearean manner, often totally detached from all concrete action, as in this monolog of Lysenko:

. . . *ščo odna*  
*duša joho bezsyl'na, dyvljučysja*  
*na hirku dolju myloji rodyny,*  
*lita nad neju sokolom po xmarax*  
*i, bačučy brativs'ke lyxo, stohne,*  
*i darom poryvajet'sja, jak xvylja,*  
*ščo po Dnipru v nehodu poxodžaje,*  
*klekoče, rvet'sja, syvym pylom xlys'ka,*  
*xotila b nače bereh ves' zalyty . . .*

(" . . . that only his soul, powerless, beholds the bitter fate of his beloved family as it ranges over it like a falcon in the clouds. And seeing the fraternal strife, it groans. Then, unaccountably, it surges up, like a wave that buffets the Dnieper in foul weather. It roars and breaks up, throwing off a gray spray as if it wanted to deluge the entire bank. . . .")

The weakness of Kostomarov's dramas does not consist in this abstract quality, however. It is attributable, rather, to the fact that Kostomarov fails to endow the scenes of concrete action with the kind of impressive, dazzling locutions and inspired vocabulary that characterize the writing in all of Shakespeare's tragedies. Kostomarov's language is composed of many diverse elements: in crowd scenes, for example, he incorporates both high style (including Slavonicisms) and vulgarisms. However, Kostomarov cannot be charged with "Kotljarevščyna," for the type of abusive epithets and coarse expressions used by him may be found even in Shakespeare. Besides, their role and function in Kostomarov differs completely from Kotljarev'skyj. Perhaps the only similarity with the Kotljarev'skyj tradition lies in the presence of songs and a few sentimental dialogs. All of this could not excuse his dramas for being insufficiently scenic; nor, in particular, did it endear them to the later, and still ethnography-oriented, Ukrainian stage. No new tradition could be forged by these rather ponderous plays.

Later writings of Kostomarov comprise a "macaronic" tale with Ukrainian

dialog: “*Černihivka*” (“A Černihiv Maiden”), numerous historical works and an interesting analysis of “the two nations”—Russia and Ukraine—which contains, along with some simplistic views of the problem, certain penetrating thoughts. These later efforts, while quite relevant to the history of Ukrainian intellectual culture, do not belong to that narrowest of circles, the works of Ukrainian *belles-lettres*; they do retain, nevertheless, many traces of the Romantic world view. The most important of these works, *Knyhy bytija* (*The Books of Genesis*), written with the closest collaboration of Kostomarov, is, however, part of the history of Kievan Romanticism.

6. Among several lesser poets standing on the periphery of the Xarkiv circle, the name of I. Sreznevs’kyj must again be considered, now for his own poetic efforts—the fake *dumy* in *Zaporožian Antiquity*. Although these “forgeries” were not genuine folk creations, they are interesting revelations of the degree to which the Romantics of the time understood the style of folk poetry. While the factual side of these fakes was taken from *Istorija Rusiv*, their musical texts were sometimes based on actual folk *dumy*, and sometimes were created independently and with much more ideology than the originals. The devices of folk poetry were used extensively; indeed, it is partly because of these fake *dumy* that certain poetic formulae in later Ukrainian Romantic poetry were already “commonplaces”: “*v surmy zasurmyly*” (“they began sounding the *surmy*” [military trumpets]), “*u bubny vdarjajut*” (“they are beating the drums”), “*revnuly harmaty*” (“the cannons roared”), etc. Ševčenko himself made abundant use of this wealth of expressions and images. Of course, it is not clear whether Sreznevs’kyj masterminded the forgery himself or whether he was the accomplice of a friend.

O. Korsun (1818-91) began to write poetry in the Kotljarevs’kyj tradition. He also collected and made paraphrases of popular superstitions regarding them as mere anecdotes. Apart from his primitive Slavophilism, Korsun became interested in Romantic poetry. He wrote paraphrases of Russian and Czech poetry; and in 1845 he greeted Ševčenko with a poem in which he in fact requested of the poet merely “*holosinnja nad trunoju*” (“a lament over the coffin”) and “*pisni pro kolyšnje*” (“songs about bygone eras”).

Myxajlo Petrenko (born in 1817) was the author of several poems having motifs of Romantic longing for the remote, symbolized for him by the sky:

*Tonu tam dušēju, tonu tam očamy,  
hlyboko, hlyboko, pomiž ziron'kamy.  
Tonu tam hlyboko, jak kamin' toj v mori.  
Ni! tak hynu v nebi, jak v ljutomu hori:  
v joho temnu propast' ja kynuvsja zmalu . . .*

*Pokryte xmaramy, mov xvyljamy te more,  
ščo tam ty movyšč v vyščyni?*

.....  
*I mova sja, j velyka rič  
dlja mene temna tak, mov taja nič . . .*

(“There I sink my soul, there I sink my eyes, deeply, deeply among the little stars. There I sink deeply, like that stone in the sea. No! Then I am lost, as in a fierce tempest: since childhood have I hurled myself into its dark abyss. . . . Covered with clouds as is that sea with waves, why do you keep silent there in the heights? . . . And this language, and great matters, are for me as obscure as that night. . . .”)

He is despondent because he has no wings: “*Dyvljus’ ja na nebo ta j dumku hadaju, čomu ja ne sokil, čomu ne litaju*” (“I gaze at the sky and brood over the thought: why am I not a falcon, why can I not fly”). For he feels that the sky is “his refuge” as he hears the “heavenly music” of the stars. None of these typical themes of “night poetry” rises above the level of doleful lamentation however. The monotonous images and vocabulary (I grieve, I weep, I moan, sorrow, melancholy, tears, torment, grief) confirm Petrenko’s poems in the mold of sentimental romances. Nevertheless, Petrenko’s work is significant and unique in that he forsook folk song subject matter and attempted to relate the language and themes of his romances more closely to the spiritual life of the educated person. Unfortunately, although melancholy Romantic poetry was now able to pose questions of universal human concern against a background of sorrow and melancholy, and to philosophize, thereby escaping hopeless pessimism, Petrenko could not rise to the challenge. Only occasionally does a truly Romantic image appear in his work: a song is “*holos z toho svita*” (“a voice from that other world”), the melody of a song is frenzied, “*bezumna ta v nočnuju poru*” (“insane, especially by night”).

Considerably more interesting is the work of a relative of Borovykovs’kyj, Opanas Špyhoc’kyj (dates unknown), who published between 1830 and 1835. His poems that appeared in print include only excerpts from his translation of Puškin’s *Poltava*, a ballad and some translations of sonnets by Mickiewicz of which the following provides an illustration:

*Naplyv ja na rozlyv suxoho okeanu,  
nyrjaje v zilli viz i, mov mišč xvył’ čovnok,*

*plyve miž povnyx luk do kylymu kvitok;  
 mynaju ostrovy zeleni ja burjanu.  
 Smerkaje vže; nihde ni šljaxu, ni kurhanu;  
 šukaju šljaxyx na nebi ja zirok.  
 Hen' blys'! Čy xmara to? To ziron'ky svitok?  
 Ni! To synije Dnistr—to svitlo Akkermanu . . .*

(“Floating along, I came up against the inundation of a waterless ocean. My cart plunges into some plants and, like a boat among waves, it flows through the deluged meadows toward a carpet of flowers; green islands and weeds pass by me. Dusk is already approaching; not a pathway or a barrow is to be seen; I seek in the sky for stars to guide me. There’s a flash! Is it only a cloud? Or is it the small light of some little star? No! It is the blue Dniester—the light of Akkerman. . . .”)

It was during the 1840s that the works began to appear of Jakiv Ščoholiv (1824-98), probably the most distinguished poet of the Xarkiv circle. However, he resumed writing several decades later and it is to this other period of Ukrainian literature that the majority of his works belong. His earlier efforts, despite their formal masterliness, are in the Petrenko vein, not of meditations, but of the poems characterized by vagueness of mood.

## E. WESTERN UKRAINE

1. The emergence of a literature in the vernacular was even more significant in Galicia than in the territory of Russian Ukraine. For here in Western Ukraine the Romantic movement, through the works of Austrian Slavs, was greatly instrumental in the actual awakening of national sentiment (there being no question yet of revival!). An important part was also played by the publication of Maksymovyč’s collection of Ukrainian songs and of other such works.

The beginnings of the national awakening originated with a small group of seminarians in Lviv, despite the fact that they had little contact with the latest West European poetry (Schiller as well as the Romantics were strictly forbidden in the religious seminaries of the 1830s). The “Ruthenian Triad,” as this group was called, consisted of Markijan Šaškevyč (1811-43), Ivan Vahylevyč (1811-66) and Jakiv Holovac’kyj (1814-88). Their first collection of poetry using the vernacular did not reach print. But in 1835, Šaškevyč succeeded in publishing an

ode in *Holos Halyčan* (*Voice of the Galician People*) in Lviv, and in 1837 their famous collection *Rusalka Dnistrovaja* appeared.

For Šaškevyč, the awakening of Ukrainians was the final stage in the process of the general awakening of the Slavic people. He ascribed to literature a vital role in national life: "The literature of every nation is its very life. It is the way the nation thinks, it is the reflection of its soul. It should spring up and mature within the nation itself. Literature is the first requirement of every nation."

Ukrainian Romantic literature in Galicia was characterized by qualities of mellowness, tenderness and lyricism. This was due partly to the fact that the first representatives of national literature here were ecclesiastics, partly to Šaškevyč's own personal disposition, and partly to the peculiar nature of Austrian literary life in the Metternich era (and in the provinces!).

The fate of all the members of the "Ruthenian Triad" was unfortunate. Šaškevyč came to a premature death; Vahylevyč ended his days in the Polish camp; and Holovac'kyj, while he did make some valuable contributions in scholarship, eventually became a hardened Moscovophile. Other leaders took their place in the national development of Galicia.

2. Šaškevyč, because of his brief and difficult life, left only a small literary legacy. But what he did write, chiefly poetry, indicates that he possessed artistic talent. His poems are, for the most part, songs, broadly melancholic in mood, and delicate and tender in tone—perhaps too delicate for the content, which is quite gloomy at times. Folksong imitations and possibly the influence of Polish versification led Šaškevyč to reject (although not as radically as Ševčenko) the use of regularly alternating stresses, the essence of "tonic versification" (see below, pt. F, no. 5):

*Iz-za hory, iz-za lisa  
vitrec' povivaje;  
skažy, skažy, tyxyj vitre,  
jak sja myla maje?*

*Čy zdorova, čy vesela,  
lyčko rumjanen'ke?  
Čy sumuje, čy horjuje,  
čy lyčko blidnen'ke?*

*Bo ja tužu, bo ja plaču,  
sl'ozamy vmyvajus',  
veseloji hodynon'ky  
vže ne spodivajus' . . .*

*Jak by meni kryl'cja maty,  
sokolom zletity, –  
tjažku tuhu iz serden'ka  
pry mylij rozbyty! . . .*

(“From behind the hills, from behind the forest, the breeze comes wafting. Tell me, tell me, gentle breeze, how fares my beloved? Is she well, is she gay, is she rosy-cheeked? Does she sorrow, does she grieve, is her poor face pale? For I languish, for I weep, and drench my face with tears; no more do I hope for happy times. . . . If only I had wings to fly off like a falcon—to my beloved, there to dissipate my heart’s oppressive grief! . . .”)

As well as such melancholy songs, Šaškevyč wrote hymns with patriotic appeals:

*Rus'ka maty nas rodyła,  
rus'ka maty nas povyla,  
rus'ka maty nas ljubyla, –  
čomu ž mova jej ne myła?  
čom sja nev vstydaty majem?  
čom čužoju poljubljajem? . . . \**

(“Mother Ruthenia gave us birth, Mother Ruthenia took care of us, Mother Ruthenia gave us love, –why should her language not be dear to us, why must we be ashamed of it? Why do we love another? . . .”)

or:

*Razom, razom, xto syl maje –  
honit' z Rusy mraky t'mavi!  
Zavyst' naj nas ne spyrnjaje,  
razom k svitlu, druhy žvavi!*

(“All together now, those who are strong—chase out of Ruthenia the fogs of ignorance! Let jealousy not hinder us, together, toward the light, bold-hearted friends!”)

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\**Jej* = *jij*; *nev* = *neju*.

Šaškevyč can strike the same tender notes with patriotic material as he does in his songs:

*Až mylo zhadaty, jak to serce bjet'sja,  
koly z Ukrajinny rus'kaja pisen'ka  
tak mylo, solodko kolo sercya vjet'sja,  
jak kolo myloho divka rusjaven'ka . . .*

(“It is ever so pleasant to call to mind how the breast flutters when a Ruthenian ballad from Ukraine entwines itself around the heart as charmingly and sweetly as a fair-haired maiden around her sweetheart. . . .”)

While the works of Kvitka, Metlyn's'kyj and even Ševčenko did reach Šaškevyč toward the end of his brief life, it was impossible for his works to become popular with Eastern Ukrainians. For Galician poetry was based on the local language. In contrast to the Xarkovites who wrote in what was virtually the only language of a newly colonized (albeit large) territory, the Galicians wrote in the Western Ukrainian language, employing the various dialects of this region. Only in recent times with the development of the use of dialects in modern poetry has the work of Šaškevyč (and other representatives of Galician Romanticism) become understood in Eastern Ukraine. During his own time his poetry was denied popularity primarily because of its dialectal forms, such as “*zapustylas'*” (literally, she let herself go too far) for *zapustyla jesy*, etc.; “*z nedolev'*” for *z nedoleju* (due to misfortune), *nado mnov* (over me), *sja dolja dila* (good fortune has been lost), etc. There are also individual dialectal words like *cvitka* (flower), *zacvyla* (it began blossoming), “*harazd*” for *ščastja* (luck), “*sly*” for *koly* (when), “*rozpuskajes'*” for *rozkryvajet'sja* (it is unfolded), etc. In particular, there are words which in Eastern Ukraine have different meanings, different shades of meaning or slightly different forms: *syven'ki* . . . *oči* (quite gray eyes), *čuduješsja* (you are amazed), *zhirčyvajěš* (you are becoming bitter), etc. Perhaps the greatest havoc was played by the accents which, from the point of view of the Eastern Ukrainian language, seem most unusual: *xmaróju*, *bilesén'kym*, *dumáješ*, *búla*, *ridnája*, etc. The phraseology, too, must have been confusing to the Eastern Ukrainian, even though it often merely came from Galician Pidlisja: *tuha iz serden'ka* (sorrow from the heart), “*pry myliji*” for *kolo myloji* (near his sweetheart), *jasni hromy* (flashing lightnings). Some lines are practically unintelligible to the Eastern Ukrainian. Among the bewildering figures of speech are: “*Vkryvalam tja čornov mrakov*” (“I covered you with a black fog”), “*Učynylas' momu sercju z harazdom rozluku*” (“You bade my heart take leave of happi-

ness”), “*Xvylja jiji pociluje i napered strilyt’*” (“The wave kisses it, and in a flash is gone”). In a fully developed literature, poetry with a dialectal flavor can be charming; but for the still incomplete Ukrainian literature of the time it was a superfluous luxury.

The subject matter of Šaškevyč’s poetry is not very extensive. Apart from the national motifs (whose images include *bandurist*, *hetman*, *kozak* and *mohyla*), there are tender notes of sorrow and melancholy with characteristic diminutives: *hiren’ka hodyno* (o, grievous hour), *slizon’ky* (little tears), etc. Not unexpectedly, Šaškevyč’s poetry contains a considerable amount of symbolism which, however, is not very complex or profound, but rather typically Romantic. For example, the poet listens to the past:

. . . *po mohylax ljahav ja  
bucimto spočyty, a to pidsluxaty,  
jak to stara buval’ščyna bude rozmovljaty . . .*

(“I lay upon the grave-mounds, as if to rest, but really so as to overhear the ancient past talking. . .”)

or soars above the earth on an eagle:

*Pustyv orel bystre oko  
v vičnist’ nezmiryumu,  
sjahnuv duxom hen hlyboko  
v hlybin’ nezmyslymu . . .*

(“The eagle cast his keen eye toward boundless eternity, and his spirit reached far and deep into the incomprehensible abyss. . .”)

The typical words here are *nezmiryumu* (boundless) and *nezmyslymu* (incomprehensible). In another conventional image, life is symbolized by a flower that fades after blooming only briefly:

*Cvitka dribna  
molyła nen’ku,  
vesnu ranen’ku:  
“Nene ridnaja!  
Vvoly my volju,  
daj meni dolju*

ščob ja zacvyła,  
ves' luh skrasyła . . .”

.....  
“Donju holubko,  
žal' meni tebe,  
harnaja ljubko,  
bo vyxor svysne,  
moroz potysne,  
burja zahude;  
krasa zmarnije  
lyčko zčornije  
holovon'ku sklonyš,  
lyston'ky zronyš, –  
žal' sercju bude.”

(“A tiny flower implored of her mother, the early Spring: ‘Mother, my dear! Grant my wish, give me good fortune that I may bloom and adorn all the meadow. . . .’  
‘My darling daughter, I grieve for you, my pretty one, for whirlwinds will come whistling, frosts will descend, storms will rage. Your beauty will fade, your dear face will darken, your tiny head will droop and you will lose your little leaves. And it will break my heart.’”)

Included among the landscapes that figure in Šaškevyč's poetry is the Romantics' favorite, night:

Svit vže smerkom počorniv,  
sumnen'ko puhač zapiv,  
Ni tam ljudej, ni tam xaty!

Blud tu svyšče, tuman hraje,  
v husti lisy zavede . . .

.....  
Temna, tyxo i strašnen'ko,  
časom lyš voron zakrjače,  
zakrjače sumnen'ko.

(“The world now grew dark with twilight, the horned owl began his mournful screech. Not a soul nor a dwelling could be seen! One can go astray here, the fog hovers and will lead

you into the impenetrable forest. . . . It is dark, still and terrifying. Only the raven begins cawing from time to time, cawing dolefully. . . .”)

or:

*Sonce jasne pomerklo, svit pit'ma nasila,  
všyr i vzdovž dovkola sum sja rozljahaje,  
čaharamy hustymy t'ma vovkiv zavyla,  
nad tynom opustylim halok hamir hraje*

.....  
*Navyslo jasne nebo čornymy xmaramy,  
tjažkymy husti bory sklonylys' tuhamy,  
zojknuly dubrovy i lisy zastohnaly. . .*

(“The bright sun disappeared, darkness settled over the world; gloom extends all around, the length and breadth of the earth. Packs of wolves are howling through the dense bush; the caw of the jackdaws reverberates over the lonely paling. . . . The bright sky was covered by a mass of black clouds; the massive pines were bowed with heavy sorrows, the oak groves sighed and the forests began to groan. . . .”)

Šaškevyč's poetic efforts are also represented by a couple of ballads, a paraphrase of a popular anecdote, a few folksong imitations and one poor attempt at a *duma*—“*Obloha L'vova Xmel'nyc'kym*” (“The Siege of Lviv by Xmelnyč'kyj”). Translations from Polish (an excerpt from Goszczyński's *The Castle of Kaniv*), Serbian (songs) and Czech (manuscripts of Dvůr Králové) complete the sphere of Šaškevyč's Romantic-Slavophile interests.

Šaškevyč wrote little prose, but of a varied nature. Remarkably enough, it was more closely related to the norms of literary language of a later period. It embraces his essays, including the very interesting “*Starovyna*” (“Former Times”), a Romantic, publicistic look at antiquity in which Šaškevyč perceived “the countenance of centuries” and the “spirit of his forefathers.” It extends to the paraphrase of a folk tale, fables in prose (fourteen), children's religious ditties, and material for a *Čytanka* (reader). The following is his prose description of a nocturnal landscape: “*Sonce spočylo, smerklosja. Tyxa pit'ma nasila tyxi ta uzki zvory, viter bujnyj osinnyj metav xmaramy vid verxa do verxa i hnav spolovilym lyst'om z hir v temni rozdoly, to znov pid krutu stremenu, skrypljačy holymy hiljamy vidvičnoji dubyny, mov velyčajučysja svojeju ljutostiju, a ruhajučys' z jix*

*neduhy; zvir šelepotiv čaharamy za žyrom, časamy vovk holodom pertyj dyvnymy zavyv holosamy; peristi opoky, zakljati nad bezvistjamy stojaty, zdavalysja pry nastyhlij ničnij mraci prožyvaty ta svoji minjaty stanovyšča, proxdjačysja mov nični mary. . .*” (“The sun retired, it grew dark. A silent obscurity pervaded into the peaceful and narrow hollows; the tempestuous autumn wind tossed the clouds about from crest to crest and blew the faded leaves from the hills to the dark lowlands. Then, under a steep promontory it arose again, creaking through the naked branches of the oak wood, seeming to exult in its own fury while railing against their infirmity. In the bushes, a wild animal rustled, pursuing its prey. Now and then there could be heard the strange sounds of a relentless wolf, howling from hunger. With the encroaching night fog, the streaked chalk cliffs hanging over the abyss appeared to come to life and to shift their position like approaching nocturnal phantoms. . .”)

In addition, Šaškevyč left several examples of prose in the high style—in his sermons, translations from the Bible (John, Matthew) and “*Psalmj Ruslanovi*” (“The Psalms of Ruslan”). This is an excerpt from one of them: *Toj, ščo zveliv ničomu zrodyty svity, velyčnoje sonce i misjac’ i t’my zvizd, ščo veliv temnoti perekynutysja v svitlo, z ktoroho doloni sverknuly ohni i vdaryly vody, ktoroho nevydyme oko bačyt’ hadky duš našyx, kotoryj sprjah soboju beznačatok i bezkonec’, ktoroho serce vs’omu svitu serce, a volja harazd vsix vikiv i vsix storon ščastje, –toj z toboju, Boh z toboju.* (“He who out of nothing bade to give birth to the universe, the radiant sun and the moon and many stars, who bade the darkness to become light, from whose palm fires flashed and waters crashed, whose unseen eye perceives the thoughts of our minds, whose being is without beginning and without end, whose heart is the heart of all the world and whose will is the good fortune of all times and the happiness of all places, He is with you, God is with you.”)

3. Second only to Šaškevyč in Galician Romanticism was the talented poet Mykola Ustyjanovyč (1811-85). His rather belated literary activity—from the late 1840s to the early 1850s—was influenced, to some degree, by the literature of Eastern Ukraine. However, most of his poems share the same features as Šaškevyč’s work—dialectalisms: *vesnov* (in spring), *z tobov* (with you), “*plače syna*” for *plače za synom* (she weeps for her son), *perejmyla* (she caught), *sy* (himself, herself, itself), *ty* (yourself), etc.; peculiar accents, more frequent here than in Šaškevyč: *vyskazuváv*, *užás*, *oazáx*, *sylámy*, *naukú*, *krasavýci*, *tatarýn*, *porohaýny*, etc. Numerous diminutives: *tuhén’ka* (tender sorrow), *dušycja* (dear little soul), *hiren’ki* (exceedingly grievous), even *slavon’ka Avstriji* (quite the glory of Austria); and many Church Slavonicisms. In Ustyjanovyč, too, there are only a small number of ballads or poems of the

balladic type, and few song forms and motifs such as:

*Letiv orel z čužynon'ky  
ta j stav povidaty  
za kervavi dolynon'ky,  
za spaleni xaty;*

*ta za kosti bilen'kiji,  
vyprani dožďžamy,  
za mohyly vysokiji,  
sypani rukamy . . .*

*Plače divča, plače maty,  
z žalju ne vtyxaje,  
šče j svobody ne vydaty,  
j mylyj ne vertaje.*

(“An eagle came flying from a foreign land and stopped to tell about blood-soaked valleys, about homes reduced to ashes; and about poor white bones, washed by the rains, about high grave-mounds created by human hands. . . . The maiden weeps, the mother weeps, unreconciled with their grief; nor is freedom yet to be seen, nor does their dear one return.”)

Ustyjanovyč prefers more complex meters and strophic structures which perhaps accounts for the fair number of (partly successful) “high solemn” anthems of greeting, hymns, and congratulatory verses in his work. Motifs of Austrian patriotism are frequent: e.g., “*De Avstrija, tam naš raj*” (“Where you find Austria, there you find our paradise”). There are also poems with rather dolorous national motifs, such as “*Dumaty hluxo, litamy, vikamy, na nimij čornij mohyli*” (“Over the years and ages, thinking becomes obscured on the mute black grave-mound”) or “*snyty o ščasti i kozac'kij slavi*” (“to dream of good fortune and Cossack glory”), or further:

*I na krest vbytyj vražymy rukamy,  
ne znava toj narid svobidnišoj doli  
nad plač samotnyj bezsonnymy nočamy,  
nad svjatoj viry nadiju na hrobi . . .*

(“And nailed to a cross by enemy hands, that people knew

no freer fate than the lonely weeping of sleepless nights,  
than the hope of holy faith in the grave. . . .”)

Ustyjanovyč had a faculty for presenting his ideas in aphorisms; unfortunately these formulations often became lost in lengthy, colorless verses:

*Bo rus'ka dumka—sumnyj xrest na hrobi,  
a rus'ka mova—sorom na podobi,  
a rus'ke serce—tuha`stepovaja,  
a rus'ka dolja—syrota nimaja . . .*

(“For a Ruthenian song—is like the mournful cross on a grave; the Ruthenian language—is the image of ignominy; the Ruthenian heart—is the sorrow of the steppe; and the Ruthenian destiny—is to be a mute orphan. . . .”)

*Jedna maty jix plekala,  
jedna sud'ba byla,  
jedna ljubov jix vjazala,  
jedna smert' zlučyla . . .*

(“One mother brought them up, one fate buffeted them, one love bound them together, and one death united them forever. . . .”)

*Kto nese bil'su prysluhu dlja svita,  
dlja svojix bratyj, jak toj, ščo vikamy  
holodnym xliba podaje dosyta,  
kormyt' deržavy svojimy rukamy?*

(“Who is of greater service to the world and to his brother than he who, in all ages, gives the hungry all the bread they desire, and who feeds the state with his own hands?”)

Ustyjanovyč thus formulates his thoughts about the destiny of Ukraine, about the interrelationship of its individual, severed parts, and about the value of agricultural labor. The best poem of the aphoristic type is the religio-philosophical “*Sotvorytel*” (“The Creator”). Surprisingly, in his numerous didactic poems, these felicitous constructions are less common.

They do, however, embellish entire verses of his *songs*:

*Sumno, marno po dolyni,  
počornily bili kvity  
požovk lyst na derevyni,  
ptax poletiv v inši svity.*

*Od zapada syvi xmary  
cilu zemlju zalyvajut',  
čaharamy nični mary  
z vitramy sja rozmovljajut' . . .*

*Čoho tužys, kalynon'ko,  
holovon'ku naxyljajes?  
Čoho plačes, divčynon'ko  
sljozamy sja zalyvajješ?*

*Čy tja dolja pokynula?  
Čy ne maješ matusen'ky?  
Čy ty krasa zahynula?  
Čy hovorjat' vorižen'ky?*

*Ni mnja dolja pokynula,  
ni ne maju matusen'ky,  
ni my krasa zahynula  
ni hovorjat' vorižen'ky,*

*jno my tužno za vesnoju,  
ščo tak borzo perecvila.  
Kudy hljanu myslen'koju,  
nema toho, ščo m ljubyla*

("It seems sad and empty in the valley, the white flowers have turned dark, the leaves have yellowed on the trees, the birds have flown to other climes. From the west, gray clouds pour over the entire earth; like bushes, the night phantoms converse with the winds. . . . Why do you grieve, dear cranberry, why do you bow down your little head? Why are you lamenting, dear maiden and bursting into tears? Has good fortune forsaken you? Have you no mother? Have you lost your beauty? Do your enemies speak ill of you? No, good fortune has not left me; no, I have my mother still; no, my beauty has not faded; no,

enemies do not defame me. Rather, I am grieving for the spring, which passed so swiftly. No matter where I look, heavy hearted, I cannot see him whom I loved.”)

They are also found in a poem (an imitation of a Polish verse by Korzeniowski) that is a fine example of a verse whose many dialectalisms are, in fact, thematically motivated:

*Verxovyno, svitku ty naš!  
Hej, jak u tebe tut mylo! . . .*

.....  
*Z verxa na verx, a z boru v bir  
z lehkoju v serci dumkoju,  
v čeresi kris, v rukax topir,  
bujaje legin' toboju . . .*

*I koly b pyrs lid z xrehta vid  
i vedmid' šybnuv lisamy,  
zavijav juh, zahrav Beskyd,  
Čeremoš huknuv skalamy:*

*To my to čas, to my to pish',  
molodče, nu že v roztvory!  
Ovečci splav z kučerej plish'  
i dali, dali na hory!*

*Litom cilym, by nič, by den',  
xlopci huljajut' tam naši,  
svobidna tam voda, ohen',  
dovoli lisa i paši.*

*Tam pan ne klav lancihom mež,  
voroh ne stanuv stopoju, –  
bujnaja tam zemli odež,  
plekana pisnej rosoju . . .*

(“Highlands, you are our little world! Oh, how pleasant it is to live among you! . . . From hillcrest to hillcrest, and from pine forest to pine forest, lighthearted, gun in belt, hatchet in hand, a strapping youth ranges over you. . . . And when ice erupted from a column of water, when

suddenly a bear appeared in the woods, the south wind blew, the mountain echoed, and the Čeremoš roared at the rocks: This is our time, this is our song. Young man, off into the valleys! Wash off the must from the hair of your sheep, and away, away to the mountains! All summer long, by night and by day, our young men go awandering there. Water runs free there, as does the deer, and there is plenty of forest and pasture. There no landlord sets limits to the fields; nor is there any foe. There earth's luxuriant garment is nourished by the songs of the dew. . . .")

Ustyjanovyč wrote stories as well as poetry: two of his best-known tales represent the finest examples of Ukrainian prose between Kvitka and Kuliš. The themes of both stories deal with the country. "*Mest' verxovyncja*" ("The Revenge of a Highlander") concerns the enmity of two youths because of a girl. But, instead of killing his rival in the mountains, the hero of the tale saves him from a bear. "*Strasnyj četver*" ("Maundy Thursday") is the story of a girl who is carried off by *hajdamaks*. Ustyjanovyč succeeds in developing his simple plots in an interesting yet compact manner. For example, various kinds of narration are used: it may be authorial; it may be that of the characters who tell about the past, etc. Dialectalisms abound—as befits the highlands settings; and Slavonicisms are present in the author's narration: *rekut'* (say), *počtenniji* (the esteemed ones), *obstojaťel'stva* (circumstances), "*spuskaty tosklyvu holovku na voz-dyxajušču hrud*" ("to lay an anxious head on a sighing breast"), etc. His landscapes are admirably described: "*Nema nad Zeleni svjata . . . Vyjdeš na pole—raj! Zemlja prystrojena v cvity, krasujet'sja, mov v vinci viddanycja hoža, a lisy zelenijut', jakoby v svjatočnyx ryzax; polja, zasijani zolotym zernom, vypuskajut' peršyj kolos nadiji, a v sadax derevyna, obijana vonnym molokom, až tjahne v svij xolodočok.*" ("There is no finer feast-day than Whitsuntide. . . . You go out into the field—it is a paradise! The earth, adorned with flowers, is resplendent, like a garlanded bride; and the forests, verdant in green, seem attired in ceremonial raiment; the field sown with golden grain sprouting their first hopeful spikes, and in the orchards, a sapling, besprinkled with fragrant water, fairly strains toward his shelter of shade.") "*Sumno šumily bory, mov lyxym tovsjsja zapadovec' po tisnyx deprax ta dykyx jarovax. Do polonyn uxopyvsja hrubyj tuman, i sim i tam po verxax zaljah uže snih taborom na stale zymovannja. Nebo pryodilosja olovom, lisy počornily, navit' zelena jalycja potemnila, zatužyla. Z boriv koptily husti studeni dymy, jakby piv svita horilo . . . Den' promynuv, jak hodyna, temna nič jala pryľjahaty zemlju . . . Pusto učynylosja po verxax, hluxyj*

*homin, rozkolysanyj šumom boriv ta šepotamy tysjači potokiv, rozlyvsja po cilij pryrodi i lysě bejkannja na medvedja rozkryvalo z-pid polonyny tot smertel'nyj sum osinn'oji na verxovynax noči. . .*" ("The pine forests murmured mournfully, the west wind gaddled about, as if possessed, through overgrown gorges and foaming springs. As far up as the mountain pastureland a dense fog took hold, and here and there along the crests snow had already laid camp for the winter duration. The sky was clothed in lead, the forests filled with gloom, even the green fir tree darkened and grieved. From out of the pines came billows of thick cold smoke—as if half the world were on fire. . . . The day passed as if it had been but an hour, dark night began to press close to earth. . . . Across the barren summits, a hollow echo, set off by the rustle of the pines and the murmur of thousands of streams, poured out over all of nature; and only the noise of some creature bleating at a bear disclosed, under the surface of the pastureland, that deathly sadness of an autumn night in the highlands. . . .")

The dialogs are well contrived—with images assisting in the depiction of the characters' experiences: "*V mojj hrudy peresuvalysja zavjazky vsjakoho čuvstva, jak sja peresuvaje koralyk za koralykom po šovkovij nytci*" ("In my heart the embryos of feelings of every kind have passed through, just as on a silk thread, one coral pushes through another"); "*Na lyce joho osila na xvyl'ku neopysana mjakist' i tuha, mov večirnij sumrak na usmyrene more*" ("For a moment, an indescribable softness and sorrow settled on his face, like the evening twilight on a calm sea"). At times they are excessively Romantic: "*Boh . . . prostyv meni za toje peklo, ščo nošu v mojjm serci*" ("God . . . forgave me for this hell that I carry in my heart"), etc. "Maundy Thursday" takes the form of a story of inexorable fate (*sud'ba*) which is foretold in a dream; "The Revenge of a Highlander" is presented as a moral tale. From time to time, moral and religious observations are interjected which, unlike the Kvitka tradition, have more than a merely superficial relationship to their stories. However, Ustyjanovyč also wrote stories that are purely moral, didactic. In "*Staryj Jefrem*" ("Old Jefrem"), an old peasant from the Lviv area lectures the author over the course of 30 pages, only occasionally relating some adventure or tale to him. "*Dopust Božyj*" ("Divine Justice"), a very primitive piece (for the masses!) is a story about the evil consequences of cursing. "*Nič na Veržavi*" ("Night on Veržava") presents a wonderful picture of the mountains at night; and "*Tolkuščemu otverzet'sja*" ("To Him That Knocketh It Shall Be Opened") is a stylized narration (again, with its moral) of the childhood reminiscences of the Galician Metropolitan Jaxymovyč. All of these examples assure for Ustyjanovyč's prose a prominent place in Ukrainian literature although in order to read it a dictionary is required.

4. The legacy of the other Galician Romantic poets is small. Jakiv

Holovac'kyj wrote a few verses in the song genre with morals such as “*Xto pracjuje, ore, sije, toj i plodiv sja nadije*” (“He who toils, plows and sows can look forward to reaping the fruits of his labor”) or:

*Lučče plysty potyxon'kym  
ta pevnen'kym xodom,  
obmynaty ostrovon'ky,  
kaminnja j kolody.*

(“It is best to flow along at a calm and steady pace, to avoid islets, rocks and logs.”)

His other works included paraphrases of Serbian songs that are characterized by a great many dialectalisms, and also prose paraphrases of fables and folk anecdotes. To Ivan Vahylevyč can be attributed some unfinished balladic tales in verse (“*Madej*,” “*Žulyn ta Kalyna*”). The prose fables of both writers are all based on old Slavic models. So, too, are the verses and panegyrics of Anton Mohylnc'kyj (1811-73) and his unfinished lengthy poem “*Skyt Manjavs'kyf*” (“The Monastery of Manjava”), as are the poems of B. Didyc'kyj—“*Konjušyf*” (“The Equerry,” 1853), and “*Buj Tur Vsevolod*” (1860). Their dialectal flavor as well as their Slavonicisms combined to set these works apart from that line of linguistic development which Galician poetry later followed during the period of Realism. In a complete literature, these works would have found their place.

5. Transcarpathian Ukraine remained totally outside the literary development of the other parts of Ukraine. A small number of its writers had not yet even come to understand the importance of a national language. It is possible that notes of Romanticism can be found in some of the few eighteen poems of Vasyľ Dovhovyč (see Ch. X, pt. D, no. 6). As a scholar of Western culture (Kant, in particular), and living in a Hungarian milieu, Dovhovyč was able to learn about modern Romantic poetry earlier than could the Galicians. However, in his imitations of folk songs it is difficult to perceive anything more than the playful verses typical of Classicism. Oleksander Duxnovyč (1803-64) was more closely connected with Galician Romanticism: although he wrote in a “mixed” language, his verses reflect the national and psychological motifs of the Galician Romantics:

*Ja Rusyn byl, esm i budu,  
ja rodyłsja Rusynom,  
čestnyj moj rod ne zabudu  
ostanus'eho synom;*

*Rusyn byl moj otec, maty,  
 russkaja vsja rodyna,  
 Rusyny sestry j braty  
 j ťyroka družyna;  
 velykij moj rod j glavnyj,  
 miru est; sovremennij,  
 duxom j syloju slavnyj,  
 vsim narodam priemnyj . . .*

("A Ruthenian I have been, am now and shall be, a Ruthenian I was born; I shall not forget my honorable kin, I shall always be its son; Ruthenian was my father, mother, Ruthenian—all my family; Ruthenian are my sisters and brothers, and my merry friends. My family is large and important, contemporary with the world, renowned in spirit and strength, friendly to all people. . . .")

or:

*Hor'ko stenja, rydaju,  
 skorbľju na samotnost',  
 y sej čas proklynaju  
 ubihšu svobodnost' . . .*

("Shaking bitterly, I sob, and grieve over my loneliness, and then curse my transient freedom. . . .")

or:

*Poduvaj vitryku.  
 Poduvaj lehon'ko,  
 naj moja mylen'ka  
 spočyne tyxon'ko.  
 Dvyhnysja pečal'no  
 v hlubokij žalobi,  
 ne derzaj vijaty  
 na jej čornim hrobi . . .*

*Pry mylen'koj hrobi  
 jamu iskopite,  
 sosxnutoje tilo  
 pry nij pohrebite . . .*

. . . *Da každyj uvydja  
dernovyj toj pokrov,  
skažet požaluja:  
se tut ležyt' ljubov.*

(“Waft from time to time, little breeze, waft by, ever so gently, so my beloved may sleep peacefully. Stir only sorrowfully and in deep mourning; do not dare to blow on her black grave. . . . Next to the grave of my darling, dig a hole for me; my shrivelled body, bury next to her. . . . . And everyone who sees that turf-covered pall will say with pity: here lies love.”)

As may be seen in the final excerpt, the new orthography brings the verse's language closer to that of folk poetry. However, this was not always possible; for there are also verses by Duxnovyč of the type:

*Rožu ljubyx  
uveselyx  
Vzor moj eju nevyanno,  
vsehda cvila,  
veselyla  
vse očen'ko ljubymo . . .*

(“I loved the rose and it charmed my sight innocently: constantly it bloomed and spread cheer. My eye admired it. . . .”)

Collections of poetry such as *Pozdravlenie Rusynov* (*Ruthenian Well-Wishing*, 1852) and other verses as late as the 1860s contain a significant number of typically Romantic motifs: on nationality (one's native language—a vague notion to most authors) and melancholy (grief for the deceased). However, because of their linguistic peculiarities and their small artistic merit, these poems have no place in the general history of Ukrainian literature; they belong, rather, to the complex regional tradition.

6. Although its origins had preceded Kievan Romanticism, Romantic poetry in Western Ukraine was quick to embrace the poetic creativity of the greatest poet of Ukrainian Romanticism—Ševčenko. The different fates of Galician and Transcarpathian Romanticism illustrate the extent to which political conditions there influenced literary development. For, within a couple of

decades, the literature of Galicia rose to the level of Eastern Ukraine; Transcarpathia, on the other hand, vanished altogether from the history of Ukrainian literature for a very long time.

Certain features of Galician Romanticism merit consideration in the context of specifically Austrian literary currents ("Biedermeier") and as such can hardly be discussed as a particular aspect of Ukrainian literature (see Ch. XIII).

## F. KIEVAN ROMANTICISM

1. Toward the mid-1840s, Kiev became the second center of the Romantic movement as Ukrainian youth were drawn to its university (founded in 1834). Its first rector, the philosopher-Romantic Maksymovyč, succeeded in using his position to stimulate activity in the field of Ukrainian studies. Myxajlo Maksymovyč (1804-73) began his scholarly career in Moscow as a natural scientist and Romantic philosopher, a proponent of the Romantic philosophy of Schelling. In Kiev he revealed himself to be a tireless researcher of Ukrainian antiquity and, primarily, of ethnography in which he had been actively involved in Moscow. His collections of Ukrainian songs (1827, 1834, 1848), among the best to this day, had a great influence on Romantic literature. To be sure, he adhered to the "Russo-Ukrainian" view which permitted the Ukrainian language only in specific literary genres as well as in Western Ukraine (where the use of Russian was not practicable for it was unknown). Somewhat later he published his Ukrainian translation of "The Tale of the Host of Ihor" (1857) and the Psalms (1859), together with several poems, a few of which appeared only posthumously. For the most part Maksymovyč's poetic language alternates between the two poles, high style (with Church Slavonicisms), and folk. Modest in size and significance, the poetic legacy of this philosopher-Romantic remained somehow outside the mainstream of Romanticism.

It was also during this period of the thirties and forties that the Kievan Academy began to flourish once more. Having undergone reforms which saw the abolition of its old traditions, it now became caught up in the philosophical movement of the day (Hegel and, in part, the philosophy of Romanticism inspired by Schelling).

2. In the forties, Kiev brought together Kostomarov, who became a professor in its university, Kuliš, and Ševčenko, already a well-known poet and author of *Kobzar* ("The Minstrel," 1840). The group also included several students who left no distinguished mark on the history of Ukrainian literature, although there were some interesting and original figures among them, in particular, M. Hulak (1822-99) and V. Bilozers'kyj (1825-99). "The Kievan

youth," wrote Kuliš later, "were deeply enlightened by the Gospels; this youth was of high spiritual purity." V. Bilozers'kyj, for example, appeared to some as "the guiding star of Bethlehem"; he was "the image—with his angelic peace of soul and gentleness of speech—of a life of purity and truth in the very highest degree; of poetic enthusiasm; of completely practical, lively and ceaseless activity; and, above all, of an ardent love for Christ." The Christianity of the Kievans was blended with the philosophy of Romanticism. Their mentor in this was a professor of the Academy and formerly of the university, P. Avsenev (1810-53), a Russian who was particularly enraptured by Christian mysticism and Romantic ideology (Schelling, Novalis, G. H. Schubert and others). He met frequently with Bilozers'kyj, Hulak and O. Markovyč, lending them books and influencing them, primarily through private discussions. In addition to this philosophic Romanticism, the Kievan youth engaged in the reading of Romantic *belles lettres*, especially Ukrainian folk literature (the collections of Maksymovyč and Sreznivs'kyj) and Slavophile material. In the light of these sources, the problem of "the national spirit" inevitably took on a new perspective: the secrets of the human soul, those that "are engraved in the heart by the hand of God," became irrevocably associated with the spiritual unity of the entire nation. And, for the Ukrainians, as perhaps for Slavs generally, this spiritual unity was inseparable from Christianity. The destiny of the Ukrainian people was considered to be bound up with a religious reawakening. Accordingly, all sermons, "Christian and scholarly," delivered to Ukrainian landowners had to point toward a resolution of both political and sociological problems. Likely, there are echoes here of the Christian socialism of the earlier French "reactionary" (traditionalist) Lamennais and of Russian (some of the so-called "Slavophile") and Polish trends of this type.

Instead of the Romantic enthusiasm for the past displayed by the Xarkovites who scarcely considered the future and saw very little in it, for the Kievans it was precisely the *future* which became the fundamental motif of their world view: "The Christian religion gave the world a new moral spirit. . . . The Saviour revealed to man love, peace, freedom, equality for all and brotherhood among nations—these new goals were disclosed to all peoples in order to establish in them the great idea of the unity of mankind." The good of Ukraine can be served only "by fulfilling the testament of our Divine Saviour"; all men must strive for "the establishment of God's truth, for . . . the achievement of freedom, brotherly love and the common good" (Bilozers'kyj). "The Slavic peoples will awake . . . truth and equality shall prevail" (Kostomarov).

It was natural that an organization with this platform should then be created—the "Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius"—although the idea

itself probably belonged to Hulak. The society with its rituals, alphabet, icons and rings, did not flourish for long; early in 1847 its members were arrested. Nevertheless, the brief period of its existence was remarkably productive, both in literature and ideology.

Kievan Romanticism itself smouldered throughout the entire decade. Until 1850 it centered around a professor of literary theory, M. Kostyr, and from 1850 to 1854, around his successor, A. Metlyn's'kyj, who came to Kiev from Xarkiv. However, their disciples, including those who formed a group around Kostyr, did not in any way distinguish themselves in the field of Ukrainian literature.

3. The ideological program of the Cyrillo-Methodians was laid out in a work whose author was Kostomarov, *Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu* (*The Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People*). Like similar works in the West and in the Slavic world (Mickiewicz, the Slovak L. Štúr; the existence of an unknown work, *Naddnistrjanka—The Maid of Dniester*—of which “The Books” were an imitation, as Kostomarov assured the authorities, is highly questionable), the document is written in a biblical style. It begins with a tableau of the history of the world up to its salvation according to God's plan: “God created the world and decreed that every family and every tribe [should] seek God who is close to man, and that all people worship him and believe in him, and love him, and prosper.” But “history” saw the decline of God's law; nevertheless, “the Lord, the Heavenly Father of the human race, was merciful and sent his Son to earth so as to reveal to the people God, the King and Master. And God's Son came to earth so as to disclose truth to the people so that this truth would free the human race.” But even after the coming of Christ, decay has continued: “czars” and “popes” replace Christ's rule with their own; the French Revolution is a mistake for “without faith in Christ there can be no freedom.”

In the second half of the book the Slavs are depicted as heirs to “the kingdom of God”; but they, too, betrayed the trust, quarrelling among themselves and adopting everything from the West. A broader portrayal is given to the history of Ukraine and its subjugation. The upshot is that “the true Slav” (elsewhere, “the true Ukrainian”) “loves neither the czar nor any master, but loves and reveres God alone—Jesus Christ.” The work concludes with a Romantic picture of the “rebirth” or “resurrection” of Ukraine: “Ukraine lies in the grave,” “And Ukraine will rise from her grave and once more call unto all her brothers. . . .”

This work lays the foundations for the future not only in ideology but also in literature: it thus continued the tradition of the Xarkiv Romantics. The Ukrainian language of the document probably seemed bare even to the peasant

reader; however, it was handled in “high” biblical style, in opposition to the burlesque of Kvitka’s “Letters to My Dear Countrymen” (see above, Ch. X, pt. F, no. 5).

4. At this time there already existed works in the new Ukrainian language whose importance exceeded that of the Xarkiv Romantics. In fact, these poetic works also contributed greatly to the consolidation of the brethren’s views, if not to their actual formulation; and they promoted their belief in the future of Ukraine. These were the poems of the talented poet Taras Ševčenko. Kuliš later wrote: “The brothers looked upon Ševčenko as a kind of heavenly luminary, and their view was correct. . . .” Kostomarov noted, “Ševčenko’s muse tore away the veil from national life. It was terrifying and sweet, painful and enchanting to contemplate it! . . . Taras’ muse sundered subterranean crypts that for centuries had been fettered by a myriad of locks and seals.”

Ševčenko (1814-61) began to write poetry in St. Petersburg around 1837. In 1840 he published a collection of eight poems under the title of *Kobzar*, in 1841 his long poem *Hajdamaky*, and in 1844 the two works appeared together. Individual poems continued to be published after these St. Petersburg and Xarkiv collections. Over the next three years during which he visited Ukraine, Ševčenko worked on the manuscript of *Try Lita (Three Years)*. In 1847 he was preparing to release a new enlarged edition of the *Kobzar* when he was arrested; the first years of his exile and military servitude then followed till 1850. During the last part of his life (1857-61), after his return to society, Ševčenko resumed writing poetry. In 1860 he published another edition of the *Kobzar*, including in it those later verses which the censors allowed. All subsequent editions of the *Kobzar*, in particular the Prague edition of 1874, contained new poems. It was only with the editions of 1907, 1908 and 1910 that the complete text of all Ševčenko’s poetry was provided. However, work continues on his texts to this day.

5. The poetry of Ševčenko produced an enormous impression not only on the Cyrillo-Methodians but on all readers in general (not excluding the older generation). It was something entirely new, immense and distinguished—in form as well as in content. A poet could scarcely have caused such a sensation or found such general recognition had he lacked the extraordinary poetic properties of Ševčenko’s verse, had he been a second-rate poet.

The poetic qualities of Ševčenko’s work undoubtedly stem in part from its intimate relationship with folk poetry. For, Ševčenko did not simply paraphrase folk songs—he created songs which *are* folk songs in nature. He did not merely follow the ethnographer’s path and amass a wealth of folk poetics. Rather, the language of folk poetry seemed to be native to him.

Mention must be made first of the rhythm of his poems. It has been noted that Classicist writers had begun to imitate, to some degree, the rhythm of folk songs. Ševčenko developed this trend further. Examples may be found in his work of attempts to write in meters familiar to him from previous Ukrainian and Russian poetry. But gradually he cultivated meters typical of folk songs such as the *kolomyjka* (rhythmical dance tune), 8a, 8b, 8c, 6b:\*

<i>Plyvut' sobi spivajučy;</i>	- ' - ' - ' - -
<i>more viter čuje.</i>	' - ' - ' -
<i>Poperedu Hamalija</i>	- ' - - - - ' -
<i>bajdakom keruje . . .</i>	- - ' - ' -

(“Thus they sail, singing the while; the sea hears the wind arise. At their head, Hamalija directs his vessel on. . . .”)

and the *koljadka* (Christmas carol):

<i>Z Trubajlom Al'ta/ miž osokoju</i>	- ' - ' - / - - - ' -
<i>zišlys' z'jednalys',/ mov brat z</i>	- ' - ' - / - ' - ' -
<i>sestroju,</i>	
<i>i vse te, vse te/ raduje oči,</i>	- ' - ' - / ' - - ' -
<i>a serce plače,/ hljanut' ne xoče . . .</i>	- ' - ' - / ' - - ' -

(“In among the reed-grass, the Alta and the Trubajlo drifted apart and then came together again, like brother and sister, and always this gladdens the eyes, but the heart weeps and does not wish to look. . . .”)

Ševčenko rejected the tradition of regularly alternating stress (found in Kotljarevs'kyj, in imitation of Russian poetry). In his verses the alternation of stresses is considerably freer, in accordance with the laws of Ukrainian folk poetry: a rhythmic unit is composed not of one or two syllables, but of an entire

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\*This formula and later ones characterize the stanzas of poems: the figures indicate the number of syllables in a line, the letters designate the rhymes. Capital letters (A, B, C) represent so-called “masculine rhymes” (the accent falling on the last syllable), while lower case letters (a, b, c) denote “feminine rhymes” (the accent falling on the penultimate syllable). Letters followed by an apostrophe (a', b', c') refer to “dactylic rhymes” (the accent falling on the third to the last syllable in the line).

line.\* But the *kolomyjka* and *koljadka* rhythms are not the only ones to be found in Ševčenko's poems. Changes and variations of verse often occur within the same poem (e.g., the wealth of rhythms in "Hamalija"); there are also experiments employing an extraordinary variety of rhythms, such as the amazing lyrics he wrote "in the fortress" or those inscribed in his "bootleg notebooks" during his exile:

*Oj odna ja odna,* 6a. 7b. 6C. 7b.  
*jak bylynočka v poli,*  
*Ta ne dav meni Boh*  
*ani šťastja, ni doli . . .*

("Alone am I, indeed alone, as a poor little blade of grass in the field. Not to me did God give either happiness or good fortune.")

*Ponad polem ide* 6A. 6A. 8b. 8b. 5A.  
*ne pokosy klade,*  
*ne pokosy klade-hory!*  
*Stohne zemlja, stohne more,*  
*stohne ta hude!*

("Over the fields he goes, not mere strips does he mow, not mere strips of meadow mows he down, but mountains! The earth groans, the sea groans, groans and rages!")

*Oj, stričččka do stričččky—* 8a'. 8a'. 8b. 8b.  
*merežaju try ničen'ky,*  
*merežaju, vyšyvaju, —*  
*u nedilju pohuljaju . . .*

("Oh, ribbon and lace as well—do I embroider three long nights now, I embroider, I sew—but on Sunday I'll have some fun. . .")

*Jakby meni čerevyky,* 8a. 8a. 5B. 8c. 8c. 5B.  
*to pišla b ja na muzyky, —*

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\*The discovery of the folk character of Ševčenko's poetry can be attributed to S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj. Further contributions to this scholarship have been made by Kyryl Taranovs'kyj who, however, often seems to adapt Ševčenko's versification to his own theories.





*temnycjax – vdovyce, litys’ – dity, Trjasylo – vkrylos’, pid tynom – xatyny, sxoronyla–žurylas’, etc. Or, the two variations may be combined (one sound is different, and, in addition, one of the endings contains an extra sound): Ukrajino–hyněš, šukaje–pidrostajut’, nadiju–revily, ruky–vysokyj, nevoli–polem. Or, finally, there may be various differences between the two endings although a definite consonance is still detected: stohne–proxolone, plata–plakta’, kormylom–xvylyjax, smijučys’–skriz’, etc. And occasionally there are changes of accent: krāju–dajút’, očerét–večérjat’, etc. Such incomplete rhymes are not random occurrences in Ševčenko; his poetry fairly abounds with them.*

Nor does this “inexactitude” or “incompleteness” of rhyme weaken in any way the impression produced by the poetry. Rather, the incomplete rhymes enable Ševčenko to avoid the monotony of rhyme that arises from the frequent use of the same grammatical form as with Kotljarevs’kyj: *motornyj–provornyj, dav–nakyvav, trojanciv–lanciv*, and, sometimes, with Ševčenko himself: *huljaly–spivaly, znaje–škandybaje, mlila–nimila, torbyna–dytyna, niženjata–divčata, staroho–tovstoho*. For this reason, the rhymes introduced by Ševčenko are most unexpected, original and rich. It may be noted that Russian versification did not establish the same type of reform until the beginning of the twentieth century, some sixty years after Ševčenko. Interesting, too, is the fact that the first Russian writer to use these rhymes in the second half of the nineteenth century was A. Tolstoj who was familiar both with Ukrainian folk songs and Ukrainian poetry. Ševčenko, however, found still other ways of totally releasing the hidden euphonies that accompany incomplete rhyme. First of all, he made abundant use of “internal rhyme,” that is, rhyme between different words of the same line (actually, a common rhyme in Romantic ballads).\*

*Hamalija! serce mlije . . .*

*jest’ u mene dity, ta de jix podity . . .*

*usjudy, de ljudy . . .*

*toj muruje, toj rujnuje . . .*

*i carjata, i starčata . . .*

*miž jaramy, nad stavamy . . .*

*ne dvi noči kari oči . . .*

*xto spytaje, pryvitaje . . .*

*a tym časom syči vnoči . . .*

\*In Ukrainian Baroque poetry also, “internal rhymes” of a similar kind could be found in “leonine” verses.

*prolitajut', zabyrajut'*  
*vse dobro z soboju . . .*

*i svjataja tvoja slava*  
*jak pylyna lyne . . .*

*spy, Čyhryne, nexaj hynut'*  
*u voroha dity!*  
*Spy, het'mane, poky vstane*  
*pravda na sim sviti! . . .*

*babusen'ko holubon'ko,*  
*skažy, bo ty znaješ, –*  
*xoče daty mene maty*  
*za staroho zamiž . . .*

Ševčenko's "internal rhyme" is another feature that is not incidental or restricted to particular lines or poems. It is a device that is systematically employed to bring forth the euphony which is forfeited, to some degree, through incomplete rhyme. But there are also other devices used by Ševčenko to secure the maximum "sonority" of his verse.

Ševčenko's verse is by far the most tuneful, sonorous and harmonious of all Ukrainian writers before and after him. In fact, there are few Romantic poets in the world, whose poetry was oriented toward musicality to such a great extent, who have attained a similar internally euphonic language (Clemens Brentano).

Ševčenko achieved such rare sonority first, through simple repetition of the same or related words. In the spirit of folk songs he repeats words:

*Ukrajino, Ukrajino,*  
*nen'ko moja, nen'ko . . .*

("Ukraine, Ukraine, dear mother mine, dear mother. . .")

*Jim zostalas' dobra slava,*  
*mohyla zostalas' . . .*

("Their good name remained to them, the grave remained. . .")

*mynuv rik, mynuy druhyj . . .*

("one year passed, another passed. . .")

or various forms of the same word:

... *bo spočynu,*  
*jak bat'ko spočynuv* . . .

("... for I will take my rest as my father took his rest . . .")

*i vsi počyly. Syvyj v xatu*  
*i sam pišov opočyvaty* . . .

("and all rested. And in the house the old man himself went to take a rest. . . .")

or, he accumulates repetitions in one brief stanza:

*Mynajut' dni, mynajut' noči*  
*mynaje lito* . . . . .  
. . . . . *i ne znaju,*  
*čy ja žyvu, čy dožyvaju,*  
. . . . .  
*A daj žyty, sercem žyty*  
. . . . .  
*A šče hirše—spaty, spaty,*  
*i spaty na voli* . . .

("The days are passing, the nights are passing, the summer passes . . . and I know not whether I live, or fade. . . . .  
But let me live, and passionately. . . . . But it is far worse to sleep, to sleep, to sleep in liberty. . . .")

Suggestively, imperceptibly, entire poems are constructed from constant repetitions:

*Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty,*  
*xrušči nad vyšnjamy hudut',*  
*pluhatari z pluhamy jdut',*  
*spivajut' idučy divčata,*  
*a materi večerjat' ždut'.*  
*Simja večerja kolo xaty,*  
*večirnja ziron'ka vstaje,*  
*dočka večerjat' podaje* . . .

*Zatyxlo vse. . . Til'ky divčata  
ta solovejko ne zatyx.*

(“A cherry orchard stands beside the cottage; above the cherry tree, May bugs are humming. The plowmen head home with their plows, the girls sing as they walk along, and mothers wait supper for them. The family sups outside the cottage, the little evening star is rising, the daughter lends a hand with supper. . . . Everything has become hushed, only the girls and the nightingale are not yet still.”)

*Iz-za haju sonce sxodyt',  
za haj i zaxodyt';  
po dolyni uvečori  
kozak smutnyj xodyt'.*

*Xodyt' vin hodynu,  
xodyt' vin i druhu, –  
ne vyxodyt' čornobryva  
iz temnoho luhu,*

*ne vyxodyt' zradlyvaja . . .*

(“From behind the grove the sun rises, and behind it, it sets; in the valley during the evening, a sad Cossack walks. An hour he walks, and then another—the black-browed beauty does not come from the dark meadow, the treacherous one does not come forth. . . .”)

The numerous harmonies arising from such repetitions are enhanced by the euphonies existing among different words; the effect produced is extraordinary, for example:\*

<i>Moja poradon'ka svjataja</i>	mo-do
<i>moja ty dole molodaja</i>	mo-dol-molod

\*In order to illustrate this harmony (“euphony”—sometimes termed “instrumentation”) in Sevcenko’s poetry, the examples below present, along with their poetic sources, those syllables that are repeated in various words. It is impossible to indicate all the repetitions of sounds, since often the same vowels and consonants repeat themselves line after line. For the most part, only complete syllables or groups of sounds are illustrated here.

(“My sacred counsel, you my young fate . . .”)

Whole stanzas of Ševčenko’s poems are constructed on the bases of the sonorous repetitions present in entirely different, unrelated words, as in:

<i>bez myloho skriz’ mohyla</i>	myloh-mohyl
Čy to nedolja ta nevolja,	čy-to-ne-olja-ta-olja
čy to lita ti, letjačy . . .	čy-to-lit-ti-let

(“without my beloved, everywhere it is like a grave . . .  
Whether it be misfortune and bondage, whether it be  
that these years, flying by . . .”)

or:

<i>korovy pidut’ po dibrovi,</i>	rovy-pi-dut’-po-di-br-ovi
<i>divčata vyjdut’ vodu brat’ . . .</i>	di-at-dut’-du-br-at’

(“the cows walk through the grove, the girls go out to fetch  
water . . .”)

. . . <i>idut’ molyt’sja</i>	sja
čenci za Husa. Z-za hory	če-ci-za-sa-za-hory
červone sonce až horyt’ . . .	če-on-on-ce-hory

(“. . . the monks go to pray for Hus. From behind the hill,  
the red sun fairly blazes . . .”)

šČob ja postil’ vesela slala,	s-l-se-s-la-la
u more sliz ne posylala . . .	sl-sy-la-la

(“in order that I make my bed cheerfully and not drown it  
in the sea of tears . . .”)

<i>Selo! selo! veseli xaty,</i>	se-lo-se-lo-ve-seli-ty
<i>veseli zdaleka palaty . . .</i>	ve-seli-al-al-ty

(“Village! O village! Cheerful cottages, and, at a distance,  
cheerful mansions. . .”)

<i>Šyrokiji sela;</i>	se-la
<i>a u selax u veselyx</i>	se-la-ve-se-ly
<i>i ljude veseli . . .</i>	ve-se-li

(“Broad villages; and in the cheerful villages, the people are cheerful, too. . . .”)

<i>Po dibrovi viter vyje,</i>	po-ro-vi-vi-vy
<i>huljaje po polju</i>	lja-po-po-lju
<i>kraj dorohy hne topolju</i>	ra-do-ro-po-lju
<i>do samoho dolu . . .</i>	do-do-lu

(“Through the grove the wind howls, it runs riot over the field; it forces the poplar at the side of the road to bend right down to the ground. . . .”)

or:

<i>Čyhryne, Čyhryne!</i>	čyh-ry-ne-čyh-ry-ne
<i>vse na sviti hyne,</i>	vse-na-svi-hy-ne
<i>i svjataja tvoja slava,</i>	svja-s-va
<i>jak pylyna, lyne</i>	ly-na-ly-ne
<i>za vitramy xolodnymy . . .</i>	vi-my-ny-my

(“Čyhyryn, o Čyhyryn! Everything in the world perishes, even your sacred glory is borne away like dust by the cold winds. . . .”)

Ševčenko could, through the very sound of his verses, evoke a specific effect, somewhat like a musical melody. The following excerpts illustrate the somber “instrumentation” of poems having the sounds “r,” “u,” “or,” “ol”:

<i>Vitre bujnyj, vitre bujnyj!</i>	vit-re-buj-nyj-vit-re-buj-nyj
<i>ty z morem hovoryš, –</i>	ty-ore-ory
<i>zbudy joho, zahraj ty z nym,</i>	dy-ty-ny
<i>spytaj syne more . . .</i>	yt-ne-ore

(“Wild wind, o wild wind! You talk with the sea; awaken it, roar out with it; ask the blue sea. . . .”)

<i>U nedilju vranCI rano</i>	ra-n-ra-no
<i>pole krylosja tumanom;</i>	pol-los-tu-man-om

<i>u tumani na mohyli,</i>	tum-an-na-mo-li
<i>jak topolja, poxylylas'</i>	pol-po-ly-las'
<i>molodycja molodaja.</i>	mo-lod-mo-lod
<i>Ščos' do lona pryhortaje</i>	os'-do-lo-na
<i>ta z tumanom rozmovljaje:</i>	tu-ma-nom-mo
<i>"Oj, tumane, tumane!</i>	tu-ma-ne-tu-ma-ne
<i>Mij latanyj talane!</i>	la-ta-ny-ta-la-ne
<i>Čomu mene ne sxovaješ</i>	mu-me-ne-ne
<i>otut sered lanu?"</i>	tu-la-nu

("Early one Sunday morning, the field was covered in mist; in the mist upon a grave-mound, like a poplar, bent, was a young maiden. She presses something to her breast and speaks to the mist: 'O mist, mist! My miserable lot! Why will you not conceal me here in the middle of the meadow?' ")

A gloomy symphony resounds from the lines:

<i>Niby serce odpočyne,</i>	ni-ne
<i>z Bohom zahovoryt' . . .</i>	oho-aho-vory
<i>A tuman, nenače voroh,</i>	tum-an-ne-na-voro
<i>zakryvaje more</i>	za-ry-va-ore
<i>i xmaron'ku roževuju,</i>	aro-ro
<i>i t'mu za soboju</i>	t'um-za-oju
<i>rozstylaje tuman syvyj,</i>	ro-tum
<i>i t'moju nimoju</i>	t'moju-moju
<i>opovyje tobi dušu . . .</i>	

("As though at rest, the heart begins to talk with God. And the fog, enemy-like, covers the sea and a little rose-colored cloud; and the gray mist spreads darkness behind it and encases your soul with silent gloom. . . .")

These examples do not represent merely isolated instances, but are characteristic of Ševčenko's poetry in every period of his creativity. While this "instrumentation" assists the poet in some cases to evoke a certain mood in the reader, another technique is sometimes used by which the sounds themselves portray a particular scene, such as the rustle of the wind through the sedges in the reed-grass:

<i>Viter v haji ne huljaje,</i>	
<i>vnoči spočyvaie;</i>	ci-s-cy
<i>prokynet'ska, tyxesen'ko</i>	sja-xe-se
<i>v osoky pytaie:</i>	so
<i>"Xto se, xto se po cim boci</i>	xto-se-xto-se-ci-ci
<i>čese kosu? xto se?</i>	ce-se-su-xto-se
<i>Xto se, xto se po tim boci</i>	xto-se-xto-se-ci
<i>rve na sobi kosy?</i>	so-sy
<i>xto se, xto se?"—tyxesen'ko</i>	xto-se-xto-se-xe-se
<i>spytaje-povije . . .</i>	

("In the grove, the wind is subdued; at night, it is still; it awakes, and quietly asks the reed grass: 'Who is it, who is it who, over here, is combing her tresses? Who is it? Who is it, who is it who, over there, is tearing her hair? Who is it, who is it?' it asks, gently stirring. . . .")

or:

<i>..... šelestyt'</i>	še-le-st
<i>požovkle lystja; hasnut' oči</i>	zo-ly-st-snu-čy
<i>zasnuly dumy, serce spyt';</i>	snu-ly-se-e
<i>i vse zasnulo . . .</i>	se-za-snu-lo

(" . . the yellowed leaves are rustling; my eyes grow dim, my thoughts have fallen asleep, my heart slumbers; and everything has fallen asleep. . . .")

Occasionally in Ševčenko's poetry, it is the considerations of sound and the musical qualities of language rather than the idea behind a poem which govern its choices of words and syntax.

Ševčenko employed a great variety of musical devices in his many kinds of verses that range from typical "lyrical" "folk song" poems (e.g., the majority of his "songs," and a considerable number of his long poems), to declamative, rhetorical verses such as the impassioned passages in his long poems, his poems dedicated to poets Kotljarev'skyj, Gogol', etc., his paraphrases of Holy Writ, and his "epistle" "*Do mertvyx i žyvyx . . .*" ("To the Dead, to the Living . . ."), as well as different other types of verses. The musical construction also varies from one type of poem to another. It should be noted that even in his prose works in Russian, Ševčenko sometimes used these same devices in order to increase the resonance of the language: the repetition of words and of syllables (to be sure, principally in descriptive and lyrical passages).

Because of its very musicality and the peculiar influence it has on the reader, Ševčenko's language, for all its accumulation of identical sounds, does not produce any monotonous or artificial effect. Its tie with the language of folk songs is very close indeed, although it does not copy it slavishly but, rather, reshapes it creatively. This may be seen below in the examination of the distinguishing features of Ševčenko's language.

6. As has been noted, the similarity of Ševčenko's work to popular songs does not represent any sort of servile imitation. Ševčenko created freely, using the stylistic forms of the folk song. A few of the most characteristic traits of his language can now be observed.

Ševčenko liked "word-pairs," a typical feature of folk songs, especially the *dumy*: *sriblo-zloto* (silver-gold), *daleko-vysoko* (far off-lofty), *čajkoju-vdovyceju* (gull-widow), *ščastja-dolja* (fortune-fate), *mylyj-čornobryvyj* (black-browed-sweetheart), *jarom-dolom* (ravine-bottom), *tjažko-važko* (heavy-burdensome), *smutnyj-neveselyj* (sad-unhappy), *med-horilka* (mead-brandy), *panove-molodci* (gentlemen-youths), *žyv-zdorov* (alive-healthy), *vije-povivaje* (winnows-blows gently), *surmy-šabli* (bugles-sabres), *plakav-rydav* (wept-sobbed), etc. Besides these traditional expressions, there are also those perhaps created by the poet himself in order to convey his own images: *zahulo-skazalo* (roared-pronounced), *spivaty-rozmovljaty* (to sing-to converse), *žurba-mova* (sadness-speech), *sljozy-slova* (tears-words), *sljozy-riky* (tears-rivers), etc.

Using the example and sometimes, no doubt, only the spirit of folk songs, Ševčenko made constant use of fixed epithets for certain words: *šljax ta doroha* "byti" ("beaten" path and road), *konyk voronen'kyj* (a little horse, quite raven-maned), *viter bujnyj* (violent wind), *synje more* (dark blue sea), *červona kalyna* (red cranberry bush), *dribni sljozy* (fine little tears), *temnyj haj* (gloomy grove), *zelenyj bajrak* (verdant valley), *orly "syziji"* or "syzokryliji" ("grayish-blue" eagles, eagles "with gray-blue wings"), *bile lyčko* (white complexion), *čorni brovy* (black brows), *kari oči* (hazel eyes), *vysoki mohyly* (high grave-mounds), *step šyrokyj* (broad steppe), *čorni xmary* (black clouds), *zori červoni* (red stars). In the folk song manner, Ševčenko may employ epithets alone to designate the subject: *voronen'kyj* (quite black [little horse]), *bujnesen'kyj* (ever so boisterous [wind]), *čornobryvyj* (black-browed [youth]), *syzokrylyj* (gray-blue winged [eagle]), *synje* (dark blue [sea]), *bilolycyj* (white-faced [moon]), *ljute* (bitter [grief]), *kozače* (a Cossack's [heart]), etc.

Liberal use is made of the poetic devices of folk songs such as parallelism between natural phenomena and human events or feelings:

*Vstaje xmara z-za Lymanu,  
a druhaja z polja:  
zažurylas' Ukrajina—  
taka jiji dolja . . .*

*zakrjakaly čorni krukы,  
vyjmajučy oči;  
zaspivaly kozačen'ky  
pisnju tiji noči . . .*

(“From behind the Lyman, a cloud is rising, and another from the field: Ukraine is grieving; such is her fate. . . . The black ravens screamed as they plucked out the eyes; and the young Cossacks gave a song in that night. . . .”)

*Sumno, sumno sered neba  
sjaje bilolycyj.  
Ponad Dniprom kozak ide,  
može z večornyci.*

(“Sadly, sadly in the middle of the heavens, the pale-faced moon is shining. Along the Dnieper walks a Cossack, perhaps coming from a party. . . .”)

*Na horodi kolo brodu  
barvinok ne sxodyt';  
čomus' divčyna do brodu  
po vodu ne xodyt' . . .*

(“In the orchard near the ford, there is no periwinkle sprouting; for some reason the maiden to the ford by water does not come. . . .”)

Using another favorite device of folk poetics (antithesis), the poet opposes different events in order to make his narration clearer.

*To ne viter, to ne bujnyj . . .  
to ne lyxo, to ne tjažke . . .*

(“That is not the wind, not the wild wind . . . that is not misfortune, not great misfortune. . . .”)

Ščaslyva holubka: vysoko litaje,  
polyne do Boha—myloho pytaty.  
Koho ž syrotyna, koho zapytaje?

(“Lucky little dove: how high it soars, flying away to God to inquire of the dear one. Whom does a poor orphan have to turn to? . . .”)

Vže ne try dni, ne try noči,  
bjet'sja pan Trjasylo . . .

(“For more than three days now, for more than three nights, Pan Trjasylo has been fighting. . . .”)

Ne kytajkoju pokrylys'  
kozac'kiji oči . . .  
Orel vyjnjav kari oči  
na čužomu poli! . . .

(“It was not taffeta that covered the Cossack's eyes. . . .  
An eagle plucked out his hazel eyes in a strange land! . . .”)

Ne ščebeče solovejko  
v luzi nad vodoju,  
ne spivaje čornobryva,  
stoja pid verboju,  
ne spivaje—jak syrota,  
bilym svitom nudyt' . . .

(“No more does the nightingale warble in the meadow by the water, no more does the black-browed maiden sing as she stands under the willow. She does not sing—she is like an orphan, weary of life. . . .”)

Often, an expression is either taken directly from a folk song (or forged *duma*), “*revnuly harmaty*” (“the cannon roared”), or is created in the folk song style in imitation of some actual song phrase: “*Plyve čoven, vody poven*” (“The boat sails, full of water”); “*Z vitrom mohyla v stepu rozmovljaje*” (“The grave-mound on the steppe converses with the wind”); “*Mohyla z bujnym vitrom v stepu hovoryla*” (“On the steppe, the grave-mound was talking with the wild wind”); “*Ne kytajkoju pokrylys' kozac'kiji oči*” (“It was not taffeta that covered the

Cossack's eyes"); "*kozac'keje bile tilo, v kytajku povyte*" ("the white Cossack body, swathed in taffeta"); "*Syne more vyhravaje*" ("The dark blue sea is becoming playful"); "*Zasypljut' piskom oči*" ("They pulled the wool over their eyes"), etc.

Ševčenko was not restricted to this folk song material, however; he also used "elevated" language, particularly in the lyrics in which he bemoans his fate, in the political poems ("*Kavkaz*"—"The Caucasus," "To the Dead, to the Living"), and in the paraphrases of the Psalms. Sometimes Slavonicisms are employed: "*ne tvorjaj blahaja*" ("does not perform good deeds"), *vskuju* (till when), *vnušy* (instill). Even here, however, Ševčenko's language, on the whole, is pure, equally capable of expressing folk themes— "*Kateryna*" ("Katherine"), "*Najmyčka*" ("The Servant Girl")—and political thoughts and visions, depicting scenes from the ancient Cossack way of life, and rendering paraphrases for the moving words of the Holy Scriptures. The modern reader does not sense in Ševčenko's work any of the artificiality noticeable in the poetry of Kostomarov or Metlyns'kyj. In fact, several linguistic features characteristic of the older writers are hardly found at all in Ševčenko, e.g., short verbal forms such as *šubovst'*, *bux*, *hul'k*, which had abounded in classicist writings and which had become vulgarisms. Besides a few regional expressions, Ševčenko uses the device of "association" sometimes found in popular speech: "*jak toj popil*" ("like those ashes"), "*krovaviji tiji lita*" ("those bloody years"), "*xreščenoji tiji movy*" ("of that Christian language"), "*tijeju čajkoju*" ("with that gull"), etc. and in older literature. There are practically no examples of the vulgar, coarse language of Kotljarevs'kyj and others. To be sure, in rare instances such expressions may be found in Ševčenko: *utny* (as in "*zahraj: utny, bat'ku*"—"strike up: play your heart out, father"), "*kobzar vškvaryv*" ("the *kobzar* flailed away"), "*oddyrajut'*" ("they tore off [dancing]"), "*šmyhljaje*" ("disappears in a flash"), etc. Some of them, perhaps, had not yet acquired the print of vulgarity. And when they are used in other passages, it is clearly for a specific function—to caricature the upper classes: for, while Ševčenko uses respectful terms in talking about the Ukrainian people, vulgar expressions are employed for the czars, *hetmans*, provincial governors and for the high synod of Constance which ordered that Jan Hus be burned at the stake. Accordingly, Nicholas I is described thus: "*satrapa v mordu zatopyv*" ("smashed a governor in the mug"), "*ta v pyku joho jak zatopyt'*" ("and takes such a swipe at his snout"), "*toj menšoho v puzo*" ("he then punched his next-in-line in the belly"); the Constance synod: "*zvirem zarevily*" ("roared like beasts"), "*hurtom zarevily*" ("they roared altogether"); Bohdan (Xmel'nyc'kyj): "*v bahni svynjačim*" ("in a pig's filth"), etc. It is interesting that when Ševčenko had to render Russian speech in his verse, he

always used vulgar expressions—and for the same reason that they are found in his depictions of the “upper circles.” Consequently, the distribution of elevated and coarse language in Ševčenko is altogether different from, indeed opposite to, the practices of the Classicists.

7. However, not all the stylistic devices of Ševčenko are exclusively folk in origin. The use of the poetics of the folk songs was, after all, an established Romantic procedure. And Ševčenko did employ other devices of Romantic poetry as well; for it was obviously a poetic trend that he knew and loved. Perhaps he felt in Romanticism an affinity with folk poetry which, even without his conscious intention, would have become the basis of his poetic creativity.

This adoption of the forms of folk poetry, especially by Ševčenko, far from being in the Classicist “drawing-room” style, was entirely in line with the aspirations of Romanticism. Ševčenko’s marvelous imitations of folk songs from the time of his exile have already been discussed. In addition, the poet availed himself of the peculiarly Ukrainian form, the *duma*; imitating it in his long poem “*Slipyj*” (“The Blind Man,” or “*Nevol’nyk*”—“The Captive”). However, Ševčenko also took from Romanticism poetic forms widely known at the time as emblematic of the Romantic style: the ballad and the Romantic (or Byronic) long poem. Both forms run counter to the Classicist theory of genres. The ballad, a tale of some largely tragic event, generally has a fantastic or historical character, and unites, within itself, epic, lyric and dramatic elements (speeches). It thus destroys the strict division of genres that was a canon of Classicist poetics. In Ukrainian poetry, the ballads of Ševčenko did not, therefore, constitute anything particularly novel. At the beginning he wrote only longer ballads (“*Pryčylna*” [“Bewitched”], “*Topolja*” [“The Poplar”], “*Lileja*” [“The Lily”], “*Rusalka*” [“The Mermaid”], “*Čoho ty xodyš na mohylu*” [“Why do you take walks to the gravemound”]). Here, however, he was already proceeding from the traditional type of ballad narrative to ballads having an original structure in which the main character tells about her own fate (“The Lily,” “The Mermaid”). Besides these, Ševčenko composed wonderful short ballads that were clearly related to folk song: “*Xustyna*” (“The Kerchief”) or “*U nedilju ne huljala*” (“On Sundays, she did not gad about”), “*Xustka*” (“The Kerchief”), “*Xustyna*” (“A Kerchief”) or “*Čy to na te Boža volja?*” (“Was It the Will of God?”), “*Kolo haju v čystim poli*” (“Beside a Grove in an Open Field”), “*U tijeji Kateryny*” (“In the House of a Certain Katherine”). Even his historical poems such as “*Tarasova nič*” (“Night of Taras”) and “*Hamalija*” are in the ballad genre.

Ševčenko also wrote numerous Byronic poems. These are “free form” poems where there is not only a mingling of genres, but sometimes even the

introduction of prose into the poetry: "*Hajdamaky*," "*Sotnyk*" ("The Captain"), and where the author does not merely depict events, but also gives wide expression to his own feelings and thoughts. The long list of works in this favorite of Ševčenkian genres comprises: "*Katherine*," "*Hajdamaky*," "*Černycja Marjana*" ("Mariana, the Nun"), "*Sova*" ("The Owl"), "*Jeretyk*" ("The Heretic"), "*Nevol'nyk*" ("The Captive"), "*Najmyčka*" ("The Servant Girl"), "*Vid'ma*" ("The Witch"), "*Knjažna*" ("The Princess"), "*Moskaleva krynycja*" ("The Soldier's Well"), "*Varnak*" ("The Convict"), "*Tytarivna*" ("The Sexton's Daughter"), "*Maryna*" ("Maryna"), "*U Vyl'ni, horodi preslavnim*" ("In the Celebrated Town of Vil'no"), "*Sotnyk*" ("The Captain"), "*Petrus*" ("Little Peter"), including an 1857 reworking of "The Soldier's Well." Ševčenko's later poems "*Neofity*" ("The Neophytes") and "*Marija*" ("Mary") also contain typical features of the Byronic poem.

All the characteristics of the Byronic poem may be found in Ševčenko's works. The Byronic poem is constructed out of separate tableaux between which there is no direct connection or logical transition. In Ševčenko, all gradations of coherence exist, from the most logical development of action in "*Katherine*" (although basically there are separate scenes here too) to the complete disintegration of epic plot development. The poem begins *in medias res*, without any lengthy preparation: "*Ne sluxala Kateryna ni bat'ka ni nen'ky . . .*" ("Katherine did not listen to her father or her mother . . ."), "*U nedilju vraci rano . . .*" ("Early one Sunday morning . . ."), "*U Ohlavi . . .*" ("It happened in Ohlav . . ."); sometimes the exposition is preceded by a general introduction of a lyrical nature: "*Koxajtesja, čornobryvi . . .*" ("Fall in love, black-browed maidens . . ."). The narrative proper is continually interrupted by the author interjecting his own reflections: "*Otake to na sim sviti robljat' ljudjam ljudy . . .*" ("Such are the wrongs that people do to people on this earth . . .")—a forty line digression; "*Syrota sobaka maje svoju dolju . . .*" ("An orphaned puppy has its own particular fate . . .")—eleven lines; "*To ne viter, to ne bujnyj . . .*" ("It is not the wind, nor any hurricane . . .")—twenty four lines. Or the author may address his characters: "*Kateryno, serce moje . . .*" ("Katherine, my poor dear . . .")—eight lines; "*Ne plač, Kateryno . . .*" ("Weep not, Katherine . . .")—eleven lines; or the reader: "*Otake to lyxo, bačyte, divčata . . .*" ("See, young maidens, thus trouble comes . . .")—nine lines; "*Ne pytajte, čornobryvi . . .*" ("Do not ask, my black-browed beauties . . .")—seventeen lines; or himself, as he wonders what is happening to the characters: "*De ž Katrusju pryhornula? Čy v poli, čy v xati? . . .*" ("Where has it [the night] sheltered Katie in a field, or in a cottage . . .")—six lines, "*De ž Katrusja bludyt' . . .*" ("And where is Katie wandering now . . ."), ". . . Ščo ž to bulo z prevosxodytel'noju? Ščo ty teper

*robýtymeš z soboju? . . .*) (“What happened with her excellency? What will you do with yourself now? . . .”). The author may interject narrative digressions of a still different type: “. . . *A tym časom kete lyš kresalo ta tjutjunu, ščob, znajete, doma ne žurylys’ . . .*” (“Meanwhile, only give me enough flint and tobacco so they won’t worry at home . . .”). Other interruptions are created by characters’ speeches which, occasionally, have but secondary significance in the unfolding of the action (“The Captain,” “The Witch,” “*Hajdamaky*,” “The Soldier’s Well”). At the same time, while scenes of a general nature are given broad depiction, the principal events in the plot development are only briefly mentioned: “*De ž ty, Jaremo? De ty? Podyvysja! A vin, mandrujučy, spiva*” (“Where can you be, Jarema? Where are you? Look at this! But he is on his travels, singing all the while”), “*Jarema z Lejboju prokralys’ až v budynok . . .*” (“Jarema and Lejba slipped right into the building . . .”), etc. Besides the general devices used by the Romantic Byronic poem in the disintegration of the epic form, Ševčenko employs his own, including numerous incidental songs (“*Hajdamaky*,” “Mariana, the Nun,” “Maryna,” “The Captain”). The difference between this free form and that of Classicist tradition is obvious when one compares the depiction of events in Ševčenko with the smoothly flowing exposition of the course of action even in Kotljarev’s *kyj’s Enejida*, a travesty! For his conclusions, Ševčenko either presents an extensive lyrical vignette or simply breaks off the action as abruptly as he started it: “*A maty vže spala!*” (“And the mother was already asleep!”), “*Dva trupy na poli najšly i na mohyli poxovaly*” (“They found two corpses in the field and buried them on the grave-mound”), “*I povolik Petrus’ kajdany až u Sybir . . .*” (“And young Peter dragged his chains all the way to Siberia . . .”), “*Sumujučy, u burjani umerla z holodu. Amin’*” (“Grieving, she died of hunger in the tall grass. Amen”).

The style of Ševčenko’s Byronic poems is typical of his poetry as a whole. The omissions and digressions in the depiction of events are equally characteristic of his ballads and other poems, evoking the impression of a certain “poetic vagueness.” Incidents which the Classicists or the later Realists would have related in great detail (the wanderings of Katherine, the participation of Jarema-Halajda in all the events of the uprising, the adventures of the Cossacks in foreign lands, the experiences of individual characters) are rendered only through allusions. The Romantic poem thus forfeits breadth of portrayal. Indeed, Ševčenko’s poems, inasmuch as they are Byronic poems, may be only miniatures in size (“*Hajdamaky*” is the sole exception, approaching the proportions of an un-Romantic epic). At the same time, however, the Romantic poem, and Romantic poetry in general, greatly elevates other facets that contribute rather to the “depth” of the content. For, Romanticism held that everything

had a dual significance, and that all events (but mainly historical events, the life of nature, and of a nation) had a *symbolic* meaning. Ševčenko himself openly declared his attitude toward symbolism when he wrote “*Velykyj l'ox*” (“The Great Vault”), which he called a “mystery.” Purposely somewhat vague, the symbolism of the mystery here is a metaphoric explanation of the entire past and present of Ukraine. (But this same symbolic meaning is also present in other passages in Ševčenko in which the symbolism, unfortunately, is not obvious to the non-Romantic reader.) Even the censors of the time understood, however, that in “Katherine” was a symbolic representation of the fate of Ukraine: accordingly, they expunged this symbolic portrayal at the beginning of the fourth canto:

*Popid horoju jarom dolom,  
mov ti didy vysokočoli,  
duby z Het'manščyny stojat';  
v jaru hrebel'ka, verby v rjad,  
stavok pid kryhoju v nevoli . . .*

(“At the base of the mountain, in the low valley, like some high-foreheaded grandfathers, there stand oaks from the *Hetman* era. By a small dam, willows grow in rows, while the pond is kept in captivity under the ice. . . .”)

Also symbolic is the “*orel čornyj*” (“black eagle” that is Russia) in the introduction to the *Kobzar*. The extraordinary number of symbolic motifs in the poetry of Ševčenko cannot all be investigated here. However, the image of the seduced girl and mother (*maty-pokrytka*) to which Ševčenko returns repeatedly is worthy of note. Whether the image derived from personal experience, or whether it came to him second hand, is immaterial. What is clear is that the image symbolizes the fate of Ukraine, seduced and deceived by the Russian soldier who abandons his son; the son represents Ševčenko's generation which must avenge its mother. Later, this symbolism became altered (see below, pt. G, no. 2). Another of Ševčenko's symbolic themes is that of the *kobzar*, the *bandurist*—known earlier in the Polish Ukrainian school and among the Xarkiv Romantics in the symbol of the poet. Other symbols for the poet were the nightingale and the eagle (from “The Tale of the Host of Ihor”).

8. Thematically, Ševčenko's poetry is altogether Romantic, and it is perhaps most Romantic for the fact that it is totally national and totally Ukrainian. The steppe and the sea: primarily a steppe in which the wind is blowing, and a turbulent, agitated sea; grave-mounds in which the Ukrainian past

is buried; a stormy night—“*Reve ta stohne Dnibr šyrokyj*” (“Broad Dnieper roars and groans”)—is completely in the tradition of Ukrainian Romanticism (see examples above, pt. E, nos. 3 and 4), and conflagration. Ševčenko’s landscape is, for the most part, volatile and “dynamic”; once more the wind is a Romantic image. As well as these landscape themes, there are the human figures: first, the *bandurist*, a favorite theme of the Ukrainian Romantics, is developed by Ševčenko into a philosophy of poetry enunciated in his verses dedicated to the poets Kotljarevs’kyj, Hrebinka, Gogol’. Then there is the theme of the Cossack as a fighter for freedom; the peasant—in whom resides the potential to be this Cossack; the young maiden; the mother who grieves over the fate of her children; the oppressor of the people (often, a foreigner). All of these themes, whether taken from folk poetry or from personal experience, acquire a symbolic character in Ševčenko’s work: they are images of Ukraine. Again, this symbolic ambiguity is typically Romantic.

Of course, Ševčenko uses general romantic themes as well: the fantastic (mermaids, a woman who turns into a plant; see, for instance, Czech ballads of K. Erben), madness (“The Witch,” “The Owl”), etc. Indeed, it is the exclusively Romantic thematic material of “Romantic terror” that dominates the poems of Ševčenko; the fate of his heroes is always death or destruction:\* suicide (“Katherine”), madness (“The Witch,” “The Owl,” “Maryna”), brigandage (“The Convict”), Siberian exile (“The Convict,” “Little Peter”), infanticide (“The Sexton’s Daughter”), the poisoning of a husband (“Little Peter”), the rape of a daughter (“The Princess”), loneliness (“The Captain,” “The Soldier’s Well”), torture, fire, the murder of one’s children, capital punishment (“*Hajdamaky*,”—“The Heretic”), etc. Only “The Servant Girl” and “The Captive” have relatively happy endings. It is perhaps this tendency towards “Romantic terror” that constitutes the greatest historical limitation of Ševčenko’s poetry. This weakness is most perceived in lines such as:

*do sl’oz, do krovy, do požaru—  
do vs’oho, vs’oho ja pryvyk.  
Bulo, mov žabu tu, na spysi  
spečeš dytynu na ohni . . .*

(“to tears, to blood, to fire—to all, all have I become accustomed. You will roast the child on the fire as if it were that frog on a spear. . . .”)

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\*In this respect, Ševčenko may be compared with Janko Kral’, a Slovak Romantic akin to the Ukrainian poet.

or:

*Maryna hola na-holo  
pered budynkom tancjuvala  
u pari z matirju, i-strax!–  
z nožem okrovljenym v rukax  
i pryspivuvala:  
“Čy ne ce ž ta kumasja,  
ščo pidtykalasja? . . .”*

(“Maryna, stark naked, danced in front of the building with her mother, and horror! bore a bloody knife in her hands, and sang as she danced: ‘Is this not my crony dear who is all dressed up? . . .’”)

It was not merely impressive images of the past that Ševčenko took from Ukrainian historical songs and literature. For several ideas (with which, indeed, he is now identified) may be found in his work. In imitating the name of the popular historical song, *duma*, Ševčenko, perhaps not gratuitously, began from the very outset to speak of his own works as *dumy*, or *dumky*: and beyond their images, there are, in fact, many thoughts and ideas in them. They comprise, for example, the extremely masterful “poetic formulae” which, next to the musicality of his work, are among the main characteristics of Ševčenko’s poetry. These “formulae” are verse aphorisms containing a thought that is often sharply formulated and reinforced by consonance, rhyme or other euphonic devices:

<i>bo vas lyxo na svit na smix</i>	s-ly-x-na-s-na-s-x-
<i>porodylo . . .</i>	yl

(“for ill-fate in mockery gave you life . . .”)

<i>Boritesja–poborete:</i>	bo-te-bo-te
<i>vam Boh pomahaje;</i>	va-b-po
<i>za vas syla, za vas volja</i>	za-va-la-za-va-lja
<i>i pravda svjataja.</i>	av-v-vja-aja

(“Struggle—and you will vanquish: for God is your succor. On your side is strength, on your side is freedom, and holy truth.”)

Even without any “instrumentation,” these formulae are clear and expressive—the finest examples of Ukrainian aphoristic language to this day:

*Od moldavanyna do fina  
na vsix jazykax vse movčyt' . . .  
Bo "blahodenstvuje" . . .*

("From the Moldavian to the Finn, all tongues are silent . . .  
for all are quite content. . . .")

*Ljudy hnut'sja, jak ti lozy,  
kudy viter vije,  
syrotyni sonce svityt',  
svityt' ta ne hrije . . .*

("Whether the wind blows, people will bend, like willows;  
the sun may shine on an orphan, too, but it will only shine;  
it does not warm. . . .")

*V svoji xati—svoja pravda,  
i syla i volja!*

("In your own house—there prevails your own truth, and  
strength and freedom!")

*Ot de, ljudy, naša slava,  
slava Ukrajiny!*

*Bez zolota, bez kamenju,  
bez xytroji movy,  
a holosna ta pravdyva,  
jak Hospoda slovo!*

("Here is where, good people, lies our glory, the glory of  
Ukraine! Without gold, nor stone, nor cunning speech, it  
is renowned and true like the Word of God!")

There is hardly a verse that does not contain such poetic formulae.

The substance of these poetic formulae is clearly centered around a few basic ideas or concepts: *Slovo* (Word), *Pravda* (Truth), *Slava* (Glory). These are the three fundamental concepts pervading all of Ševčenko's poetical thought. "Glory" signified for Ševčenko the whole national culture, all the past traditions which are inherent in a nation and which are its strength for the future: "*Vše hyne—slava ne poljaže*" ("Everything will perish—but glory shall never die").

Ševčenko believed:

*I zabudet'sja sramotnja davnjaja hodyna,  
i ožyve dobra slava, slava Ukrajiny!  
I svit jasnyj, nevečernij, tyxo zasijaje!*

(“And the shame of bygone times will be forgotten, and true glory will revive, the glory of Ukraine! And a clear light, not a twilight, will shine forth tranquilly!”)

Other Ukrainian Romantics had also dreamt of this “glory” which could still be revived. Ševčenko was alone, however, in his suffering “*za pravdu na sviti*” (“for truth in the world”). According to him, eternal “truth” (or “truth and liberty”) was intimately connected with “glory”; and, in every instance, it lay in the future. None of the Ukrainian Romantics had dared such bitter criticism of the past or, especially, of the present: “*Skriz' nepravda, de ne hljanu*” (“There is injustice everywhere, no matter where I look”); “*Rozbijnyky ljudojidy pravdu poboroly*” (“Cutthroats and cannibals have routed truth”). But Ševčenko’s aspirations were not for the past or the present—only for the future:

*Nexaj že serce plače, prosyt'  
svjatoji pravdy na zemli . . .*

(“Let the heart then weep, let it pray for holy truth on earth. . . .”)

*Može šče raz sonce pravdy  
xoč skriz' son pobaču . . .*

(“Perhaps I shall once more see the sun of truth, even if only through a dream. . . .”)

*Vstane pravda, vstane volja,  
i Tobi odnomu  
poklonjat'sja vsi jazyky  
vo viky i viky . . .*

(“Truth will arise, freedom will arise, and to Thee alone will people of all tongues bow, for ever and ever. . . .”)

The very totality of the tendency here, of all the wishes and the hopes for the future, made of Ševčenko a poet-prophet. For he was, in fact, toiling for the future; and his tool was the “Word”:

... orju  
svij perelih, ubohu nyvu,  
ta siju slovo: dobri žnyva  
kolys' to budut' . . .

(“I plough my fallow ground, poor land that it is, and sow the ‘word’: a fine harvest will they make one day. . . .”)

Komu z jiji (dumu.; D. Č.) pokažu ja,  
i xto tuju movu  
pryvitaje, uhadaje  
velykeje slovo . . .

(“To whom shall I show it [my thought], and who will greet this speech and divine my mighty ‘word’ . . .”)

The poet’s “mighty word” and his “word-tears” aspire in his verses to become fiery words:

pošly meni svjateje slovo,  
svjatoji pravdy holos novyj,  
.....  
podaj duši ubohij sylu,  
ščob ohnenno zahovoryla,  
ščob slovo plamenem vzjalos',  
ščob ljudjam serce roztopylo,  
i po Ukrajinu poneslos',  
i na Ukrajinu svjatylos'  
te slovo . . .

(“send me the holy word, a new voice of the sacred truth . . . give my poor soul strength and ardent speech, that my word may take fire and melt people’s hearts, and that that word may spread throughout Ukraine and become sanctified in Ukraine. . . .”)

In a certain way, the poet's words are the words of God, for the poet is a divine prophet. Moreover, "truth and freedom" and "glory" do not depend on the poet's bidding, but come directly from the word of God, from His will:

*My virujem Tvojij syli  
i slovu žyvomu . . .*

*Nenače sriblo kute, byte  
i semykraty perelyte  
ohnem v hornyli, slovesa  
Tvoji, o Hospody, takiji . . .*

("We believe in Thy power and Thy living word. . . . Like silver, forged, coined and shot through with fire in the melting pot sevenfold—such, o Lord, are Thy words. . . .")

Ševčenko thought of his own poetic creativity in just these terms—as a word which would regenerate national life, which would call to a new life all those who had "fallen asleep," which would "awaken" them. The concept of the "resurrection" of Ukraine had remained obscure with the Romantics; in Ševčenko it was joined with biblical imagery:

*I, o dyvo! Trupy vstaly  
i očy rozkryly;  
i brat z bratom obnjalysja,  
i prohovoryly  
slova tyxoji ljubovy  
na viky i viky . . .*

("And, a miracle happened! The corpses arose and opened their eyes; and brother embraced brother and they uttered words of tender love for ever and ever. . . .")

and with altogether new, revolutionary invocations, heard for the first time in Ukrainian literature:

*. . . vstavajte,  
kajdany porvite,  
i vražoju zloju krov'ju  
volju okropite . . .*

(“. . . arise, sunder your chains and with your foes' unholy  
blood baptize your freedom. . . .”)

*. . . hromadoju obux stalyt',  
da dobre vyhostryt' sokyru,  
ta j zaxodytysja budyt',  
a to prospyt' sobi neboha  
do sudu Božoho strašneho . . .*

(“. . . one must harden the back end of the axe and  
sharpen the hatchet well, and prepare to awaken [freedom],  
or else it, a poor wretch, will sleep through until Judgment  
Day. . . .”)

Ševčenko's images and concepts continue to invite various interpretations, for as a poet he could not possibly express himself in the completely transparent manner required of politicians. Nevertheless, one idea has always clearly emerged from all his images, thoughts and concepts of “Truth,” “Freedom,” “Glory” in the name of which he “stood” on the crossroads . . . like Ezekiel—Ševčenko's notion of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people as vital and complete entities or collectives, as “personalities” in the family of nations and powers. For him, Ukraine's “slumber” (no longer death) did not signify any loss of customs or even of language: as a lad from the country, he knew that no such loss existed and felt that it did not threaten.\* He regarded her condition simply as the result of the political oppression of the Russian government, and of czarism. This idea, which Ševčenko expressed in but a few instances, broke completely with the Ukrainian tradition of Russian patriotism that had dominated the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It insured Ševčenko's place not only in the history of literature, but also in the history of Ukrainian political thought.

9. A position quite apart from his poetic legacy is occupied by Ševčenko's “Ukrainian play,” “*Nazar Stodolja*.” The play, the sole extant dramatic effort of Ševčenko, was first written in Russian during the poet's St. Petersburg period, and later translated into Ukrainian. The drama has a fairly traditional plot: the daughter of a captain, who wants to marry her off to a wealthy colonel, runs

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\*That the Ukrainian language was dying was a popular supposition among Kotljarevs'kyj's contemporaries and admirers who expected his work merely to remain as a remembrance of the dead past. However, it was also a frequent topic among “Ukrainophile” linguists and professors of the Romantic era! No wonder, then, that it was “on a grave-mound” that the poet “played his *kobza*.”

away with Nazar. The father catches the fugitives, but Nazar's friends free him and want to kill the captain. Nazar saves the life of the captain, who then suddenly repents and enters a monastery "to atone for his iniquity." With the exception of some effective scenes, the drama has the character of a primitive Romantic melodrama. The language is impure, perhaps the result of unfinished translation: e.g., the word "*batjuška*" (Russian—father) which sounds dreadful coming from a Ukrainian girl. The dramatic action is interrupted by songs, dances, and the presentation of an ethnographic scene of matchmaking. The play is no worse, but neither is it any better, than other Ukrainian melodramas of the nineteenth century.

10. After Ševčenko, the figure who left the deepest traces in Ukrainian intellectual history was Pan'ko (Pantelejmon) Kuliš (1819-97). While it is true that during the Kievan period of Romanticism his role as a writer had not emerged fully, he was, however, already the author of several works in Russian: including stories, a remarkable essay—"Pamjatnaja kniga dlja pomeščikov Černihovskoj gubernii" ("A Book of Instructions for the Landowners of Černihiv Province")—reminiscent of Kvitka's *Letters* and of Gogol's later *Vybrannye mesta iz perepiski s druž'jami* (*Selections from Correspondence with My Friends*), a historical sketch—"Povest' ob Ukraine" ("A Story About the Ukraine"), a Romantic historical novel—*Mixail Čarnyšenko*—and one work in Ukrainian—*Ukrajina* (*Ukraine*, 1843; see below). His Ukrainian poems, his story "*Orysja*" as well as various ethnographic materials were all, at this time, either ready to be printed or already printed; however, they were not published. His Ukrainian novel *Čorna rada* (*The Black Council*) was a similar case: only its few sections that were in Russian were published.

Nevertheless, the personality of Kuliš, the young writer, may be clearly perceived from these works. The later Kuliš may have struck his contemporaries as a man of constantly changing convictions, opinions, interests and passions. However, the beginnings of his later development can already be found in the creativity of his early years and it is a development which, from the perspective of our own time, appears to have contained more stability than change. Kuliš's fate was that of the typical Romantic: his "instability" was merely a manifestation of a Romantic aspiration for "wholeness" and diversity. He was a representative of that particular Romantic type who strives to achieve his ideal of diversity by way of perpetual movement and continual change—a path which often led to catastrophe and tragedy. Kuliš, however, emerged from these alterations as the same indefatigable writer and ardent proponent of his own ideas whom often, to be sure, no one wanted to hear and, as a prophet, whom nobody followed. Despite all, Kuliš never stopped working, or preaching, or writing.

Kuliš's thought derived from varied sources. First, there were the personal influences exerted upon him by the vague Ukrainophilism and Slavophilism of Maksymovyč, whom Kuliš assisted in his scientific studies. Then there figured the influences of the foreign schools—of the Russian Slavophile Pletnev and the Polish Ukrainophile Grabowski (see above, pt. C, no. 3). Kuliš's principal sources, however, were his own tireless studies, both in Ukrainian and foreign fields. Many Ukrainian writers drew upon sources that were discovered by chance; Kuliš's sources were always new sources and often altogether unexpected and removed from Ukrainian subject matter.

*Ukraine* aspires to the lofty style of Kostomarov's *Books of the Genesis*. In it, Kuliš attempted, with the help of folk *dumy*, to create a great Ukraine historical epic which he compared with *The Iliad*. Kuliš himself supplemented the *dumy* wherever they were inadequate to his purposes: he thus created new *dumy* in the tradition of the old and then joined them with the genuine folk poetry. However, *Ukraine* was not a forgery, for Kuliš carefully indicated the origins of his texts. It consisted of twelve *dumy*, its first section taking the narrative through to the time of Xmelnyc'kyj. While the work no longer holds any interest for the reader, it is not without any merit. The stylization of the language in the spirit of the *dumy* is, for example, consistent and faithful to its models. Many of the conventional folk song epithets may be found: "hirki sl'ozy" ("bitter tears"), "ščyryji molytvy" ("fervent prayers"), "bezbožyj Batyj" ("godless Batyj"), "vovky siromanci" ("poor gray wolves"), etc. There are numerous set expressions derived from the *dumy*: "surmy surmyly" ("the bugles sounded"), "Vijs'ko zbyraty, v poxid vystupaty" ("gather the troops, start out on the campaign"), "kozaky teje začuvaly" ("the Cossacks heard that"). Kuliš also makes abundant use of "word pairs," a particularly characteristic device of the *dumy*: *med-vyno* (mead-wine), *dumaje-hadaje* (thinks-surmises), *vypy-tuje-spodivaje* (inquires-hopes for), *pyše-vypysuje* (writes-writes out), *kurhany-mohyly* (mounds-grave-mounds); some of them are Kuliš's own creations. The following are typical lines of *Ukraine*:

*Ta po šyrokomu ta po dalekomu Dunaječku  
zlaja burja vyxožaje-vystupaje,  
kozakiv do zemli čuždoji provožaje.  
A z nyzu bujnyj viter vije-povivaje.*

("And over the broad and lengthy Danube, a foul tempest mounts and builds, and conveys the Cossacks to foreign soil. And from the lowland a violent wind blows and rages.")

Apart from the *dumy*, Kuliš drew on “The Tale of the Host of Ihor”:

*Todi vže na Vkraini ridko de pluhatari na volykyv hukaly,  
a častiše vorony na poljax kryčaly,  
trup diljačy pomiž soboju,  
a halky svoju rič hovoryly,  
zbyrajučys' letity na kryvaveje pole . . .*

*A samiji dereva od žalosty do zemli pryklonylys' . . .*

(“And that time in Ukraine only seldom did plowmen call out to their bullocks. More often, it was the ravens cawing in the fields as they divided a corpse among them, and the jackdaws discoursing about their own matters as they prepared to fly over the bloody field. . . . And even the trees bowed down to the ground out of sorrow. . . .”)

Unfortunately, Kuliš did not avoid certain unsuitable images. And in a few instances *dumy* were juxtaposed with historical folk songs of a different type; one of them, a song about the mythical Pivtora-Kožux (“One and a Half Sheepskin”), even contains notes of travesty.

The short story “*Orysja*” concerns a captain’s daughter who first meets her intended while she is with her servants washing clothes in a creek (Trubajlo). This situation, as Kuliš himself remarked, parallels the meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa (from the sixth canto of the *Odyssey*). The story seems to be in the style of Kvitka except that Kuliš’s writing is serious, and without any disdain or condescension toward his heroes. The description of *Orysja* is still somewhat exaggerated in its idealization: *Orysja* “*krašča j nad jasnu zorju v pohodu, krašča nad povnyj misjac' sered noči, krašča j nad same sonce*” (“was even more beautiful than a bright star on a clear night, more beautiful than full moon at midnight, more beautiful than the sun itself . . .”). However, a little later the tone becomes completely serious. There are some beautiful images:

*mov v zerkali, vydno v vodi i nebo, i kruču  
z tymy kudlatymy korinnjamy, ščo pereplutalys' iz  
xmelem, i kučerjavi vjazy, ščo povybihaly na  
samyj kraj i poprosthahaly zeleni lapy nad ričkoju.*

(“reflected in the water, as if in a mirror, were the sky and the ravine with those matted roots which had become entangled with the hop plants, and the leafy elm trees which

ran along the very edge of the water and extended their large green arms over the creek.”)

*Iz-za syvoji borody staroho Hryvy, iz-za biloji zymy, červonije lito—poven viz divčat u kvitkax ta v namysti . . .*

(“From behind the gray beard of old Hryva, from behind white winter, is the flush of summer—a wagon-full of girls decked in flowers and beads. . . .”)

Everything has a folk quality, but without coarseness.

11. The most distinguished of Kuliš's early works was his historical novel *The Black Council* (published in its entirety in 1857). It was created on the basis of serious historical studies and with the help of certain artistic devices with which Kuliš had become familiar in the works of the founder of the historical novel, Walter Scott. To a great extent, Kuliš's novel was an attempt to correct the idealized image of the Cossacks presented in Gogol's *Taras Bul'ba* as a united body living for the sole ideal of national and religious struggle. Kuliš sought to change the sublime but non-individualized imagery of Gogol in which perhaps the sole character to be given a vivid, concrete portrayal as a person is the Romantic hero, Andrij. Kuliš's task was exactly that which Ševčenko had set himself in his poetry: not to depict some idyllic, obscure figure of Ukraine, but to present an image that was truly alive and full-blooded, instead of one that was picturesque, sweet, charming and only seemingly vivid. The varied and sometimes negative reality which is Kuliš's vision of Ukraine is the more valid, for Ukraine, past or present, has never been a homogeneous whole. Kuliš wanted to present not some grand monument but a complete picture and one that was true to life, reflecting the various Ukrainian characters and classes of the past along with their peculiar interests, aspirations and ideals. To portray such an image, especially a “living” image, was the conscious national task which Kuliš set himself.

*The Black Council* clearly does not match the high linguistic level attained by Gogol. However, it does have its own considerable artistic merits. The action centers around two stories, successfully interwoven: one concerns the Black Council of 1663 and its election of Brjuxovec'kyj as *hetman* in place of Somko; the other is the story of Petro Šramčenko and Lesja Čerevanivna, Somko's betrothed, who marries Petro after Somko's death. The author is chiefly concerned with portraying the diverse characters (social figures and individuals) and

groups which made up the Ukrainian population. The work is "a novel of psychological types and social conflicts" (Viktor Petrov). In his depiction of mass scenes, Kuliš, in the Walter Scott tradition, presents a picture of the multifarious social interests that are at play, and of the conflicts underlying these interests—conflicts involving people of different class, character and disposition. Rather than any idealized representation, we are given an image of a people with a broad and multi-faceted life. The historical forces in question—the Cossacks, both the lower strata and the town-dwellers, the *bourgeoisie*, the Cossack *staršyna*, the peasants—are described by Kuliš on the basis of his study of Walter Scott's method. Out of isolated remarks and the observations of separate individuals is built up a whole picture of the swelling of the crowd and of its changes of mood. The artistic force of the novel resides in the fact that Kuliš paints; he does not explain or elucidate.

With the exception of his pale women (although Kuliš does stress the role of women in Ukraine), the psychological portrayal of the different types is largely determined by the heroes' participation in events: there are egoists ("*usjake, jak zvirjuka, pro svoju til'ky škuru ta pro svij berlih dbaje*")—"everyone is like a wild animal concerned only about his own skin and his own lair"—says Šram about them), men of ideas (Somko, Šram), and secondary figures (Čerevan' Zolotarenko). The egoists prevail while the men of ideas die in the struggle for their beliefs; however, in their victory the former do not actually attain their goals either. In Kuliš's view, the deepest and most valuable qualities in Ukrainian life were to be found in those people whose participation in events was not based on emotion: these were the minstrel "*Božyj čolovik*" ("A Godly Man") and the Zaporozhian, Kyrylo Tur. The ideal which inspires Somko, knightly honor and the struggle for "truth," is a lofty one; but still higher is the awareness that everything is vanity.

The novel has a considerable number of Romantic aspects: a duel, the abduction of a maiden, the nocturnal pursuit, effective mass scenes, a prison. However, in contrast to *Mixail Čarnyšenko* where these same motifs appeared, their depiction here is extremely natural; as a result, the reader does not notice their traditional character. The vocabulary contains several ethnographic and archaic words which Kuliš, for the most part, either explains or reveals through the context: "*Žovniry konsystujučy v horodax*" ("The soldiers billeted in the towns"), as well as descriptions of lodgings, wearing apparel or dishes. Often these outdated expressions are quite successful ("*nedruh očyznyj*")—a non-friend of the fatherland). On the whole, the language is rather formal; at times it gives the impression of being narrated by someone else, perhaps a contemporary of, or participant in, the events of the novel: "*Ščo til'ky v Bibliji propysane, use*

*černec' toj mov žyve spysav skriz' po manastyrevi*" ("All that which had been written down only in the Bible that monk inscribed throughout the whole monastery as if it were the living word"), "*Usi vzjalys' za svjatyj xlib*" ("They all set about the holy bread"), Lesja "*povypysuvala holubon'ko, sriblom, zolotom i blakytynym šovkom usjaki kvitky i merežky*" ("prettily traced all kinds of flower designs and fancy-work with silver, gold and azure silk thread"), etc.

Kuliš also gathered effective popular expressions for his use—occasionally they are archaic (see above) also: "*nedoljašky*" ("Polonized Ukrainians"), "*ljads'kyj*" ("Polish"), "*Dzvonov šableju*" ("He made his sword clang"), "*Vdaryly z harmat*" ("They fired the cannon"), including at times quotations from the Chronicles. The participants in the Black Council "*služyly til'ky po brovarjax, po vynnycjax ta šče po laznjax hrubnykamy . . .*" ("worked only in the brew houses, wine cellars as stokers in bath houses . . ."—from Samovydec', see Ch. VI, pt. H, no. 2). Most often, however, they are modern expressions (there are phrases from Hrebinka and Ševčenko), mainly popular in nature while not being vulgarisms: "*Toho dovidujemos*" ("We are inquiring about it"), "*Doskočyv skarbu*" ("He suddenly acquired a fortune"), "*Siv xutorom*" ("He stayed put on the homestead"), "*Pobralys' hajem*" ("They went through the grove"), "*Ja neju xodyla*" ("I was pregnant with her"), "*zložyty ruky*" ("to shake hands [in agreement]"), etc. To a certain extent, the characters' speech is individualized: Čerevan', who does not pronounce his "r's," says always "*bhate,*" "*bhatyku*" (for *brate, bratyku* [brother]), and once "*phavda*" (for *pravda* [truth]). However, Kuliš does not carry this linguistic characterization to extremes: thus, his characters even use vulgarisms on occasion: "*Harbuza vteljušyt*" ("She will refuse her hand in marriage").

Kuliš, therefore, shared the common aspiration of all Romantics—the creation of a language for a "full-blown" literature. After the poetry of Ševčenko, *The Black Council* represents the most distinguished step taken by Romanticism toward such a language. The only area in Kuliš (as, in fact, in Ševčenko) remaining outside this Ukrainian linguistic sphere to some degree is that of religious reflections: Kuliš's characters depend on the Church Slavonic texts from the Bible.

12. The details of Kuliš's ideology were not yet very clear in this early period. However, two motives could be perceived from the outset. The first was characteristic of all Romantics and received special emphasis in Ševčenko's work—the will to comprehend the Ukrainian past and present as one broad, all-embracing, and diverse life. Kuliš aspired to an image of Ukraine that was neither sentimental or precious, as often in Kvitka, nor grandly monumental, as in *Taras Bul'ba*, but one that reflected the full life of a social organism.

Combined with this Romantic vision was the (also Romantic) longing for "depth": unity was perceived not *in* things, but beyond them. In this respect, Kuliš was no less a symbolist than Ševčenko. He saw beyond the scenes of stormy events and the struggles of different people to something more profound and universal—the struggle of "truth and injustice." In *The Black Council* the songs of the minstrel also assume symbolic meaning: his songs are "like sorcery"; he was blind, like Homer, yet he saw that which the sighted person never sees. Even such an earthly person as Ivanec' Brjuxovec'kyj becomes a symbolic figure: his ill-fated agitation and his influence on the masses are like some sort of magic, diabolical spells. There are symbolic landscapes: night "which inspires a thought as does the Holy Word"; Kiev—as Jerusalem, a theme of old Ukrainian literature. The Cossacks are also symbolic figures: despite their physical solidity, they are like a dream, "for to them, everything seems foolish . . . whether to live, or to die. . . ."

It was with this feature of Zaporožian psychology that is associated the second fundamental motif of the early Kuliš—his attitude of "Romantic irony" or more correctly "Christian irony." Kuliš here regards history, reality, and life as playthings, trifles, "the vanity of vanities" as "A Godly Man" declares. A Godly Man and Kyrylo Tur are symbols of these mystic-Christian ideological motifs of the early Kuliš, motifs which—as he suggested at the time—were the leading internal forces of Ukrainian life and Ukrainian history. Both the true Christianity of A Godly Man and the "foolishness" of Kyrylo Tur are expressions of the same inner search for God (themes found in St. Augustine and repeated in Skovoroda). The merrymaking (*hul'nja*) of the Zaporožians is another manifestation of this same "hazardous yet somehow sad" outlook on the world: "they made merry, and demonstrated by their revelry that everything in the world is a chimera," for "even the whole world could not fill the Cossack soul . . . God alone can fill it." Life "will bring you sweetness and light, you think: what happiness! Then you look more closely—everything is a delusion." "Everything"—except this judgment on human actions, and except the final verdict on good and evil, on the living and the dead, which Kuliš places in the mouth of A Godly Man: "*Ivancja Brjuxovec'koho Hospod' hrixom uže pokarav; a pravednomu čolovikovi jakoji treba nahrady? . . . Slavy treba myrovi, a ne tomu xto slaven. Myr nexaj' navčajet'sja dobru, sluxajučy, jak oddavaly žyžn' za ljuds'ke blaho, a slavnomu slava u Boha!*" ("Ivanec' Brjuxovec'kyj has been punished by the Lord for his sin; but what kind of recompense does the righteous man need? . . . It is the world which is in need of glory, not he who is already renowned. Let the world learn goodness, let it hear how life itself was given for the good of mankind; but for him who has a good name, glory comes only from God.")

This, then, is Kuliš's assessment of the value of mankind and all things human, and also his comment on their existence: "*Zaverjuxa . . . polamle stare derevo . . . a čomu ukazav Hospod' rosty j cvisty, te j ostanet'sja, i krasujet'sja veselo ta pyšno, mov iz rodu i xurtovyny ne bačylo . . .*" ("A snowstorm . . . breaks an old tree into pieces . . . but what the Lord ordered to grow and to flourish, that will remain, looking happy and proud, as if it had never in its life seen a blizzard"). Such historical optimism sustained Kuliš even during the most difficult days of Ukraine's history.

13. Of the other members of the Brotherhood, V. Bilozers'kyj (1825-99) was active only as a journalist (editor of *Osnova—The Foundation*) and other journals. Opanas Markovyč (1822-67) was, for a time, thought to be the author of the stories of Marko Vovčok until it was discovered that they were written by his wife. Oleksandr Navroc'kyj (1823-1902) began to write Ukrainian verse in 1847. His translations, including works of Mickiewicz, Xomjakov, Goethe, Schiller, Byron and Heine, were typical not only in their choice of authors but in their themes, e.g., Romantic theme of night in Xomjakov's "*Zvezdy*" ("Stars"); later, Navroc'kyj also turned to social poetry (theme of the suppressed peasantry). Employing folk song rhythms to a certain degree, he also imitated many of Ševčenko's rhymes (*haji—povivaje, haju—spivaješ, todi—rybariv*, etc.). However, he failed to maintain rhymes of true consonance (e.g., he rhymed *t'mi—zemli, xudobu—torbu*) or to liberate himself from grammatical rhymes despite the example of Ševčenko's incomplete rhymes. Besides following Ševčenko, Navroc'kyj also used rhythms borrowed from the Russian poet Kol'cov:

*Pole moje, pole,  
ne orane pole!  
Dole moja, dole,  
neprohljadna dole!*

.....  
*Hljanu ja na pole—  
husto zelenije,  
ne žyto—pšenycja—  
trava polovije.*

.....  
*Hodi! potyxon'ku  
v šynok pomandruju,  
tijeji lyxoji  
trošky pokuštiju.*

*Z večora do ranka  
 budu kuštuvaty—  
 v zelenim bajraci  
 doli vyhljadaty.*

(“Field, oh my field, unplowed field! Fate, oh my fate, impenetrable fate! . . . I gaze at the field—it is a luxuriant green; not the wheat but the grass is turning yellow. . . . Enough! Quietly I shall set off for the tavern, to sip a little of that nasty stuff. . . . From evening till morning to imbibe—to contemplate my fate in the green ravine.”)

Typical ornaments of the folk song style may be perceived here (word pairs, epithets without their subjects, “*tijeji lyxoji*,” etc.), as well as a number of Russianisms (*neprohljadna*, *potyxon'ku*). In fact, Navroc'kyj also wrote Russian verse. He was not able, however, to attain popularity as a poet.

14. The Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius existed for only a short time. The coming together in it of Kuliš, Kostomarov, Ševčenko and the other brethren might, therefore, appear to be some sort of accident. However, Kievan Romanticism *per se* does have its own distinctive features which unify Ševčenko's prophetic works of genius, the *Books of the Genesis*, as well as the first literary efforts of Kuliš. These features belong to the Romantic ideology which this circle clearly elaborated in social, political and (in accordance with the spirit of the Romantic world view) “messianic” terms. Instead of a program focused on the idealized past of the *Istoriija Rusiv*, and on popular *pobut*, their program, which evolved gradually, was entirely devoted to the Ukrainian present and future. While infected to a large degree by the spirit of social Christianity and political Slavophilism, its principal characteristic was its concept of Ukraine as a living national whole, whose life forces had not been spent or died. The Kievan Romantics had in front of them, not some idyllic image, but the figure of Ukraine as a completely whole organism with real needs, aspirations and interests and conflicts of interests, both in the past and in the present. Their ideas were influenced not only by Romanticism, but by already well-known post-Romantic forces: the social Christianity of Lamennais and the social and political currents of the West. Such a fervent eschatological program could not survive as a practical plan of action; however, it remained for a long time in the consciousness of Ukrainian society as the beginning of some sort of *volte-face*, like “the sound of the Archangel's trumpet announcing the Resurrection.” Kuliš later recalled: “*Koly hovoreno koly-nebud' po pravdi, ščo serce ožylo, ščo oči*

zahorilysja, što nad čolom u čolovika zasvityvsja polomjanyj jazyk, to ce bulo todi u Kyjevi." ("When someday it will be affirmed that the heart quickened, that the eyes lit up, that a tongue of fire lit up a man's forehead—this is how it really was in those days in Kiev.")

## G. LATE ROMANTICISM

1. The terror associated with the latter years of the reign of Nicholas I came to an end with the death of the emperor in 1855. And there began, in the life of all the nations of the Russian empire, a revival which, from the outset, acquired the characteristics of a social movement. This was an entirely logical development since the fundamental concerns of the time revolved around the preparation for the abolition of serfdom and those new social phenomena which stemmed from this and other reforms.

During the final years of Nicholas' regime, there was no longer complete censorship in Ukraine. Works which had no explicit political tendency were not in any jeopardy with the authorities. The year 1848 saw the publication of Metlyns'kyj's *Južno-Russkij Sbornik* (*A Southern Russian Collection*); in 1852, Borovykovs'kyj's *Bajky* (*Fables*) were published, and in 1855 a collection of poetry by Afanas'ev-Čužbys'kyj, as well as some other works, were issued. But the beginning of the new regime brought a much wider and heretofore unprecedented development of literary production in the Ukrainian language. In 1856-57, the prolific Kuliš published his two-volumed *Zapiski o Južnoj Rusi* (*Notes on Southern Rus*'), one of the best Ukrainian collections of ethnographic material designed not so much for the experts as for the broader circle of readers. It was in the *Notes* that Ševčenko's "The Servant Girl" first appeared, anonymously. In 1857, Kuliš published *The Black Council*, republished the tales of Kvitka in a separate collection, and published the stories of Marko Vovčok. During 1860-62, he began to issue a series of pamphlets for popular consumption, and in 1860 he produced a collection—*Xata* (*The Cottage*)—containing works by Ševčenko, Ščoholiv, P. Kuz'menko, Marko Vovčok and Hanna Barvinok. In 1857 and 1859, Maksymovyč's Ukrainian translations of "The Tale of the Host of Ihor" and of the Psalms were published; in 1858, a collection of verses by S. Metlyns'kyj appeared; and in 1859 in Saratov, Danylo Mordovec' and Kostomarov published their *Malorususkij literaturnyj sbornik* (*Little Russian Literary Collection*) containing works of both, etc. As early as 1853, the journal *Černigovskie Gubernskie Vedomosti* (*The Province of Černigov News*) began to publish Ukrainian poetry: works of Zabila, Kuz'menko, O. Šyšac'kyj-Illič, O. Konys'kyj, L. Hlibov, among others, appeared here.

2. The main center of literary life at this time was the St. Petersburg monthly *The Foundation* during the brief period 1861-62. Its editor was a member of the Brotherhood, V. Bilozers'kyj; its contributors included Ševčenko, Kuliš and Kostomarov, and, of the new writers—Kuz'menko, Marko Vovčok, Mordovec', Hlibov, Hanna Barvinok, Konys'kyj, Rudans'kyj, Storoženko. The reason for the decline of *The Foundation* stems not so much from the divergence of its contributors' literary positions as from its failure to create a single political platform for all of Ukrainian society. For the contributors to *The Foundation* comprised not only older writers but also representatives of the new generation whose participation in the monthly was actually more intimate. This was the significant factor, especially since the developments of the new epoch, the social reforms, the beginnings of new programs in the Ukrainian field (Sunday schools, readings for the masses, theatrical productions) led the new generation to altogether different political feelings and set before it completely new and practical goals. (Echoes of these new currents, particularly the strengthening of the political notes, may also be found in the works of the later Romantics.) The failure to achieve unity was, nevertheless, a positive sign; it indicated that Ukrainian society was beginning to develop that artistic differentiation, that division into various trends which is a manifestation of all integral national life. Unfortunately, however, the collapse of *The Foundation* ruined that literary base which this monthly had so actively provided.

It is no accident that differences of opinion arose among the members of the literary world at the beginning of the 1860s for only the older writers and very few younger ones (P. Kuz'menko, Storoženko) were still Romantics in the 1850s and 1860s. Moreover, the Romantic vestiges that did remain with some of the representatives of the new literary ideas were restricted to their earlier works. The orientation of the majority of the new writers was toward the modern literary trends which were then flourishing in the West and in Russian literature. In effect the young generation had been educated on the writings of the "Young Germany" movement, George Sand, Turgenev and Nekrasov; or, at the very least, it adopted their literary aspirations and attempted to transpose them to Ukrainian soil.

3. Ševčenko, the most eminent member of the older generation of Romantics, produced almost no poetry at all during his period of exile (1851-56). Instead, he turned his pen to the writing of short novels in Russian which belong to the Ukrainian school of Russian literature. Although of uneven quality, they are interesting examples of Ševčenko's efforts in that "transitional" style of the "natural school"\* instituted by Gogol' in Russian literature and later adopted by

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\*See Ch. XIII, no. 4.

Kuliš in his Russian tales of the 1850s. In addition, Western writers of this same style (particularly George Sand, and perhaps Dickens) undoubtedly exerted considerable influence on Ševčenko. His prose style also contains traces of the “Byronic poem.” Thematically, Ševčenko continued to use Ukrainian subject matter; apart from his autobiographical tale “*Xudožnik*” (“The Artist”) he limited himself to depicting scenes from the life of the Ukrainian peasant-serf and the Ukrainian landowning class. At the end of his exile the great poet resumed the writing of verse.

Traditionally, the later verses of Ševčenko are printed as the final part of the *Kobzar*. Attempts have been made to find in these works new realistic elements, and to discover a new “classical” style (not the typical eighteenth century classicism but that of Goethe and Schiller). However, these views are not very well established. For when Ševčenko returned in 1857 to the writing of poetry in Ukrainian (with a new version of “The Soldier’s Well,” 1847), his work was still characterized by the features of the “Byronic poem” or the Romantic “free poem.” Yet more significant is the fact that even his new poems on new themes (“*Neofity*” [“The Neophytes”] and “*Marija*” [“Mary”] and the semi-parody “Saul”) are completely in the tradition of the “free poem”: each of the poems is constructed of individual scenes; and the author continually interrupts the narration, addressing either other characters or himself. In “The Neophytes,” the digressions include: “*I ty, i ŷy odna ty . . .*” (“And you, are you the only one . . .”)—ten lines; “*O Nerone . . .*” (“O, Nero . . .”)—11; “*Hore z vamy, koho blahaty vy pryjšly? . . .*” (“Woe to you! Whom have you come to entreat?”)—13; “*I vy, plebeji—hřežkosiji*” (“And you, plebeians—peasants”)—4; “*Ljutyj, ljutyj, merzennyj starče*” (“Fierce, fierce loathsome old man Rome”)—8; “*De ŷ ty bula? De ty sxovalas’*” (“Where were you? Where were you hiding?”)—11; etc. And in “Mary”: “*O, svite naŷ nezaxodymyj*” (“O, our unfading light”)—27; “*O, starče pravednyj*” (“O, righteous old man”)—16; “*De ŷ podivs’ dyvočnyj host’ otoj lukavyj*” (“Where may that strange elusive guest be now?”)—8; “*Marije, horen’ko z toboju . . .*” (“Mary, what woe is yours . . .”)—5; “*Hore nam bulo b . . .*” (“What misfortune would have befallen us . . .”)—5; etc. An examination of the new poems readily discloses that they preserve all the other features of the “free poem” as well.

Ballads were the only genre in which Ševčenko ceased to write during this period, a time when Realists such as Nekrasov were developing a new type of Realistic ballad. However, the verses “*Tytarivna-Nemyrivna*” (“The Sexton’s Daughter of Nemyriv”) and “*Nad Dniprovoju sahoju*” (“By Dnieper’s Banks Along the Sands”) do contain elements of the ballad style. In addition, Ševčenko continued to write short poems in the folk song manner: “*Oj, na hori romen*

*cvite*” (“On the Hillside a Camomile is Blooming”), “*Oj, maju, maju ja očenjata*” (“Alas, I Have, I Have Two Lovely Little Eyes”), “*Oj, dibrovo, temnyj haju*” (“Oh, Oak Grove—Dark Wood”), “*Teče voda*” (“The Water Flows”), and phrases Serbian songs. Not only did his imitations of Holy Scripture (Psalms, Hosea, Ezekiel) continue into this later period, but there was also an increase in the number of Ševčenko’s subjective lyrics, contemplative verses typical of later Romanticism. The proportion of social and political (including anti-clerical sentiments) poems was augmented; but this merely reflected the general mood of the times. The form of Ševčenko’s verse scarcely changed at all: except for the presence of more frequent exact rhymes, everything remained as it had been in his early works. Ševčenko even retained his favorite devices of “instrumentation”:

<i>Oj dibrovo, temnyj haju,</i>	te-haju
<i>tebe odjahaje</i>	te-be-haje
<i>tryčī na rik . . . Bahatoho</i>	ba-ha-to
<i>sobi bat'ka maješ.</i>	bi-ba-aje
<i>Raz ukryje tebe rjasno</i>	ra-uk-ry-rja
<i>zelenym pokrovom,</i>	ok-ro
<i>až sam sobi dyvujet'sja</i>	sa-so-dy-vu-sja
<i>na svoju dibrovu . . .</i>	di-ro-vu

(“Oh, Oak grove, dark wood, you are clothed thrice a year. . . . You must have a rich father. Once he winds 'round you an abundant cloak of green, he himself marvels at his oak grove. . . .”)

Word-pairs, too, prevailed: “*stonom—dzvonom*” (“in a ringing wail”), “*ohnem—sl'ozoju*” (“with ardent tears”), “*xvalyš—vyxvaljaješ*” (“you praise—you laud”). Perhaps the only new feature in the later works was a certain lexical deterioration in the political poems in the intrusion of sharp words; however, these were also to be found in Ševčenko’s earlier political poems. In fact, it appears that Ševčenko attempted to “lower” the language purposely with the help of the popular speech “epithets” “*toj,*” “*taja,*” etc.: “*toj-synklyt*” (“such a council”), “*svjatoho toho apostola Petra*” (“of the blessed apostle Peter”), “*i povely . . . toho apostola*” (“and they led him . . . the great apostle”).

Thematically, the sole new element was the rejection of Ukrainian historical subject matter. The poet’s perspective now was the present and the future, as in “*Jakby ty, Bohdane pjanyj*” (“If drunk, Bohdan, you . . .”) and the prophetic

“*Buvaly vojny*” (“Once there were wars”):

*Ostalys' šašeli, hryzut',  
 žerut' i tljat' staroho dida.  
 A od korinnja tyxo, ljubo  
 zeleni parosti rostut'.  
 I vyrostut': i bez sokyry,  
 až zareve ta zahude,  
 kozak bezverxyj upade,  
 roztroščyt' tron, porve porfiru,  
 rozdavyt' vašoho kumyra,  
 ljuds'kiji šašeli! . . .  
 . . . a my pomolymosja Bohu  
 i nebahatiji i nebohi.*

(“There remain the woodworms, gnawing, devouring and rotting the old oak. But from the root, gently and softly, new shoots are growing. And they will grow up: and without any axe the headless Cossack will come down with a roar and a rumble and shatter the throne to pieces. He will tear the purple robes to shreds, and crush your idol, you human worms! . . . and we who are not rich or poor will say a short prayer to God.”)

Moreover, Ševčenko's attention was now clearly turned to the individual, with special emphasis on his right to life and happiness. While these notes may have been autobiographical, they also appear to have a philosophical base (“anthropologism”) stemming from Ševčenko's profound meditations. It must be in the context of this change of outlook that one should regard what is a new variant on an old theme in “The Neophytes” and “Mary.” As in earlier works, mother and child appear; here, however, the child becomes a prophet and preacher, apostle and Messiah of a new reality. The mother follows him and continues his work even after his death. Of course, the national symbolism found in the earlier poems should be perceived here too. For these poems about the mother and her fighter-son, an apostle or the Messiah himself, were the expression of Ševčenko's new hopes for the future Ukraine. His hopes were never realized; some weeks before his death he wrote with sadness:

*I den' ide, i nič ide . . .  
 I, holovu sxopyvšy v ruky,*

*dyyvuješsja: čomu ne jde  
apostol pravdy i nauky?\**

(“The day passes, as does the night. . . . And, seizing hold of your head in your hands, you wonder: why does the apostle of truth and knowledge not come?”)

4. Although this “apostle of truth and knowledge” did not appear after Ševčenko’s death, the tradition continued in Ukrainian literary life. The only radical change was in tone and style: Romanticism ended and Realism began. Here, too, the dividing line between these literary trends was as vague as that between other Ukrainian literary styles. It was, in fact, the extraordinary and ever-increasing influence of Ševčenko in Ukrainian literature which erased still further the boundaries between the literature of Romanticism and that of the later period. Nevertheless, the poetry of the post-Ševčenko era was altogether different from that of the “*kobzar*.” The only writer of the Romantic era to consciously adhere to the Ševčenko tradition in the later period (although with his own particular imprint), was P. Kuliš.

Kuliš did not resume writing poetry until after the death of Ševčenko; the 1862 publication of the collection *Dosvitky* (*Glimmers of Dawn*) was his first poetic venture since *Ukrajina*. He himself declared that he wanted to imitate Ševčenko’s legacy, his *kobza*:

*Oj, movčav ja, brattja,  
slovom ne ozvavsja,  
poky bat’ko ukrajins’kyj  
pisneju vpyvavsja.  
Čy do viku ž, brattja,  
budemo movčaty?  
Blahoslovit’ meni kobzu  
nimuju uzjaty!  
Pidtjanu ja struny  
na holos vysokyj.  
Ne sumuj, Tarase bat’ku,  
v mohyli hlybokij . . .*

\*These lines clearly indicate that Ševčenko did not see such an “apostle” in either Belinskij, Cernyševskij, Nekrasov or even Herzen, contrary to the opinion of contemporary Soviet scholars.

(“I was silent, brothers, I did not say a word as long  
 as our Ukrainian father was filling himself with song.  
 But, brothers, are we going to be silent forever? Bless  
 me so that I might take up my mute *kobza*! I will  
 tighten its strings to a strident pitch. Do not grieve,  
 father Taras, in your deep grave-mound. . . .”)

He wanted to continue the work of Ševčenko:

Čy ž meni po tobi  
 sumom sumuvaty?  
 Čy tvoju robotu  
 vzjaty dokinčaty?

Dokinčaju, brate,  
 ne zahynu marne,  
 vtišu Ukrajinu,  
 matir beztalannu . . .

(“Should I grieve for you in sorrow! Or should I take  
 up your work and finish it? I will finish it, brother,  
 and will not die in vain. I will gladden Ukraine, our un-  
 fortunate mother. . . .”)

It is in the imitation of Ševčenko that both the strength and weakness of Kuliš's *Glimmers* reside.

While Kuliš's verse seems to use Ševčenko's meters for the most part, the fact is that he almost always (the exceptions being a few lyrics and isolated passages) mixed these imitations of folk song rhythms with the conventional Russian type of tonic meter characterized by completely regular alternation of stresses. This tendency, notwithstanding his frequent changes of rhythms, makes Kuliš's verse seem monotonous in comparison with Ševčenko's. Further, it lacks Ševčenko's original rhymes: incomplete rhymes are rare (*marne–beztalannu*, *poxovaly–malo*, *čudo–luda*, *joho–sribnorohyj*, *prožyvaju–svjataja*, etc.), while faulty rhymes are common (*panstvo–ptactvo*, *varenym–pomertyx*). Ševčenko's incomparable musicality is also missing in Kuliš, although when his verse follows Ševčenko faithfully, it often leads to quite successful euphonies in individual lines:

<i>Didy syvi hovorlyvi,</i>	di-dy-ho-vi-ly-vi
<i>holubon'ky burkotlyvi . . .</i>	ho-bo-bu-ko-ly-vi

(“Garrulous gray-haired old-timers, peevish old grumblers. . . .”)

or in particular expressions, as in “*u temnij temnoti*” (“in deepest darkness”), or (the repetition of “r”) in “*Blysnula hrimnycja iz čornoji xmary*” (“the thunder flashed through the black cloud”) and “*revnuly harmaty*” (“the cannon roared”).

Like other poets of the period, Kuliš was simply not aware of these features of Ševčenko’s verse. He did, nevertheless, have an extraordinary affinity for imitating the folk song style; and here he met with considerable success. However, what for Ševčenko was a matter of the heart, was for Kuliš a matter of the intellect. He did not create songs freely, but was a diligent imitator of folk songs of which he was a connoisseur. For this reason one may find intermingled in his work numerous epithets (Ševčenko’s or sometimes his own) that are derived from poetry: *višče serce* (prophetic heart), *čyste pole* (empty field), *žovti pisky* (yellow sands), *dribni sl’ozy* (abundant tears), *molodyk srib-norohyj* (silver-horned new moon), *lany neorani* (unplowed grainfields), *vysokiji dumy* (profound thoughts), along with the occasional “academic,” contrived epithets: *bezzatneje ptactvo* (homeless birds), *vjale serce* (faded heart), etc. Word-pairs are also employed in Kuliš’s poetry: *plakaty-rydaty* (to weep—to sob), *bredu-perexožu* (I wade—I traverse), *vošky-siromanci* (wolves—poor gray things), *očamy-zorjamy* (with eyes like stars), *šyroke-hlyboke* (broad and deep); and often folk songs are quoted directly:

*Tyxo Dunaj, tyxo  
nese čystu vodu . . .*

(“The Danube quietly, ever so quietly, carries the pure water along. . . .”)

*Ne po odnim kozačen’ku  
zaplakala maty . . .*

(“Not for only one Cossack youth did the mother weep. . . .”)

*Čom, Dunaju, stav ty muten,  
stav ty muten, kalamuten . . .*

(“Why, Danube, have you become troubled, have you become troubled and turbid. . . .”)

*Oj ne vstyh ŷe kozak Holka  
na konyka sistry—  
staly jaho pancernykiv  
na kapustu sikty . . .*

(“Alas, the Cossack Holka could not manage to mount his pony—so they began to cut his warriors to pieces. . . .”)

*Xoŷu berehamy,  
ta j ne naxoŷusja . . .*

(“I wander along the banks, and I never grow weary. . . .”)

Kuliš, in fact, used the poetics of folk songs to a greater degree than did Ševčenko. Yet his poems are much farther removed from folk songs than are Ševčenko’s. Apart from folk songs, Kuliš also made use of a work he particularly liked, “The Tale of the Host of Ihor,” which inspired the frequent phrase in his poetry “*struny ŷyviji*” (“living strings”) and such lines as:

*Nykly travy ŷaloŷčamy,  
hnulos’ drevo z tuhy . . .*

(“The grasses faded away with grief, the tree was bent with sorrow. . . .”)

*Spysamy oraty,  
trupom zasivaty. . .  
Oj jaki to budem ŷnyva  
z toho sivu maty?*

(“To plow with spears, to sow with a corpse. . . . Alas, what sort of harvest will we have from such a sowing?”)

Kuliš still used Romantic forms: ballads and long poems (*Nastusja*, *Velyki provody* [*Easter Week*]), or genres with definite traits of Romantic poems and songs, but chiefly historical *dumy*.

Moreover, Kuliš’s poetry was thoroughly symbolic (see below). It was a complex cultural-philosophical and psychological symbolism more reminiscent of the tradition of Xarkiv Romanticism than of Ševčenko. For while Ševčenko’s themes implied explicit admiration for all things Cossack, Kuliš’s views tended to negate the notion of any positive role of the Cossacks in Ukrainian history. Kuliš

did, however, adopt Ševčenko's symbols of *pravda* (truth) and *slovo* (the word): “*Naša pravda, narodnja osnova*” (“Our truth, foundation of the people”); “*a my budem svjatu pravdu sijaty v narodi*” (“and we will sow holy truth among the people”); “*Spočyvaje naše slovo v nimyx hrobovyščax*” (“Our word is resting in silent cemeteries”); “*Ožyvyt' žyveje slovo ridnu Ukrajinu . . .*” (“The living word will revive Ukraine, our native land”). Associated with these symbols was the image of the *kobzar* who foretells: “. . . *bude žyty naše slovo, bude*” (“. . . our word will live, it will”). Kuliš added to Ševčenko's symbolism, his own motif—“culture” (the source of which was the heart; see below):

*Stepy moji šyrokiji,  
cilyno odvičnja!  
Xto zore vas ta zasije—  
slava tomu vična!*

(“My broad steppes, virgin soil from time immemorial!  
He who will plow you up and plant you—to him will be  
eternal glory!”)

*Glimmers of Dawn* is generally acknowledged to be an original and influential poetic collection in its own right; as such it is a rare phenomenon in Ukrainian literature. Still more original and of equal artistic value were Kuliš's second collection, *Xutorna poezija (Poetry of the Homestead)*, which appeared in 1882 and the much later *Dzvin (The Bell)*, 1893). During this time, Kuliš underwent many changes in personal fortune, state of mind, and historical outlook. He arrived finally at a complete censure of the historical role of the Cossack period in Ukrainian history, and a recognition of the cultural contribution of Poland and Moscow in Ukraine. Echoes of these ideas in the reflective, cultural-philosophic verses of these collections incensed his contemporaries and confirmed even subsequent scholars in their opposition to the poetry of the later Kuliš. Another factor contributing to the negative reception given to these collections was their “belated” style: these were reflective lyrics in the spirit of late Romanticism with extremely vivid Romantic images and ideas that were only partly rendered in the new phraseology of the times. On the one hand, Kuliš's poetry, both individual verses and entire cycles, constituted a poetic polemic not only with Kostomarov, Mordovec' and the majority of Ukrainian society critical of the Russian absolutism of Peter I and Catherine II, but also with Ševčenko whose enthusiasm for the Cossacks now revealed to Kuliš the significance of his “word.” Yet, at the same time, Kuliš's poetry was also represented by charming landscapes and sincere lyrical verse.

The most positive formal feature of the later poems of Kuliš was their rhythm. Having by now abandoned folk song meters almost entirely, he introduced into Ukrainian poetry a completely new store of tonic meters and a great variety of strophes. In fact, this rhythmical wealth redeems the poverty of rhymes, especially the unsuccessful incomplete rhymes: *rozdilennja–plemja*, *požariv–terzaly*, *popivstvo–lyxojimstvo*, etc. In addition, Kuliš developed considerable skill in aphoristic expression: his poetic formulations often match those of Ševčenko, although they may not always be as engaging. Typical examples include the well-known:

*Narode bez putnja, bez česty i povahy,  
bez pravdy u zavitax predkiv dykyx . . .*

(“O senseless people, without honor or esteem, and without truth, following the testaments of savage ancestors. . . .”)

or this self-characterization:

*Ja ne poet i ne istoryk, ni!  
Ja pioner z sokyroju važkoju:  
teren koljučyj v ridnij storoni  
vyrubuju trudjaščoju rukoju . . .*

(“I am no poet or historian, no! I am a pioneer with a mighty axe: the thorny terrain in my native land I am clearing with my industrious arm. . . .”)

or this hymn to homesteads:

*Pisnjamy my tut z Bohom rozmovljajem,  
vselenna sercju našomu vidkryta,  
i oblasti my šyrši dosjahajem,  
niž ta bidnota, zolotom okryta . . .*

(“Here we share songs with God, the universe is open to our hearts; and we attain broader spheres than those poor souls who are burdened with gold. . . .”)

As well, there are compressed, concentrated tableaux such as:

*Od Vysly do Suly kurylos' požaryšče,  
solodke kuryvo turec'komu sultanu . . .*

*I xlib, mov zoloto, v stepax zakolyxavsja,  
i kopy prostjahlys' až po sami Porohy! . . .*

(“From the Vistula to the Sula the smoke from the fire could be seen, fumes that are sweet to a Turkish sultan. . . . And the gold-like grain waved in the steppe, and the sheaves stretched right up to the very Rapids! . . .”)

And this is the introductory song to *Poetry of the Homestead*:

*Kobzo moja, neporočna utixo,  
čom ty movčyš, zadzvony meni styxa,  
holosom pravdy svjatoji dzvony,  
našu tisnotu hirku spomjany.  
Može čyje šče ne spidlene serce  
važko zabjet'sja, do sercja ozvet'sja,  
jak na banduri struna do struny . . .*

(“Kobza mine, o my pure joy, why are you silent? Play a gentle tune for me. Ring out with the voice of holy truth, remind us of our bitter oppression. Perhaps someone's heart not yet debased will be profoundly moved, and respond to another soul like the strings of the *bandura*, one string answering another. . . .”)

The language of the later collections of Kuliš strikes the modern reader as unusual because of its numerous Slavonicisms: *blah* (good), *prax* (dust), *hrjadušče* (future), *hlavenstvo* (supremacy), *vrah* (enemy), *istočnyk bytija* (source of life), *vertohrad* (garden); rare words and neologisms: *timoxa* (clever person), *perebovk* (ringing), *vahonyty* (to be pregnant), *v brytan* (among the English), *mohota* (power); compound words: *vcjac'kovuje* (he will adorn), *vbezpečuje* (he will insure); and uncommon accents: *prósviti*, *v kacapá*, *krový*, *horodyščé*, etc. There are also many compound words, however, that are not only pleasing but also creditable: *zemnoprostorni* (the earth's expanses), *kosa travožerna* (grass-eating scythe), *samitnodremlyvyj* (solitary dreamer), *zolotoi-skrjavij* (sparkling gold-colored). Kuliš was, in fact, creating a suitable language for “lofty ideas” and as early as in his *Glimmers of Dawn* he had “tuned” his *kobza* “for a high voice.” Nevertheless, he could not avoid prosaisms entirely: “*žorstokij atavizm tatars'koi Moskvy*” (“the barbaric atavism of Tatar Moscow”), *samum* (scorching south wind), *hurykany* (hurricanes), *instynkt*

(instinct), *praktičnišoji* (more practical), *uzurpaciji* (usurpation), *bezplatnyj* (free of charge). When such expressions appear in lyrical verses in place of more elevated terminology, the impression created is altogether different.

Thematically, the later poetry of Kuliš remained in the Romantic tradition, despite his enthusiasm for the theme of learning:

*Nauko-nene! vykuj ty nam pluha,  
i nym sama oraty pomožy . . .*

(“Knowledge—our mother! Forge a plow for us, and help us to till the soil with it. . . .”)

This “positivist” influence (Kuliš speaks in particular of the “natural sciences” popular during the 1860s) does not negate the fundamental features of his essentially Romantic world view; moreover, the theme of “learning” is limited in Kuliš:

*vovik nauci ne obnjaty,  
vsjoho, ščo Ty (Boh) sozdav jesy . . .*

(“science will never grasp all that Thou [God] hast created. . . .”)

His main themes are the old, well-known ones: the resurrection of Ukraine, the word and its agent, the poet-prophet, truth, the heart, culture:

*Sudyty Ukrajinu ridne slovo bude—  
Jedynyj skarb u tebe—ridna mova,  
zakljatyj dlja susids'koho xyžactva:  
vona tvoho zyttja micna osnova,  
povniše nad usi skarby j bahatstva . . .*

(“It is her own ‘word’ which will pass judgment on Ukraine— Your only treasure is your native tongue, implacable in the face of your neighbor’s rapacity: it is the strong foundation of your life, more beautiful than all treasures and wealth. . . .”)

In addition to the traditional image of the poet-*kobzar*, the sole living person among a nation of dead men, there is now the figure of the poet-prophet, a typically Romantic image. While expressions of modesty may be found:

*. . . v mojim nemudrim slovi  
bula jakas' nevidoma syla . . .*

(“. . . in my foolish word, there was some kind of unknown power. . . .”)

there are also images such as “the divine breath of poetry,” “a prophet who will justify the prophet” (Gogol’), “thou immortal czar; thou lord over all the czars,” “cathedral of holy truth.” Poetry, Kuliš thought, was that force which would regenerate Ukraine:

*Kobzo-orlyce! zaklyč-zadzvony z vysokosty,  
ščob na tvij poklyk stari pozrostalysja kosti  
i nepovynno prolytaja krov ožyla . . .  
Čaramy slova rozmaj, mov tu xmaru, nedolju,  
slovo nam verne i sylu davneznu i volju . . .*

(“O *kobza*, little eagle! Call forth, ring out from on high, so that at your bidding ancient bones might grow together and innocently spilt blood might revive. . . . Dispel our misfortune like a cloud with the power of your words. The word will restore to us our bygone power and liberty. . . .”)

Poetry will revive not only the nation and humanity, but also the world of nature:

*očystylas' pryroda, mov voskresla,  
u obrazi poeziji svjatoji . . .*

(“nature was cleansed in the image of holy poetry, and was as if reborn. . . .”)

As in Romanticism, the poet-prophet lives and “sings” in “sacred solitude” “a luminous song about a distant world”:

*duša joho kypyt', rokočut' hrozno struny,  
i sypljut' na zemnyx bohiv svoji peruny.*

(“his soul is boiling, his chords roar, all athunder, and dispatch their lightning bolts on the gods of earth. . . .”)

The poet's word here is "the word of truth":

... *nasypaly*  
*vysoki mohyly.*  
*V tyx mohylax ridnym trupom*  
*pravdu prydušyly . . .*

(" . . . they formed the high grave-mounds. In those grave-mounds they smothered the tender body of truth. . . .")

... *prosvičena pravda nimuje.*  
*Zahovoryt' vona*  
*i do samoho dna*  
*pereverne lukavu sporudu . . .*

(" . . . enlightened truth is silent. She will speak and overturn the cunning structure to the very bottom. . . .")

The image of Bojan, poet of the ancient princely period, was, for Kuliš, a symbol of the eternal prophetic role of poetry. The foundations of the outlook which gave rise to these images in Kuliš will be discussed later.

Among Kuliš's published writings (posthumous, as well as those which appeared during his lifetime) are several long poems comprising both finished and unfinished works—e.g., *Xutorni nedoharky* (*Candle-ends of a Country Homestead*). *Nastusja* and *Velyki provody* (*Easter Week*) are historical poems, the second containing a typical Kuliš image in the figure of the noble *kul'turnyk*, Holka, who fails to find understanding in his native Ukrainian milieu and comes to a tragic end. Oriental themes and a lofty impression of Eastern culture dominate the poems *Mahomet ta Xadyza*—in which Kuliš unfolded his Romantic philosophy of love—and *Marusja Bohuslavka*, an unfinished work, despite at least three revisions to the poem as a whole and the reworking of thirteen of its cantos. Of his publicistic poems, "*Uljana kljušnycja*" ("Uljana, the House-keeper"), also unfinished, was intended to be a kind of poetic outline of *Xutorna filosofija* (*Country Homestead Philosophy*); "*Hryc'ko Skovoroda*," another fragmentary "candle-end" ("*nedoharok*"), elaborates the theme of Ukrainian culture; *Kuliš u pekli* (*Kuliš in Hell*) is an inspired, but not so successfully executed, satire directed at the political and cultural enemies of Kuliš. All of Kuliš's poems, including lengthier ones he undertook, are contemplative in nature, typical of late Romanticism and of individual poets of the

post-Romantic period such as C. Brentano's "*Romanzen vom Rozenkranz*" ("Ballad of the Rose Garland"), Ogarev's "*Jumor*" ("Humor"), or the later poems (some barely started) of Lamartine and Hugo. Indeed, the latter shares with Kuliš that peculiar fusion of Romantic outlook with that of the enlightenment "of the sixties."

It is characteristic of Kuliš's poems that they often lack incidents: even likely and varied action (as in *Marusja Bohuslavka* or "*Skovoroda*" where the entire life of the philosopher was to have been presented) recedes before the poet's extended lyrical images and his still more diffuse reflections on various themes. Their formal features resemble those of Kuliš's later verses, particularly the use of different verse forms. While his poems are cumbersome from the viewpoint of composition, they are interspersed with a considerable number of brilliant passages—perhaps more, in fact, than in Kuliš's lyrics. For the most part, however, these masterly pieces are lost amid the argumentation for which even such a poet as Kuliš, with his talent for apt expression, was unable to provide felicitous poetic formulation. Nevertheless, the better passages have continued to affect readers right up to the present day. They even acquired a certain popularity when, regrettably, they were taken out of context. The following excerpt from "*Uljana, the Housekeeper*" is representative of Kuliš's *xutorna* philosophy:

*O tyxi xutory, velyki u malomu,  
velyki tym, ščo je najlučče, krašče v nas,  
bajdužne pyšnomu i hordomu Sodomu . . .*

.....  
*Vy, ljubi vtečyšča koxannja i nadxnennja  
vid kamenjuk-ljudej bez sercja j bez uma!  
Šče ne doznaly vy pryuky prosviščennja,  
šče vas ne ponjala akademična t'ma:  
podajte ž haslo nam novoho voskresennja,  
spravdit' obicjanku svjaščennoho Pys'ma,  
ščo istynu kolys' my sercem zrozumijem,  
nevolju rozumom peremohy zdolijem.*

("O tranquil *xutory*, great though small in size, great in that which is the best and the finest in us, and indifferent to proud and haughty Sodom. . . . You, beloved refuges of love, and inspiration from heartless, mindless, hardened people! You have not experienced the compulsions of enlightenment; you are not yet in the grasp of academic obscurity. Give us then a signal

for the new resurrection; fulfill the promise of the Holy Scripture that one day we will understand the Truth with our hearts and we will triumph over bondage with our minds.”)

Also typical is the natural philosophy of these endearing lines from *Marusja Bohuslavka*:

*Nad stepamy sonce sjaje,  
viter podyxaje,  
podyxaje, mov na kobzi  
tyxostrunnij hraje.*

*Ponačipljuvano husto  
struny zolotiji  
na stepy, balky z ričkamy,  
bajraky krutiji.*

*Sjaje sonce, viter vije,  
tyrsu naxyljaje:  
Do struny struna na kobzi  
styxa promovljaje*

*bačyš okom, čuješ uxom,  
sercem rozumiješ,  
a skazaty—zaspivaty  
holosno ne vmiješ.*

*Neskazanne, nevygovne  
kobza promovljaje,  
i svjatymy počuttjamy  
serce napovnjaje.*

*I voznošyt' joho vhoru  
vid zemnoho lona,  
mov krylati duxy-koni  
boha Apollona,*

*ščob spohljanulo z-pid neba  
na se žyzni more,  
de, mov xvylja jaru xvylju,  
vira viru bore, . . .*

*i poeziji spasennym  
nadyxom spovnylos',  
do vsix vir i vsix jazykiv  
rivno pryxylylos'.*

("Over the steppes the sun is shining, the wind is gently blowing, blowing, as if strumming on a soft-stringed *kobza*. In dense suspension hang the golden chords throughout the steppes, creek-filled valleys and steep ravines. The sun shines, the wind blows, bending the feather grass low. Quietly speaks the *kobza*, string to string. You see with your eye, you hear with your ear, you understand with your heart, but to speak, to sing aloud, you are unable. The *kobza* utters the inexpressible, the ineffable, and fills the heart with holy feelings. And it, like winged horse-spirits of the god Apollo, bears it [the heart] aloft away from the terrestrial realm in order that it may look down from under the sky upon this sea of life, where faith struggles against faith, like waves battling on a shore, . . . . . and it was filled with the saving breath of poetry, and found equal welcome among all faiths and all tongues.")

Despite such passages (frequent in his longer poems), the poems of Kuliš seem to be works whose chief end is not poetic, but publicistic.

A similar situation prevails in Kuliš's plays. These include *Koliji* (dramatic scenes—Kuliš published only one act) and a trilogy: "*Bajda*" (1884), "*Sahajdaš-nyj*," "*Tsar Nalyvaj*" (the latter two dramas were published posthumously). "*Koliji*," a play of dialogs given by the representatives of various social groups, is a lively presentation in the style of the crowd scenes in *The Black Council*. The trilogy, an attempt at high drama, contains everything except dramatic tension. Drama, action, and tension are limited to scenes dealing with the common people or particular heroes such as "*Bajda*'s" Hanža Andybër, a figure whom Kuliš imbued with all the qualities he found most repugnant in the Ukrainian historical tradition—rapacity, brigandage, etc. All other scenes are widely ranging theoretical discussions or debates involving not the will or the character of the personages, but their thoughts. In *The Black Council* Kuliš had succeeded in embodying the social and ideological conflicts of Ukrainian life in vividly drawn personalities. In the trilogy, he was either unable, or unwilling, to do this: instead of a struggle of living forces, there are only debates. However, these discussions, in which monolog often outweighs dialog, allowed Kuliš to display

his brilliant faculty for theoretic and philosophic expression. The various aphoristic formulations of Kuliš's historical and social ideas are almost classical in style. Bajda, for example, affirms:

*. . . U mene vira—pravda,  
molytva—česni podvyhy lycars'ki,  
posty j bdinnja—poxody, nuždy, pracja,  
a raj—nad zlom kryvavyj sud kozac'kyj. . .*

(“. . . For me, faith is truth; prayer—noble heroic deeds, my fasting and vigil—campaigns, misery, toil; and paradise—bloody Cossack justice prevailing over evil. . .”)

and:

*Ne dyvo kraj šyrokyj zvojuvaty,  
červonu krov z piskom peremišaty,  
zasypat' popelamy, sliz'my zmyty,  
i kin'my vytoptat' malen'ki dity.  
Spasenna rič—usi xaty j palaty  
pid nepoxybnyj sud ponaxyljaty,  
potužneho vid napadu vpynjaty,  
bezsyloho v napasti rjatuvaty. . .*

(“It is no miracle to subdue a broad land, to mix red blood with sand, to cover it with dust, to wash it with tears, and to trample the small children with horses. The saving grace is to make all the cottages and palaces bow before infallible justice, to prevent the powerful from attacking, to help the powerless that are in misfortune. . .”)

Another declaration comes from the hermit monk, Zosym (“*Sahajdašnyj*”):

*Xvaly, mudrahelju, svoju osvitu;  
my sercem, Bohom sercja žyvemo.  
Vid rozumu j nauky til'ko cvitu,  
vid sercja ž plodu vičneho ždemo.*

(“Vaunt your learning, o cunning one; we live by the heart and in God. From reason and knowledge there is only a blossom; from the heart, we look forward to eternal fruit.”)

However, neither such locutions (whose form attests certain Shakespearean influence) nor their occasional beautiful images (often echoes from "The Tale of the Host of Ihor") succeed in redeeming Kuliš's plays as dramas. There are some lively figures in these works; however, they are secondary characters. The main characters are, almost without exception, personifications of abstract ideas that may be either simple or complex. Of an altogether different type are two other dramatic efforts of Kuliš: "*Irodova moroka*" ("Herod's Trouble," 1879)—a light stylization of the *vertep* drama; "*Xutorjanka*" ("A Country Woman," 1877)—a stylization of the biblical "Song of Songs" as a kind of nuptial oratory, "a hymn of praise sung by the bride before the assembled wedding guests" (Kuliš's own description). The largely simple language of these two lesser dramas is quite unlike the other plays where the language is archaic and cumbersome with many rarely used words and neologisms which, while not devoid of some merit, failed to achieve popularity. Nor have they any appeal for the contemporary reader who also recoils from the rhetorical speeches of the abstract heroes of these plays and from their occasional strange, faulty accents.

Next to his poetry, it is the prose of Kuliš which constitutes his best work. These few short stories (all published during the period 1860-68) follow in the stylistic tradition of Kvitka, and were, in fact, written for "the people." One of them, "*Sira kobyla*" ("The Gray Mare"), the story of a poor fellow who kills himself and drowns his horse is amazingly reminiscent of Kvitka's travesty genre, including such stories as "Portrait of a Soldier." However, other stories are serious and distinguished from Kvitka's work by their great conciseness, on the one hand, and on the other, by the psychological complexity of their plots. Kuliš who, in his Russian stories, had also tended to depict psychically complex, and perhaps somewhat pathological situations, now built his peasant tales on similar problems, popularly presented. It was a protest against primitive psychology, just as the social antithesis illustrated in *The Black Council* was a protest against primitive historical portrayal. "*Pro zlodija v seli Hakivnyci*" ("About the Thief in the Village of Hakivnycja") concerns an actual thief who repents and whom the community does not commit to court justice but, rather, itself punishes and forgives. The *xutorjanyn*, who is the story's narrator, concludes "but what, my good people of the cities, would you have done with such a man?" "*Hordovyta para*" ("A Proud Couple") is a tale about lovers whose pride leads to their parting and to tragedy: they both commit suicide. "*Divoče serce*" ("A Maiden's Heart") takes up the favorite Kvitka motif of the fidelity of a maiden to a young man who has been recruited as a soldier. Here the girl follows him to the city but falls in love with another; her young man "lived out his whole life as a lonely soldier, like a withered old oak." "*Martyn Hak*" is a story

about *hajdamaky*. The new *otaman* of monks-turned-*hajdamaky*, Hak becomes disillusioned with *hajdamak* life and is ready to betray his men; however, they learn of it and kill him. “*Sičovi hosti*” (“Guests from the Sič”) is another *hajdamak* tale, here narrated by an “old grandfather” not with enthusiasm but with misgivings and sadness. Perhaps the only story written for the educated reader was “*Potomky ukrajins’koho hajdamactva*” (“Descendants of the Ukrainian Hajdamak”); Kuliš’s unfinished novel *Braty* (*The Brothers*), a kind of paraphrase from his Russian work *Aleksej Edinorog*, had the same orientation. These interesting contemporary legends about the last Zaporožians, legends in which reality was freely interwoven with fantasy, had no real plots; rather, they were a series of sketches. In them Kuliš replaced the well-balanced types and idyllic images of Kvitka with Romantic fragmentation, internal tragedy, and psychological complexity. Kuliš’s stories are thus a kind of popularizing of the psychology of his contemporary, Dostoevskij.

Linguistically, all of Kuliš’s stories are presented as *skaz* tales, the narratives of a *xutorjanyn*, a *babusja*, an old grandfather, a great-grandfather or of some unknown narrators, but never of Kuliš himself. As a result, the language is relatively simple, but rhythmical. The psychology resides principally in the plot, while the feelings of the characters are described in a somewhat archaic style: “*I na serci tobi tyxo i jakos’ smutno, i znjavs’ by ta j poletiv, spivajučy ponad zemleju . . .*” (“And in your heart it is still and somehow sad, and you would rise up and fly away over the earth, singing . . .”). The *skaz* narration also produces occasional picturesque landscapes juxtaposed with a language that is somewhat coarse in places, as well as figures inspired by *vertep*:

*Zaporožec z usyma, . . . čorni, čorni ta dovhi ta rozkišni . . . Župan na jomu šovkovyj červonyj, až svityt’sja, jak ohon’; šapka červona poxyljasta; pojas zolotyj; za pojasom pistoli, pry boku šablja; kul’baka i stremena—vse te v ščyrim zoloti, až horyt’; . . .*

(“A Zaporožian with whiskers . . . black, black and long and luxurious. . . His mantle of red silk fairly gleamed, fire-like. His red hat was set at a rakish angle; his sash was golden; inside the sash were two pistols, at his side a sabre; his saddle and stirrups were all of pure gold, and seemed ablaze; . . .”)

In addition, there are popular adages and sayings: “*Čuža storono, daleka zemle xolodna, ne plodjuča, pluhom ne orana, kupjam zasijana*” (“O foreign country,

distant cold land, infertile, unplowed bush-covered"). These felicitous stories, in which Kuliš appears as a worthy Romantic follower of Kvitka, are the most endearing for being so few.

Perhaps Kuliš's most forceful prose is contained in his publicistic writings, his popular treatises of a scholarly nature (historical sketches) and certain letters of his extensive, but only partially known correspondence. The most essential feature of these works is, of course, beyond the scope of this present study. The language of this prose can be characterized, however; in every instance it appears as unusually light and fluid (see above, Kuliš's description of the Cyrillo-Methodians). In style it is sensitive and artistically "full-blooded," although to the contemporary taste it may appear excessively lofty.

When one adds to this his Russian tales, learned and publicistic writings, one becomes aware of the extraordinary breadth of Kuliš's creativity and literary talent.

Kuliš's work in translations is also noteworthy. His principal efforts in this area included translations and paraphrases from Holy Scripture, notably a paraphrase in verse of the Psalms (1868-71), as well as translations from Shakespeare (1882) and a collection—*Pozyčena Kobza* (*Borrowed Kobza*, 1897)—with translations from Schiller, Goethe, Heine and Byron. The linguistic labors involved in producing these translations were colossal. Kuliš, who contributed more than any of his contemporaries toward the creation of "high" and lyrical styles in Ukrainian literature, consciously eschewed all tones of travesty or "*Kotljarevščyna*." (The only elements in Kuliš's work that appear artificial today are the diminutives which he was unable to avoid.) For example, while his practice of appending the patronymic to the names of biblical characters ("Davidenko Avessalom") may seem surprising, it can scarcely be called vulgar.\* The following are passages from his paraphrase of a Goethe poem (previously examined in the version by Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, "The Fisherman"; see above, Ch. X, pt. D, no. 3):

*Voda šumuje, rozlylas'  
i povni poviddju vsi berehy j zatony . . .*

*Pid spiv šyrokyj divonjok  
sydyt' nad ričkoju rybaločka, pyl'nuje,  
čy plavle styxa poplavok,  
čy v vyrvi krutyt'sja, čy v nurtyni nurtuje.*

---

\*This was, in fact, an old device dating back to the eleventh century work of Hamartolos who wrote about "Alexander, son of Philip" of Macedon.

*Až os' voda pid poplavkom  
zakolylalasja i v pini rozdilylas',  
ne sribna rybon'ka z perom,  
vrodlyva divčyna—rusaločka zjavylas'.*

*Spivaje styxa do joho  
i, mov sopiločka, prynadno promovljaje: . . .*

.....

*Koly b ty znav, jak rybon'kam  
iz namy v nurtyni huljaty veselen'ko,  
viddavs' by j sam uves' ty nam  
i hravs' by z rybkamy j divčatkamy ljuben'ko.*

*Hornulas' do kolin joho,  
ta ručenjatamy nižnymy objmala  
Do lona vabyła svoho . . .  
Rybalka znyk . . . voda blyščala i movčala.*

(“The water roars, overflowing all its banks and backwaters submerged with the inundation. . . . Amid the expansive singing of maidens, there sits a fisherman upon his river perch, keeping watch over his floating cork to see if it is gently stirring, or spinning violently, or plunging into the abyss. Suddenly the water under the cork began to babble and, within its spray, to part; it was not a little silver fish that appeared with a feather, but a beautiful girl-mermaid. Softly she sings to him, and begins to speak winsomely, reed-like: . . . If only you knew what a merry time the dear little fish have sporting with us in the deep, you would give yourself wholly to us and frolic ever so pleasantly with the little fish and the tender maidens. . . . She clung to his knees, embracing them with her slender little arms, luring him to her bosom. . . . The fisherman disappeared . . . the water glistened and was still.”)

Kuliš also followed Hulak-Artemovs'kyj in a paraphrase of the same Psalm (139) which had resulted in a fine rendition by the older author:

*Kudy b ja vtik vid Tvooho duxu,  
ukryvsja vid jasnoho lyku.  
Na nebo—Ty na nebi sjajěš;  
uv ad—i v adi Ty vладыka.*

*Viz'mu v zori ja kryl šyrokyx  
ta poleču za okeany, —  
i tam, v pustyni tajemnyčij,  
Tvoja ruka mene dosjahne . . .*

(“Where could I flee from Thy spirit, hide from [Thy] radiant countenance? To heaven? Thou shinest in heaven; to hell? Even in hell, Thou art lord. I shall take to the stars with outspread wings and shall fly beyond the oceans—and there, too, in the impenetrable wilderness, Thy hand will reach me. . . .”)

The translations of Kuliš are not always creations of true poetry. The most artistry is contained in *Borrowed Kobza*: a work conforming, partly consciously, to the aim of a “pioneer with a heavy axe.”

5. In all of Kuliš's works may be found traces of the basic tenets of his philosophy. Its main idea was the Romantic notion of the dual character of man—a combination of that which is external and superficial with that which is profound, essential and concealed in man, hidden in the “heart.” Kuliš's enquiry and its oscillation were motivated by questioning the inherent nature of man: of what does it really consist, and what is merely superficial? Similarly differentiated were the two spheres of the “collective personality” of Ukraine:

*Oj serden'ko zakryteje,  
tyxyj raju, tyxyj raju . . .*

(“Oh, dear concealed heart, tranquil paradise, tranquil paradise. . . .”)

*Hlybokyj kolodjaz',  
til'ky dno blyščyt'sja:  
tvoja dumka hlybše  
u serci tajit'sja . . .*

(“Deep well, only the bottom glistens: your thought is deeper, being hidden in your heart. . . .”)

. . . *tyxi zori*  
*u čystij neba vysoti*  
*poblyskujut' u krasoti*  
*na dyvnim prostoroni morja:*  
*tak sjaje sercja hlybyna,*  
*ščo viruje ne navmannja . . .*

(“ . . . in the clear vault of the sky, the quiet stars glimmer  
 in their beauty on the wondrous expanse of the sea: in the  
 same way radiates the depth of the heart whose faith is not  
 a random thing. . . .”)

“At the bottom of the soul” there are “things of poetry,” “grief” and  
 “thoughts” (*pomysly*), that is, ideas, faith and hope for the future:

*Oj šyroko, oj hlyboko*  
*dumkoju zajmaju,*  
*a šče šyršu, a šče hlybšu*  
*ja nadiju maju . . .*

*Oj, nexaj moji nadiji*  
*budut' moji dity:*  
*u serden'ku harjačomu*  
*ljubo jix nosyty.*

(“Oh, how broadly, oh how deeply am I engaged in thought,  
 but still broader and still deeper is the hope in me. . . . Oh,  
 let my hopes be my children: how delightful it is to carry  
 them in a fervent heart.”)

It is, therefore, to the “heart” that Kuliš directs his question about the future:

*. . . dyvujus', radiju, u sercja pytaju:*  
*skažy, višče serce, čy skoro svit bude?*

(“ . . . I marvel, I rejoice and I inquire of my heart: tell me,  
 prophetic heart, will we soon behold the light of day?”)

Kuliš symbolized that line leading from a better past to a better future in the  
 image of the heart of his hero Holka from *Easter Week*:

*Oj, bahato u Slavuti  
dyvnoho, svjatoho;  
najdyvniše—ščyre serce  
Holky molodoho.*

*Rozterzane, kryvaveje,  
bjet'sja pid vodoju  
i vsju vodu ispovnjaje  
dumoju svjatoju . . .*

(“Oh, there is much in Slavuta that is wondrous and sacred: but by far the most wondrous is the sincere heart of young Holka. Rent and bloody, it beats under the water, filling all the deep with holy thought. . . .”)

For Kuliš believed “*Zabudet'sja imja moje, a serce v dalekomu potomstvi ozovet'sja*” (“My name will be forgotten, but my heart will echo even in distant generations”). The heart of man contained the universe in microcosm—“*Ja v serci mojomu vselennuju nosyla*” (“I carried the universe in my heart”)—as well as God and all his Divine gifts:

*Serce čyste, mylostyve,  
dar najkraščyj Boha,  
najpevniša, najprostiša  
do nebes doroha . . .*

(“Pure, kind heart, God’s finest gift and the most certain and most simple road to heaven. . . .”)

*Mij xram u serci. Tam ja vozxvaljaju,  
koho, jak zvaty, j na imja ne znaju.*

(“My temple is in my heart. There I praise him whom I cannot address, for I do not even know his name.”)

According to Kuliš: “*Treba uhoždaty til'ky Bohovi, a Boh hovoryt' nam čerez naše serce. Xto serce svoje očystyt' od usjakoji skverni, toj zrobyt' joho xramom Božyjim.*” (“It is necessary to please only God; and God speaks to us through our hearts. He who purges his heart of all corruption, makes of it a sanctuary of God.”); and “*Ljuds'kyj rid sered svojeji temnoty ta pomylok, bezustanno čynyt' božestvenne dilo pravdy i žyzni. Jak sonce ne perestaje robyty svoje dilo posered*

*noči, posered buri, posered xolodu i mrjaky, tak ljuds'ka duša ni na xvylynu ne zupynjajet'sja v svojemu pravednomu zaxodi kolo porjadkovannja rodu ljuds'koho. Prjamuvannja jiji časom skryva temrjava, a ŷčo vona prjamuje do Boha, do Joho rozumu, do Joho pravdy, to se rič pevna.*" ("The human race with its ignorance and erring ways carries out unremittingly the divine task of truth and life. Just as the sun does not cease doing its work in the dead of night, in the middle of a storm, and in the midst of cold and fog, so the human soul does not pause for a moment in its righteous labors of bringing order into the human race. Sometimes it goes awry or heads in an obscure direction; nevertheless, the end toward which it strives is God, His reason, His truth: this is certain.")

A recurrent theme in Kuliš's philosophy was that this "uncovering" of the heart, the realization of its potential and the dismissal of everything fortuitous and external was essential to the "resurrection of Ukraine." Thus, this resurrection was seen as simply a return to the sources of true life, to "ancient culture" (for it, too, resides in the heart). "Return to the family of *kulturnyks*" was Kuliš's cry to his people:

*. . . Naša ridna Ukrajina  
nedovidoma hlybynja mors'kaja  
i vol'nosty narodnjoji bezodnja.*

("Our native Ukraine, unfathomed ocean deep and bottomless, repository of national freedom.")

Kuliš's call was to the culture of ancient Rus', the chief element of which—language, was an "everlasting treasure" belonging to the heart of the nation: "*velyka bo syła v prostomu narodn'omu slovi i v prostij narodnij pisni, i tajna toji syly— v ljuds'kyx sercjax, a ne v ljuds'komu rozumi. Te slovo sercem ljudy vymovyly.*" ("for its great strength lies in the simple language of the people and in the simple folk song; and the secret of this strength is in human hearts and not in the human intellect. It is through the heart that people uttered this word.") A foreign language may be a language of the intellect but it is the native language that is faithfully kept by the common people and they, in their hearts, are the most intelligent of all. The motivation for Kuliš's appeal can be seen from the following:

*Otčestvo sobi gruntujmo v ridnim slovi:  
vono, vono odno vid pohuby vteče,  
pidderžyt' naciju na predkivs'kij osnovi,  
narodam i vikam vsju pravdu proreče . . .*

(“We base our fatherland in the native word: it, it alone will escape ruin; it will support the nation on the foundations laid by our ancestors; it will speak the whole truth to the people and to the ages. . . .”)

This “philosophy of the heart” also furnished the basis for Kuliš’s *xutir* philosophy: “*Pryrodnja prostota daje ljudyni čyste serce . . . Nijaka nauka takoho pravdyvoho sercja ne dast’ . . .*” (“Natural simplicity gives a person an unblemished heart. . . . No knowledge provides such a pure heart. . . .”). This “rustic philosophy” of the heart was considered to be that “eternal,” ancient, immutable “downright Gospel” truth which we comprehend with the heart.

Kuliš’s “philosophy of the heart” carried over into particular notions of his as well, including his Slavophile opposition of the *xutir* and Europe, and his opposition of man and woman (matriarchal ideas of later Romanticism!):

. . . *dux naš robyt’sja v duši žinočij . . .*  
*Rozkišno žyvučy rajamy-xutoramy,*  
*stolyčnogo vony ne znajut’ dušohubstva,*  
*mov zori, v čystoti kruh žyzni soveršajut’,*  
*pisnjamy vičnymy sercja nam prosviščajut’ . . .*

(“. . . our spirit grows in a woman’s soul. . . . Living in splendor in *xutir* paradises, they do not know big-city murder; they complete the circle of life in purity, like the stars; with immortal songs they illuminate our hearts. . . .”)

It was also reflected in his idealization of antiquity (no longer the Cossack past, but the princely period of ancient Rus’) and in his previously noted thoughts about the poet, etc. Although these typically Romantic motifs were developed for the most part in a symbolic manner, Kuliš must be declared a Romantic to the end. Clearly it was the Romantic world view which preserved him in the midst of all his many diverse ideas for Ukraine. However, the philosophy was, by this time, an anachronism, the source of the atmosphere of obscurity and hostility surrounding Kuliš during the last years of his life. It made of him during his lifetime a solitary figure, and, after his death, for a period—a forgotten son of Ukraine.

Kuliš was not afraid of “lofty” or philosophical themes, both of which were completely foreign to the writers and readers of an era dominated by materialism and positivism. Nor did he shrink from a high style or elevated language—

also alien to the period. Because of this, his poetry had a certain power even though it did not achieve widespread recognition. He remained a witness to the existence as well as the possibility of a “high” Ukrainian culture beyond the limitations of the depths into which Ukrainian literature and spiritual culture were being drawn by the incipient Populist Realism.

6. The works of another Romantic, Oleksa Storoženko (1805-74), also began appearing in the pages of *The Foundation*. A two-volume edition of his stories containing twenty three items (two more in prose), *Marko prokljatyj* (*Marko, the Cursed*), was issued posthumously (1879). His Russian works, in which he largely maintained Ukrainian themes, spanned the period 1857 to 1865. With their lively narratives, their successful use of the vernacular as the language of narration, and their undertone of mellow humor, Storoženko’s writings were deemed to be an impressive achievement of Ukrainian literature. In theme, all of his works are Romantic, either completely—drawing on fantastic and historical material, or partially—stemming from folklore, primarily popular anecdotes and tales. Storoženko himself alluded to the enormous role which, he felt, was inherent in folk poetry and in the popular tradition of historical tale: “A single oak has remained but with many acorns on it,” “Our dear mother, Ukraine, has not forsaken us without her blessing.” *The Foundation* added the following note to one of his stories: “Our nation—is a grand and prolific poet” as it were, providing our poets with “eternally fresh and potent seeds for greater poetic creativity.” Admittedly, Storoženko’s views of the future of Ukraine were pessimistic: “We have only our memories to live with.” It was, indeed, through remembrances that Storoženko lived his life. Almost all of Storoženko’s stories are created from folklore material, widely known tales, or local, family and personal accounts. Among his writings are also, simply, “*Spohady*” (“Recollections”) about the famous Zaporozhian centenarian Korž. The final days of Zaporozhe and the later fate of the Zaporozhians are depicted in such stories as “*Doroš*”—reminiscences about an old Zaporozhian beekeeper whose grove is protected even after his death by his spirit; or “*Kindrat Bubnenko-Švydkyj*”—the remembrances of an old veteran about *hajdamačyyna*. Others include “*Mežyhors’kyj did*” (“The Old Man of Mežyhorja”)—the recollections of an ancient crone about a still older Cossack warrior; “*Prokip Ivanovyč*,” written in the form of memoirs of a Zaporozhian about the destruction of the Sič; “*Holka*,” and others.

Storoženko’s tales of fantasy form a rather large group consisting of works such as “*Zakoxanyj čort*” (“A Devil in Love”), an account of how the hero chanced upon a devil enamoured of a witch, how this witch resolved to escape by obtaining God’s mercy, how the devil, who served as the hero’s mount (as in

Gogol's "*Nočpered Roždestvom*" ["Christmas Eve"] was torn to pieces by the hero's comrades), and finally how the hero came to marry the witch. "*Žonatyj čort*" ("A Married Devil") is an engagingly related tale about the collaboration of a peasant with a devil: the devil, having brought sickness upon the people, is "banished" by a peasant with whom he is in league. "*Se baba ščo čort jij na maxovyx vylax čoboti oddavav*" ("She Was Such a Hag That the Devil Gave Her Boots to Her with a Pitchfork") recounts the story of a vile woman whom even the devil was loath to approach too closely. A tale probably based on real events, "*Sužena*" ("The Betrothed") concerns a maiden whom fate betroths to the hero: it is the Romantic theme of love for an unknown woman. The lovers first see each other only as visions, but afterward meet in reality "for the Lord gave to the two of them but a single heart." The content of the tale "*Čortova korčma*" ("Tavern of the Devil") is clear from its title. The subject of "*Mirošnyk*" ("The Miller") is the premonition of another's death as well as that of one's self (see, for instance, Gogol's "Old World Landowners").

Storoženko also undertook reworkings of popular stories, tales and anecdotes, often accumulating diverse material in a single work: "*Včy linyvoho ne molotom, a holodom*" ("Teach the Lazy Man Not with a Hammer but with Hunger") is comprised of an amalgam of anecdotes about the lazy; in "*Ne v dobryj čas*" ("Without Luck") is a collection of anecdotes about a fool; and "*Skarb*" ("Treasure") consists of a combination of various anecdotes concerning sluggards and treasures which accrue to the idler without any effort whatever. "*Dva braty*" ("Two Brothers") is a variation of the tale about two destinies; "*Try sestry*" ("Three Sisters") presents a story reminiscent of the folk tale popularized in Puškin's "*Skazka o care Saltane*" ("The Tale of Tsar Saltan"). And, in the genre of ethnographic depiction, here—not about the life of the peasants, but about small landowners—is the well-known "*Vusy*" ("Whiskers").

In Storoženko's view, the folk tales which he reworked perhaps lacked the profundity of philosophic Romanticism but were full of beauty, charm and poetry. For him they were a manifestation of Ukrainian nature: "*Náša čudova ukrajins'ka vroda, nahritaja harjačym poludennym soncem, naviva na dumy nasinnja poeziji ta čar. Jak pšenycja zrije na nyvi i skladajet'sja u kopy i skyrdy, tak i vono, te nasinnja, zapavšy u serce j dumky, zrije slovesnym kolosom, i skladajet'sja u narodni opovidannja i legendy.*" ("The marvellous beauty of our Ukraine basking in the hot sun of noonday inspires thoughts with the seeds of poetry and wonders. Just as wheat ripens in the field and is bound into sheaves and shocks, so in the same way the issue of those seeds [of poetry], having fallen into the heart and mind, matures into a verbal spike and then assumes the form of popular stories and legends.")

It was, therefore, if not a philosophic function, then at least an aesthetic, national one that nature poetry assumed for this belated Romantic.

Like Gogol's *Mertvyje duši* (*Dead Souls*), Storoženko's long "poem" in prose, *Marko, the Cursed* was a long time in the writing. It is the story of a great sinner who commits incest with both his mother and sister and then murders them. Rejected by the earth, he wanders about the world, ultimately finding his way into hell. The action of the poem is transposed by Storoženko to the Xmel'nyč'kyj period. Unfortunately, although his poem was more extensively developed in plot and narration than any of Storoženko's other works, he was unable to complete it. Despite the author's intention that the work was to be a grand Ukrainian epic, its subject was hardly a particularly national one; it was thus difficult to group national anecdotes around it (in fact, there are almost none in the poem). Moreover, Storoženko simply lacked the knowledge to create a historical tableau. Today, this massive structure commands less interest than Storoženko's short stories.

*Marko, the Cursed* belongs to a small number of works by Storoženko that are written in an epic style. In most cases the author withdraws his presence, placing the narrative in the mouth of some other person ("Have you heard, gentlemen? . . ." [*skaz*]) who, generally, is of the common people—as attested by his vocabulary—*xront* (front), *škadron* (squadron), etc. Sometimes, Storoženko fulfills two artistic tasks at once. For example, the narrator of "The Old Man of Mežyhorja" is an old *babusja* who is constantly confused and absent-minded; and, the tale of the "devil in love" is narrated by the grandson of the old man whose story it follows. In this way a double perspective is created according to which even the fabulous may seem real.

The subject matter used by Storoženko is very complicated. It is the result of combining and reworking various folk tales as well as borrowing from literary sources: reminiscences from Gogol are not only frequent but almost word-for-word. In addition, the accuracy of the author's attributions of his sources is often doubtful (in his stories, such attributions are not even entirely clear). The language contains a good number of vulgarisms, but these are explained, for the most part, by the role played by the narrator. Also common are coarse jokes as well as excessively crude incidents (brawls, etc.); nor did Storoženko shrink from elements of impropriety even when largely irrelevant to the development of the narrative. The shades of humor in his writings are generally effective but sometimes too thickly applied. Humorous notes can, for example, find their way into narratives of quite terrible events—the justification being, of course, that Ukrainians "do not laugh at the misfortune of others, only at their own." Although he imitated Gogol, Storoženko does not bear comparison with him.

For, first, he overburdened his narratives with too much material; second, his recasting of it in his own creative laboratory was insufficiently decisive; and, in general, he merely linked together or combined various motifs in a superficial manner.

Storoženko's works also lack the deep ideological approach found in Gogol'. While not completely alien to Storoženko, his "ideology" consists, for the most part, of personal observations placed in extremely mechanical fashion either grouped together at the end of his works, or, in the case of his stories, dispersed throughout the narrative. Mention has already been made of his Romantic appreciation of folklore. Also found in Storoženko are particular remarks of a religious character: "It was a large soul . . . it wanted to live in heaven and on earth at the same time," "With the cross as a key he unlocked for himself the gates into the kingdom of heaven"; as well as of a primitive moralistic type: "He is no orphan, whom God has bestowed with a tender heart and rapturous soul," "What is happiness on earth?" (from a long meditation at the end of "The Treasure"), etc. Another facet of Storoženko's "ideology" was his extraordinarily idyllic attitude toward everything, including serfdom, the horrible corporal punishments among soldiers and the fierce temper of landowners (see "Prokip Ivanovyč" and "The Miller"). He accepted all as something normal: sometimes he merely laughed in derision, and sometimes he actually praised his savage heroes. For the readers of the 1860s this was now intolerable.

Clearly more important, however, was the fact that Storoženko's Romantic stories appeared to his contemporaries as outdated stylistically. In his view of the Ukrainian past, Storoženko ranged from *The Black Council* to *Taras Bulba*, and in his tableaux of village life—from Ševčenko to Kvitka. At times, elements of a new style ("naturalism"—perhaps from Gogolian influence) do run through his work, as in his comparisons of people with objects and animals: a person is described as being dry "jak spljuščenyj čornobryvčyk miž lystamy psaltyrja" ("as a marigold flattened out between the leaves of a psalter"), or "Pyka . . . jak novyj p'jatak" ("It was a snout . . . like a new five-kopeck piece"). However, because of the relative poverty of Storoženko's lexicon, its lack of expressions for the higher spheres of thought and for feelings, there was a necessary and severe limitation of all his creative potential in general, and of any possible forward movement in particular—whether toward the enrichment of style or the creation of new forms.

Storoženko's most unsuccessful work was "Harkuša." Belonging to the genre of "dramatic scenes," it is a dreadful example of Ukrainian melodrama of the later period. In the matter of a minute the characters pass from being on the point of suicide to participating in songs and dances! Maidens captured by

bandits are made by the author to serve as a chorus and ballet before being set free. Primitive effects abound. The psychological side of the action is completely fantastic: the characters instantly fall in love with one another whenever the author requires it; Harkuša and his entire band are immediately rehabilitated under the influence of a few words from an eighteen-year-old captain's wife. And a sixteen- or seventeen-year-old maiden is presented as a feminine *raisonneur*, the representative of the author's wisdom. It is astonishing that the creator of Storozhenko's stories could also have been the author of such a play.

Unlike Kuliš, Storozhenko attempted to prolong the ascendancy of ideological Romanticism. As a result, he fell into the depths which Romanticism had occupied even earlier and over which Realism was now triumphant. However, since Storozhenko was of no significance either to the lofty Romantic tradition or to Realism in its growing supremacy, his role in the history of Ukrainian literature was both incidental and short-lived. Storozhenko himself, after having experienced a remarkable productivity over the course of two to three years, fell silent as the critics became unfavorable. For, Romanticism after 1862 was an anachronism.

7. It is to the periphery of Ukrainian literature that the figure of Petro Kužmenko (1831-67) belongs. His publications, appearing after 1859, include several lyric poems, the legend "*Pohane pole*" ("Evil Field") and the folk tale "*Ne tak ždalosja, ta tak sklalosja*" ("It Never Happens As Expected"). While his verses recall the tender lyrics of Petrenko, they are more closely related to popular songs. However, it is unclear whether it is from folk songs or from Ševčenko that Kužmenko derived his motifs (three roads, cursed grave-mounds), and epithets ("white-faced" moon). He can be considered a Romantic only inasmuch as he failed to achieve explicitly "Realistic" themes.

8. Many individual Romantic features may be found in the early poetry of S. Rudans'kyj (1834-73). The Romantic tradition was the source not only for the ballad form of his *nebylyci* (fables) and the symbolism of his Slavophile poem "*Car Solovej*" ("Tsar Nightingale"), but also for his personal Slavophilism including his strange Ukrainianized transformations of poetic terms. However, the style, language and composition of the majority of Rudans'kyj's works, even his ballads, were in the spirit of the new literary current, Realism. Moreover, only undistinguished echoes of Romantic poetry emanated from the early verses of Galician poets of the post-Romantic period (K. Klymkovyč, V. Šaškevych).

## H. OTHER POETS OF UKRAINIAN ROMANTICISM

1. The existence of groups and circles in which ideas were crystallized and from which individual poets drew their poetic inspiration was a characteristic of Romantic poetry not only in Ukraine but also in other lands. However, Romanticism also embraced those independent and isolated poets and thinkers who went their own way without regard to literary society at large. In Ukrainian Romantic literature, there are no examples of poets of the latter type, or at least none of any distinguished merit. In his later years, Kuliš belonged to this category; but even he, in his earlier period, received much stimulation from the Kievan circle. Thus, in Ukraine the Romantic poets who remained isolated outside the literary centers were of minor importance.

2. One writer who was completely isolated was Tymko (Xoma) Padura (1801-70), a Pole. For a long time (from 1825) his songs circulated orally and in manuscript form, a portion of them being published only in 1844. His Romanticism, consisting of a fascination with the Cossacks, was expressed in the style of "Romantic terror":

*Kozak pana ne znay zvika,  
bo zrodyvsja na stepax,  
stavsja ptaxom z čolovika,  
bo ris v kins'kyx stremenax.*

.....  
*Joho sl'ozja ne spynjaje,  
vin ne ljubyt' lesnyx slov;  
ščo tam v nebi—vin ne znaje,  
a na zemli znaje krov.*

*Sam jak dykyj syn pryrody,  
de pokaže mstyvu tvar,  
krasjat' zemlju, krasjat' vody  
krovy ričky i požar . . .*

.....  
*Nam najmyl še tak kinčyty,  
jakby dušu čort sxvatyv!*

("The Cossack never knew a master, for he was born on the steppes; though a man, he became a bird, for he grew up in horses' stirrups. . . . Tears do not stop him, he abhors

flattering words; what there may be in heaven, he knows not—but on earth, he knows blood. Himself, he is like a savage son of nature; wherever he may show his countenance, there the earth glows fiery red and the water, crimson from the bloody rivers and conflagrations. . . .  
 . . . . It would be most merciful for us to stop here; it is as though the devil had seized the soul! . . .”)

In every instance, Cossack history was considered by Padura to be something great; a “Slavic Marathon” is his vision of the Sič:

*O maty naša! ty jedyne vil'ne  
 v cilij slov'janiv rodyni  
 čado rozkišne, horde svavil'ne. . .*

(“O, our mother! You alone are free in the entire family of Slavs, o magnificent, proud, self-willed child. . . .”)

However, Padura also depicted the Cossack as having idyllic relations with the Pole:

*Odna maty, odni xaty,  
 razom v poli stavav kiš;  
 razom žylos', razom bylos',  
 v odnim horšku priv kuliš. . .*

*Zvika vil'ni i svavil'ni,  
 ne puskaly šabel' z ruk;  
 razom v radax, razom v zvadax,  
 ščo ž urjadyly dlja vnuk?*

(“The same mother, the same houses, together they pitch camp in the field; together they lived, together they fought, in a single pot they cooked their gruel. . . . Ever free and headstrong, never losing hold of their swords; together in councils, together in disputes. What have they arranged for their grandchildren?”)

In part, Padura imitated folk songs, even *dumy*, although typical folk song expressions are few: “*Na mohyli voron krače*” (“On the grave-mound a raven is cawing”), “*V tim surmy ozvalys'*” (“At that, the *surmy* were sounded in

reply”), etc. Most noticeable in his work, however, are Romantic motifs—from images of Cossacks to landscapes: “*Vže mračni tumany dunulys’ z vitrom za mohyly . . .*” (“The misty fog by now had disappeared with the wind behind the grave-mound”):

*Z-pid xmar misjac’, jak ptax na mohyli,  
tužyt’ bezsonnyj v nebesnij pustyni . . .*

*Zakotyvsja misjac’ v xmarax,  
svyšče burja po horax . . .*

*Sumno, sumno, misjac’ hlyboko  
za xmaru v nebo zabih . . .*

*Nič bula temna, viter z nyyv šyrokyx  
z lystjam z dolyny kotyv čorni xmary . . .*

(“From under the clouds, the moon, like a bird on a grave-mound, languishes fitfully in the celestial wasteland. . . . The moon has set in the clouds, a storm whistles over the hills. . . . Sadly, sadly, the moon pursued the cloud into the heavens. . . . The night was dark, the wind from the broad fields sent the black clouds rolling along with leaves from the valleys. . . .”)

Padura clearly had a definite influence on Xarkiv Romanticism in its early stages. The language in his works may not always be good (*stov* for *sliv*; *dlja vnuk* for *vnukiv*; *ščadky* for *naščadky*), but there are few errors. Moreover, the meters found in his verses are not tonic in most cases, but are closely related to the rhythms of folk poetry used later by Ševčenko.

3. The most outstanding of the Ukrainian unaffiliated poets was Jevhen Hrebinka (1812-48), although the center of his attention lay in his Russian works, particularly those belonging to the “Ukrainian school.” As a younger fellow student of Gogol’ in Nižyn, he often imitated the style of his great countryman with considerable skill but without the latter’s depth or brilliance. In fact, his Ukrainian writings lagged behind his own Russian works, which evolved from Romanticism to “naturalism”: at the same time, his Ukrainian works merely developed from *Kotljarevščyna* to a rather timid incipient Romanticism. Perhaps Hrebinka’s greatest service to Ukrainian literature lay in his publication of the almanac *The Swallow* (1841) and his role in furnishing Ševčenko with information about Romanticism—primarily, Russian Romanticism.

Hrebinka began his literary career with a paraphrase of Puškin's *Poltava* (1831). The work is, in some respects, a travesty: for while its tone is not exactly that of the *Enejida*, it contains enough traits of the burlesque to completely destroy all motifs of the struggle for freedom which pervade Puškin's poem, and to effectively stifle the tragic, heroic notes surrounding the figure of Mazepa (and of Peter the Great). Illustrative of this treatment are such lines as: "Zbyralas' . . . pesyholovciv čereda" ("A herd of dog-headed men gathered"). Puškin describes the Cossack in love with Mary in the following manner: "Ešli kto, xotja slučajno pred nim Mazepu nazyval, to on blednel, terzajas' tajno i vzory v zemlju opuskal" ("If anyone mentioned Mazepa in front of him even accidentally, he turned pale, suffered secret torments and lowered his eyes to the ground"). In Hrebinka, his experiences are portrayed thus:

*Najkraščyj buv miž kozakamy  
odyn šče molodyj kozak,  
i cej z druhymy parubkamy  
harbuz isxrumav, neborak . . .  
Imja presučoho het'mana  
.....  
kusavšy čornyj us, vorčav . . .*

("Among the Cossacks the finest was one who was still a young fellow. And he with the other youths was rebuffed in marriage, poor dear. . . . After biting his black mustache, he growled out the name of the hetman, a very bitch of a man. . . .")

Instead of "Na plaxe gibnet Čečel' smelyj" ("On the block brave Čečel perished"), Hrebinka writes "I zhynuv Čečel', jak bloxa" ("And Čečel was killed, like a flea"). In his version, the wife of Kočubej rejects Mazepa's proposal of marriage to her daughter with these words: "Brydkyj, merzennyj! hljan', pohanec'! Čy možna? ni, paskudnyj lanec'!" ("Abominable, loathsome man! See here, villain! Is it possible? No, you nasty wretch!"). In addition, however, there are passages which, while unequal to those in Puškin's work, succeed in conveying the Romantic style of his poem. The burlesque style also prevails in Hrebinka's Ukrainian correspondence and in his brief prose writings (foreword and afterword to *The Swallow*).

Hrebinka's significance in Ukrainian literature lies in his fables (*prykazky*) and other verses. His fables, numbering around thirty, constitute a definite

contrast to those of Borovykovs'kyj. They are quite conversational, with lengthy expositions and often unnecessary details.

While Hrebinka's lively, witty fables belong to a genre favored by Classicism, Hrebinka contrived to destroy the traditional form. His fables were also a departure from the travesties typical of the genre in Ukrainian Classicism. Their vivid language is pure, containing relatively few vulgarisms, notwithstanding the fact that the fables were directed at the peasant. The following example of the short ballad "Jačmin'" ("Barley") is illustrative:

Syn

*Skažy meni', bud' laskav, tatu!  
čoho jačmin' naš tak poris,  
ščo koloskiv prjamyx ja baču tut bahato,  
a dejaki zovsim sxylylysja unyz.  
Mov my, nehramotni, pered velykym panom,  
mov pered sudovym na stijci kozaky.*

Bat'ko

*Oti prjamiji kolosky  
zovsim pustisin'ki, rostut' na nyvi darom,  
kotri ž pokljaknuly—to boža blahodat':  
jix hne zerno, vony nas musjat' hoduvat'.*

Syn

*Toho ž to holovu do neba zvolyt' drat'  
nas pysar volosnyj, Onys'ko Xarčovytyj!  
Až vin, baču . . .*

Bat'ko

*Movčy! počujut'—budeš bytyj.*

("Son: Tell me please, daddy, why has our barley grown in such a way that many plants here, I see, are straight and tall? And why are several completely bowed down like us, illiterates, before the mighty lord, like Cossacks standing guard for the judge?

Father: Those rigid plants are altogether barren; they grow in the field to no purpose. Those that are bent over with weight are God's blessing: bowed by their kernel, they must feed us.

Son: That is why our district clerk Onesimus Gluttonly dares to lift his head to heaven! And I see that he. . . .  
 Father: Quiet! You'll be overheard—and be beaten.”)

While their plots are to some extent taken from foreign literatures (Krasicki, Krylov), their linguistic purity and model composition create of Hrebinka's fables significant examples of this genre in Ukrainian literature.

Hrebinka also wrote a few lyrical verses, mainly songs whose typically sentimental feelings of sorrow were characteristic of the minor poets of Ukrainian Romanticism. The most famous of these verses, “*Ni, mammo, ne možna neljuba ljubyt'*” (“No, mamma, it is impossible to love an unloveable man”) became a popular song as did several of Hrebinka's Russian lyrics.

4. Although he spent practically his entire life in Moscow, Osyp Bodjans'kyj (1808-77), became renowned as a publisher of Ukrainian monuments and in his early years was known as a Ukrainian poet. It was apparently under the influence of Maksymovyč at Moscow University that Bodjans'kyj turned to the study of folk poetry. His master's dissertation “*O narodnoj poezii slovjanskix plemen*” (“On the Folk Poetry of Slavic Races,” 1837) was one of the first Romantic investigations of this theme in Ukrainian literature. Between 1833 and 1835 he produced several poems as well as a separate collection *Nas'ki ukrajins'ki kazky* (*Our Own Ukrainian Tales*) under the pseudonym Is'ko Materynka. The Romantic motifs in his poems, based on fairy tales (three riddles), as well as national sources (“epitaph” to Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, and the verse dedicated to “Kyrylo Rozum”), were treated in a primitive manner in a language which, while pure and simple, was hardly poetic. His *Tales* were a naive attempt at “ethnographic Romanticism.”

The stories of Xoma Kuprijenko, *Malorossijskie povesti i rasskazy* (*Little Russian Tales and Yarns*, 1840) were attributed to folk tales from the author's village. In fact, they were very inept imitations, stylistically and thematically, of Gogol'. “*Nedobryj viščun*” (“Evil Soothsayer”) is the story of a witch-sorceress, while “*Utoplencyja*” (“The Drowned Girl”), recalling Gogol'’s “*Majskaja noč'*” (“A May Night”), concerns a drowned maiden who assists in bringing about the marriage of two peasant lovers. “*Jak nažyto, tak i prožyto*” (“Easy Come, Easy Go”), a variant of Gogol'’s “*Večer nakanune Ivana Kupala*” (“St. John's Eve”), is an account of a peasant who, for the sake of a treasure, sells his soul to the devil. “*Ni! ne vtečeš'*. . . .” (“No You Won't Escape . . .”) is the story of a sorcerer who quits his grave after death and seeks his wife. The literary value of this ethnographic-fantastic Romanticism is minimal indeed.

Also ethnographic in character are the forged *dumy* of O. Šyšač'kyj Illyč

(1828-59), modelled on the Romantic forgeries of Sreznevs'kyj. Šyšac'kyj's own verses and poems, published in Černihiv in two volumes in 1856-57, are of mediocre quality.

5. Two poets, both from the Poltava area, who stood quite apart from the narrow confines of the Ukrainian literary circles, were Viktor Zabila (1808-69) and Oleksander Afanas'ev-Čužbyns'kyj (1817-79). Theirs was that Romanticism of sadness and sorrow whose most prominent representative was M. Petrenko.

Zabila indulged in different variations of the same theme: “*Šonce sxodyt'—ja nužusja, a zaxodyt'—plaču*” (“When the sun rises, I am weary, and when it sets, I weep”); “*Cilyj vik svij use plaču na lyxu hodynu*” (“All my days I ceaselessly bewail my misfortune”). The motif of unhappy love is the cause of the poet's sorrow:

*Povijaly vitry bujni  
z xolodnoho kraju,  
rozlučyly z divčynoju,  
kotru ja koxaju . . .*

(“Turbulent winds began to blow from the cold regions;  
they took leave of the girl I love. . . .”)

*. . . kotru ljublju divčynon'ku,  
tijeji ne baču,  
dovho j čutky ja ne maju  
pro mylu divčynu . . .*

(“. . . the dear girl whom I love—her I no longer see. Nor,  
for a long while, have I even had news of the tender  
maiden. . . .”)

Instead of the nightingale, it is the owl that the poet wants to hear:

*Puhač meni tak hodyt'sja:  
stohne—ne spivaje . . .  
Nexaj stohne kolo mene  
ta smert' vozviščaje . . .*

(“The owl suits me so: it sighs—it does not sing. . . .  
May its plaintive hoots surround me and foretell of  
my death. . . .”)

*Oдно meni teper v sviti  
til'ky vže zostalos'  
ščob skoríše serce moje  
z svitom poproščalos'.*

(“Only one thing now is left me in this world—the wish that my heart would soon bid farewell to the earth.”)

The sincerity of feeling does not compensate for the monotony of mood, the lack of original images and the linguistic poverty, at times, of his not always correct language.

Čužbysn'kyj, who also wrote numerous prose works in Russian, was faithful to the tone of the sensitive song-romance. The following verse achieved unusual popularity:

*Skažy meni pravdu, mij dobryj kozače,  
ščo dijaty sercju, koly zabolyt'  
Jak serce zastohne i hirko zaplače  
i duže bez ščastja vono zakvylyt'?*

(“Tell me the truth, my fine young Cossack, what can a heart do if it begins to ache? When the heart begins to moan and to burst into bitter tears, and begins a dire lament from its loss of happiness. . . ?”)

Čužbysn'kyj's imitations of folk songs were also quite successful:

*. . . kozaka zhadajte,  
kotryj des' to na čužyni,  
serdeha ubohyj,  
pide šukat' pomiž ljud'my  
svojeji dorohy,  
kotryj vik svij promandruje  
z pustymy rukamy,  
vstavajučy j ljahajučy,  
vmyjet'sja sljozamy . . .*

(“Think of the Cossack who somewhere there in an alien land, poor destitute fellow, goes searching among people for his path, who spends his life wandering with empty

hands, who, on waking up and lying down to sleep, is bathed in tears. . . .”)

. . . *travka zvjane, travka zsoxne*  
*konju voronomu,*  
*otrutoju voda stane*  
*meni, molodomu.*

*Na tij šovkovij travyci*  
*bahato otruty,*  
*a z tijeji krynyčen'ky*  
*pyv mij voroh ljutyj.*

(“. . . the grass withers, the grass shrivels up before the raven-maned steed, the waters turn to poison for me, a tender youth. In this silken, fine, young grass, poison abounds; and from this source my fierce enemy drank.”)

His depiction of Ukrainian landscapes was also masterful:

*Mov synjaja strička, Donec' pid horoju,*  
*kruh joho lisy ta šyroki luhy;*  
*mov kylym zelenyj zdajut'sja vesnoju*  
*u kvitax paxučyx joho berehy . . .*

*A tam zelenije hora za piskamy,*  
*čerez horu stežečka het' prostjahlas',*  
*pišla po bajrakax, horamy, stepamy . . .*

(“Like a dark blue ribbon, the Donec winds under the mountain, around it, woods and broad meadows; in spring, its banks in fragrant flower give the appearance of a green carpet. . . . And there, behind the sands, the mountain turns a green color and through the mountain, a little path stretches far away traversing ravines, hills, steppes. . . .”)

Čužbyns'kyj's Romanticism embraced the past as well, but only that which was “ancient,” “memorable,” etc. Even the poetry of Ševčenko was regarded by Čužbyns'kyj as, simply, singing “on the ruins of the Sič.”

His images are well-drawn but undermined by his frequently unsatisfactory language: “*na tij travyci . . . bahato otruty,*” “*mov kylym . . . zdajut'sja . . . berehy,*” “*čerez horu,*” etc.

Another Romantic was Semen Metlyns'kyj, brother of Amvrosij. His collections *Mova z Ukrajiny (A Message from Ukraine, 1858; part two, 1864)* are, almost entirely, imitations of folk poetry, and of the verse of Amvrosij Metlyns'kyj, Puškin and Lermontov. The predominance of sorrowful motifs in his work doubtless stems from Metlyns'kyj's models. Nevertheless, its presence justifies considering the author together with the most distinguished of the melancholy poets of Ukrainian Romanticism.

It is interesting that the secondary Ukrainian Romantic poets imitated Ševčenko but failed to adapt either his rhythms or his rhymes.

6. Ukrainian Romantic literature was also characterized by some admirable works of mixed style. These were long poems, influenced to some degree by the Romantic Byronic poem through the example of Russian writers and of Ševčenko, yet never rising above the level of travesty (often despite the intention of the author). Among the works of this type were P. Korenyč'kyj's *Večornyci (Evening Party, 1841)* which combined the style of the *Enejida* with borrowings from Puškin; S. Oleksandriv's *Vovkulaka (The Werewolf, 1841)* with its Romantic plot; the idyllic poem *Natalja (1844)* and the adventure poem *Haras'ko (1845)*, modelled after Puškin's *Kavkazskij plennik (The Prisoner of the Caucasus)* by M. Makarovs'kyj (1783-1846); as well as *Do čumakiv (To the Carters)* and *Hajdamaky (1855)* by P. Moračevs'kyj (1806-?). It has already been noted that Hrebinka made use of burlesque elements in his paraphrase of *Poltava*, a Romantic poem. Similar features are to be found in the rather mediocre ballads (including “*Jivha,*” a paraphrase of Bürger's famous *Lenore*) and other translations of Bilec'kyj-Nosenko. The few anonymous works extant in both printed and manuscript form (including an 1828 fragment of the long poem *Kočubej*) are practically all characterized by this same mixed style. The influence of “*Kotljarevščyna*” was not easy to overcome. Moreover, where there was no interest in problems of literary style, it was natural that Romantic poems with lines such as the following should have been produced:

*A ja kobzu lyš nastroju,  
tu, ščo v Orfija ukrav,  
pid Parnas'koju horoju  
jak v šynku iz nym huljav . . .*

*A hrek, nabyvšy dobre šlunok,  
smijavsja ta lyhav pyvce . . .*

... *naša kobza v Peterbursi*  
*kolys' to bude hraty v lad . . .*

(“And I will but tune the *kobza*, the one I stole from Orpheus under the mountain of Parnassus while cavorting with him in the tavern. . . . Then the Greek, packing his stomach right full, laughed and gulped down the good beer. . . . . our *kobza* will someday play grandly in Petersburg. . . .”)

7. There were several Polish poets besides Padura who wrote in Ukrainian. The verses of A. Szaszkiewicz, the “king of the *balahuly*” (Jewish drivers of covered wagons), were merely funny anecdotes, while those of S. Ostaszewski (1797-1875), including *Piv kopy kazok dlja veseloho myra* (*A Few Dozen Tales for a Merry World*, 1850) and *Piv sotni kazok dlja veselyx ljudej* (*Half a Hundred Tales for Merry People*, 1869) were based on popular legend and contained features of travesty. Other Polish poets who wrote in Ukrainian (K. Cięglewicz, Jan Poźniak, L. Węgliński) have been almost completely forgotten.

## I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF UKRAINIAN ROMANTICISM

1. The influence of Romanticism on later Ukrainian literature was considerable. First and foremost, it provided Ukrainian literature with its greatest poet of modern times—a fact which contributed significantly to the extraordinary permanence of Romantic influence. The other, non-Ševčenkian, tradition which outlived the specific period of Romanticism was that of the sensitive and sorrowful romance, a tradition rooted in folk song.

The types of influence Romanticism exercised were partly formal and partly thematic. For, while Ševčenko's verses were “imitated,” they were somehow always transposed into the familiar rhythms of Russian, German and other Romantic poetry—namely, conventional, tonic meters. As a result, the unique charm of Ševčenko's verse was completely destroyed, as seen from the poetry of Kuliš. Nor was any attention given to the other qualities of Ševčenko's verses, such as their “instrumentation” (see above, pt. F, no. 5). Accordingly, despite the apparent superficial similarity of post-Ševčenkian verse with that of Ševčenko, the poetry of Ševčenko's epigones was destined to remain dry, monotonous and harmonically impoverished.

A far greater influence was exerted by the subject matter of Ukrainian Romanticism—again, primarily that of Ševčenko—on the literature of Ukrainian

Realism. On the one hand there was the idealization of the Cossacks; on the other, tragic themes from peasant life which were becoming increasingly stronger in Ukrainian prose and drama. Since the theme of peasant suffering is altogether natural in a "Realistic" drama, and that of Cossack Romanticism totally outside the limits of Realistic subject matter, it follows that Realism could have been ushered in with *The Black Council* and its depiction of social problems. However, Kuliš's novel did not inaugurate this trend. And it is in large measure to the influence of the Romantic, literary and scholarly tradition that one must ascribe the continuance of Cossack themes for decades on end. It was also the influence of Romantic, and precisely Ševčenkian themes, which led to the tragic undertones of so many dramas dealing with peasant life. The plays of Kropyvnyč'kyj' Karpenko-Karyj and Staryč'kyj are filled not only with this type of subject matter, but also with certain motifs and figures taken from Ševčenko's Byronic poems. In later Ukrainian literature, the various allusions, echoes and motifs derived from Romantic poetry are countless.

2. However, no matter how notable the influences of the literary material of Romanticism on subsequent literature, Realism was still able to transform them to a large degree, to imbue them with its own character and shape. The Cossack struggle became a struggle for social justice; almost all Romantic literature became interpreted as "populist" by Realists of a certain type. Romantic ideology was another matter. Several of its motifs were adopted by Realism, thereby changing altogether the "realistic" coloration of the later trend. In the first place, the customs, *pobut*, popular beliefs and folk poetry which the Romantics had revealed as containing the highest values of national life remained within the sphere of artistic attention of Ukrainian Realism. Moreover, these revelations often concealed from the Realists the very things which, in fact, interested them, or might have interested them—the social conditions of the life of the people. "Ethnographic Realism" thus was a kind of combination of Realist aims with Romantic tradition.

Nor in the period of Ukrainian Realism was there a dissipation of the Romantic enthusiasm for the past, especially the Cossack period: it thrived, albeit in the peculiar "stylized" form of Realism. However, in comparison with the Romantic period, this latter-day ethnographicism and idealization of the past represented a considerable decline. In ethnographic material they no longer perceived the profound essence of the national soul, nor did they recognize it as the means through which the character of the people could be discovered. Rather they saw in it, at best, only some "popular wisdom" and quite primitive morality, and, at worst, simply material without any deep meaning. In the historical past they did not seek the specific features of a particular era or of a

moment in history, but, for the most part, merely explained it to suit contemporary requirements. Ukraine's colorful, robust past was thus shrouded altogether by nineteenth-century Ukrainian life, sad, and in decline. Certainly without the heritage of Romanticism, Ukrainian Realism would have been even more impoverished, both thematically and ideologically.

Another of Romanticism's revelations was its understanding of the nature of a nation and of the process of its life. For the Realists, the concept of the nation as an integral organism or as a "being of a higher level" whose life flows from a single source ("the heart" according to Kuliš) was, of course, an exceedingly mystical notion. However, it is clear that the Realist period would never have attained even its quite superficial understanding of the nation had it not been for the education provided for generations of Ukrainian intelligentsia by Romantic literature. Still more significant was the change brought about by Romanticism in the understanding of the life process of the Ukrainian nation. In the pre-Romantic period the general notion had been that the Ukrainian nation either had died or was dying. Even later, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj could mock Kuliš who spoke of the "Cossack mother" (Ukraine) as already dead; but apart from some tasteless jokes directed at Kuliš, he was able to do no more than bid his farewell to her in the phrase of a requiem—"may the kingdom of heaven be hers." Romanticism introduced the concept of "national regeneration," of the resurrection of the nation—a word and a notion which survived into all the post-Romantic periods despite changes in fundamental points of view toward the nature of a nation. Moreover, just as the Romantics had invested a word and a literature with such extraordinary significance, so later Ukrainian ideologies all linked the nation's revival with the literary and linguistic reform of Kotljarevs'kyj, even though national life continued on its path of further decline for a long time afterward.

In addition to the literary and national elements of the Romantic ideology, which stayed with the "average Ukrainian intellectual," in later years were many individual and less significant elements of the Romantic view regarding life and the world. These, however, belong to the realm of cultural history.

3. The most important feature and contribution of Ukrainian Romanticism was its conscious attempt to create a "complete literature" capable of satisfying the requirements of all circles and strata of Ukrainian society. The aspiration toward a complete literature was achieved chiefly in the creation of a "complete language," an all-round language well suited for use in all spheres of literature and life. Of course, due partly to political conditions and partly to the considerable breakdown in the national complexion of the Ukrainian people or more properly to the disintegration of its upper classes, the actual attainment of this

Romantic aspiration was not achieved. There was perhaps a certain illusion of a complete literature, but in reality there were practically no dramas, and not much prose—only one novel and a few stories. Nor did the poetic endeavors of the Romantics bear comparison quantitatively with the prodigious creativity of Baroque versifiers. However, all literature had found its ideal and set a definite goal to be attained in the future.

To their efforts toward the creation of a complete literature were added, in the 1860s, the contributions of the representatives of the modern generation, the Realists. In fact, they succeeded in bringing closer the goal of a complete literature through their prolific output and through the variety of genres they employed. However, the breadth and fullness of literature diminished considerably during this period since the Realists tried to reflect in their works the “real” contemporary life of the Ukrainian people. And, inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of the people consisted of the peasantry, there was an excessive preponderance of peasant themes in this period. Kuliš, aware of the requirements of a complete literature, had written part of his works in Russian; no doubt it was also partly due to the lack of Ukrainian publishing houses and readers, and to censorship. But even in *The Black Council* and in his later poems, he did not shrink before lofty ideological themes. He was not afraid to write for “the few” or for “the future reader” for whom works of the “high style” alone must be prepared and produced. The Realists, on the other hand, consciously avoided lofty subject matter. Of course, to some degree, this too resulted from conditions of censorship; however, it was also due to their general lack of interest in these themes. Accordingly, they made no effort whatever to prepare for the new reader from the upper classes. Only in Galicia did a happier situation exist which was largely responsible later for the leading role played by Galicia in Ukrainian development.

4. Foreign literatures, especially those of Slavic countries, were also drawn—indeed, because of the very ideology of Romanticism—to Ukrainian Romantic poetry. The number of translations produced was relatively small, however. Apart from the first translations which were in Czech, numerous translations from Ševčenko may be found chiefly in the south Slavic literatures of the Bulgarians and the Serbs. The result was that the influence of Ševčenko became a factor in south Slavic literature. Good translations of Ševčenko were also done by Poles (mainly L. Sowiński and W. Syrokomla-Kondratowicz). In Russian literature the translations are numerous but generally of poor quality.

Of greater significance were echoes of the Ukrainian folk poetry that had been discovered by the Romantics. Such echoes, in imitation of Cossack Romanticism, were to be found among the Czechs, and chiefly among the Slovaks. In

German literature too, after 1840, a small group of works appeared which had Ukrainian subject matter. In 1845 *Die poetische Ukraine (Poetic Ukraine)* was published by F. Bodenstedt, and 1843 saw the publication of Ukrainian folk songs in *Balalajka* by W. Waldbrühl. An original collection of verses on Ukrainian themes entitled *Ukrainische Lieder (Ukrainian Songs)* was published in 1841 by A. M. Jochmus-Mauritius; in 1844 the poem "Mazeppa" by G. E. Stäbisch appeared; and in 1850, "Gonta" by R. von Gottschall. Also published were the Romantic tragedies of C. J. Starck—*Schlacht bei Poltawa (Battle Near Poltava, 1855)* and von Gottschall's *Mazeppa* (translated into Ukrainian in 1865 by Fed'kovyč), as well as the historical novel *Mazeppa* by A. Mützelburg. As early as 1831, A. Chamisso had paraphrased part of Ryleev's *Vojnarovskij* into masterful German tercets; another inferior, although fuller, translation of this work was published in 1847 by I. Golovin. Around 1846 there appeared German translations of the Polish *Ukrainian Tales* by M. Czajkowski. The internal connections involved in the development of this Ukrainian-German Romantic literature have as yet not been investigated at all.

5. The universal historic service performed by Romanticism included its discovery of folk poetry and its considerable role in the elaboration of modern historical thought. These services were also rendered by Ukrainian Romanticism. The numerous collections of Ukrainian folk songs that were already in existence at the time had arisen directly out of the Romantic enthusiasm for folk poetry. Even the few collections published later owed their appearance to this Romantic fascination. And, most importantly, it was because of their Romantic belief that folk poetry contained profound philosophic meaning as well as the essence of the national spirit that scholarly collections were able to bring about the widespread dissemination of folk song themes and the use of their devices in imitative poetry. Research into folk poetry continued into the post-Romantic period. The gathering and the study of folklore both advanced considerably hereby. Folk poetry ceased to be idealized; it came to be regarded instead as merely ethnographic, historical and literary material.

The enormous role played by Ukrainian Romanticism in the study of Ukrainian history is a fact that is often overlooked. Yet the discovery and the publication of the basic sources from the *hetman* period are the undisputed achievements of the Romantic era. The initial enthusiasm which greeted the "Istorija Rusiv" as well as other chronicles and folk song materials may have been quite uncritical. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that it was the Romantics—with their characteristic determination to discover in the past that which was unique and distinctive in relation to the present—who did much to overcome the naive idealization of Ukrainian antiquity. It was also the Romantic

world view to which the scholarship of Kostomarov and Kuliš was indebted in large measure. And when the further development of historical studies had far outstripped the old, Romantic historiography, a complete transformation came about in the manner in which literature treated historical material. While Ševčenko and Kuliš had attempted to highlight Ukraine's past in all its grandeur, they were able to approach it as a living thing, multifaceted and full of vitality. During the period of Realism, however, this was replaced with an idealization of the past: a completely naive celebration of it came to dominate both the historical novel and drama. Any pretense to a critical attitude to the past—if not as a whole, then to isolated features in it—was forfeited altogether.

6. The greatest contribution of Ukrainian Romanticism lay in the formal achievements of its literary production. And, while such achievements are generally ascribed to the genius of Ševčenko, the majority of those basic formal features was present among earlier Ukrainian Romantics. The main feature was the transition from the linguistic tradition of Kotljarev'skyj—i.e., travesty, with its one-sided and quite uncommon lexicon including vulgarisms, burlesque and obscure words—to a modern, standardized language, well-suited to serious poetic genres and to express the feelings and ideas of a “full-fledged nation.” The establishment of modern forms such as the Romantic ballad or the “free poem” and their stylistic Ukrainianization was another of the pioneering services rendered by the Romantics. The musicality of poetic language—the very basis of Romantic poetics—is indebted to Ševčenko for its greatest examples. In verse form there were further accomplishments: e.g., the old syllabic versification was finally abandoned. In addition to developments in tonic meter (based on accent) which had been adopted from the Russians, there was an original verse, inspired by folk song meter, which was created by Ševčenko, although, as mentioned previously, not imitated by other Romantics.

The formal achievements of the Romantics are best appreciated when compared with the neglect of the formal aspects of a work typical of the period of Realism.

7. The end of Ukrainian Romanticism was not the kind of natural death met by Romanticism in the West and in neighboring countries. There, a certain saturation of the Romantic style led to a sharp change in literary direction. But it was difficult to become “saturated” with the relatively few works which Ukrainian Romanticism had provided. Rather, the end of Ukrainian Romanticism and the victory of a new style were brought on by extra-literary factors: the social situation which required a new literary approach to problems; and, more important, the literary development of Western and neighboring

countries, especially that of Russia which, at that time, was exerting an unprecedented strong influence on Ukrainian literary development.

Of course, it should not be imagined that Romantic literature survived in Ukraine for very long after its decline in the rest of Europe. Ukrainian literature, like any other, lives in close connection with the literatures of other nations. However, at this particular time, the process of literary development in Ukraine became disoriented—almost exclusively in imitation of foreign development.

Ukrainian Realism was indeed characterized by a certain originality but it was almost entirely of a negative nature, due primarily to the overwhelming predominance of peasant themes. Other directions in which Realism developed, such as the “psychological novel” which provided the greatest works of Realist literature, remained in embryonic form. The canon of Realist poetics—“being true to life”—thus paradoxically found its expression in the narrowing of subject matter of literary works to peasant themes. Consequently, notwithstanding the unusual size and generally good quality of its literary production, the achievements of Romantic literature toward the goal of a “full-fledged” literature were once again jeopardized.

### XIII.

## “BIEDERMEIER” AND THE “NATURALIST SCHOOL” IN UKRAINE

1. Not long ago a new concept, borrowed from the world of fine arts, was developed in German literary history—“Biedermeier.” The continuing debate which it engendered has left certain matters unresolved—including the distinctive features of the trend and its representative writers. In every instance, the basic features of “Biedermeier,” as characterized primarily by Austrian literature, have been defined as “late Romantic,” a form of Romanticism known either as “bourgeois Romanticism” or “outdated Romanticism.” The principal ideological motifs of Romanticism in the literary Biedermeier period are vague and elusive. Individualism and revolutionary fervor receded before *supra*-individual imperatives in matters of state, religion and customs; once again tradition exerted its attraction. An avid thirst for nothing less than the entire world gave way to peaceful labors and composure. Stridency and impulsiveness were replaced by mildness and calm. Pursuit of the extremes, including the abnormal and the forbidden, was supplanted by an aspiration toward honor, humility and modesty as the fundamental virtues of man. Language became more tranquil, more correct, more moderate and more static. Besides these basic features, there are others which scholars have isolated including certain contradictory ones: the coincidence of an idyllic character and frenzy, the coexistence of pessimism and sadness along with a longing for soft and gentle beauty. Also differentiated were some traits characteristic of only a few writers such as respect for antiquity which, to a large extent, had been lost by Romanticism, etc. Typical representatives of the Biedermeier style were L. Uhland, A. Stifter, A. von Droste-Hülshoff, F. Grillparzer, G. Keller, and O. Ludwig. Similar features were found to exist in Czech and Slovak literatures as well.

2. An attempt was made (by I. Pan'kevych) to extend the Biedermeier classification to the history of Ukrainian literature. The sole basis for the attempt was certain tender notes in the work of M. Šaškevyč and one particular story of M. Ustyjanovyč! Quite without foundation was the suggestion of affinity between this style and the creativity of Kvitka, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and A. Metlyns'kyj.

There is, however, no necessity for any special "Biedermeier" section in the history of Ukrainian literature—not only because the writers who do appear in it are few and undistinguished, but principally because even these writers are not very indicative of the Biedermeier style. It was a time when in Western Europe (Germany) Biedermeier represented a reaction to Romanticism; it was a sign of a "sobering-up" after the excesses of Romantic ideas, and it signified a departure from them. But in Ukraine there were no grounds whatever for any reaction against Romanticism; least of all was there such motivation within the personal development of individual poets. Isolated concrete features of Biedermeier poetry may, of course, be found among particular poets—not only Šaškevyč, but also the melancholy lyricists Petrenko, Zabala, Čužbyns'kyj, S. Metlyns'kyj and the early Ščoholiv—and also in the prosaists M. Ustyjanovyč and, partly, O. Storoženko. However, as for Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and Kvitka, who were not Romantics at all, and A. Metlyns'kyj, who was a belated Romantic—all three had nothing in common with Biedermeier. Moreover, those features of Biedermeier style which were present in Ukrainian poets arose not through any organic development but through simple borrowing. Šaškevyč, for example, took from Austrian literature. Others borrowed from Biedermeier-related Russian poets, principally from Lermontov who, as an anti-nationalist and Byronist, was scarcely typical of Biedermeier. Further, in addition to the stylistic borrowings from Biedermeier literature found in the Ukrainian poets mentioned above, there were also important influences of Romantic poetry which was not of the Biedermeier strain at all—primarily, that of Ševčenko. It should be concluded, therefore, that the Biedermeier style was largely restricted to German literature and to those literatures under its direct influence; the traces it left in Ukrainian literature were quite insignificant.

3. Much more closely related to Ukrainian literature was another Russian form of Romanticism-in-decline—the so-called *naturalnaja škola*. Fundamental to Romanticism had been the concept of two worlds between which stood man. At first Romanticism either depicted both worlds, the one along with the other—or portrayed the higher, "other worldly" sphere alone. The *naturalnaja škola*, on the other hand, began to portray only the lower, "worldly" sphere. The Romantic depiction of this world had been predominantly negative—based on

caricature and the grotesque. The principal features of this latter, post-Romantic, pre-Realist transitional style\* consisted of exaggeration of the negative portrayal of reality so as to particularly emphasize its emptiness and baseness. Metaphors and similes were used which contributed to the impression of “the lower depths”; e.g., people, unattractive for the most part, were compared with animals or inanimate objects. Landscapes were often gloomy, melancholy and dull: rain, fog, gray, dirty cities, etc. The clothing depicted was old and patched-up or torn, and detailed descriptions abounded of the “coarse” side of life: how people eat, drink and snuff tobacco. And the language of the characters was inept and primitive. In this literature, elements of fantasy were either absent or relegated to the background of the extraordinarily gray prose of the life portrayed. Although the representatives of the *naturalnaja škola* did not overlook serious tragedies altogether, they were mainly interested in the everyday tragedies of existence whose heroes were the ordinary people—gray, common, poor and unfortunate. In fact, they preferred to create works without “heroes”—*pobutovi*, physiological sketches.

The founder of the Russian *naturalnaja škola*, principally in his “Petersburg” tales, was the Ukrainian N. Gogol’—and Ukrainians figured among his most prominent followers, e.g., Hrebinka and Kuliš in their Russian writings. Adherents of this trend in the West included E.T.A. Hoffmann in certain of his later stories (“*Berliner Erzählungen*”), J. Janin in his articles and tales, Balzac, to some degree, and mainly Dickens in his early novels. Similar stylistic features were also to be found, interestingly enough, in tales with Ukrainian themes written by the Pole J. Kraszewski (*Ułana*, 1843) who stood mid-way between Romanticism and Realism.

4. The literature of the *naturalnaja škola* must not be labelled “naturalism.” It was a style reflected in the early works of Turgenev, Dostoevskij, Gončarov and some other Russian writers who later moved on to Realism. The Ukrainian writers who were close to the *naturalnaja škola* included Ševčenko in his Russian stories (still unpublished at that time), and Kuliš in his Russian stories of the 1850s, and, to a degree, Marko Vovčok in certain of her Russian stories. Among the Russian poets, Nekrasov most approaches the style of the *naturalnaja škola*; there are also some echoes in the Ukrainian poems of Rudans’kyj. There is, however, less justification to create of the *naturalnaja škola* a separate niche in the history of Ukrainian literature than existed in the case of the Biedermeier style.

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\*The term “naturalism” was later used to designate completely different styles.

## XIV.

# REALISM IN UKRAINIAN LITERATURE\*

1. What, in fact, is realism? The Realists often answered this question much too easily: "Realism is a depiction of reality as it really is." Such a response, unfortunately, engenders many misunderstandings, for every literary style draws on the images and colors of reality. Even works of fantasy have no other sources for their material but reality: no matter how Martians are depicted, they always look either like people or some other earthly animals or like machines or inanimate objects. The important thing is not where the Realists found their material, but *how* they portrayed it, and *which linguistic and stylistic devices* they used in the portrayal. Such devices have been the subject of this book throughout. The question now to be considered is: which devices were used by Realism in contrast to Romanticism, the style which it replaced.

First of all, of course, it is necessary to establish the qualities which made the Romantic style unique in comparison with its preceding epoch. In comparison with all literary development beginning with classical antiquity, Romantic literature was revolutionary. The substance of this revolution consisted in the rejection of those norms which had been considered compulsory for literary works and from which very few authors had allowed themselves to deviate.

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\*At the time I was preparing my book *Istoriija ukrajins'koji literatury* (*A History of Ukrainian Literature*), I was unable to provide a concluding chapter on Realism. This was due, chiefly, to the fact that the libraries in which I was working, in Europe and in the United States, lacked the writings of the Ukrainian Realists. I wish here to present on a different scale than in the book proper, albeit in the form of a brief study, an outline of the literature of this period. I admit that this study will not be exhaustive and that it will probably have a considerable subjective coloration.

Since this examination is concerned with the distinctive features of a given author's entire creativity, only certain works of each author will be cited.

The writing of even the most nominal Romantic departed from ancient tradition. The names of the classical genres such as the ode, satire and *poema* were discarded and replaced with new genres: the ballad, mystery (Ševčenko's "The Dream" and "The Great Vault," and some works of Kuliš), romantic long poem (for its structure, see chapter on Ševčenko) and others. Even the external character of Romantic literature was a denial of the numerous prescriptions of the Classicist era. No longer did tsars and heroes appear—except in satirical contexts. No longer did the poet depict himself as a singer accompanying himself on the lyre. This image gave way to another: the poet as a national singer—a *bandurist* or *lirnyk*, a *perebendja* (garrulous poet-minstrel) who wanders about the world finding his throne in the steppe away from literature—to be replaced by a peasant cottage or abandoned ruins. The poet was not some sort of court poet-laureate. He was a potential leader of the people who might have been able to guide them to a better future; but in actuality he was either a persecuted exile or a prisoner of the government or of society. The reality of Russian life bestowed authenticity upon this new image as the poet became, in fact, a persecuted prophet.

The new features of Romantic literary works demonstrated to the reader that the essence of modern literature was freedom, specifically, *creative freedom*, untrammelled by any canons or traditions. Poets also liked to express this creative freedom by publishing works in the form of fragments and excerpts supposedly from unfinished works, but containing omissions, ambiguities and allusions unknown and, therefore, incomprehensible to the reader. Nevertheless, the freedom of the Romantic revolution did not go so far as to abandon all traditional ornaments of style. The technique of emphasizing the meaning of particular words and images by means of stylistic devices survived in the forms of hyperbole, the formation of words in an unusual manner or using them in a different sense (e.g., grotesque) and, most important, metaphor, the comparison of an object with another, seemingly unrelated but somehow analogous (maiden—flower, man—oak, eagle—rock, speech or writing—implements of battle). Such devices as metaphor were well known in folklore (song or tale) and were cultivated by the Romantics. They were rejected, however, by the literary revolution of Realism which replaced the metaphorical style of Romanticism with a different stylistic device—metonymy. The Realist did not compare one thing with another; instead, while keeping his object of depiction in mind, he described it by referring to something closely associated with it or to its surroundings (the Russian term *sreda* was sometimes used by Ukrainian Realists).

Metaphor and metonymy are both linguistic devices that are fundamental to

the creation of new words. Some metaphor-derived words include: *pero* (pen), recalling a time when this writing instrument was really a bird's feather (*pero*); *vydelka* (fork), by analogy with the farmer's *vyla* (pitchfork); *zručnyj* (dextrous), derived from *ruka* (hand), originally referring to objects easily held in the hand. The following are examples of words that were metonymically-created neologisms: *misto* (city), in the sense of the inhabitants of the city ("*Ves' Kyjiv zanepokojenyj*" ["All of Kiev was troubled"]); *skljanka* (glass), in the sense of its contents ("*Ja vypyv dvi skljanky čaju*" ["I drank two glasses of tea"]).

With the advent of Realism more information came to be known about an object—not through comparison but through expanding its depiction to include the origin of the object, its development, and its surroundings. A maiden was, therefore, not seen as a flower but as the child of a certain social class and a detailed description was provided of her childhood environment, her upbringing and her early life, etc. A person was to be defined according to his social class. Because of this requirement imposed on a work, that it contain such information about its characters, its dimensions were broadened and the surroundings became almost as important as the object itself. Realism thus was a "metonymic style": it is because of this that the sweep of Realist creations is much greater than that of Romantic writings. The imperative created for Ukrainian literature by these large-scale works was onerous indeed.

2. The emergence of Ukrainian Realism was associated with the ambiance of Russian Realism and, to a certain extent, with related trends in western Europe. Its appearance coincided with a period that was particularly difficult for Ukraine and characterized by turbulent conditions in all Ukrainian territories. In Austria serfdom was abolished in 1848. And in eastern Ukraine following the death of Nicholas I began the era of "great reforms" spearheaded by the abolition of serfdom here too, and by an easing of restrictions on the printed word. Both reforms brought consequences which were extremely important for the Ukrainian population of the tsarist empire. For (as often happens), as soon as some political improvement was achieved, the more immediate and limited aims of certain intellectual circles were exchanged for further and broader, albeit still Utopian, programs of reform which led to socialism and even to anarchism (in the true meaning of the word, directed toward the complete overthrow of the state). The proponents of the radical ideology lost interest to a certain extent in "moderate" reforms based on the still poorly developed, capitalist system. Their aim was to introduce a radical reconstruction of the social order, a goal they would bring about in conjunction with the other peoples of the empire. In pursuing this course, they often abandoned purely Ukrainian matters and entered into the formation of active Russian organizations. The very

primitive Ukrainian (illegal) political organization consisting of so-called *hromady* (communities) remained the focus for political moderates among whom were many eminent people, lacking, however, in political experience and the traditions of political action.

There are epochs in history which pose certain problems in some areas, such as that of linguistic development. The Ukrainian language faced such a problem in the post-Romantic period—how to develop so as to become the language of a “full-fledged” nation (discussed in the chapter on Classicism). It was imperative that the literary language develop so that it could serve all possible literary genres. While Ukrainian Classicism had established the foundations for the development of the literary language (Kotljarevs’kyj, Kvitka), Romanticism’s contribution lay to a large extent in freeing literature from the narrow genres to which Classicism had restricted it (travesty, satire, light comedy, fable). The development of the language then had to follow two directions. The first was that of linguistic enrichment or lexical expansion. The second was that of nuance and shading, for the language had to be suitable for use in broader cultural spheres than merely *belles-lettres*. It had to serve as the mode of expression for scholarly thought; it had to become the medium for political struggle. In order to achieve these aims, it was impossible to limit the language to the use of the biblical (Church Slavonic) lexicon. It was necessary to borrow from the folk language, and, on the basis of these words, to create neologisms as Kuliš had done. It was necessary to borrow from other languages as well, especially non-Slavic ones, and to create new words using the same methods already used for this purpose by other Slavic and non-Slavic languages.

In considering the ways in which Realism confronted the two problems of how to expand the lexicon and how to accommodate it to broader spheres, it should be realized that its conduct of the development of the literary language was somewhat circuitous. This deviation stemmed from the fact that Realism consciously limited literary themes to those spheres in which the Ukrainian language was already being used—the depiction of the village and its inhabitants, and, to a limited degree, the portrayal of a small-size city and certain intellectual circles who still used Ukrainian in their daily lives. This corresponded to “reality” and consequently was deemed to be “realistic.”

As might be expected, there were two currents which were encompassed within the boundaries of Realism: one which considered the task of linguistic development to be *only* the expansion of the lexicon on the basis of the popular language; the other which demanded the enrichment of stylistic devices so as to serve the wider cultural sphere as well as *belles-lettres*. But at this point it is necessary to examine the conditions under which the Ukrainian people were

living at this time. The Ukrainian language was used not only within the borders of tsarist Russia, but also across the frontier in Austro-Hungary, particularly in Galicia. In fact, Galicia and Bukovina were also the locations of journals and publishing houses whose existence was indispensable. In Russia, Ukrainian organs of the press had long ceased to function, having been supplanted by Russian publications. (Their language, to be sure, was accessible to a segment of Ukrainians because of the influences of the Russian school; even the first Ukrainian journal, *The Foundation*, appeared partly in Russian.) Because of this, Galician journals and publishing houses enjoyed the considerable cooperation of east-bank Ukrainians.

Certain obstacles, however, stood in the way of the union of the two parts of the Ukrainian territory. In the first place, both parts of the Ukrainian nation had long-standing linguistic traditions which dated back many decades. Second, the two parts of the Ukrainian people were torn apart by religion: Western Ukraine was dominated by the Uniate Church to which Eastern Ukraine was violently opposed. In Galicia, the Ukrainian population had to coexist with a Polish one which was strongly developed culturally. This struggle against Polish influence was as significant as that against Russian influence in the East. Some possibilities for cooperation between the two parts of the Ukraine did exist, and they were seized upon by the writers of Eastern Ukraine. However, West-Ukrainian publications encountered certain difficulties of circulation in Eastern Ukraine. For example, the use of Ukrainian terminology was mandatory in the West even in governmental and legal practice. But in Ukraine, the sphere of Ukrainian usage was considerably smaller in the 1870s and 1880s than it had been in the middle of the century. (The testimony of teachers and professors from the 1840s indicates that they did not have a good command of Russian at the time of their studies; the language of daily usage in small and middle gentry circles and in small cities, including often their Jewish population, was also Ukrainian in this early period.) However, during the latter decades, as Professor Shevelov has shown, the literary language of the East came to reflect the lexicon of Western Ukrainian to a considerable extent. The following are examples of such Galician words: *zymno* (cold), *zasada* (principle), *pryxył* (inclination), *rozryvka* (amusement), *pomnyk* (monument), *zaliznycja* (railway), *čemnyj* (polite), *kazkovyj* (fabulous), etc. The majority of Galician words appeared in publicistic works at the end of the century (see below). In every instance, the literature of Realism followed two directions: first of all, the path of vernacular purism (using words of common speech exclusively) and secondly, the path leading toward the expansion of the literary language so it might be used in all cultural spheres. As shall be seen, both directions found their followers.

3. It is altogether natural that the first representatives of Realism should be closely connected with the traditions of Romantic literature. For these traditions, blessed with the legacy of the founders of Romantic literature, particularly Ševčenko's, survived into the future. Among the poets most intimately associated with the traditions of folk poetry, songs, tales and anecdotes were, first, Leonid Hlibov (1827-93), known best of all as a fabulist who in his works made use not only of traditional fable plots, but of Ukrainian motifs to illustrate them; and Stepan Rudans'kyj (1834-73), author of many largely humorous songs ("Spivomovky"). Much more significant were the Bukovinian Osyp-Jurij Fed'kovyč (1834-88) and the Eastern Ukrainian writer Marko Vovčok (pseudonym of Maria Markovyč, 1834-1907).

As a native of Bukovina, Fed'kovyč began to write in both Ukrainian and German. A soldier, government official and editor of periodicals and books (in Lviv), he developed a broad literary activity. In addition to his verses, he wrote stories (published by Drahomanov in Kiev in 1876) and theatrical pieces which, however, remained unsuccessful. Quite apparent in his verses is the influence of Ukrainian folk song and of Ševčenko. In his prose works, the influence of Kvitka is still evident, although without the vulgarisms which offended the reader of the 1860s. Elements such as a sentimental sensitivity (an unhappy love often involved), occasional didactic moralism, and extended ethnographic depictions of folk customs, are all suggestive of works of earlier periods. It should be observed that there were also features of local dialect in Fed'kovyč's verses which made them hard to understand for Eastern Ukrainian readers.\* Another facet of Fed'kovyč's activity was that of popularizer.

Substantial elements of Romantic style are also to be found in the numerous works of Marko Vovčok which were popular in both Eastern and Western Ukraine. It is a source of amazement to Ukrainian readers that this woman of Russian origin, who first became acquainted with Ukrainian life through her husband (the Ukrainian O. Markovyč who was associated with the Cyrillo-Methodians), managed to attain such an extraordinary command of Ukrainian vernacular. Her choice of themes for Ukrainian life could not yet be termed a sign of Realism; rather, it was still under the influence of the Ševčenko era, in particular, the influence of the plots of Ševčenko's ballads and long poems. Her *Narodni opovidannja* (*Folk Stories*), eleven in number, appearing in 1857, won the appreciation not only of Ševčenko, but of the Russian author whose stories

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\*The following are examples of such words: *ljuna* (*misjac'*—moon), *oz'meš* (*viz'meš*—you will take), *potočyly* (*zabraly/zaxopyly*—they marched away), *rukov* (*rukoku*—by hand), *obručkov* (*obručkoju/kablučkoju*—with an engagement ring), etc.

of peasant life were similar in tone to Vovčok's, I. S. Turgenev, an admirer of her Russian stories also. *Folk Stories*, depicting the fate of the Ukrainian people (especially women) under serfdom, appeared in 1859 in Russian translation. The later Ukrainian stories of Marko Vovčok were published the following year. While not showing any trace of Turgenevian influence, they bore the same basic tendency: the human figures and personal experiences of the peasants were portrayed in such a way as to preclude any right of the landowners to dominate them; nor were the masters depicted in any way as humanly superior to their "subjects." For the most part, the stories were narrated by a serf-woman, and are testimony to Marko Vovčok's exceptional skill in imitating the style of the living vernacular. To this end she used the images and figures of speech of folk songs and tales: "*Sonečko vže za synju horu zapalo*" ("The dear sun has already set behind the blue mountain"); a girl "*jak bylyna u poli*" ("like a blade of grass in the field"); "*Strepenulaš' jak syva zozulen'ka*" ("She shook herself like a gray little cuckoo"); "*Xoroša, jak zorja jasna*" ("She was as beautiful as a bright star"). This feature as well as certain allusions (*understood* by the readers of the day) to literary tradition (from Ševčenko to Shakespeare) distinguish the style of Marko Vovčok from the later style of more "consistent" Realists by the considerable role played by stylistic ornaments (e.g., metaphor). At times her plots also recall the motifs of folk songs. To these were subsequently added motifs from Ukrainian tales and legends transposed into the present (the idealized outlaw of "Karmeljuk"; "Lymerivna"). The later novel *Try doli* (*Three Destinies*) emphasizes psychological motifs much more strongly.

In addition to the Romantic elements in the style of Marko Vovčok, there was also a certain sentimental quality as well as a monochromatic characterization of the heroes (as "black" or "white"). Later the writer fell silent; although she would live much longer she rarely turned her attention to Ukrainian literary activity. Marko Vovčok's talent, which extended even to her Russian translations, was such that her works continue to be avidly read today by adults as well as children.

The legacy of Marko Vovčok also includes three feuilletons about Paris in which, interestingly, the author was unable to avoid foreign words or borrowings from the French. While she spent a considerable length of time in Western Europe, the question of the Europeanization of the Ukrainian language rarely confronted her. Recognizable words such as the following may be found in her feuilletons: *kafe, kofij, zuav*, as well as such neologisms as *pospilyčnyj* (*suspil'nyj*—social) and the fine creation "*cylošybne steklo*" (a picture window). But there are also such puzzling words as *nadryhunčyk, šasnuty, nevizna*. Admittedly these feuilletons were not destined for the same popular audience as were the stories.

It must be acknowledged that even representatives of late Ukrainian Realism could not free themselves from the influence of the style of Marko Vovčok. This may be observed in the early efforts of Panas Myrnyj in the 1870s; even more significant parallels may be drawn to the stylistic features in the early works of Ivan Nečuj-Levyč'kyj (1838-1918). A religious school instructor in both seminary and academy, and high school teacher mainly in territories outside Ukraine in the Russian pedagogical system, he first appeared in print in the Lviv *Pravda* (*Truth*) in 1868. By 1885 he had retired from teaching (when he was only forty-seven years old) and was engaged in literary activity exclusively. It is interesting that in his own early stories "*Dvi Moskovky*" ("Two Soldiers' Wives") and "*Rybalka Panas Krut*" ("The Fisherman Panas Krut"), Levyč'kyj followed Marko Vovčok's example in modeling his style on that of folk poetry: a mother weeps for her daughter "*jak horlycja za ditkamy*" ("like a turtle dove for her children"); "*jak ternočok čorni švydki oči*" ("quick black eyes like thorn berries"); "*jak dvi veselky dvi tonki čorni brovy*" ("two fine black eyebrows like two rainbows"). The most important feature, however, in these early works of this eminent Realist was the author's extraordinary skill in imitating popular speech, which he wanted to maintain free from all foreign influences. In Levyč'kyj's later works, elements of Romantic style disappeared practically altogether.

4. In truth, the first and most consistent representative of Realism *per se* was writing as early as the 1860s. However, his work remained unknown until the end of the Realist era, being published only in 1898. This first work of pure Realism, and practically devoid of all elements of Romantic tradition, was the autobiographical (to a certain degree) novel *Ljuborac'ki* by Anatol' Svydnyč'kyj (1834-71). Its appearance in 1898 created a strong impression on Ukrainian readers notwithstanding the fact that Realism was hardly a novelty to them. The novel, Svydnyč'kyj's major work (apart from minor contributions to periodicals), was written in the style of a chronicle, mainly as a long series of conversations. The nature of the chronicle also allowed the use of Polish and Russian expressions by individual characters. There are no idyllic scenes or positive heroes whatever in this chronicle novel, the account of an unfortunate clerical family—in particular, of the son who bears the author's name, Anatol'.

There was yet another Realist, the scholar and historian Orest Levyč'kyj (1849-1922), whom literary histories ignore for some reason. Written in a mixed language composed mainly of ancient Volynian and placed like real gems within a Russian text, his works appeared between 1875 and 1902. They included various "essays"—*Očerki vnutrennej istorii Malorossii* (*Essays on the Internal History of Little Russia*), *Očerki starinnogo byta Volyni i Ukrainy* (*Essays on*

*the Ancient Way of Life of Volynia and Ukraine*)—which provided vivid “realistic” tableaux of life in ancient Ukraine. In every instance, the most important component of Levyc’kyj’s style was his use of old Ukrainian of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

5. “Modern” Realism, almost totally devoid of elements of Romantic style, emerged in the 1870s with the work of I. Nečuj-Levyc’kyj. Not long after his first efforts, Nečuj-Levyc’kyj began to write stories which broke with Romantic tradition, and he rapidly became well known as an excellent story teller, interesting and lively—especially when he hid behind a narrator who was of the common people. His most successful stories and discourses were based on or narrated by women—not the sentimental, sensitive heroines of Marko Vovčok, but peasant or middle-class women, or even the educated wives of priests and professors. Levyc’kyj’s greatest skill, linguistic characterization, ensured moreover that the language of his works was not only truly popular but, above all, feminine speech. All of Levyc’kyj’s female characters are fine examples of those “evil women” immortalized in old anecdotes and jokes. They often begin as kind and compassionate young maidens; but as they grow old they become relentlessly venomous and embroiled in bitter conflicts which are unnecessary both for them and their husbands.

Nečuj-Levyc’kyj’s novels do not always have a definite plot: the work that is perhaps his best, *Kajdaševa simja* (*The Kajdaš Family*, 1879), does not even have a conclusion. The novel’s masculine characters do not evolve or change at all, while the women seem to fall under the sway of some sort of demons of spite and fractiousness. The double story “*Baba Paraska ta Baba Palažka*” (“*Baba Paraska and Baba Palažka*,” 1874) about the mutual accusations of two women who live in the same village is a testimony to Levyc’kyj’s linguistic skill. For the rhythm of the women’s language and their intonation dominates their accusations against one another so that a reader fluent in Ukrainian can read both monologs (over twenty pages in all) faultlessly, capturing the same tone and mood which the author wished to impart to his protagonists. Levyc’kyj’s earlier peasant novels included *Mykola Džerja* (1878), the tale of a peasant who seeks work in a foreign land, and *Burlačka* (*A Vagrant Girl*, 1881), the story of a girl who undergoes terrible hardships while working far from home; by the end of the novel, however (although not at the end of her life), she seems to be the only woman who has mellowed and achieved a certain equilibrium.

While it is unnecessary to enumerate all of Nečuj-Levyc’kyj’s stories which deal with peasant life, their frequent lack of a dominant idea (and—surprisingly for a Ukrainian writer—of humor) should be acknowledged. On the other hand, when he stepped beyond peasant themes or those dealing with the petty middle

class, as in the novel *Pryčepa* (*An Intruder*, 1869), Levyc'kyj lost his instinct for language. The poverty of his linguistic program stands out with extraordinary clarity in his attempts to portray the life of the intelligentsia: *Nad Čornym morem* (*On the Black Sea Coast*, 1890); that of the Old-World clergy and their families: *Starosvits'ki batjušky ta matušky* (*Old-Fashioned Clerics and Their Wives*, appearing in Russian translation in 1884, and in Ukrainian in 1888); and even academic circles (clearly the Kiev Theological Academy) in *Xmary* (*Clouds*, written around 1870 but not published until 1908). The difficulty consisted in the impossibility of creating vivid, authentic images of non-peasant life with the aid of an exclusively peasant language. None of Levyc'kyj's urban intellectuals, clerical families, as well as the relatives of professors and students, have either the words or expressions with which to articulate their thoughts (if, in fact, they have any thoughts). A similar case is that of the two professors: in every instance the one is depicted as a complete fool (an altogether invalid impression of Kievan Academy professors), while the other, a professor of philosophy (bearing the name of Daškevyč and modeled after the famous professor of philosophy, P. Jurkevyč, who later became the tutor of V. Solovev in Moscow) is unable to give any clear expression to his national ideas and fears. A young student with national and political inclinations is also depicted by external features only. In the same way, the discussions among the intellectuals in Kišinev are quite trivial (*On the Black Sea Coast*); there is only one character, a Greek, who is portrayed as a truly thinking person. The conversations of priests' families (*Old-Fashioned Clerics* . . .) are also generally of a petty nature, dealing with official duties, etc.; religious ideology never figures in their content. It is interesting that these novels often contain foreign words (unknown to peasants); however, these terms are almost always related to aspects of middle-class life such as dwellings, furnishings, food, dress—e.g., *al'tanka* (bower), *bufet* (buffet), *kanapa* (sofa), *punš* (punch, liquor), *rom* (rum), *akvavit* (liquor), *buket* (bouquet), *hirljanda* (garland), *lokony* (curls), as well as *fantastyčnyj* (fantastic), *narkotyčnyj* (narcotic), *fraza* (phrase), etc.

During the latter part of his life, however, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj frequently inveighed against the modernization of the Ukrainian literary language. In his polemics, published in special tracts, he showed himself favorable to the admission of Galician words of "genuinely popular dialects"; but occasionally his ideas led him to such formulations as "*Dlja literatury vzircem knyžnoho jazyka povynen buty imenno jazyk sil's'koji baby z jiji syntaksom*" ("The model of a literary language should, in fact, be the speech and syntax of a village crone"). Levyc'kyj's attack on "artificial" and "coined" words in modern Ukrainian was quite witty in places and could have made an impression on fairly broad circles

of young people and of provincial intelligentsia. However, the artistic defects of Levyc'kyj's own novels of the life of the intelligentsia made it impossible for his linguistic theories to be put into practice.

On a considerably higher spiritual level were the novels and tales of another author who employed the common language exclusively—Panas Myrnyj (pseudonym of Panas Rudčenko, 1849-1920). Attempts at translations from Russian literature were followed by publication of his story “*Lyxyj poputav*” (“It’s the Devil’s Doing”) in the Lviv *Pravda* in 1872. By 1875 he had completed, with the collaboration of his brother (pseudonym Ivan Bilyk), the large novel *Xiba revut’ voly, jak jasla povni* (*When One Has Enough, One Does Not Complain*) or *Propašyva syla* (*Wasted Strength*) which was published in Geneva in 1880, but did not appear in Ukraine until 1903. It is the story of a peasant who, as a result of bitter experiences with the injustices of Russian society and administration, becomes a robber. The novel presents not only the figure of the hero, Čipka, but also broad social and political scenes as well as images of Čipka’s contemporaries who, for the most part, have been reduced to passive figures. Čipka’s wife, Halja, is presented as being in the same circumstances—which ultimately drive her to commit suicide. In its composition the novel adheres to the requirements of Realist stylistic theory: the author depicts the evolution of his hero together with the pre-history of his village and, in addition, he describes the figures of the Russian and Polish masters and landowners dating back to the period of serfdom. On the one hand the novel tries to convey an objective picture of reality. On the other it presents masterly satirical impressions of conditions in the villages and small towns—tableaux which, while not evoking the active opposition of the characters in the novel, did elicit such feelings in its readers. The banning of the novel in Russia was thus politically inevitable.

Over the course of a long period of time during which he published short stories dealing with various types of people from the city and the intelligentsia, Myrnyj worked on a second novel, *Povija* (*A Fallen Woman*), a rather “unfinished” piece of writing which he completed around 1905. This novel, too, is primarily not merely a portrayal of an individual and her fate—that of the heroine, Xrystja, who is driven into prostitution by circumstance. It is also a portrayal of the environment and the surroundings which thrust her onto this path. In addition to the heroine, other female characters are presented, some of whom share her fate. To some readers, the novel appeared to be an idealization of the village, whose positive qualities peculiar to the Ukrainian character were lost by its inhabitants only in the city. It was a false impression. The author was presenting a view of the new, post-reform village and was demonstrating that even here people were becoming degenerate under the influence of the new

conditions scarcely much better than the old. Then, the author changes his narration to the city where at every instance there is a conspicuous expansion of that village question which certain Realists would have wanted to retain: the problem of the village women in the city.

It was in Ukrainian theatre that this issue survived the longest. For, apart from its categorical obligations to the people, Ukrainian theatre was also characterized by grave literary defects, in particular the maintenance of the peasant problem exclusively and the cultivation of other, especially historical, themes on this same linguistic level. It is interesting to note that Realists such as Nečuj-Levyc'kyj and Myrnyj were unable to create "successful" plays which might have survived in the repertoire of Ukrainian theatre.

Of course, Myrnyj's works were not the only ones which, while known to merely a certain narrow circle of readers, were greatly significant in the awakening of national and political consciousness among those wider groups which they managed to reach from time to time. For Eastern Ukraine, however, works from the urban *milieu* and the intelligentsia were particularly important, as they emphasized the fact that the Ukrainian language, even if a peasant language, could become the language of the socially and politically concerned middle, upper and urban strata of the population. Even such minimal propaganda had great significance in Eastern Ukraine during this period.

6. To be sure, among the writers of the period of Realism there was no lack of adherents of the other trend either—that of the lexical extension of Ukrainian beyond quotidian language and peasant usage. It should simply be recognized that, for various reasons, society's familiarity with their views was much less than its knowledge of the views of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj and his supporters, which seemed so persuasive on first glance. There were, however, a large number of these writers—as shall be seen among those wider circles of the population in Eastern Ukraine which were able and which aspired to have access to certain works of Ukrainian literature and to the theatre.

Among the first of those who supported expansion of the function of the Ukrainian language were writers whose views reflected a belated Romanticism enlivened somewhat by a respect for the ideals of Realism. Their number included, for example, Olena Pčilka (Kosač), 1849-1930. While not opposed to increasing the number of vernacular words in the literary language, neither was this intelligent and independent writer against borrowing from other languages, including Slavic, nor the use of coined words and neologisms. She judiciously pointed out that the supporters of an exclusively popular language were, in fact, restricting the use of Ukrainian to private life and domestic usage, a warning which had already been given clear expression earlier (by Kostomarov, for

example). She declared “let our literary language accept coined words then, that is if there is a reason for it.” In resisting linguistic stagnation and “narrow *narodnist*’,” she opposed

the tendency to allow the national question to be the primary consideration always. And if this be the decision with regard to language, then all else must be treated in the same way . . . whether music or whatever, let the primary criterion for all be national: Consequently, even learning should not be encouraged; that philosophy which one of our peasants has is enough.

Moreover, she defended the Galician intelligentsia which created, as it were, its own language according to its cultural requirements.

Olena Pčilka prepared for her own independent work in the field of lexicon enrichment by doing translations of the tales of Hans Christian Andersen and of the stories of Gogol'. Later, she wrote original stories dealing with the life of people in the city, with the intelligentsia and with Ukrainian youth. Her works, which were published in Galician periodicals, won the appreciation of Ivan Franko despite the fact that her political views reflected only a moderate liberalism. Included among her accomplishments was the editorship of a Ukrainian language journal for children, particularly Eastern Ukrainian children (who did not understand Galician children's literature). Here too, she attempted to introduce neologisms, which were not always successful: such, for example, was her bid to replace an old folk word (itself a borrowing from the Byzantine), *kyt* (whale), with a barely suitable word, *vel'ryb*, modeled on the Czech. Considerably better were the neologisms Pčilka developed for intellectual language and also her borrowings from the Galician literary language. To her may also be ascribed the first use of such words as *mystectvo* (art), *peremožec'* (conqueror), *promenystyj* (radiant), *naležnyj* (belonging), *uročystyj* (solemn), *kultura* (culture), *atmosfera* (atmosphere). Also found in her work, however, are such rather unfelicitous neologisms as *zaharlyvyj* (zealous) instead of simple borrowings from foreign (particularly classical) languages such as *enerhijnyj* (energetic) from the Greek.

Pčilka's stories, which also appeared in separate collections (three in number from 1907 to 1911) were not especially strong literary works. Similarly, her theatrical pieces—like the plays of many other writers of the time—were either unsuccessful or denied stage presentation altogether. The stories which she published in the 1880s were concerned to a limited extent with village life, with which Pčilka was very familiar. But in a few tales (“*Tovaryšky*” [“Girlfriends,” 1887], “*Pigmalion*,” 1884) she touched upon cultural and political questions

registering a negative attitude toward the radical slogans of a segment of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the day. Her tradition of Realism was particularly associated with the depiction of broad scenes and the detailed portrayal of characters as well as the attempt to understand their interior lives. The stories of Olena Pčilka are, in fact, good sources of information about Ukrainian life for the period from the 1870s to the 1890s. Later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, her works presented images of the new Ukrainian middle class and of the new type of landowner and industrialist. Pčilka (whose kin included Drahomanov and the famous poetess, Lesja Ukrajinka, her daughter) was sometimes attacked by Ukrainian critics and writers who belonged to the linguistic "school" of Nečuj-Levyč'kyj. The fact that she was interested in portraying the personal experiences of her characters led to the charge that she was unnecessarily imitating foreign models (mainly the Russian psychological novel of, for example, Lev Tolstoj and Dostoevskij). Also considered "unnecessary" was her cross-over to the sphere of Galician literature. She disliked symbolism (the "Decadents").

Another proponent of such views about the further development of Ukrainian literature was an older contemporary of Olena Pčilka, Myxajlo Staryč'kyj (1840-1904), the author of numerous verse and prose works in Ukrainian and Russian. His Ukrainian verse efforts were, to a certain extent, experiments in the use of Ukrainian as a "cultivated language." Like Olena Pčilka, he began by translating foreign writers (as well as the well-known Russian and Polish poets) such as Heine, Goethe, Byron, Hugo and the prose tales of H. C. Andersen. These attempts were rather weak in the main for, generally, even the works of secondary poets are difficult to translate adequately. Frequently, Staryč'kyj had to use words which merely provided verse lines with a certain rhythm. He also employed neologisms, the creation of which is the province of only the most gifted poets; consequently, his "coined words" often were objects of derision for his readers. The most amazing of these words, however, were not Staryč'kyj's own inventions; they were the contrivance of witty critics and parodists. Nor were his neologisms especially bold: *bajdužist'* (indifference), *mučen'* (martyr), *tružen'* (toiler), *dohidec'* (a useful person), *zradectvo* (treachery), *rozdolyj* (expansive), *šumljavyj* (rustling), *iskrytysja* (to sparkle), *poryvannja* (striving). Several were understandable only from their contexts: *žaxnyj* (frightful), *strymčak* (restrained character). He also sometimes used rare words from the folk language. These, however, seemed artificial to his readers; they included: *ketjah* (cluster), *šarity* (to dawn), *uščuxnuty* (to diminish), etc. Staryč'kyj's efforts clearly demonstrated that the coming of new words required not only a special gift *per se*, but also the ability to introduce them into works which will

remain memorable. Quite unmemorable, however, are Staryc'kyj's verse attempts which seem to lack some essential quality—lightness or a musical quality or, possibly, cleverness of construction or of particular expressions. Staryc'kyj's best verses, perhaps, were his translations of Serbian epic songs although here, too, experts may detect many deviations.

Staryc'kyj's dramatic works had a somewhat paradoxical fate: not only were they presented on stage in other than their original authorized form, but Staryc'kyj himself (for reasons to be discussed later) was forced to contribute to the changes in them—or, it might be said, to their ruin.

The Ukrainian language prose works of Staryc'kyj dealt mainly with peasant themes. The new post-reform village was portrayed without any idealization of the peasants and without excessive ethnographic details. A few tales of peasant life as well as many of his stories about the petty intelligentsia (especially theatrical artists) were written in Russian. Staryc'kyj also wrote novels and tales dealing with Ukrainian history—the seventeenth century, chiefly, but also the eighteenth century uprising—that were very successful. But, despite the author's source studies, his depiction of events often seems rather primitive, stemming in part from the mistaken notion of the complete and everlasting unity of the Ukrainian people. It was a point of view which dominated Ukrainian *belles lettres* from the time of Gogol' 's *Taras Bul'ba* (although Kuliš in *The Black Council* had attempted, not without success, to destroy this idea). Because of difficulties with language, among other things, Staryc'kyj published some of his historical tales in Russian. The large number of Staryc'kyj's works which were written in Russian is proof not only that the “coining” of words was not a matter for every poet, but also that the nature of readers in Eastern Ukraine was such that they could not easily grasp these neologisms.

Still other writers contributed to the enrichment of the Ukrainian language. A notable example from Eastern Ukraine was Borys Hrinčenko (1863-1910), whose works dealt with peasant material and, in addition, some foreign “Western” themes. Also important were his numerous translations and popularizing efforts (e.g., works on geography), as well as his collecting of ethnographic materials and, finally, his publication of a dictionary of the Ukrainian language (in fact, he was only the coordinator of material collected by voluntary researchers).

Another Eastern Ukrainian prosaist worthy of note was Volodymyr Leontovyč (pseudonym, Levenko, 1866-1938). His well-written stories treated the life of professionals and landowners in whose Ukrainianization he laid great store. They presented a large number of social problems, but practically ignored the personal (especially the erotic) experiences of their main characters.

A different situation prevailed in Western Ukraine. There was no need, here, to campaign for the widening of the literary language into all cultural spheres. On the contrary, forces existed which demanded such an extension: primarily these were governmental interests which feared expansion of Russia or of "Russophilism." Ukrainian society for its part was anxious about the broadening spheres of influence of the Polish language which, despite all obstacles, was making inroads among the mixed populations of the cities and was already being reflected in the pronunciation of Ukrainian. (While on a theatrical tour in Galicia before the war, 1914, the famous actor Hnat Jura reported hearing the children of his Galician colleagues saying "*si smije*" instead of the Eastern Ukrainian "*smijet'sja*" [he laughs].)

The Eastern Ukrainian who stood closest to Galician literary life was O. Konys'kyj (1836-1900), a publicist and biographer of Ševčenko, as well as a writer of Russian stories. Tymofij Borduljak (1863-1938), a Catholic priest and writer of stories based chiefly on peasant material, felt obliged to attribute to his own peasant background the fact that there was a certain one-sidedness in his work; and, in imitation of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's lame argument, he also imputed the linguistic limitations of his stories to his origins. Foremost among the many, although not always recognized, collaborators of periodicals or publishers of their own work should be cited Natalja Kobryns'ka (1855-1920). An unquestionably talented author, she began writing stories of a traditional, realistic character dealing with the people. Then in the 1890s she turned to stories or "fairy tales" whose psychological and symbolic content attested a relationship to Ukrainian Modernism—a trend which, as shall be seen, did not sunder ties with Realism in any violent or thoroughgoing manner—as was the case in Polish and Russian literature.

Of course, the leading writer of Galicia was incarnated in the person of Ivan Franko (1856-1916). However, he did not stand in any way at the head of Galician literature; for he was a socialist, a fact which led many Galician writers to avoid him and others to become his declared enemies. Franko was a talented prosaist as well as poet, although his poetry developed further and in many more directions than did his prose works. He was also a fine, diligent and learned Slavist whose works were admired even among those people indifferent to his literary activity, and which have retained their importance to the present day.

Franko shared completely the views of Olena Pčilka and others regarding the development of the language. Moreover, the role he played not only in Galician but also, by all accounts, in Ukrainian literature as a whole, was as significant as that of Ševčenko. It is scarcely worthwhile to attempt any summary characterization of Franko's creativity. Nevertheless, for readers aware

of Franko's importance, mention should be made of his particular place in Ukrainian Realism and in its development, especially in the history of Ukrainian verse.

Franko did not stop at gaining a place for Realism in Western Ukraine which already had a firm tradition (although neither old nor brilliant) in literature and journalism. He also had to battle to justify his own linguistic position and, as well, to fight for a certain political ideal which at first seemed hopeless to his Galician contemporaries—socialism. Only the incredible creative energy of Franko could have taken up these different tasks at one time—problems which each require all the strength and devotion of the individual. Franko's Realism is not completely illustrated by his literary works; he also presented his concept of Realism in a theoretic treatise. This was not a form that had been used by writers in Eastern Ukraine where Realism had crept imperceptibly—not without the considerable influence of Russian literature—into well prepared ground. Franko's notion of Realism demanded of him certain large goals. Although he labeled himself a "microscopist," a writer who sees and portrays details, this was not his aim. He wanted, rather, to demonstrate "that which was universal, eternal and immortal in the particular, the partial, and the accidental." This is, in fact, a better and clearer description of Realism than the term "typization," a designation applicable only in circumstances where there is sufficient material to allow the portrayal of types. Franko, an early, even "premature," Ukrainian socialist "acquired the habit of discovering the entire world in a drop of water," of viewing the *minutiae* of life through his creative microscope. Because of his closer proximity to the European world he was able to look through his microscope into the future ("microscopic astronomy") which at that time had touched the Ukraine only fleetingly. Some Eastern Ukrainian poets also considered themselves socialists, but their socialism was oriented toward the altogether unsocialistic village. Franko, however, expressed his hopes for a proletarian (scientific) socialism, and with much superior force as illustrated by his striking and expressive tableaux *Boryslavs'ki opovidannja* (*Boryslav Stories*). He supported the Eastern Ukrainians in their linguistic struggle as a matter of course, and to the extent that he studied the language, including that of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj. Stylistically, however, he was schooled in the West (which in no way lessens his merits)—or, to be more specific, he had to create his own style. It was only with Lesja Ukrajinca that Franko was connected—but this was through a certain world view.

It should be remembered that Franko was also a scholar and publicist (his research into the different linguistic devices used in these various branches of the literary language deserves further study). This accounts for the particular

attention he paid to investigating the beginnings and sources of conflicts—whether contemporaneous or future. He delighted, for example, in stories about children and he provided for the adult characters of his prose detailed descriptions of their motivations. In addition, he turned to the thirteenth century in order to find the sources of contemporary life (“*Zaxar Berkut*”). Franko viewed reality, therefore, from a loftier perspective than most—that of a literary master who was both a scholar and a political person as well as an artist, although the reader saw nothing but the latter.

Franko’s psychological depiction was peculiarly characteristic of the author: while he perceived some affinity with Myrnyj’s handling of the style, the work of the latter was less brilliant as well as more positive. In his struggle against primitivism of form and content, Franko sought his standards outside Ukraine: the psychological skills of Tolstoj, Turgenev and even Dostoevskij were the models he set himself. He observed the social conflicts dividing the Ukrainian people and portrayed them as no one else had done (although these antagonisms had been perceived by Kuliš, a Romantic, and quite unlike Franko in his depiction of the past in *The Black Council*). These vivid pieces (e.g., “*Perexresni stežky*” [“The Crossroads”])—are the finest results of Franko’s “microscopic astronomy.” Not only did Franko present certain human types in his work; social groups too were described: as well as the peasantry and the proletariat he portrayed the Ukrainian and foreign bourgeoisie, modern capitalists and the clergy. The rich variety of his depiction approaches the symbolic quite often. However, Franko should not, therefore, be regarded as a “symbolist,” a label which cannot be affixed to Gorky considerably later. Soviet critics writing about Gorky’s connection with Franko seem to assume that Franko was Gorky’s disciple, forgetting that the latter wrote at a much later date. Or alternately, such criticism treats Franko’s significance as consisting merely in the fact that Gorky was drawn to make some quite trivial remarks about him later.

While Franko produced approximately one hundred pieces of prose (including nine longer novels), he was also the author of works of poetry which often lead the reader into the living, intimate world of the poet’s experiences. However, his collections are so different in form and style that reading the series of them produces the impression of having encountered a succession of separate, individual poets. This was not because of any change in the poet or his philosophy. It was, rather, the result of a development in form, and of a union of lyrical motifs with motifs from the other spheres of Franko’s activity, including the publicistic (*Polemični virši* [polemical verses]) and the scholarly (see, for instance, *Mij izmaragd* [*My Emerald*], 1885 and 1911 as well as other collections). Such an interest in form was uncommon among Ukrainian Realistic

poets (except for Staryc'kyj's not particularly remarkable efforts), and even more rare among their Russian counterparts. Franko employed many different verse forms: apart from his sonnets (including the prison series) and tercets dealing with various subjects, he imitated classical meters (Horace) such as the epigrammatic couplet and traditional Ukrainian forms (e.g., *spivomovky*). In *My Emerald*, he not only used themes and titles taken from ancient Ukrainian collections, but also presented tales which were imitations of apocryphal stories (for example, the tale about the drunkard whom they had to admit into paradise, or the parodies of hagiographies such as that of Saint Grozdij from the south Slavic tradition transformed by Franko into Saint Seledij). He also translated and imitated classical and Hindu works as well as numerous Western and Slavic works.

Franko's verses date back to the 1870s with the publication in 1887 of the major collection *Z veršyn ta nyzyn* (*From Heights and Depths*; enlarged second edition, 1893). Then there followed the collection *Zivjale lystja* (*Withered Leaves*, 1896), *My Emerald* (1897), *Iz dniv žurby* (*From the Days of Sorrow*, 1900), *Semper tiro, Davne j nove* (*The Ancient and the Recent*, a 1911 reworking of *My Emerald* supplemented with the political *Iz zloby dnja* [*Out of the Evil of the Day*]); and finally *Iz lit mojeji molodosti* (*From the Days of My Youth*, 1914). Within the collections were lengthy cycles and individual poems ("Vyšens'kyj" in *From the Days of Sorrow*), although "Mojsěj" ("Moses"), a poem with extensive political symbolism, appeared separately in 1905. Indeed, an interesting political orientation characterizes much of Franko's poetry. Humor, satire and political polemics are all features of his earliest works, such as *Kamenjari* (*The Stonecutters*, 1878). And his first collection opens with the characteristic poem "Vičnyj revoljucioner" ("Eternal Revolutionary") whose title refers to "Spirit," the nature of which is developed in later images: science, thought and freedom.

In the twentieth century, the poetic collections of Franko together with Lesja Ukrajinka's dramatic poems of the same period were hailed by the Modernists as their own. Like Ukrajinka's works, Franko's collections and separate poems bore titles taken from foreign languages: *Semper tiro*, *Excelsior*, *Ex nihilo*, *Plain Air*. For the Modernists (and "Decadents"—a label incorrectly applied to Modernists in general, to second-rate polemicists, and even to Franko), such foreign designations were a means of setting themselves apart from the simple reader.

Franko's creativity, too, was aimed at the intellectuals—who, however, may indeed have sprung from the common people. The times had already produced such people! Moreover, Franko tried constantly to adapt his language to Eastern

Ukrainian norms. Consequently, it was no impediment for the reader to encounter in the national-tragic poem "*Ivan Vyšens'kyj*" the Galician, student expression "*spik mene*" for *zrizav na ispyti* (to fail in an examination), as is said in Eastern Ukraine. Other examples include the descriptions of the church bells on Mount Athos: "*oklykajes' Vatoped*" "*rozlyvajes' Iveron*" for the Eastern Ukrainian *vidklykajet'sja* and *rozlyvajet'sja*—to be sure the latter word was rarely used here to describe church bells. Franko always wanted to be not just a regional poet but a poet of universal Ukrainian stature; he achieved his goal.

Mention might be made here of Franko's pupils, in particular, Olha Kobyljans'ka (1863-1942): ultimately, however, she must be placed among the Modernists.

7. The theatre played a distinguished part in the history of Ukrainian Realistic literature. To some degree this corresponded to the role played by the theatre among some other Slavic nations; but, on the whole, nowhere else did theatre acquire such significance as it did in Ukraine. At times here it seemed to stand at the very center of literary development—a situation which, unfortunately, did not accurately reflect the true literary value of the dramas. However, the authors alone were not to blame for this. Rather, general practice was such that the plays of the leading writers (as discussed above) did not reach the stage in Eastern Ukraine; or if, as with the works of Staryc'kyj, they did achieve stage presentation, their authors were obliged, by imperatives not limited to censorship, to lower their quality.

Indeed, in addition to the usual censorship, there existed a special theatrical censorship capable of forbidding the presentation of plays approved by the regular censorship and already in print. Beyond these, a censorship of local authorities existed which could prevent the mounting of plays passed by the other two. But there was also the "censorship" of Ukrainian theatre itself: for, while Ukrainian theatre was able to play an important role in the development of Ukrainian consciousness, it failed to contribute to its elevation and, indeed, actually lowered it. The illusion was, therefore, engendered that within the limits of the Russian empire no "complete" Ukrainian nation existed or could ever exist. (For a discussion of this notion see chapter on Ukrainian Classicism above.) In fact, the reason Ukrainian theatre had such a peculiar influence is contained in the quality of the dramatists, in the influence of the older Ukrainian theatrical tradition and, perhaps most important, in the low cultural level of the audiences attending Ukrainian theatrical productions. This statement deserves further elaboration.

The history of the Ukrainian theatre is a long one. Its vernacular tradition alone dates back to the first attempts at *intermedia* by the Baroque Polish and

Ukrainian Church Slavonic theatre. Following these were the comedies of Kotljarevs'kyj and Vasyľ Hohol'. Moreover, it is clear that the story tellers and narrators of real-life anecdotes (*komiky*, in whom Nečuj-Levyč'kyj was interested) were the predecessors of such famous Ukrainian actors as Karpo Solenyk (1811-51) and Myxajlo Ščepkin (1788-1863). The later, however, acquired their fame only partly through the small number of Ukrainian plays then in existence, but mainly through works in Russian, e.g., those of Nikolaj Gogol' and even of Šaxovs'koj; accordingly, the talent of such actors was uselessly forfeited. In addition, there were the rather primitive plays of Kvitka and such forgotten authors as Topolja, Kuxarenko, etc. Another factor was that the first Ukrainian presentations were amateur affairs. At the end of the 1850s they were being produced by Marko Vovčok and her husband, O. Markovyč; at the same time amateur productions were being organized in Černihiv and Kiev.

The founding of a permanent theatrical troupe resulted from the initiative of Kropyvnyč'kyj in Bobryneč' and of the brothers Tobilevyč in Jelizavet (Jelizavetgrad). Again there emerged the problem, not uncommon in the history of literature, that the theatrical qualities of plays do not necessarily always correspond to their literary qualities. Even the amateur artists were dissatisfied with attempts to mount older plays (e.g., Kvitka's "Bilingual," Russo-Ukrainian plays about Šelmenko, and Ševčenko's "Nazar Stodolja"). New plays were required. From the beginning they were provided by the amateur Kropyvnyč'kyj. Somewhat later it became clear that one of the Tobilevyč brothers (pseudonym, Karpenko-Karyj) was an even better theatrical author (although hardly notable as a literary artist). These plays were to the complete satisfaction of his brothers as amateurs, and also suited the new actresses, amateurs too, very much. As well as the Tobilevyč brothers, who appeared on stage as Sadovs'kyj and Saksahans'kyj, Kropyvnyč'kyj and Karpenko-Karyj were also fine actors. The performances of these actors and actresses were highly popular not only with the Ukrainian public but also in foreign cities (St. Petersburg) and among audiences generally neutral or even hostile toward Ukrainians. These successes outside Ukraine coincided with long periods during which Ukrainian theatre was prohibited within the country and its leading figures were often subjected to persecution by the authorities.

Because he lacked a good education, M. L. Kropyvnyč'kyj (1840-1910), a native of the Xerson region, had to earn his living as a court clerk. His acting career dated from 1871 which marked the beginning of association with various Russian troupes which also presented Ukrainian plays from time to time. In 1874 he had occasion to work in Galicia, an experience which contributed to his development as a theatrical figure. After 1881, Kropyvnyč'kyj organized a

Ukrainian troupe in Eastern Ukraine and visited the major regions of the Russian Empire. By the 1860s he had already begun to mount his own plays (“*Daj sercju volju, zavede v nevolju*” [“*Give Your Heart Freedom and It Will Enslave You*”], 1863, later rewritten) as well as other pieces (plays based on themes by Ševčenko: *Nevol'nyk* [The Captive] and Gogol' [Taras Bul'ba]), and to write some original dramas (“*Doky sonce zijde-rosa oči vyjist*” [“*Until the Sun Rises, the Dew Will Corrode the Eyes*”], “*Hlytaj abož pavuk*” [“*The Profiteer or the Spider*”], etc. Then at the end of his life he started to write plays dealing with contemporary subjects (war).

Kropyvnyč'kyj possessed an absolute power evident not only in his knowledge of a scene but in his ability to convey primitive humor as in his extraordinarily popular comedy “*Po reviziji*” (“*After the Inspection*”) based on the experiences of village “bureaucracy.” However, an examination of the content of the individual plays reveals that the author was merely presenting pictures of social oppression which were already common knowledge (“*Hlytaj*”) as well as extremely primitive depictions of tragic tension which even his contemporaries treated sceptically as “melodramas.” Nevertheless, with a view to the enthralled audiences who belonged to the real “people,” that public which could be taught but whose tastes could not be easily accommodated, Kropyvnyč'kyj, as was the tradition in Ukrainian theatre, combined dramas of tragic intensity with songs and dances—scenes which Ukrainian intellectuals characterized thus: “*Vypjemo horilky—potancjujemo*” (“We'll drink our brandy, then we'll dance”). It thus became necessary for Ukrainian troupes to maintain dancers, singers, as well as the almost circus-like *komiky*. The latter were particularly noted for their improvisations—their own comic scenes placed within any play whatever; for example, such a *komik* (often very good) might stand in front of a tavern assuming the tragic tone of a Hamlet and pondering the questions “To go, or not to go” (into the tavern) or “To drink, or not to drink.” Kropyvnyč'kyj was also the creator of comic female types as well as individual scenes of verse declamations.

Admittedly, Kropyvnyč'kyj, with his own productions, demonstrated to certain segments of the urban population that the Ukrainian theatre was an authentic theatre and that Ukrainian was a literary language. On the other hand, however, virtually the entire character of this theatre was a throw-back to the era of Kotljarevsk'kyj or even earlier, to that of the interludes. It also invited the imitation of theatrical entrepreneurs who saw that Ukrainian theatre could become a good business and who either shamelessly abbreviated Ukrainian plays or combined their own works. A favorite play of the time was “*Pan mirošnyk abo satana u bočci*” (“*Master Miller or a Satan in a Cask*”). Ukrainian intellectuals

were later stirred to combat such entrepreneurs whom Vynnyčenko collectively called "Harkun-Zadunajs'kyj."

Only in certain respects can Karpenko-Karyj (pseudonym of I. Tobilevyč, 1845-1907) be compared with Kropyvnyč'kyj. From the beginning he resembled Kropyvnyč'kyj for what they both lacked—serious ideas about the themes they depicted in their works. However, Karpenko also imitated some of Kropyvnyč'kyj's negative features—perhaps because of the successes which, somehow, the very defects of Kropyvnyč'kyj's theatre brought him.

Karpenko-Karyj first began working as a minor government official. However, he was dismissed because of unreliability and sent to Novočerkask in 1884, and later (1889) to his own *xutir* where he devoted his time to his self-education and to literary activity. He worked diligently until his serious illness in 1904, producing eighteen plays and a number of paraphrases of foreign works. His repertory alone enabled Ukrainian theatres to exist without seeking for other, foreign material.

The first works of Karpenko-Karyj, whose theatrical career proper was begun in conjunction with his brothers, were ethnographic plays based on peasant life. Although the social motifs which he developed were commonplace, the author's grasp of a scene served him well: thus, every play had attractive masculine and feminine roles and was well constructed. However, in the tradition of Kropyvnyč'kyj, they contained that peculiar mixture which combined tragedy with songs and dancing (and at that time the directors added even more of these elements to their productions). Only the last plays of Karpenko-Karyj rose above the mediocre level. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was too late for plays of this type. While readers were impressed by the variety of character-types (some already dated) in the play "*Čumaky*" ("*Wagoneers*," 1897), the main problem of the work—human happiness—was, unfortunately, posed in a rather primitive manner. It was scarcely necessary at that point in time to declare that happiness does not rest in money!

It was during an earlier period that Karpenko-Karyj had presented his best works which could have built a fine theatrical career: "*Martyn Borulja*" (1886), "*Xazjajin*," ("*The Landlord*," 1900), and "*Sujeta*" ("*Vanity*," 1903). To this list might be added the tendentious but well-written play "*Ponad Dniprom*" ("*On the Dnieper*," 1897), dedicated to attempts of Ukrainian populists of the time to organize peasant associations. As it happened, however, it was not until after the author's death that his plays received first-rate performances. It was only then that actors appeared who were interested in playing the role of more than just a simple naive peasant (or worse, peasant woman).

While these, the better plays of Karpenko-Karyj, were no longer dependent

on the motif of drinking and the presence of dancers, they had not yet dispensed with a humor that was still very primitive. They had at their base—perhaps in consideration of their peasant audiences—an old-fashioned didacticism. Martyn Borulja's abortive attempt to prove his noble descent results in psychic instability; but were passions such as his very typical? In "*The Landlord*," Terentij Puzyr (like the hero of an earlier play, "*Sto tysjač*" ["*A Hundred Thousand*," 1889]), an already wealthy man introduces husbandry into his large estates, making them into well-organized "economies." He takes shameless advantage of his farm laborers ignoring their tearful entreaties which reach him through his daughter; he is incapable of associating with the intelligent people of his area. Here, Karpenko-Karyj supposedly foresees the beginnings of a popular movement against the exploitation of such proprietors. However, was this type of wealthy Ukrainian always the rule? Indeed, at that time, the Ukrainian cultural movement itself was actually being supported by rich landowners such as Čykalenko and Symyrenko. The author's weakest moralizing occurs in "*Vanity*," the play most popular with the children (although with adults as well) of the older generation. The children of the well-to-do peasant Baryl'čenko received a good education; however, his son, a school inspector, feels ashamed of his parents when they visit his city lodgings because of their peasant dress and their use of Ukrainian. But here, too, the audiences must have asked: is it always thus? And, from this point of view, should children therefore be denied a higher education and be left in the "peasant" condition of their parents? The overly primitive although quite brilliantly demonstrated moral found in these, the better plays of Karpenko-Karyj, had the effect, at the beginning of the twentieth century, of contributing to the misunderstanding, and even to impeding the development of the Ukrainian village.

Plays having historical subject matter were also part of Karpenko-Karyj's repertoire: "*Palyvoda 18 st.*" ("*Madcap of the 18th Century*," 1893), "*Lyxa iskra*" ("*Evil Spark*," 1896), "*Sava Čalyj*" (1899), and "*Handzja*" (1902). While the amount of Ukrainian patriotism in them is considerable, there is little comprehension of historical events (in "*Handzja*," the political conflict between Dorošenko and Xanenko is reduced to that of rivalry over a woman, Handzja). But historical dramas provided material for colorful productions with pseudo-historical costumes and decor and fantastic figures with incredible whiskers and tufts, etc. In effect, it was a very unfortunate regression to the theater of pre-Ševčenkian times.

The fact which most astonishes the contemporary reader is that the followers of the theatrical tradition of Kropyvnyč'kyj should number among them such a supporter of the cultural development of the Ukrainian language as

Myxajlo Staryc'kyj (1840-1904). The legacy of this cultural aristocrat, a translator of "*Hamlet*" (unpublished), includes several plays which later become Ukrainian favorites of the "Harkun-Zadunajs'kyj" type as well as the creation of a theatrical troupe which he himself headed. His Ukrainian plays were adapted to the level of the audiences of the day. Although he also wrote historical plays, his theater was characterized by such trappings as amazingly long whiskers, trousers as wide "as the Black Sea" and embroidered shirts, and—in his tragedies—singing and dancing. Such external effects remained a facet of Staryc'kyj's work until the end of his life.

As has already been noted, Staryc'kyj was a supporter of the ideas of Olena Pčilka concerning the Ukrainian language's need for cultural elevation. Yet in his own theatrical works he submitted to the examples of Kropyvnyč'kyj. And, in several cases, he "amended" his works by augmenting their ethnographic ornaments. The only explanation possible is that he was impressed by the success enjoyed by Kropyvnyč'kyj's plays. In this mold was Staryc'kyj's immensely popular "*Jak kovbasa ta čarka, to mynet'sja i svarka*" ("*With Sausage and Liquor, the Quarrelling Will Pass,*" 1873), a vaudeville differing from his famous comedy "*After the Inspection*" only by its lack of even the minimal (critical) ideology found in the latter play. Staryc'kyj's other plays (not all of which reached the stage), while equally as popular, were among the worst things in the repertoire of the Ukrainian theater. These were "*Ne sudylos'*" ("*It Was Not Destined,*" 1881, first performed in 1884) where the author drew a skeptical portrayal of populist liberals; "*Oj ne xody, Hrycju, ta j na večornyci*" ("*O, Don't Go to the Party, Hryc,'*" 1887) which depicts the tragic fate of Hryc' against a background of song and dance; "*U Temrjavi*" ("*In the Darkness,*" 1892), a play dealing with the village milieu; as well as "*Za dvoma zajcjami*" ("*Chasing Two Hares,*" 1883) which is set in the city and "*Talan*" ("*Fate,*" 1893), a play dealing with the life of intellectuals, specifically the fate of an actress; and later historical plays, "*Xmel'nyč'kyj*" (1897), "*Oborona Buši*" ("*The Defense of Buša,*" 1899), characterized by an incredible idealization of Cossack leaders. Political and social motifs may be found in Staryc'kyj's plays. But, in articles and private letters, Staryc'kyj wrote primarily about the necessity of scenic effects, colorful ethnographic material, etc. With such precepts, the theater could hardly become an educational medium for the people, much less for the intelligentsia.

The fate of the theater was altogether different in Western Ukraine where for a long time there simply was no thriving theatrical life. Travelling companies existed on translations and borrowings (from the Austrian theater). Even Franko, the author of several plays himself, was unable to bring it life. For, blind

to the weaknesses of Eastern Ukrainian theater, he envisaged that Galician theater should stage concrete representations of contemporary events. The majority of his plays written in the 1890s and consisting of four complete dramas and a few minor theatrical pieces were long considered to be nothing more than reading material. Only "*Ukradene ščastja*" ("*Stolen Happiness*") received stage presentation—in Lviv in 1893 and in Kiev in 1904; in Eastern Ukraine its real influence and meaning were not felt until recent times.

Indeed, the fate of the Ukrainian theater was dependent not only upon its authors or its actors, but also upon the consumers of its art. In this fact lay the tragedy of Eastern Ukrainian Realistic theater. One wonders what success Ukrainian theatrical productions might have achieved had they been even somewhat restrained in their use of singing and dancing, had they refrained from placing them in such contexts where they destroyed almost completely the edifying nature of a scene. Rarely did the peasants of the city attend theater in Eastern Ukraine. Rather, it was a diversion for the petty middle-class and the servant class; later, after 1905, soldiers were also admitted into Ukrainian theaters. In this way the respect of Ukrainian youth for "its theater" was lost; it waned gradually, but the principal consequence was that the theater had forfeited its influence. It remained little more than an opportunity to hear the Ukrainian language in a social situation and, at that, to observe the lack of comprehension of the illiterate audiences—their laughter at tragic scenes or for no reason at all other than hearing a language which for them was not only unaccustomed but also, for their society, inadmissible. Such a state of affairs reduced intelligent young people to despair and to a sense of national shame and disgrace.

8. The role played by poetic verse in the literary consciousness of the Realist period was clearly an important one. It is interesting, however, that apart from the work of Franko it did not produce anything *exceptional*. Models of good Realistic poetry were provided by the already cited Hlibov and Rudans'kyj, the former adopting the older (Classicist) form of the fable, while the latter (in his *Humoristic Poems*) followed the example of the peasant anecdote (with its grotesque exaggerations of bribery, injustice and masters' whims as in "*Jixav jakos' zasidatel' . . .*" ["A Certain Juror Went Riding By . . ."]). Original creations, not borrowings, these verses paralleled those of the famous Russian Realist poet Nekrasov. Until the end of the century, the poetry of Franko received only minimal response in Eastern Ukraine. The figure of Staryc'kyj as a lyric poet also remained unknown to the majority of the public.

There was a definite need in Ukraine for a verse poetry accessible to the broader circle of readers: such a lyric was the song (*pisnja*). During the Romantic

period it was adapted (turned into a folk song) to a great number of poems; the process continued into the period of Realism. Yet, curiously, Ševčenko's revolutionary formal innovations in this verse were practically ignored. Hence, while the number of poets who left their mark on the history of Ukrainian song was considerable, not all of their work was original. The words of the song "*Koly rozlučajut'sja dvoje*" ("When the Couple Comes to Separate") is merely M. Slavyns'kyj's translation of a poem by Heine (its melody, a sentimental deformation of Schubert). Representative of the lyric poetry of Galicia were the numerous works of S. Vorobkevych (1836-1903) who was also a composer (he set to music some of Ševčenko's lyrics). Some of the poets of Eastern Ukraine who might be mentioned are P. Hrabovs'kyj (1864-1902), I. Manžura (1851-1893), Volodymyr Samijlenko (1864-1925). While the legacy of these and other poets included revolutionary lyrics, their greatest popularity lay in their satiric and lyrical songs. The genuine lyric talent of Jakiv Ščoholiv (1824-1898) characterized even his earliest belated Romanticist period; later he followed Hlibov in producing lyrics which are some of the most charming of Ukrainian songs. He also contributed to the lexical enrichment of the language.

The younger poets, Lesja Ukrajinca, Voronyj, Oles', had already gone beyond the limits of essentially Realistic tradition. But there were others—poets sincerely searching for Realism and a revolutionary spirit—who remained within the folk (or perhaps pseudo-folk) song, chiefly because of those traces of Romantic stylistics and tonality surviving in their works (a partial consequence of the provincial nature of Ukrainian literature).

9. Ukrainian Realism, tied to the currents of other European literatures, could not remain static or changeless for long. Unlike the case of Kuliš who remained a fixed Romantic throughout his life (and, therefore, was largely ignored), Ukrainian Realism elaborated, in advance, a hundred (not to say one thousand) year program for itself. But this program was obliged to change within forty years, and its platforms (the espousal of the peasant language and the peasant way of life) had to be abandoned—except perhaps by retrogrades of the "Harkun Zadunajs'kyj" variety.

Realism was quite unable to dominate verse poetry. For the latter was, of all genres, the greatest repository of the vestiges of Romanticism whose strong roots in Ukraine resulted from the vital role it had played in the process of national revival. The first and most distinguished poet whose creativity rose above the routine and overcame pure Realism in verse poetry was the daughter of Olena Pčilka and the kinsman of M. Drahomanov, to whom she was indebted not only for his advice, but for her own personal education and acquaintance with scholarly literature upon which she drew during her quite extraordinary career.

Lesja Ukrajinka (1871-1913), inspired by her mother and by Staryc'kyj, adopted the important idea of the necessity of the cultural expansion and elevation of the Ukrainian literary language. Her poetic beginnings were lyric verses and translations, chiefly from Heine. Today it is impossible to be overly delighted with her lyrics. One is struck by the optimism of this girl who was gravely ill (a desperate tubercular condition), which compelled her to travel around the world in search of a better climatic environment, severely restricted her work and ultimately led her to an early grave. Lesja Ukrajinka concludes the history of Ukrainian Realism having made the invaluable contribution of a literary form which led literature far beyond the limits of Realism and which made Ukrainian literature a world literature for the first time.

The poetic work of Lesja Ukrajinka, which represented only the first half of her literary creativity, could not be considered extraordinary in either theme or form (although its rhythm, strophic structure, euphony in some respects [melodiousness] and much of its lexicon are noteworthy). In 1891 she was writing verses which were very similar in rhythm to those of Heine. However, ten years later she acknowledged that the young poet Oles' (whose language irritated her because of a certain untidiness) had outstripped her; yet, for her to write lyrical verses it was, she felt, no longer worthwhile.

Even before this, however, she had begun to write dramatic pieces; attempts such as "*Blakytna trojanda*" ("*The Sky Blue Rose*," 1908) revealed an affinity for Ibsen as well as appreciation for Maeterlinck. However, in "*Lisova pisnja*" ("*Forest Song*," 1911) in which she combined Gogol' and Hauptmann, she had again been outstripped by Oles' in his "*Vesnjana kazka*" ("*Spring Tale*" or "*Nad Dniprom*" ["*Over the Dnieper*"]). In fact, when M. Sadovs'kyj, a conservative theater director, learned that Lesja Ukrajinka too was preparing a similar work (i.e., "*Forest Song*"), he commissioned the translation of the second-rate play "*Zaczarowane Kolo*" ("*The Enchanted Circle*") by Lucian Rydel, a representative of the "Young Poland" school, and presented it every week for two years!

Lesja Ukrajinka's attitude toward the Ukrainian theater of the day was a critical one. The plays of Staryc'kyj "grieved her deeply"; Karpenko-Karyj she considered to be not a writer but a dilettante who, moreover, lacked any aesthetic sense. Accordingly, she began her own independent path to the theater: she moved from a concern for the expansion of the literary language to the search for expansion of literary forms—and in an altogether new direction.

It was after the writing of several longer poems—*Samson*, *Robert Bruce*, *Davnja kazka* (*An Old Tale*), including some with dramatic elements—*Oderžyma* (*A Woman Possessed*, 1901), that she turned to drama—the already cited "*Sky Blue Rose*"—at the end of the nineteenth century. She then progressed to the

smaller drama (whether or not she followed the example of Puškin or Hugo von Hofmannsthal is unimportant), an entirely new form which she developed as the "dramatic poem" and of which she contributed fifteen examples (some were known as "dialogs," while she called the larger ones "dramas"). They are significant from the formal aspect for they are symbolic works (Ukrainian literary historians are constantly trying to decipher their symbolism): they lead their subjects far beyond the compass of Ukrainian themes into the realm of world spiritual history. In vain do Ukrainian literary scholars search in them for any symbolic representation of Ukrainian problems. Lesja Ukrajinka's first plays of this type (from early Jewish history) provoked a storm of protest from the critics: why does the poet stray so far from actuality, they asked, failing to understand the significance of the gigantic step the poet had taken on to the field of world literature. In the second place, they charged, her plays were excessively rhetorical and declamatory and, therefore, unsuited to stage presentation. Even contemporary literary historians occasionally repeat these amazing allegations. To be sure, the little dramas of Lesja Ukrajinka could not be adapted to the theater of Kropyvnyč'kyj or of his followers for they are characterized by a total absence of sumptuous costumes, song and dance, drinking and Cossack figures. The critics did not understand that the theater must fulfill the requirements of the poets, rather than *vice versa*. They forgot that rhetorical and declamatory elements were also found in classical tragedy as well as in Shakespeare and in the dramas of French Classicism where they dominated the stage and enthralled the audience—and without drinking and dancing. . . .

The Ukrainian Realistic theater was incapable of presenting the "exotic" plays of this talented authoress. Even the label "exotic" was an imperceptible one to apply to the dramatic poems of Lesja Ukrajinka. They were remote from Ukrainian contemporary life only because they were dealing with universal human themes. In other words, Lesja Ukrajinka raised Ukrainian literature to the level of a world literature, one which treats themes that are common and important to mankind as a whole (involving situations which happen not only in Ukraine, but everywhere in the world and at any moment in the historical process). In the dramatic poems, these problems are presented in a concentrated, intense form. It was by disregarding the boundaries of a certain people or of a certain time that Lesja Ukrajinka, possibly for the first time in the history of Ukrainian literature, was able to create works that belonged to the heritage both of Ukraine and of the world (even Ševčenko's "Caucasus" requires commentaries if it is to be read by a non-Ukrainian, while for the "exotic" plays of Lesja Ukrajinka, they are unnecessary). In fact, the "dramatic poems" prompted M. Pavlyk to express the hope that the authoress would return to works with

social themes! It is possible that the dramatic poems do not present these problems at their ultimate and most profound level, and perhaps they fail to provide final decisive answers to these questions. But if there are any Ukrainian works which are able to speak not only to fellow Ukrainians but also to humanity at large, these works are the dramatic poems—a fact that would hold true even if they had appeared in prose translation.

Lesja Ukrajinka took a phenomenal step beyond the narrow confines of Realism and beyond the confines of Ukrainian literature in general. It was an achievement which has been scarcely appreciated to the present day. Yet if the poetess really developed her own works as a result of having outgrown the positions of Realism (which is more than doubtful), then it was a great service on behalf of Realism toward the cause of Ukrainian literature which had otherwise suffered considerably because of this trend.

It is clear that Lesja Ukrajinka herself understood that the further development of Realism in Ukrainian literature was impossible. She rejected its limitations and inaugurated a new era in the history of Ukrainian literature. It is interesting that she had formulated the outline of a dramatic poem—“*U pušči*” (“*In the Wilderness*,” 1910)—as early as the 1890s, but did not return to remake it until the end of her life. Because both her smaller and major dramas deal with various times and various peoples, they are indeed “exotic”: not in the sense of strange, incomprehensible “exotica,” but, simply, in that they involve strange peoples and distant times. Represented here are classical antiquity (Greece and Rome), the Middle Ages, the world of Mohammed, the Puritans of North America, Spain; only in one of Lesja Ukrajinka’s last plays is Ukrainian subject matter used: “*Bojarynja*” (“*The Noblewoman*,” 1910). Several plays are concerned with early Christianity: “*U katakombax*” (“*In the Catacombs*,” 1906), “*Rufin i Priscilla*” (“*Rufinus and Priscilla*,” 1911), “*Advokat Martijan*” (“*The Advocate Martianus*,” 1913), “*Na rujinax*” (“*In the Ruins*,” 1904). The main theme of the plays is the historical process and the human aspirations operating within it. Certain elements of symbolism may be noticed in the depiction of the historical process, including rare allusions to Ukrainian life.

Certainly, the symbolism of Lesja Ukrajinka also helped to lead her beyond the boundaries of Realism: of special significance is her “fairy tale” “*Forest Song*,” a work altogether within the framework of symbolism in Slavic literatures.

10. It is not possible here to trace the development of Ukrainian literature in the other directions it followed in breaking away from Realism, a trend which never held full sway especially in the poetry of Franko. However, mention should be made of certain lesser poets who renounced Realism, although in a

form which is not altogether clear: in western Ukraine, V. Pačovs'kyj (1878-1942), P. Karmans'kyj (1878-1956), and in eastern Ukraine, M. Černjavs'kyj (1867-1937), M. Filjans'kyj (1873-1945) whose work still retained Romantic echoes.

Some of the most prominent figures of the new literature drew the attention of Lesja Ukrajinca. They included Mykola Voronyj (1871-1937), self-educated (and with hardship), whom she regarded as a genuine poet and whose works also earned her reserved praise for their content. "*The Spring Tale*" of Oles' (Oleksander Kandyba, 1878-1944), whose creativity had "outstripped" that of Lesja Ukrajinca herself (see above), was considered by her to be a masterpiece. One of his semi-folkish verses, "*Xvylja*" ("The Wave," 1912), although written much earlier, prompted her to observe that such rhymes as "*dzen'ky-bren'ky*" could be written not only by the young writers (reference to Ču-prynka, 1879-1921), but also by the older ones.

Her impressions of late-Realistic and post-Realistic prose are of interest. Many of Kocjubyns'kyj's writings failed to gain her favor ("diffuse," "tasteless," "written without internal motivation" were her comments). Only a work which genuinely broke with Realism, Kocjubyns'kyj's *Tini zabutyx predkiv* (*Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, 1913), impelled her to true admiration. The work of V. Vynnyčenko who did not, in her opinion, go beyond the forms of late Realism, received a mixed reaction from Lesja Ukrajinca: while acknowledging the quality of his prose, she confessed that she was revolted by various features of Vynnyčenko's work such as coarseness and a certain primitivism. Later, she declared that because she had not experienced Vynnyčenko's evolution as a theatrical writer, she could not express an opinion about the ideological development in his later plays. In some respects, Vynnyčenko was related to certain Russian symbolists with extremely idiosyncratic views of morality; his style, however, remained Realistic, on the whole.

Since the Revolution of 1917, the development of Ukrainian literature has been conditioned, to a large extent, by extra-literary factors. In many instances, elements of Realism have survived and continue to survive, albeit in part artificially.

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**Editions of Texts**—*Strannik*, 1888. // *ČONL*, 14 (1900). // **Texts and Secondary Materials**—A. Popov: *Obzor xronografov russkoj redakcii*, I-II. Moscow, 1886. // V. Istrin in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 1898. // *Russkaja Pravda*, many editions such as that of E. Kars’kij: *Russkaja Pravda po drevnejšemu spisku 1282 g.* Leningrad, 1930; and B. Grekov: *Pravda Russkaja*, I-III. Moscow, 1940-63.

## CHAPTER IV. PERIOD OF ORNAMENTAL STYLE

## PART A.

Compare the items listed under Ch. III, pt. C. // T. Sušyc'kyj in *ZNTK*, IV. // K. Kalajdovič: *Pamjatniki russkoj slovesnosti XII v.* Moscow, 1821.

## PART B.

Texts of the sermons of Cyril of Turiv can be found in K. Kalajdovič (see above, pt. A) and A. Ponomarev (see above, "Anthologies of Texts"). A better edition of texts is to be found in M. Suxomlinov: *Rukopisi gr. Uvarova*, II. Moscow, 1858. // **Secondary Materials**—M. Suxomlinov: *Issledovanija i stat'i po russkoj literature i prosvěščeniju*. St. Petersburg, 1889 (*Slavistic Printings and Reprintings*. The Hague, 1970). // V. Vinogradov in *V pamjat' stoletija*, II. // N. Nikol'skij: *O literaturnoj dejatel'nosti Klimenta Smoljatiča*. St. Petersburg, 1892. // E. Petuxov: *Serapion Vladimirskij*. St. Petersburg, 1888. // **Shorter Studies**—Byčkov in *BL*, III (1917). // X. Loparev in *PDP*, 98 (1894). // P. Vladimirov in *ČONL*, 4. // V. Sobolevskij in *IORJa*, 6 (1901) and 14 (1915), 1. // M. Obolenskij in *Kievljanin*, 1855.

## PART C.

See also pts. B and D. // N. Serebrjanskij (see Ch. III, pt. D). // I. Eremin in *IORJa*, 30 (1925). // N. Nikol'skij in *IORJa*, 8 (1903), 1 (No. II). // D. Čyževs'kyj in *ZfsPh*, XXIV (1955), 1.

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*Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. St. Petersburg, 1871 (and in *PSRL*, II). // A. Orlov in *IORJa*, XXXI (1926) and *TODRL*, V (1947). // M. Hruševs'kyj in *ZNTS*, 8, 41, 52. // I. Eremin in *TODRL*, VII (1949). // Studies by E. Perfeckij and M. Priselkov quoted above, Ch. III, pt. H. // V. Pašuto: *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi*. Moscow, 1950. // D. Čyževs'kyj in *Südst-Forschungen*, XII (1953).

**PART F.**

See above, Ch. III, pt. H. // The most important information is included in M. Hruševs'kyj's multi-volume history (see above, "General Histories").

**PART G.**

E. Barsov: *Slovo o polku Igoreve kak xudožestvennyj pamjatnik kievskoj družinnoj Rusi*, I-III. Moscow, 1887-90 (and in *ČOID*, 1883-89). // V. Peretc: "K izučeniju 'Slova o polku Igoreve,'" *IORJa*, 28-30 (1924-26) and separately, Leningrad, 1926. // V. Peretc: *Slovo o polku Ihorevim: Pamjatka feodal'noji Ukrajiny-Rusy*. Kiev, 1926. // Articles by V. Ržyha in *U*, 1926, 2; *S*, 4 (1925), 6 (1926), 12 (1933). // M. Peterson in *S*, 14 (1934). // V. Birčak in *ZNTŠ*, 95-96. // H. Gregoire, R. Jakobson and M. Szeftel: *La Geste du Prince Igor*. New York, 1948. // R. Jakobson in *Speculum*, 1952.

**PART H.**

See above, pts. D and F.

**PART I.**

**Texts**—N. Zarubin: *Slovo Daniila Zatočnika po redakcijam XII i XIII vv. i ix peredelkam, Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj literatury*, III. Leningrad, 1932. // **Studies**—P. Mindalev: *Molenie Daniila Zatočnika*. Kazan, 1914. // V. Ščurat in *ZNTŠ*, 9 (1896). // B. Romanov: *Ljudi i nnavy drevnej Rusi*. Leningrad, 1947. I. Franko in *ZNTŠ*, 35-36. // E. Petuxov in *SORJa*, 42 (1887). // A. Ponomarev, III (see above, "Anthologies of Texts").

**PART J.**

Cyril of Turiv's prayers in *Pravoslavnyj Sobesednik*, 1856. // Clement Smoljatyč: N. Nikol'skij (see above, pt. B). // **Historical Monuments**—See above, Ch. III, pt. I. // *Annotated Palea*: see A. Michajlov in *ZfsPh*, IV (1927). // Text of the *Annotated Palea*: "*Paleja Tolkovaja*." *Trud učenicov Tixonravona*. Petersburg, 1892.

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Petersburg, 1904. // Dosyfej: I. Nikol'skij in *SORJa*, 82. // Bogomil Texts—J. Ivanov: *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*. Sofia, 1925. // K. Dobrowolski in *Reformacja w Polsce*, III (1924). // A. Veselovskij in *ŽMNP*, 1876, 3-4. // On Hussitism—M. Hruševs'kyj, IV (see above, "General Histories"). // There is no good survey of works discussing the Judaizers. A. Klibanov, *Reformacionnyje dviženija v Rossii v XIV-pervoj polovine XVI vv. Moscow*, 1960. // The following items are inadequate: D. Oljančyn in *Kyrios*, I (1936) and Fr. Erlenbusch (D. Čyževs'kyj), *Co daly naše zeme Evrope a lidstvu?* Prague, 1940. // Texts—S.L. Neverov in *KUI*, 1909. // V. Zubov: *Istoriko-matematičeskie issledovanie*, III (Moscow, 1950). // Chronicles—*PSRL*, XVII. // T. Sušyc'kyj: *Zaxidno-rus'ki litopysy jak pamjatky literaturni*, I-II. Kiev, 1922-24. // Ju. Tyxovs'kyj in *KS*, 1893, 9.

## CHAPTER VI. RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

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### PART B.

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3-6. Kiev, 1926-29. // V. Rezanov: *Pamjatniki ruskoj dramatičeskoj literatury*. Nižen', 1907. // V. Antonovyč and M. Drahomanov: *Istoričeskie pesni maloruskogo naroda*, II. Kiev, 1875 (contains text of *God's Mercy*). // **Secondary Materials**—V. Rezanov: *Iz istorii ruskoj dramy*. Moscow, 1910. // V. Rezanov: *K istorii ruskoj dramy*. Nizen, 1910. // N. Petrov: *Očerok ukraïnskoj literatury 17-18 vv., preimuščestvenno dramatičeskoj*. Kiev, 1911. // Ja. Hordyns'kyj in *ZNTŠ*, 130-31. // M. Voznjak: *Počatky ukraïns'koji komediji*. 1st ed. Lviv, 1920 (2d ed. New York, 1954). // V. Peretc in *U*, 1926, I. // Ju. Šerex in *HSS*, 2 (1954).

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## CHAPTERS X AND XI – GENERAL HISTORIES

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**ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES OF PERIODICALS,  
COLLECTIONS AND SERIES**

<i>AfsPh</i>	<i>Archiv fuer slavische Philologie</i>
<i>AjuzR</i>	<i>Arxiv jugo-zapadnoj Rossii</i>
<i>Akty Ju. i Z. Rusi</i>	<i>Akty k istorii južnoj i zapadnoj Rusi</i>
<i>Annals</i>	<i>The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.</i>
<i>BL</i>	<i>Bibliografičeskaja Letopis'</i>
<i>ČOID</i>	<i>Čtenija v Moskovskom Obščestve istorii i drevnostej</i>
<i>ČONL</i>	<i>Čtenija v obščestve Nestora Letopisca</i>
<i>ČŠ</i>	<i>Červonyj Šljax</i>
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Slavic Studies</i>
<i>IAN</i>	<i>Izvestija po russkomu jazyku i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>IORJa</i>	<i>Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>KS or KSt</i>	<i>Kievskaja Starina</i>
<i>KUI</i>	<i>Kievskie Universitetskie Izvestija</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Literaturnyj Arxiv</i>
<i>LNV</i>	<i>Literaturno-Naukovyj Visnyk</i>
<i>MBP</i>	<i>Malaja Biblioteka Poeta</i>
<i>NK</i>	<i>Naša Kul'tura</i>
<i>NZ UVAN</i>	<i>Naukovyj Zbirnyk Ukrajin's'koji Vil'noji Akademiji Nauk u SŠA</i>

<i>PDP</i>	<i>Pamjatniki Drevnej Pis'mennosti i Iskusstva</i>
<i>PSRL</i>	<i>Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Slaves</i>
<i>RFV</i>	<i>Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik</i>
<i>RIB</i>	<i>Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka</i>
<i>RP</i>	<i>Rus'ka pys'mennist</i>
<i>S</i>	<i>Slavia</i>
<i>SAN</i>	<i>Sbornik po russkomu jazyku i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>SORJa</i>	<i>Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>TKDA</i>	<i>Trudy Kievskoj Duxovnoj Akademii</i>
<i>TODRL</i>	<i>Trudy Otdela drevne-russkoj literatury Akademii Nauk SSSR</i>
<i>U</i>	<i>Ukrajina</i>
<i>UVAN</i>	<i>Ukrajins'ka Vil'na Akademija Nauk u SŠA</i>
<i>V pamjat' stoletija</i>	<i>V Pamjat' stoletija Moskovskoj Duxovnoj Akademii (Moscow, 1915)</i>
<i>VUAN</i>	<i>Vseukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk</i>
<i>VUI</i>	<i>Varšavskie Universitetskie Izvestija</i>
<i>ZbUAN</i>	<i>Zbimyk Ukrajins'koji Akademiji Nauk</i>
<i>ZfsPH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie</i>
<i>ZIFV</i>	<i>Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddily Ukrajins'koji Akademiji Nauk</i>
<i>ŽMNP</i>	<i>Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščenija</i>
<i>ZNTK or ZUNT</i>	<i>Zapysky Ukrajins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva v Kyjevi</i>

ZNTŠ      *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenko u*  
              *L'vovi*

ŽR         *Žyttja j Revoljucija*

\* \*  
\*  

Because of the unavailability of certain materials at this time, I was occasionally forced to give incomplete bibliographical references—the volume number of a periodical or series but not its date, and vice versa.

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Prepared by Alexandra Chernenko-Rudnytsky

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**An  
OVERVIEW  
of the  
TWENTIETH CENTURY**

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**George S. N. Luckyj**

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# 1.

## EMERGENCE OF MODERNISM

### MODERNISM

In the early nineteenth century, Ukrainian literature had become an expression of national identity, and so it remained throughout the century. The emerging modernism was by no means an attempt to shun the populism and realism that ruled supreme at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We saw in the preceding chapter that these two tendencies, the old populism and the new modernism existed side by side. The former thrived as a natural defense against the tsarist colonial policy of domination and Russification. In the absence of political opposition (which was banned), writers assumed the role of defenders of the national identity, concentrating on language and culture. They clung to familiar forms and styles and addressed the general reader. The modernists, on the other hand, tried to look beyond national boundaries and stereotypes and advocated (and sometimes practiced) art for art's sake, without abandoning the "people," though preferring their own coteries. Both were pulling in different directions, but tried not to be hostile to each other.

The awakening national consciousness, which first flared up in the romantic poetry of Taras Ševčenko, reached a widening readership despite the tsarist bans on Ukrainian publications in 1883, 1876, and 1881. These prohibitions began as early as 1720 with Tsar Peter I forbidding the publications of church

books in old Ukrainian. This policy of political and cultural coercion was partially circumvented by printing works in Ukrainian in Austro-Hungary (Galicia), from where they spread to all of Ukraine. The guiding ideas of this literature were strongly populist and the style was realistic. The life of the downtrodden peasantry was the predominant subject-matter. Only at the end of the nineteenth century did new trends appear in Ukrainian literature that conveniently go by the name of modernism. Thus populism and modernism survived in different forms and disguises until the end of the twentieth century. Tensions between the two were recently characterized by the scholar, Kovaliv, as “mutually regenerative,” a “spontaneous movement ahead, with views turned back into the past.”<sup>1</sup>

In one of his essays,<sup>2</sup> Ivan Franko, the leading Galician writer and critic, provided an incisive look at the literature of that time. Despite censorship and political oppression Franko saw much progress in Ukrainian literature during the last decades of the nineteenth century. This he attributed to the appearance of some young writers—for example, Kryms’kyj, Xotkevyc̃, Stefanyk, Kocjubyns’kyj, and Kobyljans’ka—who showed “a close observation of life, a very serious understanding of art and its social function and strong faith in the future of our national development.”<sup>3</sup> “Modern versification,” he continued, “has made great progress towards purity of language and melodiousness in poetry.... Our prose ... has acquired poetic flight, melodiousness, grace, and variety....”<sup>4</sup> The young writers had been educated on the best European models, which followed “the new studies in psychology” and depicted “inner spiritual conflicts” rather than external events.

This essay was first published in 1901, but three years earlier Franko had written an article “Internationalism and Nationalism in Modern Literature,”<sup>5</sup> in which he characterized, on the whole favorably, the modernist trends in Western European literature, as long as they contained a “healthy kernel (*zdrove zerno*).” (Verlaine might be a genius, but was an alcoholic, and Maupassant’s obsession with sex was wrong.) Curiously enough, Franko seemed oblivious of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, but argued that “nationalism and internationalism are not at all contradictory.”<sup>6</sup> Also in 1898 he published a major essay on aesthetics<sup>7</sup> in which he pleaded for literary criticism devoid of political, social, or religious ideas.<sup>8</sup> He disagreed with much of the French and German contemporary criticism as well as with the Russian critic Dobroljubov, and pleaded for recognition of the role of the subconscious in literary creation, stating “To compare poetic imagination with dreams and, beyond that, with hallucinations is not an idle game.”<sup>9</sup> Large parts of the essay were devoted to “poetry and music” and “poetry and painting.”

Franko also played a key role in the only literary monthly, *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald), which, under the editorship of Myxajlo Hruševs’kyj, began to appear in Lviv in 1897. Franko was *de facto*

its literary editor and a frequent contributor. Volovymyr Hnatjuk was a third member of the editorial board. The journal stood above the political parties of the time and was truly representative of both Western and Eastern Ukraine. Beginning with its earliest issues the journal devoted much space to Western European literature. Translations and review articles appeared on Maupassant, Verlaine, Kipling, D'Annunzio, Maeterlinck, Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Schnitzler, and others. Ukrainian modernist writers such as Vynnyčenko, Kobyljans'ka, Jackiv, Stefanyk, and Oles' appeared side by side with such older authors as Nečuj-Levyč'kyj and Hrinčenko. In 1907, following the revolution of 1905 and the relaxation of censorship in Russia, the journal was transferred to Kyiv. One issue of the *Herald* in 1901 carried an announcement by Mykola Voronyj:

With the aim of compiling and publishing here, in the Black Sea region, the *Katerynodar*, a Ruthenian-Ukrainian almanac that, in form and content, could at least in part approach the modern currents and trends of contemporary European literature, and wishing to enroll the widest possible range of contributors, I am asking my friends a great favor—kindly to take part in a joint enterprise and with their pens assist in achieving this goal.... Putting aside many worn-out tendencies and compelling morals that again and again have forced our young writers onto the path of cliché and narrow-mindedness and also avoiding works that are blatantly naturalistic and brutal, one would like instead to have works with a small dose of originality, with a free, independent outlook, and with contemporary content. One would like to have works with some philosophy, in which there would shine even a small piece of that distant blue sky, which for centuries has beckoned to us with its unreachable beauty, with its unfathomable mystery.... The closest attention should be paid to the aesthetic aspect of the works.<sup>10</sup>

This modernist appeal materialized two years later with the publication of the almanac *Z nad xmar i z dolyn* (From Above the Clouds and the Valleys, 1903), edited by Voronyj. It was not as radical as its editor would have liked, but it was nevertheless a landmark in Ukrainian literature. Its introduction consisted of a literary duel between Franko and Voronyj. Despite a theoretical attack on modernism, Franko contributed to the almanac his fine lyrical poems "Zivjale lystja" (Withered Leaves). Most contributors—Voronyj, Ščurat, Lesja Ukajinka, Karmans'kyj, Kobyljans'ka, Xotkevyč, Lypa, Kocjubyns'kyj, Kryms'kyj—were modernists, but there was also traditional verse and prose by Franko, Hrabovs'kyj, Hrinčenko, Nečuj-Levyč'kyj, and Samijlenko. What Voronyj had suggested was carried out by and large.

An important feature of the almanac was the participation of writers from both Eastern and Western Ukraine. In the east they were influenced by Russian symbolism and in the west by the Western European *Kulturkreise* of Cracow, Prague and Vienna. Russian censorship was relaxed (the almanac appeared, in a strange orthography, in Odesa) and a few years later, after the “revolution” of 1905, it was almost withdrawn. At the same time the Russian academy of sciences acknowledged Ukrainian as a separate language. These steps led to vital changes in the status of Ukrainian literature in Russia. More and more, writers were convinced of the autonomy of their art.

There was also, however, considerable opposition to the budding modernism. The major populist critic, Serhij Jefremov, vehemently attacked it in a long series of articles, “V poiskax novoj krasoty” (In Search of a New Beauty), published in 1902 in *Kievskaja starina* (Kievan Antiquity). He savaged the feeble “Poezija v prozi” (Poetry in Prose) by Hnat Xotkevych and spent most of his anger on Ol’ha Kobylyans’ka. He admitted that she had talent, but was unable to find anything valuable in her short modernist stories or her ambitious feminist novel *Carivna* (The Princess). The heroine, he argued, was passive, her actions were inadequately motivated, and the idea, borrowed from Nietzsche, of a striving to be a superman in defiance of the dark mob, unacceptable. According to Jefremov, Kobylyans’ka’s “aristocratism” was simply based on a “dubious morality.” She idealized nature and her language was impure. Even her other novel about the peasantry, *Zemlja* (Earth), had serious shortcomings. In the end Jefremov condemned Kobylyans’ka for “her contempt for simple folk.” Another woman writer, Natalija Kobryns’ka, drew Jefremov’s ire for departing from her early realistic stories and attempting to write like a symbolist. Finally, Jefremov dug up a little-known modernist publisher of *Zyvi struny* (Living Strings), which published Stanislaw Przybyszewski in Ukrainian. This led him to conclude that the basic tendency of Ukrainian modernism was to glorify sex, a charge that was patently absurd. His fear that in pursuit of “pure beauty” they had reached “animal depravity” was quite unjustified. Jefremov’s hostility was rooted in his inability to see modernism as a reaction against the status quo. True, many of the modernist products were artistically deficient, yet they could not be regarded, as Jefremov described them, as “hashish” or as an escape from the writer’s real duty to his people.

Unfortunately, the strong reaction to Jefremov’s article remained unpublicized. Long letters to *Kievskaja starina* from Lesja Ukrajinka and Hnat Xotkevych were not published. Xotkevych also wrote an irate letter to the *Herald*<sup>11</sup> and Lesja Ukrajinka expressed her views in private letters.<sup>12</sup> Writing to her mother in 1909, she complained that Jefremov’s article was “a pit into which everything was thrown,” whether a “decadent” hair-style or “trendy colors.”<sup>13</sup> Earlier, in a letter to Pavlyk in 1903, she characterized Jefremov’s

article as “superficial” and “blindly certain about areas of which he was ignorant (French literature and the history of modern trends).”<sup>14</sup>

Two years later, in 1904, Jefremov repeated his argument in an article in *Kievskaja starina*, “Na mertvoj točke” (At a Standstill), in which he criticized Voronyj’s almanac very harshly. He also attacked Katrja Hrynevyčeva’s article in the *Herald*<sup>15</sup> in which she argued that “no one can criticize what he does not understand.” Jefremov ridiculed Voronyj’s polemics with Franko and reviewed individual contributions to the almanac with a great deal of sarcasm. They were full of “vague symbolism” and “impenetrable mysticism,” and they “slavishly imitate foreign models,” “have nothing positive in them,” and “are indifferent to social problems.” All this may have been true, yet it did not amount to a serious criticism of the new trend. Jefremov tried to see in modernism only a temporary, transitional phase to a more “healthy” literature that would serve the interests of the people. In the end he saw such “fresh strength,” strangely enough, in Vynnyčenko’s works, and advised Voronyj to abandon the “clouds” and dwell in “the valleys.”

About the same time, in the first decade of the new century, modernist tendencies in literature appeared in Western Ukraine, which was then under Austrian rule. A loosely organized group of young writers, Moloda Muza (the Young Muse) emerged in 1906. Among its members were Volodymyr Birčak, Stepan Čarnec’kyj, Myxailo Jackiv, Petro Karmans’kyj, Ostap Luc’kyj, Vasył’ Pačovs’kyj, Osyp Turjans’kyj, and Sydir Tverdoxlib. Also associated with them was the poet Bohdan Lepkyj. The composer S. Ljudkevych and the sculptor M. Paraščuk were also members of the group. In 1907 Ostap Luc’kyj published an article in *Dilo* (Deed)<sup>16</sup> that was greeted as a manifesto of the Young Muse. He began by describing the “new wave” in Western European letters and art that was influenced by the writings of Nietzsche, Ibsen, and Maeterlinck. This “loss of all hope,” the upheaval of values, and the “new mystical skies” could also be seen in Ukrainian literature, primarily in the works of Ol’ha Kobyljans’ka. The older writers (Karpenko-Karyj, Nečuj-Levyc’kyj, Franko, Myrnyj) held that truth must be “sensible, objective, and useful to everyone.” The older critics, such as Jefremov, ridiculed those who wrote differently. Yet “a reaction set in” against the old school in literature. “Artistic creation,” according to the new school, “was neither a nurse nor a propagandist”; its only sanction is the “inner, spiritual need of the creator, which may not be locked into a rational drawer.” Instead of “cold reason” the new writers follow “the fires of their own hearts.... Poetry must, above all, be poetry.” This new tendency in literature “gave us Kobyljans’ka, Stefanyk, Kocjubyns’kyj, Lesja Ukrajinka, Lepkyj, Ščurat, and many others.”<sup>17</sup> Hence also arose the Young Muse, whose task was to foster the new literature through its publications.

In comparison with Russian and Polish modernist manifestos Luc'kyj's article was mild and moderate. It simply stated the present literary situation. However, less than a month later, also in *Dilo*<sup>18</sup>, it was viciously attacked by Ivan Franko. At the beginning of his angry reply, which was no doubt also motivated by anger at Luc'kyj's parodies of his work, Franko reminded his readers that he had in the past favorably reviewed the modernist poetry of Vasyl' Pačovs'kyj. He then launched his attack. Franko had never heard that "God was dead." Nietzsche's influence was ephemeral and the "great spiritual crisis" in Europe of which Luc'kyj was writing was non-existent. He ridiculed the idea that literature must show a new sensibility. In Ukrainian literature Kobyljans'ka's talent "has recently shown a marked weakening." Older writers deserved respect, while the new writers had failed to captivate the readers with their "subtleties" and "sincerity in human relationships." The latter, wrote Franko, "must not become a part of a literary program."<sup>19</sup> At the end he fulminated against the publishing activities of the Young Muse. About the same time there appeared an equally sarcastic review by Franko in the *Herald* of some verse published by the Young Muse.<sup>20</sup> Altogether his attitude to the Young Muse was uncompromising. "One must put an end," he wrote in a letter to Hruševs'kyj, "to the demoralization, the stupidity, and the pretensions of our Young Muse."<sup>21</sup>

The harshness of Franko's criticism evoked little protest. His authority remained unchallenged and no real polemic between the traditionalists and the modernists in Ukraine ever took place. It is noteworthy, however, that the defenders of the status quo (Jefremov, Franko) showed occasional appreciation of modernist literature.

For some time—since February, 1906—the Young Muse had a journal, *Svit* (The World), published by Vjačeslav Budzynovs'kyj, but edited by the "Young Musians." After the relaxation of censorship in Russia, another modernist journal, called rather traditionally, *Ukrajins'ka xata* (Ukrainian Home), was established in 1909 in Kyiv. It was edited by Pavlo Bohac'kyj and Mykyta Šapoval, whose literary pseudonym was Sribljans'kyj. Its leading critic and theoretician was Mykola Jevšan (Fedjuška), whose series of essays was published separately.<sup>22</sup> Following Nietzsche and Ruskin Jevšan pleaded for a new aesthetic culture, whose aim would be "an original and harmonious human being, who would not conflict with others or with himself and who could be self-sufficient and happy."<sup>23</sup> And again, the role of art, like that of religion, was "to prepare an elevated atmosphere in the upbringing of individuals and whole generations so that their hearts might accept everything beautiful, joyful, and noble."<sup>24</sup> Jevšan was a harsh critic of modernist poetry, calling it "powerless," "without ideas," and "isolated from life." He liked grandiloquent terminology, calling on his countrymen to "breathe with full lungs" and to emulate a "free man." According to Sribljans'kyj, impressionism in art and

individualism in life were the ways to “liberate mankind from all the negative aspects of social life.”<sup>25</sup>

Xatiane (Homers), as they were called, had a large following, not so much because of the modernist platform, but because, as their editorial policy stated, “the aim was to turn our thoughts to the path of progress, where better ideals of humanity are shining—freedom, equality, brotherhood.”<sup>26</sup> Both Jevšan and Sribljans’kyj were also fervent nationalists. The contributors to the journal included the poets Oles’, Čuprynka, Lepkyj, Voronyj, Černjavs’kyj, Ryl’s’kyj, Tyčyna and Svidzins’kyj and the prose writers Vynnyčenko, Žurba, Kobyljans’ka, and Kybal’čyč. The journalism it produced, by Andrij Tovkačevs’kyj and Sribljans’kyj, included articles on American democracy. The journal, which was often attacked by the newspaper *Rada* (Council), continued till the outbreak of the First World War, when all Ukrainian publications were banned. A recent study attributes to *Ukrajins’ka xata* a certain cultural elitism and sophisticated nationalism.<sup>27</sup>

On the whole, Ukrainian modernism was moderate, unwilling or unable to put forward bold new theories, experiment with new styles and structures, or reach the extreme of “decadence.” In the best available treatment of what its author calls Ukrainian “pre-symbolism,”<sup>28</sup> too much stress is laid on the innovative achievement of modernism. In fact, many modernists could not entirely divorce themselves from the realistic tradition. While preaching “art for art’s sake,” they still wished to serve the national cause. Their aim was perhaps best expressed in a letter to Panas Myrnyj, written in 1903 by Myxajlo Kocjubyns’kyj and Mykola Černjavs’kyj:

For one hundred years of its existence our modern literature (for historical reasons) was nourished largely by the village, village life, and ethnography. The peasant, the circumstances of his life, his uncomplicated, for the most part, psychology—that is almost all that engaged the imagination and talent of the Ukrainian writer. There are a few exceptions. Our educated reader, brought up on the better models of contemporary European literature, which is rich not only in themes but in the manner of constructing plots, has the right to expect from his native literature a wider field of observation, a true depiction of all aspects of life of everybody, not merely one social stratum, and would wish to encounter in our belles-lettres the treatment of philosophical, social, psychological, historical and other themes.<sup>29</sup>

There was, therefore, a basic agreement on the need for departure from the old themes and modes of expression, but there was less certainty as to where to turn next. The search for new forms lasted for several decades and produced

some excellent results. It was, moreover, buoyed up by the revolution of 1917–20 and continued to influence literature till the onset of Stalinism in 1930. It showed the decided impact of Western European literary models and continued Europeanization of Ukrainian literature.

The twentieth century was greeted in the collection of “exotic” poems by the promising young Oriental scholar, Ahatanhel Kryms’kyj (1871–1942) entitled *Pal’move hillja* (Palm Branches, 1901). In his introduction, discussing “profane” love, he admitted that his works were meant “not for people with frayed nerves and lacking vigor.”<sup>30</sup> In the poems themselves he confessed his subjectivism and egotism, searching always for “refined aesthetic feelings.” The “groans of millions steeped in famine and injustice” did not interest him. The lyrical narrator of *Palm Branches* is similar to Andrij Lahovs’kyj, the hero of his modernistic novel of the same title. Written between 1894 and 1904 this novel, autobiographical despite the author’s protestation to the contrary, has all the ingredients of “decadence”: narcissism, sex, homoeroticism, mysticism, even Sufism. In 1905 Lesja Ukrajinca wrote a very long letter to Kryms’kyj with the sharp and detailed criticism of a sympathetic reader.<sup>31</sup>

Kryms’kyj was also the author of *Povistky ta eskizy z ukrajins’koho zyttyja* (Tales and Sketches from Ukrainian Life, 1896) and *Bejruts’ki opovidannja* (Beirut Short Stories, 1906). Soon after the revolution of 1905 he stopped writing and dedicated himself with great success to scholarship. He was a victim of Stalin’s purges in the 1930s, but has been posthumously rehabilitated. Here is Soviet critic Babyškin’s assessment of Kryms’kyj’s early poetry:

His poetry had everything: juvenile emulation, youthful extremism in the search for truth, and unearthly honesty about himself and others. His hero could be light-hearted and waver and retreat from his own happiness, could quit in the face of love and invent some social reasons for quitting and fleeing far away. He could be pensive, could affirm life and sometimes look at it from the distance of centuries, in order to say that everything is vanity and at the same time conclude that life is worthwhile.

That was Kryms’kyj’s poetry, consonant with his time and at the same time unique. Not only because Kryms’kyj’s poetic hero was chiefly placed against a background of Syrian and Lebanese landscapes, but because of its merciless truthfulness, which frightened some away and consoled others by being clear and comprehensive. His hero was the product of his era, who condensed within himself the pains and vacillations within someone in a bourgeois society, someone who was talented and exceptional and who thought and sensed everything more subtly and therefore more painfully. This was

painful for the Ukrainian intelligentsia who, in addition to the general nervousness of those who were searching for an often could not find a place in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, felt very painfully the national oppression of their own freedom-loving and unhappy people.<sup>32</sup>

Another modernist, Vasyl' Pačovs'kyj (1878–1942), made his debut in 1901 with a collection of lyrical love poems, *Rozsypani perly* (Scattered Pearls), which was warmly greeted by Franko. Two years later Pačovs'kyj published *Son ukrajins'koho noči* (The Dream of a Ukrainian Night), a nationalist poem that foreshadowed his later play *Sonce rujiny* (The Sun of the Ruin, 1909), which was lacking in real poetic power. However, only in his collection *Ladi i Mareni* (For Lada and Marena, 1912) did he recapture his earlier fire.

Critics have pointed out an affinity between the early Pačovs'kyj and Tyčyna.<sup>33</sup> Franko's critique is still the best appraisal of Pačovs'kyj:

Mr. Pačovs'kyj has demonstrated to us that he is a great master of our language, a true and talented poet, who has deeply attuned his ear to the melody of our folk-songs and folk language and who has mastered the technique of verse as few among us have; he can, with one touch, move responsive chords in our souls, awakening the desired mood and sustaining it until the end. In a word, in quality and poetic power Mr. Pačovs'kyj's book has roused in me enormous, pleasurable response.... His poetry flows naturally, unforced, as the simplest expression of his feeling. Even if this feeling is still not very deep and the circle of impressions not wide, even if his melodies are monotonous, all the more credit should be given to his talent, which can express the simplest and most trivial things poetically, not stereotypically, can paint with fresh, not borrowed colors.<sup>34</sup>

Some notoriety was acquired among the modernists by Petro Karmans'kyj (1878–1956), whose collection *Z teky samovyvci* (From a File of a Suicide) was published in 1899. His second collection, *Oj, ljuli smutku* (Sleep Well, My Sorrow, 1906), had this characteristic foreword by a friend, Myxajlo Jackiv: "We were born by chance, unfortunately, to destroy cheap minds, to disturb the sweet languor of the philistines. We baptize our children with the tears of our people, temper them in the fire of our hearts, and lead them forth to the Temple of Beauty. Here there is some comedy: many do not take us seriously, but our audience is large. This is the lineage of comrade Petro. His book is meant for those who will accompany us, for those, as Przybyszewski wrote, who 'hew new paths in the primeval forests.'"<sup>35</sup>

Karmans'kyj published other collections of pessimistic lyrics: *Plyvem po morju t'my* (We Sail on the Sea of Darkness, 1909) and *Al fresco* (1917). He also translated Dante. After the revolution of 1917 he spent some time in South America, producing a travel book *Miž ridnymi v pıvdennij Ameryci* (Among Relatives in South America, 1923). He also left some vivid recollections of the Young Muse—*Ukrajins'ka bohema* (Ukrainian Bohemians, 1936). After 1941 he wrote several pro-Soviet tracts.

Two minor poets of the Young Muse deserve to be mentioned: Stepan Čarnec'kyj (1881–1944) was also a drama critic and a feuilletonist under the pseudonym Tyberij Horobec'. He published a collection of poetry, *V hodyny sumerku* (During Twilight Hours, 1908), and some short stories and sketches in *Dykyj vynohrad* (Wild Grapes, 1921). Another poet and translator was Sydir Tverdoxlib (1886–1922), author of a collection of verse, *V svičadi plesa* (In the Mirror of the River, 1908). He also wrote short stories and translated from and into Polish—*Antologia wspolczesnych poetow ukrainskich* (An Anthology of Contemporary Ukrainian Poets, 1911). He was killed by Ukrainian nationalists for his pro-Polish stand.

Bohdan Lepkyj (1872–1941), who lived in Krakow, where he later taught Ukrainian literature at the university, was a mentor for many young Galician poets. He was very prolific, publishing many collections of poems, among them *Strižky* (Stanzas, 1902), *Lystky padut'* (The Leaves Are Falling, 1902), and *Nad rikoju* (On the River, 1905), as well as short stories, *Z sela* (From the Village, 1898); a novel *Pid tyxyj večir* (On a Quiet Evening, 1923); a tetralogy, *Mazepa* (1926–27) and a historical novel *Krutiž* (Whirlpool, 1941). A recent view of Lepkyj's achievement is not very different from earlier criticism: "One cannot consider Bohdan Lepkyj as a poet of acute social observation or as a master of conceptual philosophic thinking; his nature is reflective. His lyrical self dominates the personal, the inner world prevails over external reality. The poet's dominant theme is longing, which determines the romantic strain of his feeling and thinking."<sup>36</sup>

Two of the major poets in Eastern Ukraine were modernists: Mykola Voronyj and Oleksander Oles'. Voronyj (1871–1942) received his higher education in the West (Vienna, Lviv) and was first attracted to the theater and journalism. In 1900, upon returning to Russian Ukraine, he joined the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP). He published an almanac *Z nad xmar i z dolyn* (see above), and continued working for the theater. His first collections of poems were *Liryčni poeziji* (Lyrical Poems, 1912) and *U sjajvi mrij* (The Splendor of Dreams, 1913). In the foreword to the latter Spyrydon Čerkasenko wrote: "The characteristic features of Voronyj's creativity are activism, fervor, and search. Organically, he cannot accept old forms and dull repetitions and sees the creation of new forms, new rhythms, images, and symbols as the main task of poetry.... Also there is nothing more sacred for him than Ukraine....

Yet, most of all, Voronyj is a poet of love. Woman, this mysterious sphinx, with a smile or heaven and hell, always attracts the poet's attention, his songs of happiness and suffering, his bright faith and deep despair."<sup>37</sup> The play *Kazka staroho mlyna* (The Fable of the Old Mill, 1916) by Spyrydon Čerkasenko (1876–1940) showed obvious modernist influence.

Soviet scholar, Oleksander Bilec'kyj, assessed Voronyj's work in these words:

The literary predispositions of his poetic work are clear: first of all, a striving to escape from the populist stereotype and, second, to raise Ukrainian poetry to the level of contemporary European poetry. Third, to put forward in theory and practice the principle of pure art, with an absolute renunciation of any tendentiousness.... A thought arises about Voronyj's dependence on foreign models. The poet himself pointed out the French poets from whom he learned the craft of verse—especially Verlaine and, in part, Mallarmé. He feels an inner affinity with Verlaine....<sup>38</sup>

After the failure of the Ukrainian national revolution Voronyj left Ukraine for the West. He returned to Ukraine in 1926, however, and saw a volume of his poems published in 1929. During the 1930s he fell victim to the Stalinist purges. He has been rehabilitated and republished posthumously.

Oleksander Oles' (real name Kandyba, 1878–1944) was a prolific lyric poet who gained popularity with the collection *Z žurboju radist' obnjalas'* (Joy and Sorrow Embraced, 1907), which also greeted the 1905 revolution. He was the author of "dramatic etudes": *Po dorozh v kazku* (On the Way to a Fable, 1910) and *Nad Dniprom* (On the Dnipro, 1911). He forecast the tragic failure of the 1917 revolution, after which he emigrated. He lived in Prague from 1924 until his death, continuing to write poems full of nostalgia, despondency and satire. His "neo-romanticism" has been criticized by Fylypovyč<sup>39</sup> and Zerov:

Oles's poetic manner has been regarded as belonging to symbolist tradition. Fylypovyč's article demonstrated the poet's distance from ... symbolism; his feeling for the world consists in a naive contrast between life and a dream, prose and poetry. "Everything that happens in our life is commonplace"—it is prose. "Poetry is conceived in nature, untouched by human hand," "in the moonlight and amid the stars, in the shadows and mysteries of night with its nightingale, in the spring, which calls to life flowers and butterflies." This is an imitation of the old romanticism, which survived in Ukrainian and Russian poetry, declining all the time. For a while, Oles' with his direct strong talent revived it and "the fire that slept

in the ashes” flared up, but only for a short time, to be extinguished forever. Even Oles’s symbols have nothing in common with the enveloping of the subject in a complex and whimsical mass of associations, so characteristic of the poetry of Mallarmé, Vjačeslav Ivanov, Innokentij Annenskij, Blok, etc.<sup>40</sup>

Banned for decades in Soviet Ukraine, selected poems of Oles’ were republished there in 1964 with a preface by Maksym Ryl’s’kyj.

Two minor poets with decidedly modernist leanings deserve to be mentioned: Mykola Filjans’kyj (1873–1938) and Hryc’ko Čuprynka (1879–1921). Filjans’kyj was the author of *Liryka* (Lyrics, 1906), *Calendarium* (1911) and *Ciluju zemlju* (I Kiss the Earth, 1928). Jevšan praised *Calendarium* for “its purity and nobility of tone and its depth ... he succeeded in harmonizing his Ukrainian psyche with elements of modern European, primarily French, poetry.”<sup>41</sup> Čuprynka, who began and ended as a traditionalist, showed some originality in *Ohnecvit* (Fiery Flower, 1910), which was reviewed by Šapoval as “gay and light-hearted ... the work of a symbolist poet, and adherent of pure art.”<sup>42</sup> Filjans’kyj was arrested in 1937 and perished in the Gulag. Čuprynka was shot by the Bolsheviks in 1921. In 1988 he was rehabilitated, with the following commentary by Mykola Žulyns’kyj:

Hryc’ko Čuprynka’s poetry is a *sui generis* cardiogram of the heartbeat of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the first decade of the twentieth century. This was a complex period of our intellectual history, tied emotionally to an active awakening of the national consciousness and the inevitable new paths of cultural and literary development, a dynamic pursuit of new images, forms, and modes of expression. A definite role in this striking renewal was played by symbolism, which at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries stretched its wing over Ukraine.<sup>43</sup>

A major pre-modernist poet and dramatist who began writing at the end of the nineteenth century was Lesja Ukrajinka (real name Larysa Kosač, see chapter XIV). Daughter of the populist writer Olena Peilka (1849–1930) and a niece of the father of Ukrainian democratic socialism, Myxailo Drahomanov (1841–95), she became the leading writer of her generation. Her first collection of verse, *Na krylax pisen’* (On Wings of Song, 1893), gave but a small foretaste of her later, fiery revolutionary poetry. Her poetic cycle, *Nevil’nyči pisni* (The Songs of the Slaves, 1893), prompted Franko’s famous saying that Lesja Ukrajinka was “more of a man” than anyone else in Ukraine. She overcame her crippling tuberculosis, which ended her life prematurely, by writing inspired, life-affirming poems. Some of them, “Čontra spem spero,” “Zavždy

ternovyj vinec' ” (Always a Wreath of Thorns), “Slovo čomu ty ne tverdaja krycja” (Word, Why Are You Not Like Tempered Steel?) have become examples of the finest poetry since Ševčenko. Her lyrical talent was thus assessed by Borys Jakubskyj, the editor of her first collected works:

Two sources of creativity lie in Lesja's soul. One, which she cultivated and tempered throughout the long struggle of her life, is the element of true revolution, a rejection of tradition, a struggle not for life but for death and a limitless dedication to revolutionary ideals in their romantic form. This provided Lesja's deep lyricism with fiery themes calling for obstinate struggle with the slogan “kill me—I'll not yield.” This part of Lesja Ukrajinka's poetry will not lose its interest for a long time.... Side by side with these fiery calls there is a long row of poems with an open admission of her weakness and powerlessness and the sorrow this caused her.<sup>44</sup>

Much greater is Lesja Ukrajinka's achievement as a dramatist. She wrote several dramatic poems—*Oderžyma* (A Possessed Woman), *Kassandra*, *Orhija* (Orgy), *Na rujinax* (On the Ruins), *Vavylons'kyj polon* (The Babylonian Captivity), *Na poli krovvy* (On the Field of Blood), *U pušči* (In the Wilderness)—as well as plays—*Blakytna trojanda* (The Azure Rose, 1896), *Rufin i Priscilla* (Rufinus and Priscilla, 1906), *Bojarynja* (The Boiar's Wife, 1910), *Lisova pisnja* (A Forest Song, 1911), and *Kamynnyj hospodar* (The Stone Host, 1912). Many scholars have pointed out that she often borrowed her subjects from world history and literature. C. Bida commented, “In Lesja Ukrajinka's plays two aspects seem to blend: the personal and the national on the one hand, and the universal on the other. In dramas there is nothing personal that does not have universal significance; and the most intimate national problems always find close parallels in the history of other nations.”<sup>45</sup>

Mykola Zerov evaluates her two last plays accordingly:

Not until the end of her life did [Lesja Ukrajinka] come to grips with real drama. *The Stone Host* and *A Forest Song* are dramas in the fullest sense of the word. Here, the depth of ideas, the sparkling dialogue, the variety of themes and motifs, the psychological significance of the characters are supplanted by movement, diversity of action, the visual beauty of the scenes. Lesja Ukrajinka's plays represent the highest point in the development of Ukrainian drama. In all of our literature there is nothing more powerful and stage-worthy than *The Stone Host* and *A Forest Song*.<sup>46</sup>

One of Lesja Ukrajinka's plays, *The Boiar's Wife*, because of its strong anti-Russian bias, was banned in Soviet Ukraine and was excluded from publication until 1989. Lesja Ukrajinka also left some literary criticism and a remarkable collection of private letters. In a letter to Kobyljans'ka she "did not wish to lay down my arms and renounce the neoromantic flag."<sup>47</sup>

Of the modernist women prose writers the most prominent was Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka (1863–1942). Born and raised in Bukovyna, she was under strong German influence. Some of her early short stories and sketches ("Valse Melancolique," 1898) were modernist *par excellence*. Her first novels, *Ljudyna* (A Human Being, 1894) and *Carivna* (Princess, 1896), were feminist in spirit. Mykola Jevšan thus characterized her early work:

In [Kobyljans'ka's] works a new, ideal sphere is opened to us, giving a view into a new land, where the human spirit is cleansed of earthly dust and finds refuge from the stormy waves of life. Here we are bereft of all hope and aspiration and only one passion awakens in us: to rise even higher on the scale of perfection, to sculpt one's own soul so that it may shine with beauty and burn with ardent love. We turn away from everyday cares burdening our soul and begin rather to listen to the inner voice in which there beats eternity's pulse. In sacrificing ourselves we do not see any debasement; on the contrary, we are happy, since in reverence to the ideals of love and beauty we see the beginning of a new kingdom, when new life will begin for the individual with the possibility of the harmonious development of all our spiritual forces.<sup>48</sup>

Apart from modernist short stories Kobyljans'ka also wrote two fine novels with a village setting: *Zemlja* (The Earth, 1902) and *V nedilju rano zillja kopala* (On Sunday Morning She Dug for Herbs, 1909). The latter work, according to Fylypovyč, "is not epic, but lyric or lyric-epic, it is not 'prose,' which demands observations and thoughts about life, but 'poetry,' rhythmical images in which, first of all, we hear a voice with a typical composition of lyrical verse or a ballad."<sup>49</sup> *Zemlja* was regarded by Franko as Kobyljans'ka's best work. Unfortunately, Kobyljans'ka was heavily influenced by popular German literature (E. Marlitt) of the type represented by the magazine *Gartenlaube* and many of her novels, such as *Čerez kladku* (Across the Footbridge, 1912), fall into the category of stilted sentimental literature.

The woman who persuaded Kobyljans'ka to start writing in Ukrainian rather than in German, Natalija Kobryn's'ka (1851–1920), was herself a writer. Her symbolist stories "Duša" (Soul, 1898) and "Roža" (The Rose, 1899) appeared in a magazine. In 1901 she published an essay on August Strindberg. Kobryn's'ka also wrote realistic stories—for example, *Zadlja*

*kuska xliba* (For a Piece of Bread, 1884)—and was the leader of the Ukrainian feminist movement. She was instrumental in publishing a women's almanac *Peršyj vinok* (The First Wreath, 1887).

One of the most original modernist prose writers was Vasyľ Stefanyk (1871–1936). The son of a peasant from the region of Pokuttia, he wrote his very short stories in the local dialect. A fellow writer once dubbed Stefanyk “a poet of peasant despair.” But he is a truly great writer in the expressionist manner. His first collection of short stories, some of them true miniatures, was *Synja knyžečka* (Little Blue Book, 1899), followed by *Kaminnyj xrest* (The Stone Cross, 1900), *Doroħa* (The Road, 1901), and *Zemlja* (The Earth, 1926). His most creative period came during his student days in Krakow, where he rubbed shoulders with the Polish writers of *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland). A contemporary review by I. Truš ran as follows:

Stefanyk's works lack conscious reflexes, lack a clear point of view. He coldly outlines the plot, takes in a rich collection of observations of the village and transmutes it with the great warmth of his artistic feeling. The picture he creates is true to life, but is more elevated than an account by a journalist or policeman, because he gives us not only facts and moments but the impression any sensitive man would have if he had observed that scene or character. For him the starting point is an event or condition, but he makes his way deeper into the psychology of the people and thus brings his story to a conclusion. Hence his peasants are barely outlined, but they are psychologically deeply convincing. The artist does not bend his stories to a social doctrine, does not use them to promote anything. He acts as a true artist: he is guided by intuition and feeling.<sup>50</sup>

Another contemporary comment came from Lesja Ukrajinka (1900): “Stefanyk is not a populist; his *narod* (people) is not the bearer of ‘foundations and virtues,’ which are unknown to ‘rotten intellectuals.’ But precisely the absence of these ‘foundations and virtues,’ disclosed by an able and loving hand, makes a greater and more profound impact on thinking and sensitive readers than all the panegyrics, full of the best intentions, to the idealized people in populist literature.”<sup>51</sup>

An older writer, the greatest Ukrainian impressionist, was Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj (1864–1913). He began as a realist with “Andrij Solovejko” (1884) and “Dlja zahal'noho dobra” (For the Common Good, 1895). Gradually, however, he forsook the realistic story in favor of short impressionist psychological sketches such as “Na kameni” (On the Rock, 1902), “Cvit jabluni” (The Apple Blossom, 1902), and “Intermezzo” (1908). He is also the

author of two outstanding short novels, *Fata Morgana* (1903–10) and *Tini zabutyx predkiv* (Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors, 1911). The first is set during a peasant rebellion in a village, the second among the Huculs in the Carpathian mountains. Bohdan Rubchak's comments are illuminating:

*Fata Morgana*, Kotsiubynsky's largest work, is built around a confrontation between the two kinds of dreams. Each of the peasant heroes plays out the drama of his own dream against the tragic panorama of public events (peasant unrest around 1902). Some of those dreams are enslaving delusions; others are liberated acts of intentionality towards the distant horizons of the future. All fail equally, the self-deluded dreamers destroying the self-chosen dreamers, to be destroyed in their turn by the punishing hand of the world.... It seems to me that *Shadows* outgrows its pastoral and sociological aspects, although admittedly it does carry traces of both. The meticulously researched and detailed background should not be taken for more than what it is: a dynamic canvas that serves as a backdrop for Kotsiubynsky's triangular structure of opposing forces—the poet's thirst for the ultimate horizons of existence, catalyzed by an outside source of inspiration, versus the cruelly inhibiting horizons of the world.<sup>52</sup>

A writer who, because of his innovations in the novel and in drama belongs to the modernist camp, was Volodymyr Vynnyčenko (1880–1951). His first short story, “Krasa i syła,” (Beauty and Strength, 1902), showed his powers as an observer of both proletarian and bourgeois milieus. Many of his stories are realistic recreations of life in Ukrainian cities. His first play *Dyzharmonija* (Disharmony), appeared in 1906. It propagated Vynnyčenko's new morality, which he called “honesty with oneself.” A novel with that title appeared in 1907. Many other plays followed, some of them gaining later an international reputation: *Velykyj Molox* (The Great Moloch, 1907), *Bazar* (Market-place, 1910), *Brexnja* (A Lie, 1910), *Čorna pantera i bilyj medvid'* (Black Panther and White Bear, 1911). According to O. Stavyc'kyj, “Vynnyčenko maintains in his plays that bourgeois morality also prevails among those who fight the established order, that they too, are dominated by low instincts and passions. By preaching ‘honesty with oneself’ Vynnyčenko wanted to remove this fatal disharmony by preaching that the immoral is moral, and by justifying everything committed by his heroes driven by sheer egoism. In place of the old ‘bourgeois morality’ he substituted an open declaration of amorality.”<sup>53</sup>

Vynnyčenko is also the author of several novels, the best of them being *Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelja* (Notes of a Pug-Nosed Mephistopheles, 1917). His novels have been assessed as follows: “Vynnyčenko's novels are

full of movement, dynamism, unexpected episodes in which the author forces us to believe; they are devoid of the elegiac meditations or intellectual reflections that we find in Kocjubyns'kyj. Vynnyčenko's novels have interesting plots, intrigues, and, despite their paradoxes, are never dull. His artistic style is fragmentary, energetic, vivid in its originality, although not always refined, but rather flamboyant and unfinished. This is a typically impressionistic style."<sup>54</sup>

Vynnyčenko continued writing after emigrating in 1920. His Utopian novel, *Sonjašna mašina* (The Solar Machine) appeared in 1928. He envisaged a future when the machine would make work unnecessary. His works were very popular in Ukraine in the 1920s. Afterwards they were banned because of his earlier participation in the nationalist government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918–19. He was rehabilitated in 1988.

In 1902 Lesja Ukrajinka wrote in a private letter that "Jackiv is the most fashionable belles-lettres writer in Galicia.... He writes rather unevenly, sometimes very well, sometimes strangely but more often beautifully."<sup>55</sup> Myxajlo Jackiv (1873–1961) was a member of the Young Muse and wrote modernistic short stories. His collections are: *V carstvi satany* (In the Kingdom of Satan, 1900), *Z poeziji v prozi* (From Poetry in Prose, 1901), *Kazka pro persten'* (Fable About the Ring, 1907), *Čorni kryla* (Black Wings, 1909), and *Blyskavyci* (Lightning, 1912). He is also the author of the novels *Ohni horjat'* (Fires Are Burning, 1902) and *Tanec' tinej* (The Dance of the Shadows, 1916). Some critics—for example Lukjanovyč—thought his modernism was merely "decorative." It is true that alongside the modernist there was also a realist writer in Jackiv, and some of his stories have a certain sociological interest.

Another major talent was Hnat Xotkevyč (1877–1938), who began as a modernist with *Poezija v prozi* (Poetry in Prose, 1902). He is remembered chiefly for his realistic novel set among the Huculs, *Kaminna duša* (A Soul of Stone, 1911), in which sex is seen as a major force in human action. While Jackiv lived to accept the Soviet occupation, Xotkevyč perished during the purges of the 1930s. He has been posthumously rehabilitated and republished. Xotkevyč left very acute observations on the development of Ukrainian literature in the first decade of the century: "The reason for the poverty of our contemporary literature lies in our own poverty, in the illiteracy and backwardness of our nation, in its political lawlessness, and in the lack of culture among our intelligentsia."<sup>56</sup>

Yet this judgment seems too harsh if we consider the total impact of literary modernism. A few years after Xotkevyč wrote these words, almost the contrary could have been said about Ukrainian literature: that it had matured to a remarkable degree. From our discussion so far, it is clear that the definition of modernism, which was a vital new force, expanded beyond the usual interpretation and included all those works and writers who broke away from the

realist-populist tradition and were innovators in many new directions. Very few writers or works in Ukrainian literature were in the strict sense of the word, 'modernist.' Very few took the hint from that prophet of modernity, Nietzsche, who according to L. Kolakowski, "pursued everything to the end: the world generated no meaning and no distinction between good and evil. Reality was pointless...."<sup>57</sup>

Reality, for Ukrainian writers, was rooted in the debatable status of the Ukrainian language. Although in 1905 the Russian Academy of Sciences granted the language separate status, that language was not widely used (in schools or public life). Many Ukrainian writers clung to the romantic idea of the literary language as being close to the language of the peasants.<sup>58</sup> The positivist trend of the late nineteenth century, moreover, stressed the importance of writing in a language that could be understood by the peasants. At the same time modernism revolutionized the Ukrainian literary language by introducing many new, foreign elements. This prevented Ukrainian from becoming a "language for domestic use only," as Kostomarov and others had advocated. But linguistically and thematically the romantic and positivist ideals lingered on. One must, therefore, turn to those writers in the early twentieth century who continued the traditions of the nineteenth century. Most of them espoused the well-established realist and populist models of the past.

## TRADITIONALISM

A giant figure among these writers is that of Ivan Franko (see chapter XIV), whose literary career began in the late nineteenth century but continued well into the twentieth. Franko's genius was manifold: he was a prominent activist in socialist and radical circles, and he was a journalist, a scholar, a literary critic, and a writer in all three genres—poetry, prose, and drama. Friendly with Drahomanov, he yet came to believe in a free and independent Ukraine, a belief that he expressed in "Poza mežamy možlyvoho" (Beyond the Bounds of the Possible, 1900), which the Soviet editors have excluded from his works. The son of a village blacksmith, he considered himself an ordinary "worker of the pen" and labored tirelessly until in 1908 a serious illness turned him into a semi-invalid. His collected works have recently been published in fifty volumes, albeit in heavily censored form.

By 1900 Franko was an established writer. In 1900 he published a novel *Perexresni stežky* (Cross-Paths), and in 1907 another—*Velykyj šum* (The Great Roar), both of them realistic in style, but with strong overtones of a thriller. In 1905 the appearance of his *Boryslavs'ki opovidannja* (Tales from Boryslav) showed his constant social concern, as Rudnyč'kyj indicates in his biography, *Ivan Franko*:

French naturalism did not have any influence on Franko until his first stories and novels appeared. Even then, after he became familiar with it, this influence was not so strong that it is possible to consider Franko a follower of the naturalist school. What Franko particularly noticed in naturalism had existed in a subdued form in our populist novels: the depiction of a social milieu. But Franko thought of social milieu as a citizen who wants to participate and influence it. The true naturalists observed the social process as researchers who did not want to spoil things by taking a personal attitude.<sup>59</sup>

In 1905 Franko published his splendid long poem *Mojsej* (Moses). Based on a biblical theme, it discussed in philosophical terms the problem of national leadership. George Shevelov puts the poem in the context of Franko's creative work:

The year 1905 was, in Franko's life, a year of reckoning between life and death, a year of overcoming doubts and vacillations, going beyond the bounds of the possible and leading not an intended direction but giving content to a man's and a nation's life and creating the highest good—spiritual values. As the doomed Kocjubyns'kyj wrote in his last works about the glory of life, so did Franko, in his tetralogy *Moses* (poetry), “Sojčyne krylo” (Jay's Wing, prose). “Pid oborohom” (Under a Haystack, memoirs), and “Odvertyj lyst do halyc' koji ukrajins' koji molodiži” (An Open Letter to Ukrainian Galician Youth, journalism). The highest achievement of this tetralogy is *Moses*.... The intertwining of the three aspects alone—the personal, the social, and the philosophic—makes *Moses* one of the peaks of Ukrainian literature. On the formal side, too, the poem towers above the poetry of its time....<sup>60</sup>

M. Rudnyc'kyj pointed out that some of the earlier poetry of Franko was attuned to symbolism: “*Zivjale lystja*” (Withered Leaves, 1896) for long remained the collection that would attract readers of a new generation. From the point of view of composition this is a most compact cycle, and most varied as to form. This lyrical confession with overtones of dejection and despair was more forceful than the hymn “Vičnyj revoljucioner” (The Eternal Revolutionary), which is good programmatic verse, suitable for martial music.”<sup>61</sup>

Realist writers continued writing after 1900. In that year Borys Hrinčenko (1863–1910) published a novel about village life, *Sered temnoji noči* (During a Dark Night), showing not so much “class struggle” among the peasants as the all-pervasiveness of a criminal mentality. A continuation of this novel was

*Pid tyxymy verbamy* (Under the Quiet Willow Trees, 1901), pleading for more enlightenment in the village. The doyen of populist writers, Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj (1838–1918) wrote in 1900 a short novel *Bez puttja* (Senseless), a bitter satire on the decadent movement. The hero and heroine end up in a lunatic asylum. A few years later, Nečuj wrote a long article about “modernist lunatics,” whose works he dismissed mostly as “quaint, obscene, or rubbishy.” The article remained unpublished until 1968. This was a great pity, for if this piece of utterly reactionary populist ideology had appeared in print it might have provoked a spirited reply by one of the modernists. Three years later he wrote a melodramatic tale, set in a village, *Na gastroljax v Mykytjanax* (Guest Appearances in Mykytjany, published in 1911). In 1902 another older writer, Myxajlo Staryc'kyj, the author of popular historical novels, wrote the novel *Bezbatčenko* (Fatherless, published in 1908) on the agony of illegitimacy. Panas Myrnyj continued writing populist stories and plays after 1900.

Three short-story writers stand out for their contribution to Ukrainian realism. They are Stepan Vasyľčenko (1878–1932), Les' Martovyč (1871–1916), and Marko Čeremšyna (real name Ivan Semanjuk, 1874–1927). Vasyľčenko's highly poetic prose often recreates the world of children; Martovyč is a master of depicting the materialist outlook of the peasants; and Čeremšyna, like Stefanyk, is at his best in psychological sketches of peasants. “Čeremšyna—a lyricist at heart, in the sense that he seizes on individual moments in life and can enjoy them whether they are pleasant or unpleasant, and wishes only to preserve them before they vanish. What appears to us an ‘epic’ quality is not the result of a balanced view of the world in which he lives but rather of accommodation with that world, which is presented without any explanation.”<sup>62</sup>

A protege of Ivan Franko, Osyp Makovej (1867–1925) was a prose writer of some importance. Author of a series of short stories (*Naši znakomi*, Our Acquaintances, 1901); the novel *Zalissja* (1897), which depicts the life of a clergyman in an impoverished village; and the historical novel *Jarošenko* (1905), he earned his meager living as a writer and editor for *Bukovyna*. Critic O. Zasenکو explained that Makovej's often satirical stories are of great value as a portrait of his times.

One of the central themes of Makovej's prose was the life of Galician bourgeoisie. The world of petty, egotistical private interests, of superstition in everyday life, of respect for official ranks, of careerism, of neglect of civic duties—all this was reflected in many stories, sketches, and feuilletons by Makovej. He knew the bourgeois milieu very well. He looked at it not from a distance, but from within, and penetrated deeply into the world of fantasies and

conceptions of his heroes—merchants, officials, the clergy, and the intelligentsia.<sup>63</sup>

A writer who in his youth flirted with modernism—in a collection of short stories, *Strazdannja molodoji ljudyny* (Sufferings of a Young Person, 1901)—but who later turned to realism was Antin Krušel'nyč'kyj (1878–1941). In 1898–1918 he wrote a novel *Budennyj xlib* (Daily Bread), in a strange mixture of styles. He is best remembered for the novel *Rubajut' lis* (They Are Cutting the Forest, 1914), in which the rich exploiters assume giant proportions. In the 1920s Krušel'nyč'kyj migrated to Soviet Ukraine, where he was later arrested. He has since been rehabilitated and republished. Another minor though not insignificant writer was Arxyp Teslenko (1882–1911), who spent long period of time in jail because of his revolutionary activity. He is the author of many laconic short stories of peasant life and of a long story *Stračene žyttja* (A Lost Life, 1910) in which the heroine is driven to suicide.

Four poets in the traditionalist camp deserve to be mentioned. Volodymyr Samijlenko (1864–1925), a talented translator of Homer and Dante, was best-known for his humorous verses. His poems were collected in the volume *Ukrajini* (For Ukraine, 1906). Mykola Černjav's'kyj (1868–1946) was praised by Jevšan for his “warm lyricism, altruistic urges ... and idealism.”<sup>64</sup> Among his many collections of poetry were *Donec'ki sonety* (The Donec' Sonnets, 1898) and *Zori* (Stars, 1903). His works were banned by the Soviets in the 1930s, after he was arrested. He was posthumously rehabilitated. Two women wrote lyrical verse: Xrystja Alčev's'ka (1882–1932), the author of *Tuha za soncem* (Longing for the Sun, 1906), and Uljana Kravčenko (real name Šnajder, 1860–1947), the author of the collection *Prima vera* (1885). Unfortunately Kravčenko was rather unproductive in her later years. Finally, Oleksander Kozlov's'kyj (1876–98) was a poet of promise. His only collection of verse, *Mirty i kyparysy* (Myrtles and Cypresses), was published posthumously in 1905, with a laudatory preface by Ivan Franko.

The contest between traditionalists and modernists was ultimately resolved to the advantage of the latter. Andrij Nikov's'kyj wrote in 1912 that “Ukraine has a right to a higher culture and follows the path that is destined to her ... Ukrainian literature has gone far beyond the Ukrainian public.”<sup>65</sup> Yet, although outdistanced, the traditionalists continued to exist and to appeal to a wide readership. This bifurcation of literary development continued well into the twentieth century.

So deeply ingrained was the populist notion that literature ought to serve the people that any departure from it was sometimes regarded as an act of national betrayal. Jefremov could not conceive of literature as independent from social and national life, yet modernists often tried to reach an independent position. They did so in the name of “beauty” and “art,” both elusive qualities

for the populists. This dichotomy lasted far into the twentieth century. It was not entirely resolved by the revolution of 1917, an event of literary as well as of political importance.

## 2.

### THE FAILED REVOLUTION, 1917–32

On the eve of the 1917 revolution, most Ukrainian intellectuals desired more freedom and cultural autonomy for their country. Some went further and pleaded for political independence. However, the Ukrainian population as a whole was given over to either apathy or anarchy. After the downfall of tsarism in February 1917, Ukrainians formed a committee, *Central'na Rada* (Central Rada), which soon assumed the trappings, if not the powers, of a government. The revolution in Ukraine was fought primarily for national liberation, though, in fact, civil war prevailed, with the nationalist, Bolshevik, White, and anarchist forces fighting one another. After many changes of government, and the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian People's Republic in January 1918, the country was overrun by the Russian Red Army. A Soviet Ukrainian government came to power in 1919. The nationalist forces failed to gain wide support, especially after Lenin promised Soviet Ukraine linguistic and cultural autonomy.

The bloody internecine strife, a national awakening, and social upheaval left an indelible mark on the Ukrainian history of that era. Despite an inability to develop its own infrastructure, the leaders of the People's Republic, among whom were the historian Hruševs'kyj and the writer Vynnyčenko, showed a definite nucleus of pluralistic party politics. However difficult it may have been in wartime, modern Ukrainian democracy has its roots in the revolution. The failure of a national revolution was followed a few years later by the failure of the Soviet socialist revolution, when despite a military victory, Party centralism put an end to the early tendency towards "all power to the Soviets." The beginning of Soviet totalitarianism goes back to Lenin's policy of supreme one-party rule, including the establishment of the Cheka, and the propagation of class hatred. True, in 1921, forced by economic collapse, Lenin initiated the New Economic Policy (NEP), which was a "temporary compromise with capitalism," allowing some private enterprise and initiative. In the realm of culture the NEP period (1921–28) coincided with liberalization and relative tolerance. Yet even during the liberal era of the 1920s the Communist Party made no secret of the fact that it wanted art and literature to promote its ideology.

In Ukraine various literary groups, from Hart (Tempering) to Proletcult served this purpose. The favored "proletarian writers" were not necessarily of

working-class origin, but were mouthpieces for party ideology. Following the 1925 Party resolution on literature, various groups, among them apolitical “fellow-travelers,” were allowed to flourish. In Ukraine this policy coincided with the so-called Ukrainization, an attempt to introduce the Ukrainian language into the state administration.<sup>66</sup> This provided an added stimulus for Ukrainian literature. The Ukrainian language was now firmly established in the educational system, and some learned institutions—for example, the Academy of Sciences—created during the war of liberation, were allowed to grow and develop. All in all, the atmosphere of the late 1920s was very conducive towards the development of literature. Some Bolsheviks who were at the same time Ukrainian patriots, such as Šums’kyj and Skrypnyk, were in positions of real power, and many indigenous Ukrainian socialists (former Borotbists or Ukapists) held key posts in the press, for example, Ellan Blakytynj. A decade of relative non-interference by the Party in literature produced some of the liveliest literary debates and finest literary achievements.

With the collapse of the nationalist forces in 1919 some writers, among them Oles’, Voronyj, and Vynnyčenko, left Ukraine for the West, but those who stayed by and large continued the modernist tradition of innovation and experimentation. Symbolism, which had many adherents in Russia, was best represented in Ukraine by Pavlo Tyčyna (1891–1967). His first collection of poems, *Sonjašni kljarnety* (The Sunny Clarinets, 1918), is his best. Apart from superb nature lyrics, it contained several poems about the revolution, the last poem “Zolotyj homin” (The Golden Echo) being a lyrical meditation on fratricidal strife and national spontaneity. There followed the brooding *Zamist’ sonetiv i oktav* (Instead of Sonnets and Octaves, 1920), *Pluh* (The Plough, 1920), and *Viter z Ukrajiny* (Wind from Ukraine, 1924), all of them accomplished collections of introspective and metaphysical verse. One of the warmest and most perceptive assessments of the early Tyčyna came, oddly enough, from the old populist, Jefremov, in his history of Ukrainian literature:

What Tyčyna has given our literature indeed constitutes a great treasure. It so happened that this young dreamer, with a look directed deep inside him, in his very first book appears so profoundly original and mature and at the same time so tied to the best traditions of our literature that there could be no doubt that a new, fresh, and captivating page has been written in it. Tyčyna took from the old soil a humane treatment of themes, a deep national coloring, and the most beautiful language, [forming] a laconic style that in its simplicity, lyricism, and compactness reminds us of the manner of our great prose writer, Vasyl’ Stefanyk. Possibly of world stature, Tyčyna through his form is a deeply national poet because he has used what was best in earlier generations. He drank in, as it

were, all the beauty of the popular language and has used it with great taste and mastery in a most sophisticated manner. He has added to this his dreaminess and depth, brilliant form, and a flexible sonorous verse technique, usually scorned by our writers with the exception of two or three mannerist poets.<sup>67</sup>

Ideological interpretations of the early Tyčyna poems range from the Soviet left (Leonid Novyčenko<sup>68</sup>) to Christian right (Vasyl' Barka<sup>69</sup>), but they tell us little about his inimitable poetry. In the late twenties and early thirties this saintly poet, under the pressure of ever-increasing controls, underwent a deep change. His early prophecy about "kissing the Pope's slipper" came true, and the new Tyčyna, bereft of his poetic powers, became a Stalinist bard (see later).

Ukrainian futurism began before the revolution and is associated with one poet, Myxail' Semenko (1892–1938). He wrote many collections of verse, the most important being *Derzannja* (Daring, 1914) and *Kobzar* (The Minstrel, 1924). He acquired notoriety as the *enfant terrible* of Ukrainian literature, following his blistering attack on Taras Ševčenko, whose cult he considered to be most damaging to Ukrainian culture. For this he was attacked by Jevšan and Sribljans'kyj as a "literary idiot," a traitor to his country, and a plagiarist.<sup>70</sup> Recently, Oleh Ilnytzyk came to the defense of Semenko:

Semenko's appearance in 1914 symbolized the end of one literary era as well as the beginning of another. His Futurism was the first of the many post-Modernist trends that were consciously committed to revitalizing Ukrainian literature and, in a broader sense, Ukrainian culture. This characteristic makes Futurism and Semenko the forerunners of the "renaissance" of the 1920s....The main difference is that Semenko knew and advocated the influence of Europe in its most radical guise. In this respect he may well be considered the most European of his contemporaries, and his movement was one more important indicator of just how innovative Ukrainian literature became between 1914 and 1930.<sup>71</sup>

Semenko was arrested and later shot in 1938. His rehabilitation has been at first only partial. An associate of Semenko, especially in the journal *Nova Generacija* (New Generation), was the futurist poet Geo Škurupij (1903–43), who was also a successful prose writer. Doroškevyč wrote: "It seems that nowhere except in Škurupij's [works] can one see the unhealthy psychology of a suburban bourgeois, spoilt by the streets of a large city. While Semenko lived in the world of the bohemian cafe, Škurupij loves the capitalist city with its parasols, "blind lamp posts," made-up women, and other characteristics.

Only in this way can we explain his “hymns”—among them a hymn to a “greasy sausage” to which one of his heroes “prays fanatically, pressing his nose against the window pane.”<sup>72</sup> Škurupij shared Semenko’s fate in the Gulag. He has been rehabilitated.

Maksym Ryl’s’kyj (1895–1964) was a modernist who was first published in *Ukrajins’ka xata*. After the revolution he, along with Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovyč, Myxajlo Draj-Xmara, and Osval’d Burkhardt, participated in the so-called neo-classicist group, which sometimes tried to emulate the French Parnassians. Ryl’s’kyj’s first collection of poems, *Na bilyx ostrovax* (On the White Islands, 1910), was followed by *Pid osinnimy zorjamy* (Under the Autumn Stars, 1918), *Synja dalečin’* (Sky-Blue Distance, 1922), and *Trynadejata vesna* (The Thirteenth Spring, 1925). Once more, Doroškevyč sums up these early poems:

The poet loves life, but in a static form, he loves the land and sees here a higher harmony.... The catastrophic era of capitalist wars and revolution has not touched the themes of the collection in the least.... The genre frame of the poems recreates the traditions of Puškin’s school, and the subtle aestheticism and Epicureanism, apart from the classical forms, constitute the main stream, which is called neoclassicism. The style, saturated with full, rich images, brilliant, sunny metaphors, and fragrant epithets, as well as the laconic phrase—all these elevate his second collection high in Ukrainian poetry. This is aided by the metric virtuosity, especially in the sonnet form.<sup>73</sup>

Ryl’s’kyj’s early poems are perhaps the only genuine neoclassicist works. Later, in the 1930s, he followed Tyčyna’s path, changing his outlook and style according to Party dictates. In his penetrating article “The Legend of Ukrainian Neoclassicism”<sup>74</sup> George Shevelov argues that some of the neoclassicists—for example Draj-Xmara and Fylypovyč—were simply symbolists and that even the *maître* of the group, Mykola Zerov (1890–1937), hid behind the facade of classicism. Zerov, who was a professor of literature at Kyiv University, published translations—*Antolohija ryms’koi poeziji* (An Anthology of Roman Poetry, 1920) and a collection *Kamena* (Camena, 1924). He was better-known for his scholarly works, such as *Nove ukrajins’ke pys’menstvo* (New Ukrainian Literature, 1924) and for critical essays in *Do džerel* (To The Sources, 1926) and *Vid Kuliša do Vynnyčenko* (From Kuliš to Vynnyčenko 1928). Shevelov believes that Zerov’s best poetry has only a shell of classicism:

The hard form of classicism, a stand above all things and time—was a refuge from the poet's feeling of disillusionment, loneliness, the world's illusoriness, man's meanness and loss of faith, which was his deepest reaction to the brutal and dirty reality of his day. Zerov was not a neoclassicist in the full sense of the term; he searched for classicism and desperately yearned for it, but only infrequently did he reach a classical harmony not only of word and form but also of outlook. More often than not the symmetrical form masked and stilled the cry of his tormented soul.<sup>75</sup>

Zerov certainly had a premonition of the terror that claimed his life in the Gulag. His collections, *Sonnetarium* (Munich, 1948), *Catalepton* (Philadelphia, 1951) and *Corollarium* (Munich, 1958), were published posthumously, along with his lectures on the history of literature, which appeared in Canada in 1977. He was rehabilitated in 1966.

Pavlo Fylypovyč (1891–1937) was the author of two collections of poems, *Zemlja i viter* (Earth and Wind, 1922) and *Prostir* (Space, 1925), as well as several scholarly studies. Like Zerov and Draj-Xmara, he lived among academics in Kiev. All three ended their careers in the Gulag. As Ju. Serex pointed out:

Fylypovyč wrote symbolist poems even in 1925 [writes Shevelov] but his attraction to neoclassicism grew stronger all the time. While neoclassicism is negligible in *Zemlja i viter*, it sets the tone in *Prostir*.... Partly, his symbolism contained kernels of neoclassicism. In a typically symbolist poem “Na potalu kaminnym kryham” (Defying the Stone Boulders), the poet wrote about himself: *I give up my anxious soul/ And the coldness of thought ...* and the last component, which no symbolist need stress—the *cold calmness of thought*—appeared very clearly in the symbolist poems of Fylypovyč, later dominating his poetry and distancing it from the *anxious soul*.<sup>76</sup>

Myxajlo Draj-Xmara (1889–1939) published a collection of poems *Proros-ten'* (Young Shoots, 1926), and a monograph on Lesja Ukrajinka. His poem about the neoclassicists, “Lebedi” (The Swans, 1928), earned him years of incarceration. His *Letters from the Gulag* (New York, 1983), was published after his official rehabilitation. Recently, some of his very revealing diaries were published in Ukraine.

Closely allied to the neoclassicists were Viktor Petrov (1894–1969) and Myxajlo Mohyljans'kyj (1873–1942). The former, known as Domontovych, was a literary scholar, the author of seminal studies of Pantelejmon Kuliš. His first belletristic work, *Divčynka z vedmedykom* (A Girl with a Teddy Bear,

1928) foreshadowed his later novels, written and published in emigration. Myxajlo Mohyljans'kyj wrote at first in Russian but then switched to Ukrainian, perhaps under the influence of Kocjubyns'kyj. In his short stories he searched for the harmony of personal and social life. He also showed an interest in the subconscious. His novel *Čest'* (Honor), written in the 1920s, was first published in 1990.

Like the neoclassicists, another group of writers, Lanka (The Link), were officially classed as "fellow-travelers." This misnomer, invented by Trotsky, put all the writers who wished to avoid politics into one convenient category, ascribing to them left leanings that none of them in fact had. Lanka's most prominent prose writer was Valerijan Pidmohyl'nyj (1901–41), who became a major novelist in the 1920s. He was the author of many short stories and the novels *Ostap Šaptala* (1922), *Misto* (The City, 1928), and *Nevelyčka drama* (English translation, *A Little Touch of Drama*, 1930). Pidmohyl'nyj was also a translator of French literature, which in turn influenced him. A dissertation by Maxim Tarnawsky has been written on Pidmohyl'nyj and Maupassant.<sup>77</sup>

From his very earliest works to his last, Pidmohyl'nyj consistently focuses his attention on instinctual, sexual, and creative energies. In the cluster of thematic motifs that characterize his work, particularly the early works, these energies are associated with revolutionary anarchism, hunger, dreamy romanticism, the night, and especially, the steppe. This thematic cluster, defined earlier as the magic of the night, is essentially parallel to the Dionysian version of Nietzsche's Will to Power. The association becomes more precise in the two novels, where the differentiation between the magic of the night and its polar complement, reason, is most acutely delineated. But the two novels are not thematically identical. Where in *Misto* he saw or at least envisioned the possibility of a harmony or unity between the two forces, in *Nevelyčka drama* the possibility is gone.... In his last novel Pidmohyl'nyj has moved beyond Nietzsche to an existential position that no longer allows for idealized harmony or transcendent affirmation.<sup>78</sup>

Like so many of his contemporaries, Pidmohyl'nyj perished in the Gulag. He was in the midst of his literary career. In 1988 he was tentatively rehabilitated. His last known work, discovered recently, was *Povist' bez nazvy* (A Story Without a Title).

Another member of Lanka was a major poet, Jevhen Plužnyk (1898–1936). He was the author of the collections *Dni* (Days, 1926), *Rannja osin'* (Early Autumn, 1927), and *Rivnovaha* (Equilibrium, 1933). He also wrote a novel *Neduha* (Illness, 1928), and some plays. Writer M. Ryl's'kyj described

Pluzhyk's struggle as a poet: "[Plužnyk] was a dreamer who was ashamed of his dreaminess. A poet who did not believe in his poetry.... Hence the solitude. The solitude of a recluse? On the contrary, the solitude of one who wants to be with people.... And there is another striking feature of this lonesome man who loves people: the hope in the future, which, at times, reaches something like a mystical ecstasy."<sup>79</sup> Sensing the changes of political climate Plužnyk attempted to elevate Communism in his poetry, but to no avail. He was arrested and died in the Solovky Islands. He has since been rehabilitated and republished.

A minor expressionist poet, Todos' Os'mačka (1895–1962) was also a member of Lanka. His collections were *Kruča* (Precipice, 1922), *Skyts'ki ohni* (Scythian Fires, 1925), and *Klekit* (The Gurgling, 1929). To avoid arrest he feigned insanity. After the Second World War he went to the United States, where he re-emerged as a writer (see pp. 765 and 767).

A talented prose writer and member of Lanka (later of MARS) was Borys Antonenko-Davydovyč (1899–1984). He was the author of the play *Lycari absurdu* (The Warriors of the Absurd, 1924) and collections of short stories and sketches: *Zaporošeni syljuety* (The Dusty Silhouettes, 1925), *Synja vološka* (The Blue Cornflower, 1927), and *Zemleju ukrajins'koju* (Across the Ukrainian Land, 1930). His novel *Smert'* (Death, 1928) became controversial. Antonenko-Davydovyč spent more than two decades exiled in the Gulag before being rehabilitated and republished in the 1950s.

A major poet who stood halfway between Lanka and the neoclassicists and who preserved his integrity in difficult times was Volodymyr Svidzins'kyj (1885–1941). He was the author of the collections *Liryčeni poeziji* (Lyrical Poems, 1922), *Veresen'* (September, 1927), and *Poeziji* (Poems, 1940). He also translated Aristophanes. During the war evacuation in 1941 he was burned alive in a house set on fire by the Soviet forces. A collection of his poems *Medobir* (Honey Hills, 1975) appeared in the West. Ivan Džuba wrote of him in 1968:

Silence and loneliness are Svidzins'kyj's most frequently used concepts, the most persistent search for conditions of spiritual revelation...In general his poetry is quite varied. It is strange that a poet who wrote so little (at least we know little of what he wrote), who appeared so passive, so estranged from life (a man stewing in his own juice) could, in fact, be so rich, varied, and multifaceted. He is, at the same time, a subjective lyricist and skilled at epic verse; sorrowful meditation and calmness of vision are his as much as existential *Angst*.... His poetry is not so much the poetry of imagination, the energy of feeling, or metaphoric-associative thinking (although all these elements are present) as the poetry of observation.<sup>80</sup>

There were also many writers who welcomed the revolution and the Soviet regime and tried to spread optimism about it in their works. These were often given the name of “proletarian writers,” though few of them were of working-class origin. What mattered most was their dedication to the Communist cause. Among the foremost in this category were the so-called first brave ones (*perši xorobri*). “Those in the forefront of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the better, the stronger and the more consistent, were led from the idea of a national rebirth by the logic of class struggle to the idea of class liberation, to the forging of the path of history by the sledgehammer of the proletarian dictatorship. This curved path of history was taken by the pioneers of the Ukrainian intelligentsia—‘the first brave ones’—Myxajlyčenko, Zalyvčyj, Čumak.”<sup>81</sup>

Vasyl’ Čumak (1900–19), author of *Zaspiv* (Invocation, 1919), was executed by the Denikin forces. He describes the revolution as a new religion in this passage from *Zaspiv*: “Revolution. Socialist. The crisis of concepts and norms. The crisis of religion. Let us smash the old Tablets. We carry the scriptures of the First One to an execution. We must create new concepts and norms immediately. A new religion. The scriptures—a formula for the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism.”<sup>82</sup> Hnat Myxajlyčenko (1892–19), author of *Blakytynyj roman* (The Blue Novel, 1918–19) and several short stories, was also executed by the Denikin forces. His modernistic novel was called “a strange synthesis of eroticism and revolution.”<sup>83</sup> His style has no forerunners and no followers. The editor of his works, Hadzins’kyj, wrote: “Hnat Myxajlyčenko was an idealist, but in a very limited and definite sense, that is, in his demands that a human being be not ordinary but a real human being. Not a *homo sapiens* or *homo homini lupus est*, but a new human being in a new society, which was to be created by revolution. Some Nietzschean type of the ‘red superman.’ ”<sup>84</sup> Andriy Zalyvčyj (1892–1918), the author of some short stories, was executed by the Hetmanite forces. He completes the martyred trio of the first Communist writers.

A proletarian poet of clearly propagandist bent, Vasyl’ Ellan Blakytynyj (1893–1925), played a prominent role as editor of the daily *Visti* (News). He was the author of a collection of verse, *Udary molota i sercja* (Blows of the Hammer and Heart, 1920), and some parodies. Blakytynyj was the first Ukrainian writer to conceive of an elitist literary organization that he called an “academy.” After his untimely death, the project was taken over by Mykola Xvyl’ovyj, who in 1925 founded VAPLITE, the Vil’na Akademiya Proletars’koji Literatury (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature). Under Xvyl’ovyj’s undisputed leadership, this organization played a prominent part in uniting many leading writers around a platform of quality literature, while paying lip service to the Communist cause. The Vaplitiens, in an apt phrase by Ju. Šerex, “led Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian people away from [the constraints] of provincialism and placed them eye-to-eye with the world as an

equal partner.”<sup>85</sup> It was this orientation to the West, rather than its later alleged nationalism, that led to the dissolution of VAPLITE in 1928.

Mykola Xvyl’ovyj (real name Fitilov, 1893–1933) was not only a charismatic literary personality but a major prose writer and essayist. He was a member of the Communist Party, but believed in an independent Soviet Ukraine, free of Russian influence. His two collections of poems were *Molodist’* (Youth, 1921) and *Dosvitni symfoniji* (Pre-Dawn Symphonies, 1922). He also published a collection of exquisite short stories in the neoromantic tradition: *Syni etjudy* (Blue Etudes, 1923), *Osin’* (Autumn, 1924), *Tvory* (Works, 1927), and an unfinished novel *Val’dšnepy* (The Woodcocks, 1927). Xvyl’ovyj acknowledged the continuity between his aesthetics and that of the “Xatjany” whom he regarded as his precursors. A contemporary reaction to his works was by V. Juryneč’:

I would call Xvyl’ovyj a formless writer. I think this best characterizes his creative work as it stands before us today. In his creative personality there are various, sometimes contradictory, forces, which like a wild wind, attract and direct him although he ought to be their master. To consider all this from a class point of view, these forces, as we tried to argue, are mostly of bourgeois character, with a strong tendency towards decadence. This does not mean that Xvyl’ovyj is a spokesman for the new bourgeoisie, which is being born in our complex economy. He is the spokesman of disillusion, he doubts if we shall realize, with all our forces, the socialist ideal. Therefore, only indirectly, against his own will, he sadly creates for the benefit of hostile forces.<sup>86</sup>

Jurij Šerex described Xvyl’ovyj’s disillusionment with the revolution and how his profound lyricism led to a great literary achievement.

Xvyl’ovyj loved insanely the scent of the word, to use his beloved expression. He wove words into arabesques and patterns, spread them out in funeral processions, mastered them in dancing groups. Sometimes he found Ukrainian words inadequate, he wished for greater contrasts, stronger scented aromas—he borrowed French and Russian words. The purists were angry with him. Poor linguists. Xvyl’ovyj loved the scent of words, for words, for him, were not a screen from life or a reflection of life, as the Marxists would have it. They were a part of life. Xvyl’ovyj was madly in love with life.<sup>87</sup>

Writer M. Čyrkov points out the parallels to Xvyl'ovyj's prose in Russia. "One can easily find bridges between Xvyl'ovyj and Pil'njak, Zamjatin, even to Belyj, as far as artistic methods and even content are concerned."<sup>88</sup>

Xvyl'ovyj's contribution as an essayist is equally important, primarily because it initiated the so-called literary discussion (1925–28), the last free debate on Ukrainian culture in Soviet Ukraine.<sup>89</sup> His collections of essays were *Kamo hrjadešy* (Whither Are You Going? 1925), *Dumky proty tečiji* (Thoughts Against the Current, 1926), and *Apolohety pysaryzmu* (Apologians of Scribbling, 1927). In these essays Xvyl'ovyj boldly criticized the Communist graphomaniacs (red *Prosvita*), and called on Ukrainian writers to turn away from Russia, pointing instead to Western Europe as the source of real culture, invoking the coming of the "Asiatic Renaissance." His slogan "away from Moscow" was, of course, most controversial and provoked a response from Stalin himself:

Xvyl'ovyj's demands that the proletariat in Ukraine be immediately de-Russified, his belief that "Ukrainian poetry should keep as far as possible from Russian literature and style," his pronouncement that "proletarian ideas are familiar to us without the help of Russian art," his passionate belief in some messianic role for the young Ukrainian intelligentsia, his ridiculous and non-Marxist attempt to divorce culture from politics—all this and much more in the mouth of this Ukrainian Communist sounds (and cannot sound otherwise) more than strange. At a time when the Western European proletarian classes and their Communist Parties are full of affection for Moscow, this citadel of the international revolutionary movement, at a time when Western European proletarians look with enthusiasm to the flag that flies over Moscow, this Ukrainian Communist Xvyl'ovyj had nothing to say in favor of Moscow except to call on Ukrainian leaders to run away from Moscow as fast as possible. And this is called internationalism.<sup>90</sup>

There is no doubt that Xvyl'ovyj's literary policy and his strident ideology amounted in the eyes of the Party to a serious deviation. He was hounded by Communist officials after his work was criticized in many journals and newspapers. Xvyl'ovyj tried to elude the attacks and founded a new, avant-garde journal, *Literaturnyj jarmarok* (Literary Fair, 1929), but in the end, as a gesture of protest, he committed suicide in 1933. His works and ideas were banned until 1988, when he was partially rehabilitated. Today he has been restored to a position he deserves.

The following well-known writers belonged to VAPLITE: Bažan, Dniprovs'kyj, Dosvitnij, Dovženko, Janovs'kyj, Johansen, Xvyl'ovyj, Kuliš,

Senčenko, Slisarenko, Smolyč, Sosjura, and Tyčyna. Some of the Vaplitians, like the popular poet Volodymyr Sosjura (1898–1965) were converts to Communism. Early in the revolution Sosjura fought in Petljura's nationalist army, only to go over later to the Bolsheviks. In 1921 he published a collection *Červona zyma* (Red Winter), which established him as a "proletarian" poet. Jakiv Savčenko wrote in 1925:

We shall not make a mistake if we say that Sosjura is the poet of the revolution. He is least-influenced, almost uninfluenced by the artistic outlook of the pre-revolutionary era.... He was formed and educated by the revolutionary struggle, which endowed him with the strong integrity of class character.... Sosjura's sociological and psychological foundation is firm. Socially he is tied to the working masses and he is also psychologically with them. He is not split into two, not weakened by the mood and individualistic culture of the previous era.<sup>91</sup>

A different view of Sosjura is held by Vasyľ Hryško, who published the poet's banned verses:

One can talk here about a more complex and deeper ambivalence, connected to the serious inner conflict not of an average man but of an active, creative individual, called upon to shape external reality. One can talk about a man, who sincerely and voluntarily chose the Communist ideology, shaping it to his personal and national character and who remains faithful to this ideology whatever its historical metamorphoses. But at the same time this human being tries to be "honest with himself," believing deeply in the consonance of his character with his ideology and therefore he is open about himself.... Such a person experiences the point of sharp collision of these two forces and this causes a permanent conflict with Soviet reality....<sup>92</sup>

Sosjura's inner conflict is most evident in his collection *Serce* (Heart, 1931). He continued to express it in the 1930s and later.

A much less popular but much more original poet, Mykola Bažan (1904–83), began writing as a futurist. He was the author of the collections *17-y patrol'* (The 17th Patrol, 1926), *Riz'blena tin'* (The Sculpted Shadow, 1927), *Budivli* (Buildings, 1929), and *Doroha* (The Road, 1930). Ju. Lavrinenko attempted to define Bažan's style:

What is Bažan's style? Futurism? Expressionism? Baroque? Romanticism à la Hoffmann? It would be vain to force a master of poetry into other frameworks. True, futurism gave the poet an inner freedom from psychological and aesthetic inertia ... expressionism gave him the taste of a passionate consciousness, a thirst for life.... The Ukrainian and Western baroque offered the totality of detail, and the romanticism of Hoffmann and Gogol' gave him the expansive world of fantasy.... Perhaps because of this it is not beauty but force that plays a part in Bažan's style, the force of the elements, contrasts, and rhythms. And most of all, the force of humanity governed by universal laws.<sup>93</sup>

Already the young Bažan, who kept well away from politics, may be regarded as one who was inclined towards the powers that be. E. Adel'hejm wrote in 1974, "Vaplitiants oriented themselves towards the reactionary romanticism of the West. Bažan exposed it. The Vaplitiants cultivated the idea of eternal conflict between the romantic dream of the artist and reality. Bažan wrote about the tragic nature of such conflicts. The Vaplitiants, lastly, idealized the split man who lives simultaneously in two worlds. Bažan dreamt of the integrated monolith of the human soul. The poet's challenge to reactionary ideals is clear."<sup>94</sup> This challenge became much clearer in the 1930s when the publication of Bažan's fine long poem *Slipci* (The Blind Men) was forcibly interrupted. Soon afterwards, under official pressure, he went over to "socialist realism."

A career similar to that of Bažan was pursued by the talented prose writer Jurij Janovs'kyj (1902–54). In the 1920s he distinguished himself through his short stories: *Mamutovi byvni* (The Mammoth's Tusks, 1925) and *Krov zemlji* (Blood of the Soil, 1927). In 1926 O. Bilec'kyj described Janovs'kyj's style when writing, "Janovs'kyj constructs his stories openly, with all the 'means uncovered' as the formalists would say. And these artistic means are not directed so much towards construction, as to the destruction of the old form, towards a break with tradition.... Both G. Škurupij and Ju. Janovs'kyj were tied to a futurist group of writers, the former still remaining in the group, which helped both writers to free themselves from tradition and become 'Europeanized.'"<sup>95</sup>

Janovs'kyj is the author of two romantic novels, *Majster korablja* (The Master of the Ship, 1928) and *Čotyry šabli* (Four Sabers, 1930). In 1928 Janovs'kyj published a collection of poetry *Prekrasna Ut* (The Most Beautiful Ut, second edition 1932), hoping for a socialist success (Ut is an acronym for "Ukrajina trudjaščyx," Ukraine of the Workers). His novel *Four Sabers* was in the meantime sharply attacked by official critics such as O. Kylymnyk:

The writer romanticizes in every way the heroes of his novel, and their reckless behavior. As part of the idealization of the Zaporozhian Cossacks memories are offered of the Zaporozhian Sich and its glorious heroes, who are, according to Janov's'kyj, the forefathers of his own heroes, whom he sometimes also compares to Napoleon's marshals, etc. However, the activities of these heroes are shown without any connection to proletarian leadership. The writer failed to show the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in the people's struggle against the external and internal enemies of the young socialist country.<sup>96</sup>

The talented prose writer, Oles' Dosvitnij (1891–1934), was active member of the Communist Party and traveled to China and the United States. He wrote the novels *Amerykanci* (The Americans, 1925), *Xto* (Who, 1927), *Nas bulo troje* (There Were Three of Us, 1929), and many short stories. The satirical novel *The Americans* is “a book more interesting as a memoir than as a literary work,” wrote critic Oleksander Bilec'kyj.<sup>97</sup>

Has anyone noticed the mastery with which Dosvitnij depicts what might be called the exotic? Have our critics noticed the beautiful pictures of the ‘warm Korean autumn’?... Our era is not the time for large epics and compositionally perfect canvasses. Consciously or intuitively Dosvitnij came to this conclusion. In any case, he advances along a very interesting path.... Was it not Dosvitnij who gave us a chance to smell the contemporary Orient and Occident? Was it not he who painted the depths of unknown oceans over which his *Rembrandt* travels? Was not he who gave us the entire gallery of traveling revolutionaries?<sup>98</sup>

Despite his attempts to conform to the Party line, Dosvitnij was arrested and perished in the 1930s. He has been rehabilitated in the late 1980s.

Oleksa Slisarenko (1891–1937) started as a futurist poet and later turned to prose. His collections of poems included *Na berezi kastal's'komu* (On the Castile Shore, 1918), *Poemy* (Poems, 1923), and *Bajda* (1928). Among his prose works were collections of short stories, *Plantacji* (Plantations, 1925) and *Kaminnyj vynohrad* (Stone Grapes, 1927), and the novels *Bunt* (Rebellion, 1928) and *Čornyj anhel* (The Black Angel, 1929). Ja Savčenko described his style by saying, “Slisarenko's prose is a very interesting attempt to create a story purely through plot development. Slisarenko is above all a storyteller, a fabulist. His attention is chiefly centered on the moment. From this are derived the specific devices of his creativity. He never clutters the plot with redundant episodes, taking only two or three of them, tying them together through a

causal relationship, and leading the plot to a logical conclusion.”<sup>99</sup> Slisarenko was shot after his arrest in the 1930s. He was rehabilitated in 1957.

The prose writer Ivan Senčenko (1901–75) may be best remembered for one very short work. He wrote and re-wrote *Červonohrads'kyj cykl'* (Červonohrad Cycle, 1929–69), *Solomjans'kyj cykl'* ('Solomjanka Cycle, 1956–57) and *Donec'kyj cykl'* (Donec'k Cycle, 1952–64)—all about the Ukrainian working class, but the most remarkable, satirical and prophetic piece, *Iz zapysok* (The Notes [of a Flunky]) appeared in 1927. This banned piece of writing was recovered in 1988 with the following commentary by Mykola Žulyns'kyj:

With pride, cocky self-satisfaction, joyfully and confidently the “grandiose and incomparable Flunky” lays down his system of flunkyism, the moral-philosophical principles of the conscious depersonalization of man, the renunciation of his own self, the transformation of a personality into a “cog and wheel” of the social mechanism, the order established by the “incomparable Pius.” Senčenko’s happy, thirty-year old Flunky has a “strong body, red cheeks, a flexible spine and rubber feet.” The most important task for the Flunky is to solidify the testament of flunkyism, that is: to instill into his children obedience, humility, silence; to spread the system of flunkyism throughout society and mankind and to extirpate from man the Promethean spirit, the need to think and to have one’s own opinion. The main thing is to think like everybody else....<sup>100</sup>

Although severely criticized, Senčenko managed to survive the purges. His early work is his best and was praised by Oleksander Bilec'kyj: “[Senčenko is] a prose writer who struggles with the lyricist in himself, with the poet of moods. The former is always the winner. The impressionistic style deprives characters and events of clarity; the story, designed as a story, is suddenly transformed into a *Stimmungsskiz*, the plot evaporates and the uncertain game between the writer and the reader (à la Xvyl'ovyj) ends in a draw.”<sup>101</sup>

Majk Johansen (1895–1937) was a versatile writer, with serious scholarly interests. He was the author of collections of poems: *Dhori* (Upwards, 1921), *Revoljucija* (Revolution, 1923), *Dorobok* (The Output, 1924), as well as short stories, collected in *17 xvylyn* (17 Minutes, 1925). Johansen also wrote a parodistic novel, *Podorož učenoho doktora Leonardo i joho majbutn'oji koxanky prekrasnoji Alcesty u slobožan's'ku Švejcariju* (The Journey of the Learned Doctor Leonardo and His Future Mistress, the Beautiful Alceste, into Slobožans'ka Switzerland, 1930). In 1928 he published a formalist study *Jak budujet'sja opovidannja* (How a Short Story Is Built). Here is an evaluation

of his early poetry by A. Lejtes: "Johansen is a typical jeweler of sounds, a talented digger in verbal depths, a philologist of poetry. His mastery of alliteration is undisputed. At first he appears to be a refined decadent of the type of Verlaine.... Along the magnetic field of the revolution his verse playthings were no longer playthings; they become inspired figures of social significance."<sup>102</sup> Johansen was shot in Kiev on October 27, 1937.

Somewhat similar in his style to Johansen was Leonid Skrypnyk (1893–1929), the author of an experimental, satirical novel, written like a film scenario, called *Inteligent* (The Intellectual, 1929).

Petro Panč (1891–1978), a writer who continued in the realist tradition, produced several collections of short stories. Among them were *Solomjanyj dym* (The Straw Fire, 1925) and *Myšaći nory* (The Burrows of Mice, 1926), and a collection of tales *Holubi ešelony* (The Blue Echelons, 1928). A. Šamraj wrote in 1927, "Panč showed himself to be a talented observer of the new mores in the provinces. His better tales attract by their sheer realism and by an absence of stylistic and ideological hyperbole.... Panč's precise realistic sketches are attuned to the old realistic school but in the technique of this young writer there is a dynamism and a learned literary manner, lacking in the old literature."<sup>103</sup>

Today we know that even in those supposedly liberal days Panč and other writers were subjected to severe censorship. In 1990 a Soviet critic wrote that "Panč has thoroughly 'ploughed over' his novel *The Blue Echelons* (1928). He has deleted from it the tragic lyricism of the hero, the captain of the Ukrainian People's Army, Lec'-Otamanov."<sup>104</sup> Similar cuts were made in Holovko's novel *Bur'jan* (Weeds, 1927). Since some manuscripts of works mutilated in the 1920s-30s have still been preserved, it is hoped that uncensored editions may now be published.

In addition, new demands were quite candidly being made on the writers as V. Zajec' pointed out:

The dogged question "either-or" posed by the logic of life backs each of them against the wall, demanding an unequivocal answer (not just a declaration, but in their creative work too) which determines the place of the literary artist in a complex intertwining of social forces. It is then that some writers depart from the revolution, openly castigating its successes or hide themselves behind politically neutral themes, reflecting reality in a crooked mirror, or flee from reality into the world of romantic illusion, while others, on the contrary, set themselves ideologically on the side of the proletariat. Petro Panč belongs to the second category of contemporary Ukrainian writers.<sup>105</sup>

A writer with a gift for psychological analysis and an inclination towards satire was Hryhorij Epik (1901–37). He was the author of collections of short stories, including *Na zlami* (The Turning Point, 1926) and *V snihax* (Amid the Snows, 1928), the novels *Bez gruntu* (Without Ground, 1928) and *Nepija* (1930), and the collection *Tom satyry* (A Volume of Satire, 1930). O. Kylymnyk wrote of Epik's works:

Having gone over to the literary organization VAPLITE, Epik experienced the negative influence of its defective theoretical and aesthetic tendencies. As a result, works like *Nepija* appeared in which the writer resorts to excessive psychologizing, wallowing in the human psyche, which has lost its true path and has in effect abandoned those ideological principles for which it fought. This person, in Epik's novel, is a Komsomol leader, a district secretary, Marko. His love for the 'nepija' Rita becomes pathologically antagonistic, leading to a loss of perspective, making him politically blind.<sup>106</sup>

Such "mistakes" were not forgiven Epik, even when he tried desperately to write the kind of prose that was required. His last two novels, *Perša vesna* (The First Spring, 1931) and *Petro Romen* failed to please the official critics. The former dealt with collectivization, the latter was written at the request of the Komsomol to "create a positive type of young worker." Such demands alone were enough to destroy any serious writer. Soon after this Epik was arrested, accused of belonging to a terrorist organization. He was shot in November 1937.

Jurij Smolyč (1900–76) began his career in the theater. He wrote a novel of adventure, *Ostannij Ejdžvud* (The Last Agewood, 1926), and a Wellsian novel *Hospodarstvo doktora Gal'vanesku* (The Household of Dr. Galvanescu, 1928). Even in the 1920s when this was not obligatory, he betrayed an interest in the unmasking of alleged anti-Soviet activities, shown in *Pivtora ljudyne* (One Man and a Half, 1927), which he later developed into a fine art. The target of the novel *Fal'syva Mel'pomena* (The False Melpomene, 1928) was Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism," which became a special preoccupation for Smolyč.

A prose writer of lesser importance was Oleksander Kopylenko (1900–58), the author of a long story, *Bujnyj xmil'* (Wild Hops, 1925), and a novel, *Vyzvolennja* (Liberation, 1929). As B. Šnajder described, the author's "disgust with the city of the NEP era deepened, and there is an obvious inclination to counterpoise the cleanliness of the steppe and the soil as well as the unspoiled village morality against the dirty city."<sup>107</sup> Kopylenko was soon criticized for

his “pessimism” and “individualism,” and he heeded the critics and changed his style. This may have saved his life.

A very different writer, whose works had philosophical overtones, was Arkadij Ljubčenko (1899–1945), the author of a collection of short stories, *Buremna put'* (Stormy Passage, 1927), and a book of sketches that a critic called a “philosophical mystery,” *Vertep* (1930; the title is the Ukrainian word for traditional puppet theater). Ju. Šerex wrote that *Vertep's* juxtaposed scenes “outline a basic moral idea—an idea of eternal disquiet and the concomitant idea of Ukraine’s messianism. There arises, with great persuasiveness, faith in man and faith in Ukraine, which penetrates the entire *Vertep* as well as the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s. Ljubčenko’s materialism, although this sounds like a paradox, grows out of his faith. It becomes transformed into great idealism.”<sup>108</sup>

Ljubčenko refused to be evacuated with other writers during the German invasion of 1941. He died in Germany, where he left the archives of VAPLITE, whose secretary he was. The archives have been preserved in the West. He also left an interesting diary.

Ivan Dniprovs'kyj (1895–1934) wrote poetry, short stories and plays. The romantic play *Ljubov i dym* (Love and Smoke, 1925) was followed by the revolutionary drama *Jablunevyj polon* (Apple Blossom Captivity, 1926). Dniprovs'kyj, whose works were banned after his death, also left some interesting personal letters, which were published posthumously. He died of tuberculosis in Yalta.

A close friend of Dniprovs'kyj, Mykola Kuliš (1892–1937), became the greatest Ukrainian playwright of the Soviet era. A prolific writer, he began his career as dramatist with two overtly propagandist but mildly expressionist plays, *Devjanosto sim* (Ninety-Seven, 1924) and *Komuna v stepax* (A Commune in the Steppes, 1925). However, after becoming a close friend of Les' Kurbas, the director of the Berezil theater, Kuliš produced four masterpieces: *Narodnij Malaxij* (The People’s Malaxij, 1928), *Myna Mazajlo* (1929), *Patetyčna sonata* (Sonata Pathétique, 1930), and *Maklena Grasa* (1933). Various critics have tried to assess his greatness. According to Ju. Javrinenko,

Kuliš will enter the history of Ukrainian literature and theater as the creator of neo-Baroque drama. The genesis of his style is very complex. For Kuliš the Ukrainian tradition of the *Ninety-Seven* and *Commune in the Steppes* did not reach further than Tobilevyč [nineteenth century Ukrainian dramatist]. But later he appropriated the tradition of the Ukrainian *Vertep* and the treasures of the dramatic poems of Lesja Ukrajinka, whose influence may be seen in *Sonata Pathétique*. Kuliš grew in the artistic atmosphere of

Pavlo Tyčyna, Mykola Xvyl'ovyj, and Les' Kurbas and the Berezil theater. It was they who pushed him towards the study of European and world drama. Yet master that he was, he copied nothing. In *Xulij Xuryna* Kuliš writes that he could not accept the framework of the ancient, Shakespeare or Molierean drama, since the material and spirit of his age could not be compressed into it.<sup>109</sup>

George Shevelov warns against any simplistic political interpretation of Kuliš:

The theme of Kuliš's creativity was how man becomes human. This is a tragic theme and has always been so through the ages. Kuliš explored it honestly and profoundly. He offered no solutions, programs, slogans, advice, or prescriptions. His works were not written to answer the question: 'What Is to Be Done?' He was neither Černyševskij nor Lenin. He was without exaggeration a writer of genius, and he knew and sensed that in some cases great helplessness offers a key to great art. He was also a great craftsman able to treat this theme in different ways from the tragi-comic *The People's Malaxij* à la Don Quixote, to the playfulness and humor of *Myna Mazajlo*, from the helicons of *Sonata Pathetique* to the elegy of hopelessness in *Maklena Grasa*.<sup>110</sup>

Finally, Soviet critic N. Kuzjakina, who did much to restore Kuliš's good name after his rehabilitation, wrote:

With their atmosphere of intellectual dispute Kuliš's plays belong to the twentieth century, and the dramatist and his heroes take it for granted that man can think rationally, see the causes and effects of some social tendencies and see them in perspective. At the same time a great deal of Kuliš's plays is openly and clearly lyrical. The form of the lyrical drama is born from the recognition of the significance of human emotions as a means of knowing truth, taking into account the complex spiritual world of man and his emotional depth as expressions of humanity. In this respect Kuliš's theater appeals both to reason and to the emotion of the spectators. In his best works "ratio" and "emotio" are organically united, addressed to the complete human being and all the means of cognition. From this point of view, Kuliš, a sober researcher of social life, carefully analyses his subject while remaining a lyric writer. He offers an example of a rare combination of the contrasting literary gifts.<sup>111</sup>

Despite his efforts to write some conformist plays, Kuliš could not avoid arrest. He was executed in the Gulag in November 1937. In the 1960s and later in the 1980s he was rehabilitated and today none of his plays are proscribed.

Kuliš's successes and failures were very much tied to the fate of the Berezil Theater, directed by Les' Kurbas (1887–1942), who also perished in the Gulag. It was the production by Berezil of *The People's Malaxij* and *Myna Mazajlo*, as well as the close friendship between Kuliš and Kurbas, that were so important for Kuliš the artist. As the last Vaplitian to be considered here, Kuliš epitomized the tragedy of the Ukrainian Communists. A Party member, like Xvyl'ovyj and Kurbas, he naively hoped that the Ukrainian Communist Party would be able to protect the Ukrainian literary renaissance. The terror, not fully unleashed until the 1930s, swept away mercilessly both those who were Communists and those who were not, crushing everything showing independence and spontaneity.

Among the non-Communists was a group of writers, diverse in their literary tendencies, who in 1934 faced the firing squad. The most talented of these was Hryhorij Kosynka (1899–1934), the author of several collections of remarkable impressionistic short stories: *Na zolotyx bohiv* (Against the Gold Gods, 1922), *Maty* (Mother, 1925), and *V žytax* (In the Wheat Fields, 1926), as well as the story *Faust*.

Hryhorij Kosynka has usually been characterized as a dazzling writer, rich in images and rhythm in a work of prose, a cultured writer who simultaneously wrote in a very narrow vein. He was unwilling to widen this vein, being more inclined to probe deeper and improve his artistic insights, and had no fear of repeating certain motifs and psychological sketches.... Kosynka throughout his work is the last follower of the impressionist Ukrainian village short story. He is, however, a forceful follower and develops what he found in Stefanyk, Vasyl'čenko, and, in part, in Kocjubyns'kyj, at a time when new social themes were developing directly contrary to this trend in Ukrainian literature.<sup>112</sup>

Executed along with Kosynka for alleged participation in a terrorist counter-revolutionary organization was Oleksa Vlyz'ko (1908–34). This young poet's collections were *Za vsix skazu* (I Will Tell for All, 1927) and *Žyvu, pracuju* (I Live, I Work, 1930). B. Kovalenko describes Vlyz'ko as being, "one of the few representatives of revolutionary optimism. This optimism is natural to the poet, but so far appears rather superficial. It must be made more profound and philosophically well grounded to avoid the trivial. The author must seriously think about having close contact with revolutionary

society and acquiring the psychology of the proletarian class in order to enrich his work thematically and avoid abstraction.”<sup>113</sup>

Another writer, Dmytro Fal’kivs’kyj (1898–1934), was executed at the same time as Kosynka and Vlyz’ko. He was the author of the poem *Čaban* (Shepherd, 1925) and the collection *Obriji* (Horizons, 1927), *Na požaryšči* (After the Fire, 1928), and *Polissja* (1931). Jakiv Savčenko wrote that Fal’kivs’kyj “was enchanted by the cold reflection of the old, dying days.”<sup>114</sup> More recently, his poetry has again been criticized in *Istrorjia Ukrajins’koji Literatry*: “The leading motif of Fal’kivs’kyj’s work, especially the poems included in the collection *After the Fire*, is the conflict between the interests of the individual and those of society, and doubts about the revolutionary struggle, which demands the sacrifice of the unique human life. Fal’kivs’kyj’s lyrical hero is not the builder of new life, but a dejected and passive man, a sacrifice for a distant goal.”<sup>115</sup>

The fourth writer to be executed in 1934 was Kost’ Burevij (1888–1934). He wrote a long story, *Xamy* (Boors, 1925); a book of essays *Evropa čy Rosija* (Europe or Russia, 1925); a verse parody, *Zozendropija* (1928) under the pseudonym Edvard Strixa; and a comedy *Čotyry Čemberleny* (Four Chamberlains, 1931). His play *Pavlo Polubotok*, written “for the drawer,” was published in the West in 1955. Burevij was most talented as a parodist. Ju. Šerex described Burevij’s work them writing, “*Zozendropija* was a slap in the face not only to futurism, but to the entire ‘proletarian’ literature. It mercilessly revealed the vulgar and primitive essence of this literature, its helplessness, clumsiness, and slavish dependence on political programs. In fact, Edvard Strixa’s mask was twofold. He donned the mask of a futurist in order to parody futurism, but the very parody of futurism was a mask to ridicule all genuine Soviet literature and, through it, the Soviet regime.”<sup>116</sup>

Another group of writers virtually annihilated in the purges was Zaxidnja Ukrajina (Western Ukraine), consisting of immigrants from western parts of Ukraine (what was then Poland and Romania). Among them was a talented prose writer, Volodymyr Gžyc’kyj (1895–1973), author of the controversial novel *Čorne ozero* (The Black Lake, 1929). The novel, set in the Altai autonomous region, explored the behavior of Russians and Ukrainians among the natives of Asia. S. Šaxovs’kyj wrote that the heroine, Tanja, “tries to defend her indeterminate position; she still has an incorrect understanding of patriotism and local exclusiveness. It seems to be that complete isolation will save the little people from hemorrhage.”<sup>117</sup> The author was severely chastised for his “incorrect view.” In his writing, to use the official phrase, “there came a long pause (*nastupyla tryvala pauza*).”<sup>118</sup> In reality, Gžyc’kyj ended up in the Gulag, survived, and rewrote *The Black Lake* to the Party’s liking.

An immigrant from the west who shared Gžyc'kyj's fate was Dmytro Zahul (1890–1938), a native of Bukovyna. His collections of poetry were *Z zelenyx hir* (From the Green Mountains, 1918), *Naš den'* (Our Day, 1923), and *Motyvy* (Motifs, 1927). He also translated Goethe and Heine. Critic Saxovs'kyj regarded him as a symbolist: "Behind his new pose of life's realist there lurks the old shadow of the incorrigible idealist. In his new songs, glorifying the birth of the new, there are heard notes of spiritual anguish and sorrow."<sup>119</sup>

Vasyl' Bobyns'kyj (1898–1938) was a native of Western Ukraine who, during the revolution, fought in the ranks of the nationalist Sich Sharpshooters and later became a staunch Communist. M. Dubyna wrote that his early poetry collections *Niš koxannja* (Night of Love, 1923) and *Tajna tancju* (Mystery of Dance, 1924) "displayed narrow, personal motifs ... from which minor melodies are heard."<sup>120</sup> Bobyns'kyj wrote a long poem *Smert' Franka* (Franko's Death, 1926) and many propagandist verses. These did not save him from the Gulag.

Another Western Ukrainian, who shared Bobyns'kyj's fate, was Myroslav Irčan (1897–1937), a prolific playwright and prose writer. Among his works are *Rodyna šitkariv* (The Family of Brush-makers, 1923), *Bila malpa* (The White Monkey, 1928), *Z prerij Kanady v stepy Ukrajiny* (From Canadian Prairies to Ukrainian Steppes, 1930), and *Placdarm* (Place d'Armes, 1933). He lived for some time in Canada. He was regarded as "the most productive of the writers beyond the ocean, known through his stories and plays, sometimes perhaps overextended, but on the whole dynamic."<sup>121</sup>

A very different writer, in temperament and conviction, was Myxajlo Ivčenko (1890–1939), the author of some short stories collected in *Imlystaju rikoju* (Along a Misty River, 1926), and of the novel *Robitni syly* (Working Forces, 1930). He was once called a "pantheistic lyricist."<sup>122</sup> According to Oleksander Bilec'kyj, "a lyrical devotion to the soil and complete union with it—this lyricism is the main charm of Ivčenko's stories. There would be very little without it. Plot does not interest him. There is no variety of characters or depth of observation in his final works. In the end, they are also lacking in thought. The revolution has left some trace, but the author has not experienced it deeply."<sup>123</sup> *Working Forces* got Ivčenko into trouble; he was arrested and perished in internal exile.

A different spirit pervades the prose works of Andrij Holovko (1897–1972). "The images of Holovko's works, their life-confirming optimism, their cheerfulness and joy of victory inspire the reader with such energy and joy of life, call him to move 'forward and upward,' to fight and to win, to embody in practice the best ideal of mankind—Communism."<sup>124</sup> Holovko's novel *Burjan* (Weeds, 1927) was directed against the *kurkuls* (well-to-do peasants) and earned much praise. Few knew that it was heavily censored. O. Kylymnyk wrote in 1962, "The novel also had great educational and cognitive value for

the countries of the people's democracies that, using the experience of the Soviet Union, are marching towards socialism."<sup>125</sup> In 1932 Holovko published a novel *Maty* (Mother)—which he was forced to rewrite in 1935—emulating Gorky's novel of the same title. The path towards "socialist realism" was secure.

A gifted poet who followed his own direction and tried to lead the Avangard (avant-garde) group was Valerijan Poliškuk (1897–1942). He was strongly influenced by Walt Whitman. Some of his many collections of poems are *Vybuxy syly* (Explosions of Force, 1921), *Radio v žytax* (Radio in the Rye Fields, 1923), *Divčyna* (A Girl, 1925) and *Hryhorij Skovoroda* (1929). "Valerijan Poliškuk could do much more than he already has, with his drive forward, eternal searchings, self-education, and following Western European as well as Eastern literature. His desire to create something new, to illumine a path into the future as well as to beautify the present, will last for a long time."<sup>126</sup> Too individualistic for the tastes of the Party, Poliškuk was arrested in 1934 for belonging to the Center of Anti-Soviet Borotbist Organization and died in a concentration camp. Some of his poems were republished after his rehabilitation.

Two writers of humorous prose did not escape arrest and incarceration. One of them, Ostap Vyšnja (real name Hubenko, 1889–1956) was the most popular writer of the day, the author of several volumes of *Vyšnevi us'mišky* (Vyšnja's Smiles, 1925–27). While most of his humor is drawn from the life of the peasants and the proletariat, some is directed against the bureaucracy and occasionally against himself ("Autobiography"). He returned from the Gulag in the 1940s and continued writing.

Jurij Vuxnal' (1906–37) was another humorist, who wrote *Žyttja i dijal'nist' Fed'ka Husky* (Life and Activity of Fed'ko Huska, 1929). He was shot in 1937 and has been posthumously rehabilitated. His works have been republished.

In a genre not too far removed from that of Vyšnja and Vuxnal' are the works of Serhij Pylypenko (1891–1943): *Bajkivnycja* (Book of Fables, 1922) and *Bajky* (Fables, 1927). I. Kapustjans'kyj described Pylypenko's work when writing: "In his fables Pylypenko shows a double aim. First of all, this is an attempt to introduce a new kind of folk-story (the plots of the *Book of Fables* have nothing in common with Aesop's traditional fables), and secondly, this is the first attempt in the Ukrainian language to organize proletarian consciousness through a fable."<sup>127</sup> Pylypenko will mostly be remembered as the founder and leader of the organization of peasant writers Pluh (*The Plough*). Along with many other members of the group he was arrested and died in internal exile.

Ideologically very different was the poet Mykola Tereščenko (1898–1966), whose greatest contribution was made in the field of translation (Verhaeren). His early love of futurism was short-lived, and he became a Communist true believer as early as 1920s. In 1968, O. Zasenکو wrote of Tereščenko's contribution.

The urban motifs in the poet's works were very prominent and led to the glorification of technology, the machine, and not of the people who created and directed it. This, of course, was borrowed from the futurists, with whom Tereščenko had creative contacts in the 1920s. Yet even then the revolutionary principle was decisive in the poet's creativity. A correct understanding of the general development of Soviet society, outlined by the Communist Party, made it possible for Tereščenko to join the ranks of the builders of socialism, Soviet culture and literature.<sup>128</sup>

Two playwrights deserve to be mentioned. Jakiv Mamontov (1888–1940) was the author of two popular plays: *Respublika na kolesax* (A Republic on Wheels, 1928) and *Roževe pavutynnja* (Pink Cobwebs, 1928). Ju. Kostjuk describes the former as “a sharp, devastating satire on various puppet anti-democratic ‘governments’ that, during the period of civil war, the international interventionist band of imperialists and the internal bourgeois-nationalist, Maxnovite anarchist, and other counter-revolutions tried to foist upon the working masses of Ukraine.”<sup>129</sup> This and many other propagandist plays by Mamontov did not secure his future. He was purged, but rehabilitated in the 1950s.

Ivan Kočerha (1881–1952) was a very different dramatist, who at first wrote in Russian. He was the author of the plays *Feja hirkoho mihdalju* (The Bitter Almond Fairy, 1926), *Marko v pekli* (Marko in Hell, 1930), and *Pisnja pro Svičku* (Song about Svička, 1931). The first of these was, in the opinion of such critics as N. Kuzjakina, “not interesting because of its social ideas and tendencies, which are marginal and not organic to the work, but because of the masterfully drawn ancient customs and the humorous interchanges in various situations.”<sup>130</sup> In the late 1920s, in response to Party demands, he wrote a series of “agitka” plays, which Kuzjakina described as “neither true to life nor character.”<sup>131</sup> These “schematic” works may have saved his life. His unquestioned talent appeared later.

A dramatist who, more than Kočerha, reflected the requirements of the Party, was Ivan Mykytenko (1897–1937). He wrote some prose and the plays *Dyktatura* (Dictatorship, 1929), *Kadry* (The Cadres, 1930), and *Divčata našoji krajiny* (Women of Our Land, 1932). “The main idea of *Dictatorship*,” critic M. Syrotjuk wrote, “is the struggle of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to strengthen the friendship between the working class and the working peasantry, a friendship that is the life-giving basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”<sup>132</sup> *The Cadres*, on the other hand, was a play about the struggle for the new higher education in the “period of reconstruction.” An interesting

play by Mykytenko was *Solo na flejti* (Solo on the Flute, 1933–36) in which he brilliantly satirized a Soviet careerist. These plays, written in response to the first five-year plan propaganda, did not prevent a tragic denouement. Mykytenko allegedly shot himself before he could be arrested in 1937.

Another surprising victim of the purges was the dedicated Communist writer, Ivan Kulyk (1897–1937), who for some time in the 1920s served as a Soviet consul in Canada. He is best remembered as a translator of Walt Whitman and Carl Sandburg and as the editor of an anthology of American poetry (1928). He wrote a long poem *Čorna epopeja* (Black Epic, 1929) about the blacks in the United States.

A more talented poet and translator, Vasyl' Mysyk (1907–83), was also a victim of the Gulag. He was the author of the collection *Travy* (Grasses, 1927), *Blakytynyj mist* (The Blue Bridge, 1929), and *Čotyry vitry* (Four Winds, 1930). After his release from the camp he was rehabilitated and his works republished.

A promising young prose writer, Borys Teneta (1903–35), was the author of a collection of short stories, *Lysty z Krymu* (Letters from the Crimea, 1927), and the novels *Harmonija i svynušnyk* (Accordion and Pigsty, 1928) and *Nenavyst'* (Hatred, 1930). He committed suicide during a police interrogation. A poet whose talent remained unfulfilled was Leonid Černov (1899–1933). His short stories are collected in *Sonce pid veslamy* (Sun Under the Oars, 1927) and his poems in *Na rozi bur* (Crossing the Storm, 1934). As a young man he traveled to China and India. He was one of the few writers of some originality to die a natural death.

The poet Andrij Paniv (1899–1937), one of the founders of Pluh, was the author of a collection, *Večirni tini* (Evening Shadows, 1927). Like many of the lesser lights of “peasant” writers, he ended his days in a concentration camp where he was executed. He was rehabilitated in 1960. His fate was shared by Oleksander Sokolovs'kyj (1896–1938). Sokolovs'kyj's historical novel *Bohun* (1931) was described in *Istoriija Ukrajins'koji Literatury* as “nationalist contraband.”<sup>133</sup> A mammoth novel about the changing conditions in Soviet central Asia, *Roman Mižhirja* (The novel of Mižhirja, 1929) was written by Ivan Le (1895–1978). The second part of the novel appeared five years later, after the author took the advice of his critics to transform his hero. Later Le excelled in the genre of historical fiction.

One of the “peasant” poets with a Komsomol mentality was Pavlo Usenko (1902–75). He was praised for his lyrical talent which was hard to detect.

The relative liberalism of the 1920s came to an end at the close of the decade. The political events heralding the change were the ending of the NEP in 1928 and the initiation, in the same year, of the first five-year plan—both preliminaries to

the consolidation of absolute power in the hands of Joseph Stalin. The policy of “Ukrainization” was soft-pedaled and eventually abandoned.

These developments signaled the tightening of Party controls not only over the economy, but over cultural life as well. The forced mobilization of all human resources for the carrying out of the first five-year plan had a most direct influence on literature. Thematically and stylistically it was propelled, by ceaseless exhortation and criticism, towards the goals of Communist propaganda. What in the 1920s was the prerogative of Communist writers alone now became the universal yardstick of literary creation. No exceptions were tolerated.

Literary life in the 1920s revolved around several literary groups and organizations—Pluh, Hart, VAPLITE, the neoclassicists, the futurists, the constructivists, etc. This variety brought about lively controversies and polemics and allowed for a certain cultural pluralism, which was never tolerated later. An event extraordinary in itself was the “literary discussion” (1925–28), the last free debate on cultural and political issues in Ukraine. Various cultural and aesthetic theories were represented, and the result was that Ukraine, although Communist, came to have a high culture of its own. But gradual pressure from the Party, often combined with police action, led to the dissolution of some groups in the late 1920s and the creation of VUSPP, Vse-Ukrajins’ka Spilka Proletars’kyx Pys’mennykiv (All-Ukrainian Alliance of Proletarian Writers), as the Party watchdog over literature. Then suddenly, in April 1932, by Party decree, all remaining literary groups were dissolved to prepare the way for the creation of the All-Union Writers’ Union, in which national bodies were to become mere branches of the new literary bureaucracy centered in Moscow.

These transformations, entirely forced from above, coincided with the beginning of the arrests of writers that later, in Ukraine, became a wholesale purge. Of the fifty-seven writers discussed in this chapter, thirty-six, or almost two-thirds, perished in the Gulag. This pogrom had catastrophic effects on literature. In the 1920s the various genres had developed their own practitioners, who followed different models and practices. The most varied field was that of poetry where such different talents as Bažan, Plužnyk, Ryl’s’kyj, Svidzins’kyj, Tyčyna, and Zerov forcefully enlarged the horizons of Ukrainian poetry. In prose, too, the first-rate talents of Janovs’kyj, Johansen, Xvyl’ovyj, Kosynka, Pidmohyl’nyj, and others showed great promise. In drama Kuliš and Kurbas were of world stature. The modernist impulse of innovation and experimentation was alive and well. The entire era was a time when literature in Ukraine came closest to its European pluralistic patrimony. One can and should study it in that context. The literary criticism of the decade produced some striking achievements in, for example, the work of Bilec’kyj, Doroškevyč, Jakubs’kyj, Korjak, and Zerov. They were gradually supplanted

by official critics whose methods were more akin to police denunciation. A stern new muse was showing its face—the face of a policeman.

### 3. THE TRAUMA OF SOCIALIST REALISM, 1934–53

It took more than two years, from April 1932 to August 1934, to prepare for the formation of the Writers' Union, at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow. The delay was partly due to some passive resistance on the part of reluctant writers, but also to a new constellation of political power, with Stalin emerging after the Party Congress in 1932 as the undisputed leader. The first five-year plan was declared completed ahead of schedule in 1932 (fraudulently, as we now know), and the stage was set for the "building of socialism in one country." The opposition within Party ranks and within peasantry had been crushed, and the intellectuals, who had been banished to the Gulag, provided ample warning to their colleagues that the Party would tolerate no wavering. As Petro Panč said during the Moscow congress, "the victory looks significant only when it is achieved by conquering the obstacles."<sup>134</sup>

In Ukraine, the obstacles were often writers themselves, who had to be "liquidated." The purges referred to in chapter 2 reached much greater proportions as the 1930s progressed. My study<sup>135</sup> of the human losses estimated that 254 writers perished in the thirties as a result of police repression. More recent figures, provided by a Russian researcher in 1988, put the toll of all Ukrainian writers "liquidated" in the 1930s at 500,<sup>136</sup> half the total of all Soviet writers who perished at that time. This literary blood bath was accompanied by purges of Ukrainian scholars, teachers, and clergymen. At about the same time, especially in 1932–33, the man-made famine during the forced collectivization in Ukraine swept away nearly seven million peasants.<sup>137</sup> A few years later, the Communist Party of Ukraine was decimated and the entire government of the country incarcerated.

Traumas such as these were devastating, yet not a word was printed about these tragedies. The destruction of the entire country was received either with silence or with renewed calls to build Communism. Only in 1988, during the era of *glasnost*, was the fate of literature in the 1930s admitted. A. Pohribnyj wrote of this fate:

The sad statistics of one Muscovite literary enthusiast [E. Beltov] became known from 1000 cards that he made out for writers (not only members of the Writers' Union) who were victims of repression, almost half were those who wrote in our republic.

So did Stalin's and Kaganovič's heroes trample our literature. Let us add to this martyrology a great number of writers (sometimes of great stature) who violated their own talents to fit in with Stalinist ideology and also those who remained honest only by twisting their creations and whittling them in half, and the conclusion is obvious: during the ill-fated personality cult there was a pogrom of Ukrainian literature as such....<sup>138</sup>

Speaking in 1988, Borys Olijnyk declared that "the fact [is] that if not four out of five, then literally two out of three Ukrainians were either shot or driven into Stalin's camps, from which only a few returned."<sup>139</sup>

Much remains to be discovered about the details of the purges. Why, for instance, did they include some faithful Communists and Party hacks such as Kulyk and Mykytenko? For the time being, perhaps, Arthur Koestler's dictum about the "purge of the purgers" may explain this. Some critics in the West—for example, Shevelov—suggested that the purges were directed primarily against those writers who used universal themes in their works<sup>140</sup> and that they were an attempt to force narrow, ethnic parameters. There is some truth in this, but it is also true that hundreds of those "liquidated" did not have universal pretensions.

Were there any protests against this blood bath? The most telling was the suicide of Mykola Xvyl'ovyj in May 1933, followed a few months later by the suicide of Mykola Skrypnyk, an old Bolshevik and at the time the commissar of education in Ukraine. In 1937 Panas Ljubčenko, the head of the Soviet Ukrainian government, also committed suicide before his expected arrest. There were other writers who took their own lives rather than face the purges. Other forms of protest were impossible under the existing police terror. Some writers—Xvyl'ovyj in his short stories, Zerov and Plužnyk in their poetry, Dniprovs'kyj in his letters—expressed dark forebodings about the future. But the general silence on the one hand and the congratulatory salvos of Party propaganda about the destruction of the "enemies of the people" on the other, amounted almost to obscenity.

The Writers' Congress in Moscow in 1934 approved the statute of the new Writers' Union with its rights and obligations. The executive bodies of the Union became a part of the *nomenklatura* with all the residual duties and benefits. The Soviet intelligentsia became the handmaiden of the Party. Ideologically, a new theory or "method" of "socialist realism" was proclaimed as binding on all writers. According to this theory, literary works had "to reflect reality in its revolutionary development" and "educate readers in the spirit of socialism."<sup>141</sup> Maksim Gorky—known for his insulting remarks about Ukrainians (in a letter to Ukrainian writers he referred to their language as a "dialect")—was enthroned as the patron saint of the new Soviet literature. A

long period of sustained control of literature by the Party followed, which, with some minor exceptions during the Second World War, lasted till Stalin's death in 1953.

The pluralistic, liberal atmosphere of the 1920s was constantly permeated by calls to build a new proletarian revolution, dedicated to the ideals of communism. Some writers did not heed these calls and continued their own work, but many listened with attention to the proclamation of a new era. There was some skepticism, but there was also a great deal of idealism. All the writers paid lip service to the revolution, and many hoped that new policies would lead to greater human happiness. It is therefore impossible to dissect the souls of writers caught in a terrible dilemma in the thirties, when it was made perfectly clear that the time for vacillation was over and that their works must from then on be totally dedicated to "the people," that is, to the Party, which allegedly represented the people's interests. There are indications that those who escaped the purges did find it difficult to embrace "socialist realism" at first, but that gradually they all willingly supported it. Self-censorship became the practice of the day. Silence was often construed to be a counter-revolutionary act.

Of paramount importance here is the case of Pavlo Tyčyna, some of whose early works, especially *Zamist' Sonetiv i Oktav* (Instead of Sonnets and Octaves, 1920) were frowned upon. A short collection of his verse, *Černihiv* (1931) may be viewed as a transition from the early, lyrical Tyčyna to the later glorifier of Stalin. G. Grabowicz, discussing the genre of the collection, states: "It seems clear that it is not reportage, nor even so much a veristic dramatic portrait, as it is a vision, a distillation of the popular Ukraine in transition, presented through the verbal analogue of a musical composition—not a 'symphony' like *Skovoroda*, but a cantata. It is a polyphony of voices and rhythms and moods ... captured with manifold artistry and subtly modulated control. It is yet another instance of Tyčyna's restless creativity discovering new forms."<sup>142</sup>

By 1934, Tyčyna was ready to turn a new leaf with the publication of a collection *Partija vede* (The Party Leads). The chief poem of this collection, with the same title, was printed in Ukrainian in *Pravda* in 1933. There followed *Čuttja jedynoji rodyny* (The Feeling of a United Family, 1938), *Stal' i nižnist'* (Steel and Tenderness, 1941) and many propagandistic verses written during and after the war. "The central theme of [Tyčyna's] poetic works during the war," writes a critic, "was the theme of the socialist fatherland. The native land, in Tyčyna's verses, is painted at a moment of mortal danger as a picture of a proud and invincible mother."<sup>143</sup> At the time of the battle of Stalingrad Tyčyna wrote a long and beautiful elegy, "Poxoron druha" (The Burial of a Friend, 1943). Between 1920 and 1940 he labored on a long poem *Skovoroda*, which, according to an émigré critic, has anti-Stalinist overtones.<sup>144</sup> For his

loyalty Tyčyna was rewarded with medals and high official posts; he was for a while the minister of education in Soviet Ukraine. A significant commentary on Tyčyna under Stalin appeared in Soviet Ukraine in 1988: "Writers and artists such as Tyčyna, Ryl's'kyj, Bažan, Sosjura and others experienced moral torture and were forced to write 'Long live Stalin'.... We are talking about the 'barrack socialism' of the 1930s. Barracks are for the army and an army has to take a loyalty oath. Writers also had to take such an oath, every book began with such an oath.... It must be said that Pavlo Tyčyna's verses written to support and propagate the official course were strangely weak and sometimes almost parodies."<sup>145</sup> Attempts to maintain that Tyčyna, under Stalin, remained true to his poetic form, seem spurious.

Maksym Ryl's'kyj was another prominent poet who after 1930 placed himself at the service of the Party. In that year he wrote a poem, first published in 1965, in which he admitted that, for a brief time, he had been arrested and spent some time at the house of Compulsory Labor (BUPR).<sup>146</sup> This experience had the intended effect, and in 1932 Ryl's'kyj published a collection, *Znak tereziv* (The Sign of Libra), which began with the poem "A Declaration of the Duties of the Poet and the Citizen." The collection "bore witness to the decisive turnaround in the poet's consciousness during the years of the first five-year plan, his desire to become a builder and singer of the classless socialist society."<sup>147</sup> There followed the collections *Kyjiv* (Kyiv, 1935), *Lito* (Summer, 1936), and *Zbir vynohradu* (Gathering of Grapes, 1940), all "permeated with a gay, optimistic view of life, a passionate love for contemporary life, for the people and its leader—the Communist Party."<sup>148</sup> During the war, apart from Soviet patriotic verse, Ryl's'kyj wrote a long poem *Žaha* (Yearning, 1943), dedicated to his native land, which drew a great deal of official criticism. Critics were not pleased with the collection *Mandrivka v molodist'* (Travel into My Youth, 1944), either, and the poet had to rewrite it. He returned to stark Communist propaganda in *Mosty* (Bridges, 1948), only to revert after Stalin's death to the early lyricism in his collection *Holosijivs'ka osin'* (The Autumn of Holosijiv, 1959).

Volodymyr Sosjura overcame his waverings and became a Party stalwart. We know now that in 1929 he started to write "for the drawer" a novel *Tretja rota* (the name of his native village), which was first published in 1988. It expressed his frustrations, disappointments, and anger with the regime. On the surface, however, Sosjura remained a "socialist realist." In 1932 he published the collection *Vidpovid'* (The Answer), which included the poem "Dniprelstan" (The Dnipro Dam, first written in 1926). In this volume he lashed out, as he used to do in the 1920s, against Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalists" especially Dmytro Doncov and Jevhen Malanjuk in Polish Ukraine. During 1933 and 1934 the poet did not publish "a single book of poems and was rarely printed in the periodical press."<sup>149</sup> In 1940 he published a long autobiographical poem, *Červonohvardijec'* (Red Guardsman).

Near the end of the war he wrote a short poem, "Ljubit' Ukrajinu" (Love Ukraine, 1944), which a few years later was sharply attacked as "nationalist." This, once more, produced in Sosjura a sobering effect, and a decade later he wrote: "The Party has taught me to understand life as an eternal creation, an endless movement towards the new and the better.... It gives us unbreakable wings, magnificent wings to soar aloft. To serve people as a Communist is the greatest happiness on earth."<sup>150</sup>

The fourth major poet who was untouched by the purges was Mykola Bažan. In 1932 he wrote a poem, "Smert' Hamleta" (Hamlet's Death), containing these lines: "The only great and true humanity/Is the Leninist class-warfare humanity."<sup>151</sup> Always given to philosophical poetry, he now embraced Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Leonid Novyčenko sums up this conversion: "Chaos was always hateful for Bažan, particularly the chaos of confusion and despair. 'The will fixes the decision, form rises out of chaos,' And so his Communist builder enters the ruins and the image of this poem becomes the symbolic picture of the new day."<sup>152</sup> In 1935–37 Bažan wrote a long poem *Bezsmertja* (Immortality), about Kirov. It ends with the lines: "Live, immortal life./The life of the bolsheviks!"<sup>153</sup> During the war Bažan wrote *Stalinhreds'kyj zošyt* (The Stalingrad Notebook, 1943) and *Kyjivs'ki etjudy* (The Kyiv Etudes, 1945). After the war he traveled to England and Italy and left some very questionable impressions of both countries. Not until the 1960s did he return to his earlier muse.

Jurij Janovs'kyj's prose was often criticized in the 1920s for its romanticism. Now, having placed himself at the disposal of the regime, he used his earlier technique to write ideologically more appropriate works. In 1935 he published *Veršnyky* (Riders), a novel curiously reminiscent in both structure and tone of the earlier *Four Sabres*. In 1984 M. Ostryk wrote a comparison of the two novels.

In style, imagery, and general structure the author achieved unity between the legend and concrete historical reality, between the social psychology of the era and the precision of ideological evaluation. The military and historical panorama in this condensed heroic epic is much wider than in the *Four Sabres*. There are the battles between the partisan units and the red detachments, episodes of underground work in enemy camp, strategic leadership by the Party of the working masses, while among the heroes there are not only those created by the author's imagination, but also historic personalities, well-known revolutionaries, and prominent military leaders.<sup>154</sup>

In 1957, with the title *Les Cavaliers*, the novel appeared in French translation with a glowing preface by Louis Aragon. Janovs'kyj's play *Duma pro Brytanku* (A Duma About Brytanka) was published in Russian in 1937 and in Ukrainian a year later. It dealt with the revolution and the civil war. After the war, Janovs'kyj's novel *Žyva voda* (Living Waters, 1947) was severely criticized; it reappeared in radically revised form, entitled *Myr* (Peace), after the author's death. Also first in Russian, Janovs'kyj's play *Dočka prokurora* (The Procurator's Daughter) was performed in 1954, a week before his death.

Petro Panč continued writing propagandist prose. In the novel *Obloha noči* (The Siege of Night, 1932–35) he returned to the theme of civil war. V. Dončyk described Panč's style by stating, "his artistic experience from his earlier anti-bourgeois stories in the collection *The Blue Echelons*, particularly the unmasking of the negative characters, Panč depicts the multifaceted counter-revolutionary camp, all sorts of monarchists, bourgeois nationalists, anarchists, Mensheviks, all united by a fear of revolution, or simply opportunists and cowards who would rather wait and see what happens."<sup>155</sup> After the war Panč wrote a historical novel *Homonila Ukrajina* (Ukraine Was Humming, 1958) about Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and Maksym Kryvonis. According to Dončyk, "The Marxist-Leninist understanding of phenomena and social processes helped the author to depict correctly the class stratification among the Poles and Ukrainians and subtly stress the social and class elements in popular mass movement. Many striking episodes and portraits, as well as characters, convincingly confirm the belief about the age-long relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples and show how the idea of the re-unification of the two brotherly peoples was born among the masses."<sup>156</sup>

Three prose writers left unscathed by the purges were Smolyč, Kopylenko, and Holovko, who continued their activity in the 1930s and 1940s. Smolyč lampooned the "bourgeois nationalists" in *Po tej bik sercja* (On This Side of the Heart, 1930) and derided capitalism in *Sorok visim hodyn* (Forty-Eight Hours, 1933). *Ščo bulo potim* (What Happened Later, 1934) is propagandist science fiction. His autobiographical trilogy—*Dytynstvo* (Childhood, 1937), *Naši tajny* (Our Secrets, 1936), and *Visimnadcjatylitni* (The Eighteen-Year-Old, 1938)—was very popular, as was the autobiographical *Teatr nevidomoho aktora* (The Theater of the Unknown Actor, 1940). During and after the war Smolyč was a prolific journalist, expressing his venom for the nationalists. In 1953 he published an epic novel about the civil war in 1919, *Svitanok nad morem* (Dawn over the Sea). He continued writing until his death.

Oleksander Kopylenko wrote his novel *Narodžujet'sja misto* (A City Is Born) about the "socialist construction" in 1931–32. He also wrote novels for young people, one of which was *Duže dobre* (Very Good, 1936). He did not distinguish himself as a socialist realist writer either during or after the war. Andrij Holovko worked a long time on his novel *Artem Harmaš* (1951–60),

about the perennial topic of the struggle between the Communists and nationalists during the revolution. The evil spirit of nationalism had to be exorcised forever. A convert to socialist realism, Mykola Tereščenko, published several collections of poetry during the war, among them *Vinok slavy* (The Wreath of Glory, 1942). Yet he also continued writing sonnets and translating.

In 1933 Ivan Kočerha's philosophical play *Majstry času* (Masters of Time) was quite successful. His *Vybir* (The Choice, 1938) is a play on a topical issue of 1937, suspicion of treason. Its first performance was in Moscow in 1939, but afterwards the play was banned. It was not until 1944, under the impact of the war, that he wrote his greatest play, *Jaroslav Mudryj*, born "of a sharp feeling of the greatness of national traditions ... when his patriotism and national feeling became weightier in his creative life."<sup>157</sup>

Ivan Le continued writing about village life in a novel about the new Soviet woman, *Istorija radosti* (The Story of Joy, 1938). In 1940 he published a historical novel, *Nalyvajko*. Le found a "positive hero" in sixteenth-century Ukraine. This led him to write a trilogy *Xmel'nyc'kyj* (1939–64), which completed his career.

Apart from those writers who began their careers in the 1920s, many new faces entered the literary scene as Party controls were tightening, and distinguished themselves during the period of "socialist realism." They were often valued not so much for their talent as for their devotion to the Party. The most prominent of them, who became the leading playwright of the era as well as the commanding *apparatchik* of the Ukrainian branch of the Writers' Union was Oleksander Kornijčuk (1905–72). His first play, *Na hrani* (On Edge, 1928), showed his interest in the problems of the Soviet "creative intelligentsia," a subject to which he later returned. Fame came to him with his plays *Zahybel' eskadry* (Death of a Naval Squadron) and *Platon Krečet*, both appearing in 1934. While the former deals with the revolution and the civil war, the latter, in his own words, "demonstrated the rupture of human thought, free from mysticism and idealism, in the struggle for a new life."<sup>158</sup> The surgeon Platon Krečet is the embodiment of the new Soviet superman, the apogee of "sunny optimism, humanism, and patriotism." In 1938 Kornijčuk wrote the play *Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj*. As quoted from *Pravda*, the hero, "a brave and courageous man, well educated and a good diplomat, has met the expectations of his era, the longing of the people, and the thoughts and hopes of the working masses. The greatest human and statesmanlike achievement of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj was the Perejaslav Council (1654), which proclaimed the reunification of Ukraine with Russia."<sup>159</sup>

During the war Kornijčuk wrote a topical propaganda play, *Front* (1942), excerpts from which appeared in *Pravda*. In 1945 he wrote his "American" play, *Misija mistera Perkinsa v krajinu bil'sovykiv* (The Mission of Mr. Perkins into the Land of the Bolsheviks). The first signs of the post-Stalin "thaw" are

clearly seen in Kornijčuk's *Kryla* (The Wings, 1954), showing the old opportunist at his best. As the secretary of the Ukrainian branch of the Writers' Union for more than fifteen years, he dominated literary life and was richly rewarded with medals and honors.

A much more talented writer, of Jewish descent, was Leonid Pervomajs'kyj (1908–73), who was primarily a poet but who also wrote prose and plays. As a young member of the Komsomol he produced two collections of poetry, *Nova liryka* (New Lyrics, 1934–37) and *Barvinkovyj svit* (The Periwinkle World, 1937–39). "Pervomajs'kyj's poetry grew organically from the idea of the 'unique and immortal' time of the first five-year plans, the industrialization period, and the collectivization of agriculture, and therefore one can sense in it the aroma of the times, the rhythm of the epoch, the rhythm of work, of storm brigades in factories and collective farms, the pathos of the tempos. The poet's works are permeated by joy in the people's achievements in economic and cultural construction."<sup>160</sup> The true greatness of Pervomajs'kyj was not fulfilled until after 1953.

Another Jewish writer, writing in Ukrainian, was Natan Rybak (1913–78), who became known chiefly for his two novels, *Pomyłka Onore de Balzaka* (The Mistake of Honoré de Balzac, 1940) and *Perejaslavs'ka rada* (The Council of Perejaslav, 1949–53). The former was based on Balzac's relationship with Evelyn Hanska, and as critic V. Belajev describes, "truthfully depicts Balzac's errors and limitations. The author shows the power of money and Balzac's bourgeois enthusiasm for grandiose titles as well as his fruitless attempts to grow rich through speculation."<sup>161</sup> Belajev also wrote that the historical novel about Perejaslav depicts, predictably, "the brave struggle of the Ukrainian people shoulder to shoulder with their Russian brethren against foreign exploiters."<sup>162</sup> Even Soviet critics admitted that in doing this "Rybak solves the problem too simply, by forcing his heroes to deliver fierce tirades."<sup>163</sup>

A writer who began his career in the 1920s and who wrote about the village and the city proletariat was Jakiv Kačura (1897–1943). He also wrote the historical novel *Ivan Bohun* (1940), which B. Burjak described as "the first attempt in a Ukrainian historical novel to reveal, from the position of Marxist-Leninist science, the profound content of the re-unification of Ukraine with Russia and its historic role in the lives of the two fraternal peoples."<sup>164</sup> An interest in history and literary history was also shown by Leonid Smiljans'kyj (1904–66), the author of *Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj* (1940) and a play about Ivan Franko—*Mužyc'kyj posol* (The Peasant Deputy, 1945), and by Oleksander Il'čenko (1909–93), the author of a novel about Ševčenko, *Serce žde* (The Heart Awaits, 1939). Il'čenko also later wrote the best-seller *Kozac'komu rodu nema perevodu* (There Is No End to the Cossack Breed, 1944–47), the first successful Ukrainian "whimsical" novel. A writer of historical fiction who

served some time in the Gulag was Zinajida Tulub (1890–1964), the author of *Ljudolovy* (Men Catchers, 1934), which she revised three times. She continued her career in the 1960s.

A minor writer, Jakiv Baš (1908–86) was the author of the popular war thriller *Profesor Bujko* (1946), which he later adapted into a play. A writer who specialized almost entirely in the genre of juvenile literature, which was not exempt from propaganda, was Oles' Dončenko (1902–54). He produced more than 50 volumes. Kost' Hordijenko (1899–?) was an orthodox prose writer, author of the novels *Dity zemlji* (Children of the Earth, 1937) and *Čužu nyvu žala* (She Mowed a Foreign Meadow, 1940). Another “socialist realist” of some repute was Oleksa Desnjak (1909–42), the author of the novel *Desnu perejšly bataliony* (The Battalions Have Crossed the Desna, 1937).

Two prominent “socialist realist” poets were Teren' Masenko (1903–70), and Andrij Malyško (1912–70). Masenko specialized in eulogizing the Soviet “fraternal family of nations.” In 1937–38 he wrote a novel in verse, *Step* (Steppe). N. Nud'ha describes Masenko's style by stating, “The author, with great warmth and love, speaks of the beauty of the southern steppe, of the pleasant if somewhat naive figures of working peasants, their lives and customs. The fresh, changing colors, laid on without sharp contrast, and the soft lyricism, pathos, and humor in the depiction of his native land are used in the creation of this poetic work.”<sup>165</sup>

A talented lyricist, who had to fight many battles with the censor, was Andrij Malyško. His early collection of poems was *Bat'kivščyna* (Native Land, 1936). V. Ivanysenko wrote of Malyško's poems, “Throughout all Malyško's early works there appears the symbolic, generalized portrait of the land. The land, where a man was born, grew up, and learned to be happy. A free and joyful land, richly soaked with the blood of fathers and grandfathers. This land is the most beautiful, the richest, the most intimate in the world. The greatest happiness is to live on this native land, to enjoy its beauty and to make it more beautiful and wealthier. The rich, generous, free, and blooming land is a synonym for the Soviet fatherland.”<sup>166</sup> Ivanysenko thought Malyško's long poem *Prometej* (Prometheus, 1946) was the “synthesis of a new philosophy of life arising in a time of great trials [of war].”<sup>167</sup> In 1950 he published a collection of scurrilous verse about America, *Za synim morem* (Beyond the Blue Sea).

The period of the flowering of “socialist realism” (1932–53) was sterile as far as literary accomplishment in more universal sense goes. At best, many of the prominent works, praising Stalin and the Party, could be classed as a new hagiography, reminiscent of the medieval lives of the saints. In the twentieth century this was an anachronism. Much of this literature was kitschy and should be regarded as part of the popular culture. Under Stalin's rule Soviet society was transformed, but not as the glowing literary works portrayed it to

be—not towards greater humaneness and freedom. On the contrary, terror, coercion, and wholesale murder created, in the words of a Soviet writer in 1988, “an atmosphere of fear among both old and young. This could be explained by repression, unjustified accusations of our national writers, many court proceedings, silencing, and persecution.”<sup>168</sup>

Some slackening in the coercion occurred during the Second World War. Many writers were forcibly evacuated from Ukraine as the Germans advanced, but some managed to stay behind. Many joined the Red Army, and, in general, Ukrainian patriotism, although with a Soviet accent, was encouraged in literature. Immediately after the war hopes were expressed for greater artistic freedom. These hopes were soon dashed, however, when in 1946 Andrej Ždanov delivered his attack on the Russian journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*. In Ukraine, the Zhdanovist period of repression (1946–53) was also widely felt. The need for *partijnost'* (Party spirit) in literature was openly proclaimed and made compulsory. In this connection, in 1951 Sosjura was severely attacked for the poem “Ljubit' Ukrajinu” (Love Ukraine).

“Socialist realism” brought some new themes, favored by the Party, to Ukrainian literature. Among them was the obligatory subject of the “friendship of Soviet peoples.” Works by Ryl's'kyj, Bažan and many others belong to this category. There was an immediate response to the Second World War in the novels *Krov Ukrajiny* (Ukraine's Blood, 1943) by Vadym Sobko (1912–81) and *Praporonosci* (Standard-Bearers, 1946–48) by Oles' Hončar (1918–95). The reconquest of Western Ukrainian territories was portrayed in *Bukovyns'ka povist'* (Bukovynian Novel, 1951) by Ihor Muratov (1912–73) and *Nad Čeremošem* (Over the Čeremoš, 1952) by Myxajlo Stel'max (1912–83). Yet most literary works kept to well-worn themes: socialist construction in the cities, collectivization in the villages, with those old stand-bys—the revolution and civil war and the ever-present struggle against “bourgeois nationalism.” In all those works the positive hero shone, the “new Soviet man,” a Utopian creation if ever there was one. In the words of a prominent émigré critic, “from the perspective of the future, this twenty-year period (1930–50) will yawn like a dead vacuum. Maybe a line or a stanza here and there, or a paragraph of prose will be found, which will testify to the tragedy of men conscious of their talent who were unable to leave behind a whole work.”<sup>169</sup> Yet the enforced vision of revolution and social progress under Communism could not be openly questioned by anyone in Ukraine.

#### 4.

### THE THAW AND AFTER, 1953–72

Immediately after Stalin's death in March 1953, “socialist realism” was challenged in Russia. In Ukraine it took a little longer, but with Khrushchev's

secret speech about Stalin's crimes at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Ukrainian writers, too, began to deviate from the accepted norm.

In 1956, a lyrical autobiographical novel, *Začarovana Desna* (The Enchanted Desna), was published by Oleksander Dovženko (1894–1956). Dovženko, an original member of VAPLITE in the 1920s, was a world-famous film director. His film scenarios, some written in the 1920s, were reworked and first published as “film-tales” in the 1950s: *Zemlja* (Earth, 1955), *Arsenal* (1957), *Ščors* (1957), *Povist' polumjanyx lit* (A Story of Fiery Years, 1957), and *Ukrajina v ohni* (Ukraine in Flames, 1966). Dovženko lived in Moscow for many years, banned from Ukraine. His fascinating diary was published in censored form in the late 1950s, and not until 1988–94 were the deleted passages, critical of Stalin and Stalinism, made public. Maksym Ryl's'kyj wrote this about Dovženko's art: “Oleksander Dovženko was a widely talented man, calling to mind the artists of the Renaissance era. His love of sharp tones and contrasts, of the visible world with its limitless play of color and light and shadow, with its living beauty, made him akin to the artists of the Renaissance and to those of the Romantic era as well as all those who glorify the abundance of life.”<sup>170</sup>

A prose writer who came to prominence under Stalin but became a leader in his field after Stalin's death was Myxailo Stelmax. His novel *Velyka ridnja* (A Great Family, 1951), full of praise for Stalin, was reworked into another novel with a lugubrious title *Krov liuds'ka ne vodycja* (Human Blood Is Not Water, 1957), where all the passages about Stalin were simply deleted. His other “epic” works were *Xlib i sil'* (Bread and Salt, 1959) and *Pravda i kryvda* (Truth and Injury, 1961). In the novel *Čotyry brody* (Four Fords, written and rewritten in 1961–74), he attempted some mild criticism of Stalinism. Otherwise, his glorification of village life under Stalin's rule amounts, at best, to what Milan Kundera called “political *kitsch*”; at worst, to an obscenity.

An older writer who finally came into his own after Stalin's death was Leonid Pervomajs'kyj. His intimate, lyrical long poem *Kazka* (A Fable, 1958) was severely criticized. His philosophical play, *Včytel' istoriji abo odnonohyj soldat* (A Teacher of History or the One-Legged Soldier), written in 1956, was first published in 1995. His best work, oddly enough in prose, as Pasternak's *Doctor Živago*, is the novel *Dykyj med* (Wild Honey, 1962). Critic I. Koselivec' praised Pervomajs'kyj novel for both its style and accuracy.

This novel is without precedent in the entire canon of Ukrainian literature for its compositional structure. It deals with the difficult experience of Soviet men during the Ježov era and during the Second World War up to today. The author refused to tell the story chronologically. He shifts events unexpectedly in time and space, using different devices: reminiscences, diaries, unexpected meetings, etc. .... Such a novel could

only be written by someone who was thoroughly familiar with the contemporary European novel, particularly the French novel, which was strongly influenced by Marcel Proust. The dominant motif in Pervomajs'kyj's novel is the Proustian search for "lost time."<sup>171</sup>

After Khrushchev's speech to the Twentieth Party Congress some of the writers who had perished in the purges were rehabilitated (the dates were noted here), and those who were still alive among them—Vyšnja, Gžyc'kyj, Antonenko-Davydovyč—were allowed to return home. The rehabilitation was very selective and incomplete. The republished works were inevitably "selected," and many prominent writers—for example, Xvyl'ovyj, Pidmohyl'nyj—were still, for the time being, proscribed. Yet the result of this partial vindication of Stalin's victims was incalculable. Some older writers from the first generation of Soviet Ukrainian literature became human once more and strayed a little beyond Party control. Unfortunately, the ever-cautious Tyčyna was not among them. For him no return was possible to the earlier lyricism that made him famous.

Two other doyens of literature, Ryl's'kyj and Bažan, were capable of sensing and responding to the winds of change. Ryl's'kyj did this in a collection of verse, mentioned earlier, *Holosijivska osin'* (The Autumn of Holosijiv, 1959), and even more openly in a series of articles *Večirni rozmovy* (Evening Conversations, 1962), in which he welcomed the youngest generation of poets. Mykola Bažan recaptured some of his early glory in *Čotyry opovidannja pro nadiju; varijaciji na temu R. M. Rilke* (Four Tales About Hope; Variations on a Theme by R.M. Rilke, 1966). Jurij Smolyč, too, published several volumes of interesting and revealing memoirs about the 1920s: *Rozpovid' pro nespokij* (The Tale About Restlessness, 1968), *Rozpovid' pro nespokij tryvaje* (The Tale About Restlessness Continues, 1969) and *Rozpovidi pro nespokij nemaje kincja* (The Tale About Restlessness Has No End, 1972). Smolyč was reprimanded, however, for writing sympathetically about the "odious" personalities of the 1920s.

Several writers turned to historical themes, dealing with them less dogmatically than in the previous years. Among them was Semen Skljarenko (1901–62), author of *Svjatoslav* (1959) and *Volodymyr* (1962). and Pavlo Zahrebel'nyj (b. 1924), the author of *Dyvo* (A Marvel, 1968). Zinajida Tulub published a novel about Ševčenko's years in exile, *V stepu bezkrajim, za Uralom* (Amid the Limitless Steppes Beyond the Urals, 1964). Hryhorij Tjutjunnyk (1920–61) avoided the clichés of "socialist realism" in his novel about a collective farm, *Vyr* (Whirlpool, 1959–61). In the 1960s Vasyľ Kozačenko (1913–93) wrote a novel, *Koni voronji* (Raven Black Horses), in which he devoted a chapter to the famine of 1932–33. The novel remained

unpublished until 1988. A woman novelist of some distinction was Iryna Vil'de (1907–82). She wrote about family life and women. Her early work, *Metelyky na špyl'kax* (Pinned Butterflies, 1936), written before the Soviet occupation of Galicia, may be her best. Later she received a Ševčenko state prize for her novel *Sestry Ričyn's'ki* (The Ričyn's'ki Sisters, 1958–64). Two dramatists should be mentioned: Mykola Zarudnyj (1921–1991) and Oleksij Kolomijec' (1919–1991). *Planeta Speranta* (The Planet of Hope, 1965) by Kolomijec' attracted much attention. Oleksander Levada's *Faust i smert'* (Faust and Death, 1960) was another popular play in the sixties and seventies.

Oles' Hončar was born in 1918 and belongs to the recent generation of writers, although he was first published in 1938. His reputation as a fine prose writer was established by the trilogy *Praporonosci* (Standard-bearers, 1946–48). His celebrated novel *Ljudyna i zbroja* (Man and Arms, 1959) is described in a history of Soviet Ukrainian literature as follows:

Many novels about war have appeared in world literature during the last few decades. Man is depicted in many of these foreign works as a helpless, beaten creature. The hard life in the trenches, constant danger, the horror of war quickly destroy people, deaden their feelings, limit their interests. Recall, for example, Richard Aldington's novel *Death of a Hero* or Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*. In Hončar's novels as in all Soviet literature dedicated to war themes, the horrors of war and its evil are contrasted with the invincible force of humanity, encouraged in our citizens by the socialist way of life.<sup>172</sup>

Hončar's *Sobor* (The Cathedral, 1968) is a very different novel. At first it was favorably received, then violently attacked and banned, only to be republished in 1988. Hončar, a veteran "socialist realist," had committed the unpardonable sin of fanning nationalist passions. The novel, which is inferior in style, centers on the problem of a sense of historical awareness among some Soviet citizens whose small town is dominated by an ancient Cossack church. The cathedral becomes a symbol of the spiritual thirst of Ukrainians and of their national memory, which no amount of Communist ideology can quench. The novel prompted a spirited response in Ukrainian *samvydav* (clandestine publishing). During the era of *glasnost* Hončar became a staunch defender of language rights.

A radically new phenomenon, uncontrolled by the Party, was the appearance in the 1960s of a group of young writers labeled *šist'desjatnyky*, the sixtiers. The group must be seen as a result of the struggle of "children" against "fathers," a conflict that was not unknown in the socialist societies. The "sons" could not forgive their "fathers" for their humility towards Stalin, and they

themselves felt unburdened by the grim realities of the past. The sixtiers were mostly poets, and included Vasyl' Symonenko, Ivan Drač, Vitalij Korotyč, Lina Kostenko, and Mykola Vinhranovs'kyj. Stylistically they differed a great deal from one another, and did not form a single group. What united them was a new awareness of the function of poetry. They vigorously objected to the simplistic Soviet view of life and rediscovered human anguish and suffering as well as the fragility of human relationships. Their disenchantment rarely led them to a feeling of alienation. The forcefulness of their protests underscored their sense of engagement. Yet all paused to lift their voices to the level of "eternal scores" (Drač) and to "pass from soul to soul (from tongue to tongue) freedom of the spirit and the truth of the word" (Kostenko). Occasionally they succeeded. They did so in a language free from the clichés of the previous three decades, vibrant with new images and intricacies. Their achievement is all the more striking since it flew in the face of Khrushchev' pronouncements on literature in 1962, which tried to re-impose the straitjacket of *partijnost'*.

A poet who, because of a distinct and more traditional style, stood a little apart from the sixtiers, was Vasyl' Symonenko (1935–63). His first collection was *Tyša i hrım* (Silence and Thunder, 1962). *Zemne tjažinnja* (Earth's Gravity) appeared posthumously in 1964. A selection of his poems, some previously unpublished, and his diaries, *Bereh čekani'* (The Shore of Expectation), appeared in 1965 in New York. It may be regarded as the first appearance of Ukrainian *samvydav* abroad. It reveals Symonenko's great civic courage in openly denouncing in his poems the deep-seated vestiges of Stalinism. His uncompromising tone, his traditional style, and his deep love of Ukraine are reminiscent of Ševčenko. No wonder that long after his death from cancer he became a cult figure among young Ukrainians. In 1966 another collection of his verse appeared in Ukraine, but after that he was virtually banned. "It is unjust," wrote Mykola Žulyns'kyj in 1988, "to keep silent not only about the works of this poet, but also about his tragic fate. Symonenko was not destined to reach his full development and the literary milieu in Čerkasy [the poet's home town] was not favorable to creative flights..."<sup>173</sup>

The oldest of the sixtiers and the most talented was Lina Kostenko (b. 1930). Her first collection, *Prominnja zemli* (Earthly Rays), appeared in 1957. It was followed by *Vitryla* (Sails, 1958) and *Mandrivky sercja* (The Wandering Heart, 1961). The collection *Zorjanyj intehral* (The Starry Integral), although it was announced in 1963, never appeared, and for a long time Kostenko remained silent. A master of the laconic and often aphoristic phrase, she is basically a lyric poet. It is the quiet, exploratory, inward looking direction of her best poems that so delighted the reader and infuriated the official critic. Only very occasionally do Kostenko's poems criticize Soviet society, where she finds "many swindlers and skeptics," especially among writers who love

“glory and comfort” (“Estafety”). After a long silence, Kostenko re-emerged prior to the era of *glasnost*.

The most prominent of the sixtiers was Ivan Drač (b. 1936). In 1961 he published a long poem, *Niž u sonci* (Knife in the Sun), which created a sensation. It is a philosophical meditation on Ukrainian history, with the poet accompanied by the “eternal devil.” His first collection of verse, *Sonjašnyk* (Sunflower, 1962), confirmed his reputation as an intellectual poet of great originality. Drač’s power lies in the daring use of association. In a preface to the collection Leonid Novyčenko warned that this tendency might carry the poet beyond accepted Soviet norms and reflect his “deep break with reality.”<sup>174</sup> It is true that Drač’s thirst for discovering reality as it is, unvarnished by ideology, compels the reader to think independently. His other collections were *Protuberanci sercja* (Protuberances of the Heart, 1965) and *Do džerel* (To the Sources, 1972). Drač has also translated into Ukrainian some poems by Garcia Lorca, Norwid, Allen Ginsberg, and Voznesenskij. He continued to be published well into the era of *glasnost*.

Mykola Vinhranovs’kyj (b. 1936) came to literature via film. His talent was first noted by Oleksander Dovženko. His first poems attracted attention by their strong evocation of nature in Ukraine. The collections of poems were many, among them *Atomni preljudy* (Atomic Preludes, 1962) and *Sto poezij* (A Hundred Poems, 1967). Vinhranovs’kyj has also published collections of short stories.

Vitalij Korotyč (b.1936) is a physician by profession. His first collection of poems *Zoloti ruky* (Golden Hands), was published in 1961. Next came *Zapax neba* (The Scented Sky, 1962), *Vulycja vološok* (The Street of Cornflowers, 1963), and *Tečija* (Current, 1965). His poems ring with deep sincerity, which by itself, of course, does not guarantee excellence. He was a committed writer, was a member of the Communist Party, yet he is very sensitive to human problems. In 1965 he spent some time in Canada, describing the country in a reportage. His later career took him to Moscow as editor of *Ogonek*. Still later, while in the United States, he denigrated his former colleagues in Ukraine.

The young poets of the 1960s, according to B. Kravciv, “began a real revolution. Not only the patriotic and humanistic themes in their creative works were new, but the personal has been rehabilitated in poetry.”<sup>175</sup> An émigré critic published an anthology of sixty poets of the sixties<sup>176</sup> in which he listed many of those who joined this mass movement. Among them were Vasyl’ Holoborod’ko (b.1942), Volodymyr Javorivs’kyj (b. 1942), Ihor Kalyneč’ (b. 1939), Tamara Kolomijec’ (b. 1935), Roman Kudlyk (b.1941), Oles’ Lupij (b. 1938), Borys Mamajsur (b. 1938), Borys Nečerdá (b.1939), Petro Skunc’ (b. 1942), Leonid Talalaj (b. 1941), Robert Tretjakov (b. 1936), Mykola Vorobjov (b. 1941), Volodymyr Zatuljviter (b. 1944) and Iryna Žylenko (b. 1941). Most of them

continued to publish their works during the Brezhnev era and have survived until *glasnost*.

The most prominent prose writer among the sixtiers was Jevhen Hucalo (1937–95), one of the most talented short story writers of his generation. His collections were *Jabluka z osinn'oho sadu* (Apples from an Autumn Orchard, 1964), *Skupana v ljubystku* (Bathed in Lovage, 1965), and *Xustyna šovku zelenoho* (A Green Silk Kerchief, 1966). In one of his collections, *Peredžuttja radosti* (Intimations of Joy, 1972) he attempts to discuss some sensitive topics like religion and collaboration with the Germans during the war. Most of his stories deal with village life, but they deal with it in a manner that is not socialist-realist. M. Zulyns'kyi describes his focus as the “love of ordinary people, love of life in its not always visible complexity, a desire to discover the extraordinary in the ordinary, the festive in the everyday, the drama in comedy, and the life-affirming in tragedy. He shows great skill in creating an emotional atmosphere around a situation, the cobweb-like psychological picture of a good deed, the knowledge of an unseen logic in the movements of a character, the understanding and rewarding of an honest person, while unmasking the morally depraved.”<sup>177</sup>

In an interview Hucalo said “most significant period of my life was the second half of the 1960s, when I wrote the stories ‘Mertva zona’ (The Dead Zone), ‘Rodynne vohnyšče’ (The Family Hearth), ‘Sil’ski včyteli’ (Village Teachers), ‘Podorožni’ (Travelers), which I regard as objective, realistic prose ... I am sorry that I did not move in this direction further. The reason was noisy criticism that wounded me.”<sup>178</sup>

The new wave of writers was greatly helped by the partial rehabilitation and republication of writers who perished in the purges. Among them were Antonenko-Davydovyč, Bobyns'kyj, Čečvjans'kyj, Dosvitnij, Draj-Xmara, Epik, Gžyc'kyj, Johansen, Irčan, Xotkevyč, Kosynka, Kuliš, Kulyk, Kyrylenko, Mamontov, Mykytenko, Mysyk, Plužnyk, Poliščuk, Pylypenko, Škurupij, Slisarenko, Vlyz'ko, Vyšnja, Zahul, and Zerov. Among those denied rehabilitation were Xvyl'ovyj, Pidmohyl'nyj, Semenko, and Svidzins'kyj. The rehabilitation process was conducted half-heartedly. Usually, one selected volume of the purged writer's works was published in a limited edition. The facts and details of the purges were never released, but covered up with euphemistic phrases like “he left the ranks of Soviet literature.”

An important event in the late 1960s was the publication of an eight-volume history of Ukrainian literature. Volumes 6 and 7, which appeared in 1970 and 1971, covered Ukrainian literature up to the Second World War. The purges were not mentioned, but pages were devoted to those writers who later fell into disfavor—for example, seventeen pages to Xvyl'ovyj. This partial rehabilitation had lasting repercussions. The return of so many prominent names could not but stimulate to forces of renewal. Considering the severity of the repression in Ukraine, the

regeneration of literature in the 1960s was truly remarkable. It spilled over into the prohibited channels of *samvydav*, which fueled the dissident movement.

The dissident movement in Ukraine dates from 1964. In May of that year a fire destroyed a part of the collection of the library of the Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. A letter of protest was soon circulating in *samvydav*, blaming the KGB for instigating the fire. The document, like so many petitions, protests, and letters written in the next few years, demanded justice and freedom of speech, as well as criticizing the authorities for Russification and national discrimination. Some of the documents have literary and scholarly value. They stand on a par with works of poetry and fiction that also appeared in *samvydav*.

Foremost among the dissenters was the literary critic, Ivan Dzjuba (b. 1931), who in 1959 published a collection of essays, *Zvyčajna ljudyna čy miščany?* (An Ordinary Man or a Philistine?). In 1962 he wrote an open letter to the secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Šešest, and enclosed his treatise *Internacionalizm čy rusyfikacija?* (Internationalism or Russification?, published in English in London in 1968). Dzjuba was primarily concerned with securing the civil liberties and cultural freedom promised by Lenin. His call was for a drastic reform of the Soviet system along Leninist principles, which, he argued, had been corrupted by Lenin's successors. Dzjuba's masterful documentation of the Russification of Ukraine is the strength of the book. His first transgressions against the regime went unpunished because of his poor health and because Petro Šešest was half-inclined to listen to him. Later, however, these factors failed to keep him out of jail. Dzjuba's career continued after his recantation and has lasted well into the period of *glasnost* and after.

The first wave of arrests of dissidents occurred in 1965, when among others the critic Ivan Svitlyčnyj (1929–94), the historian Valentyn Moroz (b. 1936), and the writer Myxajlo Osadčyj (1936–94) were placed under arrest. The secret trials of these men, held in 1966, the year of the Sinjavskij-Daniel trial in Russia, attracted little attention abroad, but produced an important collection of documents, similar to Ginzburg's "white book," by Vjačeslav Čornovil (b. 1938)—*Lyxo z rozumu* (Woe from Wit, Paris, 1967, translated as *Chornovil Papers*, Toronto, 1968). The most interesting part of the collection deals with Soviet justice, or rather the lack of justice, well documented by specific cases, interrogations, and eyewitness reports, collected by Čornovil.

A promising literary critic whose works found their way through clandestine channels was Jevhen Sverstjuk (b. 1928), author of *Sobor u ryštuvanni* (Cathedral in Scaffolding, included in English in *Clandestine Essays*, 1976). This is a long essay defending and interpreting Oles' Hončar's novel *The Cathedral*, which touched on vital problems of Ukrainian history. Sverstjuk pursues Hončar's historical observations to their logical conclusion and discusses in trenchant terms the Ukrainian national character, Ukrainian servility

to foreign masters, and the absence of national pride in contemporary Ukraine. Yet his argument is not ultra-nationalist. He combines his concern for Ukraine with more universal themes of concern for ecology, education, and indeed, openness (*hlasnist'*). However, for Sverstjuk, as for Solženicyn in his Nobel Prize lecture, national literature has a moral and cognitive role to fulfill. Sverstjuk's essay on Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj, "Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj smijet'sja" (Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj Is Laughing) is a successful attempt to draw an analogy between the times of Kotljarevs'kyj, when the very existence of Ukrainian literature was threatened by Russia, and the present day, when it was once more in danger of succumbing to Soviet Russian osmosis.

The historian Valentyn Moroz was an essayist with distinct literary qualities. His *Reportaż iz zapovidnyka Beriji* (Report from the Beria Reservation, London, 1971) offers a superb analysis of totalitarianism, where everything is directed to produce a human cog (*hvyntyk*). Although at times reminiscent of Orwell, Moroz was an optimist, confident that his countrymen would allow themselves to be guided by *oderžymist'*, possessedness, or a national fanaticism. Later Moroz was arrested, spent some time in a camp, but was released and allowed to go to the United States. He currently lives in Canada.

Two writers who were arrested and whose works circulated only in *samvydav* were Ihor Kaly nec' and Myxajlo Osadčyj. Kaly nec' was the author of *Vohon' Kupala* (Kupalo's Fire), which was published in Kiev in 1966. Afterwards three collections appeared abroad: *Poeziji z Ukrajinjy* (Poems from Ukraine, 1970), *Pidsumovujučy movčannja* (Summing-Up Silence, 1971), and *Koronuvannja opudala* (The Crowning of a Scarecrow, 1972). With great poetic virtuosity Kaly nec' evokes nostalgia for the past and reflects on religion, love, and the process of history. His last collection is a series of religious meditations without the slightest ideological overtone. Osadčyj was the author of a striking autobiographical novel about a concentration camp, *Bil'mo* (Cataract, New York, 1976). A very promising young poet who shared Kaly nec's and Osadčyj's fate was Hryhorij Čubaj (1949–82), the author of a long Eliotesque poem "Vidšukuvannja pryčetnoho" (Search for an Accomplice). Čubaj's best collection of poems, *Hovoryty, movčaty i hovoryty znovu* (To Speak, To Be Silent, and To Speak Again) was published posthumously in 1990. After his release from the camp, the older writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovyč published a controversial novel about generational conflict, *Za šyrmoju* (Behind the Screen, 1963), and a book of reminiscences, *Z daleka i zblyz'ka* (From Far and Near, 1969).

In April 1972 Petro Šelest was removed from his position as first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. This signaled the end of the "thaw" and the tightening of controls on literature. In 1972 a second wave of arrests of dissidents swept across Ukraine. The victims were Sverstjuk, Stus, and many others, some arrested for the second time. The clandestine *Ukrajins'kyj visnyk*

(Ukrainian Herald), eight issues of which appeared, was discontinued. In the words of Valerij Ševčuk, who came into prominence a little later,

Let us recall the political arrests of 1965 and 1972, let us recall that the post-sixtier poets were deliberately excluded from literature and that therefore literary development was crushed. Some of the sixtiers—M. Vinhranovs'kyj, Ju. Ščerbak, I. Žylenko, V. Symonenko, and the present author were removed from the literary process; some found themselves behind bars—O. Berdnyk, V. Zaxarčenko, A. Ševčuk, I. Svitlyčnyj, V. Ruban, and others; the Ukrainian school of translators formed in the 1960s was destroyed; L. Kostenko remained silent. O. Hončar was ostracized because of his *Cathedral*, as well as B. Antonenko-Davydovyč for his journalism. Ukrainian literature was thus not in a state of stagnation, like Russian, it was in a state of pogrom.<sup>179</sup>

Was it possible to return, under the stagnating regime of Leonid Brezhnev, to Stalinism? Fortunately, not.

## 5. FROM STAGNATION TO RECONSTRUCTION, 1972-88

Both the ideological tendentiousness and the stultifying artistic sameness were seriously subverted by developments during the “thaw.” The Soviet reader, fed on a diet of “socialist realism” and saccharine Communist poetry came to savor a new and tastier menu. Contemporary literature, much of which remained unread, was suddenly supplemented by readable works. All this meant that despite the consolidation of power in the hands of Brezhnev and Suslov, the days of immaculate “socialist realism” were numbered. Certainly, the old tendencies never quite disappeared, and among the faithful “socialist realists” who churned out the familiar stuff were many writers—among them Vasyl' Bol'shak, Mykola Iščenko, Rostyslav Sambuk, and Jurij Zbanac'kyj and a host of others—who need not detain us. The poems about Lenin, the novels about civil war and collectivization, as well as about the Second World War heroism, continued to be written with the old Communist zeal. The perennial defamation of Ukrainian nationalists was still an important priority. “To fight against these traitors,” wrote Pavlo Zahrebel'nyj in 1981, “to unmask them before the entire world is one of the most noble tasks of our literature.”<sup>180</sup> One must never come to terms with the defeated enemy.

A good example of “socialist realism” with a new face is provided by the work of Vasyl’ Zemljak (1923–77), author of the award-winning novels *Lebedyna zhraja* (The Swan Flock, 1971) and *Zeleni mlyny* (1976). According to the official blurb with which all Soviet works were now provided, the novels, in the words of V. Dončyk, “portray a wide canvas that embraces the period from the first organization of communes to the victorious fulfillment of the great patriotic war.” Dončyk went on to say this “restructuring of the Ukrainian village” is described without any mention of the great famine, but in the manner “steeped with humor, some good irony, smiles, a broad application of relative skepticism, the use of mythology and allegory, and in general searching out more effective imagery and innovative form.”<sup>181</sup> It was not until 1988 that the deep cuts the novels were subjected to at the time of publication were revealed in the press. One of the editors of these editions, A. Skrypnyk, admitted that “they were forced to leave out of the work many of the author’s thoughts, some episodes, and even whole chapters that were unacceptable at the time.... In the chapter “Holodni koni” (Hungry Horses) Vasyl’ Zemljak tells of the famine of 1933, an event so tragic and so cruel that it cannot be omitted from the epic story of that time.”<sup>182</sup> Perhaps a revised edition with all the omissions restored, would enhance this work, which in its general thrust remains “socialist realist,” or perhaps it is beyond repair.

A more talented prose writer was Hryhir Tjutjunyk (1931–80), author of many collections of short stories. Among them are *Zavjaz’* (Buds, 1966), *Derevij* (Yarrow, 1969), *Bat’kivs’ki porohy* (The Parents’ Threshold, 1972), and *Xolodna mjata* (Cool Mint, in English, 1986). Like Čexov’s depiction of the barbarism of Russian village life, Tjutjunyk’s art focuses on the dark side of a Ukrainian village after the Second World War. O. Honchar wrote of Tjutjunyk as being, “Soft-spoken, and the possessor of a refined lyrical vision, Hryhir Tjutjunyk could often be scathing and ruthless. His stories breathe a withering sarcasm and scorn when he dwells on characters who disregard the moral standards of socialist society, defile their consciences and the wisdom of national traditions, and aspire to live the totally egotistical lives of grabbers and parasites.”<sup>183</sup> Tjutjunyk’s life, according to an article written by M. Slabošpyc’kyj published during Gorbachev’s thaw, “was devilishly hard, his writing difficult, followed by inevitable harsh strictures in print.... The nameless heroes of criticism looked at his texts with a magnifying glass, searching for ideological deviations and, upon them, thoroughly castrated him.”<sup>184</sup> Harassed and hounded, Tjutjunyk took his own life on March 5, 1980.

Jurij Ščerbak (b. 1934) is a physician who started writing prose in the 1960s. Among his works are *Jak na vijni* (As in Wartime, 1966) and *Malen'ka futbol'na komanda* (A Small Football Team, 1973). He is also the author of a major novel, *Barjer nesumisnosti* (The Barrier of Incompatibility, 1971), in which, according to M. Žulyns'kyj, he wanted to "show the role of contingency, illogicality, and unpredictability in human actions."<sup>185</sup> Ščerbak's work has strong existentialist overtones. Žulyns'kyj stated he also represents

The strengthening of the philosophical and ethical trend in artistic depictions of the world.... The human being had to be alienated for a time from reality in order to break the customary ways of looking at the world, to destroy the stereotypes and clichés. The use of the hyperbolic and grotesque, the introduction of fantastic images, folktales, and legends was implemented by a desire to stop for a while the uninterrupted process of life and to lead a character beyond his limits in order to evoke different reflections and thus stimulate the need for a philosophical reassessment of man and the world.<sup>186</sup>

Ščerbak took an active part in the ecological debates of the 1980s and wrote about the catastrophe at Čornobyl'. He is at present the Ukrainian ambassador in Washington.

Valerij Ševčuk (b. 1939) is another writer whose career suffered under Brezhnev's "stagnation." He is the author of *Naberežna 12* (12, The Esplanade, 1968), full of existential overtones, and *Večir s'v'jatoji oseni* (A Blessed Autumn Evening, 1969). During the 1970s Ševčuk concentrated on translating Ukrainian medieval and baroque texts into modern Ukrainian. In 1979 he published a collection of short stories, *Kryk pivnja na svitanku* (Cockcrow at Dawn), and a novel, *Na poli smyrennomu* (On the Field of Submission), in which he ventured into the supernatural. A great mythological prose achievement was *Dim na hori* (The House on the Hill, 1983). Then in 1986 he was awarded a prize for his fine historical novel, *Try lystky za viknom* (Three Leaves Outside the Window). Writing of Ševčuk's mythological, religious, and philosophical topoi, Marko Pavlyshyn argues:

Shevchuk has created readings of the past that are not guided by the beacon of state ideology, that do not reiterate the thesis of the beneficent centrality of Moscow, and that allude to a former wealth, autonomy, and dignity of Ukrainian culture.... Shevchuk is far more radical. He seeks an alternative to authority itself: escape from the world's structures; the baroque ideal most frequently invoked in the first two narratives of *Try lystky*, might well serve

as an emblem of his work as a whole. It is, therefore, with the purpose of transcending immutable and exclusive hierarchies of cultural values that Shevchuk's prose delivers to the reader materials that might help shape a new Ukrainian cultural identity or identities.<sup>187</sup>

"The novel *Na poli smyrennomu*," declared Ševčuk in an interview, "is to be the first in a cycle of historical tales (or novels, I am not sure of the definition) in which I want to trace the history of the human psyche (not in general, but the one that is dear to me) throughout the course of the history of my people.... Perhaps it will take my entire life to write this book."<sup>188</sup> Ševčuk has almost fulfilled his promise.

Another writer who could have said the same thing, but whose scope is much smaller than Ševčuk's, is Roman Ivanyčuk (b. 1929). His first historical novel *Mal'vy* (Hollyhocks, 1969), dealing with the problem of "janissarism" (loss of national memory), was severely criticized and subsequently banned. In an interview he declared, "the past is an inseparable part of our being; we always stand between the past and the future, as if in the center of a circle, and if the most terrible thing should happen—the loss of human memory—mankind would be unable to respond to the world, to pass on the experience it has gained, which is coded in love and hate, to the next generation, and therefore mankind would lose its future."<sup>189</sup>

Ivanyčuk's other historical novels were *Čerlene vyno* (Red Wine, 1977), about the siege of a castle in the fifteenth century; *Manuskrypt z vulyci rus'koji* (Manuscript from Ruska Street, 1979), about Lviv in the sixteenth century; *Voda z kamenju* (Water from a Stone, 1981), about Markijan Šaškevyč; *Četvertyj vymir* (The Fourth Dimension, 1984), about the Cyrillo-Methodian Mykola Hulak; *Šramy na skali* (Scratches on Rock, 1987), about Ivan Franko; and *Žuravlynyj kryk* (The Call of the Cranes, 1988), about the Zaporozhian *otaman* Kal'nyševs'kyj. The latter book appeared more than a decade after it was written. The novels of Ivanyčuk do not illustrate, but rather relive, history and have found a warm response among many readers. Recently he published some memoirs.

A novelist of wider range, but whose greater achievement is also in the historical genre, is Pavlo Zahrebel'nyj (b. 1924). Having started with propagandist novels against the West-*Evropa 45* (Europe-45, 1959), *Evropa-Zaxid* (Europe-West, 1961), and against the nationalists—*Šepit* (1966)—he moved on to history in his novel *Dyvo* (Marvel, 1968). The composition of *Dyvo*, which focuses on the construction of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, according to V. Faščenko, "resembles the architecture of the cathedral, which is imaginatively depicted in the novel. The unusual plans, transitions, additions, devil-may-care asymmetry, are hidden in purposefulness and harmony. Everything

resembles a native song.”<sup>190</sup> Faščenko stated that the overall tendency of the novel is “to show the indestructibility of national history, through which all that is good enters our spiritual heritage and favors the formation of the communist mentality of the Soviet man.”<sup>191</sup> However, Zahrebel’nyj’s narration touches on what, in Milan Kundera’s terms, a novel ought to do: “A novel examines not reality but existence.”<sup>192</sup> According to V. Dončyk the same is true of the three following novels: *Jevpraksija* (1974), *Roksoljana* (1979), and *Ja, Bohdan* (I, Bohdan, 1982). “*Jevpraksija* and *Roksoljana* led a fight to save their personalities, their dignity, their fate, and they excelled spiritually because they were victorious. This only happened because their struggle was nurtured by love for their native land, and the hope of seeing it helped them to preserve their personalities, prevented them from being absorbed by a foreign environment.”<sup>193</sup>

The novel about Bohdan Xmel’nyč’kyj created a great stir. Dončyk stated, “We have not seen any work like this in Ukraine. Disputes, confessions, polemics, philosophical generalizations, and human reflections—all this against a background of epochal historical events, in fact, in the thick of these events, which are portrayed not in objective sequence but transformed by the hero’s consciousness, interpreted in the light of painful questions, asked both of himself and the reader, considered from the point of view of the hero’s own times and from the pinnacle of our age.”<sup>194</sup> Although Xmel’nyč’kyj is still praised for the union with Russia at Perejaslav, he is also hailed as the creator of the Ukrainian nation. While acknowledging this, Marko Pavlyshyn persuasively states his caveat against the novel:

How should one evaluate the novel? It would be easy to take refuge in what is probably the most popular silent assumption of literary criticism: those works are good which are complex and erudite, and whose interpretation stimulates the critic to engage in a multitude of reflections. According to these criteria *Ja, Bohdan* is undoubtedly an important and valuable work. But to the reader who is used to the cultural and literary traditions of the West, the work will appear too dull and too slow. Its style and structure are masterly mannered, but the entire tone is solemnly serious, without the slightest playfulness, irony, or self-parody. The content offers nothing unexpected or novel. There are too few open problems that could lead to a wide discussion. All of the main questions have already received their definitive answers outside literature, and the novel serves only to elucidate them. True, this ritual apologia is performed with great skill. But it is a feature of medieval hagiography, not of the modern novel.<sup>195</sup>

In 1988 Zahrebel'nyj published a mildly controversial novel *Pivdennyj komfort* (Southern Comfort).

A writer whose great potential was only half-realized is Volodymyr Drozd (b. 1939). He is the author of two collections of short stories, *Maslyny* (Olives, 1967) and *Bilyj kin' Šeptalo* (The White Horse Sheptalo, 1969), and two novels, *Yrij* (Fantasy Land, 1974) and *Spektakl'* (A Spectacle, 1985). M. Žulyns'kyj described Drozd's contribution to Ukrainian literature when writing:

In the novels, novellas, and short stories of Volodymyr Drozd conscience is a kind of barometer that measures the pressure of the moral atmosphere of society, in a micro situation, in one's own awareness of the world, in one's thoughts, emotions, and actions. Conscience may be civic-minded and brave but it may also be helpless, it may capitulate before an irrepressible thirst for glory, well-being, blind careerism. Drozd meditates on the problems of bravery and the helplessness of conscience in his novellas *Balada pro Slastjona* and *Samotnij vovk*.... Volodymyr Drozd unmasked in an artistically original and civically uncompromising way widespread antisocial and amoral phenomena—opportunism, careerism, demagogic speculation in contemporary issues, and social parasitism. Using a form of monologue he “forced” the reality in the person of the narrator to condemn the appearance of “Slastionovism” to recreate the process of its upward rise and moral collapse. *Samotnij vovk* is permeated with the pathos of the dismemberment of the egocentric mentality and behavior of ... Andrij Šyšyha, who, through hypocrisy and opportunism, tries to reach the pinnacle of social well-being.<sup>196</sup>

In the novel *Spektakl'* Drozd tries to analyze the career of a Soviet writer. According to Žulyns'kyj, “There are many features in the spiritual and moral conformism of the writer Jaroslav Petrunja. No doubt, if he could, Petrunja would look back at his past and categorically say to himself: ‘It was there and then that I chose the path of compromise with conscience for ephemeral fame, comfort, official prestige, and so lost my soul.’”<sup>197</sup> It would be unjust to regard this and other works of Drozd simply as a mirror of contemporary Soviet society with its positive and negative aspects. His strength lies in the polyphonic, whimsical and grotesque form that makes his novels truly modern. Perhaps, in the atmosphere of *glasnost* he will write a truly great novel—this is within his reach.

Jurij Mušketyk (b. 1929) is the author of several popular novels written in the traditional, non-experimental style. Among them are the historical novels *Semen Palij* (1954) and *Jasa* (Radiance, 1987), about the Zaporozhian *košovyj*

Ivan Sirko. Sometimes his works are written in direct response to Party policy—for example, *Serce i kamin'* (Heart and Stone, 1962), outlining the new agricultural policy—or to a problem that the Party presents for discussion—as in *Den' prolitaje nad namy* (Day Passes Over Us, 1967), about Soviet youth. *Žorstoke myloserdja* (Cruel Mercy, 1973) is about German fascism.

L. Fedorovs'ka wrote in 1982, "The ability to gain self-knowledge and a correct evaluation of oneself is according to the author, not some relative objective, but a guarantee of eternal constructive effort, the object of which is man himself. To create oneself does not mean to change one's soul basically, to orient one's inner 'I' to something quite different, it means to achieve one's own personal level, to learn to live a moral life."<sup>198</sup> Mušketyk's concept of morality is, of course, Soviet, permeated with the ideals of collectivism and optimism. This he reveals in his "village prose" piece, *Pozycja* (Position, 1982), which was awarded a prize. The novel *Vernysja v dim svij* (Return to Your Home, 1981) and many of his short stories are dedicated to this "moral search." Mušketyk is a sophisticated "socialist realist," forever sensitive to the latest twist and turn of the Party line.

There are several prose writers of the second rank, who have become prominent in the past two decades. Among them is Oles' Lupij (b. 1938), who made his literary debut as a poet. In his novels and short stories, full of cardboard characters—*Hran'* (The Edge, 1968), *Vidlunnja osinn'oho hromu* (The Echo of Autumn Thunder, 1976), *Nikomu tebe ne viddam* (I Won't Give You Back to Anyone, 1984)—he depicts life in his native Western Ukraine. Lupij has also written film scenarios. Nina Bičuja (b. 1937) is a talented prose writer also from Western Ukraine. Bičuja has written stories for children as well as a collection of prose, *Rodovid* (Lineage, 1984), and a "novel-essay" about Kuliš and Kurbas, *Desjat' sliv poeta* (Ten Words of a Poet, 1987).

Yet another well-known writer from Western Ukraine is Roman Fedoriv (b. 1930), the long-time editor of the Lviv journal *Žovten'* (October, now renamed *Dzvin*, The Bell). He is the author of several collections of short stories and the novels *Zban vyna* (A Pitcher of Wine, 1968), *Kamjane pole* (Stony Field, 1978), and *Žorna* (Millstones, 1983). Especially evocative of the Galician past is the "novel-essay" *Tanec' čuhajstra* (Čuhajster's Dance, 1984). Despite occasional journalistic sallies against Ukrainian émigrés, Fedoriv, in the words of critic V. Kačkan, "represents a movement into history, historical memory, and the historic roots of the people."<sup>199</sup>

Stepan Pušyk (b. 1944) is a promising prose writer from Western Ukraine who wrote the short novel *Pero zolotoho ptaxa* (The Feather of a Golden Bird, 1978) and the historical "novel-essay" *Halyc'ka brama* (Galician Gate, 1988).

A Transcarpathian writer of some reputation is Ivan Čendej (b. 1922), author of many short stories and the novels *Ptaxy polyšajut' hnizda* (Birds Are Leaving Their Nests, 1965) and *Krynyčna voda* (Well Water, 1980). The

former novel attempts to show “how socialism came to a Transcarpathian village.” M. Žulyns’kyj wrote that Čendej “revealed a need to preserve a harmonious balance between the past and the present, the present and the future in natural, spiritual terms.”<sup>200</sup>

An original writer of great versatility is Volodymyr Javoriv’s’kyj. As well as some short stories and journalism he wrote the novels *Ohljan’sja z oseni* (Turn Back from Autumn, 1979), *A teper idy* (Now, Go, 1983), *Avtoportret z ujavy* (An Imaginary Self-Portrait, 1984), and *Druhe pryšestija* (The Second Coming, 1986). His art is “generous in laughter, jokes, humor, parody, burlesque, and fantasy.”<sup>201</sup>

Serhij Plačyndyda (b.1928) is the author of *Kyjivs’ki fresky* (Kyivan Frescoes, 1982) and a novelistic biography of Jurij Janovs’kyj (1986). He is at present an activist in the Ukrainian ecological movement and a deputy in parliament.

The poets of the era of stagnation did less well than the prose writers. The reasons were openly described by A. Makarov in 1988: “Gross administrative intervention in the literary process, artificial limitations placed on freedom of creation, and ruthless interference by a whole army of officials in purely literary affairs during the period of stagnation forced the poets to be very cautious, to watch out for the man with the briefcase, and to come to terms with conformism in their environment.”<sup>202</sup>

A prominent poet, who started her career in the 1960s, was Lina Kostenko, who had great difficulty with the censors in publishing her poems. Her historical novel in verse, *Marusja Čuraj*, appeared in 1979, but it was not acclaimed and awarded the Ševčenko prize until 1987. In 1980 she published a collection of poems *Nepovtornist’* (Not to Be Repeated), and in 1987, *Sad netanučyx skul’ptur* (The Garden of Unmelting Sculpture). Some of her poems (*Berestečko*), written in 1970, were published for the first time in the era of *glasnost*. Today, Kostenko is the undisputed reigning poet of Ukraine.

Platon Voron’ko (1913–88) was a Communist true believer who received many prizes for his collections of poems. Among them were *U svitli blyskavyc’* (In the Light of Lightning, 1968), *Zdvyh-zemlja* (Victorious Earth, 1976), and *Sovist’ pamjati* (The Conscience of Memory, 1980). In his imitations of folk poetry he remained an eternal optimist.

Stepan Olijnyk (1908–82) was known for his satiric verses directed against idle peasants and foreign imperialists. Some of his barbs hit out at Soviet philistinism in defense of “Communist morality.” A poet born in Western Ukraine, who sometimes attempted to go beyond “socialist realism,” was Dmytro Pavlyčko (b. 1929). His early nonconformism was seen in his collection *Pravda klyče* (Truth Is Calling, 1957), which was banned. Subsequent collections in the 1960s and 1970s included some good sonnets in *Bili sonety* (The White Sonnets), *Kyjivs’ki sonety* (Kyivan Sonnets), and *Sonety podil’s’koji oseni* (Sonnets of the Podillian

Autumn). *Istorija Ukrajins'koji Literary* wrote he is concerned with “eternal problems: good and evil, love and hate, life and death, labor, creativity, and human happiness.”<sup>203</sup> Pavlyčko is also known as a translator. In the era of *glasnost* he has become one of the leaders of Rux (Movement for Reconstruction) and has left the Communist Party.

A more orthodox poet is Borys Olijnyk (b. 1935), author of the collection *Vybir* (Choice, 1965), *Vidlunnja* (Echo, 1970) and many others. He has also written poems about Lenin. In *Zaklynannja vohnju* (Incantation of Fire, 1978) he lashed out against the United States.

A poet of the first rank, who was incarcerated in the 1970s and died in a concentration camp in Perm oblast, was Vasyl' Stus (1938–85). As a martyr he has become a cult figure in Ukraine. Collections of his poems were published in the West: *Zymovi dereva* (Trees in Winter, 1970), *Sviča v svičadi* (A Candle in a Mirror, 1977), and *Palimpsesty* (Palimpsests, 1986). After 1989 many of his poems were published in Ukraine, and at this writing a complete edition of his poetry is in preparation. Born of anguish and suffering in the camps, his poetry is directed at his homeland. In the words of George Shevelov, it is “unprogrammable poetry ... which can endlessly vary around the same theme and normally remains lyrical. Its richness lies in the variety of experience and in its intensity.”<sup>204</sup> Another critic, B. Rubchak, pointed out that Stus’s “prison poetry is permeated with Ševčenko’s thoughts, his power, courage, and rebelliousness.”<sup>205</sup> The impact of Stus’s poetry on the contemporary Ukrainian reader is very significant.

Several poets of the same generation—Holoborod’ko, Nečerda, Ruban, Žylenko, and others—had their best poems banned, censored, and mutilated. Another victim of the 1970s repression was the poet Mykola Rudenko (b. 1920). He was arrested in 1977 for founding the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. After serving a sentence in a camp he was allowed to emigrate to the United States, where most of his collections of poems were published. According to a critic, Rudenko’s poetry, pedestrian at first, showed some “richness in cosmological and philosophical themes.”<sup>206</sup> He was also the author of a novel *Orlova balka* (Eagle’s Valley, 1982).

Oles’ Berdnyk (b. 1927) began as a science fiction writer and ended as a Christian mystic. He spent many years in a concentration camp. Outstanding among his many books are *Okocvit* (Eye-Flower, 1970), and *Zorzanyj korsar* (Stellar Corsair, 1971). Some of his *samvydav* works—for example, *Svjata Ukrajina* (Sacred Ukraine, 1980)—have been published in the West.

An original poet who avoided a brush with Soviet law was Pavlo Movčan (b. 1939), the author of the collections *Kora* (Bark, 1968), *Holos* (Voice, 1982), *Žolud'* (Acorn, 1983), *Porih* (Threshold, 1988), and *Sil'* (Salt, 1989). “The basic concepts of his poetic text,” writes Ivan Džubja, “are movement, space and time—the prime elements of being. Concentration on these elements

is a mark of a philosophical poet."<sup>207</sup> In the era of *glasnost* Movčan has become politically active. The short-lived but vital liberal currents allowed some young poets (Vasyl' Herasymjuk, Ivan Malkovyč, Taras Fedjuk, Vjačeslav Medvid') to appear in print for the first time. They were the forerunners of the so-called "eightiers" (*visimdesjatnyky*).

By 1985 literature in Ukraine showed signs of new life. The approaching political crisis was to some extent foreshadowed by the decay of some literary works showing the need for a revival of the literary process. A national renewal was just around the corner.

## 6.

### WESTERN UKRAINE AND EMIGRATION, 1919–39

After the First World War some Ukrainian provinces remained outside Soviet Ukraine, under Polish, Czechoslovakian, and Romanian rule. Galicia, Volhynia, and Polissia came to be part of Poland; Transcarpathia, part of Czechoslovakia; and Bukovyna, part of Romania. In all these lands the development of Ukrainian language, education, and literature was hindered by various government measures. Yet, relatively speaking, these areas enjoyed greater creative freedom and an absence of direct political control. The most advanced in many respects was Galicia with its capital city of Lviv. Here, in the early 1920s, several literary groups sprang up.

A special place in Galician literature is occupied by those poets who were in the ranks of the Ukrainian *Sičovi Strilci*, the Ukrainian Sharpshooters. Lev Lepkyj, Roman Kupčyns'kyj, and others wrote poems that were often turned into songs. They were published in the journal *Šljaxy* (Pathways, 1915). Roman Kupčyns'kyj (1894–1976) was also the author of a prose trilogy, *Zametil'* (Snowstorm, 1928–30), and the humorous feuilletons that he published in *Dilo* (Deed) under the pen name Halaktijon Čipka. The long dramatic poem *Velykyj den'* (A Great Day, 1921) was less successful.

The modernist group Mytusa (the name of a legendary singer) was formed around the journal of that name published in 1922 and edited by Vasyl' Bobyns'kyj, who later emigrated to Soviet Ukraine. Apart from Bobyns'kyj, Škrumeljak, Holubeč, and Pidhirjanka, a prominent poet of the group was Oles' Babij (1897–1975), author of several collections of poems: *Nenavyst' i ljubov* (Hate and Love, 1921), *Hniv* (Anger, 1922), *Hucul's'kyj kurin'* (The Hucul Detachment, 1928), and erotic verses *Za ščastja omanoju* (Happiness Through Delusion, 1930). He gradually abandoned modernist verse in favor of patriotic poetry and prose. A remarkable anti-war novel *Poza mežamy bolju*

(Beyond the Limits of Pain, 1922), was written by Osyp Turjans'kyj (1880–1933).

Among the Galician writers in the 1920s were many Sovietophiles. They centered around the journals *Novi šljaxy* (New Pathways, 1929–32), *Krytyka* (1933), and *Vikna* (Windows, 1928–32). One of the foremost among them was Antin Krušel'nyč'kyj (1878–1935), whose major works appeared before the First World War and who came to the pro-Soviet camp via the nationalist route; he was a cabinet minister in the Ukrainian People's Republic. In 1934 he emigrated to Soviet Ukraine, only to be arrested a year later.

Jaroslav Halan (1902–49), who also belonged to a Sovietophile group Horno, was a journalist and pamphleteer rather than a serious writer. Among his plays are *Don Kixot z Etenhajma* (Don Quixote from Ettenheim, 1927) and *99%* (1930). He was assassinated by a Ukrainian nationalist.

Stepan Tudor (1892–1941) was the author of the novels *Marija* (1930) and *Den' otcja Sojky* (The Day of Father Sojka, 1932–47), an anti-Vatican tirade. Oleksander Havryljuk (1911–41) wrote a short story, *Najivnyj muryn* (The Naive Black Man, 1930), and Petro Kozlanjuk (1904–65) was the author of the collection of short stories *Xlops'ki harazdy* (The Peasant Woes, 1927) and the trilogy *Jurko Kruk* (1934–56). On the whole, this group of writers left behind little of merit, except in journalism and satire.

To counter the Sovietophiles two nationalist groups of writers appeared, with a much larger following. The first of them was Lohos (Logos), the organization of Catholic writers (most Western Ukrainians were Greek-Catholics). Their leader was the critic Hryhorij Lužnyč'kyj (1903–90). From 1930 to 1939 works by members of Lohos were published by the journal *Dzvony* (Bells), edited by Mykola Hnatyšak and Petro Isajiv. This journal also published the works of the talented prose writer, Natalena Koroleva (1888–1966), who lived in Czechoslovakia. She wrote the historical prose works *Vo dni ony* (Once Upon a Time, 1935), *1313* (1935), and *Lehendy starokyjivs'ki* (Ancient Kyivan Legends, 1942–43). Her last novel, *Quid est Vevitas*, was republished in Kyiv in 1996 to much critical acclaim.

Works of the best poet of the entire generation, Bohdan Ihor Antonyč (1909–37), a native of the Lemko region, were also published in *Dzvony*. Antonyč's collections of poems were *Pryvitannja žyttja* (Greetings to Life, 1931), *Try persteni* (Three Rings, 1934), *Knyha Leva* (The Book of the Lion, 1936), *Zelena jevanhelija* (The Green Evangelium, 1938), and *Rotaciji* (Rotations, 1938). The imagist poetry of Antonyč is summed up by Bohdan Rubchak:

From his second book onward, Antonych was carefully orchestrating every collection by excluding much more material than he included. His selections were not motivated by quality alone, since some of the poems that were left out are obviously better than many of those which made it into the books. They were motivated by the

*persona* that Antonych was carefully constructing—the *persona* of the poet as Orpheus. The haunting poem “The Home Beyond a Star” is its crowning chord. This poem proclaims the unity of earth and horizon, of immediacy and distance, of transcendence and immanence. But above all it proclaims the unity of poetry and the world.<sup>208</sup>

The great beauty of Antonyč’s poems was instantly recognized by both critics and readers. After 1939, however, he was declared to be a “bourgeois nationalist” and his works were banned in Soviet Ukraine until 1967, when a collected edition was published in Kyiv. In the same year the collected works of Antonyč appeared in New York, and in 1966 in Bratislava. Now his reputation in Ukraine seems to be secure.

A group of poets with a decidedly nationalist orientation gathered around the journal *Visnyk* (The Herald, 1933–39), edited by a distinguished critic, the father of Ukrainian “integral nationalism,” Dmytro Doncov (1883–1973). The leading poet of this group, Jevhen Malanjuk (1897–1968) was born in Xerson province in eastern Ukraine and served as an officer in the army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic. He emigrated in 1920, and in the period between the wars lived mostly in Prague and Warsaw. His collections of poetry include *Stylet i stylos* (Stiletto and Stilo, 1925), *Herbarij* (Herbarium, 1926), *Zemlja i zalizo* (Earth and Steel, 1930), *Zemna Madonna* (The Earthly Madonna, 1934), and *Persten’ Polikrata* (The Ring of Polycrates, 1939).

Even in his first collection, *Stylet i stylos*, Malanjuk threw down the gauntlet to everything coming from Russia and to everything weak and feeble in the Ukrainian psyche. He contrasted the strength, manliness, and will of the Ukrainians with their weaknesses, their love of singing, their mawkishness and love of peace, comparing these characteristics to Rome on the one hand to Greece on the other. The poet must [according to him] form his nation, building in the hearts of his readers a firm and uncompromising national consciousness.... Yet a poet of Malanjuk’s stature would not do so by being merely a fighter, a builder, or an ideologue. He must also talk of the universal, that is, of the personal. Malanjuk is conscious of this Janus-like bifurcation and sometimes mentions it in his works. At a time when the poet as a tribune must be strong, proud, and dedicated to his ideal—the poet as human being is conscious of his solitude, his helplessness in the face of the universe.<sup>209</sup>

Malanjuk continued writing during the second emigration to the United States. A writer who regularly contributed to *Visnyk* but who lived in Germany was the old neoclassicist Jurij Klen (pseudonym of Osval'd Burkhardt, 1891–1947). In 1937 he published a long poem *Prokljati roky* (The Cursed Years). He continued to write after the Second World War.

Bohdan Kravciv (1904–75), who belonged to a secret organization of Ukrainian nationalists, lived in Lviv and was a member of the *Visnyk* group. His collections of poems were *Doroha* (The Way, 1929), *Promeni* (Sun Rays, 1930), and *Sonety i strofy* (Sonnets and Stanzas, 1933). “Kravciv’s first two collections are neoromantic. Artistically he comes close to the poetry of Vlyz’ko, Janovs’kyj, and the early Ryl’s’kyj. These works are full of optimism, a desire to travel, a longing for distant exotic lands. One can see here the ‘vitaism’ of Soviet poetry of the 1920s and 1930s on the one hand, and the optimism, voluntarism, and some formal features of the Visnykists, like Malanjuk, on the other.”<sup>210</sup> In his third collection Kravciv emerged as an accomplished neoclassicist. After the war he continued his career in the United States.

A scholarly young archeologist who became a distinguished poet, ideologically close to *Visnyk*, was Oleh Ol’zyč (1908–44). Son of the modernist poet Oles’, he lived in Prague and later became one of the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist underground. His collections of verse are *Rin’* (Gravel, 1935), *Veži* (Towers, 1940), and *Pidzamča* (1946). In his poetry “purely romantic themes, permeated by heavy symbolism, are curbed by the frame of the classical form. His best poems tell of mankind’s past, of the prehistory and early history of Western civilization.”<sup>211</sup> In 1944 Ol’zyč was tortured to death by the Nazis. Today he is a cult figure in Ukraine.

Ol’zyč’s tragic fate was shared by another talented poet, Olena Teliha (1907–42), who lived in Prague and Warsaw and contributed to *Visnyk*. She was shot by the Germans. A collection of her verse, *Duša na storožy* (A Soul on Guard), was published posthumously in 1946. Teliha, whose poetry is a strange mixture of nationalist fervor and feminine emotion, is now being idolized.

A poet of great stature, who lived in Prague but was published by *Visnyk*, was Oleksa Stefanovyč (1899–1970). His collections are *Poeziji* (Poems, 1927) and *Stephanos I* (1938). “All Stefanovyč’s works demonstrate the great range of his talent, the wide horizons of his scanty *oeuvre*, underlined by sharp contrasts. The flowering and ripening of nature is opposed to a world-destroying desert. There is the richness, full-bloodedness, and eroticism of life, as well as the bony, Holbein-like dances of death. There are hymns to a woman’s body and clear mystical visions.”<sup>212</sup>

Among those poets who emigrated to Central Europe there was, for a while, a “Prague school.” A prominent member of this group, besides Teliha and others,

was Jurij Darahan (1894–1926), the author of a single collection, *Sahajdak* (A Quiver, 1925). A leading star, who was also a talented sculptor, was Oksana Ljaturyns'ka (1902–70). Her collections of poetry were *Hušla* (Psaltery, 1938) and *Knjaža emal'* (Princely Enamel, 1941). A superb craftsman, Ju. Ševel'ov wrote Ljaturyns'ka had a vision “of an ancient separateness of Ukrainian spirituality, which showed itself best in folk art and which she believed must be preserved at all costs. Ljaturyns'ka saw this spirituality as ‘pantheism’, an ideal world view, the search for eternal values, rooted in one’s own soul, which create a new world.”<sup>213</sup>

A Prague poet who followed a “lyric-Epicurean” philosophy was Mykola Čyrs'kyj (1903–42), the author of the collection *Emal'* (Enamel, 1941). Lavro Myronjuk (1887–?) was a very talented émigré poet who met a tragic fate. He spent most of his time in mental hospitals in Prague and Vienna. He did not publish a collection of verse, and most of his poems that have survived were saved by his friends. Many of his themes are religious, and his metaphors are very forceful and sometimes surrealist. Some critics compare him to Kafka.

Another center of émigré writers was Warsaw. Here Jurij Lypa (1900–44) formed the group called Tank. A physician and an amateur scholar, Lypa left three collections of poetry: *Svitlist'* (Radiance, 1925), *Suvorist'* (Sternness, 1931), and *Viruju* (Credo, 1938). He is an original poet, but his main achievement lies in his prose: the novel *Kozaky v Moskoviji* (Cossacks in Muscovy, 1934), short stories in *Notatnyk* (Sketchbook, 1936–37), and essays *Bij za ukrajins'ku literaturu* (The Battle of Ukrainian Literature, 1935) and *Pryznačennja Ukrajiny* (Ukraine’s Destiny, 1938). In his prose works Lypa preached integral nationalism with racial overtones. He was tortured to death by the Communists.

The leading poet of the Warsaw group was Natalija Livyc'ka-Xolodna (b. 1902), the author of masterly erotic poems in *Vohon' i popil* (Fire and Ashes, 1934) and patriotic verse in *Sim liter* (Seven Letters, 1937). In the 1930s she belonged to a group called My (We) in Warsaw, which centered around the magazine of that name. Livyc'ka-Xolodna reached the apogee of her fame as a poet in her old age in the United States.

A literary magazine published in the 1930s in Lviv, *Nazustrič* (Encounter), provided a platform for some Galician writers. The leading theoretician of the group was the brilliant literary critic Myxajlo Rudnyc'kyj (1889–1975), the author of poems, *Oči ta usta* (Eyes and Mouth, 1932); of short stories, *Nahody i pryhody* (Occasions and Adventures, 1929); and of essays, *Vid Myrnoho do Xvyl'ovoho* (Between Myrnyj and Xvyl'ovyj, 1936). The best poet in the group was Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj (1906–93). Hordyns'kyj was the prolific author of the collections *Barvy i liniji* (Colors and Lines, 1933), *Buruny* (Storms, 1936), *Slova na kamenjax* (Words on Stones, 1937), *Viter nad poljamy* (Wind over the Fields, 1938), *Lehendy hir* (Legends About Mountains, 1939), and *Sim lit* (Seven

Years, 1939). The editors of *Koordynaty* wrote of Hordyns'kyj's style by stating, "In Hordyns'kyj's poetry one can see, on the one hand, great erudition and, on the other, wide interests. In other words he is an eclectic poet. We find in his rich poetry several types crossing and separating, but never merging. It is, therefore, difficult to talk about his creations as a complete monolithic poetic world."<sup>214</sup> Hordyns'kyj, an accomplished painter, was also known as a translator and an amateur scholar.

Jurij Kosač (1909–90) was an original talent in prose, poetry, and drama. He lived in Warsaw and Paris. His collections of poems were *Čerlen'* (Redness, 1935) and *Myt' z majstrom* (A Moment with the Master, 1936). There were also collections of novellas—*Sonce sxodyt' v Čyhyryni* (The Sun Rises in Čyhyryn, 1934) and *Dyvymos' v oči smerti* (We Look Death in the Eyes, 1936)—and short stories—*Čarivna Ukrajina* (Enchanting Ukraine, 1937) and *Klubok Arijadny* (Ariadne's Knot, 1937). According to *Koordynaty*, "Jurij Kosač is a versatile writer. His works, in many genres, are permeated with his restless personality and a colorful, though sometimes journalistic, style. Yet often he leaves his work unfinished and displays too many literary influences. As a result, his achievement, although sometimes brilliant, is rather uneven."<sup>215</sup>

The most promising novelist in Galicia in the 1930s was Ulas Samčuk (1905–88), the author of a trilogy, *Volyn'* (Volhynia, 1932–37). The work according to B. Kravciv, "portrayed the collective image of a young Ukrainian at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, who is trying to find a place for Ukraine in the world and for her cultural and national development."<sup>216</sup> Samčuk's other novels were *Kulak* (The Fist, 1932), *Marija* (1934), and *Hory hovorjat'* (The Mountains Are Speaking, 1934). His career as a novelist continued less successfully after 1946.

Leonid Mosendz (1897–1948) was a chemist by profession and lived in Czechoslovakia. He was a minor poet, author of the collection *Zodijak* (1941), and also wrote a short novel *Zasiv* (Sowing, 1936). His major novel appeared later. The modernist novelist Bohdan Lepkyj (see earlier chapter) was very popular in Galicia through his historical fiction. Other historical novelists published in Galicia during this period were Andrij Čajkovs'kyj (1857–1935), Osyp Nazaruk (1883–1940), and Julijan Opil's'kyj (1884–1937). Especially noteworthy are Nazaruk's novels *Roksoljana* (1930) and *Jaroslav Os'momysl* (1920), and Opil's'kyj's *Idu na vas* (I March Against You, 1918). Another historical novelist, Katrja Hrynevčeva (1875–1947), was the author of *Šolomy v sonci* (Helmets Under the Sun, 1929). The prose writer Halyna Žurba (1888–1979) began her literary career in the pre-revolutionary *Ukrajins'ka xata*. She wrote the novels *Zori svit zapovidajut'* (Stars Announce a Dawn, 1933) and *Revoljucija ide* (A Revolution Is Coming, 1937), and in 1975 her engaging autobiography was published.

To sum up, one can say that in the period between the wars Ukrainian writers west of the river Zbruč were less productive but more fortunate than those in Soviet Ukraine. The region produced one truly major poet, Antonyč, but lagged behind Soviet Ukraine in innovative prose. The stamp of emigration, with its nostalgia for and idealization of Ukraine, was a characteristic of the work of many writers in Prague and Warsaw, overshadowing whatever contacts they might have had with Central and Western Europe—for they kept in touch with Paris, Berlin, and Rome, not to mention Vienna. Most Western Ukrainian writers, with the exception of Sovietophiles, were nationalist and anti-Communist in their ideology. There were frequent crossings of swords with their Soviet counterparts: Malanjuk versus Sosjura, Doncov and Xvyl'ovyj. The future of "greater Ukraine" moved their feelings more than anything else and often outweighed artistic considerations. It all came to an abrupt end in 1939, with the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the U.S.S.R. Only the émigré writers, now strengthened by the influx of new refugees from Soviet occupation, defiantly continued their isolation from their native land.

## 7.

### THE SECOND EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA, 1945–90

World War II brought untold suffering to the Ukrainian people. Their territory and population were ravaged by both the Wehrmacht and the Red Army. Politically and militarily Ukrainian resistance to German and Russian occupation showed itself in partisan warfare (UPA). With the exception of some significant insurgent poetry, throughout the hostilities literature remained silent about the war-torn territories.

After the war, in 1945, a group of Ukrainian refugees formed an organization called *Mystec'kyj ukrajins'kyj rux* (MUR), in Fuerth, Germany. It was headed by Ulas Samčuk, with Jurij Šerex (the pseudonym of George Y. Shevelov) as his deputy. The organization held three conventions and published three MUR collections. According to the chief ideologist of MUR, Jurij Šerex, "the initiators of MUR thought that the path to world recognition lay solely in the unique, organic, and inimitable originality of Ukrainian literature. Hence came its declaration to serve, in an accomplished form, its people and thereby win authority in world art."<sup>217</sup>

At the same time, members of MUR tried to steer clear of émigré politics. Their concept of a national literature with its own style has been sharply attacked recently by G. Grabowicz.<sup>218</sup> Yet it is possible to point to solid literary achievements of MUR in the short period of 1945–49. In prose, Jurij Kosač

contributed a historical novel *Den' hnivu* (The Day of Anger, 1948); Dokija Humenna (b. 1904–96) wrote a trilogy, *Dity šumac'koho šljaxu* (Children of the Milky Way, 1948–51); Leonid Lyman (b. 1922) published excerpts from a novel, *Povist' pro Xarkiv* (A Tale About Kharkiv, English translation 1958); Ivan Bahrjanyj (1907–63) offered a successful novel of adventure, *Tyhrolovy* (The Hunters and the Hunted, 1946; English translation 1954); Viktor Domontovych produced a long story *Doktor Serafikus* (1947), as well as a superb modernistic novel *Bez gruntu* (Rootless, 1948); and Ulas Samčuk published an autobiographical novel *Junist' Vasylja Šeremety* (The Youth of Vasył Šeremeta, 1946–47). Samčuk's novel about the great famine, *Temnota* (Darkness, 1957), was published in the United States. In the field of drama, *Dijstvo pro Jurija peremožcja* (A Play About Jurij the Conqueror, 1947) by Kosač and *Blyznjata šče zustrinut'sja* (The Twins Will Meet Again, 1948) and *Dijstvo pro velyku ljudynu* (A Play About a Great Man, 1948) by Ihor Kostec'kyj (1913–83) should be mentioned. Kostec'kyj's plays are very innovative.

The DP (Displaced Persons) poets were especially active. Older ex-Soviet poets wrote some fine works: for example, *Poet* (The Poet, 1947) by Todos' Os'mačka and *Popil imperij* (Ashes of Empires, 1946) by Jurij Klen. Klen also wrote a short book of memoirs, *Spohady pro neokljasykiv* (Memories of the Neoclassicists, 1947). A major new poet, Vasył Barka (b. 1908), emerged among the refugees from Eastern Ukraine. As a DP he published two collections of poems: *Apostoly* (The Apostles, 1946) and *Bilyj svit* (A White World, 1947). B. Bojčuk and B. Rubcak described Barka's poetry: "Barka's *Weltanschauung* is based on two traditions: an ascetic, Slavic, and beneficent, biblical religion on the one hand, and a sensual love for the colorful riches of life, perhaps originating in folklore, on the other."<sup>219</sup>

Another newcomer, the brother of Mykola Zerov, was Myxajlo Orest (1901–63), author of the collection of poems *Duša i doljac* (Soul and Fate, 1946). Ivan Bahrjanyj published the collection of poems *Zolotyj bumerang* (The Golden Boomerang, 1946) and Bohdan Nyžankivs'kyj (1909–86) the collection *Šedrist'* (Generosity, 1947). Ostap Tarnavs'kyj (1917–93) produced *Slova i mriji* (Words and Dreams, 1948), Ihor Kačurovs'kyj (b. 1918) wrote the collection *Nad svitlym džerelom* (On the Bright Water Well, 1948) and Jar Slavutyč (b. 1918) wrote *Homin vikiv* (The Echo of Centuries, 1946). Oleh Zujevs'kyj (1920–96) was the author of *Zoloti vorota* (The Golden Gate, 1947), Myxailo Sytnyk (1920–59) of *Vidlitajut' ptyci* (The Birds Are Flying Off, 1946), and Leonid Poltava of *Žovti karuseli* (Yellow Carousels, 1948). Bohdan Kravciv's selected poems were entitled *Korabli* (Ships, 1948).

By 1949 MUR had stopped functioning. A new emigration, beyond the Atlantic, awaited most of the DP writers. They must, therefore, be judged as émigrés who preserved some of the best traditions of Ukrainian literature and often looked back rather than ahead.

Before we leave the European scene and follow the émigrés to the United States and Canada, where most of them were destined to live, it is necessary to glance at that part of the Ukrainian territory that had remained outside the Soviet Ukraine—the Presov region of Eastern Slovakia. After 1945 this area underwent gradual Ukrainization, leaving behind both Russian and Rusyn literary and linguistic influences. In 1951, by Party decree, Ukrainian was introduced into Transcarpathian schools in Slovakia as the language of instruction. About the same time new literary magazines were founded, among them *Duklja* (a quarterly after 1953, a bimonthly after 1966). Literary life was enlivened by the so-called Prague Spring, when the literary movement was led by a talented critic and scholar, Orest Zilyns'kyj (1923–76). After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 this momentum was lost.

Several poets in Transcarpathia deserve to be mentioned. Vasyl' Grendža-Dons'kyj (1897–1974) started writing poetry in the 1920s. Among his very traditional collections are *Šljaxom ternovym* (Along a Thorny Path, 1924–64) and *Misjačni hruni* (The Moon's Hills, 1969). He also wrote plays and novels. Fedir Lazoryk (b. 1913) was the author of *Slovo hnanyx i holodnyx* (The Word of the Hungry and Persecuted, 1949). Ivan Macyns'kyj (1922–87), whose first work had been in Russian, published *Prystritnyky* (Encounters, 1968). Jurij Bača (b. 1932) was imprisoned following the invasion of 1968. The most promising poet of the younger generation was Stepan Hostynjak (b. 1941), the author of *Proponuju vam svoju dorohu* (I Propose My Way to You, 1965) and several other collections.

Among the prominent Transcarpathian prose writers were Vasyl' Zozuljak (b. 1909), the author of the epic trilogy *Neskoreni* (Unconquered, 1962–73), Myxailo Šmajda (b. 1920), the author of *Triškat' kryhy* (The Ice Is Breaking, 1958), and Jeva Biss (b. 1921), whose short stories were collected in *Sto sim modnyx začisok* (One Hundred and Seven Modern Hairdos, 1967) and *Apartment z viknom na holovnu vulycju* (Apartment with a Window Facing Main Street, 1969). Orest Zilyns'kyj commented on her work:

Nevertheless this is prose in which the central place is occupied not by the story line, not by the narration of events, but by the creative discovery of the inner world of the protagonists.... There is an interest in the social topic, a meaningful, well-developed story, and a desire to unravel the wider contexts of reality. Firstly, she enlarges the thematic sphere, successfully showing the life of the pre- and post-war intelligentsia; secondly, she gives this a new psychological dimension, raising the common human images to a common denominator of important moral ideas.<sup>220</sup>

Other prose writers from Transcarpathia were Vasyl' Dacej (b. 1936) and Josyp Selepec' (b. 1938). No outstanding playwrights came from that region.

The shores of the New World proved hospitable to the second wave of émigré writers. They dispersed across the North American continent and settled in cities, chiefly New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. Although they eked out a modest existence (they were used to that), they found the time to write and to publish. They clung to familiar themes and continued their writing careers undisturbed. Some were past their prime, but others achieved new fulfillment. Like most émigré writers of other nationalities, Ukrainian poets and prose writers, living in an "encapsulated community," were little affected by their new North American cultural milieu which to them remained very much Ukrainian. Only a little later did the situation alter.

The doyen of émigré poets, Jevhen Malanjuk, published several collections of poetry—*Vlada* (Power, 1951), *Ostannja vesna* (The Last Spring, 1959), and *Serpen'* (August, 1964)—as well as two volumes of incisive essays, *Knyha sposterežen'* (A Book of Observations, 1962–66). In his poems the old apocalyptic vision of Ukraine remained unaltered. His pamphlets on Little-Russianism, Bolshevism, and Mazepa are full of stimulating ideas.

Bohdan Kravciv published two collections of verse, with untranslatable titles, in the United States: *Zymozelen'* (1951) and *Dzvenyslava* (1962). His collected works in two volumes appeared in New York in 1968–70. The poems of the prolific Vasyl' Barka appeared in several collections: *Okean* (The Ocean, 1959), and *Lirnyk* (The Lyre Player, 1968). He also wrote prose—*Žovtyj knjaz'* (The Yellow Prince, 1963) about the great famine (translated in 1981 into French). A monumental four-volume cycle of poems, *Svidok* (Witness) was published in 1981. Strikingly different from the rather conventional poets of the diaspora was Zinovij Berežan (1920–68), a professional physician (and an accomplished bandurist), whose posthumously published poems appeared in a small edition of the collection *Na okrajinox noči* (On the Edges of Night, 1977).

Todos' Os'mačka wrote a novel about the collectivization of agriculture, *Plan do dvoru* (A Plan for the Court, 1951), and a collection of short stories, *Rotonda dušohubciv* (A Rotunda of Murderers, 1956). He also translated Shakespeare and Oscar Wilde. Leonid Mosendz's greatest work, his novel dealing with Hebrew history, *Ostannij prorok* (The Last Prophet, 1960), was published posthumously.

Ivan Bahrjanyj, who remained in Western Europe, published in 1950 a novel about a Soviet prison, *Sad hetsymans'kyj* (The Orchard of Gethsemane, which appeared in a French translation and was also republished in Ukraine in 1990). Ihor Kačurovs'kyj, who also stayed in Europe, wrote some excellent

prose: *Šljax nevidomoho* (The Path of the Unknown One, 1956), *Dim nad kručeju* (The House on the Cliff, 1966), as well as some translations.

Oleh Zujevs'kyj, who emigrated to the United States and later to Canada, issued the collection of poems *Pid znakom Feniksa* (Under the Sign of the Phoenix, 1958). He is a translator of Emily Dickinson, Rilke, Mallarmé, and Stefan George. Jar Slavutyč published his collected poems *Trofeji* (Trophies, 1963) in Canada. He also translated Keats. Oleksa Veretenčenko wrote two collections of poems: *Dym vičnosti* (The Eternal Fire, 1951) and *Čorna dolyna* (Black Valley, 1953). Natalija Livyc'ka-Xolodna went to the United States, where she published a volume of late poems, *Poeziji stari i novi* (Poems Old and New, 1986), which drew praise from George Shevelov.

Jurij Kosač, living in New York, joined a Sovietophile circle. He continued to publish some good prose, such as the historical novels, *Volodarka Pontydy* (Regina Pontica, 1987), *Suzirja lebedja* (The Constellation of the Swan, 1983), and *Čortivs'ka skelja* (The Devil's Rock, 1988). Another prose writer, Ulas Samčuk, published a book of war memoirs, *Pjat' po dvanadcjatij* (Five Past Twelve, 1954), and two somewhat less successful novels, *Na tverdij zemli* (No Solid Land, 1968), and *Čoho ne hojit' vohon'* (What Fire Doesn't Heal, 1959). The old émigrés were showing some signs of exhaustion. Most valuable, however, were the collected editions of such writers as Klen, Kravciv, and Ljaturyns'ka.

A new generation of poets, born in Europe in the late 1920s and 1930s but hardly classifiable as émigrés, came to the fore in the United States in the late 1950s and the 1960s. Their works differed radically in style and structure from those of their predecessors. Their experience was of the New World, with only an occasional echo of the homeland. Some of them formed the so-called New York Group of Poets and published their works under the group's auspices as well as in the journal *Novi poeziji* (New Poems). Among the founders of the group, which had no organizational structure, were Emma Andijevs'ka, Bohdan Bojčuk, Patricia Kilina, Bohdan Rubčak, Jurij Tarnavs'kyj, Ženja Vasyl'kivs'ka, and Vira Vovk. They were united "by a common desire for renewal in literary expression. All the members of the New York Group had their own individual interests and each created in his own way, without any obligation to adhere to a program."<sup>221</sup> The innovation that the group brought to Ukrainian literature was not only linguistic but ideological. They downgraded provincialism and opened up new vistas to the outside world.

The most avant-garde writer in the New York Group, who later lived in West Germany, was Emma Andijevs'ka (b. 1931). Her first poems were greeted with both great approval and severe disapproval. Her publications are *Narodžennja idola* (Birth of an Idol, 1958), *Ryba i rozmir* (Fish and Measurement, 1961), *Pervni* (Elements, 1964), *Bazar* (Market Place, 1967), *Pisni bez tekstu* (Songs Without Text, 1968), *Nauka pro zemlju* (Earth Sciences, 1975), and *Vigiliji* (Vigils, 1987). An early critic noted that "Andijevs'ka has created

a world of her own ... a world that is rarely beautiful and moving. As with children's painting one can apply to her Cvjetajeva's words about Pasternak: a complete opening—only an opening into a different world and under a different sky than Pasternak.... The world and the sky reveal themselves to Andijevs'ka as unique; her poetry is international or, if you will, universal."<sup>222</sup> Andijevs'ka's great originality in the use of language and poetic structure is not limited to her poetry. Her novels, notably *Herostraty* (Herostratoses, 1971), *Roman pro dobru ljudynu* (A Novel About a Good Person, 1973), and *Roman pro ljuds'ke pryznačennja* (A Novel About Human Destiny, 1982), have won critical acclaim.

Ženja Vasyľkivs'ka (b. 1929) published a single collection of verse *Korotki viddali* (Short Distances, 1959). Patricia Kilina (b. 1936), of non-Ukrainian origin, learned the language well enough to write three collections of verse: *Trahedija džmeliv* (Tragedy of the Bumblebees, 1960), *Lehendy i sny* (Legends and Dreams, 1964), and *Roževi mista* (Pink Cities, 1969). Her philosophical poetry is very different from that of Vira Vovk (b. 1926), a professional linguist and professor of literature in Rio de Janeiro. Vovk's collections include *Čorni akaciji* (Black Acacias, 1961), *Ljubovni lysty knjažny Veroniky do kardynala Džovanni Batisty* (Love Letters of Princess Veronica to Cardinal Giovanni Battista, 1967), and *Kappa Xresta* (Kappa Crucis, 1969). She has also written Ukrainian and Portuguese poems in *Mandala* (1980), *Tryptyx* (Triptico, 1982), and *Svjatyj haj* (Bosque Sagrado, 1983), and the prose works *Duxy i derviši* (Ghosts and Dervishes, 1956) and *Vitraži* (Stained Glass Windows, 1961). Vovk is a very prolific writer and translator. In many of her works—for example, *Ikonostas Ukraïny* (The Iconostasis of Ukraine, 1988)—she shows her abiding interest in her native land.

The leading poets among the men of the group were Bohdan Bojčuk, Bohdan Rubčak, and Jurij Tarnavs'kyj. Bojčuk (b. 1927) is the author of *Čas bolju* (A Time of Pain, 1957), *Spomyny ljubovy* (Memories of Love, 1963), *Virši dlja Mexiko* (Verses for Mexico, 1964), *Mandrivka til* (Journey of Bodies, 1967), *Virši vybrani i peredostanni* (Poems Selected and Next to Last, 1983), and a long poem, *Podorož z učytelem* (Journey with a Teacher, 1976). His plays *Dvi dramy* (Two Dramas, 1968) consist of *Holod-1933* (Famine-1933) and *Pryrečeni* (Doomed). A selection of his poetry in English translation, *Memories of Love*, was published in 1989.

An original talent in poetry was shown by Bohdan Rubčak (b. 1935), whose collections are *Promenysta zrada* (Bright Betrayal, 1960), *Divčyni bez krajiny* (To a Girl Without a Country, 1963), *Osobysta Klio* (A Personal Clio, 1967), and *Krylo Ikarove* (The Wing of Icarus, 1983). In 1989 a Soviet Ukrainian magazine (*Žovten*) published a selection of Rubčak's poetry, with the following appreciation, stressing the poet's "ability to preserve his spiritual core, his roots among many cultural influences.... The hero of Rubčak's poetry is a man

of contemporary urban culture, in a world of a hundred mirrors, the 'dove-colored sky' of the street, not the 'blue sky of the spring,' full of nostalgia, capable of resurrecting 'the miracle of forgotten deities,' to enliven the old roots of Slavic mythology, the indestructible elements of family and people."<sup>223</sup>

Jurij Tarnavs'kyj (b. 1934), a scientist by profession, is the author of *Žyttja v misti* (Life in a City, 1956), *Popoludni v Pokipsi* (Afternoon in Poughkeepsie, 1960), *Idealizovana biohrafija* (An Idealized Biography, 1964), *Bez Espaniji* (Without Spain, 1969), and the short novel *Šljaxy* (Pathways, 1961). "Of the entire New York Group Jurij Tarnavs'kyj has, perhaps, the fewest forerunners, especially in Ukrainian or general Slavic literature. Ukrainians have in him not only a very talented poet, but also an envoy to the modern congress of poets, who often create in two languages and consciously reject any peculiarities determined by their national roots." In 1970 Tarnavs'kyj published his collected poems in one volume, *Poeziji pro niščo i inši poeziji na cju samu temu* (Poems About Nothing and Other Poems on the Same Subject). His English novel *Meningitis* appeared in 1978. Recently he published another novel in English.

Outside the New York Group the following contemporary poets deserve to be mentioned: Marta Kalytovs'ka (1916–90), Jurij Kolomyjec' (b. 1930), and Lida Palij (b. 1926), who has recently received the Tyčyna award in Kyiv. Some excellent poetry continues to come from the pen of Oleh Zujevs'kyj.

The least developed literature in the diaspora is in Australia, where an older prose writer, Dmytro Nyčenko (pseudonym Čub, b. 1905) and the satirical poet Zoja Kohut (b. 1925) have published their work.

The post-modernist era has not yet produced any outstanding writers in the diaspora. A host of young men and women continue to write and publish quasi-modernist poems, some in English but most in Ukrainian. In the latest wave of Ukrainian writers in the diaspora the following have made a name for themselves: Roman Baboval (b. 1950 in Belgium), the author of *Podorož poza formy* (Travel Beyond Forms, 1972), *Nišni perekazy* (Evening Legends, 1987), and *Pamjat' fragmentarna* (Fragmentary Memory, 1994); Marija Revakovyč (b. 1960 in Poland, now in the United States), the author of *Z miška mandrivnyka* (From a Traveler's Bag, 1987) and *Šepotinnja, šepotinnja* (Whispering, Whispering, 1989); Myxajlo Myxajljuk (b. 1946 in Romania), author of the novel *Ne vir kryku niščoho ptaxa* (Don't Trust the Call of the Night Bird, 1981); Ivan Kovač (b. 1946 in Romania), author of *Žyttja bez komy* (Life Without a Coma, 1986); Mykola Korsjuk (b. 1950 in Romania), author of a collection of short stories *Čužyj bil'* (Alien Pain, 1985); Tadej Karabovyč (b. 1959 in Poland), author of *Volohist' zemli* (Dampness of the Soil, 1986); and Jurij Havryljuk (b. 1964 in Poland), author of *Neherboviji genealohiji* (Genealogies Without a Crest, 1988). A special place in the diaspora is held by a Soviet Ukrainian immigrant to Germany, Mojsej Fišbejn (b. 1946), author of *Zbirka bez nazvy* (Without a Title, 1984). So far, nothing truly outstanding has been written in Australia, with the exception of the memoirs

of Nytčenko. In Canada several published authors of Ukrainian descent—among them Myrna Kostash, Ted Galay, and Andrew Suknaski—are writing in English. In the United States, Askold Melnyczuk's novel *What Is Told* (1994) was praised by the *New York Times*.

The existence of the New York Group purified Ukrainian literature. Questions have been raised about parallel literary developments in Ukraine and the diaspora. There are few similarities except for the general striving here and there to rediscover the function of poetry. Since 1988 many poets of the diaspora have been published in Ukraine. This is more than a symbolic gesture of cultural unity. It is an acknowledgment of the end of the enforced isolation of Soviet Ukrainian literature and its re-admission to a European home. Despite some political and economic uncertainties in Ukraine the future of Ukrainian literature seems at the moment assured. It has received much help from the emigration and the diaspora.

## 8.

### THE ERA OF GLASNOST, 1987-90

The literary developments of that era must, once more, be seen in the light of the political events that had transformed Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The engineer of these changes was Mikhail Gorbachev, who came to power in 1985. Two years later, in announcing his plan of *perestrojka*, restructuring, and *glasnost*, openness, he declared: "I agree that there should be no forgotten names or blank spots in either history or literature. Otherwise, what we have is not history or literature but artificial, opportunistic constructs."<sup>24</sup> This quotation was seized upon in Ukraine and indeed in the entire Soviet Union by those who wanted to restore "forgotten names" and fill the "blank spots" in literature. Gradually it has led to the widespread, almost complete rehabilitation of those writers who perished in the 1930s. In Ukraine it has meant the restoration of hundreds of names, this time including Mykola Xvyľ'ovyj, Valerijan Pidmohyl'nyj, Myxajlo Semenko, and many others who were still banned in the 1960s. The destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 1930s has come to be viewed as similar in nature to the destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry in the man-made famine of 1932-33 in which seven million peasants were said to have perished.

One of the questions that was raised was just how many writers actually were destroyed. Unexpected help in estimating the losses came from a Russian source. In 1988, a Russian researcher, Eduard Beltov, published the results of his study of the purges of all Soviet writers; of these, "almost 500" came from Ukraine (see earlier chapter). Beltov's staggering figure may be a little inflated. My own research showed 254 writers as victims of the purges. Later,

in 1989, Mykola Žulyns'kyj gave the total approximate figure as 300.<sup>225</sup> In 1989 *Literaturna Ukraïna* began publishing weekly listings and short biographies of the victims of repression. The grim task still continues today. It is to be followed by the republication of the banned works, if the supply of paper allows it.

Among the many republished or newly discovered works, some have particular human and intellectual rather than artistic interest. In this category are Sosjura's reminiscences, Xvyl'ovyj's article "Ukraïna ťy Malorosija" (Ukraine or Little Russia), Hryhorij Kočur's publication of some early poems by Tyčyna, and letters from the Gulag by Zerov and Pidmohyl'nyj. Very little of value has come from the meager literature "for the drawer" (written but unpublished under Stalin and Brezhnev). The state of cultural deprivation is greater today in Ukraine than in Eastern Europe. It has not been relieved by the discovery of old losses. True, some memory and reverence for the European high culture has survived, ironically enough, just when this high culture is being questioned by political correctness in the free societies of the West.

In 1986, at the Congress of Writers, important ecological and national issues were debated in the wake of the Chornobyl disaster. At the end of 1987 an important conference was convened by the Academy of Sciences in Kyiv and the Ukrainian Writers' Union, setting out guidelines for the restoration of the literature of the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>226</sup> The rehabilitation of writers has spread to the pre-Soviet period. Not only have the prominent writers of the nineteenth century—for example, Pantelejmon Kuliš and Borys Hrinčenko—been republished, but the Ukrainian modernists of the twentieth century, such as Oles' and Voronyj, have been returned to their readers as well. Literary scholars and critics have begun to rewrite the history of Ukrainian literature from a non-Soviet point of view. This is not always easy, but genuine attempts are being made at an objective evaluation. A history of Ukrainian literature in two volumes, published in 1988, was severely criticized for its old stereotypes. The first two volumes of the *Ukrainian Literary Encyclopedia*, in Ukrainian, (1988, 1990) contained many entries for writers hitherto banned as well as information on many émigré writers. These are good signs of a determined drive to re-evaluate the literature of the past. Unfortunately, the publication of the remaining volumes of the encyclopedia has been stalled by adverse economic conditions.

The years 1989 and 1990 saw intense political activity in Ukraine, in which many writers were involved. Ivan Drač, Dmytro Pavlyčko, Volodymyr Javorivs'kyj and others came to head the People's Movement in Ukraine for Restructuring, known as Rux, an umbrella organization of reform-minded and democratic individuals. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, no longer underground, was part of it. Rux adopted an openly nationalist platform, espousing full Ukrainian sovereignty. In cultural matters it pleaded for the restoration of the Ukrainian heritage and for independence from Moscow. In some ways Rux's orientation was similar to that of

VAPLITE; a leader of Rux, Drač, admitted that he was following in the footsteps of Xvyl'ovyj.<sup>227</sup> The fact that the political leadership of the reform movement was largely in the hands of writers bears a striking resemblance to the situation in 1917.

The new atmosphere of openness and free discussion has been very stimulating for the flow of new ideas, but less for creative writing. Many authors, busy with politics, had no time or desire to write. There is, therefore, a hiatus in literary creativity, which especially affects the older writers. Ukraine has never lacked poets, however, and some of the younger ones are full of promise. A new label—*visimdesjatnyky* (the eightiers)—has been attached to them, and they all seemed to share a bent towards the personal lyric. Without attempting to evaluate them, I list the following: Jurij Andrukhovych (b. 1960), Natalka Bilocerkivec' (b. 1954), Pavlo Hirnyk (b. 1956), Oleksander Hrycenko (b. 1957), Viktor Kordun (b. 1946), Oleh Lyšeha (b. 1949), Viktor Neborak (b. 1961), Oksana Paxlovs'ka (b. 1956), Mykola Rjabčuk (b. 1953), Volodymyr Cybul'ko (b. 1964), Oksana Zabužko (b. 1960), and above all, Ihor Rymaruk (b.1958). Bohdan Rubčak, a perceptive critic, comments:

The younger poets of our time present a tremendous variety of styles, techniques, and thematic fields. One may even say that such variety is almost too dizzying. This is especially evident in the various critical texts—manifestos of sorts—where one direction seems to replace another almost as quickly as literary theories replace each other in the West. The young poet Natalka Bilocerkivec', for example, assures us that the young poets who made their debuts in the mid 1980s are now hopelessly antiquated, to be presently replaced by a "new wave."<sup>228</sup>

Rubčak distinguishes the "philological" poets as well as the creators of the "poetry of statement," and ends with this observation: "It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that dozens of poems published in periodicals last year were devoted to the danger in which the Ukrainian language finds itself today. We have also seen strong passages, or entire poems, devoted to the hymning of the language as such. The language of poetry, in particular, is glorified as the only salvation in our world—the only love that will never betray."<sup>229</sup>

The following were the best collections of poetry at the time: *Ikar na metelykovyx krylax* (Icarus on the Wings of a Butterfly, 1990) by Vasyl' Holoborod'ko, *Pohuljanka odyncem* (Walking Alone, 1990) by Mykola Vorobjov, *Zemlja* (Earth, 1898) by Gennadij Moroz, *Dyrygent ostann'oji svičky* (The Conductor of the Last Candle, 1990) by Oksana Zabužko, and *Xymera* (Chimera, 1989) by Vasyl' Ruban. The poets Oleh Lyšeha and Jurij Andrukhovych also wrote prose, and together with Jevhen Paškova and Volodymyr Dibrova showed a

great deal of promise. According to critic Oksana Zabužko, “the unexpected appearance of new and maturing prose is a most interesting phenomenon, completely new in its artistic thought and view of the world.”<sup>230</sup>

Of great benefit to Ukrainian literature was the recent publication in Ukraine of some émigré writers, hitherto denounced as “bourgeois nationalists.” Among them were Jurij Klen, Jevhen Malanjuk, Oleh Ol’žyč, Olena Teliha, and many others. Many writers living and writing in the diaspora also appeared in print in Ukraine. The artificial “iron curtain” for decades dividing the homeland and the emigration has been torn down. Some Ukrainian scholars living in the West appeared in print in Soviet Ukrainian journals. Many Ukrainian writers have visited the United States and Canada. The Ukrainian chapter of PEN International included both Soviet Ukrainian and émigré writers.

Looking back at almost a century of Ukrainian literature, one is struck by the great changes, reflecting the political upheavals in the country. Unprotected by any national laws, constantly harassed by the police, with readership intimidated by the country’s oppressors, the writers fought a defensive battle for survival. At times, during the Stalin era, it seemed that even survival was uncertain. The role that literature assumed, as it did in the nineteenth century, of protecting human and national rights, drew it away from artistic pursuits. Yet the modernists’ call to serve “pure beauty” was never abandoned. There were always some writers who tried to follow that path. Many, however, were forced to write programmatic works that now seem valueless. The corruption of some of the most talented writers who had to serve the Communist Party was a sad testimony not so much to human frailty as to the effectiveness of terror. There is ample evidence that while some were subdued but not conquered, many prostituted their art in the service of an ideology. The ravages of this moral decay will not disappear quickly.

Understandably writers, once freed from political controls, will turn to the neglected topics of recent history with all its traumas. Already this trend is in evidence, with many prose works and poems dedicated to the famine of 1932–33. There is, indeed, a whole host of themes, hitherto forbidden, which may now be appealing. There may, however, be also disenchantment with politics and history altogether, and this may provide a stimulus for the exploration of the self or for ecological concerns, which, after Chornobyl, are uppermost in many minds. In either case, the new literature may also be fantastic or surrealist or existential rather than plainly realistic.

The recent climate of renewal during the era of *glasnost* has revived hopes for the free development of literature. This is what most writers in this century either secretly or openly desired. However, freedom imposes responsibilities

that many were yet unable or unwilling to undertake. The organizational structure of the Writers' Union called for radical reform, if not outright abolition. Yet there was a certain reluctance to step out of this Stalinist structure. Only the future will tell if a return to an earlier and happier time, when there were many groups and circles of writers, is possible. The heritage of command and monopoly was hard to shake. Literary bureaucrats were still alive and well.

The recent links with the diaspora forecast an end to a long period of isolation. Not much has been said in these pages about those who, under difficult circumstances, have tried to keep in touch with foreign literatures: the translators. Some of them, for example—Mykola Lukaš, Hryhorij Kočur—are now viewed as having performed a heroic task. More translations from foreign literature are on the way; the journal *Vsesvit* (Universe) has been dedicated exclusively to translation. Recently, this valuable publication, a true center of intellectual life, celebrated its 50th anniversary. Zerov's and Xvyl'ovyj's calls for a pro-Western orientation are no longer despised. The heritage of the émigré writers from Western Europe and America is now cherished and acknowledged. Yet, in the perceptive words of the Australian critic, Marko Pavlyshyn, a real change in cultural attitudes was still far off:

The hagiographic quality of writing about literature, especially in encyclopedia articles, biographical compendia and general histories, had been especially marked during High Stalinism and again in the 1970s. Literary history read like an account of the same ideologically sound person writing the same ideologically sound work over and over again. This, of course, has now changed. Not only are there new biographical motifs which, if invoked, signify favorable evaluation of a given writer by the critic or historian (books banned by the censorship, obstruction of publication, editorial mutilation, conflicts with officialdom and the KGB, even imprisonment), but the biographies themselves have become more factual, individualized, realistic and lively. The [[literary] iconostasis, one might observe, is evolving from its Byzantine to its Baroque form. In particular, the central salvation narrative which the iconostasis illustrates is being modified: it no longer beckons toward the classless society, or the happy community of nations fused into one under the benign inspiration of the great Russian people....

What happens to the new members of the iconostasis? They tend to be frozen into static poses, like everyone else. The rehabilitated from the 1920s and 1930s—Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Mykola Khvylovy, the neoclassicists Mykola Zerov, Mykhailo Drai-Khmara and Pavlo Fylypovych, the émigré Oleksander Oles, to name only the most prominent— are, for the moment at least, being treated as holy objects. Their names are honored (often by inclusion in long lists of newly honorable names), their life stories are told, and the nature of their conflict with the Soviet state and its inevitable outcome are recorded. Often their works are published, either for the first time after a long hiatus, or in more complete and less expurgated editions. But there is little discussion of them as texts.<sup>231</sup>

The past was at last being re-evaluated without ideological strictures. Yet, ironically enough, the abolition of strictures has led to no blossoming but rather to the languishing of literature. However, there was also hope for a fresh start in the never-ending process of innovation in literature.

## 9.

### AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The national referendum of December 1991, in which an overwhelming majority of Ukrainians voted for independence, had no immediate impact on literature. The literary establishment (the Writers' Union and the agencies responsible for publications) remained almost intact. The declaration of independence itself led to some public feeling of euphoria. Some disoriented writers became self-styled politicians and others tried to cling to their jobs or explore new avenues. Few realized that the old attitudes acquired during the past 70 years of Soviet rule were still persisting. The devastation that remained was enormous, but time was needed to assess its nature. It almost dwarfed the natural feeling of relief and freedom, even joy, which most writers experienced. "Societal renewal," wrote Ukrainian-American scholar Oksana Grabowicz, "and the new national identity were no longer seen only in terms of the cultural revival, but also in terms of moral 'purification,' a need to come to terms with social demoralization, inhumanity, and the whole communist past as well."<sup>232</sup> The same scholar continued commenting on "the negative self-image of Ukrainians as a consequence of their centuries-long existence under colonial rule."

Slowly, literature came to reflect some of these profound dilemmas of the new freedom, which at first seemed rather precarious. A great deal of scholarly and critical activity was directed, even more intensely than in the era of

*glasnost*, towards republication and re-evaluation of works banned by the Soviets. Digging up the recent and not so recent past became the preoccupation of many (e.g., Serhij Bilokin', Leonid Čerevatenko, Mykola Žulyns'kyj, et al.). Many writers of the diaspora (e.g., Rubčak, Tarnavs'kyj, Andrijevs'ka, Palij) were, in the course of the next few years, published and discussed in Ukraine. Scholarly symposia, with participating guests from the West, took place in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Lviv. Some literary critics of the diaspora (George Shevelov, George Grabowicz, Marko Pavlyshyn) made a triumphal appearance in Ukraine. These were fruitful developments which helped to establish a new, liberal climate. However, there seems to be no realization as yet that, in future, the writers from diaspora, despite their claims to "symbiosis" with the motherland, may become of far less significance than they have been so far.

Knowledge of the literature of the past, always an important factor in the present, was enriched by the publication not so much of suppressed works, as by newly-discovered letters, diaries, and memoirs of writers (e.g., Xvyl'ovyj, Pidmohyl'nyj, Tjutjunnyk, Blyznec', Stus) who tended to be crowned with new laurels. The first scholarly histories of the literature of the early twentieth century were being published, the most ambitious, a joint effort under the editorship of Vitalij Dončyk in 1993–94.

However, the publication of books, journals and even newspapers like *Literaturna Ukraïna* soon became difficult and sometimes ground to a halt. This was the result of the fast-approaching economic crisis which led to a shortage of paper and printing materials as well as to inflation. Indeed, soon after the initial euphoria was over, the entire country, impoverished and despoiled, plunged into a very serious economic and political upheaval which adversely affected the press, the media, and art and literature in general. The tangible privileges which the members of the old Writers' Union had enjoyed, gradually disappeared. This led to some hardship among scholars and the literati, but, on the other hand, it had the positive effect of eliminating much graphomania only to be replaced by the new one. Kyiv bookstalls became flooded by Russian-produced literature of sensational and pornographic nature.

The dire straits in literary production might have led to the blossoming of *publicystyka* (publicism, or irregular column writing, but not journalism) which had a long tradition in Ukraine. These essay-type columns, often written by prominent writers, appeared in newspapers and almanacs and were devoted to current cultural problems. The doyenne of Ukrainian poets, Lina Kostenko, excelled in this genre, a true master of the biting phrase ("Ukrainian poetry is a child born in prison," "the avant-garde poets break windows, when we need to break prison-bars.") While the established journals—*Vitčyzna*, *Kyjiv*, *Dnipro*—started to appear intermittently, the leading journal of the diaspora *Sučasnist'* was from 1992 on published and edited in Kyiv. It appears regularly,

while the Kyiv *Vsesvit* and the Kharkiv *Berezil'* struggle bravely against heavy odds. The fate of the only scholarly periodical *Slovo i čas* (Word and Time, formerly *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*) is precarious. On the other hand, many ephemeral and sometimes very interesting almanacs (*Četver, Pereval, Ji* [a letter in the Ukrainian alphabet]) appear from time to time. A Union list of the independent press in Ukraine (by B. Yasynsky) was prepared by the Library of Congress in 1992. Similar efforts are being made by Ukrainian libraries, including the monthly *Teka*, published by *Prosvita* in Lviv. Perhaps eventually a bibliographic record of this chaotic era will appear.

Ever since 1991 writers and critics have been engaged in a serious and protracted debate as to what kind of animal this new literature should be. Facing the utter demoralization, even degradation of their country, they argued about a possible way out of the post-colonial chaos. Some were aware, in this difficult and painful time, of the need for “de-mythologization, desacralization of phenomena, concepts and figures” (Ljudmyla Taran); others swore that “we do not need martyrs but independent artists” (Vasyl' Herasymjuk); while still others warned of commercialization and a “new freedom from chains which leads to the perversity of doing anything you like” (Volodymyr Brjuggen). The trauma of past oppression dominated much of the discussion. Perhaps the most articulate spokesperson for this was Lina Kostenko. Ukrainian culture, according to her, has been “blockaded for centuries,” Ukrainian writers had, in solitude, to perform the superhuman task of saving the language which was banned and derided. Now, however, they faced a different task, the precise nature of which is difficult to determine. She understands the desire to correct past lies, and she is optimistic about the writers' creative energies. Kostenko also represented women writers and critics who came to play a new role after independence. Among these was her daughter, Oksana Paxl'ovs'ka, as well as Oksana Zabuzko and Solomija Pavlyčko. All made signal contributions, especially in making contacts with the West. Among male writers—the essayists Jevhen Sverstjuk and Serhij Plačynda discussed religion and the environment. Much of the *publicystyka* was devoted to Chernobyl and its aftermath. The tone of these essays was serious. Almost none of the writers indulged in the glib, patronizing cleverness which often marks Western post-modernism. But irony, sarcasm, and satire were soon to appear in some literary works.

The links to past literary styles and themes were very strong. Especially in the field of the novel the old socialist-realist habits were hard to shake. Indeed, much of prose literature remained on a populist level, appealing to an unsophisticated reader and fulfilling the function of popular culture. Historical fiction continued to be produced, with Ukrainian nationalism replacing Soviet patriotism (Jurij Mušketyk's novel about Hetman Polubotok), *Het'mans'kyj skarb* (The Hetman's Treasure, 1993), Pavlo Zahrebel'nyj's *kaleidoscopic Tysjačolitnij Mykolaj* (A Thousand-Year Old Nicholas, 1994), and Roman

Ivanyčuk's *Orda* (The Horde, 1992). After all, the Communists had had their day; now it was nationalism's turn, often led by former Communists, who "had seen the light." The above-mentioned novel by Zahrebel'nyj, written in 1988–91, is a good example of a readable "yarn" mostly about Ukraine under Stalin, full of profundities, revelations, all smothered with cynicism. The mass reader might have remained faithful to a familiar genre, but a poll taken in 1991 among writers themselves, favored the innovators—Volodymyr Dibrova, Jurij Vynnyčuk, Bohdan Žoldak, Jevhen Paškovs'kyj, Vasyl' Herasymjuk.

Reviewing the literary production in 1992,<sup>233</sup> Ivan Dzjuba obviously looked and found both new talent or old talent in a new garb. He praised the "whimsical" historical novel *Nalyvajko* (1992) by Mykola Vinhranovs'kyj. Whimsicality (*xymernist'*) is in the old Ukrainian tradition, which has new followers in the work of Jevhen Hucalo, Valerij Ševčuk and others. Dzjuba also mentioned favorably two short novels by Andrušovyč, *Rekreaciji* (Recreations, 1992) and *Moskovijada* (1993), which created a minor scandal by their general irreverence and the use of four-letter words. Both works are a product of carnivalist poetics and contain sharp satire and a serious subtext despite the grotesque elements. Some critics have welcomed it as a true post-colonial expression of new cultural concepts, while at the same time harking back to the *vertep*. Full of irony and playfulness, these novels sparkle with extraordinarily vital language. The third part of this "trilogy," tentatively titled "A Perversion," was scheduled to appear in 1996. It is significant that these prose works, as well as much truly innovative poetry, originated in Western Ukraine.

Very different, though no less subversive of old values, was the novel *Bezodnja* (The Abyss, 1992) by Jevhen Paškovs'kyj. In the words of critic Solomija Pavlyčko it is "overwhelmingly bleak ... [The hero] has no home, not only in the real, but in the spiritual sense. As an anti-intellectual type from lower depths, he speaks little and he does not think too much. He merely sees and feels.... The novel is a howl of pain and despair."<sup>234</sup> After long being banned, sex and violence have made their way into the novel, almost with a vengeance. Jurij Vynnyčuk's story of prostitutes, *Divy noci* (Maiden Nights, 1992) and Valerij Ševčuk's *Horbunka Zoja* (Hunchback Zoja, 1995) contain no violence or the seamier side of life, but could be classed as erotic. On the other hand, Hucalo's *Šal* (Frenzy, 1995) is tempestuous and explicit. According to M. Naydan, Hucalo also wrote a long "epos-eros ... a collective discourse of voices on sex, feelings, desires and illusions" in *Blud, abož rozpusta i vyrodžennja v nas, na Ukrajinі* (Fornication or Lewdness and Degeneracy Among Us in Ukraine, 1993). Many Ukrainian prose writers reflect in their works what Michael Naydan has aptly called "familial dysfunctionality" in Ukrainian society. They also are at sea in post-Soviet reality.<sup>235</sup>

Greeted as a major novel, Volodymyr Drozd's contemplative *Lystja zemli* (Leaves of the Earth, 1993) drew opposing critical comments. To Mykola

Žulyns'kyj it was "a voice of historical memory ... showing the indestructibility of the people"; to Marko Pavlyshyn it "concentrates on the old forms of cognition without proposing new ones." Like many other writers Drozd is concerned with moral problems. Contrary to the post-modernist disdain for absolute truth, Ukrainian novelists and poets of a more traditional persuasion, show an interest in morality at a time when their country is looking for safer moorings. Like many East European intellectuals they try to draw the difficult line between good and evil. The very prolific Ševčuk tried to explain his alienated characters by saying that "when a hero searches for moral values, when he wants to feel hopeful about the world, he takes a social stand: a society can be called healthy only when the people who live in it are harmonious."<sup>236</sup>

A real challenge to the old pseudo-morality as well as to all accepted literary traditions came from a group of avant-garde poets *Bu-Ba-Bu* (Burllesque, Farce, Buffoonery) formed as early as the 1980s by Jurij Andrukhovych, Oleksander Irvanec' and Viktor Neborak. The group was very active until 1994. In 1995, in Lviv, they published a collection of their irreverent but lively writings entitled *Bu-Ba-Bu*. They represented not only a violent reaction against the old populist poetry, but, according to N. Bilocerkevyc, against "all stereotypes and clichés ... [and substituting for it] parody, satire, caricature and pyrotechnics."<sup>237</sup> This "dehermetization" of poetry and of all lyricism as well as of national conventions struck a responsive chord in many young readers. Other groups of rebels among the poets included *Propala hramota* (The Lost Certificate) and *Luhosad* (The Meadow Orchard), which celebrated its 10th anniversary in 1993. The latter group preferred to be regarded as "rearguard" rather than "avant-garde" and were led originally by Ivan Lučuk, Nazar Hončar and Roman Sadlovs'kyj. The latest gathering of young poets is *Nova degeneracija* (New Degeneration, with Stepan Procjuk, Ivan Cyperdjuk, Ljubomyr Strynahljuk), no doubt a reincarnation of Myxajl's Semenکو's futurists of the 1920s. Four unaffiliated poets of some originality, who were published earlier, are Viktor Kordun, Rajisa Lyša, Volodymyr Cybul'ko and Ivan Malkovyč. The distinguished poet, Ihor Kalyneć, disillusioned, stopped writing verse.<sup>238</sup> This might have happened because poetry in Ukraine no longer is a voice of dissent. As one of the poets, Oksana Zabuzko, astutely observes, "Ukrainian poetry has been destined to be governmental opposition ... because it functioned to maintain national identity by giving an eloquent voice to a particular collective consciousness, and by promoting the language beyond the boundaries marked for a dying species."<sup>239</sup> All this has now changed. An innovative prose writer Konstjantyn Moskaleć (b. 1963) published a long story with the telling title "Where Am I to Go?" (*De meni poolityjsja?*). Will the poets change too? The collection *Molode vyno* (Young Wine, 1994) by the very youngest poets is promising. The existence of such groups and the talk of a "third wave" in literature testify to its new vitality. The Bu-ba-buists, particularly, have both enriched

Ukrainian literature and created a stimulating intellectual climate. T. Hundorova wrote that their reinvigorated language especially in their prose “leads to a creative linguistic discourse, not vitiated by cant and hypocrisy.”<sup>240</sup> Yet at the same time, some poets gloried in their newly-found national freedom. According to scholar O. Zabuzhko, “Here lies the crucial difference between the status of Ukrainian and Russian poets. Contrary to our Russian counterparts, we were not allowed to love our country. But love for one’s country is not just a slogan of romantic nationalism as it may seem at first glance. In terms of poetry, it is perhaps the most crucial thing, for it suggests that the poet considers his or her mother tongue to be the most valuable thing on earth.”<sup>241</sup>

As was to be expected, the variety of groups and tendencies led to occasional clashes. This culminated in an exchange initiated by the article “Koleso” (The Wheel), published in October 1994 in *Literaturna Ukraïna* by Jurij Mušketyk. As a representative of the traditional mimetic literature he not only defended the latter with vigor, but launched an attack against the avant-garde. He argued that realistic literature was closer to national and humanist values and that “post-modernism” and “postavangardism” showed no respect for the national interest. He also warned against foreign influences. Mušketyk was the chairman of the somewhat discredited but still influential Writers’ Union and his article was taken as the view of the literary establishment. Another defense of traditionalism was made in an article by Bazylev’skyj, *Varvaryzacija* (Barbarization). The rebuttals to *Koleso* were few (Volodymyr Morenec’) and rather ineffective.<sup>242</sup> The absence of an articulate opposition to Mušketyk signified, perhaps, not only the theoretical weakness of the avant-garde, but also the prevalence of an undying populism. The youngest, post-modernist generation may also not want to enter into a dispute with the traditionalists for whom they feel contempt. The literary situation is further complicated by the unresolved ambivalence between traditional nationalism and aesthetic modernism, which was noted at the beginning of this overview. Today, Ukrainian scholars study the unique conditions of modernism which were shackled by colonial oppression.<sup>243</sup> The ravages of colonialism (in Ukraine, Russian culture and language are still prevalent and the Russian minority is still privileged) make it difficult for writers to abandon the national cause, indeed the national revolution which has remained incomplete.

Yet it would be impossible to deny a new spirit of cultural crisis. The onset of liberty brought great ferment. If creativity is called forth by stress, there is plenty of it in today’s Ukraine. Literary and critical discourse have become more complicated. It is exemplified by the most recent controversy over O. Zabuzhko’s “sex novel.” There is a great deal of experimentation, even negation. The *fin-de-siècle* malady may have infected more writers with decadence than it did a century ago. As often before, from such a turmoil there may emerge a new literature. But it will have to coexist with the old one.

## Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Ju. Kovaliv, "Nevpiznanyj sfinks čy odvična Popeljuška," *Sučasnist'* 2, 1995, 161.
- <sup>2</sup>I. Franko, "Z ostannix desjatylyt' XIX v." *Zibrannja tvoriv* (Kyiv, 1984), v. 41.
- <sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 250.
- <sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 523.
- <sup>5</sup>I. Franko, "Internacionalizm i nacionalizm v sučasnyx literaturax," *Zibrannja tvoriv*, v. 31.
- <sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 34.
- <sup>7</sup>I. Franko, "Iz secretiv poetyčnoji tvorčosty," *Zibrannja tvoriv*, v. 31.
- <sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 53.
- <sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 71.
- <sup>10</sup>"Xronika: ukrajins'kyj al'manax," *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* (hereafter *LNV*) 16 (1901), 14.
- <sup>11</sup>*LNV*, 6 (1903).
- <sup>12</sup>L. Ukrajinka, *Tvory v dvanadcjaty tomax* (Kyiv, 1979), v. 12.
- <sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 29.
- <sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 51.
- <sup>15</sup>K. Hrynevyčeva, "Nerozuminnja jako dokaz," *LNV*, 6 (1903).
- <sup>16</sup>O.L. "Moloda muza," *Dilo*, 18 November 1907.
- <sup>17</sup>All quotations are from O.L.[Luc'kyj's] article, reprinted in *Ostap Luc'kyj—Molodomuzec'* (Toronto, 1968), 55-9.
- <sup>18</sup>I. Franko, "Manifest Molodoji Muzy," *Dilo*, 13 December 1907.
- <sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup>I. Franko, "Pryvezeno zillja z tr'ox hir na vesillja, *Moloda Muza*" 5, *LNV*, 40 (1907).
- <sup>21</sup>I. Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv*, v. 30, 331.
- <sup>22</sup>M. Jevšan, *Pid praporom mystectva* (Kyiv, 1910).
- <sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 8.
- <sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.
- <sup>25</sup>M. Sribljans'kyj, "Na sučasni temy," *Ukrajins'ka xata*, 2 (1911), 116.

- <sup>26</sup>“Vid redakciji,” *Ukrajins’ka xata*, 1 (1909), 2.
- <sup>27</sup>O. Ilnytskyj, “Ukrainska khata and the Paradoxes of Ukrainian Modernism,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, Winter 1994.
- <sup>28</sup>B. Rubčak, “Probnyj let—introduction to Jurij Luc’kyj,” ed. *Ostap Luc’kyj—molodomuzec’* (Toronto, 1968).
- <sup>29</sup>M. Kucjubyns’kyj, *Tvory v šesty tomach* (Kyiv, 1961), v. 5, 338.
- <sup>30</sup>A. Kryms’kyj, *Tvory v pjaty tomach* (Kyiv, 1972), v. 1, 23.
- <sup>31</sup>L. Ukrajinka, *Tvory v dvanadcjaty tomach* (Kyiv, 1972), v. 12, 137-50.
- <sup>32</sup>O. Babyškin, *Ahatanhel Kryms’kyj* (Kyiv, 1967), 53-54.
- <sup>33</sup>M. Stepnjak, “Poety Molodoji Muzy,” *Červonyj šljax*, n.1 (1933).
- <sup>34</sup>I. Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv*, v. 33, 176.
- <sup>35</sup>P. Karmans’kyj, *Oj ljuli smutku* (Lviv, 1906), 5.
- <sup>36</sup>*Istorija ukrajins’koji literatury XX stolittja* (Kyiv, 1993), I, 38.
- <sup>37</sup>S. Čerkasenko, introduction to M. Voronyj, *U sjajvi mrij* (Kyiv, 1913), 6-9.
- <sup>38</sup>O. Bilec’kyj, “Mykola Voronyj,” *Zibrannja prac’* (Kyiv, 1965) v. 2, 612-14.
- <sup>39</sup>P. Fylypovyč, introduction to O. Oles’, *Vybrani tvory* (Kyiv, 1925).
- <sup>40</sup>M. Zerov, *Do džerel* (Kyiv, 1926), 75-76.
- <sup>41</sup>M. Jevšan, “Naš literaturnyj biljans za 1912 rik,” *LNV* 61 (1913), 167.
- <sup>42</sup>M. Šapoval, “Novyny našoji literatury,” *LNV* 49 (1912), 626.
- <sup>43</sup>M. Žulyns’kyj, “Hryhorij Čuprynka,” *Literaturna Ukrajina*, 28 July 1988.
- <sup>44</sup>B. Jakubs’kyj, “Liryka Lesji Ukrajinky,” *Tvory* (New York reprint 1953), v. 2, XIX.
- <sup>45</sup>C. Bida, “Life and Work,” *Lesia Ukrainka* (Toronto, 1968), 46-47.
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- <sup>47</sup>L. Ukrajinka, *Tvory*, v. 12, 48.
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Abbreviations used: CIUS—Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; HURI—Harvard Institute of Ukrainian Studies

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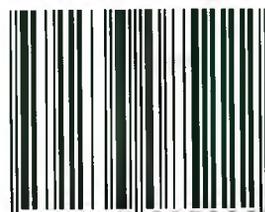
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