

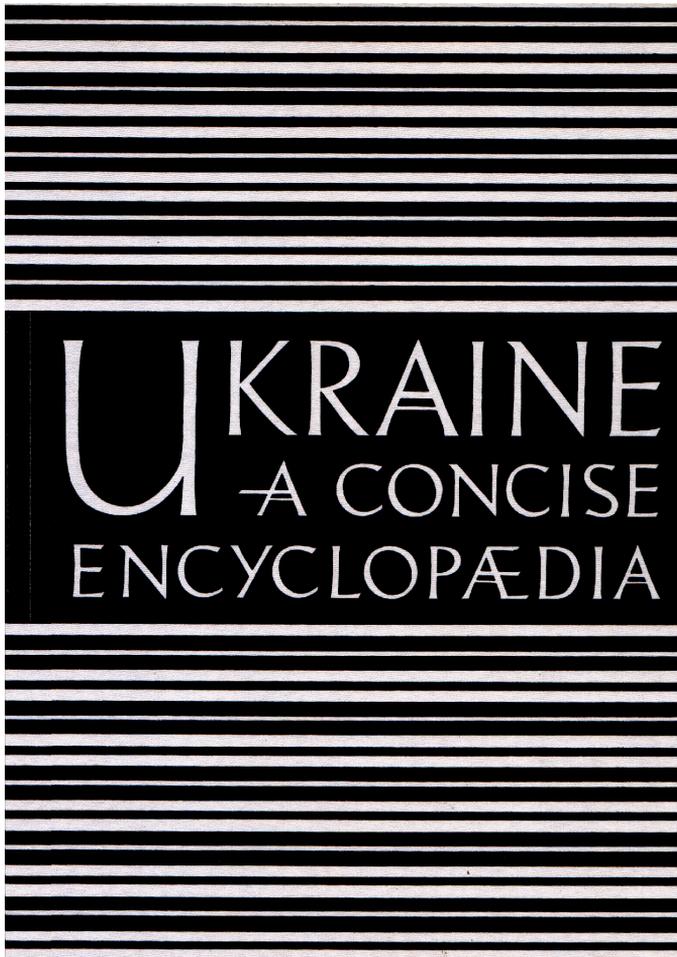


SLA 218

Ukrainian Literature and Culture

A History of Ukrainian Literature

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U K R A I N E
A Concise Encyclopaedia

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SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

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VOLUME I

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VIII. Literature

I. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

The general political situation in Ukraine explains the relatively late development of a scientific study of Ukrainian literature and a relatively extensive participation in it by Russian scholars who have treated certain periods of it as a part of their own literature or as the "common property" of the three Eastern Slavic peoples.

THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The Period of Romanticism

The first scholarly studies of Ukrainian literature were made during the Romantic period. Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), when he published his collection of Ukrainian songs in 1827, put great emphasis, in the spirit of the Romantics (Herder, A. W. Schlegel, and the brothers Grimm), on the idea that the folk poetry of a nation is original and peculiar to it. He thus set the course for the literary studies of the next decades. In his analysis of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament) he strove to draw the greatest parallel possible between this work and the oral literature, especially the *dumas*.

A more pragmatic study of modern Ukrainian literature was made in its first stages by critical surveys of contemporary literature. Such were the articles of I. Mastak (Osyp Bodiansky, 1834), Jeremiah Halka (Nicholas Kostomarov, 1844), Ambrose Metlynsky (1848), Skubent Chupryna (Alexander Kotliarevsky, 1856), M. Hattsuk (1857). Of special importance to his contemporaries

were the reviews of Panteleimon Kulish (1819–97): the Postscript to the *Chorna rada* (Black Council, 1857), *Vzgliad na malorusskuiu slovesnost'* (View of Little Russian Literature, 1857), *Vzgliad na ukrainskuiu slovesnost'* (Review of Ukrainian Literature, 1860), and the *Obzor ukrainskoi slovesnosti* (Survey of Ukrainian Literature, 1861). Like Maksymovych and Kostomarov, Kulish emphasized populist ideas of which he developed a Romantic conception. Accepting the primacy of oral tradition, he condemned the literature of preceding periods because it was written in a non-popular, "dead" language. He also sharply condemned Gogol as the author of the Ukrainian tales for distortion of Ukrainian life and, for different reasons, Kotliarevsky.

Ivan Mohylnytsky (1777–1831) took a different attitude toward the older literature; in his *Vidomist' a ruskom yazytsi* (Report on the Ruthenian Language), which appeared in Polish and only in a shortened form under the title *Rozprawa o jezyku ruskim* (1829), he traced the connection between the works of his contemporaries and older literary works, giving examples from the old and middle periods, as did other Galicians—Ivan Vahylevych, *Zamitky o ruskoj literaturi* (Remarks on Ruthenian Literature, 1848), and Jacob Holovatsky, *Try vstupitel'ni prepodavaniia o ruskoj slovesnosti* (Three Preliminary Lectures on Ruthenian Literature, 1849). This difference in attitude may be explained by the fact that in Galicia the traditions of the Ukrainian literary language of

the middle period had been preserved (see "Language").

Historical Method: Attempts at General Surveys

In the next decades attempts were made to write scientific surveys of Ukrainian literature, on the basis of the historical method. These works were influenced by the historical methods developed by Taine, Sainte-Beuve, Dunlop, Brunetière, Brandes, and others.

Among them were the short historical sketch of Ukrainian literature by P. Petrachenko in his course *Istoriia russkoi literatury* (History of Russian Literature, 1861), the work of Ivan Pryzhov, *Malorossiiia (Yuzhnaia Rus') v istorii ee literatury s XI po XVIII v.* (Little Russia [South Rus'] in the History of Its Literature from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Centuries, 1869), and the survey of the history of Ukrainian Literature in the *Obzor istorii slavianskikh literatur* (Survey of the History of Slavic Literatures) by A. Pypin and V. Spasovich (amplified later in another work by the same authors, *Istoriia slavianskikh literatur* [History of Slavic Literatures, Vol. I, 1879, German trans., 1880]). The survey by N. Kostomarov, *Malorusskaia literatura* (Little Russian Literature) in the collection *Poeziia slavian* (Poetry of the Slavs) by N. Gerbel, 1871, still shows signs of the Romantic conception in its treatment of historical literary development, but the studies by Michael Drahomanov (1841-95) are based on positivism and evolutionism and mark the beginning of a comparative study of Ukrainian literature and folklore in the spirit of Benfey, W. Scherer, and others. In his studies of modern Ukrainian literature, *Literatura rosiis'ka, velykorus'ka, ukraïns'ka, i halys'ka* (Russian Literature, Great Russian, Ukrainian and Galician, 1873-4), *Pro halys'ko-rus'ke pys'menstvo* (On Galician-Ruthenian Literature, 1876), *Shevchenko, ukraïnofily i sotsiializm* (Shevchenko, the Ukrainophiles and Socialism, 1879),

Drahomanov described Ukrainian literature as realistic and democratic. This opinion was echoed in many works by critics and scholars of the following decades.

During the eighties, Nicholas Petrov (1840-1921), Nicholas Dashkevych (1852-1908), and Omelian Ohonovsky (1833-94) worked on systematic surveys of the history of Ukrainian literature. *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi literatury XIX st.* (Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century) by Petrov (1884) expressed his reaction against the synthetic conceptions of the Romantic period. He considered that his task was to interpret the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century by giving "the fewest possible *a priori* views and the maximum



FIGURE 496.
O. OHONOVSKY

of facts." This book, the richest of its time in bibliographical material, did not give an adequate characterization and classification of writers and their styles. It exaggerated the extent of the connection between the U-

kraïnian literature of the nineteenth century and Russian literature, emphasizing the "predominant influences" of the latter.

This important but one-sided work by Petrov received a detailed, fundamental criticism in a book by Dashkevych, "Otzv o sochinenii g. Petrova: Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi literatury XIX stoletia" (Review of a work by Mr. Petrov: Sketches for a History of the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century, 1888). Dashkevych, unlike Petrov, tried to unite factual analysis and a general concept. He noted first of all the originality and artistic quality of Ukrainian literature while emphasizing its populism which reflected "a people's aspirations to self-expression"; he strove to trace the internal evolution of Ukrainian literature

and drew extensive parallels which time and again established its direct relation to general European literary trends, especially in the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century. This work had great independent value and was an indispensable supplement to Petrov's book.

Ohonovsky in his *Istoriia literatury ruskoï* (History of Ruthenian Literature, Parts I-IV, 6 fasc., 1887-93) prefaced his treatment with a brief survey of the older period, although he too concentrated mostly on the nineteenth century. He included a wealth of biographical and bibliographical material but his work did not have a single method of approach, and hence lacked unity. The work shows a consistently developed conception of Ukrainian literature as being original and quite distinct from Russian and Polish literature. It stresses the continuity in the development of Ukrainian literature from the time of medieval Kievan Rus' up to the author's own day. This view of the literature of the Kievan Rus' as the first phase in the history of Ukrainian literature called forth sharp criticism from A. Pypin (*Osobaia istoriia russkoi literatury* [A Peculiar History of Russian Literature], 1890), who regarded the Lithuanian-Ruthenian period of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries as the initial period of Ukrainian literature. Ohonovsky's views were defended and developed in his own subsequent writings (*Moiemu krytykovi* [To My Critic], 1890), as well as in articles written by M. Komar (1890) and I. Bashtovyi (Nechui-Levytsky), *Ukrainstvo na literaturnykh pozvakh z Moskovshchynoiu* (Ukrainianism in a Literary Suit with Muscovy, 1891).

The Publication of Sources

The basis for a profound study of old Ukrainian literature was laid in the forties, and it was greatly expanded from the seventies on by the collection and publication of many texts of the old and middle periods and by the preparation

of special monographs. Chronicles, old tales, lives of the saints, and collections were printed. A very large number of texts pertaining to the Kievan Rus' period appeared in St. Petersburg and Moscow in the *Chteniia v obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (Lectures at the Society of Russian History and Antiquities at the University of Moscow), *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* (Texts of Ancient Literature and Art), and others. A series of valuable texts of the middle period were published in *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (Acts Pertaining to the History of Southern and Western Russia), *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia), *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii* (Acts Dealing with the History of Western Russia), and *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury* (Texts of Polemic Literature). Much important literary material of that period was also published in the *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii* (Works of the Kiev Theological Academy), and the *Kievskaiia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882-1906).

After the transformation of the Shevchenko Society into the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1893), the latter began to publish works of old Ukrainian literature in the *Ukrains'ko-Rus'kyi Arkhiv* (Ukrainian-Rus' Archives), *Zbirnyk filologichnoi Sektsii NTSh* (Collections of the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society), *Pamiatky ukrains'ko-rus'koi movy i literatury* (Texts of the Ukrainian-Rus' Language and Literature), and *Zapysky NTSh* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). Material pertaining to the same period also appeared after 1906, upon the establishment of the Ukrainian Society of Arts and Scientists of Kiev, in its *Zapysky* (Annals).

The Study of the Literature of the Old and Middle Periods

In the publication and investigation of

the literary texts of the Kievan period a large role was played by many Russian scholars who considered it the first period of their own literature (studies by A. Pypin, F. Buslaev, V. Yakovlev, A. Veselovsky, S. Golubev, A. Shakhmatov, some works by V. Istrin, sections of the surveys of old Russian literature by P. Vladimirov, M. Speransky, E. Petukhov, V. Keltuiala, and more recently by A. Orlov, N. Gudzii, etc.).

A tremendous amount of work was done on the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament). These studies culminated in a three-volume work by E. Barsov (1887-90). Among Ukrainian studies on this subject of special importance were a book by O. Ohonovsky (1876), the text edited with a commentary by O. Partytsky (1884), and especially the work of Alexander Potebnia (1878) who, through parallels with Ukrainian folklore, showed that *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* belonged to old Ukrainian literature.

In the eighties and nineties, Ukrainian scholars more and more frequently turned their attention to the middle period, although they shared the populist opinion that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a "scholastic, dead" period and were more interested in the cultural and historical background of the works of that period than in their value as literary products or as belles-lettres. Typical of this approach were the studies made by Nicholas Sumtsov (1854-1922) of I. Gizel, Y. Galiatovsky, I. Vyshensky, L. Baranovych, and others (1884-5), in which he collected a great mass of facts. The works of I. Shliapkin and A. Krymsky were of a similar nature.

N. Petrov, in his studies of Ukrainian seventeenth and eighteenth century education, culture, and poetics, and, in particular, the eighteenth century drama, concentrated mainly on the historical and cultural material, as did S. Golubev when covering the seventeenth century in his work (1883-98) on Peter Mohyla. On the other hand M. Markovsky in his

study of the preacher Anthony Radyvylivsky (1894) paid more attention to his style and its sources and linked the legendary and fictional element in his sermons with Western medieval collections.

A broader conception of the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is found in the works of Paul Zhytetsky (1836-1911); in his study of the *dumas* (1893) he advanced a thesis contrary to the Romantic conception which asserted that the *dumas* were influenced by the poetry of the period. His work on the *Eneida* (Aeneid) of Kotliarevsky (1900) gave a broad picture of the social and cultural background of this poem and showed that there was a closer connection between the modern and middle periods of Ukrainian literature than had previously been thought. The discussion of Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* in which Dashkevych, I. Steshenko, and Franko also took part (1898-1901), yielded much material on his period and on the creative tradition of Ukrainian classicism.

Because of its scope and insight the work of Ivan Franko (1856-1916) was especially important. Using the comparative and cultural-historical methods, he combined a study of oral literature with research into various periods of written literature, and distinguished, in his own words, "the national from the international." He showed how Ukrainian literature had "appropriated foreign material and foreign forms and what original contribution it had made to the general treasury of literary themes and forms." Franko produced a long series of works on the old and middle periods of Ukrainian literature. Among his studies devoted to the nineteenth century, those on Taras Shevchenko were especially important because of their treatment of the poet's biography and the themes of his poems. Franko also produced one of the best general surveys of the history of Ukrainian literature, "Yuzhno-russkaia literatura" (South Rus-

sian Literature), which far surpasses his *Narys istorii ukrains'ko-rus'koi literatury do 1890 r.* (Sketch of the History of Ukrainian-Rus' Literature to 1890, 1910), which was written during a period of severe illness.

The positivist mood of this period profoundly affected the studies made of the literature of the time. These, like Franko's work, laid their main stress on the historical background of literary works (Antonovych's studies of the historical works of Shevchenko, and others), or sought the literary origin of works, tracing the various influences by a comparison of texts, which was sometimes done rather mechanically (the works of V. Shchurat, I. Kopach, K. Studynsky, A. Kolessa, O. Tretiak, and others). Among the biographical studies, the great monograph by Alexander Konysky on Shevchenko is particularly valuable because of its rich and well-systematized material. Standing somewhat apart are the articles by Basil Horlenko (1853-1907), a critic who laid great stress on the connection between Ukrainian literature and the historical development of the Ukrainian national and cultural character and whose works show an estheticism peculiar to him.

The positivist approach to the study of literature reached its high point in the work of the philological school, which in Ukraine was represented, in the first place, by Volodymyr Peretts (1870-1936). He devoted himself to works of the old and middle periods, especially to poetry and drama. Peretts adopted the principles and methods of the philological school (e.g., W. Scherer) and also asserted that the form and composition of literary works were the creations of the artistry of the language. He discovered and published a wealth of material which made possible a re-valuation of the literary achievements of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He also studied the origin of many anonymous works and

the background of literary relations of the period. Peretts set forth his views on the theory and practice of the philological method in the following works: *Iz lektsii po istorii drevnerusskoi literatury* (Selected Lectures on the History of Old Russian Literature, 1912) and "Naiblyzhchi zavdannia vyvchennia istorii ukrains'koi literatury" (The Immediate Problems in the Study of the History of Ukrainian Literature).

Peretts founded a whole school in the study of Ukrainian literature. Among the representatives of this school, and scholars who were close to it in method, were L. Biletsky (especially in his study of the tale about Mercury of Smolensk), S. Maslov, I. Ohienko (especially his studies on the literary work of J. Galiatovsky), S. Shchehlova, F. Sushytsky, S. Shevchenko, V. Adriianova-Peretts, S. Buhoslavsky, V. Otrokovsky, A. Hruzynsky, O. Nazarevsky, V. Rezanov (seventeenth and eighteenth century drama), and M. Vozniak (who favored the cultural-historical method).

In the study of modern Ukrainian literature an interest in textual research developed. Soon after censorship was abolished in Russia (1905), the complete text of Shevchenko's *Kobzar* (The Bard) was published by V. Domanytsky (1907). A few years later the first almost complete text of Shevchenko's poetry appeared (1910). A series of studies on Shevchenko appeared by V. Domanytsky, Shchurat, I. Steshenko, V. Radzykevych, V. Doroshenko, and others. Domanytsky, following in Franko's steps, established incontrovertibly the real name of the author writing under the pseudonym of Marko Vovchok (*Avtorstvo M. Vovchka* [The Authorship of M.

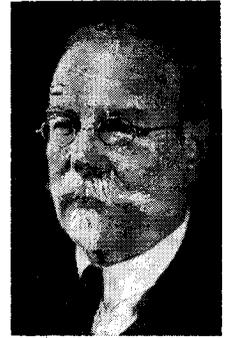


FIGURE 497.
V. PERETTS

Vovchok's Works, 1908]); his work was completed in the twenties by B. Lepkyi. Monographs written by O. Makovei and V. Shenrok together with the publication of Kulish's poems, edited by I. Kamanin, initiated studies on this author.

Neopopulism

While in scholarly studies on literature comparative, philological and historico-cultural methods prevailed, in works on the history of literature which were on a more popular level an up-to-date form of populism made its appearance.

Typical of this trend were the books and articles of the following authors: B. Hrinchenko (*Maloruskaia literatura* [Little Russian Literature] in the Granat edition of the *Bol'shaia Entsiklopediia* [Great Encyclopaedia]); A. Hrushevsky (*Z suchasnoi ukrains'koï literatury* [On Contemporary Ukrainian literature], 1909); the surveys of O. Lototsky (*Demokraticheskaia Literatura* [Democratic Literature], 1907), and S. Rusova, *Ukrainskaia Literatura v XIX v.* [Ukrainian Literature in the Nineteenth Century] in *Istoriia Rossii v XIX v.* [History of Russia in the Nineteenth Century], ed. Granat). The greatest exponent of those ideas was Serhii Yefremov (1876-193?) who wrote numerous articles and monographs, of which the most important is his widely known *Istoriia ukrains'koho pys'menstva* (History of Ukrainian Literature). According to his own statements, his aim was "to give a historical survey of Ukrainian literature as a liberation movement in the broad sense of the word." This idea of "liberation," "the idea of populism and love of one's native land and also the purity of one's native speech," was the criterion by which the author, "taking also into consideration general esthetic requirements," would measure "the facts and events of Ukrainian literature during its long history." Yefremov, like the other Neopopulists, underestimated the importance of the literature of the old and

middle periods and considered that the modern Ukrainian literary revival was based on oral folklore. During the years of the struggle for Ukraine's independence this approach found many adherents (V. Shchepot'iev, M. Plevako, V. Boiko, and others).

Yefremov's ideas met with opposition. His method was criticized on sociological grounds by Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Nova istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (A New History of Ukrainian Literature, 1911), who pointed out that he had turned the history of literature into a history of "ideas of liberation" and of "the development of national consciousness." Doroshenko emphasized that Ukrainian literature was not at all a peasant literature—either in its themes and contents or in its writers—but that, after all, it was "gentlemanly," written "for the cultured minority," and that the use of popular language was no criterion for the evaluation of the works of a Ukrainian author. The views of the populists were criticized on esthetic grounds by Nicholas Yevshan (1888-1919), in *Pid praporom mystetstva* (Under the Banner of Art, 1910). He emphasized the independence of the writer from his surroundings, and stressed the concept of individualism. Bohdan Lepkyi made a more moderate demand for esthetic evaluation in his unfinished but popular *Nacherk istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (Sketch of the History of Ukrainian Literature, 1909-12).

By and large, Michael Hrushevsky (1866-1934) used the cultural-historical method. He came close to the populist position in his articles on history and literature and in the detailed literary excursions in Volumes I-IV of his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-Rus'). But his distinguished *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature), I-V, 1922-6, was very different. Hrushevsky collected an enormous amount of material and looked at the facts of literature and folklore in the

light of their relationship to each other and to the history, particularly the cultural history, of Ukraine. This unfinished work (Vols. VI and VII were left unprinted as a part of the repressive measures taken against Hrushevsky in 1931) was a synthesis of the earlier studies of old Ukrainian literature, and at the same time advanced numerous new facts, hypotheses, and ideas.

THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

During the period following the Ukrainian liberation movement of 1917–20 there was an increase in scholarly work. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences issued the *Zapysky* (Annals) and *Zbirnyky* (Collections) of its Historical-Philological Section, the non-periodical collections *Literatura* (Literature, after 1928, edited by Yefremov), the journal *Ukraïna* (Ukraine, 1924–32, edited by M. Hrushevsky), which contained a great deal of material concerning the history of literature, the collection *Za sto lit* (In 100 Years), and others.

The corrected texts of a number of works of the old and middle periods were printed with new commentaries, and such thorough studies appeared as: Peretts' on the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament), D. Abramovych's on the *Patericon* of the Kiev Cave Monastery, S. Haievsky's on Alexander's Tale, and on the *Litopys* (Chronicle) of Velychko, the *Drama Ukraïns'ka* (Ukrainian Drama) of Rezanov (a series in several volumes), and also the latter's *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï dramy* (History of Ukrainian Drama).

Unlike the preceding period, the studies of literature of this period relied chiefly upon the formal and sociological methods. Those using the first method differed sharply from the Russian formalists of the period, for the most part studying the style of an epoch and the artistic forms of the works. To a certain extent they were following the concepts of Heinrich Wölfflin, Wilhelm Dibelius,

Fritz Strich, and Oscar Walzel. Those studies which treated literature sociologically (sometimes out of necessity for this was the method demanded officially) often contributed much valuable supplemental, biographical, and textual material.

The works of Nicholas Zerov (1890–193?) on the history of the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially his *Istoriia Ukraïns'koho pys'menstva* (History of Ukrainian Literature), contributed a great deal on the development of styles. The History, distributed at the end of the twenties as a course of lectures, covered the period from Kotliarevsky to Shevchenko and Kulish. Zerov tended to consider a literary work as a structural unit and the history of literature as the evolution of literary styles and trends conditioned by internal laws, although he did not dismiss consideration of either the general cultural and historical background or the personality of the author. Problems of style and of the development of literary form interested other students who came close to Zerov's method. The most prominent of these were Paul Fylypovych (literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), Victor Petrov (a book on Kulish and articles on Shevchenko and Lesia Ukraïnka), A. Doroshkevych (editor of the works of Shevchenko and author of studies on the latter and on M. Vovchok, Kulish, and others), A. Shamrai (studies



FIGURE 498. N. ZEROV



FIGURE 499.
A. BILETSKY

of the Romantics, of Kvitka-Osnovianenko, and of the post-Romantics), B. Yakubsky (many articles, especially on Lesia Ukraïнка), A. Biletsky (articles on the most recent Ukrainian poetry and prose, works on Lesia Ukraïнка, Nicholas Voronyi, and, later, Nechui-Levytsky, Shevchenko, and Western literature), I. Aizenshtok (many articles on Shevchenko, the Kotliarevsky group, Kvitka, Shchokoliv, Manzhora, and others), A. Nikovsky, O. Burghardt, V. Derzhavyn, A. Rozenberg, Yu. Savchenko, V. Pidmohylnyi, and M. Stepiak. H. Maifet and Ya. Polforov came closer to Russian formalism. In Western Ukraine, the influence of Zerov's school was apparent in the works of M. Rudnytsky, E. G. Pelensky (especially in his work on the classicism of Shevchenko), and F. Kolessa (in his work on the poetry of Shevchenko).

The ideas of the historical-cultural and the philological schools remained strong in Galicia. They permeate the three-volume *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature) by M. Vozniak, and are to be found in his numerous other articles and publications as well. The influence of these schools is also evident in the works of S. Smal-Stotsky (on Shevchenko), Ya. Hordynsky, V. Shchurat (1922), V. Radzykevych, and others, and, in the emigration, those of D. Doroshenko (on Shevchenko, Kulish, Horlenko, etc.).

In the emigration, D. Čiževsky has based his studies on the structure of literary works and the style of the period to which they belong and has applied this approach to the old and middle periods in his works on the literature of Kievan Rus' and the Ukrainian Baroque. His most recent work is *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï literatury* (A History of Ukrainian Literature, 1956).

Another group applied the sociological method with an admixture of the historical-cultural method or of the ideas of the psychological school of Potebnia (B. Navrotsky). To this group belonged M.

Drai-Khmara (on Lesia Ukraïнка), A. Muzychka (on Franko, Lesia Ukraïнка, and Marko Chermshyna), P. Rulin and Ya. Mamontov (on the history of modern dramaturgy), O. Bahrii (a series of studies on Shevchenko), V. Miiakovsky, O. Paradysky, G. Mezhenko, L. Starynkevych, I. Tkachenko, E. Kyrlyuk, P. Petrenko, G. Lavrinenko, and others.

The new editions of Ukrainian writers with revised and annotated texts, in the preparation of which many outstanding scholars participated, were of great importance. Thus the works of Shevchenko were edited by Yefremov, Novytsky, Plevako, Aizenshtok, and Doroshkevych, among others. Among these revised editions with commentaries were the collected works of Kotliarevsky, Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Hulak-Artemovsky, minor poets who wrote in the so-called Kotliarevsky tradition, the Romantics, the "minor poets" of the pre-Shevchenko period, Kulish, Vovchok, Storozhenko, Shchokoliv, Nechui-Levytsky, Myrnyi, Manzhora, Tobilevych, Franko, Kropyvnytsky, Hrinchenko, Hryhorenko, Cherniavsky, Lesia Ukraïнка, Vasylychenko, Khotkevych, Kobylianska, Stefanyk, Vynnychenko, Martovych, and selected works by Rudansky, Starytsky, Konysky, Makovei, Borduliak, Oles, Voronyi, Chermshyna, and others.

A heightened interest in the form of literary works was evident in such handbooks and studies of the theory of literature as Haievsky's *Teoriia Poezii* (Theory of Poetry, 1921), Yakubsky's *Nauka Ukraïns'koho virshuvannia* (Art of Ukrainian Versification, 1922), D. Zahul's *Poetyka* (Poetics) 1923, Navrotsky's *Mova ta poeziia* (Language and Poetry, 1925), M. Yohansen's *Yak buduietsia opovidannia* (How a Story is Constructed, 1928), Maifet's *Pryroda noveli* (The Nature of the Short Story, 1928-9), V. Chaplia's *Sonet v Ukraïns'kii poezii* (The Sonnet in Ukrainian Poetry, 1930), Koshelivets' *Narysy z teorii literatury* (Sketches on the Theory of Literature, 1954) and Yuryniak's *Literaturnyi*

tvir i yoho avtor (The Literary Composition and Its Author, 1955).

Such popular handbooks on the history of Ukrainian literature as were produced were marred by the fact that the author had to conform to the official "Marxist" approach. Showing the signs of such a compromise were the *Pidruchnyk po istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (Textbook of the History of Ukrainian Literature) by Doroshkevych (1924), the survey, *Ukrains'ka literatura* (Ukrainian Literature) by Shamrai (1927), and the handbook edited by A. Biletsky (1929) and published by the Kharkiv All-Ukrainian Correspondence Institute of National Education.

Work was made difficult by the constant attacks of the Communist critics (V. Koriak, A. Rychytsky, V. Yurynets, I. Lakyza, S. Shechupak, E. Hirschak, E. Shabliovsky, A. Khvyliya, later I. Stebun, S. Shakhovsky, *et al.*) whose task it was to falsify the history of Ukrainian literature in accordance with the needs of the official political line. In the early 1930's, the stern repression of "bourgeois nationalists," the deportation or physical annihilation of numerous scholars, and the confiscation of their works resulted in a continual narrowing of the possibilities for scholarly work. Even the extensive handbook of Ukrainian literature which was adapted by the Shevchenko Institute of Literature to the demands of official Bolshevik propaganda was not published. *Narys istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature) by S. Maslov and E. Kyrlyuk issued in its place (1945) was condemned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine allegedly because the authors treated the development of Ukrainian literature "in a bourgeois-nationalist spirit," "ignored the class struggle" and the steady influence of Russia, and instead emphasized the struggle of the Ukrainian people for national independence.

In addition to the old demand for a

"class" treatment of literature, Bolshevik criticism, which became more and more intense after 1933, advanced a series of other demands. It was forbidden to speak of the literature of the Kievan *Rus'* period as Ukrainian; according to the official theory, it was the common achievement of the East Slavic peoples, but in practice this literature was regarded as the first period in the history of Russian literature (e.g., in the course written in cooperation by several authors and published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, *Istoriia russkoï literatury* [History of Russian Literature], I-II, 1941-8). The development of Ukrainian literature, which is supposed to have begun in the fifteenth century, has been treated as totally isolated from any influence from or connection with the literatures of the West (the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitanism"). Instead, it has been necessary, in every case, to find or invent the influence of Russian on Ukrainian literature, which has thus actually been presented as a provincial offshoot of Russian literature. A number of figures and developments have been removed, for political reasons, from the list of subjects on which research may be done. Under such conditions the appearance of objective scientific works became almost impossible after 1933. When *Narys istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature) by Maslov and Kyrlyuk was condemned, a new staff at the Institute of Ukrainian Literature began work on a new outline of the history of Ukrainian literature in accordance with party directions. In 1954 the first volume of this outline was published, as well as a collective work, *Narys istorii ukrains'koï radians'koï literatury* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian Soviet Literature). Because too great emphasis is laid on political material, both books are more like political pamphlets than scholarly works. In the study of Shevchenko scholars were merely permitted to work on texts, and

although in 1939 a revised text of *Kobzar* and a five-volume edition of his work edited by A. Biletsky, S. Maslov, P. Tychyna, and others did appear, the poet's "nationalistic" letters were excluded from the latter. One happy exception was the publication in Russian, in Moscow, of a collection of articles by the Armenian author M. Shaginian, *Shevchenko* (1941), which were largely based on the work of F. Kolessa and P. Zaitsev. Important work was done by the Russian authors on the old period of Ukrainian literature, although it was treated as Russian literature; for example, works of V. Adrianova-Peretts on style in the literature of Kievan Rus', by D. Likhachev on the Chronicles, a general survey of the old literature in the *Istoriia russkoi kul'tury* (History of Russian Culture), II, 1951, a study by I. Yeremin of the works of Theodosius of the Kiev Cave Monastery, etc. Yeremin's study of the work of I. Vyshensky and the publication of the latter's work was also an important event (Moscow, 1955, then Kiev, 1959).

The years after Stalin's death have seen an increase in scholarly work and in publishing in the history of Ukrainian literature. A new generation of scholars has to some extent filled the gaps left among the students of Ukrainian literature by the terror of the 1930's. Research work in the academic centers of the Ukraine has been extended. The most important studies have been carried out by the Shevchenko Institute of Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Universities and pedagogical institutes in Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, Uzhhorod, Chernivtsi, Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovohrad, and other cities have also engaged in research. Studies on Franko's literary legacy have been concentrated in Lviv. The development of literature in Bukovina has been studied in Chernivtsi.

The Shevchenko Institute of Literature and the Association of the Ukraine's Writers have put out a periodical *Ra-*

dians'ke Literaturoznavstvo (Soviet Studies of Literature) in which scholarly articles have appeared, as well as materials from the literary legacy of Ukrainian writers. In 1956 the first volume in a series of publications under the title *Literaturna spadshchyna* (Literary Heritage) appeared, in which unpublished works, correspondence, and other materials of importance to the history of literature were to be published.

In the 1950's communications were established between Ukrainian scholars and students of literature in countries which had come under Soviet influence after World War II. As a result of this new development, hitherto unknown manuscripts and data on Ukrainian writers were obtained by those doing research in Ukrainian literature.

In 1958, the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences published a collection, *Mizhslov'ians'ki literaturni vzaiemyny* (Inter-Slavic Literary Relations). The Slovak Academy of Sciences marked the Franko Centennial by publishing a bulky volume of works by Ukrainian, Slovak, and Czech students of literature, *Z dejin československo-ukrajinských vzťahov* (On the History of Czechoslovak-Ukrainian Relations), Bratislava, 1957.

Greater consideration is now given to source material. The publication of bibliographical works has been resumed and the following studies have appeared: *Khudozhnia literatura vydana na Ukraïni za 40 rokov* (Fiction Published in the Ukraine during the Last Forty Years), 1958; T. Akapova, *Pys'mennyky Zakarpattia* (Writers of Transcarpathia), 1958; *Ivan Franko—bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Ivan Franko—A Bibliographical Index), 1956; *Lesia Ukraïnka—bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Lesia Ukraïnka—A Bibliographical Index), 1956; *Osyp Makovei—bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Osyp Makovei—A Bibliographical Index), 1958, and others.

A scholarly scrutiny of the texts of the Ukrainian classics in preparing them for

publication is one of the tasks set by students of Ukrainian literature. The academic ten-volume edition of Shevchenko's works has been already completed, as has the two-volume edition of Kotliarevsky's works, six volumes of Kvitka-Osnovianenko, six volumes of Vovchok, four volumes of Nechui-Levytsky, five volumes of Myrnyi, five volumes of Lesia Ukraïnka, three volumes of Stefanyk, and twenty volumes of Franko (1950-6). A new development is the appearance of such studies of texts as M. Syvachenko's *Istoriia stvorennia romanu "Khiba revut' voly, yak yasla povni" Panas Myrnoho* (A History of the Creation of Panas Myrnyi's Novel "When One Has Enough One Does Not Complain"). However, the above-listed editions do not include or mention texts which do not fit in with the political requirements of the present regime. The editors make cuts in the texts and, in their comments, give propagandistic interpretations of the writers' creative works. For example, the bibliographical index, *Khudozhnia literatura vydana na Ukraïni za 40 rokiv*, does not even mention, for political reasons, such names as Khvylovyi, Liubchenko, and others.

The discarding of Stalin's "personality cult" and the condemnation of his terroristic policies have made possible the rehabilitation of some Ukrainian writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Antolohiia ukraïns'koï poezii* (An Anthology of Ukrainian Poetry), published in four volumes in 1958, included for the first time, after many years of prohibition, poetry by Kulish, Pchilka, Oles, Konysky, Samiilenko, and many others, although the poems printed were selected in accordance with official demands. The second volume of *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature), compiled by the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences in 1957 and devoted to the Soviet period, also appeared under the stamp of "rehabilitation." After twenty years of silence about

them, mention is made in this volume of such writers as Chumak, Ellan, Mykytenko, M. Kulish, Dosvitnii, Epik, Irchan, Pluzhnyk, and others. However, some writers are still ignored by Soviet publications, and from the creative works of "rehabilitated" authors only such material is selected as meets political requirements.

The study of the history of Ukrainian literary criticism has been resumed (cf. M. D. Bernshtein, *Ukraïns'ka literaturna krytyka 50-70kh rokiv XIX st.* [Ukrainian Literary Criticism of the 1850's-1870's], 1959). There has been active research into the literary legacy left by forgotten, or almost forgotten, minor Ukrainian writers. Works of S. Kovaliv, O. Makovei, T. Borduliak, A. Chaikovsky, U. Kravchenko, N. Kobrynska, and M. Pavlyk have been published. Names of even greater obscurity have appeared in articles and collections (cf. *Pys'mennyky Bukovyny pochatku XX stolittia* [Writers of Bukovina in the Early Twentieth Century], 1958, and S. Trofymuk, *Rozvytok revoliutsiinoï literatury v Zakhidnii Ukraïni* [The Development of Revolutionary Literature in the Western Ukraine], 1957).

Shevchenko's works are the subject of studies headed by E. Kyrlyuk, the author of many popular books and articles and of a monograph on the poet's life and creative work (1959). In 1954 I. Pilhuk published his book, *Taras Shevchenko-osnovopolozhnyk novoi ukraïns'koï literatury* (Taras Shevchenko as a Founder of the Modern Ukrainian Literature). A. Biletsky's studies deal with particular problems in the study of Shevchenko, such as "Shevchenko and World Literature," "Russian Stories by Shevchenko," "Shevchenko and Slavdom." Beginning in 1954 annual conferences devoted to studies of Shevchenko have taken place and *Zbirnyky prats' naukovykh shevchenkiv'skykh konferentsii* (Collections of Papers Presented at the Scholarly Conferences on Shevchenko) have been published.

The Franko Centennial was marked by the publication of old and new studies. In 1955 the works of Vozniak were republished: *Z zhyttia i tvorchosti Ivana Franka* (On Ivan Franko's Life and Creative Work) and *Narysy pro svi-tohliad Ivana Franka* (Essays on Ivan Franko's Weltanschauung). A group of scholars in Lviv, headed by Vozniak, published five collections of studies on Franko. The State Literary Publishing House of the Ukraine issued a two-volume collection *Slovo pro velykoho Kameniara* (The Tale of the Great Stone-Crusher). Particular problems in the study of Franko were dealt with in works by A. Biletsky, I. Bass, O. Kiselov, P. Kolesnyk, O. Moroz, and others. S. Shakhovsky's work, *Maisternist' Ivana Franka* (Ivan Franko's Artistic Mastery) is notable for its scholarly approach. The study of Franko along with that of Shevchenko has developed into a separate branch in the study of Ukrainian literature.

Several books devoted to research on the creative works of other Ukrainian classics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have appeared: on Kotliarevsky, Marko Vovchok, Kotsiubynsky, Lesia Ukraïka, Myrnyi, Stefanyk, Chereyshyna, and Kobylanska. These studies are stereotyped. As a rule, very little attention is paid to the writer's style, and the author's main concern is to show the position of the writer in question in the "struggle" between "progressive" and "reactionary" trends, and his use of realism which is held to be the only worthy literary school. All these studies are required to demonstrate the "unity of Ukrainian and Russian literature" and "the wholesome effect" of Russian on Ukrainian culture. This requirement results in direct falsification. The following works may be of interest in this respect: I. Bass, *Bielins'kyi i ukraïns'ka literatura 30-40-kh rokiv XIX st.* (Belinsky and the Ukrainian Literature of the 1830's and 40's), 1953; A. Biletsky, *Pushkin i Ukraïna* (Pushkin and Ukraine), 1954; M.

Parkhomenko, *Ivan Franko i rosiï'ska literatura* (Ivan Franko and Russian Literature), 1950; A. Trostianetsky, *Maiakovs'kyi i ukraïns'kaadians'ka poeziïa* (Maiakovsky and Ukrainian Soviet Poetry), 1952; D. Chalyi, *Stanovlennia realizmu v ukraïns'kii literaturi pershoï polovyny XIX st.* (Formation of Realism in the Ukrainian Literature of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century), 1956; N. Krutikova, *Hohol' i ukraïns'ka literatura XIX st.* (Gogol and the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century), and others. The same subject is treated in collections: *Russko-ukraïnskie literaturnye svyazi* (Russian-Ukrainian Literary Relations), 1954; *Hohol' i ukraïns'ka literatura XIX st.* (Gogol and the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century), 1954.

In the most recent works less emphasis is laid on the presentation of the all-important Russian influence and of the alleged dependence of all Ukrainian writing and literary trends on Russian literature. There is a discernible tendency to study the specifically national element in the Ukrainian literature (cf., Eugene Shabliovsky, *Natsionalni osoblyvosti ukraïns'koi literatury* [National Features of Ukrainian Literature], 1959).

When all study of Shevchenko was brought to a halt in Ukraine, the publication of *Povne vydannia tvoriv Tarasa Shevchenka* (A Complete Edition of the Works of Taras Shevchenko) outside the borders of Ukraine by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw assumed special importance. During the years 1934-9, thirteen of the sixteen originally planned volumes appeared in print. They were edited by Professor Paul Zaitsev, with notes and comments, and contained numerous studies written by D. Antonovych, L. Biletsky, I. Bryk, V. Doroshenko, D. Doroshenko, E. Malaniuk, S. Siropolko, S. Smal-Stotsky, and D. Čiževsky. This full and complete edition of the works of Shevchenko has been in the process of republication since 1959.

Zhyttia Tarasa Shevchenka (The Life of Taras Shevchenko), a basic work by Paul Zaitsev which summarized the results of studies of Shevchenko made in previous decades, was printed in Lviv in 1939. It was subsequently confiscated by the Soviet authorities, but it was revised later by the author and published in Munich in 1955.

N. Hlobenko

Ukrainian Literature and Literary Criticism Abroad

The establishment of the Soviet regime in Ukraine in the years 1919–20 and the systematic reprisals by this regime against Ukrainian writers, scientists, and artists in the late twenties and throughout the thirties resulted in the destruction—according to incomplete statistics—of 103 authors and the silencing of 74 others in the same field of endeavor, and compelled many Ukrainian writers and literary critics to emigrate to the West and there seek new opportunities for free scientific pursuit and endeavor.

At the end of the 1950's, there were over sixty literary specialists and critics in the United States, Canada, and western European countries as well as Australia. In continuing their literary and research endeavor in the chairs of various Western universities and within the framework of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, they produced a series of works from the history of the old (medieval), early modern, and contemporary literature, thus completing the works and research of literary specialists in Ukraine.

A series of outstanding works, especially those dealing with the poetic and artistic creativeness of Shevchenko, were produced by specialists of the older generation: Paul Zaitsev's monograph, *Zhyttia Tarasa Shevchenka* (The Life of Taras Shevchenko), which appeared in 1955; Volodymyr Doroshenko, works on Shevchenko and Franko; Leonid Bile-

tsky, works on Shevchenko (a four-volume edition of the *Kobzar*); Volodymyr Miia-kovsky, works on Shevchenko, the SS Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, the Decembrists, and the like; Paul Bohat-sky, articles on the publication of the *Kobzar*; Ivan Ohienko (Metropolitan Ilarion), *Slovník Shevchenkovoï movy* (Dictionary of Shevchenko's Language), which appeared in 1961. Other works and textbooks on the history of Ukrainian literature were published by Dmy-tro Čiževsky, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï litera-tury: Vid pochatkiv do doby realizmu* (The History of Ukrainian Literature: From the Beginning to the Era of Real-ism), 1956; Leonid Biletsky, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (The History of Ukrainian Literature), Vol. I, *Narodna poeziia* (Folk Poetry), 1947; Volodymyr Radzykevych, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï litera-tury* (The History of Ukrainian Litera-ture), Vols. I–III, 1947–53; *Ukraïns'ka literatura XX-ho st.* (Ukrainian Litera-ture of the Twentieth Century), 1952; Yar Slavutych, *Moderna ukraïns'ka poe-ziia, 1900–1950* (Modern Ukrainian Poetry, 1900–1950), 1950.

A series of studies and research on the destruction by the Soviet regime in Uk-raine of Ukrainian literature in the years 1917–50 was produced by George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917–1934* (1956); Bohdan Krawciw, *Obirvani struny: Antolohiia poezii poliahlykh, rozstrilianykh, zamu-chenykh i zaslanykh 1920–1945* (Broken Strings: Anthology of Poetry of the Dead, Executed, Tortured and Deported, 1920–1945), 1955, and *Na bahriianomu koni revolutsii: Do rehabilitatsiinoho protsesu v URSR* (On the Crimson Horse of the Revolution: On the Rehabilitation Process in the Ukrainian SSR), 1960; George Lavrinenko, *Rozstriliane vidrod-zennia: Antolohiia 1917–1933: Poeziia, proza, drama, esei* (The Executed Re-birth: Anthology 1917–1933: Poetry, Prose, Drama and Essays), 1959; Yar Slavutych, *Rozstriliana muza* (The Executed Muse), 1955, and *Muza u*

viaznytsi (The Muse in Prison), 1955; Basil Chaplenko, *Propashchi syly: Ukraïns'ke pysmenstvo pid komunistychnym rehymom, 1920-1933* (The Lost Forces: Ukrainian Literature under the Communist Regime, 1920-1933), 1960; Oksana Asher, *The Ukrainian Poet in the Soviet Union* (1959), and others.

In addition, a series of the works of the writers and poets who were liquidated by the Soviet regime were republished. Among them were: Nicholas Zerov, Paul Fylypovych, Nicholas Kulish, Valerian Pidmohyl'ny, Constantin Burevii (Edward Strikha), Nicholas Khvylovyi, with introductory articles by V. Derzhavyn, M. Orest, G. Kostyuk, Yu. Sherekh, G. S. N. Luckyj and others.

Other authors who produced literary works and articles were Volodymyr Bezushko, on Bohdan Lepkyi, Nicholas Hohol (Gogol), and others; Eugene Yu. Pelensky (1908-56), on Shevchenko, B. Lepkyi, and others; George Boiko, on Shevchenko and others; Joseph Hirniak, on the Ukrainian theater; Nicholas Hlobenko (1902-58), on the literature of the early modern era, Shevchenko, and others; Gregory Kostyuk, on the literature of the twentieth century; Peter Odarchenko, on Shevchenko, Lesia Ukraïnka, and others; Victor Petrov (1893 —), on Shevchenko; Basil Lew, on the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century; Luke Luciiv, on Shevchenko; Gregory Luzhnytsky, on the theater, B. Stefanyk, and others; Yaroslav Rudnytsky, on Shevchenko and others; A. Yuryniak, works on literary theory.

In literary criticism the following authors, among others, were active and prolific: Dmytro Buchynsky, Peter Volyniak, Peter Holubenko, Bohdan Hoshovsky, Viacheslav Davydenko, Volodymyr Derzhavyn, Dmytro Dontsov, Alexandra Zhyvotko-Chernova, Alexander Izarsky, Ivan Korowytsky, Ihor Kostetsky, Ivan Koshelivets, George Linchevsky, Nicholas Mokh, Emanuel Reis, Bohdan Romanenchuk, Vadym Svaroh, Basil Sofroniv-Levytsky, George Chorny,

George Sherekh (Shevelov), and Nicholas Shlemkevych.

B. Krawciw

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2. THE OLD PERIOD: ELEVENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

THE BEGINNINGS OF WRITING AND OF LITERATURE

Slavic writing was probably known in Ukraine before the acceptance of Christianity. It may have come from the Southern or Western Slavs. But undoubtedly the beginning of a wider acquaintance with writing came with Christianity at the end of the tenth century. Books, primarily Church Service books, came from the Southern or Western Christianized Slavs. Then the copying of these texts which had been brought in was begun. Independent literary works can be dated from the second third of the eleventh century (The Chronicle after 1030). The oldest dated manuscript which has come down to us is the Ostromir Gospel, 1056-7. A later copy of a 1047 manuscript (Books of the Prophets with a commentary written by the priest Upyr Likhoi) has been preserved.

TRANSLATED AND BORROWED LITERATURE

Origins

Before the Christianization of Rus' a rather large literature of Old Church

Slavonic translations had developed in the Slavic west (among the Czechs and Slovaks) and in the south (especially among the Bulgarians and Macedonians). Some of this literature reached Ukraine even before the formal baptism of the country. Soon thereafter translations began to be made locally. This new activity was stimulated by Prince Yaroslav (1019-54), who, according to the Chronicle, brought copyists and translators together in Kiev who translated a "mass of books." A study of the language shows that some of the old translations were actually made in Kiev.

Church Literature

For the Divine Service such books were needed as the Gospel, the Epistles, a Psalter, the Books of the Prophets, and the Pentateuch of Moses. These books were translated in Moravia. Also introduced into Ukraine were the *Liturgicon*, the *Sacramentarium*, collections of religious songs and prayers (the *Octoechos*), the two *Triodia* and the *Euchologion*, selected passages from the Holy Scriptures which were read in the Church services (*Paroemenarium*), and a collection of services in honor of the saints

Meneae. Among the translated hymns were works by outstanding Byzantine religious poets (John Damascene, Romanus the Sweet Singer, and others). These translations introduced examples of the "high style" of different genres ranging from essentially religious texts and poetry (the Psalter and the Church hymns) to ingenious stories (parables), proverbs (the Books of Solomon and Sirach), descriptions of military operations (the historical books of the Bible), didactic stories (Job), and novels of adventure (the book of Tobit and, in part, the book of Esther). The influence of this ecclesiastical literature was felt throughout old Ukrainian literature from sermons to secular chronicles and the historical-heroic epic.

Along with the Church Service books other types of religious literature reached Ukraine, such as sermons and Lives of the Saints. The sermons, usually chosen from the "classics" of the genre (John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa), were available in separate translations or in collections, *Zlatoust* (Chrysostom), *Margarit* (The Pearl), *Izmaragd* (The Emerald). The sermons of the old Slavic preachers (Clement the Slav and others) were also copied. The Lives were sometimes separate works of a considerable scope (Cyril-Constantine, Andrew Yurodyvy, Anthony), sometimes collections arranged according to the months of the year (the *Meneae* for Daily Reading), or, as in *Paterica* (of Sinai, of Scythia, of Rome), they were collections of stories about pious ascetics, sometimes about lay people, partly just collections of aphorisms. This biographical (hagiographical) literature was increased in Ukraine by the new translations; for example, the so-called *Synaksaria* (Old Ukrainian *Prolog*—Prologue) was extended to almost three times its former size. Mention must also be made of the Lives of Slavic origin (Cyril-Constantine, Methodius, and the Czech Saints Václav [2] and Ludmila).

Among the religious treatises, philo-

sophical and theological (The Source of Knowledge by John Damascene) as well as moral and ascetic works (the Pan-dects of Antioch, the Climax of Ioannes Climacos, etc.) were translated.

Apocrypha

Along with the ecclesiastical literature religious writings appeared which either were not recognized or were forbidden by the Church. These were "apocrypha" or stories about events and persons mentioned only casually in the Scriptures. This literature was almost exclusively translated, but was sometimes reworked in Ukraine. The "Old Testament" apocrypha told of the lives of Adam and Eve, Abraham, Moses, and Solomon; the "New Testament" ones, of the life of the Mother of God (the Gospel of James), of the childhood of Christ (the Gospel of Thomas), how Christ after his death on the cross went to hell and freed the souls of the righteous (the Gospel of Nicodemus), of the journey of the Mother of God to hell where she saw the tortures of sinners (*Khozhdenie po mukam* [Journey through Tortures]), and others. There were apocryphal lives of the saints (George, Nicetas), as well as several describing the end of the world in detail (Basil "the New"). And there were also apocryphal prayers and sermons (see below, the *Slovo Adama* [Word of Adam]).

Scholarly Literature

Most of the translations of the period were of historical works. All the evidence indicates that the History of the Jewish Wars (the Fall of Jerusalem) by Josephus Flavius and the universal history "Chronicle," by George Hamartolos, were translated in Kiev; a translation of the poetic Chronicle of John Malalas which deals with ancient history and mythology was brought from Bulgaria. There were also translations of several other historical works (Synkellos, Manasses, etc.). The work of Josephus Flavius which has artistic value, the

heroic and amorous episodes (H. Grégoire thinks that there may have been two translations of different versions). These romances had considerable influence on original Ukrainian literature.

Another group of stories was didactic. Among them was *Premudryi Akir* (Wise Akir—Ahikar), a tale in the old Babylonian tradition, which was translated in Kiev, perhaps from the Syrian. It is the history of a wise adviser to the Babylonian emperor into whose mouth are placed many proverbs, and these, along with a theme of adventure (the performance of many difficult tasks), furnish the chief interest of the story. Then there was *Stefanit i Ikhnilat* (in Arabic, "Kalila and Dimna"), the story of two jackals, which combines within a quite simple framework a mass of instructive fables of Indian origin. Finally, mention

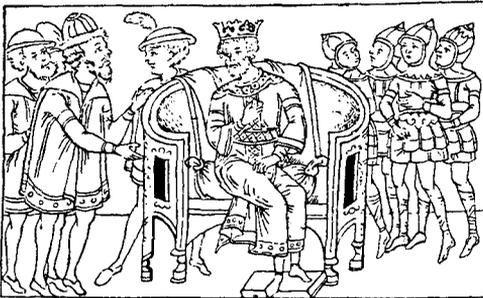


FIGURE 500. TSAR AVENIR WITH HIS NOBLES
Varlaam i Ioasaf (Krekhiv manuscript of the sixteenth century).

must be made of *Varlaam i Ioasaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat), the Christianized story of Buddha in which he is presented as a Christian in Greece, with many didactic episodes and parables, some of which are to be found in the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the thirteenth century the utopian Byzantine novel, *The Indian Kingdom*, a description of an imaginary Christian theocracy in India, the realm of Prester John, arrived in Galicia. Of later origin was the translation (from an eastern original) of a romance which gave a

Chronicle of Malalas, and later that of Manasses had an important influence on the original historical literature of old Ukraine (see below).

Literature about nature was represented by works which described what was known of nature at that time in Byzantium. John Exarch of Bulgaria's version of the *Shestodnef* (Hexaemeron) of Basil the Great and the geography of Kosmas Indikopleustos came from Bulgaria. The *Physiologos* combined scientific information with much that was fantastic and supplied a moral interpretation. Juridical literature was represented by collections of canon law (especially the *Nomocanon*).

A popular Greek encyclopaedia was translated in Bulgaria and a copy made in Kiev in 1073 known as Sviatoslav's *Izbornyk* (The Sviatoslav Chrestomathy) has been preserved. It contained information on theology and history, to which has been added the small handbook on poetics by George Choïroboscus. Later (up to the thirteenth century) various *Florilegia*, collections of extracts from classical and Christian literature, were translated. The interesting *Pchela-Melissa*—put together in Greek by Maxim the Confessor, contained a number of quotations from the works of the ancient philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria) and such tragic poets as Euripides, and from the Holy Scriptures and the fathers of the Church. There were other collections of quotations from Menandros and Barnabas.

Romances

In the early period several romances were translated. Among the historical ones were the *Alexandriad*, the history of Alexander of Macedon, and the *Story of Troy*—both of which first appeared in the Chronicle of Malalas. New translations were made from various versions up until the seventeenth century. In Kiev a translation was made of the heroic-historical *Digenes* romance, the story of a Greek hero with lively descriptions and

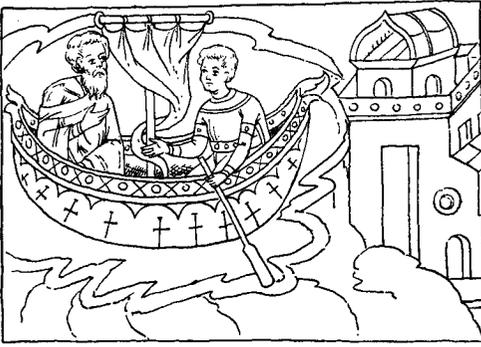


FIGURE 501. VARLAAM SAILS TO INDIA

Varlaam i Ioasaf (Krekhiv manuscript of the sixteenth century).

pessimistic depiction of the future of the world, *Syn tsaria Shakhaishi* (Son of Tsar Shakhaisha).

Poetry

Under the influence of Byzantine literature works in verse began to be written (the first, possibly, being the original writings of St. Cyril-Constantine). These works appear to have been more extensive than the fragments which have been preserved but they disappeared quite early, mainly as a result of the phonetical changes in the Old Church Slavonic and Old Ukrainian languages, since the disappearance of certain vowels destroyed their metrical form. The ecclesiastical hymns were usually translated into prose.

This translated and borrowed literature greatly influenced the style of old Ukrainian writings. It has recently been established that many of these works did not come from the Balkans, as had been thought previously, but from Moravia and Bohemia (Czech Lives of the Saints, the "Pannonian lives" of Cyril and Methodius, the Gospel of Nicodemus, and various other Lives, especially that of the Czech patron saint, Vit [Vitus], and the Roman *Patericon*). They were in part translated from Latin originals and had an important effect upon old Ukrainian literature (cf. studies by A. Sobolevsky, N. Nikolsky, J. Vařica, R. Jakobson, D. Čiževsky).

A large part of this literature was also popular in the West, where it circulated in Latin translations in the Middle Ages and later in translations and adaptations in popular tongues.

THE MONUMENTAL STYLE (LITERATURE OF THE GREAT KIEVAN REALM)

Characteristics

The variety of content and the high stylistic quality of the literature of the eleventh century, from its very beginning, has led some scholars to believe in the existence of a still older literary tradition in Kiev, now entirely lost (I. Ohienko, and in part N. Nikolsky). But so far no factual basis has been shown for this hypothesis. In any case the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries must be regarded as one of the most brilliant in the history of Ukrainian literature.

The works of the eleventh century are distinguished from those of the twelfth and thirteenth by a certain simplicity, by their monumental and monothematic composition. The infrequent stylistic adornments are restricted to a few types: favorite epithets, "solid formulas," phrases in the form of proverbs. The structure of the phrases is simple, they are shorter and often alliterative (in secular literature); sometimes the language is rhythmical (in religious works under the influence of church poetry). There are many citations from other works, introduced *in crudo* without adaptation.

Characteristic of the ideology of this period was the idea of a single great



FIGURE 502. MEETING OF ALEXANDER WITH THE DOG-HEADED MEN From the manuscript of the Alexandriad.

state which was made reality during the latter part of the reign of Yaroslav. This ideology was permeated with "Christian optimism" and the conviction that Christianity, which had been brought to *Rus'* shortly before the end of the world, was a guarantee of "salvation." Secular authors likewise believed in the possibility of harmony between the profane (the world) and the religious spheres. Asceticism was not severe and attempts were made to develop a moderate program for a worldly Christian life.

Sermons

In old Ukraine there were various types of sermons: moral, instructive, and solemnly festive. To the first type belong the sermons of St. Theodosius of the Cave Monastery (died 1074), written for the monks. These were chiefly based on texts from Holy Scripture. The chief artistic device of the author was the use of broad comparisons (souls are lamps in which prayer burns like oil; the church bell is like the call of a military trumpet). His ideal in monastic life is a moderate asceticism combined with productive work, which furnishes resources for philanthropic activity—the influence of the Palestinian type of asceticism. The oratorical sermon of the Metropolitan Hilarion (ante 1054) was constructed on a simple plan—a comparison between the religions of the Old and New Testaments—but its style belongs to the "high" solemn and adorned type with numerous metaphors and it ends by praising Volodymyr (Vladimir) and his descendants. Other sermons belong to one of these two types. The origin of many (whether translated or original) is not clear.

Tales

Historical narratives have seldom been preserved as independent works; they are mainly descriptions of the building of churches (one short piece apparently from the end of the tenth century) and the miracles of the saints. Among the larger works there is the tale of the

conversion of Volodymyr and the murder of his sons Borys (Boris) and Hlib (Gleb) by their brother Sviatopolk (the so-called *Skazanie* [Narrative]). This work gives a broad picture of events and employs various artistic devices: an imitation of popular laments in mourning for the deceased, excerpts from texts of the Scriptures, monologues by the characters, and so on. In the fifteenth century the Narrative was reworked in the Ukrainian-Slavic language.



FIGURE 503. BURIAL OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT From the *Skazanie* about SS. Borys and Hlib (from a manuscript of the fourteenth century).

Other originally separate tales became incorporated into the Chronicles; among the tales of the eleventh century must be placed the account of the blinding of Prince Vasylko of Terebovlia (Chronicle for 1097) as told by an eye-witness; the subject form is broad and there is an attempt at a psychological characterization; there are four accounts of the struggle with the *volkhvy* (the pagan sorcerers) (Chronicle for 1071); and, for 1074, there is the story of the monk Isaakii of the Cave Monastery at Kiev who was corrupted by demons despite his ascetic life. This latter tale is obviously aimed at excessive asceticism.

Lives

In the eleventh century two Lives (Lat. *vitae*) were certainly written by the monk Nestor of the Cave Monastery. One was the life of Borys and Hlib, the *Chtenie*; this was an expansion of the

account of their murder into a complete biography written not only for their countrymen but for all Christians (especially perhaps for the Czechs, since in 1092 part of the two princes' relics were moved to Bohemia; there are also indications of reverence paid to them in the Caucasus). This led to a more abstract exposition and there is less concrete historical material given than in the *Skazanie* (Narrative). The life of the first hegumen of the Kiev Cave Monastery, St. Theodosius, is depicted in bright colors, with a mass of historical and cultural-historical material and successful psychological characterizations. It provides a picture of the saint's spiritual development (including a description of his childhood) and references to his beliefs are woven into the narrative. In both Lives the influence of the Czech Church Slavonic Lives of St. Václav and other literature that had been ably used is noticeable.

Probably other Lives existed which have been lost—that of Anthony of the Cave Monastery (see below) and of the saintly Princess Olha (Olga) and Volodymyr (there may be remains of these in the *Pamiat' i pokhvata kn. Volodymyru* [In Memory and Praise of Prince Volodymyr] which has been credited without sufficient justification to a certain monk Jacob). The Chronicle contains a description of the murder of two Christian Varangians in Kiev before the Christianization of Rus' and this may be what is left of a Life about them. The Prologue contains short Lives of Kievan saints which have no literary importance, and a short life of Prince (later canonized) Mstyslav Volodymyrovych (twelfth century).

The So-Called Chronicle of Nestor: The Tale of Bygone Years

This eleventh century chronicle (the oldest extant manuscript dates from 1377) is a very complex work which has been the subject of study by historians (N. Kostomarov, M. Hrushevsky, M.

Priselkov) and by historians of literature (A. Shakhmatov). Tradition ascribed it to Nestor (see above) but he must be regarded as only one of the authors. It is now possible to assert that in all probability work on the text went through the following stages: (1) the first redaction was made when the Kievan metropolitanate was established in about 1037; (2) the continuation of the Chronicle up to about 1073 was accomplished by a different author who had an opportunity to use historical accounts of Tmutorokan; this was probably the monk Nikon of the Kiev Cave Monastery, who went there in the sixties, or one of his companions; (3) a further re-editing was completed in about 1093–5, by an author from the same monastery; (4) the Chronicle was again reworked with the use of various literary and archival materials (probably by Nestor); (5–6) two editions were made in the Vydubetsky Monastery between 1110 and 1118, the first ending with the entries of the hegumen Sylvester.

These authors added new current material, and sometimes edited the old. In this process they displayed a tendency to destroy traces of the existence of dynasties other than that of Rurik and they may also have omitted remarks about contacts with Rome.

The contents of the Chronicle are complex; it includes separate narratives (see above) and sermons; use was made of Byzantine and Western Slavic historical literature and old people's narratives (e.g., Yan Vyshatych). The introduction contains an account of the separation of the nations after the deluge; then the material is divided by years, but not always consistently. There is a detailed account of the acceptance of Christianity. The main material is Kievan but the story of Vasytko (see above) comes from Terebovlia and there is some material from Tmutorokan. Accounts are often given in the form of fictitious, cleverly written dialogues, and there are striking dramatic scenes. Al-

most all the authors use aphoristic sayings—"historical adages." There are favorite fixed formulae for the description of special actions (especially military campaigns).

The beliefs of the authors are Christian but their social attitude varies; the author of the redaction of 1093-5 is a partisan of the townspeople. All accept the unity of "Rus' Land." Frequently there are elements of Kievan patriotism and the authors of the redactions of 1073 and of 1093-5 are very critical of the policy of the princes. The last Vydubetsky revisions sympathize with the policies of Monomakh, and in this some participation by St. Mstyslav, the son of Monomakh, is discernible.

It is no wonder this work played a great role in all Ukrainian historical literature down to and including the Baroque period (see below).

The Old Epos

None of the old epos of the eleventh century has been preserved, but from the fragments of epics in the Chronicles and the north Russian songs, the so-called *bylinas* (more properly, *stariny*), one can hypothetically establish at least the subjects of some of the old epic works. These subjects can be divided into several cycles:

(1) The pre-Christian cycle centered around Volkh or Volga Vseslavych, who is reminiscent of Oleh (Oleg) of the Chronicle and who is a sorcerer in both the Chronicles and the *bylinas*. It is possible to link this name with that of another sorcerer-prince, Vseslav of Polotsk; and, in the *bylinas*, some elements from the tales about Princess Olha (Olga) were perhaps included, too.

(2) Several subjects are linked with the name of Volodymyr (Vladimir), the "Fair Sun." The prince himself only appears in the accounts of his banquets; but the *bylinas* have several tales of his uncle, Dobrynia, a real historical figure, who baptized the people of Novgorod: obtaining water for Volodymyr (water

being a symbol for baptism); his fight with a dragon (a symbol of paganism); and also his securing of a wife for Volodymyr (the subject reminds us of the theme of the Nibelungen). Ukrainian folklore still preserves the tale of the tanner who kills an unfriendly giant, which appears in the Chronicle and which the Chronicle places in the period of Volodymyr (987).

(3) In the *bylinas*, Volodymyr Monomakh is merged with Volodymyr the Great. The tale of the triumph of Alesha (Alexis) Popovych over Tuharyn Zmievych (the historical Polovtsian Tugorkhan) with its historical details can be placed in the time of Monomakh. The subject of another *bylina*—the raid of Hlib (Gleb) Volodievych against the people of Chersonesus who had detained some Kievan ships—is a reflection of the actual raid made by the young Volodymyr Monomakh and Prince Hlib of Novhorod against Chersonesus. A third subject of the period, the imprisonment in Kiev of Stavr Godinovich, the envoy of Novgorod, is an historical event fixed by the Novgorod Chronicle; the story of Stavr's liberation alone is fictitious.

(4) The *bylina* about the Scandinavian bard, Solovei Budymyrovych, who marries the niece of the Prince of Kiev, may be of the time of Yaroslav the Wise. This may be the story of the marriage of Harald, a Scandinavian prince and skald, who later became King of Norway, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Yaroslav, who was the subject of his songs and of legends in various languages. Perhaps the religious song of St. George reflects the deeds of Yaroslav (whose Christian name was George). In it George introduces order into the "Rus' Land" by freeing it of wild beasts, opens up a path along the Dnieper (Yaroslav did this in uniting the principalities of Novgorod and Kiev), and frees his sisters from a "Catholic prison" (Yaroslav did free his sisters from imprisonment by the Polish king, Boleslaw).

(5) In the *bylinas* about the most

popular of the heroes of this genre, Elijah Muromets, remains of the Chernihiv epos can be seen; according to an old tradition his name was not Muromets but something like Murovets (apparently from the city Murovsk or Muroviisk in the Chernihiv region). It was he who freed Chernihiv from a hostile attack. The stories about him can be placed in the times of Volodymyr the Great. He is mentioned in western European epics as well.

There are several other epic themes which may have arisen in the eleventh century. The remains of these epic tales can be proved to have survived in Ukraine and Belorussia up until the eighteenth century. The contemporary Russian *bylinas* are late (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) and are reworkings of old material. It is hard to say anything definite about the form of the original old epos.

The Works of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh

Volodymyr (Vladimir) Monomakh (1053–1125) was the author of several works which have been preserved although there are certain gaps in them: the *Pouchenie* (Instruction) written for his children, a letter to Prince Oleh of Chernihiv, and prayers.

The Instruction is written according to a definite plan and draws a picture of a model Christian prince. Religious and philosophical comments are followed by advices to a prince in the conduct of his private life and in ruling a state and leading an army. The work ends with the Prince's autobiography.

The letter to Oleh (Óleg) was written for a concrete reason—the death of one of Monomakh's sons in a war with Oleh—but it was intended to make known the essence of Monomakh's political aims, that the princes should live at peace with one another. The prayers of Monomakh were a compilation.

The works of Monomakh are interesting both lexicographically and stylisti-

cally; he uses fine images and comparisons which disclose an affinity to folklore and a propensity for quotation from literature. His works reveal his literary method; he copied and collected passages from his reading, and kept a diary (at least of his numerous—83—military campaigns). He may have read Greek literature in the original for he was the son of a Byzantine princess and his father, Vsevolod, the son of Yaroslav, knew five languages.

Daniel the Pilgrim

The description of a journey to Palestine made by Daniel, presumably the hegumen of Chernihiv, belongs to the same period (the beginning of the twelfth century). The account describes landscapes, towns, buildings and, more rarely, people. In his descriptions of his journey the author includes apocryphal accounts from literature.

The Collection of 1076

There are also elements of original writing in this collection of texts, written in Kiev in 1076, but consisting in part of translations from the Greek. It is a collection of short tales and sayings dealing with social ethics and charity. Some of them are in verse; there is much alliteration which suggests that they are either original works or were put into verse by the translators.

Prayers and Liturgical Literature

Prayers were one of poetical genres. Several original prayers and services for local saints have been preserved from the eleventh century. Later, references to a Gregory, "a creator of canons," in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appear but it is not known whether he was the author of those works of this genre which have been preserved.

Practical Literature

This falls outside the boundaries of belles-lettres. To this area of writing belong the juridical texts of the *Ruskaia Pravda* (Rus' Law) of Yaroslav and its

continuation by his sons (the ecclesiastical statutes of Volodymyr the Great and of Yaroslav are not of absolutely certain origin). Among compilations of a practical character the Chronographies or surveys of universal history, based on the translated chronicles (see above) and the Chronicle, must be noted. These works must have been begun in the eleventh century, for they were used in the writing of the Chronicle of Nestor. A few letters of the hierarchs are important for studies rather than as literature.

THE ORNAMENTAL STYLE IN LITERATURE (THE PERIOD OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE KIEVAN REALM)

Characteristics

During the period of the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries there was a transition in all European literatures, and especially in that written in Medieval Latin, from a more simple to an "ornamental" style. This "ornamental" style became predominant in Ukrainian literature, from about the second third of the twelfth century. Stylistic adornment acquired primary importance in literary works. In new works borrowings from the older literature were usually reworked in the new style.

One feature of this new style was its symbolism, that is, the setting forth of ideas in images which are "symbols" of those ideas. This was not only a literary device but characteristic of the mental outlook of the period. Such new devices as the use of brilliant and original epithet, hyperbole, and numerous antitheses appeared. Another feature was an inclination toward "dramatization" in exposition, and an effort to change and vary traditional formulae.

The outlook of this period, when various principalities into which the Kievan state had disintegrated were losing power and wealth, was marked by a

pessimistic sense of the gap between the "world" and the church; there was an increase in asceticism and in renunciation of the "world" and, on the other hand, in a consciousness of the "world."

Gradually other literary centers besides Kiev (Chernihiv, Turiv, Pereiaslav, Western Ukraine) began to grow up in Ukraine. The influences of Kievan literature began to spread far beyond the boundaries of Ukraine, in particular to Suzdal, Smolensk, and among the Southern Slavs.

Sermons

The most important preacher of the twelfth century was Cyril, Bishop of Turiv (born ca. 1130-40). He left sermons (eight which are known to be authentic have come down to us), two tales (see below), prayers, and letters to princes which have since been lost. His sermons were included in a cycle arranged for Sundays during the Easter season. All of them deal with Christology. His exposition is symbolic (e.g., spring is the symbol of the Resurrection), and the symbols are often expanded into descriptions (a depiction of spring and people's feelings). The Christological theme, the two natures, divine and human, in the person of Christ, leads Cyril to a rich use of antitheses. Also characteristic of his sermons is their dramatic exposition; he uses dialogue, monologue, laments (differing from the popular type, such as the lament of the Mother of God over the dead Christ). He addresses persons mentioned in the sermons directly, the Apostles, for example, and the heretic Arius, employs parallels, often in connection with his antitheses, and sometimes introduces rhythmical language. He makes use of various literary works, among others Greek (cf. study by Vasiliy Vinogradov).

There are various other types of twelfth century sermons. There are some which are simple in form like the Chernihiv *Slovo o kniaz'iakh* (Sermon on Princes) which sharply attacks the

princes' hostility toward one another. There are also solemn, oratorical sermons like the one included in the Chronicle under the year 1199; the panegyric to Riuryk II, Prince of Kiev, of Moses, hegumen of the Vydubetsky Monastery; and the praise of St. Clement, patron of Kiev, which concludes with a glorification of Kiev.

Later examples of sermons are those of Serapion, Bishop of Vladimir near Suzdal (1272-4), some delivered in Kiev and others in Vladimir. They make use of repetition, and picture divine punishments such as the Tatar invasion and various other catastrophes.

Tales

Cyril of Turiv also wrote moral and instructive tales, of which two have been preserved; they are "parables" having a symbolic interpretation. One of them is borrowed from the story *Varlaam i Ioasaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat) (see above); the other is apparently from the Talmud.

Several separate historical tales are included in the Chronicle. The chief of these concern the killing of the monk, Prince Ihor of Chernihiv, in Kiev (1147), the murder of Prince Andrew Bogoliubsky of Suzdal (1175), and stories of the two Tatar invasions—the battle on the Kalka, which was lost by the Eastern Slavs (1227), and the devastation of Kiev (1240). They make use of older works: religious literature (about Borys and Hlib), tales of the Tatar attack, and "military" literature (Flavius Josephus). The story of the murder of Prince Michael of Chernihiv when he visited the Tatar Horde (124?) has been preserved only in late redactions.

The Patericon of the Kievan Cave Monastery

This is a collection of twenty-four tales to which additional material (the above-mentioned life of Theodosius, various tales of the establishment and development of the monastery, tales about

Isaakii, praise of the saints) was added in later copies (copies made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of two redactions have been preserved). It originated in the correspondence between Simeon, a monk of the Cave Monastery in Kiev, who in 1215 became Bishop of Suzdal, and Polycarp, also a monk of the Cave Monastery. Simeon himself provides eleven of these tales and Polycarp adds another thirteen in the form of letters to Akindyn, the hegumen of the monastery; the letters are simply a literary form. The *Patericon* is not a collection of Lives, although it belongs to the tradition of the old *Paterica*. It contains tales of various lengths, some of only a few lines (Pymen and Kuksha). From the standpoint of cultural history, the *Patericon* is one of the most interesting examples of Kievan literature. Simeon's sketches are simpler than Polycarp's but they are not without artistic value; Polycarp's tales are often full of dramatic tension and also contain apt psychological characterizations. He describes his subjects' temptations by devils, conflicts with the princes, and even, at times, romantic stories (Moses Uhryn); a few tales are devoted to the spiritual life of the monks. Some of the details are derived from folk legends. The *Patericon* represents a consistently ascetic point of view; both authors renounce the "world" and they are generally indifferent to political matters, although they attack the immorality of the princes. The work was revised and later it was printed with editions continuing to appear up until quite recent times.

Chronicles

The basic texts of these works are copies of the so-called Hypatian Chronicle (manuscripts from the beginning of the fifteenth century and later have been preserved), in which several Ukrainian Chronicles were incorporated.

The Kievan entries continued up to 1199 and were presumably compiled in part at the Vydubetsky Monastery, the

last part apparently being worked over by the hegumen Moses (see above). The accounts in the Kievan Chronicle are artistic and the narrative includes dialogues between the persons involved and gives their "historical judgments." The authors of the first section, up to the seventies, are especially fond of descriptions of military events. The persons involved are represented as "knightly" and concepts of "honor" and "insult" play a great role (although neither the authors nor their heroes forget the material profits of war); Christian motives are quite prominent and there are laudatory comments on the crusaders of 1188 and 1190. Among the "insertions" mention must be made of "necrologies" of the princes, the account of the campaign (1185) of Ihor of Novhorod-Siversky (the theme of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* [Tale of Ihor's Armament]—see below). It is possible that some of these "insertions" come from separate works which have been lost. The events of the last decades described are of more ecclesiastical nature.

The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle begins with 1200 and continues to 1292. It is a highly artistic and complex work. The biography of Prince Daniel of Halych is given up to 1255 and then the narrative is divided by years (with errors). This is an early example of the genre of secular biography (which developed in the thirteenth century among the Serbs and is paralleled among the Russians by the biography of Alexander Nevsky, after 1263; the Tver biography of Michael Aleksandrovich and Boris Aleksandrovich are of the fifteenth century). The author, a secular scholar (*knyzhnyk*), was probably one of the prince's officials. Additions by various authors follow, and among these the portrait of Volodymyr Vasylykovich of Volhynia (1287-8) is distinguished by the beauty of its style. It was presumably written by Volodymyr's secretary Fedorets. (For other insertions such as those on the Tatar invasion, see "Tales").

Daniel's biographer was an educated

man who sometimes used and quoted from literary works (e.g., Homer). The narrative is dramatized, there are many "historical aphorisms," proverbs, and, in the beginning, epic material from the Ukrainian (Monomakh) and Polovtsian (the *grass-yeveshan*) epos. The poetic formulae are even more complicated than in the Kievan Chronicle (many show the influence of Josephus and perhaps of Digenes, the Alexandriad, etc.). Individual scenes are well drawn and there are elaborate epithets; the author is fond of certain words and loves complicated syntactical constructions (the dative absolute). The continuations are more simply written, with the exception of the previously mentioned portrait of the learned prince and patron of the arts, Volodymyr Vasylykovich.

In the Hypatian manuscript there are references to some earlier, lost parts of the Galician Chronicle; on the basis of the texts that are preserved the existence of a lost Chernihiv Chronicle may be assumed. The northern Chronicles indicate that one or perhaps two Pereiaslav Chronicles existed. The Polish historian Dlugosz (fifteenth century) is believed to have used the lost Galician-Volhynian Chronicle which continued up to at least 1128.

Epos

Traces of the epic songs of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries are not very numerous. Their subjects like those of the earlier epos are known from the Chronicles and the *bylinas*, and partly from contemporary Galician and old Bulgarian folklore.

Traces of a "court" epos typical of thirteenth century Europe are found in the theme of the two heroes, Churylo and Diuk Stepanovych—wealthy, gallant cavaliers, of obviously Galician provenance; the name Churylo has been preserved in Galician folklore and by the Polish writers Rej and Klonowicz; the name of Diuk is Western and furthermore, in the *bylina*, he arrives at Kiev

from Halych. The tale of Michael Potok, preserved by a *bylina*, was probably brought to Galicia from Bulgaria, which is not far distant, with the apocryphal legends of the Bulgarian St. Michael of Potok. Songs connected with the Turkish invasion are: (1) the victory of Elijah Murovets over the Tatar tsar Kalin; (2) the victory of Vasylii Ihnatovych over the Tatar tsar Batyha; (3) the song of the destruction of the *bahatyri* (*bohatoryri*) on the River Kama (Kalka). These songs are certainly ancient, but it is not sure that all of them come from Ukrainian territory.

Of the old oral tales some individual ones have been preserved, about Roman and Daniel of Halych (Songs about Prince Roman, who killed his wife, may be connected with Prince Roman of Halych) and about the child-hero Mykhailyk, who left Kiev, taking the Golden Gates with him. There are references to other Kievan *bahatyri* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Daniel Lovchany, Demian Kudenevych) in the northern *Chronicles*.

Little is known definitely about the form of this epos. Some contemporary *bylinas*, such as Diuk, suggest a greater ornamentation in the epos of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Slovo o polku Ihorevi (The Tale of Ihor's Armament)

This is the only example of an old epic that has been preserved and since it is unique, its form cannot be taken as typical of the lost works.

The work was found in a manuscript, probably of the sixteenth century, of Pskov origin, at the end of the eighteenth century. This manuscript was burned in 1812. Suspicions that the text was forged in the eighteenth century or earlier (Mazon) do not appear to be well founded for there are no linguistic or historical mistakes; the scanty knowledge of the old literature in the eighteenth century would have made such a forgery impossible; and there could be no politi-

cal interest in forging a description of an unsuccessful campaign.

The subject of the epic is a campaign conducted by Prince Ihor of Novhorod-Siversky, against the Cumans in 1185, which ended in his complete defeat. The exposition contains many obscure details and this is not only because of its "corrupt passages." It is obscure because of its rich symbolism, which the author does not always explain, and which almost conceals reality. Symbols replace



FIGURE 504. THE BATTLE OF IHOR WITH THE CUMANS

From the Radziwill Chronicle manuscript.

events (a battle is a wedding banquet or a harvest), are used for the names of persons and objects (the princes are suns, the *Rusychi* are falcons), and indicate countless good and bad portents (bloody dawns, the groan of the earth, dark clouds). Another favorite device is hyperbole. The princes are depicted as cosmic forces; for example Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halych "shoots sultans beyond the lands," or hurls weights beyond the clouds; Sviatoslav "trampled graves and abysses . . . dried up streams and swamps."

Mythological images which in the twelfth century appeared in Byzantine and western European poetry are another characteristic form of ornament—Khors, Veles, Dazhboh, Troian, and the beings of "lower mythology," Dyv, Diva-Obida. Perhaps at the time they were interpreted euhemeristically (as in Malalas and the Hypatian Chronicle) as princes

and heroes of olden times who were later mistakenly considered "gods."

Much alliteration and other types of euphony adorn the language, which is sometimes rhythmical but is not versified.

The most brilliant images in the work depict sounds and colors: all the animals and birds in the steppe have their own voices (special verbs) and all actions are connected with real or symbolic sounds (*zvenyt slava*—praises peal, literally glory rings); the epithets "golden, silver, black, red, green," etc. are used frequently and in an original manner. There are images, phrases, and separate words which connect the work closely with the old literature and with Ukrainian folklore (E. Barsov, V. Peretts, R. Jakobson).

The work was written by someone in court circles and is evidence of the beginning of a "court literature" in Ukraine. Attempts to identify the author have failed although it is possible that he was a Galician boyar who went to Novhorod-Siversky in the company of the daughter of Yaroslav Osmomysl. There are also many words which this work shares with the West Slavic languages (A. Orlov).

Ihor's Tale is the last expression of the idea of the "unity of the Rus' Land" with its old center at Kiev, and the author seeks reasons and proofs in history for this unity.

The Lament of Daniel

This thirteenth century work which has been preserved in many late copies is a collection of proverbs and wise sayings of diverse character and origin (probably collected among the people, although many are from literary works). They are centered around the theme of advice, "instruction" to a prince. It is an example of a genre of poetic petitions, which existed in Byzantium (Theodore Prodromos—twelfth century) and in the West.

An Original Apocryphal Work

The only example of an original work of an apocryphal nature (in three defective

copies) is the *Slovo Adama vo adi ko Lazariu* (Adam's Appeal to Lazarus in Hell). Stylistically it is reminiscent of *Slovo o polku Ihorevi*, but its content links it with the Gospel of Nicodemus. In it David and the prophets "complain" of their fate in hell, but in the end (corrupt in the manuscripts), Christ is to come to hell and release the righteous. There are echoes of this work in the seventeenth century, in K. Tr. Stavrovetsky and in the drama, *Slovo o zburenni pekla* (The Tale of the Destruction of Hell) (see below).

Practical Literature

The scope of this literature is considerable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; there are letters, in particular an epistolary theological treatise by the preacher and scholar Clement Smoliatych, Metropolitan of Kiev (middle of twelfth century), who was well known at the time. He gives symbolic interpretations of special passages of Scripture (bringing in Homer, Plato, and Aristotle). Another letter, one of instruction to Princess Anastasia, also attests to the general literary life of the epoch.

There are several letters by hierarchs: two letters against the "Latins" written to Iziaslav II (ascribed without basis to St. Theodosius and probably written by a Greek, Fedos, hegumen of the Cave Monastery in the twelfth century). Later letters by Metropolitan Cyril II (presumably a Galician, 1243–80), Peter (a Galician, in Moscow 1308–25), and Alexis (of a Chernihiv boyar family, 1355–77) are interesting for the light they throw on the history of the life of the church. On the other hand, prayers of Cyril of Turiv have a certain literary value.

Historical and compilatory Chronographies appeared at this time as well as the *Tolkovaia paleia* (Annotated Palea), an anti-Jewish commentary on the Old Testament, which, in some respects, is puzzling, and its Ukrainian or Belorussian sequels of the thirteenth century.

Juridical documents of various kinds have been preserved from this period of which the legal and linguistic aspects present the most interest.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION (FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

Characteristics

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Ukraine as in Western Europe a courtly literature developed, in which religious motives were still perceptible. Then in the fourteenth century political changes brought almost all Ukraine into the Lithuanian-Polish commonwealth, and only the metropolitan see and the monasteries remained as important cultural centers. As a result, literary output diminished. For a long time the style did not change from that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although ecclesiastical elements increased. No talented authors appeared at this time.

The Old Tradition

The old tradition continued only in the copying and reworking of old writings. The Laurentian Chronicle (the Chronicle of Nestor with the Suzdalian continuation) was copied in Western Rus' and decorated with more than 600 wonderful miniatures (the so-called Radziwiłł MS). The Psalter was reworked and new prayers were added, some of them original (Cyril of Turiv); the Prologue was extended; the *Meneae* introducing many elements of the vernacular were again reworked (preserved in a Belorussian copy of 1489); the *Patericon* of the Cave Monastery was revised and supplemented (the Ukrainian, so-called Kasianivska, redaction of 1462). Collections of sermons, mostly translated, were compiled and enlarged. Characteristic of the period were the beginnings of a "private literature," such as the collection of literary excerpts and materials of 1483.

Connected with the old tradition are the "West Rus'" Chronicles, which are, to a certain extent, chronographical; there are yearly entries, but scattered among them are imitations of the epic passages of the old Chronicles, a eulogy to Prince Vytautas, for example, and a eulogy to Prince Constantine of Ostrih for his victory over the Muscovite army at Orsha in 1515. The short so-called Kievan Chronicle appeared outside the borders of Ukraine (in Novgorod).

New Influences

From the Balkans came new translations, such as the *Areopagitika* (works of a Christian mystic, wrongly ascribed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite) with a commentary by Maxim the Confessor. Other translations were of the works of the ancient fathers and of new Christian writers (Isaac the Syrian, Simeon "the new Theologian," Gregory of Sinai, Palamas, Kavasilas, Maxim the Confessor, and others). It is possible that some of these were done on Mount Athos especially for Ukraine (the Cave Monastery). Some of them were the work of the school of the Bulgarian Patriarch Euthymios of Trnovo (after 1372). The influence of this school (with its linguistic, chiefly orthographic, reform and its mystical religious beliefs) was spread in Ukraine through the activities there of its representatives, Metropolitan Cyprian (in Kiev in 1373) and Gregory Tsamblak (1415). Tsamblak himself wrote sermons in a splendidly ornate style, some of which have been preserved, but they did not create a local school or, if they did, its works have been lost.

Hesychasm

This significant spiritual, only partly literary, influence of the new (thirteenth century) mystical theological trend in Byzantium (especially on Athos) is evident in the Kasiian redaction of the *Patericon*. The influence of this trend spread through the new translations (of Palamas) and survived in Ukraine until

the seventeenth century (Ivan Vyshensky—see below).

The Judaizers

Western influences, which are, in part, obscure, gave rise to the fifteenth century sect called the Judaizers (a name given them later by their enemies) to which a number of the clergy belonged. As none of their theological works have been preserved, the basis for their religious rationalism, the unusually great importance they attached to the Old Testament, and their hostility to the official church is unsure. Their translations from old Hebrew (and perhaps from Arabic) have survived. These are partly translations of a Jewish text of the Holy Scriptures, partly scientific and pseudo-scientific works (the logic of the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides, an Introduction to Philosophy by the Arabic philosopher Algazali, the pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomy, Secret of Secrets, etc.). In the course of several decades these works became very popular in western Europe in Latin translations. It is possible that some of the religious works ascribed to the sect were not all theirs, but were translated by Jews for Jews who did not understand Hebrew. The chief value of this literature lies in the interesting philosophical terminology which was worked out in writing it. The character and date of these translations has led some (D. Čiževsky) to assume that they show certain Renaissance influences; there may also be some Hussitic influence exerted either directly or through Hungary. The sect moved from Kiev to Novgorod and Moscow and was there totally annihilated both physically and spiritually.

Other Trends

Only insignificant reflections remain of the still older sect of the "Strigolniki" which is otherwise completely unknown. It left in Ukraine a reworking of a col-

lection of sermons, the *Izmaragd* (Emerald), which contains a sharp criticism of the clerical class. The minor influence of the so-called "Flagellantes" (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) is to be seen in the translations of the works *Son Bohorodytsi* (The Dream of the Mother of God) and the Letter to Heaven, which have been preserved in late copies.

It is not clear to what epoch the influence of the Bulgarian Bogomils, a dualistic sect, belongs (perhaps it is older still). It left some apocryphal works in Ukraine and some influence on folklore may be ascribed to it.

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3. THE RENAISSANCE, THE REFORMATION, AND THE BAROQUE

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

The sixteenth century brought a new literary development in Ukraine. It was the period of departure from Byzantine literary traditions, and of approach to western European standards.

The Renaissance and the Reformation began to exert their influences almost simultaneously. For that reason these influences were intermingled and modified in Ukraine. Early in the sixteenth century the Western Renaissance was already declining. Its indisputable gains were still in evidence, however: the familiarity with antiquity, mainly with classical literature; the development of a new literary, rhetorical, and refined style; the enrichment of literary themes by the addition of a new "secular," and particularly an erotic, content; a certain skepticism toward authority (ecclesiastical and secular); the awakening of "individualism" or, in other words, the recognition of man's right to challenge ecclesiastical and secular authorities; the awakening of interest in nature as an object of artistic representation and scientific research.

In Ukraine there appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, all these new motifs, the weakest of them being the interest in nature. In large measure the weakness of the Renaissance concepts in Ukraine was determined by the fact that

the carriers of the cultural tradition at that time were still predominantly churchmen, and that the attention of the secular consumers of cultural values was likewise directed, because of the intensive Church conflict, to the sphere of ecclesiastical interests; on the other hand, there failed as yet to emerge in Ukraine such secular centers of spiritual life as the universities in the West, and scholarly activity remained in the hands of ecclesiastic circles. (In the Ostrih Academy attempts were made to establish secular learning, but this center was short-lived.)

In addition, at the very beginning of this period, the influences of the Reformation accompanied those of the Renaissance. The influences of the Hussite "pre-Reformation" were already noticeable in the circles of the so-called Judaizers (see p. 988), while the influence of the Reformation in its radical forms (Calvinism, and chiefly Socinianism) found its way into Ukraine together with the influences of the Renaissance, partly through Poland. The Reformation, without rejecting certain achievements of the Renaissance, weakened the "secularization" of culture, and thus again strengthened religious influences; and in place of the rejected ecclesiastical authorities, advanced others, particularly the authority of the Word of God which was to speak to each individual and to each people in its particular language. Finally,

it weakened even the influence of the ancient literary tradition by elevating the Bible to a primary position, on the plane of the ancient classical literary works.

In Ukraine the influences of the Renaissance and Reformation were further weakened by the fact that the establishment of relations with the West intensified the necessity of absorbing those literary works which had not come to Ukraine in the time of their flourishing abroad. It so happened that literary activity was partly directed towards the goal of overtaking the West. Moreover, in the sixteenth century and even later the literary works of the Middle Ages (the most outstanding among them being *Velyke Zertsalo* [The Great Mirror] and the *Rymski Diiannia* [The Roman Acts—*Gesta Romanorum*]) were still being acclimatized to Ukraine. This period did not produce in Ukraine any outstanding literary figures who might be compared with the writers of the old literature or of the later literary Baroque. For that reason few works of this period acquired popularity; the few copies made have not been preserved and have left no significant traces in later literature. The literary activity of the age, although extensive, remained unproductive, or rather “unnoticeable.” Moreover, the age of the Renaissance and Reformation in Ukraine lasted for a short time, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century it was replaced by the brilliant Baroque, which prevailed until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the sixteenth century the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Belorussia and Ukraine) had a common cultural life; and for that reason it is difficult to distinguish the traditions and the language of the literary works of Belorussian and Ukrainian origin. The process whereby the consciousness of national differentiation progressed continued at a slow pace, especially during the age of the Baroque.

The Tale

For the most part the enrichment of the literary repertory came in the literature of the tale, both secular and religious. These works were translated and adapted on the basis of their Latin originals or their Slavic translations (Croatian, Czech, Polish). To the category of TRANSLATED TALES belong, among others, the stories of the Three Kings—the Magi who worshipped Christ; the tale of St. Alexis (the older translation dating from the eleventh century fell into disuse); and the stories about the Sybil, the prophetess, and others. The Story of the Passion of Christ was independently worked out. The *Alexandriad* was freshly translated from the Serbo-Croatian translation-adaptation and so was the Trojan History (likewise, probably, from Serbo-Croatian). Italian originals were represented by the tales (which came indirectly through the Western Slavs) of Tristan and Isolde, Prince Bova, the Seven Wise Men, Attila, the Three Kings, Emperor Otto, and others.

Original narrative literature was not extensive (or has been lost), and was related in part to the religious struggle (for example, the tale of the wall of the Athos Monastery which crumbled and crushed the adherents of the Church Union, as related by Ivan Vyshensky). At the same time, probably, there appeared some stories about miracles, which were preserved by writers of the Baroque period.

Translations of the Holy Scriptures

The old texts of the Psalter and of the liturgical books were printed in 1491 and subsequently by a German, Schweipolt Fiol, in Cracow. It is still not certain whether or not the initiative for printing these books originated in Ukrainian circles. There were also Serbian printings by Božidar Vuković (1536–8). In the years 1517–19 in Prague, and in 1529 in Vilna, books of the Bible were printed by a Belorussian, Francis Skoryna. His



FIGURE 505. THE APOSTLE ST. LUKE
From the *Peresopnytsia Gospel*, cc. 1556–61.

belief that the Bible was the encyclopaedia of all knowledge and literature, which he expressed in the prefaces to his publications, is characteristically Protestant. The greatest scholarly achievement of the period was the Ostrih Bible of 1581, which gave in print the Church Slavonic text of the entire Bible as verified according to the Greek redaction. This text remained valid among the Orthodox Slavs until the middle of the eighteenth century. The idea of translating the Bible into the vernacular undoubtedly originated among the Protestants, although the then numerous translations, chiefly of the Gospels, were not necessarily made by adherents of Protestantism. Between 1556 and 1561 appeared the *Peresopnytsia Gospel*, in

1571 the Volhynian Gospel, between 1595 and 1600 the Litkiv Gospel, and in 1604, another translation of the Gospel. The translation of the Old Testament made by Luke of Ternopil appeared in 1569. A Protestant coloration is to be noted in the translations of the Acts and Epistles of Krekhiv (1563–72), in the translations of the Gospels made by Valentine Nehalevsky in 1581, and in those of Basil Tiapynsky at the beginning of the seventeenth century (both were Belorussians).

Polemical Literature

The religious struggle gave rise to an extensive polemical literature which was at first chiefly connected with the activity of the Ostrih cultural center (see "Education"). The individual works of polemical literature had a theological as well as a scholarly character: see the



FIGURE 506. TITLE PAGE OF THE OSTRIH BIBLE
OF 1581

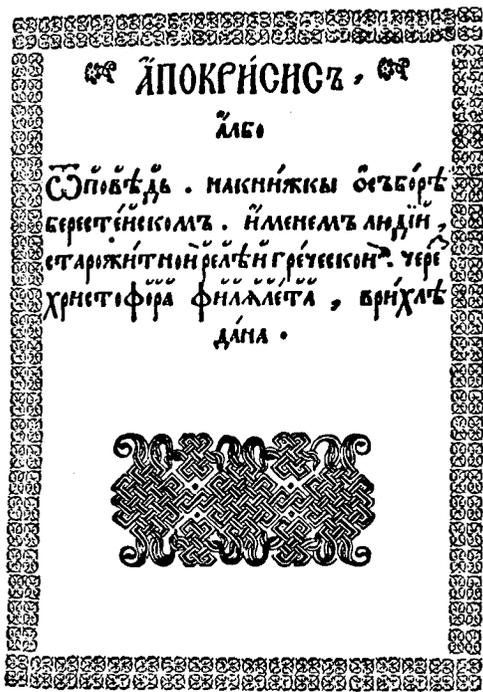


FIGURE 507. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Apokrisis* OF 1598

work of Basil of Surazh, *Knyzhytza o viri yedynoi* (Treatise on the One Faith), 1588 or the *Apokrisis* (which was the work of a Protestant, Kh. Bronsky or M. Bronevsky), 1598.

As to literary form, noteworthy are: *Kliuch tsarstva nebesnogo* (The Key to the Kingdom of Heaven), 1587, by Herasym Smotrytsky, the works of the "Clerk of Ostrih," as well as the prefaces to the Ostrih publications of Damian Nalyvaiko, which were written in simpler language. The Sermons of St. Ivan Zalizo of Pochaiv were written in still simpler language. Ideologically, the richest in content is the *Perestoroha* (Warning), published in 1605, in which the process of history is presented as a struggle of the Church with the Devil. The scientific interests of the Ostrih Academy are represented by the writings of Jan Latos, who wrote on astronomy (the calendar) in the Polish language. The Ukrainian works of Adam Hypatius

Potii (1596–1608), which, in the literary sense, are the most perfect of the period, stylistically approach the Baroque manner (the Church Union of 1595, the *Antirrhesis* of 1599, a reply to the letter of Meletius Pigas of 1606, the *Harmonia* of 1608, and others). The general stylistic feature of all the works of the period is rhetoric, that is, composition in the form of an oration (in the *Perestoroha* [Warning] the author puts "real" speeches in the mouths of various persons), which in some respects is related to the study of ancient literary works.

The most outstanding polemicist of the period is without doubt Ivan Vy-

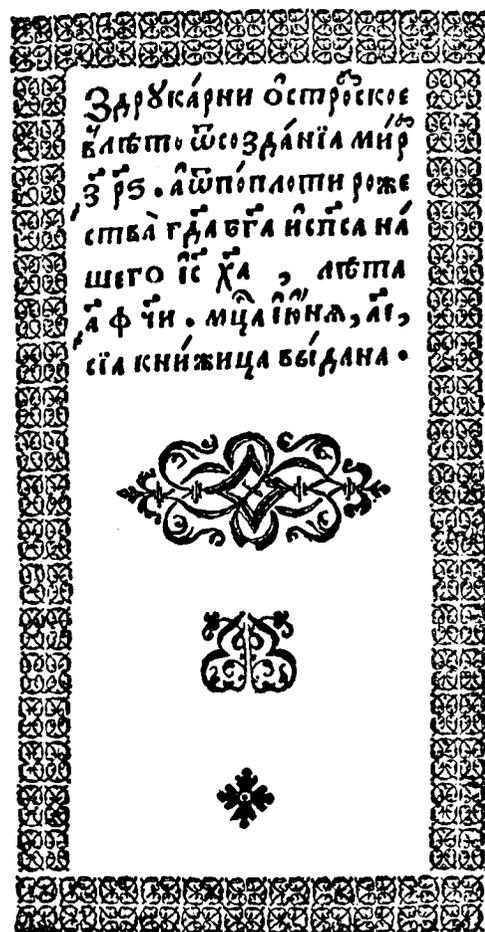


FIGURE 508. THE OSTRIH *Knyzhytza* OF 1598 WHICH CONTAINED THE LETTER OF I. VYSHENSKY

shensky, a monk at Mount Athos (died *circa* 1625), who left some 20 works of various lengths. Only one of these was printed at the time. Ideologically, he was an opponent of all modern trends, and his ideal was the realization of genuine Christianity in social life. The true Church, in his opinion, is always persecuted; the true Christian is always a mystic and an ascetic. His style was modeled upon the Patristic examples, and in places approached the Baroque. It is loaded with "adornments," repetitions, verbosity, antitheses; and abounds in vivid illustrations of the secular life of the time. Its language is juicy, colorful, and extraordinarily rich. The works of Vyshensky as well as those of his contemporaries, are "rhetorical," that is, they are put in the forms of orations, dialogues, or epistles.

Secular Literature

The most interesting work of secular literature is but a trifle—the satiric Speech of Meleshko, dated 1589, but undoubtedly written later. It is a parody on the ideology of an old-fashioned person. Its author (who writes with a Belorussian coloring) is a supporter of the "modern," secular, society life of the Renaissance.

At the same time POETRY IN VERSE began to appear. It was artificial and in no way related to folk poetry. Together with versified dedications to benefactors ("heraldic verses" upon noble insignia, such as those of Herasym Smotrytsky upon the coat of arms of the Prince of Ostrih, 1581, and others) there have been left several translated Protestant spiritual songs, polemical verses directed against the Socinians (Arians), etc. Their form is syllabic (an equal number of syllables in each line) with feminine rhymes (stress on the penultimate syllable), and is not always perfect.

On the other hand, a great achievement in poetry is represented by the folk *dumas*, the beginnings of which lie within this period (see p. 362).

BAROQUE

Ukrainian literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is extraordinarily extensive and rich. It completely fits into the framework of the European culture of that period and the prevailing literary trend, the so-called Baroque. In the West the Baroque was an attempt at a synthesis of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. It fully recognized the newest achievements of science, coming as it did in the time of greatest progress in the modern mathematical approach to nature. The Baroque took over from the Renaissance the "discovery of antiquity," retaining certain features of the "individualism" of the Renaissance. But the Baroque, along with the study of nature, again advanced the question of theology. It placed Christianity beside antiquity. Along with the individual, it began to value ecclesiastical and social authorities. Its esthetics rejected the ideal of the harmonious simplicity of the Renaissance. Particularly in literature, the Baroque cultivated the *form* of literary works, inclined towards a variety of "curiosities," and thus sought not to afford the reader peaceful pleasure, but to move and excite him. For that reason a greater role was played by tragic themes (partly in conjunction with tragic historical events), especially the theme of the corruption of everything earthly and the theme of death. Demonic themes were also frequent. The form of the works was developed by means of details which, at times, hid the whole. The most characteristic features of the Baroque were: a mass of special adornments of literary works; a striving for originality, for the extraordinary; and a fondness for bold antitheses.

The Baroque acquired in Ukraine certain original qualities of its own, which were developed by the same conditions as had prevailed in the time of the Renaissance: the preponderance of the clergy among the bearers of literary tradition, and the lack of scientific

centers. The absence of Ukrainian statehood, or rather its decline, induced in Baroque literature linguistic divergences which were not regulated by authoritative institutions. Along with the literature written in Ukrainian or the Church language there existed an extensive literature written in Latin, and also in Polish (the *Threnos* of Smotrytsky, 1610; *Lithos, albo Kranień* [The Stone] of Mohyla, 1644; and others which are known only in the Polish language).

Verse Poetry

The richest Ukrainian verse poetry belongs to the age of the Baroque. Its form was now fixed—syllabic verse with feminine rhymes (see above). Skovoroda, toward the end of the period, tried to introduce masculine rhymes (with the stress on the last syllable), as in “*Vsia komu horodu . . .*” as well as “incomplete” (approximate) rhymes; but it was not until Kotliarevsky and Shevchenko that they became part of the literature. The variety of forms was frequently conditioned by the use of strophes of different structure. Their number approached two hundred, especially during the later period (eighteenth century). Now and then, as in the case of Stavrovetsky, verses were written in lines of unequal length, which are similar to the verses of the *dumas*.

The thematic pattern of SPIRITUAL VERSES, which were often meant to be sung, was very varied: the glorification of Christ and of the Mother of God; songs in honor of feasts (Christmas, Easter), of particular ikons (e.g., in *Runo oroshennoie* by Demetrius Tuptalo, 1680), or in praise of saints. In addition there were spiritual songs with a didactic content. Especially popular was the theme of death and corruption of all things earthly (*Pisn' Svitovaia* [Worldly Song]). But songs with SECULAR THEMES were not lacking, especially love songs, which pictured various erotic experiences and which extolled a loved woman, expressed grief as a result of unfortunate

love, sorrow for a distant sweetheart, and so on. Finally, there were a number of songs of a political or national nature: the glorification of statesmen and heroes, especially Sahaidachnyi, Khmelnytsky, and Mazepa; e.g., *Vizerunok tsnot* (Ornament of Virtues) in honor of Yelisei Pletenetsky (1618), Verses for the Sorrowful Burial of the Honorable Warrior Peter Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi by Cassian Sakovych (1622), *Evfonia Veselobrmiachaia* (Glad-sounding Euphony) in honor of Mohyla (1633), and others; calls to unity, such as the song of Ivan Mazepa—*Vsi pokoiu shchyre prahnut*

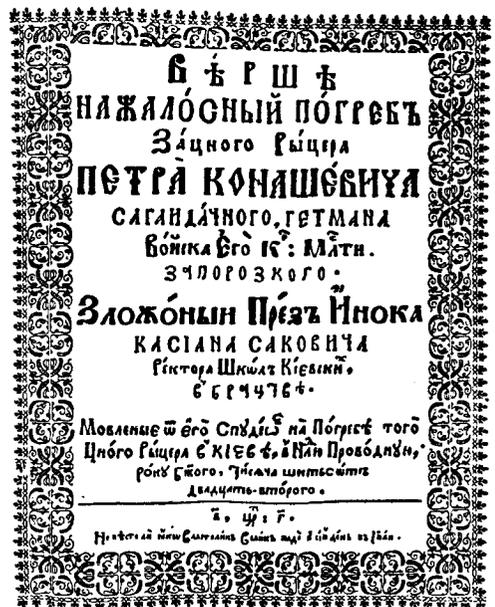


FIGURE 509. TITLE PAGE OF THE VERSES OF C. SAKOVYCH, 1622

(All Thirst Sincerely for Peace); various “laments” over the fate of Ukraine during the period of the Great Ruin or because of the oppression by Russia; the song attributed to Mazepa—*Oi bida tii chaitsi*—and another song attributed to Anthony Holovaty, and others.

Along with these there were numerous works of an EMBLEMATIC (viz., *Ethika Hieropolitica*, 1712) and of a PANEGYRICAL-HERALDIC content, and, in addition, the type of “versified quips,” the authors

of which are to some extent known, while most of the secular and spiritual songs are anonymous. To these playful quips belong the "figured verses" (in the form of a cross, an egg, the moon, and so on); the "alphabet verses" (where each word or line begins with a different letter in alphabetical order); acrostics (where the first letters of each line or of each strophe form the name of the author or of the person to whom the verse is dedicated), or verses in which the name of the author is interwoven into the text (at times the name is to be read backwards, beginning from the end of the verse); "crabs" of various types (verses which could be read in both directions—from the beginning or from the end, letter after letter, or word after word). The favorite device in these playful verses was the epigram, which tried to express some interesting thought with an interplay of the same sounds or words. Among the masters of these "small forms" of versified poetry were the then well-known poets Ivan Velychkovsky (died in 1726), author of a collection of epigrams, two collections of emblematic verses, *Mleko* (Milk) and *Zegar z Poluzegarkom*, and others; the priest-monk Clement (Zynoviev), St. Demetrius Tuptalo (1651–1709), Stephen Yavorsky (1658–1722), and later Gregory Skovoroda (1722–94), the author of a collection entitled *Sad bozhestvennykh pisen* (The Garden of Heavenly Songs).

Another characteristic genre of the Baroque period was the parody in verse.

Epic Poetry

Epic poetry was less developed. Some verses have been preserved. They deal with outstanding events, such as the battles at Berestechko and at Khotyn and the defense of Vienna. Interwoven into the presentation of events are personal musings and expressions of feeling. An attempt to translate Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated* (from a Polish translation) stopped in the middle of the work. Beyond the limits of this genre are

the rhymed pamphlets on the questions of the day: *Liament* (The Lamentation), resulting from the events at Ostrih (1636); *Liament liudei pobozhnykh* (The Lamentation of Pious People, 1638), and others. Religious epic poetry had greater possibilities, because such works were printed: for example, the Book of Genesis and the Gospel according to St. Matthew were versified by Samuel Mokriievych (1697); the versification of the Apocalypse is shorter. To the didactic type of epic belonged the works of Ivan Maksymovych, such as the *Bohorodytse Divo* (Hail, Virgin, Mother of God) and *Os'm Blazhenstv* (Eight Beatitudes, 1709). Secular epic poetry was represented by the works of the Kozak Klymiv (or Klymovsky)—*O pravosudiiu, pravdi i bodrosti* (On Justice, Truth and Courage) and *O smyrenii vysochaishykh* (On the Humility of the Exalted Ones), both ca. 1724. An attempt at a versified epic work of a secular character was made by the anony-



FIGURE 510. MAKERS OF WAFERS AT THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY
Pateryk Pechersky, ed. 1661.

mous author who put to verse *The Decameron* (IV, 1) of Boccaccio.

The Prose Short Story

In the Ukrainian Baroque the prose short story is well represented. Beside the translations (see above), both of earlier known works and of altogether new Western works, there are many original stories, most of them religious. These deal with the lives of the saints and their miracles. Such stories were collected by Peter Mohyla (1596–1647). A large collection of them—*Nebo Novoie* (The New Heaven)—was published, in 1665, by Yoannikii Galiatovsky (d. 1688). Of great significance was the edition of the *Patericon* by Sylvester Kosov (1635), and the *Teraturgema* of Athanasius Kalnofoisky (1638), both in Polish, dealing with the miracles of the Cave saints; and also the editions of the *Pateryk Pechersky* (Cave *Patericon*), 1661, 1678,



FIGURE 511. GREEK IKON PAINTERS SAILING TO KIEV

Pateryk Pechersky, ed. 1768.

1702, and later. A monumental collection of the lives of the saints (*Chetii-Minei*) was compiled in twelve parts by Saint Demetrius Tuptalo (1689–1705). There were also a certain number of stories of a local character, especially those dealing with demonology. Without doubt the greater part of the stories which were orally transmitted, and which were not recorded until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, originated as early as the seventeenth century.

The Drama

A new and favorite facet of Ukrainian literature was the drama. It arose under

the influence of the Polish and Latin theater, particularly of the "school" theater; and it remained in Ukraine, during the period of the Baroque, closely related to the school. The first works were declamations, of a descriptive rather than dramatic nature, since the action takes place behind the scenes and is reported by "messengers": the dialogue of Pamva Berynda on the birth of Christ, 1616; the verses from the tragedy *Christos Paschon* (The Suffering Christ), 1630; the *Rozmyshlianie o mutsi Khrysta* (The Meditations on the Passion of Christ) of Yoannikii Volkovysh, 1631. Yet the latter two works contain a strong lyrical element also (the *liaments* of the Mother of God). Towards the end of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century a genuine drama was developed. It was represented by the outstanding writers: St. Demetrius Tuptalo, Theofanes Prokopovych (1681–1736), George Konysky (1718–95), Metrophanes Dovhalevsky, and others. There were dramas on Christmas, Easter, and on the saints (*Oleksii, cholvik Bozhyi* [Alexis, the Man of God, 1673]; on St. Catherine, and others); the moralities (*Tsarstvo natury liudskoi* [The Kingdom of Human Nature, 1698]); historical plays, particularly on themes from Ukrainian history (*Vladymyr* by Prokopovych, dealing with the baptism of Ukraine, 1705; *Mylost' Bozhya* [The Mercy of God, 1728], on the victories of Khmelnytsky). The most original type of Baroque drama is to be found in the morality plays, in which there appear abstract conceptions, personified virtues, and figures of ancient mythology (The Cyclopes), or of history (Nero). The dramatic action sometimes passes into a philosophic or theological dispute. The dramas are written in a syllabic verse, usually of thirteen syllables. The vivid patriotic element of the historical dramas with their witty political aphorisms is especially interesting.

Humorous elements are to be found at



FIGURE 512. DESTRUCTION OF SODOM

From the Chronicle of Safonovych, manuscript of 1681.

times within the framework of the drama itself (*Slovo o zburenniu pekla* [The Tale of the Destruction of Hell] which was written in an almost pure vernacular; the scenes with the shepherds in the Christmas drama of St. Demetrius); but the germs of COMEDY are to be found in the *intermedia*, interludes or entr'actes in which appeared types from the folk theater, the later *Vertep* (an old woman, a Kozak, a Jew, a gypsy, etc.). Their subjects were satirical and sometimes tinged politically. The oldest interludes have been preserved in the (Polish) drama of Jacob Gawatowicz (1619). Outstanding as masters of interludes were M. Dovhalevsky in the Christmas and Easter dramas—*Komicheskoiie diistviiie* (A Comical Play, 1736) and *Vlastotvornyi obraz* (The Power-Creating Picture, 1737); George Konysky in the tragi-comedy *Voskreseniie mertvykh* (The Resurrection of the Dead, 1746); and Barlaam Lashchevsky (dialogues in his "Tragi-Comedy," 1742). Later and more derivative authors of the Baroque theater were Michael Kozachynsky (drama on the Serbian Tsar, Urosh, 1733; *Blahoutrobie Marka Avrelia* [Noble Birth of Marcus Aurelius], 1744); H. Shcherbatsky (*Photius*, 1749), and others. The tragi-comedy *Vladymyr* by Prokopovych (1705) shows, on the other hand, the transition from the Baroque "school" theater to Classicism (see below, p. 1005). The Baroque drama and

Baroque theater are also discussed in the section "Theater."

The Sermon

Because of the clerical status of the leading representatives of Ukrainian literature of the Baroque period there was a great development of the sermon (which strongly influenced the sermon of Eastern and Southern Slavs). The first noted preacher of the age was Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky (d. ca. 1646) who was the author of *Perlo mnohotsinnoie* (The Pearl of Inestimable Value), which contained, together with poetry, also sermons which were meant to be read at home. Other outstanding preachers were Peter Mohyla and Meletius Smotrytsky. In Kiev, not only the practice, but also the theory of the sermon was developed by Yoannikii Galiatovsky, author of the treatise *Nauka albo sposob zlozhenia kazania* (The Teaching or the Manner of Composing a Sermon) and the collection of sermons *Kliuch razumiinia* (The Key to Understanding, 1659). Large collections of sermons—*Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsi* (Orchard of Mary, Mother of God, 1676), and *Vinets Khrystov* (The Crown of Christ, 1688)—were written by Anthony Radyvylovsky (d. 1688). Another writer who gained fame as a preacher was Lazarus Baranovych (1620–93), author of the collections of sermons *Mech dukhovnyi* (Spiritual Sword, 1666), and *Truby sloves propovidnykh* (The Trumpets of Words Preached, 1674). Still others who distinguished themselves in preaching were St. Demetrius Tuptalo, Stephen Yavorsky, Theofanes Prokopovych, and George Konysky. Even Skovoroda wrote sermons.

The sermons in the spirit of the Baroque poetics are quite different from those of other periods. The desire to satisfy the demands of Baroque poetics resulted in an extensive use of artistic devices, which worked for clarity and originality, and aimed at evoking interest in the listeners and readers who were accustomed to the Baroque style.

The central place in this type of literature is occupied by the so-called "KOZAK CHRONICLES": by Samovydet's (The Eyewitness) which describes events up to 1702 (he was a monarchist of noble birth, and his style reveals the influences of Latin historiography); by Gregory Hrabianka (after 1709) who also makes use of historical sources and writes in a grandiloquent style; and by Samuel Velychko (completed after 1720) which is the longest of all and is crammed with source materials (including materials on literature) with the purpose of presenting an outline of historical events as a lesson to his contemporaries.

Attempts at a systematic arrangement of Ukrainian history from the earliest times were presented in the Synopsis which was reprinted several times after 1674 and was attributed to Gizel; in the Hustyn Chronicle belonging to the 1670's; in the Chronicle of Theodosius Safonovych (1672); and in the *Obshyrnyi Synopsis Ruskyi* (A Comprehensive Ruthenian Synopsis) of Panteleimon Kokhanovsky (1682).

The historical literature was of great national importance. It influenced the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century, particularly the works of Shevchenko and Panteleimon Kulish.

Ukrainian Baroque literature had a considerable influence outside Ukraine, especially among other Eastern and Southern Slavs. Muscovite literature of the latter half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries was almost completely dependent on Ukrainian literature. Ukrainian themes entered Polish literature, and Ukrainian heroes and other elements can be found in Croatian and Latin-Slavonic literature.

D. Čiževsky

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Baroque

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4. CLASSICISM

In the middle of the seventeenth century there arose in the West opposition to the complexity and "artificiality" of the Baroque style. This opposition demanded a return to the traditions of the ancient poetics. Classicism, which arose on the basis of a new arrangement of those rules which governed the poetics of antiquity and the Renaissance, offered a system of prescriptions for all genres of literature, classifying them into the "high" and the "low." Its most typical form was the "high" style and the high genres (ode, tragedy, historical epic).

In Ukraine, during this period of political subjugation (the destruction of the Ukrainian Hetman State) and national decline (the Russification of a considerable number of the Ukrainian nobility), there was but scant support for literature of the high style. Only its seeds may be noticed in *Vladymyr*, the tragi-comedy of Theofanes Prokopovych, which he wrote in conformity with the demands of his Poetics (1704), strictly maintaining "decorum": measure and suitability in the words and deeds of its characters, symmetry in the composition, with no interludes, and with the comic ingredient included as a subordinate element in the single line of the plot development. Similarly, the ideology of *Vladymyr* has elements of rationalism and enlightenment. History here is interpreted as the progressive victory of reason over superstition and darkness. But Prokopovych soon moved to St. Petersburg and put his pen at the service of the Russian Empire. In time a considerable number of Ukrainian writers enriched Russian literature (Hippolytus Bohdanovych [Bogdanovich], Basil Kapnist, Basil Ruban, Basil Narizhnyi [Narezhnyi], Nicholas Hnidych [Gnedich], and others). Even works of a patriotic character were written in the Russian language (*Istoriia Rusov; Oda na rabstvo* [The Ode on Slavery]—Kapnist's

protest against the subjugation of Ukraine). Religious literature, owing to the influences of the so-called "enlightenment," the materialistic and atheistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, was reduced to a secondary position. Thus, for Ukrainian literature there remained only the lighter genres: comedy, satire, fable, and the like. However, the literary theory of Classicism was instrumental in the renovation of the Ukrainian literary language. It served as a vehicle for the establishment of the living vernacular as a literary device: the poetics of Classicism recognized "burlesque" works and travesties, in which elements of the "high" and "low" styles were mingled; and it was precisely in these that the use of the "low" linguistic elements became traditional (dialectal or vulgar forms, slang, and the like).

In this way Ukrainian Classicism—with an incomplete literature, since it had lost certain "high" genres, and therefore lacked many literary themes and stylistic possibilities—made possible the national revival, since it favored the dissemination of Ukrainian literature chiefly among those classes of the people to whom the "high" genres of literature were incomprehensible on account of their language. A regional narrowness is also characteristic of the Ukrainian literature of the eighteenth century: owing to the heavy Polonization of the upper strata of the population in territories which belonged to Poland, literary activity became concentrated on the Left Bank of the Dnieper, with Kiev included, and in Transcarpathia. The latter, to be sure, cultivated mainly the old Baroque traditions. The particular vigor here can be attributed to the activity of the Mukachiv Circle organized by Bishop Andrew Bachynsky (1772–1809) who left after his death some notes and memoirs in manuscript form. Father Ivan Pastelii wrote, in addition to historical

notes, a satire on a priest. There was an outstanding work written on the Right Bank, however: the *Bohohlasnyk* of Pochaïv, 1790, an anthology of the moral-religious poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The beginnings of Classicism may be seen in the attempts to give up the Baroque style in sermon (Prokopovych, later George Konytsky). *Istoriia Rusov*, which was written in Russian (attributed to Gregory Poletyka), as well as the versified Conversation of Little Russia with Great Russia, are marked by typical characteristics of Classicism in their style.

POETIC TRAVESTY

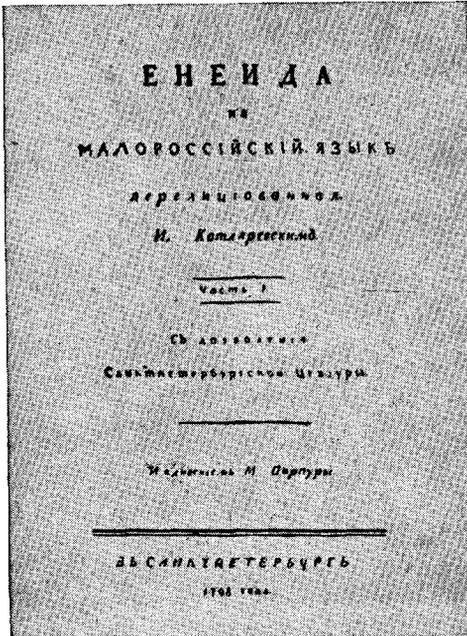
Elements of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century are to be found in the later "burlesque" parodies of spiritual verses. These are, of course, travesties, and not serious works. Although they imitate the older tradition of the spiritual verse, one can see in them a decline in the language (Russianisms) and an unserious attitude towards the people. Their authors were, for the most part, the "wandering cantors" (church precentors), the "ale-drinking cantors" (*diaky pyvorizy*), students who had abandoned their studies and become cantors or taught in town or village schools, and, to some degree, the denationalized landowners who considered the "local" language a vehicle for humor. Among them are verses of a novelistic character (about the priest Nehrebetsky), of the apocryphal type (the Journey of the Infernal Mark), others dealing strictly with manners and customs of the people ("Vakula Chmyr"), as well as biblical travesties. Some have a clear satirical vein (*Son na Velykden'* [A Dream at the Time of Easter], *Plach lavrs'kykh chentsiv* [The Lamentation of the Cave Monks]; and, partly, the later verses about Kyryk). In the category of travesty must also be placed the versified "Letters" of FATHER IVAN NEKRASHEVYCH



FIGURE 514. IVAN KOTLIAREVSKY

(between 1780 and 1800) who began to write in the Baroque style (*An Altercation of the Soul with the Body*, 1773), but later produced travesties in the form of miniature comic dialogues—*Yarmarok* (*The Fair*) and *Ispovid'* (*The Confession*).

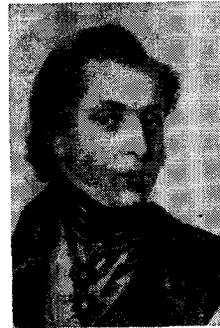
The master of the travesty and the founder of the new Ukrainian literature in the vernacular was IVAN KOTLIAREVSKY (1769–1838) who chose for his subject Virgil's *Aeneid*, a traditional material for travesties (in the Romance languages, German, Russian). Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* appeared in parts between 1798 and 1842. A fragment depicting Aeneas in hell may be connected with the serious Baroque verses. Other parts form a typically heroic-comic travesty in verse. Kotliarevsky surpassed his predecessors in restricting the length of the poem and in his attempt at an organic transformation of the heroes of the *Aeneid* into Ukrainian Kozaks. He was thus able to make use in his work of ethnographic material, to enrich the language, and out of a travesty to produce a valuable collection of linguistic material (abundant

FIGURE 515. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Eneida*, 1798

synonyms for concrete conceptions), making use not only of the vernacular but also of the *argot* of the seminarians, wandering cantors, drunkards, thieves, and others. Neologisms, Church Slavic words, and Russianisms are rare. Even richer than Kotliarevsky's vocabulary was his phraseology. But he did not take the ethnographic material seriously, as did the later Romanticists. Kotliarevsky also remodeled the verse by introducing, instead of the syllabic verse, the tonic-syllabic system, which was based not only on an equal number of syllables in a line, but also on an equally-measured succession of stresses (a ten-line iambic strophe). He also introduced masculine rhymes. The poem contains episodes and passages with a patriotic coloring. Finally, Kotliarevsky was a master of aphorisms. A later age noted in him also certain traits which marked him as a "friend of the common people." On the other hand, the opposition of later generations was evoked by the "vulgarisms" and the "coarseness" of his style.

Kotliarevsky's travesty found its imitators, none of whom, however, succeeded in reaching his stature. They are Paul Biletsky-Nosenko (1774-1856—the *Horpynyda*, not published until 1871), Constantine Dumytrashko (1814-86—an arrangement of the ancient travesty of the *Zhabomyshodrakivka* [The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice], 1859), Porphyry Korenytsky (*Vechernytsi* [An Evening Party, 1841]). Even Jacob Kukharenko (1800-62), in his unfinished poem *Kharko, zaporozhzh'kyi koshovyi* (Kharko, a Zaporozhian Commander), imitates the Ukrainian *Aeneid*. The Bucolics, travesties of Opanas Lobysevych (the late eighteenth century), were lost.

The Ode to the Prince Kurakin by Kotliarevsky rises above the rest, and yet it is not without its "coarseness." PETER HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY (1790-1865) made masterly travesties of the *Odes* of Horace. The elements of travesty are much stronger than those in the *Aeneid*, while their vocabulary is significantly "drunken." One travesty, to be sure, is sentimental (*Do Liubky* [To My Sweetheart]). His fables are more

FIGURE 516.
P. HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY

serious, especially the famous *Pan ta sobaka* (A Lord and His Dog, 1818), in which we feel his sympathetic attitude towards the common people. Hulak's more seriously intended attempts at translations from European writers also had the quality of travesty (from Goethe—*Rybalka* [The Fisherman], from Mickiewicz—*Twardowski*, from Lermontov—*Upadok viku* [Decline of the Age]). Only his poetic paraphrase of the Psalms belongs to the "high" style.

The other representatives of versified poetry produced only weak works: G. Kvitka (six epigrams—"stings"), the fabulists P. Biletsky-Nosenko (six hundred fables), S. Rudykovsky, and P. Pysarevsky, the song-writer. Notable for its warm attitude towards the common people is the interesting *Oda—maloros-tiiskii krestianin* (An Ode—Little Russian Peasant) by K. Puzyna (1790—1850). Perhaps the best works of the classic style were the folk songs arranged in the *salon* style, in the plays of Kotliarevsky and Kvitka.

In Western Ukraine the representatives of Classicism, S. Levytsky (*Domoboliiie* [Nostalgia], 1822) and S. Lysenetsky (*Vozzrinitie strashylyshcha* [The Vision of Terror], 1833), did not reach the stage of using the vernacular. Basil Dovhovych (1783—1849), a Transcarpathian who made an attempt to paraphrase old Russian poets, is a possible exception. He also wrote several songs in folksong style, with strong elements of travesty (1832). Another Transcarpathian, M. Luchkai, the author of a grammar, travestied Ovid.

DRAMATIC LITERATURE

The dramatic literature of the age likewise was "incomplete." Only those works which continued the tradition of comedy-interludes were successful. Sentimental comedies with songs—*Natalka-Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava) and *Moskal-Charivnyk* (The Soldier Sorcerer) by Kotliarevsky (staged in 1819)—were marked by their well-developed traditional and anecdotal themes with notes of "humanism," sensitivity, and a good vernacular. Basil Hohol (d. 1825) wrote two plays of the same type—*Roman ta Paraska* and *Sobaka-vivtsia* (Dog or Sheep)—which are closer to genuine comedies (without songs), but there is more caricature in them. Weaker is the "opera" by Kvitka—*Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* (The Marriage Engagement in Honcharivka) with elements of

vulgarism and travesty. He wrote in the same manner his *Boi-zhinka* (The Ter-magant) and the melodramatic *Shchyre kokhannia* (Sincere Love). His comedies about Shelmenko are better, but in them only Shelmenko speaks Ukrainian.

Of importance in the history of the Ukrainian theater were the various weak imitations of *Natalka-Poltavka* which sometimes possessed elements of melo-drama: *Chornomors'kyi pobyt na Kubani* (Life of Kuban Kozaks) by Jacob Kulkharenko (1836), *Chary* (Sorcery) by Cyril Topolia (1837), *Kupala na Yvana* (St. John's Eve) by Stephen Pysarevsky (1840), the anonymous *Liubka, abo svatannia v seli Rykhmakh* (Sweetheart, or Marriage Engagement in the Village of Rykhmy) written sometime in the thirties, and others.

PROSE

The prose of the Classic period was somewhat belated. It offered valuable works by only one pioneer, GREGORY KVIITKA-OSNOVIANENKO (1778—1843.) Kvitka is connected with Classicism not only by his outlook (he belongs not to the tradition of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, but to the religious and sentimental tradition, as represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and by the mystic literature which Kvitka knew and valued). He was connected to it by



FIGURE 517. G.
KVIITKA-OSNOVIANENKO

certain attributes of his literary style and by the content of his works which are noted for a tendency towards simplicity and clarity of composition and exposition; the stress laid on the moral, "didactic" elements; his conviction of the "power of goodness" in human nature; his references to popular traditions as a source of "superstition." At the time

when Kvitka wrote, certain elements of Romanticism crept into his works, but these were quite weak and not well digested. Kvitka, who was also an outstanding Russian writer, began to write late in life. Among his stories are to be found several travesties (*Saldats'kyi portret* [A Soldier's Portrait], 1833; *Parkhymove snidannia* [Parkhim's Breakfast], 1841, and others), which are constructed on the basis of popular anecdotes. Some of his other works belong to the tradition of popular legends (*Mertvets'kyi Velykden'* [The Easter of the Dead], 1833; *Konotops'ka vid'ma* [The Witch of Konotop], 1834, and others). The majority of his stories are moralistic and psychological (*Marusia*, 1833; *Dobre roby, dobre y bude* [As You Sow, so Shall You Reap], 1834; *Kozyr-Divka* [A Lively Wench], 1838; *Bozhi dity* [God's Children], 1840; *Serdeshna Oksana* [Unfortunate Oksana], 1841; *Perekotypole* [Feather Grass], 1843; *Shchhyra liubov* [Sincere Love]—the first Russian version, 1839). Kvitka depicted character well, particularly the idealized types. He develops incomparably well the subjects of his stories, writes in a language which is surprisingly close to the vernacular, and avoids wherever possible vulgarisms, which are to be found in his travesties. His weakness lies in his failure to depict and describe psychological experiences. Ideologically, his works are the most important contribution of Ukrainian Classicism to the treasury of the Ukrainian national ideology, because they contain vivid passages of humanity and sympathy for the people, elements which were able to influence even the readers and writers of the post-Romantic period. He belongs to the small number of writers who then illustrated life of the peasants without romantic excess. Stylistically, Kvitka's stories are characterized by their use of a narrator.

Considerably weaker are Kvitka's political writings (*Lysty do liubeznykh zemliakiv* [Letters to My Dear Countrymen], 1839). In addition, these Letters

are ideologically reactionary. Several small prose works by Hulak and Hrebinka belong to the category of travesty (see below). Kvitka's religious prose consists only of small fragments.

D. Čiževsky

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5. ROMANTICISM

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Romanticism, which appeared in England and Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and spread at the beginning of the nineteenth century over the whole of Europe, had a profound influence on Ukrainian literature as it did on all other Slavic literatures. As opposed to Classicism and the Enlightenment, the Romantics ascribed primary importance to irrational elements in life and in art, believing them to be superior to and more profound than reason.

The Romantics sought, in reality, elements which were outside rational conceptions, inaccessible to rational comprehension, and found them in the human soul (feeling, will, and particularly that which is "abnormal" in spiritual life—from genius to madness, from holiness to crime), in the external world (mysterious powers and creatures), and in social life (tradition, which cannot have a rational basis).

The outlook of the Romantics is reflected in subjects which are typical of Romantic poetry: a powerful man (Titanism), experiences that go beyond the limits of the "normal," fantasy, national tradition in the past (historical poetry) and in the present (the simple life of the people, folk poetry—see p. 351ff.). In the poetic theory they stressed instances of "irrationality": poetry itself was considered as a free act under the influence of inspiration. For that reason

the Romantics required a free form (the Byronic poem), cultivated genres which were not known to the Classical theory of poetry (ballads, fairy tales, imitations of folksong, mystery plays), made use of the stylistic devices of popular poetry, and revitalized the language by introducing into it new linguistic elements that had been ignored by the older literature, especially elements of popular speech. Such an outlook and attitude toward poetry could not but favor the reawakening of national consciousness, especially among a people such as the Ukrainians who had preserved a centuries-old tradition in their national life.

The first manifestation of Romanticism in Ukraine was the publication of ethnographic materials: by Prince Nicholas Tsertelev (1819), Michael Maksymovych (1827-49), Izmail Sreznevsky (1833-8), and others (see pp. 269-71). Despite the barriers put up by the censorship there also appeared (see "Scholarship") the first attempts at a scholarly interpretation of Ukrainian history: the works of Demetrius Bantysh-Kamensky (1822-42), Nicholas Markevych (1842), Apollon Skalkovsky (1840). Of especial importance was the publication of the *Istoriia Rusov* (1846), of the *Kozak Chronicles* (1846-54), and of the collections of folk legends (*Opovidannia Zaporozhtsia Korzha* [The Stories of the Zaporozhian Korzh], 1842, the various publications by Joseph Bodiansky), as

well as of the scholarly works of Nicholas Kostomarov and others.

Almost everywhere else Romanticism "rediscovered" the values of Baroque literature. But Ukraine was an exception to this, for the Ukrainian Romanticists were unable to feel enthusiasm about a literature written in an "artificial," "outdated" (Ukrainian-Church Slavonic) language.

The enthusiastic interest in Ukrainian ethnography and Ukrainian history was not limited to the Ukrainians alone. There were "Ukrainian schools" in Polish and Russian literature (see below), which greatly influenced Ukrainian youth. Kharkiv became the first center of Ukrainian Romanticism; in the 1830's the Romantic movement was set into motion in Galicia. In the forties there arose in Kiev a Romanticist spiritual center—the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius. Political reaction in the forties and fifties made manifestations of national consciousness in literature almost completely impossible, but towards the end of the fifties the Romantic movement again revived, to be replaced within a few years by "Realism," as it was called; nevertheless the Romantic mood persisted till the end of the century. The national feelings bound up with Romanticism exercised a powerful influence upon the entire later Ukrainian cultural and political movement, although entirely different ideas contributed to its subsequent development. Romantic motifs were popularized by the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

THE KHARKIV GROUP OF ROMANTICISTS

This group gathered as early as the end of the twenties around a young scholar, IZMAÏL SREZNEVSKY (1812–80). Sreznevsky published folklore which he and some other members of the group had collected (on some instances, invented) in 1833 and the following years

under the title of *Zaporozhskaia Starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity). He, Metlynsky, and Kostomarov worked on folk poetry and developed the romantic conception of its essence as a revelation of the "eternal ideas" of a national spirit and of the special, collective soul of a people. The Kharkiv Romanticists were connected with the publication of the Ukrainian Almanacs between the thirties and the fifties (see "Press").

The oldest of the Kharkiv Romantic poets was LEVKO BOROVYKOVSKY (1806–89), author of epigrammatic fables, which to a certain extent were based on old motifs transplanted in a Ukrainian environment. He also wrote romantic ballads ("Mariusia" (1829) which he patterned on G. A. Bürger's "Lenore," "Farys" based on Mickiewicz's work, and *dumas* which contained elements imitative of folk songs).

AMBROSE METLYNSKY (1814–70) wrote, under the pseudonym of Mohyla, sombre verses (poetry of the night and graves) about Ukrainian Kozak figures, "the last bandurist," the haidamaks, hetmans, etc. These are songs and ballads, of which the chief motif is sadness and nostalgia for the past which, it seems to the author, will never return (the collection, *Dumky i pisni ta shche deshcho* [*Dumas, Songs, and Other Things*], 1839). His tone is one of pessimism as regards his nation.

On the other hand, NICHOLAS KOSTOMAROV (1817–85), the author of the collections of poetry, *Ukrains'ki baliady* (Ukrainian Ballads), 1839, and *Vitka* (A Branch), 1840, published under the pseudonym of Jeremiah Halka, although he also depicted the Ukraine of his time in gloomy colors, nevertheless expressed his belief in the final victory of "truth and liberty." In the past, present, and future he saw a continuity of national development. Evident in Kostomarov's poetry is his desire to develop the language to the point where even philosophical thoughts could be expressed (in philosophical poems). He attempted

to create a Ukrainian Romantic tragedy (*Sava Chalyi*, 1838; *Pereiaslavs'ka nich* [The Night at Pereiaslav], 1839), and turned for this purpose to the Shakespearean tradition of which the Romantics were so fond.

Other poets of the Kharkiv Romantic movement were Alexander Korsun (1818–91), the melancholy Michael Petrenko (born 1817), and Opanas Shpyhotsky. The talented Jacob Shchoholiv (1824–98), whose poetic gifts only developed in a later period (see below), began to publish in the forties.

THE RUS'KA TRIITSA

(The Ruthenian Trinity)

The Romantic movement also played an important part in the revival of cultural and political life in Western Ukraine. The members of the "Ruthenian Trinity"—MARKIAN SHASHKEVYCH (1811–43), IVAN VAHYLEVYCH (1811–66), and JACOB HOLOVATSKY (1814–88)—were Romantics. In 1836 (dated 1837) they published a collection, *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Dniester Nymph). The literary legacy they left is not very great. The most talented of them was the gentle, melancholy Shashkevych. He made a few appeals to patriotism in his works and used historical subjects. Motifs of longing and sadness occur frequently in his poetry ("Tuha," [Longing]; "Rozpuka," [Despair]; "Vesnivka," [Snowdrop]; "Pidlyssia," and others). He also wrote some ballads. Small in quantity, but diverse, is Shashkevych's prose. It ranges from translations from the Gospels, through scholarly articles, to his "robber" story, "Olena," which is noted for the originality of its rhythmic flow and for its picturesque qualities.

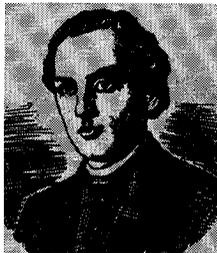


FIGURE 518.
M. SHASHKEVYCH

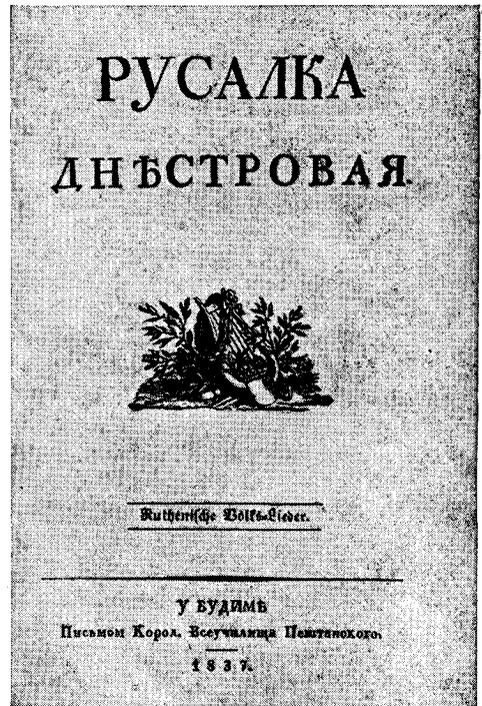


FIGURE 519. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Rusalka Dnistrovaia*

Second only to him was the talented poet NICHOLAS USTYIANOVYCH (1811–85) who wrote in the forties and fifties. His verses belong to various genres—a few ballads and songs, some verses in the "high" style—and are generally contemplative in character. He showed great talent in forming pithy aphoristic expressions, and his verses were full of vivid axioms. His stories ("Mest' verkho-vyntsia" [The Revenge of a Highlander], "Strastnyi Chetver" [Maundy Thursday]) present a romantic picture of life in the Carpathians. Anthony Mohylnytsky (1811–73) and Bohdan Didytsky, authors of lengthy poems, did not follow the general trend in development of the modern Ukrainian literary language based on the vernacular. Of more importance were the *Skyt Maniavsky* (The Hermitage of Maniava) by Mohylnytsky, and the prose work *Sprava v seli Klekotyni* (An Affair in the Village of Klekotyn) by Rudolph Mokh.

The Romanticism of Transcarpathia with its single important representative, Alexander Dukhnovych (1803–65), stands apart in the development of Ukrainian literature. Because of his artificial language, however, he remained a poet of merely local significance.

THE HIGH POINT IN THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

The culminating point in the Romantic movement in Ukraine was Kievan Romanticism. The first rector of Kiev University, Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), an outstanding scholar with wide interests, mainly distinguished himself in Ukrainian affairs as a literary historian and an ethnographer (publication of folk songs in 1827, 1834, 1849). In his later paraphrasing of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament), which he published in 1857, and of the Psalms (1859), he departed considerably from the traditions of the Ukrainian literary language.

In Kiev such outstanding writers as Kostomarov, Kulish, and Shevchenko, along with young university students, gathered within the circle of the Slavophile Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius (see pp. 675–6). Instead of dreaming of the past, like the Kharkiv school, they developed a definite, although utopian, political and national program and a well-defined religious-romantic outlook. The Brothers were unable to put their patriotic ideas fully into practice, because in 1847 oppressive measures were taken against them and they were arrested. The political program of the Brotherhood was outlined in the *Knyhy byt'ia ukrains'koho narodu* (The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People), written by Nicholas Kostomarov (1817–85). This work gives a sketch of world history and pictures the future "revival" of Ukraine as a nation destined to play an important part as the corner stone of a Pan-Slavic, and perhaps an even wider, Federation which

was to be erected upon a foundation of "liberty and brotherhood." In addition to their interest as a statement of ideas, the *Knyhy byt'ia* are interesting as literature. They had a strong appeal to readers with their biblical style adapted to the special qualities of Ukrainian, contrasting very strongly with the language of burlesque which marred so much Kvitka's Letters to My Dear Countrymen.

At this time there were already in existence works written in a "full language" (i.e., language which could be used in any genre, rather than that confined to humorous writing), which were of a greater importance to the evolution of the Ukrainian literary language than were the works of the Kharkiv Romantics. These were the poems of TARAS SHEVCHENKO (1814–61). He went to St. Petersburg in about 1831 to engage in painting and drawing, and began writing poetry there. In 1840 he published his first collection of poems, *Kobzar*, and in 1841 his long poem, *Haidamaky* (The Haidamaks). In Uk-

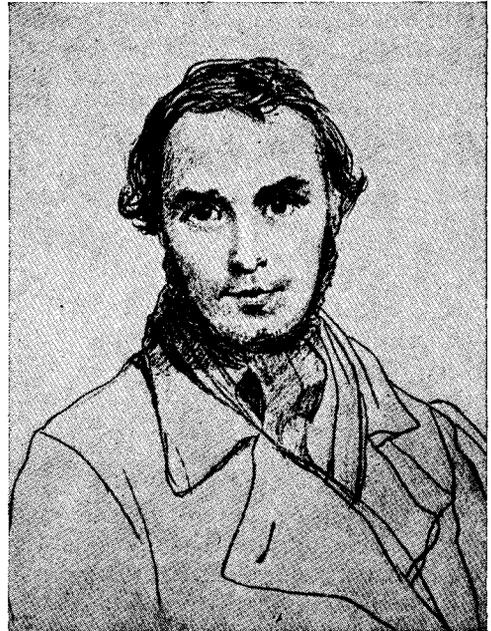
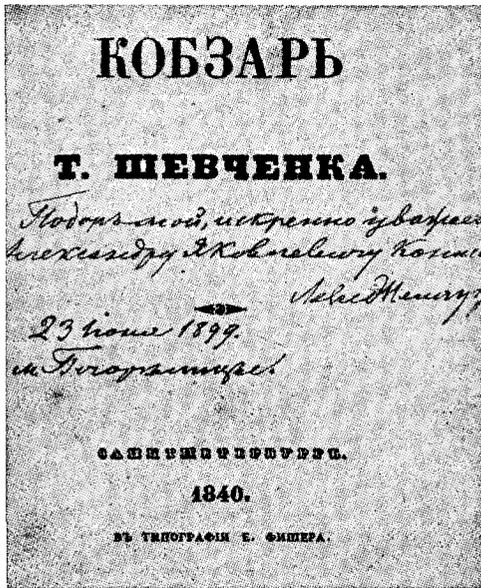


FIGURE 520. TARAS SHEVCHENKO
A self-portrait, 1845

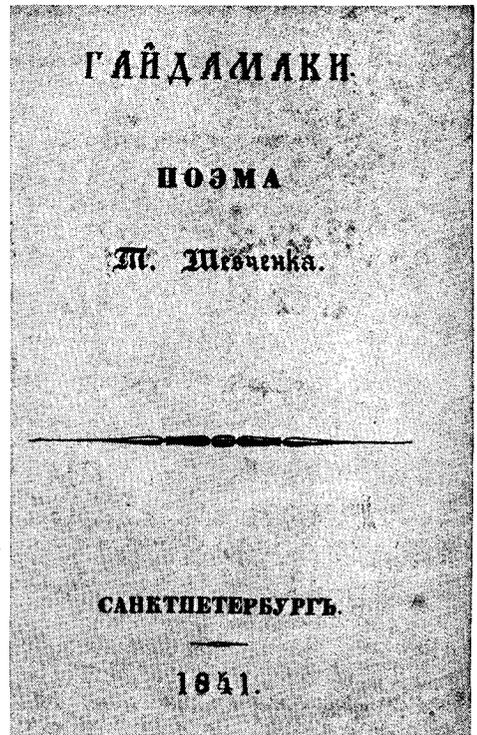
FIGURE 521. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Kobzar* OF 1840

raine he prepared a new collection, *Trylita* (Three Years) and in 1847 he began to prepare a new edition of *Kobzar*.

The immense impression produced by Shevchenko's poetry on all classes of Ukrainian society is primarily due to its high quality as poetry; for far from all his readers fully understood the ideology expressed in it. In form, Shevchenko's poetry was closely allied to folksong. He wrote in the rhythms found in the *koliadky* (Christmas carols) and in the *kolomyiky* (rhythmical dance tunes); and gradually developed an extraordinary wealth of rhythmical variations. Shevchenko introduced as standard practice the use of the "incomplete" (approximate) rhymes and thus enriched their variety. His verses are full of amazingly fertile euphonies, of which only some (the "internal rhymes") are in the tradition of popular and Romantic poetry. His verse is wonderfully musical and at the same time masterfully expressive—a combination which made many of his expressions of thought "classical," unforgettable. His apt use of popular poetic method, which he often reshaped, is to be seen in his poetry

(fixed epithet, doublings, parallelism, partly antithetic parallelism, etc.). But in spite of the nearness of Shevchenko's speech to that of the people, it is by no means limited to the vocabulary of the "common people." No poet contributed as much to the development of the Ukrainian language into a "full-fledged" vehicle of literary expression as did Shevchenko. His neologisms seemed more natural, and were more readily accepted than were those of the Kharkiv Romantics.

The themes of Shevchenko's works were derived from those of the Kharkiv Romantics. His work fluctuated between the manner of popular folksong and the "high" style of his paraphrases of the Psalms. In genre and in composition he followed the Romantic tradition: poems modeled on songs; ballads, often with elements of fantasy ("Prychynna" [A Bewitched Young Woman], "Lileia" [The Lily], "Topolia" [The Poplar],

FIGURE 522. TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *Haidamaky*

bol of the Ukrainian national movement. Especially significant in this respect are his political poems which were written between 1843 and 1846—"Rozryta Mohyla" (The Ransacked Mound), "Chyhyryn," "Velykyi L'okh" (The Great Vault), "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus), "Poslaniie" (The Epistle), and others. In all these works his ardent patriotism is vividly revealed—he calls for a struggle for national liberation, and gives his concept of the historical and social unity of the Ukrainian nation, and his romantic idealization of the Kozak period of Ukrainian history.

In his play *Nazar Stodolia* Shevchenko advanced a new motif—the pursuit of happiness. However, he did not find in the drama as powerful and significant a vehicle of expression as he did in poetry.

After Shevchenko, the deepest influence on the Ukrainian spiritual tradition was exerted by another member of the Brotherhood—PANTELEIMON KULISH (1819–97). During his association with the Brotherhood he produced a novel written in Russian on a Ukrainian historical subject, *Mykhailo Charnyshenko*; an essay *Pamiatna Knyhadiia pomishchykov* (A Book of Instructions for Landowners) which is reminiscent of Kvitka's *Lysty do liubeznykh zemliakiv* [Letters to My Dear Countrymen] and of the later *Selections from My Correspondence with Friends* by Hohol [Gogol]; a poem in Ukrainian, *Povist' pro Ukraïnu* (A Story about Ukraine, 1843), written as a *duma* in a lofty style, and covering the entire history of Ukraine, although it does not reach the philosophical heights of Kostomarov's *Knyhy bytiia* (The Books of the Genesis); and finally, a short story "Orysia," which is reminiscent of Kvitka's prose. His most

outstanding work, *Chorna rada* (The Black Council), was also written at this time, but was not published until 1857. This novel is devoted to events which took place in the period before the hetmanate of Briukhovetsky and shows the same ideological trend as may be observed in the most outstanding Ukrainian Romantics: it gives a picture of a "full-grown nation" composed of different groups each with its varied interests and ideals to replace the idyllically sweet or heroically exalted picture drawn of Ukraine by other Romantics. This novel displays great influence by its Western prototypes (Sir Walter Scott) and by Hohol (Gogol) to whose *Taras Bul'ba* its point of view is opposed. It is a novel of human types and social conflicts, in which the attitudes and beliefs of the different classes of Ukraine of that day are involved. In the social conflicts the egoists seem to prevail over people with ideals, but actually they do not reach their objective. Above all, Kulish estimates highly those people who did not participate in current events for emotional reasons but because they were enlivened by higher ideals (the bard who is termed a "man of God," and the Zaporozhian Kozak Cyril Tur). Behind all the conflicts in the novel the author sees a deeper conflict—"the struggle of truth with injustice." Kulish draws his people and events on a wide canvas; and he makes full use of the contemporary development of the Romantic-historical style. His figures and landscapes are largely symbolic. In spite of the picture he draws of a sad and stormy period, Kulish, time and again, emphasizes his historical optimism.

Of the other Brothers, O. Navrotsky (1823–1902) distinguished himself as a poet-translator of the Romantic poets (German, Russian, Polish), and as a follower of Shevchenko and the folksong style. His writing career began in 1847.

When Nicholas I died, Ukrainian literature immediately began to revive. In 1856–7 Kulish's *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi*



FIGURE 525. P. KULISH

Rusi (Notes on Southern Rus') appeared in which he published anonymously Shevchenko's "Naimychka" (The Servant Maid). In 1857 Kulish published his *Chorna rada* and began to issue a series of Ukrainian pamphlets, among others, the stories of Kvitka. In 1860 a collection, *Khata* (The Home), appeared with selections from the works of old and new poets while Maksymovych published his translations, and Metlynsky his verses. In 1859 Daniel Mordovets and Kostomarov published their *Maloruskii literaturnyi sbornik* (Little Russian Literary Collection). As far back as 1853 the journal *Chernigovskie Gubernskie Vedomosti* (The Province of Chernihiv News) had begun to print Ukrainian poetry. For a short time the center of Ukrainian literature was the monthly *Osnova* (Foundation, 1861-2), edited by Basil Bilozersky (see "Press"). Towards the end of the fifties works began to appear which represented a new trend in literature—Realism (see p. 1019).

Among the older authors Shevchenko and Kulish continued to write in the spirit of Romanticism; among the younger group Alexis Storozhenko did not go beyond it.

Shevchenko was exiled for a long while, and during most of this time did not write any poetry (1851-56). He tried his hand at writing novels in Russian, and they are among the most interesting prose works of the Ukrainian school in Russian literature of that time. Their style unites the elements of the later Gogolian "natural style" with echoes of the "Byronic poem." He continued to use the vivid social themes of his novels in his poetry, when he resumed writing it in 1857.

Traditionally, the later verses of Shevchenko are printed in editions of *Kobzar*. Stylistically they continued to develop the trends so noticeable in his earlier poetry, but in a much more complex synthesis. Even as late as 1857, in revising his "Moskaleva krynytsia" (A

Soldier's Well), Shevchenko did not make any radical changes in the style of this typically "Byronic poem." As far as composition is concerned, he constructed the "Neofity" (Neophytes) and "Mariia," which are "free form" poems, in the same manner. Shevchenko ceased to write ballads almost entirely, but he continued with his short poems modeled on folk songs and his translations and paraphrases of selections from the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, he wrote a larger number of "contemplative" (subjective) verses which expressed his moods and feelings. Such verses were characteristic of the later Romanticism, while the use of social and political motifs brought Shevchenko rather closer to Realism. Historical themes became secondary; and historical subject matter was used to help in the struggle for man's right to live a free and happy life.

Kulish, who only started writing poetry after Shevchenko's death, published his collection of poems, *Dosvitky* (Glimmers of Dawn) in 1862, *Khutorna Poeziia* (Poetry of the Manor) in 1882, *Dzvin* (The Bell) in 1893. Several other poems were published posthumously. At first Kulish imitated Shevchenko, but later proceeded along his own original path. His principal aim was to use a language that was adequate to express the thoughts and experiences of an educated person. Yet his work almost always contained certain of the poetical elements of folklore and a complex Romantic symbolism, including Shevchenko's symbols of *pravda* (truth) and *slovo* (the word). In addition to his lyrical verses, Kulish wrote "learned" poetry. In all his poetic endeavors he paid close attention to form, introduced new strophic meters and thus broadened the scope of Ukrainian verse, and cultivated to a fine point the art of aphorism.

Kulish believed in mysterious higher powers in the history and life of a nation; and in his poems "Nastusia," "Velyki provody" (Easter Week), *Marusia Bohuslavka*, and *Mahomet i Khadyza*, he

offered a well-developed philosophical theory of history and the nation, which was altogether Romantic and was far removed from the prevailing philosophy of positivist "Populism." This was one reason why Kulish never attained great popularity, the more so as the period following the sixties did not favor the development of poetry. In addition, the genres which Kulish used (ballad, poem, *duma*) did not correspond to the spirit of the times. Another contributing factor was certain weaknesses in his verses (rarely used words, artificial accents, coined words which were without appeal). Finally, his popularity as a writer was lessened by his conflicts, as a public man, with his contemporaries on account of his political hesitations and his "strayings" in his interpretations of history, as for example his severe censure of the Kozak period of Ukrainian history, his apology for the cultural work of the Tsar Peter I and the Empress Catherine II in his *Istoriia vossoedineniia Rusi* (History of the Reunion of Rus', 1874), his appeal to the Ukrainians to come to an understanding with the Poles in *Krashanka rusynam i poliakam na Velykden' 1882 roku* (An Easter Egg Presented to the Ruthenians and the Poles on Easter 1882, 1882) and the emphatic stress he put on the importance of culture as a counter-balance to politics.

Kulish tried to write plays (*Koliï*, the trilogy *Baida*, *Sahaidachnyi*, *Tsar Nalyvai*, and others), but his dramas lack movement. The long discussions contained in their dialogues show the same conflicts among the various classes of the "complete nation" that he presented in his *Chorna rada*; but they leave a weaker impression than is given by the tense action of the novel.

His few stories (1860-8) are short, but they are among his best works ("Sichovi hosti" [Guests from the Sich], "Martyr Hak," and others). In them, just as in his Russian prose works written in the fifties, he tried, while confining himself to the life of the peasants and

the petty bourgeoisie, to bring the Ukrainian short story out of the framework of what he considered primitive psychology into the sphere of complex psychic conflicts and even linked his subject matter to Kvitka's to make evident the contrast in the approach. Thus he paved the way for the psychological novel. On the other hand, the language and style in which they were written were much simpler than the contents of his books, and came fairly close to those of Kvitka.

Kulish did pioneer work in his translations which were considered excellent ones for that time. He translated Shakespeare (1882), the Psalter (1868-71), and books from the Holy Scriptures, a collection, *Pozychena Kobza* (Borrowed Kobza) 1897, with translations from Schiller, Goethe, Heine, and Byron. The burlesque he abandoned altogether. His translations were the result of gigantic linguistic labor.

Kulish developed his philosophy of history and the nation mostly in his poetic works. He constructed it by opposing to all that is external and superficial that which is profound, concealed, inherent in man, society, the nation, and culture, that which he calls the "heart." The image of the "heart" occurs frequently in Romantic poetry, and in Kulish's work it becomes the main symbol of cultural, moral, and psychological values.

Another Romantic writer ALEXIS STOROZHENKO (1805-74) began publishing in 1860, although some of his works had been written earlier. In 1863 he published a two-volume collection of stories, to which he later added only two other works. His lively and witty stories were written in a good language, and were full of gentle humor. Their subject matter was purely Romantic. It was either history or fantasy, or sometimes simply a new rendering of a popular fable or a tale. But Storozhenko adopted the Romantic style and Romantic themes only because they were fashionable at

the time. He hardly saw any deeper significance in the popular traditions, at the most feeling their poetic value. Vulgarisms are not infrequent in his writing and his vocabulary was not sufficient to express "higher concepts." His idealization of the past was too extravagant, and his idealization of the present became at times too sweetly idyllic. He tried to write a novel—*Marko Proklyatiyi* (Marko the Cursed)—but he was unsuccessful and the work remained unfinished. It was published in 1879.

The talented poet PETER KUZMENKO (1831-67) also belonged to the circle around *Osnova*. He published several lyric poems, a legend, *Pohane pole* (An Evil Field) and a story, "Ne tak zhdalosia, a tak stalosia" (It Never Happens as Expected). His religious verses are reminiscent of Michael Petrenko (see above).

There are a few outstanding poets of the Romantic period who remained outside the poetic groups. This was in some measure due to the circumstances of their lives, but it was also a result of the lack of literary centers in many provinces during the period between 1848 and 1855.

One writer who was completely isolated was Tymko (Thomas) Padura (1801-71), a Pole. He wrote in a Ukrainian which was not always above reproach. In politics he adhered to the Polish position. However, some of his songs have by now become a part of the oral tradition of the Ukrainian people. Some of them were published in 1844.

The most outstanding of the poets who were outside the Ukrainian groups of their time was EUGENE HREBINKA (1812-48). His numerous Russian stories had Ukrainian subjects and in them he gradually shifted from Romanticism to Naturalism. He wrote but little in Ukrainian. His translation, made in his younger years, of Pushkin's *Poltava* still shows some traits of the burlesque. More successful were his fables—*Malorosii's'ki prykazky* (Little Russian Anecdotes)

(about thirty of them). Romantic sadness permeates his few lyric poems, some of which became favorite popular songs (*Ukrain's'ka Melodiia* [The Ukrainian Melody], and others).

JOSEPH BODIANSKY (1808-77), an honored scholar, wrote a Romantic dissertation on the popular poetry of the Slavic tribes (1837) and, in addition, produced several poems and a collection entitled *Nas'ki ukrain's'ki kazky* (Our Own Ukrainian Tales) under the pseudonym of Isko Materynka (1835)—both of which were permeated with ethnographic Romanticism. A. Shyshatsky-Ilich (1828-59) forged some *dumas*, basing them on genuine popular material. His own poems (two collections—*Ukrain's'ka kvitka* [The Ukrainian Flower], 1856-7), are not of a very high calibre. The ethnographic Romanticism of the "Little Russian" stories of Khoma Kuprienko (1848) is imitative of Gogol.

Two poets who stood quite apart and represented the "Romanticism of sorrow" were VICTOR ZABILA (1808-69) and ALEXANDER AFANASIEV-CHUZHYNSKY (1817-75). Some of their verses were written in the spirit of the Ukrainian folk songs and resemble romances. Semen Metlynsky, the brother of Ambrose, published his collections in 1858 and 1864; he was a clear-cut Romanticist.

Many secondary poets wrote verses with Romantic subjects, but could not free themselves from the influence of the Kotliarevsky manner, in other words, from burlesque. Among them were: Porphyry Korenytsky (*Vechernytsi* [The Evening Party], 1841); Stephen Oleksandriv (*Vovkulaka* [The Werewolf], 1841); MICHAEL MAKAROVSKY (1783-1846; *Natalia*, 1844; *Haras'ko abo talan i v nevoli* [Harasko, or a Serf in Spite of his Talent], 1845); Paul Biletsky-Nosenko (see p. 1004) who wrote ballads (*Ivha*) and did translations from the Romantic poets. There is a better imitation of Pushkin than Hrebinka's in the anonymous poem *Kochubei* (ca. 1828), and an imitation of Shevchenko in the

manuscript poems of the translator of the Gospels, Philip Morachevsky.

Several Polish poets who wrote verses in Ukrainian (A. Szaszkiewicz, Spirydion Ostaszewski, Casper Cięglewicz, Jan Poźniak, L. Węgliński, and others) still clung to the tradition of burlesque and, at most, offered examples of Ukrainian "exoticism."

On the whole the greatest achievement of Ukrainian literary Romanticism lies in its representatives' attempts to develop a "full-fledged language," and to create a "full-fledged literature," by introducing new genres. Ideologically, the Romantics took the same path in developing their conception of the Ukrainian nation as an entity having an equal status with other nations. In Ukrainian literature they introduced two important complexes of themes: "ethnographic" subjects and the Romanticism of the past, especially that of the Kozak period (ignoring, with the exception of Kulish, the part played in the national life by other groups of society in the Ukrainian past, or belittling that part). Romantic themes have been preserved in subsequent Ukrainian literature, along with certain specific motifs and images, among which the central one is that of the "resurrection" of "Mother Ukraine."

The poetry of the Ukrainian Romantics had a greater influence on foreign literatures than had the Ukrainian literature of former periods. In Polish we find translations from the Ukrainian Romantics (Leonard Sowiński, Władysław Syrokomla-Kondratowicz). "Kozak Romanticism" was imitated by the Slovaks and the Czechs (J. V. Frič adapted *Taras Bul'ba* for the theater [1857], and wrote a tragedy, *Mazepa* [1865], and quite a number of verses dealing with the Kozak period). Later, we find Ukrainian literary influences in Bulgarian and even French literature (Prosper Mérimée). In German literature, in the thirties and forties, something akin to a Ukrainian school was established: A. Chamisso in 1831 paraphrased Ryleev's *Voinarovskii*,

and another translation of this work appeared in 1847. In the forties there appeared several translations of the novels of Tchaikovsky which were rich in Ukrainian subject matter. In 1845 *Die poetische Ukraine* (Poetic Ukraine) was published by Frederick Bodenstedt (who later devoted several sketches to Ukraine), and in 1848 the *Balalaika* of Stanisław Waldbrühl appeared. Both these collections contained Ukrainian folk songs. In 1841 an original collection of verse was published under the title of *Ukrainische Lieder* (Ukrainian Songs) by Anton Mauritius (pseudonym of Anthony Moritz Jochmus); in 1844 the poem *Mazepa* by G. E. Stäbisch appeared; in 1850, *Gonta* by Rudolf von Gottschall (translated into Ukrainian in 1856 by Fedkovych); and in 1860, the novel, *Mazepa*, by Adolf Müntzelburg.

D. Čiževsky

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6. THE PERIOD OF REALISM

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In Ukrainian literature, Romanticism was replaced as the dominant style by Realism in the middle of the nineteenth century. As in other European literatures, the germs of the realistic style in Ukrainian literature can be traced back to folklore (the folk humorous and satirical tales) and also to the old literature (e.g., some episodes in the Primary and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles, in the *Skazanie* about Borys and Hlib, "realistically" presented episodes in seventeenth century collections of tales of miracles, some interludes and satirical verses which have elements of realism, and the biography of Elias Turchynovsky, which is the only example of the

original Ukrainian novel of adventure from the eighteenth century that has come down to us). During the period when travesty and sentimentality ruled, certain realistic depictions appeared from time to time, for instance, in Kvitka-Osnovianenko's *Pan Khaliavsky*, as did elements of Naturalism in his *Konotops'ka vid'ma* (The Witch of Konotop).

One important feature of Ukrainian realistic literature was the coexistence of Realism in the works of the writers of the latter half of the nineteenth century with Romanticism and its cult of the heroic deeds of the Kozak period, its poetization of strong passions and powerful individuals. This is particularly evident in the predilection these writers

have for folk sources and in their continuing interest in the past. Romantic views also prevailed in criticism. Finally, as a result of historical circumstances, the development of the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century proceeded rather slowly, and for this reason, too, the realism of the latter half of the nineteenth century maintained the specific "ethnographic" character which was also typical of Ukrainian Romanticism.

Enthusiasm for ethnographism was clearly evident in the manner of drawing the "portraits" (outward appearances) of heroes, which for a long time used devices taken from folklore. It was only later that a clearer and predominantly naturalistic individualization developed. Ethnographism also determined the reproduction of details of costumes and home furnishings, which evolved from the sumptuous descriptions in folklore to a more or less "canonized" realistic-ethnographic (populist in its ideology) picture of life in a poor but tidy peasant's cottage against the background of a beautiful landscape, the description of which often became an end in itself. Ethnographism appeared especially clearly in the stylization of the language of the heroes, which often became a reproduction of the colloquialisms of a given locality. The language of the prose writer evolves from the "mask" of the narrator, through objective relation, to the fashioning of an individual manner of revealing events and experiences. These original qualities in the development of Ukrainian Realism were already evident in the work of Marko Vovchok.

FROM ROMANTICISM TO REALISM

MARKO VOVCHOK (MARIA VILINSKA-MARKOVYCH, 1834-1907) appeared in print in 1857 with her *Narodni opovidannia* (Folk Stories). These had an extraordinary success and won the appreciation of Shevchenko, Kulish, Turgenyev, and other outstanding literary figures. Later she published other stories,

of which the chief are "Ledashchytisia" (An Idle Young Woman), "Instytutka" (A Young Woman from Boarding School), and "Karmeliuk." Following the liquidation of the periodical *Osnova*, in which she had participated, Marko Vovchok, who lived in St. Petersburg, took an active part in Russian journalism.

In the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century a new genre appeared in eastern Europe—the sketch, or, more precisely, the "physiological sketch" of the Russian so-called "Naturalistic School," which derived from Gogol. Marko Vovchok, unlike the Russian authors of sketches of the time, combined her realistically treated subjects, involving actual problems, with elements of the ethnographic Romanticism of the preceding epoch, especially in the stories which she put into the mouths of her heroes.

Marko Vovchok's stories may be divided into two groups according to the preponderance of Romantic or Realistic elements: the first is devoted to the life of the peasants under serfdom ("Sestra" [The Sister], "Dva syny" [The Two Sons]) and, in particular, to the life of the women ("Odarka," "Horpyna," "Kozachka," "Instytutka," "Ledashchytisia"). These are realistic depictions of the village life of the time, although they are presented in the stylistic tradition of ethnographism. The stories in the second group belong exclusively to ethnographic Romanticism. While using devices borrowed from folklore, they present the figures of heroes with unbreakable will power and irrepressible passions ("Danylo Hurch," "Maksym Hrymach," "Svekrukha" [The Mother-in-Law]). In addition, Marko Vovchok used a wealth of ethnographic material in her tales and



FIGURE 526.
M. VOVCHOK

stories for children ("Karmeliuk," "Deviat' brativ" [Nine Brothers], and "Marusia," which was more popular in France than in Ukraine). In perfecting her style of "ethnographic" narrative, Marko Vovchok freed Ukrainian prose from the coarseness which it had acquired from travesty, and which neither Storozhenko nor Kulish was able to eliminate.

Close to the narrative style of Marko Vovchok was that of Hanna Barvinok (the pseudonym of Alexandra Kulish, 1828-1911), and of Daniel Mordovets (1830-1905) who wrote several stories full of ethnographic material on the manners and customs of the people.

More of a Romanticist than a Realist, but showing clear signs of populist ideology, STEPHEN RUDANSKY (1834-73) began his literary activity with ballads (some of them under the influence of Bürger and V. Zhukovsky, others based on the motifs of Ukrainian folk ballads [*Verba*—The Willow, *Topolia*—The Poplar]). His enthusiasm for the old literature and folklore led him to rework in both prose and poetry apocrypha on biblical subjects: *Baiky svitovii v spivakh* (World Parables in Songs), and *Baiky svitovii v opovidkakh* (World Parables in Prose).

Written in a manner imitative of Shevchenko (with a still-evident Kotliarevsky tinge) are Rudansky's allegorical poem *Tsar Solovei* (Tsar Nightingale), dedicated to Slavdom, and a series of historical poems: *Mazepa*, *Skoropada*, *Polubotok*, *Veliamyn*, *Apostol*, *Minikh*. More interesting are his paraphrases of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament) in *Ihor Sivers'kyi* and his versions of the Králedvorský manuscript and the *Iliad*. In his *Spivomoky* (Humorous Poems, written in 1857-8 but published in 1882), Rudansky offered a whole treasury of popular humor on various aspects of national and social relations. The sharpness of their wit, their lightness of touch and aphoristic method of exposition made the *Spivomoky* the most popular work of the

ethnographic age in Ukrainian literature. In his lyrics Rudansky sometimes imitated the manner of folksong—"Oi chomu ty ne litaiesh" (O why do you not fly . . .), "Holubon'ko-divchynon'ko" (My Darling Girl)—and sometimes continued the tradition of the Romantic song—"Ty ne moia" (You are not mine), "Serenada." Occasionally he wrote poems on social problems (*Student*). The best of his lyric poems is the optimistic "Hei, byky" (Go, Oxen . . .) and the lapidary and energetic *Psalm 136*.

Close to Rudansky in his use of lyrical devices was LEONID HLIBOV (1827-93). The majority of his verses are elegies, written in the manner of the popular song, such as, for example, "Zhurba" (Sorrow) which became a folk song. A small number of his poems—"Vechir" (Evening), "Blahannia" (Supplication), "Nocturno"—are examples of the technique of a purely literary versification. His *Baiky* (Fables, 1872) became immensely popular. Taking the universal subjects of fable, Hlibov gave them a Ukrainian coloring and at times even "modernized" them in the spirit of liberal social satire. The fables show a wealth of language and suppleness of dialogue, a thorough knowledge of the ways and customs of the people, and a light lyrical coloring which made them favorite reading in the schools.

The period of transition from Romanticism to Realism in Ukrainian literature brought a belated literary rebirth in



FIGURE 527.
J. G. FEDKOVYCH

Bukovina which was influenced by Romanticism. This was brought about by JOSEPH-GEORGE FEDKOVYCH (1834-88). His first verses were in German. In his Ukrainian works he united the influence of western European Romantic poetry with his enthusiasm

for Bukovinian folklore. His Hutsul subject matter was often refracted through the prism of the experiences of a soldier torn away from his home. The basis of his rhythmic and imagery was the folk song, but his poetry was also influenced by the German Romantics, especially by Schiller and Uhland. This latter influence set him somewhat apart from the numerous authors who wrote in the manner of Shevchenko. But, in time, lacking suitable conditions for further creative originality, Fedkovych, in his enthusiasm for *Kobzar*, lost his independence and wrote many verses in which he simply imitated Shevchenko. These, as well as his attempts at drama (the tragedy *Dovbush*, the melodrama *Kermanykh* [The Pilot], and others) had no success. His prose works arose under the influence of the Romantic stories of Marko Vovchok. They were written in the form of descriptions of events by witnesses or participants, and followed Vovchok's manner in presenting moral maxims and in constructing the initial causation and the final effect. Against the background of a luxurious landscape move his noble heroes, picturesquely dressed, handsome and passionate, or gentle and melancholy. Close friendship is the leitmotif of Fedkovych's stories. His subject matter is built around tragic love which irrevocably seizes a person and leads him or her to catastrophe ("Shtefan Slavych", 1863; "Taliianka", 1864; "Safat Zynych", 1865; "Sertse ne navchyty" [One Cannot Teach the Heart], 1863; "Khoto vynen?" [Who is to Blame?], 1863; "Liuba-zhuba" [The Love is Fatal], 1863).

Another Bukovinian writer of this period was ISIDOR VOROBKEVYCH (pseudonym DANYLO MLAKA, 1836-1903). His stories "Mushtrovaniy kin'" (A Trained Horse), "Turets'ki brantsi" (The Turkish Captives), "Mest' chornohortsia" (The Revenge of a Mountaineer), and others, are written in the Romantic mood of Shashkevych and Ustyianovych. His poems "Kyfor i Hanusia" (1866), "Mushashka" (1865), "Drahomanka" (1868),

"Nechai" (1868), are on historical subjects dealt with in a Romantic manner, using the devices of folklore, or in imitation of Shevchenko, and of Kulish's *Dosvitky*. His numerous lyric poems generally imitated the folk songs. Influenced by Fedkovych's poetry, he also wrote poems about military life, and a longer poem *Hostynets' z Bosnii* (A Present from Bosnia).

A characteristic figure of this period is the belated Romanticist JACOB SHCHOHOLIV (1824-98), who published his poems in two volumes entitled *Vorsklo* (1883) and *Slobozhanshchyna* (1898). In many of his poems we find the Romantic motif (inspired by Ambrose Metlynsky) of the fading of the ancient Kozak ways along with the stormy glory of the Kozaks' era—"Hrechkosii" (A Tiller), the poem "Babusyna kazka" (A Grandmother's Tale), the ballads "Zolota bandura" (The Golden Bandura), "Barvinkova stinka" (A Periwinkle Wall), and others. Shchokoliv continued the Romantic line of writing in his ballads, which were based upon the motifs of popular demonology—"Klymentovi mlynny" (Clement's Mills), "Vovkulaka" (The Werewolf), "Loskotarky" (The Tickler-Nymphs)—and in his fine stylizations of lyrical folksong material—"Dobryden'" (Good Day), "Cherevychky" (The Shoes), "Dochumakuvavsia" (Chumak's Sorry End), and many others. But we also come across Realistic motifs of labor, epic and, at times, idyllic pictures of the laboring man—"Tkach" (The Weaver), "Kravets'" (The Tailor), "Miroshnyk" (The Miller), "Shvets'" (The Cobbler), "Kosari" (The Mowers), and others. In addition to these we find motifs of the ruin of landed properties, the disintegration of the patriarchal order of life, and the dominance of new social relations—"Pokynutyi khutir" (The Abandoned Manor), "Pokhoron" (The Funeral), "Shynok" (The Tavern), "Burlaka" (The Homeless One). A small portion of his work consists of calm and contemplative lyric poems on Nature—

"Traven' " (May), "Osин' " (The Autumn), "Zymmii shliakh" (The Winter Road). Occasionally we find sharply pessimistic poems on the vanity of life and man's disillusionment with his fellowmen—"Lial'ka" (A Doll), "Pliats" (A Place), "Maryvo" (A Mirage). Some particularly well-written poems have religious motifs—"Suboty sv. Dmytra" (The Saturdays of St. Demetrius), "Anhel Bozhyi" (The Angel of God).

Belated followers of the Romantic movement in Western Ukraine were the playwrights Volodymyr Shashkevych (1839-85), Omelian Ohonovsky (1833-94), and Cornelius Ustyianovych (1836-1903). In prose, wavering between Romanticism and the beginnings of populist Realism, stood Theodore Zarevych (1835-79); and in poetry—Xenophon Klymkovych (1835-81), Naum Shram (pseudonym of Gregory Vorobkevych, 1838-84), and the fabulist PAVLO SVII (PAULINUS SVIENTSITSKY, 1841-76).

THE REALISM OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Prose

Realistic prose developed with certain traits of ethnographism, but it rejected the other characteristics of Romanticism. The development of Realistic prose was hindered by an external factor—as a result of the repressive policy of the tsarist government, a number of the prose works of Ukrainian Realists reached the reader only after a delay: some were printed abroad and others did not appear until they had already become a part of literary history, and therefore could not play a role in the vital literary process.

ANATOL SVYDNYTSKY (1834-71) was the author of some short stories published in Russian, 1869-71, and of the novel-chronicle *Liuborats'ki* (written in 1862 but printed in full only in 1898). In this novel the Ukrainian scene in the 1830's and 40's is represented by two

generations of a Podilian clerical family: the older generation is patriarchal and has strong connections with the village, while the younger generation, having been educated in foreign schools, and having been subjected to Russification and Polonization, is torn up from its native roots, loses its stability, and is spiritually maimed. The author divides his attention between the ideological conflict and the depiction of village life. Svydnytsky's style stands somewhere between the narrative manner of Kvitka, Marko Vovchok, and Fedkovych, and the descriptive manner of Nechui-Levytsky. It preserves the character of living, oral narration, but without laying too great an emphasis upon it.

Chronologically, the first representative of Realistic prose with a clearly populist ideological tendency was ALEXANDER KONYSKY (1836-1900). His themes cover the problems dealt with in the program of the populists; for example, the recent serfdom ("Startsi" [The Beggars], "Protestant"), the peasants' struggle for their rights ("Pivniv praznyk" [The Feast of Piven]), "Did Yevmen" [Old Eumenius]), the new evils resulting from the rise of profiteers in the countryside ("Spokuslyva nyva" [The Tempting Field], "Navvyperedky" [In a Mad Race]). In addition, we find in his works a picture of the populist intelligentsia with its practical work—"Neprymyrenna" (The Irreconcilable), "Hrishnyky" (The



FIGURE 528.
A. KONYSKY



FIGURE 529.
I. NECHUI-LEVYTSKY

Sinners). Quite a number of autobiographical details are to be found in the novel *Yurii Horovenko* which describes a young populist's struggle with his surroundings and his tragic end. Although they lack real literary quality, the works of Konysky had a considerable influence in the eighties and nineties because of their strongly didactic attitude toward social obligations and because of their trenchant evaluation of the autocratic Russian regime.

Also popular because of their treatment of problems and programs of the day were *Skoshenyi tsvit* (The Mowed Blossom) by Volodymyr Barvinsky (1850–83), and *Tetiana Rebenshchukova* by Michael Pavlyk (1853–1915).

IVAN NECHUI-LEVYTSKY (1838–1918) followed the pattern of the objective narrative with much greater confidence. At first, in his novel *Dvi moskovky* (Two Soldiers' Wives, 1866), he draws a picture of a Ukrainian village which contains much ethnographic Romanticism. But later he uses naturalistic devices in portraying the poverty, limitations, and ignorance of the post-reform village in his novels *Kaidasheva simia* (The Kaidash Family, 1879), *Propashchi* (The Lost Ones), and others, and in his humorous sketches *Ne mozna babi Parasti vderzhatysia na seli* (Old Paraska Cannot Stay in the Village, 1872), *Blahoslovit' babi Parasti skoropostyzhno vmerty* (May Old Paraska Die Suddenly, 1874), and others. Without limiting himself to the traditional motifs of village life, Nechui-Levytsky turned to a subject which was new to Ukrainian literature—the wage-earning class and factory labor (the novels *Mykola Dzheria*, 1878, and *Burlachka* [A Factory Girl], 1881). The life of the clergy and their families, that of the petty nobility and the gentry, and of the stewards of landed properties are depicted in the novels *Prychepa* (An Intruder, 1869), *Starosvits'ki batiushky ta matushky* (Old-fashioned Clergymen and their Wives, 1884), and others.

The theme of the role of the new

Ukrainian intelligentsia is presented by Nechui-Levytsky in *Khmary* (The Clouds, 1874), a novel-chronicle in which the older generation of Romantics, represented by the dreamer Professor Dashkovych, is contrasted with a hero of the new generation, Pavlo Radiuk. This is an attempt, the first in Ukrainian literature, to produce a big social novel. It depicts the life of the townspeople and the small landowning class, and draws a humorous picture of the Russified Theological Academy in Kiev and of professorial circles. It suffers from a lack of the sense of artistic measure and from a loose composition, cluttered with superfluous ethnographic material. These same defects also weakened the novel *Nad Chornym morem* (On the Black Sea Coast, 1890), which dealt with the conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

In his articles entitled "S'ohochasne literaturne priamuvannia" (The Present-Day Literary Trend, 1878), and "Ukrainstvo na literaturnykh pozvakh z Moskovshchynoiu" (Ukrainianism versus Russianism in Literature, 1891), Nechui-Levytsky based the position of Ukrainian populist Realism on actuality, stressing the problem of nationality and the folk spirit. At the same time he set Ukrainian writers the task of revealing every aspect of Ukrainian life "from the Caucasus and the Volga to the estuary of the Danube itself, to the Carpathians and beyond. . . ." Nechui-Levytsky considered that the works of Russian writers were foreign to Ukrainians, and pointed out the "uselessness of Great Russian literature to Ukraine and to all Slavdom." At the same time, he emphasized the importance of the contemporary French Realist writers with their broad depiction of various aspects of life.

In his creative work Nechui-Levytsky tried to put these beliefs into practice, but his attempts became enmeshed in the mannerisms of his novel-chronicle, which he burdened with material taken from the everyday life of the people,

with endless comparisons, as well as with an ethnographism which often became an end in itself. His stories suffer further from his limited choice of subjects to depict, and even from the language he uses, which is confined to the dialect of the southern part of the Kiev province.

Another outstanding prose writer and Realist was PANAS MYRNYI (ATHANASIOS RUDCHENKO, 1849–1920). Following the publication of his first short stories and of an ideological novel about the life of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, *Lykhi liudy* (Wicked People, 1876), he produced the most important social novel of the period—*Khiba revut' voly, yak yasla povni* (When One Has Enough, One Does Not Complain), also known under the title of *Propashcha syla* (Wasted Strength). Myrnyi wrote this novel in collaboration with his brother Ivan Bilyk, and it was published in 1880. It is the story of an energetic and talented peasant, Nychypir Varenychenko, who lives in a post-reform village where the new rich have the upper hand. He is thrown again and again down to the very lowest level of life, until he becomes embittered and joins a band of robbers. Myrnyi makes his heroes' actions convincing by stressing the influence of their surroundings and of their inherited inclinations. The ethnographic element sometimes slows down the development of the plot, although on the whole in Myrnyi's work it is secondary to the depiction of the social background of his characters. At times this in its turn leads him into such extensive independent excursions that the novel is deprived of the unity of its composition. On the other hand, the psychological motivation of the heroes' actions has much greater significance in Myrnyi's work than in that of his predecessors. These particular aspects of Myrnyi's style are also evident in his novels *Lykho davnie i s'ohochasne* (The Old Evil and the New, 1897) and *Za vodoiu* (With the Current). Discursiveness, combined with the other characteristics of his style, lessens the value of



FIGURE 530.
P. MYRNYI



FIGURE 531.
B. HRINCHENKO

the novel *Povnia* (A Fallen Woman, 1883–1918). This latter work is a wide canvas on which is painted life in a village ruled by the wicked, brutal new rich, and life in a city. In places the novelist uses generalized images, such as were used by Emile Zola. The novel did not contribute to the development of Ukrainian prose because it was not published until the Realism of Myrnyi had already become a phenomenon of the past.

The prose of BORYS HRINCHENKO (1863–1910) is characterized by its social themes. In addition to his numerous stories which mostly deal with peasant life, he wrote several novels—*Sonia-shnyi promin'* (A Sunray, 1890), *Na rosputti* (At the Crossroads, 1891), *Sered temnoi nochi* (In the Darkness of the Night, 1900), *Pid tykhymy verbamy* (Under the Silent Willows, 1901). In them Hrinchenko tried to find the answers to problems with which the populist movement was then urgently concerned, such as the problems of the loss of national identity in the village, the spreading of culture in national guise, the conflict between social radicalism and nationalism, and so on. Hrinchenko did not pay as much attention to his characters and their psychology as to the "problem" element, and, as a result, his works suffer from an excessive schematization and are overloaded with dialogues on topical questions. On the

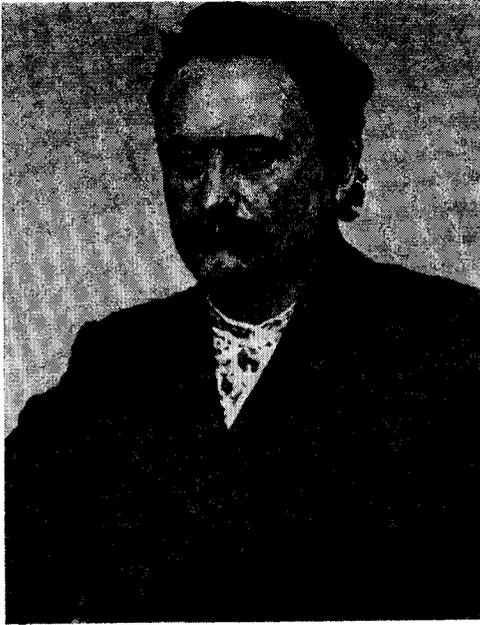


FIGURE 532. IVAN FRANKO

other hand, this made his works very popular at the time.

The works of IVAN FRANKO (1856–1916) were a great achievement in Ukrainian nineteenth century prose. He employs a wide range of themes and a wealth of different genres. He first wrote a Romantic novel about Carpathian brigands (*Petrii i Dovbushchuky*, 1875); he followed this with a number of stories of peasant life after the abolition of serfdom in Western Ukraine. In these he described the widespread misery of his time and presented a depressing picture of peasants being forced to move to the towns and cities in order to earn a livelihood and of their hard struggle for existence, surrounded by ignorance and injustice—“*Lisy i pasovys'ka*” (The Forests and Pasturelands), “*Dobryi Zarobok*” (Good Earnings), “*Slymak*” (The Snail), “*Muliar*” (The Mason), and others. Franko then turned to a phenomenon new to Galicia—the Boryslav oil industries—in his novels *Boa Constrictor*, *Boryslav smiiet'sia* (Boryslav Laughs), *Vivchar* (The Shepherd), *Po-luika*, *Yats' Zelepuha*, and others.

In *Boa Constrictor* (1878, 1907) and in *Boryslav smiiet'sia* (1882), Franko followed the example of some western European writers (Zola, Freytag, and others) in depicting naturalistically the growth of capitalism and the workers' first attempts to obtain better working conditions. In the spirit of the naturalistic views of those days he emphasized instances of heredity in his heroes, and when he showed degeneration, he did not avoid depicting filthy and pathological scenes. But he was set apart from the more glaring forms of Naturalism by his idealistic faith in the human being's better side, and more particularly by his faith in his people. In another cycle we find a number of clean, even photographic, pictures of prison life—“*Na dni*” (In the Depths), “*Do svitla*” (Toward the Light)—and others depicting the city “*Lumpenproletariat*” (“*Odi profanum vulgus*” and others). A group of stories describing the life of children, especially school children, are notable for their fine psychological analysis and warm humanity—“*Malyi Myron*” (Little Myron), “*Hrytseva shkil'na nauka*” (Hryts' Schoolwork), “*Olivets'*” (A Pencil), and others. Complex social and personal conflicts in the life of the large landowners (with many harsh illustrations of the degeneration and disintegration of the gentry) and of the new Ukrainian rural and urban intelligentsia which was struggling to gain a place in society were presented by Franko in such stories and novels as *Osnovy suspil'nosti* (The Foundations of a Society, 1895), *Dlia domashn'oho ohnyshcha* (For the Family Hearth, 1897), *Hryts' i panych* (Hryts and the Lordling, 1899), *Perekhresni stezhky* (The Crossroads, 1900), *Bat'kivshchyna* (The Fatherland, 1904), *Soichyne krylo* (The Jay's Wing, 1905), *Velykyi shum* (The Big Noise, 1907), and others. The wealth of subject matter in Franko's work is paralleled by the extraordinary variety of genres he used—stories, narratives, psychological and social studies, sketches, satires (“*Is-*

toriiia kozhukha" [A History of a Sheepskin Coat], "Svyns'ka konstytutsiia" [A Piggish Constitution], and others), social and historical novels, such as *Zakhar Berkut* (1883). Having started out with Romanticism, Franko passed through Naturalism and ethnographic Realism, and then turned to the psychological treatment of his subjects, showing an inclination for Impressionism and Modernism. He was particularly interested in the unusual states of mind evoked by harsh experiences and employed completely Modernistic devices and symbolism without abandoning the Realistic manner (for example, *Perekhresni stezhky*, *Soichyne krylo*, *Velykyi shum*).

In populist, Realistic prose in which either ethnographism or Naturalism is dominant, works on social themes and, in particular, on village life are to be found. These include the writings of TIMOTHY BORDULIAK (1863-1936), STEPHEN KOVALIV (1848-1920), MODEST LEVYTSKY (1866-1932), LIUBOV YANOVSKA (1861-193?), DEMETRIUS MARKOVYCH (1848-1920), and HRYTSKO HRYHORENKO (O. SUDOVSHCHYKOVA-KOSACH, 1867-1924). A special niche in the treatment of social themes, and particularly of the emancipation of women, is occupied by the works of NATALIA KOBRYNSKA (1855-1920). Differing in that their subject matter is historical are the *Volyns'ki opovidannia* (Volhynian Stories) of ORESTES LEVYTSKY (1849-1922). BASIL MOVA-LYMANSKY (1842-91) stands apart in taking the Kuban as his subject, and because of his particularly harsh use of naturalistic devices, and his original vocabulary, which make him an early precursor of expressionism (Kuban Sketches, and his long novel written in dialogue *Stare hnizdo i molodi ptakhy* [Young Birds in an Old Nest]).

Drama

The drama of the latter half of the nineteenth century, to an even greater extent than its prose, unites ethnographic Romanticism with Realism. The explana-

tion for this lies in the fact that the theater, in its long, hard competition with Russian companies, attracted large audiences because of its ethnographic character, its use of good choral songs and dances, and colorful eye-catching, national costume (see "Theater").

To the Realistic school belong the dramatic works of Gregory Tsehlynsky (1853-1912), especially his comedies *Sokolyky* (The Darlings) and *Argonavty* (The Argonauts).

The works of MICHAEL STARYTSKY (1840-1904) show a bent for melodrama with their sharply contrasted situations, high-sounding monologues, and dazzling scenes. He began his career with ethnographic melodrama—*Pans'ke boloto* (The Lords' Mud, also called *Ne sudylosia* [It Was Not Destined] or *Ne tak stalosiia yak zhadalosia* [It Did Not Happen as Was Wished], 1883), in which we find the current theme of the relations between classes treated from the Realistic and populist angles. Later Starytsky reworked many of the plays of other authors who lacked knowledge of the theater: *Chornomortsi* (The Black Sea Kozaks, 1875), based on the work of Jacob Kukharenko; the ethnographic comedy *Za dvoma zaitsiamy* (Chasing Two Hares, 1883), based on the work of Nechui-Levytsky, and others. Among his ethnographic melodramas, which were extremely popular in their day, the following also contain borrowed subject matter: *Tsyhanka Aza* (Aza, the Gypsy Woman), *Oi, ne khody, Hrytsiu* (Don't Go to the Party, Hrytsiu, 1890). Starytsky's dramatic work reached its peak with his historical tragedies, written in the 1890's—*Ostannia Nich* (The Last Night, 1899); *Marusia Bohuslavka*, 1897; *Bohdan Kmel'nyts'kyi*, 1897; *Oborona Bushi* (The Defense of Busha, 1899)—which with their heroic treatment, suspense, and wealth of colorful ethnographic material show that he was still using the devices of Romanticism at a time when populist Realism was in full swing.

Without abandoning the methods of Romantic writing, especially of melodrama, MARKO KROPYVNYTSKY (1840–1910) treated ethnographic-populist themes in his plays. Among his numerous dramas the following were very popular: *Dai sertsiu voliu—zavede v nevoliu* (Give Your Heart Freedom and It Will Enslave You, 1882); *Doky sontse ziiderosa ochi vyist'* (The Sun Arose Too Late, 1881); and *Hlytai abozh pavuk* (The Profiteer, or the Spider, 1882), in which the new strong man of the village appears—a newly enriched peasant who through usury holds his fellow-villagers in his clutches. Although at times Kropyvnytsky used the “slice-of-life” technique in his plays, he nevertheless always retained his fondness for melodramatic effect. To some extent the latter is reflected in the dramatic works of IVAN FRANKO, which are preponderantly Realistic in character (*Ukradene shchastia* [Stolen Happiness, 1893], and others). Franko's later dramatic works prepared the way for Neoromanticism (*Budka ch. 27* [Railway Guard's Lodge No. 27, 1902], and others).

A more confident search for a new form is to be found in the works of the greatest Ukrainian playwright of the nineteenth century, IVAN TOBILEVYCH (pseudonym KARPENKO KARYI, 1845–1907). His plays, dealing with the Ukrainian past, are predominantly Romantic in character, and he shows a fondness for subjects taken from folklore—*Bondarivna* (The Cooper's Daughter, 1884), *Palyvoda XVIII st.* (A Madcap of the 18th Century, 1893), *Handzia* (1902), and others. The most outstanding of this group of his plays is the highly original *Sava Chalnyi* (1899). In this play, filled with heroic action (which does not, however, suffer from the bombast of Strytsky's historical tragedies), Tobilevych boldly unites descriptions of everyday life with scenes which closely resemble the modernistic mood dramas. Tobilevych's search for new dramatic



FIGURE 533.

I. TOBILEVYCH

devices is also evident in his realistic plays about the life of his day. Some of his dramas of village life have themes taken from the populist program (*Burlaka* [The Homeless One, 1883], *Ponad Dniptom* [On the Dnieper]) while others are noted for their sharply melodramatic effects (*Naimychka* [The Servant Maid, 1886], *Beztalanna* [The Hapless One, 1886]). These alternate with plays representing the new conflicts of the times, conflicts chiefly arising from the pursuit of money, but also from the effort to achieve a better position in society. Among these are the comedy of manners *Martyn Borulia*, 1886, the dramatic scenes *Sto tysiach* (A Hundred Thousand, 1890), *Suieta* (Vanity, 1903), and—the best of them—*Khaziain* (The Owner, 1900). In the latter play the figure of Puzyr symbolizes the union of the traits of a strong peasant proprietor with those of a merciless new industrialist who crushes everything under the wheel of his economic machine. All of these plays consist of a number of closely connected dramatic scenes; the romantic plot is relegated to a secondary position; the traditional gradual development and sudden solution of the conflict is absent. And there is no clear-cut division between tragedy and comedy. Thus Tobilevych raised Ukrainian dramaturgy to the general level of the modern drama.

Poetry

Among the Realist poets with populist tendencies the most outstanding were ALEXANDER KONYSKY (*Porvani struny* [The Shattered Chords, 1898], and

others), BORYS HRINCHENKO, IVAN MANZHURA (1851-93; the collection *Stepovi dumy ta spivny* [The Dumas and Songs of the Steppe, 1889]), PAUL HRABOVSKY (1864-1902; the collections published in the nineties—*Prolyisok* [The Anemone, 1894], *Z chuzhoho polia* [From an Alien Field, 1895], *Z pivnochi* [From the North, 1896], *Dolia* [Destiny, 1897], *Kobza*, 1898). Their works are characterized by the predominance of social themes: "the past misfortunes and the present misery" of the peasantry, social and national oppression, ignorance and

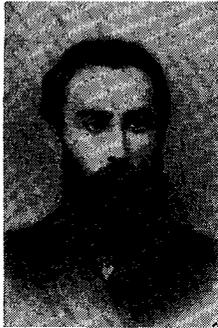


FIGURE 534.
P. HRABOVSKY

injustice, the need for all to labor for the common good of the Ukrainian people, and sacrifices that must be made in the performance of public duties—all these themes are permeated by faith in a better future. Populist critics themselves (A. Hrushevsky, S. Yefremov)

emphasized that the message of the publicist dominates the artistic content of these works. The same motifs appear in Michael Starytsky (*Z davn'oho zshytku: Pismi i dumy* [From an Old Copybook: Songs and Dumas, 1881-2], *Poezii* [Poems, 1908]); in Olena Pchilka (Olha Kosach, 1849-1930, *Dumky-merzhaniky* [Embroidered Songs, 1886]); and in Basil Mova-Lymansky (*Kozachykistiak* [The Skeleton of a Kozak]). These works display a certain "Europeanization" in their subject matter, and indicate a search for a special, lofty, poetic vocabulary which did not entirely correspond to their authors' populist mood. To this trend also belonged Starytsky's translations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the poems of Byron, and some Serbian epics. Here the poet's work seems to be a continuation of that of

Kulish. Like Starytsky, Hrinchenko did many translations from different languages, in particular, of nineteenth century poetry. His work disproved the allegation that Ukrainian writing formed a supplementary "literature for home consumption," and was not a part of world literature.

In the poetry of the latter half of the nineteenth century, as in the prose, the undisputed peak of achievement was attained by the works of IVAN FRANKO. The evolution of Franko's poetry is similar to that of his prose. The collection *Z Vershyn i nyzyn* (From Heights and Depths, 1887) is very closely related to his "naturalistic" stories which treat the hungry village, although, to be sure, it contains notes of joy for "a new social wave," and of the faith of a "son of the people" that his life is "a prologue—not

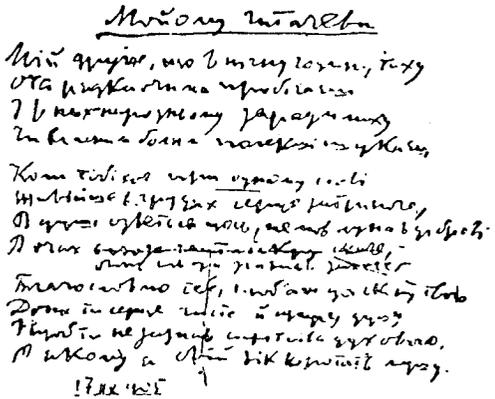


FIGURE 535. AUTOGRAPH OF IVAN FRANKO

an epilogue." In his lyric poems *Ziviale Lystia* (Withered Leaves, 1896), in certain cycles of the intimately lyric poetry in his collections *Mii Izmaragd* (My Emerald, 1898), and *Iz dnuv zhurby* (From the Days of Sorrow, 1900), we see to what an extraordinary extent Franko enriched his poetry both by using new themes and genres and by using variations in strophe, rhythm, and rhyme. This achievement was not equalled even by a later generation of

poets, the so-called "modernists." In addition to his social motifs, motifs of tragic love, disillusionment, and doubt also appear—*Poedynok* (A Duel, 1883); *Pokhoron* (The Funeral, 1899). His later collections (*Mii Izmaragd*, *Semper Tiro*, 1906) are dominated by a philosophical mood of humanism and tranquillity, and *Na stari temy* (On Old Themes) by a highly poetic interpretation of themes of the philosophy of history. Similar, too, was the evolution of his epic verses, from the Realistic poem *Pans'ki Zharty* (A Landlord's Jest, 1887) to *Smerť Kaina* (The Death of Cain, 1889), in which, as in the later dramatic poems of Lesia Ukraïka, we find a new and original treatment of a theme from world literature. In his treatment of the theme of the hero-leader and the masses, in his poem *Ivan Vyshens'kyi* (1898), he rises from the Realistic plane to the sphere of psychological and philosophical conflict, and reaches new heights in his monumental poem *Moisei* (Moses, 1905), which crowned Franko's life-long creative work and summed up his ideological outlook. The poetry which Franko wrote during the nineties and after was already of the age which replaced Realism and, with the works of Lesia Ukraïka, it represented its greatest achievement.

N. Hlobenko

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7. THE AGE OF MODERNISM

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Ukrainian literature became more diverse and more complex. After 1905 the Ukrainian press was legalized within the borders of the Russian empire. In addition to the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald), founded in Lviv in 1898 (after 1907 in Kiev), which drew to itself the best literary talent from all parts of the Ukraine, there appeared other literary groups, each with its own distinct artistic and social characteristics (*Moloda Muza* [Young Muse], *Ukrain's'ka Khata* [Ukrainian Home]). The literary activity of Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, and Kotsiubynsky led Ukrainian literature out of the circle of the predominantly "peasant" material treated in the naturalistic manner. Ukrainian writers began to take new artistic directions, first of all toward Impressionism, with its interest in subjective impressions, experiences, and the personal perception of events and its cultivation of the short story or the lyrical prose-sketch. In the drama the action was transferred to the internal sphere, the external plot was weakened, and in its place the psychological picture was developed in minute detail. In lyrics subjective, individualistic motifs were used increasingly and there was a new interest in the problem of securing perfection of form. Into the system of poetic devices was now accepted the symbol which permitted a subjective interpretation of an image on several planes; in practice, however, it was often replaced by mere allegory. These new trends were given various conventional names: Modernism, Decadence, Symbolism, and, finally Neoromanticism.

The growth of these new trends in Ukrainian literature was characterized by more or less successful attempts to synthesize the old tradition with the new manner. In many instances Ukrain-

ian Modernist prose continued to preserve its connection with the Ukrainian village, which often deprived it of the piquancy of the more refined urbanized culture, but, on the other hand, saved it from symptoms of pathological morbidity and other abnormalities.

Although in rhythmic system, strophic arrangement, imagery, and vocabulary, lyric poetry was far removed from the folk song, it nevertheless did not break its connection with folklore. Social themes likewise continued to be cultivated within the system of the imagery, and allegories and emblems of the populist period were found along with new images derived from subjective experience. These combinations were characteristic of Ukrainian Modernism.

PROSE AND DRAMATURGY IN PROSE

The clearest searching for new paths in prose is seen in the works of MICHAEL KOTSIUBYNSKY (1864-1913). Having begun to write under the influence of Nechui-Levytsky and Panas Myrnyi (*Na viru* [Out of Wedlock, 1891], *Dorohoiu tsinotu* [At a High Price, 1902]), Kotsiubynsky in his *Lialechka* (Doll, 1901), *Tsvit yabluni* (Apple Blossoms, 1902), *Na kameni* (On the Rock, 1902), and in the other "Crimean" stories changed his style under the influence of western European writers, and introduced into his stories Impressionistic devices. Extensive descriptions were replaced by the flowing impressions, the free associations of a hero. Events were presented through the prismatic consciousness of the characters; and landscape, too, became a *dra-*

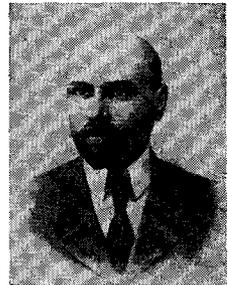


FIGURE 536.
M. KOTSIUBYNSKY

matis persona. Kotsiubynsky appeared with these new features at the moment when the Modernists announced their creative platform. In 1901 they published their manifesto in the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk*, and in 1903 appeared their collection *Z-nad khmar i dolyn* (From Above the Clouds and from the Valleys). (In this connection it may be noted that in 1902 Ignatius Khotkevych published in Kharkiv a collection of Modernist sketches *Poeziia v prozi* [Poetry in Prose].)

In 1904 appeared the first, and in 1910 the second, part of Kotsiubynsky's greatest work, *Fata Morgana*. Here the theme of the social conflicts of the village, so traditional in Ukrainian literature, was depicted with extraordinary perfection with completely new methods. The author's mastery was especially evident in the fact that, with the fragmentation and subjectivity so typical of the Impressionistic approach, he succeeded in building up tension and suspense, and in presenting typical images through subjective states of mind. In his subsequent stories Kotsiubynsky, drawing on his fine Impressionistic resources, and making use of the theme of the 1905 Revolution in Ukraine and its suppression, unfolded the spiritual world of man in the "extreme situations" of terror, hatred, the urge to kill, escape from one's fellow beings to nature, etc. In this connection may be mentioned "Vin ide" (He Comes, 1906), "Smikh" (Laughter, 1906), "Persona Grata," (1907), "Podarunok na imennyni" (A Birthday Present, 1911), "Koni ne vynni" (The Horses Are Not to Blame, 1912), "V dorozh" (During the Journey, 1907), and the lyrical monologue *Intermezzo* (1908), so highly esteemed by the critics of the day. The social aspect of Kotsiubynsky's work appeared as an external impetus toward discovery of the depths of man's consciousness and sub-consciousness, which he seized not in its static state but in its ceaseless movement and liquidity.

To this series of stories, which revealed the dark side of the human soul, such

stories as "Son" (A Dream, 1911), "Khvala zhyttiu" (Glory to Life, 1911), "Na ostrovi" (On the Island, 1913) were opposed with their irrepressible optimism, their love of life, and hatred of triviality and disorder. The search for a healthy, whole man, close to the harmony of nature, brought Kotsiubynsky to one of the more primitive ethnic groups of the Ukrainian people—the Hutsuls. While in *Fata Morgana* Kotsiubynsky "renewed" the populist-Realistic theme, in *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (The Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors, 1913), in recreating the Hutsul world with its pristine beauty of nature and its demonology, he "renewed" the ethnographic-Romantic theme. Almost at the same time there appeared *Zemlia* (The Earth) by Olha Kobylianska, *Kamenna dusha* (The Stone Soul) by IGNATIUS KHOTKEVYCH (1877–1937), *Lisova pisnia* (The Forest Song) by Lesia Ukrainka, as well as the stories of Marko Cheremshyna and Stephen Vasylenko, which demonstrated the modernization of Romanticism in Ukrainian literature of the twentieth century.

At the end of the nineties, when Kotsiubynsky was finding his bearings, there arose a new group of Ukrainian prose writers—Stefanyk, Martovych, Cheremshyna—who began their literary activity in the new style. BASIL STEFANYK (1871–1936), the author of the stories collected in the books entitled *Doroha* (The Road, 1901), *Klenovi lystky* (The Maple Leaves, 1904), *Moie slovo* (My Word, 1905), *Oповідання* (Stories, 1905), *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1926), and a number of others, was distinguished from his predecessors (except Franko) by the utter lack of populist idealization of Ukrainian village life. Stefanyk's manner was characterized by Im-

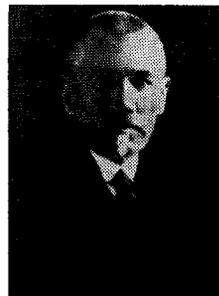


FIGURE 537.
B. STEFANYK

pressionism, psychologism, and severe simplicity. Each story was concentrated to the last degree and was an outwardly restricted human tragedy. Almost each one was a picture of death or of the expectation of death, a tableau of poignant penury or hopeless loneliness. As in the "tragic" stories of Kotsiubynsky, hard external circumstances (misery, family catastrophe, drunkenness, painful parting with one's native village, and the like) served in Stefanyk's stories only as a pretext for the unfolding of the theme of tragedy in the life of a human being.

Stefanyk wrote in dialect, and thus strengthened the impression of his own impartiality. The very basis of his short story was the laconic dialogue, saturated with tragedy. At times it was merely a monologue. The amazing concentration of emotional power, together with the external bareness and perfection of the picture and the seemingly bottomless pessimism, created an extraordinary artistic impression.

LES (ALEXANDER) MARTOVYCH (1871-1916), who wrote *Muzhyts'ka smert'* (A Peasant's Death, 1898), *Khytryi Pan'ko* (Cunning Panko, 1903), and others, was a keen observer of village life and attached greater importance to the depiction of its manners and customs. In his stylizations of peasant speech ("Nechytalnyk" [The Unenlightened One], etc.) he rejected ethnographic ornateness, and directed the photographic simplicity of his narrative toward a humorous depiction of the everyday life of the Ukrainian peasant. Martovych's potentialities were fully realized in his short novel *Zabobon* (Superstition, written 1911, published 1917), which was a broadly planned, satirical, and somewhat caricatured picture of life in a colorless Galician district, with numerous characters representing the village clergy, peasantry, and petty gentry. But both the humor and the description of everyday life seemed also a revelation of his pessimistic outlook. This pessimism, however, was not so much tragic as skeptical.

MARKO CHEREMSHYNA (pseudonym of IVAN SEMANIUK, 1874-1927), after beginning with poetry, wrote a number of stories on the profound drama of the obscure village in all its hopeless ignorance and lawlessness (*Zvedenytsia* [A Woman Seduced], *Zlodiia zlovyly* [They Caught a Thief], *Bi'mo* [A Cataract]—all published 1901). Others described war experiences under the occupation of foreign troops, with the attendant cruelty and violence which senselessly contributed to the ruin of the population (*Selo vyhyaie* [The Village Is Perishing], *Selo poterpaie* [The Village Is Apprehensive], *Pershi strily* [The First Shots], and others). Later stories were devoted to the Polish rule in western Ukrainian villages. The critics saw in his works an "invincible optimism which triumphs over external circumstances and overcomes all doubt." Especially in his later stories on love this optimism was combined with an irony with which he charged otherwise the undisturbed tone of his narrative. His dialogue and lyrical insertions were masterful stylizations of popular lamentations and Christmas carols (*koliadky*).

Closest to Cheremshyna in his enthusiasm for the ethnographic element was STEPHEN VASYLCHENKO (PANASENKO, 1878-1932). But to him the tragic notes, so typical of Stefanyk and Cheremshyna, were alien. His search for a style began with the modernized Realistic story on everyday life, sometimes dealing with topical questions, and progressed toward the rather sentimental, Neoromantic story saturated with a folksong lyricism. The village school, the teachers, and now and then the life of a country town were the usual subjects of Vasylichenko's stories. But he turns to the fantastic images of Gogol, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Kvitka's *Konotop'ska vid'ma* (The Witch of Konotop), and Storozhenko: the fantastic was interwoven with the ordinary, the trivial, and the commonplace, and the dream merged with reality in a single, wayward stream. Rhythm, parallelisms, and anaphoras were borrowed

from folk poetry. Vasylychenko pointed the way to the revival of Ukrainian Romanticism which was later taken by Yanovsky and Osmachka.

One of the writers who worked in the Modernist tradition was OLHA KOBYLIANSKA (1865–1942). After paying her tribute to the social themes of the day in a few works, she emphasized in the rest of her sketches, stories, and novels her “longing for beauty” and for an “aristocracy of the spirit.” Her lonely characters, drawn from the Bukovinian intelligentsia, stood immeasurably higher than the common run of men. Her heroes were engaged in a “love duel,” and her heroines struggled for their right to independence: *Valse mélancolique* (1897), *Tsarivna* (The Princess, 1896), *Niobe*, 1907, *Cherez kladku* (Across the Footbridge, 1912), *Za sytuatsiamy* (In Pursuit of Position, 1914), *Apostol cherni* (An Apostle of the Common People, 1926). In her novel *V nedilii rano zillia kopala* (On Sunday Morning She Dug the Herbs, 1909), following the motifs of the well-known folk song, she turned to ethnographic Romanticism, with



FIGURE 538.
O. KOBYLIANSKA

a story of tragic love saturated with folklore against the background of a Carpathian village. The novel *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1902) was concerned with a Realistic subject—a peasant family's struggle for a piece of land—but at the same time it brought out the motif of the mystic “power of the land.”

CATHERINE HRYNEVYCH (1875–1947), after her cycle of stories *Legendy y opovidannia* (Legends and Stories) and her novel *Nepoborni* (The Unconquered Ones, 1926), found her bearings in stylized, finely embroidered novels. These novels, full of aristocratic longing, dealt with the medieval period of Ukrainian

history: *Sholomy v sontsi* (The Helmets in the Sun, 1929); and *Shestykrylets'* (The Six-Winged One, 1935). Among her contemporaries Hrynevych is the most consistently archaic in style.

A different—Realistic—tendency was chosen by VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO (1880–1951), perhaps the most popular Ukrainian writer of the pre-Revolutionary period. In his first stories he chose his subjects from the life of the provincial townfolk, peasant hirelings who were shown in conflict with their employers, with old traditions going to ruin and the protest growing louder (“Khto voroh” [Who is the Enemy? 1906], “Holota” [The Rabble, 1905], and others). In addition, he wrote stories on the then fashionable themes of tramps and the *declassés* (“Krasa i syla” [Beauty and Strength, 1906], “Na prystani” [At the Wharf, 1907], and others), stories taken from the life of the barracks (“Borot'ba” [Struggle], “Chest” [Honor]) and the prison (“Temna syla” [The Dark Power, 1906], “Dym” [Smoke, 1907], and others). By his very posing of these problems, Vynnychenko rejected the tradition of populist Realism. Typical of Vynnychenko was a keen interest in raw experience, in the degradation of human dignity. His debt to de Maupassant is evident in his techniques for painting the dark side of life. His predecessor in Ukrainian prose in portraying pathological cases among the intelligentsia was Agathangel Krymsky (1871–1942) in his novel *Andrii Lahovs'kyi* (1894–1905).

Vynnychenko's interest in psychological and moral experiments grew as he more and more frequently depicted characters from among the intelligentsia, especially the revolutionaries (“Zina” (1909), “Moment,” “Malen'ka rysochka” [A Small Streak], and others). He dealt with the man without will power, and with signs of biological and social degeneration. His attempts to work out the conception of amorality, according to which “honesty to oneself” permitted the person to commit any crime as long as

his feeling, reason, and will remained in harmony, became the basic theme, the very core, of many of Vynnychenko's works after the Revolution of 1905 (the dramas—*Velykyi Molokh* [The Great Moloch, 1907], *Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid'* [A Black Panther and a White Bear, 1911], *Brekhnia* [The Lie, 1910], and others; the novels—*Chesnist' z soboiu* [Honesty to Oneself, 1911], *Po svii*, *Bozhky* [Idols, 1914], *Ritnovaha* [Equilibrium, 1913], *Khochu* [I Desire, 1916]). This series of works was crowned by his *Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia* (Memoirs of the Pug-nosed Mephistopheles, 1917), which differed from its predecessors in its ironical treatment of the hero. A radical departure for Vynnychenko, in their adventure genre and in the intricacy of their plots, were the novels *Soniashna mashyna* (The Solar Machine, 1928), and *Nova Zapovid'* (The New Commandment, 1949), which were an attempt to solve in a utopian manner the conflict between antagonistic world powers.

The other prose writers who considered themselves Modernists "renovated" the traditional Realistic resources with less success. They restricted themselves to a few techniques of Impressionism. To this group belonged NICHOLAS CHERNIAVSKY (1867–1937) who took his subjects from the life of the country intelligentsia, particularly at the time of the Revolution of 1905 and afterward.

The prose of VOLODYMYR LEONTOVYCH (LEVENKO, 1866–1933) also showed this Realistic trend, with satirical overtones.

SPYRYDON CHERKASENKO (1876–1939), in his story *Vony peremohly* (They Have Emerged Victorious, 1917), in which we find pictures of the life of the Donets coal basin region, remained within the limits of the Realistic manner; and in the dramas *Kazka staroho mlyna* (The Tale of the Old Mill, 1914), and *Pro shcho tyrsa shelestila* (What the Steppe Grass Murmured About, 1918), he introduced the Romantic motifs of the past (as he did also in his later dramas—*Severyn Nalyvaiko*, 1934, etc.).

An original "primitive" Impressionism enveloped in gloom marks the stories of a talented, self-taught peasant, ARKHYP TESLENKO (1882–1911). They were published in 1912 in a collection entitled *Z knyhy zhyttia* (From the Book of Life).

The stories of JOSEPH MAKOVEI (1867–1925) were noted for their gentle humor. They were written in the old Realistic manner, and dealt with the life of the townsfolk and the intelligentsia. They were collected under the titles *Nashi znaiomi* (Our Acquaintances, 1901), *Opovidannia* (Stories, 1904), and others. In his attempt at a historical novel, *Yaroshenko* (1905), set in the beginning of the seventeenth century, he turned to the Romantic manner.

MICHAEL YATSKIV (1873–) began his literary work on a strictly naturalistic plane, with departures into the grotesque (*V tsarstvi satany* [In the Realm of Satan, 1900], his short novel *Ohni horiat'* [The Fires Are Burning, 1902], and the novel *Tanets' tinei* [The Dance of the Shadows, 1916]). Later he wrote highly abstract, symbolic works (*Adagio consolante*, and others). The work of VOLODYMYR BIRCHAK was closer to Realism.

BOHDAN LEPKYI (1872–1941) began his career with stories thematically close to those of Makovei (the collections *Z sela* [From the Village, 1898], *Z zhyttia* [From Life, 1901], *Shchaslyva hodyna* [The Fortunate Hour, 1901], *Nova Zbirka* [A New Collection, 1903], *U horakh* [In the Mountains, 1904], and others). The peasants and the intelligentsia of the Podilian village are here presented realistically, at times even in a documentary manner. The stories are filled with the mournful poetry of the life of the old priestly families, and their withdrawal into the past ("Do Zarvanytsi" [To Zarvanytsia], "Krehulets'," "Berezhany"). Particularly typical of the "pastel" impressionism of Lepkyi was his lyrical story *Pid tykhyi vechir* (On a Quiet Evening, 1923). Later Lepkyi, as a prose writer, turned to historical subjects, and in the twenties, in addition to

writing several stories (*Krutizh* [The Whirlpool], *Sotnykivna* [The Captain's Daughter, 1927], *Orly* [The Eagles]), he wrote a large tetralogy, *Mazepa* (1926-29), consisting of *Motria*, *Ne vbyvai* (Do Not Kill), *Baturyn*, and *Poltava*.

POETRY AND POETIC DRAMA

The development of Ukrainian poetry at the end of the nineties and in the first years of the twentieth century was, like the prose, characterized by compromise between populist Realism and attempts to implant the new Modernist forms. The poetry of AGATHANGEL KRYMSKY (the collection *Pal'move hillia* [Palm Branches, 1902-8]) was marked by his subjective searchings, disillusionments, and pantheistic enthusiasm in which the poet tried to cure his bitter loneliness. DNIPOVA CHAIKA (Ludmyla Vasylevska, 1861-1927) in her poetry and verses in prose—*Mors'ki maliunky* (Sea Paintings, 1900)—offered symbolic miniatures: depictions of nature and of man's experiences. The poetry of NICHOLAS FILIANSKY (see below) was distinguished by its tender, lyrical halftones. VOLODYMYR SAMIILENKO (1864-1925) was the author of fine versified *feuilletons* written on the problems of the day (*Eldorado*, *Patriot Ivan*, and others). He also wrote sharp satires on the idleness, hypocrisy, and cowardice of contemporary society (*Na pechi* [In the Ingle-nook], *Son* [A Dream]). His sophistication, if not his themes, raised his work above the level of populist poetry. His original humor, so close to popular folk humor, was associated with the Ukrainian version of August Barbier's *Les jambes*, P. J. de Béranger's versified *feuilletons*, and other influences of Western poetry. (Samiilenko successfully translated Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1902) and some of the works of de Beaumarchais and Molière.)

The twentieth century brought a "programmatic" Modernism, noted for its rejection of the old canons and its accep-

tance of the poet's right to dwell on his subjective experiences, on the "eternal" themes, and to foster the cult of beauty. The discrepancies between the two generations are reflected in the renowned discussion between Ivan Franko and Nicholas Voronyi (1900-3). The Modernists for the most part confined themselves to declarations of principle; actually they were, with a few exceptions, closely involved with what they were attempting to combat, unlike their Western contemporaries.

The adherents of Modernism in Galicia, in the first years of the twentieth century, gathered around the group *Moloda Muza* (Young Muse). The poetry of PETER KARMANSKY (1878-1956—the collections *Z teky samovybitsi* [From the Files of a Suicide, 1899], *Oi, liuli, smutku* [Oh Hush, My Sorrow, 1906], *Bludni ohni* [Will-o'-the-Wisp, 1907], *Plyvem po mori t'my* [We Sail on the Sea of Darkness, 1909], *Al fresco*, 1917, and others) was marked by its utter pessimism, and in its devices represented a return to the mournful motifs of the Romanticism of the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was, however, much more subjective. Later, Karmansky produced satirical verses full of indignation and bitterness, particularly on subjects from World War I (*Kryvavym shliakhom* [Down the Bloody Road], and others).

Another poet and dramatist, BASIL PACHOVSKY (1878-1942—the collections *Rozsypani perly* [Scattered Pearls, 1901], *Na stotsi hir* [On the Mountain Slope], *Ladi y Mareni ternovyi ohon' mii* [To Lado and Marena My Fire of Thorns], and others) at first tried to combine the refined verse form and elements of the folksong melodies and euphony but the lack of a sense of moderation in his experiments and his enthusiasm for the allegorical form (*Son ukrains'koi nochi* [The Dream of the Ukrainian Night], *Sontse ruiny* [The Sun of Ruin], and others) prevented him from fulfilling the expectations which his first literary attempts had aroused.

This group also included STEPHEN CHARNETSKY (1881-1943—the collections *V hodyni zadumy* [In the Hour of Meditation], *Sumni idem* [Sadly We Go]); OSTAP LUTSKY (1883-1941—the collections *Z moïkh dniv* [Out of My Days, 1905], *V taki khvyli* [At Such Moments, 1906]); OSYF TURLANSKY (1890-1933—*Poza mezhamy boliu* [Beyond the Limits of Pain, 1921]), and other writers. Closely related to it was BOHDAN LEPKYI, the author of numerous lyrical poems (collections *Strichky* [Verses, 1901], *Osin'* [Autumn, 1902], *Lystky padut'* [The Leaves Are Falling, 1902], *Na chuzhyni* [In a Foreign Land, 1904], *Nad rikoiu* [By the River, 1905], *Z hlybyn dushi* [From the Depths of the Soul, 1905], and others). In vague elegiac reminiscences he invoked the glorious past and mourned the sadness of the present. Full of dreamy sadness Lepkyi was more a belated Romantic populist than a Modernist.

The same Romantic sadness was the basic motif of the poetry of ALEXANDER KOZLOVSKY (1876-98—*Mirty y kyparysy* [The Myrtles and Cypresses]) and BASIL SHCHURAT (1872-1948). Sometimes there were social overtones (*Lux in tenebris lucet*, 1896, *Moï lystky* [My Pages, 1898], *Na trembiti* [On the Trembita, 1904]) in Shchurat's poetry, as there were in Lepkyi's. His *Istorychni pisni* (Historical Songs, 1907) is a separate cycle dealing with the distant Ukrainian past.

ALEXANDER OLES (KANDYBA, 1878-1944) appeared on the literary scene somewhat later than the poets grouped around *Moloda Muza*. His poetry became unusually popular (*Z zhurboiu radist' obnialas'* [Joy and Sorrow in Each Other's Embrace, 1907]; *Poezii* [Poems, Books II-III, 1909-11]; *Po dorozh v kazku* [A Journey into the Dream, 1910]; *Dramatychni tvory* [Dramatic Works, 1913]; *Poezii* [Poems, Book V, 1917]; *Chuzhynoiu* [In a Foreign Land, 1919], and others). He was a poet of strong temperament, the creator of intimate



FIGURE 539. A. OLES, *Poezii*, COVER BY P. KOVZHUN

romantic lyrics, many of which were set to music. Placed against the background of the earlier severe, and often moralizing, poetry, Oles' work was marked by its sincerity, feeling for nature, a lightness of touch, new and fresh images, melodiousness and euphony. During the revolutionary events of 1905, his poetry was full of energetic notes of struggle and hope. His later lyrics and the dramatic poem, *Po dorozh v kazku*, are permeated with disillusionment.

The National Revolution of 1917 evoked new enthusiasm in Oles only to sharpen the experience of defeat. He was known not only for his lyrics and his patriotic appeals, full of oratorical uplift and reminiscent of the populist poetry of the eighties and nineties, but also for his Romantic stylizations of folk poetry (the cycle *Na zelenykh horakh* [On the Green Mountains]) and the sad, subdued meditations during the period of the emigration. The revival of Romanticism found in Oles one of its chief spokesmen.

NICHOLAS VORONYI (1871-1932)—*Litychni poezii* [Lyrical Poems, Vol. I,

1911], *V siaivi mrii* [In the Light of Dreams, 1913]) abandoned populist poetry and laid great stress upon the cult of that "inspired sorceress," Beauty, erecting, as he called it, lyrical monuments to Her and to Tragic Love ("Za bramoiu raiu" [Behind the Gates of Paradise] and "Ad Astra"). Voronyi's achievement was the enrichment of the poetic vocabulary and of strophic variations.

GREGORY CHUPRYNKA (1879-1921) published over a brief period several collections of lyrical poetry noted for their genuine search for new rhythms (*Ohnetsvit* [The Fiery Bloom], *Meteor*, *Urahan* [The Hurricane, 1910], *Sontrava* [Anemone], *Bilyi hart* [White Tempering, 1911], *Kontrasty* [Contrasts, 1913], the poem *Lytsar-Sam* [The Knight Himself, 1914]). His earliest poetry reflected the traditional social motifs ("Ridnyi kraj" [Native Country], "Poet," and others), but in the years of the reaction he took an increasing interest in the Modernists, as well as in those Romanticists which the former had resurrected (particularly in Edgar Allan Poe). Under that influence Chuprynka's poetry spoke of the "flowers of the grave," "sable grief," "sorrow and venom," with a steady note of "cheerless loneliness." The Revolution of 1917 restored the social mood in his work and brought about a return to the populist rhetoric.

SPYRYDON CHERKASENKO (P. STAKH), with his individualistic moods and some tentative urban motifs, cultivated the traditional romantic song and social poetry, replacing, however, the pictures of the peasants by those of the miners (the cycle *V tsarstvi pratsi* [In the Realm of Labor], *U shakhti* [In the Mine], *Pid zemleiu* [Under the Ground]).

Though a declared Modernist, NICHOLAS CHERNIAVSKY (1867-1937) was, in fact, under the influence of the canons which he denied, in both his social poetry (*Na krylakh* [On Wings], *Bortsiam* [To Those who Struggle]), and his

love lyrics (*Z pisen' kokhannia* [From the Songs of Love]). The same may be said of CHRISTINA ALCHEVSKA (1882-1932—*Tuha za sontsem* [Longing for the Sun, 1907], *Vyshnevyyi tsvit* [Cherry Blossoms, 1912]); LUDMYLA STARYTSKA-CHERNIAKHIVSKA (1868-1941—dramas *Sappho*, *Kryla* [Wings], *Het'man Doroshenko* (1918), and others); and ULIANA KRAVCHENKO (YU. SCHNEIDER, 1862-1947), author of the collections *Prima vera* (1885), *Na novyi shliakh* (Towards a New Path, 1891), *Caritas*, and others. MYKYTA SHAPOVAL-SRIBLIANSKY (1882-1931—the collections *Sny viry* [The Dreams of Faith], *Samotnist'* [Loneliness], *Lisovi rytmy* [The Forest Rhythms]) clung as a poet to the old stylistic devices. He was one of the leading critics among the Modernists who were grouped around the journal *Ukrains'ka Khata*. There was no lack of staunch adherents of the old populist movement, who, during the Revolution of 1905, paraphrased Konysky and Hrabovsky.

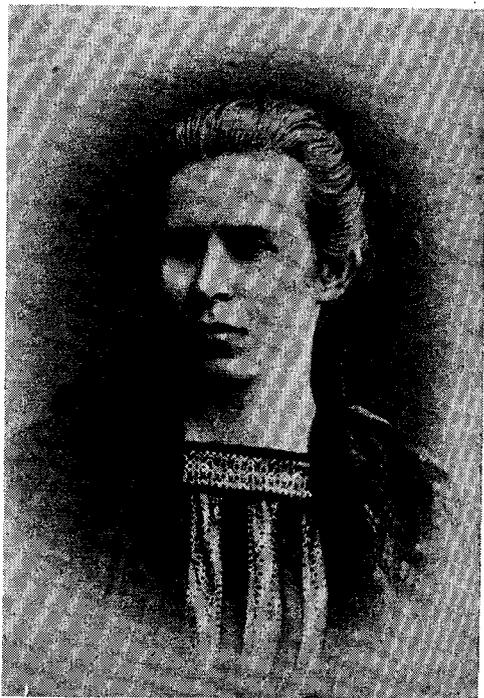


FIGURE 540. LESIA UKRAÏNKA

Among them were P. Kapelhorodsky (1882–193?—collection *Vidhuky zhyttia* [Reverberations of Life, 1907]), M. Kononenko (1864–1922), and others.

Poetic masterpieces, at the same time profoundly original and closely related to contemporary world literature, were to be found in the collections of Ivan Franko, published in the nineties and in the first decade of the present century (see p. 1029), and in the poetical works of Lesia Ukraïнка who brought the development of so-called Ukrainian Modernism to its culmination.

LESIA UKRAÏNKA (LARISSA KOSACH, 1871–1913) began with lyric works (collections *Na krylakh pisen'* [On Wings of Songs, 1892, 1904], *Dumy i mrii* [Thoughts and Dreams, 1899], *Vidhuky* [Echoes, 1902], the later cycles of *Osinni spivny* [Autumnal Songs, 1903], *Vesna v Yehypti* [Spring in Egypt, 1910], *Z podorozhn'oi knyzhky* [From a Travel Diary, 1911], and others). Early in her career she was influenced by the followers of Shevchenko and, like Kulish and Starytsky before her, by European literary models. Her lyrics were enriched with new motifs, particularly with "exoticism" borrowed from world culture and history (*Yevreis'ki melodii* [Hebrew Medodies, 1900], *Sphinx, Legenda* [The Legend], *Ra-Meneis*, and many others). The common factor in the evolution of Lesia Ukraïнка's lyrics and poems was her transition from the Ukrainian ethnographic themes to subjects that were universal, historical, and psychological. Her lyrics on love and nature rose to the "subtlety of an elegiac impressionism" not previously known in Ukrainian literature. From the very beginning Lesia Ukraïнка's poetry was characterized by the theme of the poet's vocation, and by the motifs connected with it—loneliness, lack of a sound relationship between him and the society which does not understand him and does not accept the appeals of the bard who is steadfast in his awareness of his irrevocable duty. Associated motifs deal with the love of freedom, and national

The image shows a handwritten autograph of Lesia Ukraïнка. The text is written in a cursive Ukrainian script. The first line is partially obscured by a scribble. The legible text includes: "i mo serce nico ne moze adhepnut...", "To i o cinnu te rope adhepnut...", "pudasaru, karku shukhava...", "usp' bit' cinnu...".

FIGURE 541. AUTOGRAPH OF LESIA UKRAÏNKA

freedom in particular, the implacable opposition to the enslavers, and the castigation of everything weak, undecided, and lukewarm. Her strong, sharp tone, which, however, avoided rhetorical declamation, was characterized by its aphoristic manner, one of the most significant features of her poetry. The thematic wealth, depth of thought, and emotional and lyrical power of her poetry merged with the wealth of her genres and strophic resources. Her poems represented a transitional stage from lyrics to dramatic poems. From lyrical-epic poems, in which she to some extent imitated Shevchenko, she passed to such poems as *Robert Bruce* (1893) and *Davnia Kazka* (An Old Tale, 1894), in which the lyrical element is subdued; and then, after the Realistic poem *Odne slovo* (A Single Word, 1906), to Neoromantic poems with elements of symbolism, such as *Vila Posestra* (Vila Sister, 1911) and *Izol'da biloruka* (Isolde of the White Hand, 1913), in which she posed universal psychological problems.

After her prose drama *Blakytina troianda* (The Sky-blue Rose, 1908) came out in 1896, Lesia Ukraïнка developed her favorite form—the dramatic poem. Like many contemporary foreign Modernist writers, Lesia Ukraïнка drew her subjects from various historical periods.

The Bible offered her subjects for the following dramatic poems: *Vavylons'kyi polon* (The Babylonian Captivity, 1903); *Na ruïnakh* (Upon the Ruins, 1904); *Oderzhyma* (The Possessed One,



FIGURE 542. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Lisova Pisnia* (*Forest Song*), THE WORK OF O. SAKHNOVSKA

1901); *V domu roboty, v kraïni nevoli* (In the House of Labor—in the Land of Slavery, 1906); *Yohanna, zhinka Khusova* (Joanna, Wife of Chusa, 1910); *Na poli krovvy* (On the Field of Blood, 1910). Three are concerned with the age of early Christianity: *U katakombakh* (In the Catacombs, 1906), *Rufin i Pristsilla* (Rufinus and Priscilla, 1911), *Advokat Martiian* (The Advocate Martianus, 1913). Classical antiquity inspired such works as *Cassandra*, 1907; *Orfeieve chudo* (The Miracle of Orpheus, 1913); *Orhiia* (The Orgy, 1913); the Western and Eastern Medieval period is the source of *Aishah ta Mahomet* (1907), *Osinnia kazka* (An Autumn Tale, 1905), and *Kaminnyi hospodar* (The Stone Master, 1912), in which Lesia Ukraïнка, following the example of Tirso de Molina, Molière, Corneille, Byron, Pushkin, A. K. Tolstoi, and others, handled that perennial favorite, the Don Juan theme, and gave it a completely independent transformation by solving the problems of power and personal liberty in her own manner. Echoes of the revolutionary ideological conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were heard in *U pushchi* (In the Wilderness, 1910), and *Try khvylyny* (Three Moments, 1905). *Boiarynia* (The Noblewoman, 1910) presents a psychological tragedy in a Ukrainian family of the seventeenth century, and is based on materials taken from Ukrainian folklore.

Breaking the thematic conventions of populist literature, which had become



FIGURE 543. ILLUSTRATION OF O. SAKHNOVSKA FOR *Lisova pisnia*

very restricted after the death of Shevchenko, Lesia Ukraïнка sought difficult and complex themes and gave them completely original treatment.

The universal problems which moved the poetess also in her lyrical work (especially the problem of intransigence and refusal to compromise) were posed in her dramatic poems in the form of witty, ingenious discussions. At first glance these problems seemed far removed from the conflicts to be found in Ukrainian life; but the remoteness was only apparent. This series of dramatic poems was crowned by a work derived from folksongs and popular legends—*Lisova pisnia* (The Forest Song, 1912) on the universal and timeless conflict of an exalted dream with mean, base reality. It is a symbolic drama full of psychological insight, and characterized by lyricism, melodiousness, and an incomparable richness of language.

N. Hlobenko

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8. THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

CENTRAL AND EASTERN
UKRAINE

Introduction

Literature in Soviet Ukraine has been molded by the struggle of forces aroused in Ukraine by the 1917 Revolution to preserve and develop the national identity and to counter the Soviet attempts to destroy the independent literature altogether or to turn it into a mere provincial imitation of Russian literature and thus to make it serve the political purposes of the Soviet regime.

Immediately after the Revolution the Russian Bolsheviks made open attempts at Russification, but under the pressure of Ukrainian resistance they were forced to grant far-reaching concessions in allowing a national and cultural revival. The introduction of the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) in 1921-2, followed by the so-called "Ukrainization" (1923-32), i.e., cultural autonomy, made possible a sweeping national, cultural revival (the so-called "cultural renaissance of the twenties"). However, the strengthening and growth of Russian imperialistic tendencies and the resultant centralizing policy, compulsory collectivization, the elimination of the most active elements among the Ukrainian peasantry between 1929 and 1933, the campaign against the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the years 1933-4—all this together with renewed Russification had a detrimental effect on Ukrainian literature. Those writers who were not physically destroyed were either coerced by terror or bribed by rewards to work in the service of the Soviet regime, even though using the Ukrainian language (a form of the old *malorossiianstvo*—Little Russianism).

The great events of the years of the National Revolution and the struggle for freedom gave a powerful impetus to the development of Ukrainian culture, especially of literature. But the un-

favorable conditions prevailing during the Ukrainian-Russian War (1917-21)—the constant changes of regime, the use of terror, the economic decline, and, later, the famine of 1921—prevented the unfolding of a literature commensurate with the potential of a nation awakened to independent life. By the end of the war many of the most outstanding representatives of pre-Revolutionary Ukrainian literature were already outside Ukraine, for they had left the country with the government and the army. Among the émigrés were Oles, Cherkasenko, Samiilenko, Vynnychenko, Voronyi, Levytsky, Shapoval, and many others. Chuprynka was shot by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1921 for actively participating in the insurgent struggle. Those like Cherniavsky, Vasylchenko, Khotkevych, Kapelhorodsky, Starytska-Cherniakhivska, Alchevska, and Filiansky who remained in their native land, and Voronyi and Samiilenko who returned there, were side-tracked from creative work under the new conditions and were unable to make full use of their abilities. A younger generation began to appear.

Symbolism

During the Revolution and the struggle for independence the literary life mostly gravitated around a few journals, such as *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald), which was published from 1917 to 1919 with the collaboration of Oles, Michael Hrushevsky, Alexander Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko, Nicholas Zerov, Paul Tychyna, Michael Ivchenko, Starytska-Cherniakhivska, Peter Stebnytsky, and others; *Shliakh* (The Path), 1917, where alongside the older writers such younger ones as Maksym Rylsky, George Ivanov-Mezhenko, Jacob Savchenko appeared; *Knyhar* (The Bookman), 1918-19, headed by Nicholas Zerov; *Mystetstvo* (Art), 1919-20, edited by Michael Semenko,

with the collaboration of Ignatius Mykhailychenko, Basil Chumak, Demetrius Zahul, Jacob Savchenko, Tychyna, Nicholas Tereshchenko, and others.

The war period and the years of complete devastation that followed made the publication of literary works extremely difficult. They mainly appeared in collections, such as the *Literaturno-Krytychnyi Almanakh* (Literary and Critical Almanac), 1918, of the Symbolists, edited by Savchenko; *Muzahet* (Musagetes), 1919, in which Tychyna, Zahul, Volodymyr Yaroshenko, Michael Zhuk, Clement Polishchuk, Tereshchenko, Paul Fylypovych, Alexis Slisarenko, Volodymyr Kobylansky, George Mezhenko, and others participated; *Grono* (The Grape Cluster), 1920, which contained contributions that showed a changeover by their authors from Symbolism to Impressionism and Futurism, indicating their approach to an acceptance of post-Revolutionary reality (Tereshchenko, Zahul, Geo Shkurupii, Valerian Polishchuk, Fylypovych, Gregory Kosynka, and others); *Chervonyi Vinok* (Red Wreath), 1920; *Vyr Revoliutsii* (Vortex of the Revolution), 1921, in which Valerian Polishchuk, Tereshchenko, and others took part; *Zshytky borot'by* (Sheaves of Struggle), 1919, published by a "proletarian" literary group, the *Borot'bisty*, which included Basil Ellan-Blakytyni and Mykhailychenko; *Zhovten'* (October), 1921, which included the "universal" (proclamation) of the Kharkiv "proletarian" writers, signed by Nicholas Khvylovyi, Volodymyr Sosiura, and Michael Yohansen.

The younger generation in Ukrainian literature at this time was primarily Symbolist and Futurist. Symbolism developed late in Ukraine. Such Modernist poets as Oles, Voronyi, and Chuprynka were not Symbolists, although the critics tended to consider them as such. They did not use symbols with their manifold interpretational aspects, but allegories,

conditioned images, such as were quite widely employed in the revolutionary poetry of the preceding generation. The only Symbolist of that generation was NICHOLAS FILIANSKY (1873-193?-collections *Liryka* [Lyrical Poems, 1906], *Calendarium*, 1911, and, after the Revolution, *Tsiluiu zemliu* [I Kiss the Earth, 1928]). The group of Symbolists which appeared during the Revolution did not show any particular signs of originality, with the exception of Tychyna, and soon dissolved. To it belonged the poets Volodymyr Kobylansky (1895-1919), *Mii dar* [My Gift, 1920]); Demetrius Zahul (1890-1938, *Z zelenykh hir* [From the Green Hills, 1918], *Na hrani* [On the Edge, 1919], *Nash den'* [Our Day, 1925], *Motyvy* [Motifs, 1927]); Jacob Savchenko (1890-1938, *Poezii* [Poems, 1919], *Zemlia* [The Earth, 1921]); Nicholas Tereshchenko (b. 1898, collections *Laboratoriia* [The Laboratory, 1924], *Chornozem* [The Black Earth, 1925], and others); Volodymyr Yaroshenko (1893-1941, *Svitotiv'* [Chiaroscuro, 1918], *Luny* [The Echoes, 1919]); Alexis Slisarenko (*Na berezi kastal'skomu* [On the Castalian Bank, 1918]); Paul Savchenko; and Jacob Mamontov (1888-1940), who wrote dramatic *études*. Zahul, Savchenko, and Tereshchenko soon joined the Revolutionary "proletarian" group of poets; Slisarenko embraced Futurism (*Baida*, selected lyrical poems, 1928), and later devoted himself to prose, in particular to stories of suspense.

Among this Symbolist group, the greatest was PAUL TYCHYNA (b. 1891). The most original author of the Revolutionary period, his poetry appeared in the collections *Soniashni kliarnety* (The Solar Clarinets, 1918); *Pluh* (The Plow, 1919); *Zamist' sonetiiv i oktav* (Instead of Sonnets and Octaves, 1920); and *Viter z Ukraïny* (The Wind from Ukraine, 1924). Permeated by his pantheistic philosophy, full of subjective feeling, musical, with an original, remarkably fine adaptation of the images and rhythmic melodies of folksong—the



FIGURE 544.
P. TYCHYNA

work of the young Tychyna was a fresh page in Ukrainian poetry. From his lyrical descriptions of the Ukrainian countryside, Tychyna rose to greater heights with his poem *Zolotyi homin* (The Golden Murmur), a sensitive depiction of Ukraine's awakening to national life and statehood. The poet had a presentiment of the dark stormy night, of the bloody struggle that was approaching; in his collection *Pluh* he drew the National Revolution as a cosmic power, mercilessly destroying the old and giving birth to the new. In his next collection, *Viter z Ukraïny*, Tychyna tried to reconcile the activist-romantic, VAPLITE (See p. 1049) conception of the Revolution as a power creating a new Ukraine with the reality of commonplace post-Revolutionary life. The destruction of Khyvlovism (see below) at the end of the twenties marked the end of Tychyna as a poet. After several years of silence, he reappeared with a cycle entitled *Chernihiv* (1931), and later with a collection, *Partiia vede* (The Party Leads, 1934), in which he "reconstructed" himself. In his later works—*Chuttia yedynoi rodyny* (The Feeling of a Single Family, 1938), and *Stal' i nizhnist'* (Steel and Tenderness, 1941)—he became an official ode writer, acclaiming (with the help of the clichés of Soviet journalese) "Stalinist national policy" and "friendship among the peoples" of the USSR.

Futurism

Ukrainian Futurism is not distinguished for the talent of its representatives. MICHAEL SEMENKO (1892–1939) was noted for his experimental cycles which were an attempt to amaze the reader—*Pierrot zadaiet'sia* (Pierrot Puts

on Airs), *Pierrot kokhaie* (Pierrot Loves), *Pierrot mertvopetliiue* (Pierrot Loops the Loop) (1918–19), and his later collection, *Kobzar* (1924). In these works he sang the praises of Kievan café life before the Revolution and then went on to express his enthusiasm for the Revolution, of which, however, his acceptance was only superficial. During the post-Revolutionary years Ukrainian Futurism broadcast its program quite extensively and made constant attempts to form new literary groups: the weekly *Universaľnyi Zhurnal* (The Universal Journal, 1918); the group around *Flamingo* (1919), of which the well-known painter, Anatol Petrytsky, was a member; the weekly *Mystetstvo* (Art, 1919); the Kiev group, ASPANFUT (Association of Pan-Futurists), which changed its name to AsKK—*Komunkul't* (Association for Communist Culture); then the group around the journal *Nova Generatsiia* (The New Generation), later the VUSKK (*Vseukraïns'ka Spilka Robitnykiv Komunistychnoi Kultury*—The All-Ukrainian Association of Workers in Communist Culture), renamed, in 1930, the OPPU (*Obiednannia Proletars'kykh Pys'mennykiv Ukraïny*—Union of Proletarian Writers of Ukraine), to which belonged Semenکو, Geo Shkurupii, Alexis Vlyzko, Edward Strikha (Kost Burevii), Gro Vakar, Leonid Nedolia, Leonid Skrypnyk, I. Malovichko, and others. All these groups put out declarations and experimented in new methods. From their proclamation of "death to art" and their search for a "meta-art" which would be a synthesis of poetry, painting, sculpture, and architecture, the Futurists, hiding behind declarations of loyalty to the Revolution, changed over to a cult of "high technique" and began to work against "provincial limitation" and for the "Europeanization of Ukrainian art." We cannot deny the appearance in the *Nova Generatsiia* of interesting experiments in form in both poetry and prose (literary reporting, the experimental novel such as Leonid Skrypnyk's *Intelli-*

gent, 1929), but the Futurists nevertheless lacked solidity and depth. During the process of "consolidation of proletarian literature," *Nova Generatsiia* (New Generation, 1927–31) was liquidated, and the Futurist group along with it, once its critics had been used by the Communist party in an unscrupulous fight against the Khvylovists (O. Poltoratsky's work *Arkadii Zlatoust*, which was aimed against Arkadii Liubchenko, and *Shcho take Ostap Vyshnia?* [What is Ostap Vyshnia?], against Ostap Vyshnia). Vlyzko was executed in December, 1934, and subsequently almost all the other members of the *Nova Generatsiia* group were gradually liquidated.

Close to the *Nova Generatsiia* group were the "Constructive Dynamists," a group formed by the writers who collaborated on the Almanac, *Vyr Revoliutsii* (The Vortex of the Revolution), and the ASPANFUT-ists (see above). The group called themselves *Avangard* (The Avantgarde). It numbered among its members Valerian Polishchuk (1897–1942), O. Levada, Geo (Hrytsko) Koliada, Leonid Chernov, the painters H. Tsapok and Basil Yermilov, and others. The group lasted from 1926 to 1929. It proclaimed "genuine contemporary Europeanism in the technique of art" and "the harmonious synthesis of all creative resources," and attacked all "epigonism, neoclassicism, academism, decadentism, impressionism." In 1929 this group dissolved, part of it merging with the *Nova Generatsiia* group. In spite of the general immaturity of Ukrainian Futurism and its frequent use of ultra-Communist catchwords, this literary movement reflected a real dissatisfaction with existing conditions and did, to some extent, reveal a favorable disposition toward Europe and the constructive currents in European art.

The Neoclassicists

From the very beginning of the Revolution there existed in Kiev a group of scholar poets whom their opponents

called "Neoclassicists." This name has been adopted by historians of Ukrainian literature. The group, among whom there were representatives of various styles—including even Symbolism and Romanticism—were united in their refusal to accept the prevailing state of affairs in their demand for a highly cultured poetry and in their desire to implant in Ukrainian literature immortal examples of foreign literature and art. The Neoclassicists drew from "the sources" of world culture, and stood in sharp opposition to the "revolutionary," "mass," and largely low-grade literature which was being created to satisfy the needs of the moment. The chief representative of this group was NICHOLAS ZEROV (1890–1941), a critic and a literary scholar, an expert on antiquity, an excellent translator, a master of the sonnet and the distich, and the author of a collection of poetry, *Camena* (1924). Rejecting the dependence upon folk-song elements, from which the earlier generation of Modernists had not been able to free themselves, he introduced into Ukrainian literature examples of poetry in the grand style from various countries and ages, especially from antiquity and French Parnassianism, for which he had a special preference.

To the five "unconquered bards" there belonged, in addition to Zerov, PAUL FYLYPOVYCH (1891–193?, *Zemlia i viter* [The Land and the Wind, 1922], *Prostir* [Space, 1925]) and MICHAEL DRAI-KHMARA (1889–1938, *Prorosten'* [The Offshoots, 1926]). Both were at first strongly influenced by the Symbolists. The group also included OSWALD BURGHARDT (1891–1947), an erudite poet and translator who, when he emigrated, wrote under the pseudonym of Yurii Klen (see p. 1063). And lastly there was MAKSYM RYLSKY (b. 1895), the most outstanding representative of this group, the author of the collections *Na bilykh ostrovakh* (On the White Islands, 1910), *Na uzlissi* (At the Forest's Edge, 1918), *Pid osinnimy zoriamy* (Under the

Autumn Stars, 1918 and 1926), *Synia dalechin'* (The Blue Distance, 1922), *Kriz' buriu y snih* (Through Storm and Snow, 1925), *Trynadt'siata vesna* (The Thirteenth Spring, 1926), *De skhodiats'ia dorohy* (Where the Roads Meet, 1929), *Homin i vidhomin* (Sounds and Reverberations, 1929), and many masterly translations. His first collection shows



FIGURE 545.
M. RYLSKY

the influence of the Symbolists, but even in it Rylsky was far from the complexity and deliberate vagueness of imagery which is so typical of them. As he progressed, he inclined more and more toward a clear plastic imagery, sketched most sparingly. His fine language was enlivened by the frequent introduction, typical of his poetry, of an ironic, conversational note, while his imagery was noted for its wealth of historical and literary association. He was sharply criticized for his "escape from life," idealism, and bookishness, and spent some time in prison, after which he "reconstructed" himself and became an official Soviet poet, author of *Pisnia pro Stalina* (Song about Stalin). His other works are: the poem *Maryna*, 1933; *Znak tereziv* (The Sign of Libra, 1932); *Kyiv* (Kiev, 1935); *Lito* (Summer, 1936); *Ukraina*, 1938; *Zbir vynohradu* (The Vintage, 1940); and others. Among prose writers, VICTOR DOMONTOVYCH (see below) was closest to this group.

The "Proletarian" Poets

During the Revolution and the war attempts to write revolutionary poetry were made by a group of authors who accepted the Bolshevik Revolution. Around the newspaper *Bil'shovyk* (Bolshevik) and associated with the Kiev Organization of the Central Committee

of Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, *Borot'ba* (The Struggle), there gathered a group of "proletarian" writers also called *Borot'ba*, who published the almanacs *Zshytky borot'by* (Sheaves of Struggle) and *Chervonyi Vinok* (Red Wreath, 1919). These writers were called the "first brave ones" (an appellation which was later officially prohibited). Among them were Basil Ellan-Blakytnyi (1893-1925), author of the revolutionary Romantic collection *Udary molota i sertsia* (The Beats of the Hammer and the Heart, 1920); an Impressionist prose writer, Andrew Zalyvchyi (1897-1918); Basil Chumak (1900-1919) who wrote *Chervonyi zaspiv* (A Red Prelude, 1920); and Ignatius Mykhailychenko (1892-1919), the author of the "symbolic," really allegorical, prose work *Blakytnyi roman* (A Sky-blue Novel, 1921).

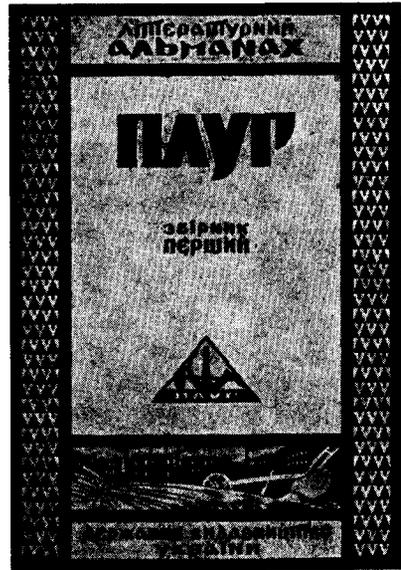


FIGURE 546. COVER OF THE
ALMANACH *Pluh*

An unsuccessful attempt was made, in 1919-20, to forcibly impose Russian proletarian culture upon the whole of Ukraine by setting up the so-called "Proletcults," which later formed the nucleus of the organization of Russian prole-

tarian writers. Then there was an attempt, also unsuccessful, to unite the Revolutionary literary cadres around the official journal *Shliakhy Mystetstva* (The Highroads of Art, 1921-3) in Kharkiv, to which city the capital of Soviet Ukraine had been moved. After this there arose such literary organizations as *Pluh* (The Plow) and *Hart* (The Tempering).

The Association of Revolutionary Peasant Writers, *Pluh* (1922-32), was founded by Serhii Pylypenko (1891-193?). Its aim was to proceed through "a close alliance of the revolutionary peasantry with the proletariat" to "the establishment of a new social culture." The *Pluh* recruited writers from the masses. It published the almanac *Pluh* and the journal *Pluzhanyn* (The Plowman—later *Pluh*, 1925-33). At first, it included among its members, in addition to Pylypenko himself, Peter Panch, Andrew Holovko, Ivan Senchenko, Ivan Kyrylenko, Sava Bozhko, Andrew Paniv, Dokia Humenna, and others. Some of these later joined VAPLITE, VUSPP, or *Molodniak*.

In 1923, on the initiative of Ellan-Blakytyni, the editor of the newspaper *Visti VUTsVK*, the Association of Proletarian Writers, *Hart*, was formed, with Khvylovyyi, Sosiura, Hordii Kotsiuba, Ivan Dniprovsky, Yohansen, and others as its members. This group regarded Marxism and the postulates of the Communist party program as the guiding ideas behind its activities. It dissociated itself from the "various formalistic groups." Some members, forming the *Urbino* group headed by Khvylovyyi, soon detached themselves from the main body, and the association, after publishing the almanac *Hart* (1924), dissolved in 1925.

In addition to the almanacs *Hart* and *Pluh*, and the journal *Pluzhanyn*, at the beginning of the so-called period of Ukrainization there appeared in Kharkiv *Chervonyi shliakh* (Red Path, 1923-36) and, in Kiev, *Zhyttia y Revoliutsiia* (Life and Revolution, 1925-33), both monthlies. These contained numerous critical and scholarly articles as well as the literary works.



FIGURE 547. GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE FREE ACADEMY OF PROLETARIAN LITERATURE
Seated (from the left): P. Tychyna, N. Khvylovyyi, N. Kulish, A. Slisarenko, M. Yohansen, H. Kotsiuba, P. Panch, A. Liubchenko; standing (from the left): M. Maisky, H. Epik, A. Kopylenko, I. Senchenko, P. Ivaniv, G. Smolych, O. Dosvitnii, I. Dniprovsky.

Khvylovyi: The Literary Discussion

A remarkable role was played in the Ukrainian literary movement of this time by an organization formed by Khvylovyi after he left the *Hart* Association. The new organization was called VAPLITE—*Viĭna Akademiia Proletars'koï Literatury* (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature) and existed from 1925 to 1928. In demanding literary and artistic perfection and insisting on the creation of high quality Ukrainian art, it united a considerable number of the most talented young members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Members of VAPLITE were Nicholas Khvylovyi, Michael Yalovyi (the first President), Nicholas Kulish (the second President), Arkadii Liubchenko (Secretary), Oles Dosvitnii, Basil Vrazhlyvyi, Alexis Slisarenko, Peter Panch, George Yanovsky, Paul Tychyna, Nicholas Bazhan, Ivan Dniprovsky, Michael Yohansen, George Smolych, Gregory Epik, Hordii Kotsiuba, Ivan Senchenko, Alexander Kopylenko, Paul Ivaniv, and Michael Maisky. The organization published a critical symposium, *Vaplite*, Volume I (1926), the almanac *Vaplite* (1926), and five numbers of the journal *Vaplite* (1927).

A supporter of the Revolution during the years of fighting, NICHOLAS KHVYLOVYI (Fitolov, 1893–1933) began his literary career with a collection of poems, *Molodist'* (Youth, 1921), and the poem *V elektrychnyi vik* (In the Electrical Age, 1921). In 1923 he published a



FIGURE 548.
N. KHVYLOVYI

book of impressionistic prose *Syni etiudy* (Blue Studies), and later a number of stories in which he unequivocally demanded independence for Revolutionary Ukraine and called for opposition to “psychological subjugation” by Moscow, and a struggle

against “Little Russian detachment and indifference.” He spoke out clearly about the degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution which had brought to Ukraine cruel, dull oppression instead of the promised “blue Savoy.” Khvylovyi also published a series of pamphlets in which he examined the future development of Ukraine and, in particular, of the new Ukrainian literature. In his writings he opposed the “enlightenment” movement—*Prosvita*—which he considered a symbol of provincial limitation, and he also opposed the literary “massism” of the members of *Pluh*. Insisting on the complete spiritual independence of Ukraine, Khvylovyi called upon the new literature to turn “away from Moscow” and to direct itself toward the “psychological Europe” and toward the true sources of world literature. He wished to place Ukraine at the head of an “Asiatic Renaissance.” These thoughts and ideas were expressed in his pamphlets *Kamo hriadeshy?* (Whither Goest Thou? 1925), *Dumky proty techii* (Thoughts against the Current, 1926), *Ukraïna chy Malorosïia* (Ukraine or Little Russia).

In the extensive discussion that developed over these questions Khvylovyi was supported by VAPLITE members Kulish, Slisarenko, Yalovyi, Liubchenko, and by the Neoclassicist Zerov. Against him were ranged the contributors to the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (KP[b]U), *Komunist* (The Communist), Andrew Khvyliia, Vlas Chubar, and others. The conflict was intensified when Khvylovyi brought out his emphatically propagandist novel *Val'dshnepy* (The Woodsnipes, 1927), in which he put his ideas into the mouth of the strong-willed, active heroine Aglaia, who sharply upbraids the bankrupts of the Revolution, Dmytro Karamazov and Hanna. These ideas were so dangerous to the Soviet regime that in April, 1926, Stalin had sharply condemned them in a letter to Kaganovich, the Secretary of the Central

Committee of the KP(b)U. Now, in 1927, at the Congress of the KP(b)U, Kaganovich accused Khvylovyi of supporting a return to the bourgeois order. Khvylovyi and the leaders of VAPLITE were compelled to write letters of repentance but, in spite of this, the organization was disbanded, its journal closed down, and the final part of *Val'dshnepy* and the pamphlet *Ukraina chy Malorosiiia* were never published.

VAPLITE and the Neoclassicists were time and again termed representatives of the "bourgeois-nationalist ideology" in the official party documents of 1926-7. Then, in January, 1927, the *Vseukraïns'ka Spilka Proletars'kykh Pys'mennykiv* (VUSPP—The All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers), with Russian and Jewish sections, was formed to combat them. This association put out the journals *Hart* (Tempering, 1927-32), *Krasnoe slovo* (Red Word—Russian section), *Zaboi* (The Coal Face—organ of the writers of the Donbas region), *Die Roite Welt*, Jewish Section, and the *Literaturna Hazeta* (Literary Gazette). Following the instructions of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, the VUSPP launched an attack on "nationalistic ideas," resorting, in the course of the polemics, to direct political denunciation. The VUSPP united a great number of proletarian writers (Ivan Kulyk, Ivan Mykytenko, Ivan Kyrlylenko, Ivan Le [Moisia], Volodymyr Kuzmych, Zahul, Sosiura, Jacob Kachura, Natalia Zabila, Paul Usenko, Leonid Pervomaisky, and many others, and some critics—Volodymyr Koriak, Samuel Shchupak, B. Kovalenko, Eugene Hirschak, H. Ovcharov, N. Novytsky, and others). Towards the end of 1926 the Komsomol Literary Association, *Molodniak* (Youth), with its monthly journal—the organ of the Central Committee of the LKSMU (Komsomol)—*Molodniak*, was also formed. Among its members were Alexander Kornichuk, Oles Donchenko, Ivan Honcharenko, A. Kundzich, Usenko, A. Klochchia, and others. Both the VUSPP

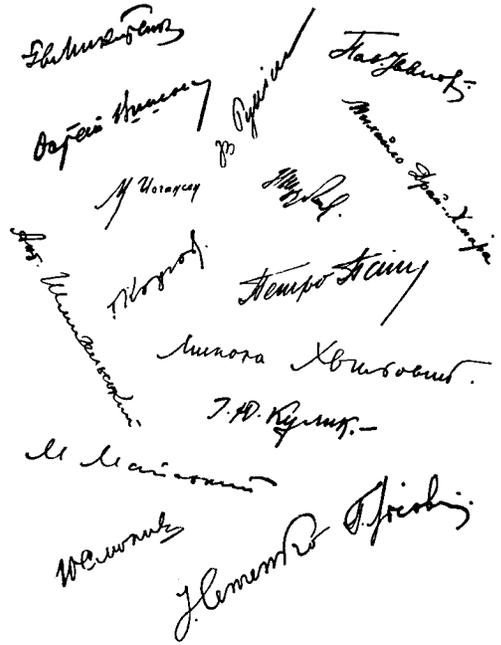


FIGURE 549. *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* COVER

and the *Molodniak* joined the Russian VOAPP (*Vsesoiuznoe Obiedinenie Asotsiatsii Proletarskikh Pisatelei* [The All-Union United Associations of Proletarian Writers]).

In the year following the dissolution of VAPLITE, Khvylovyi's group started another journal, *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* (Literary Fair, 1929-30), and a part of the group (Bazhan, Smolych, Yohansen, and Slisarenko) also published its works in the *Universalnyi Zhurnal* (Universal Journal, 1928-9). The *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* printed drawings by Anatol Petrytsky in its margins, by way of editorial comment published "interludes," in which the Aesopian manner made it possible to comment on current problems, and, finally, in its fiction continued to propagate the ideas of "active Romanticism," and "Romantic vitalism," and to fight for a high level of genuinely Ukrainian art. As a consequence, it aroused sharp attacks from the official critics of the *Molodniak* and the VUSPP (Novytsky—"Na Yarmarku" [At the Fair]—and others).

In their continual attacks the proletarian critics did not forget the Kiev group of writers whose literary positions were similar to those of VAPLITE. Among these were: Michael Ivchenko, Valerian Pidmohylnyi, Gregory Kosynka, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Eugene Pluzhnyk, Demetrius Falkivsky, and others. They formed the literary organizations ASPYS (*Asotsiatsia Pysmennykiv*), 1923; LANKA, 1924-6; MARS (*Maisternia Revoliutsiinoho Slova* [The Workshop of the Revolutionary Word], 1926-8). In 1928 this last organization was liquidated almost at the same time as VAPLITE.

The last legal form taken by VAPLITE was the *Prolitfront* organization—the Association of the Proletarian Literary Front—with its monthly of the same name (1930-1). Although it made rather orthodox declarations, participated in propaganda work aimed at raising labor enthusiasm in the factories, and, following the example of VUSPP, accepted into its ranks a group of young workers (Ivan Kaliannyk, N. Nahnybida, and others), pressure from party circles, which demanded a complete “union of all writers,” was still so great that in early 1931 the *Prolitfront* made public a self-critical declaration and then dissolved itself, the majority of its members going over to the VUSPP. That same year the *Nova Generatsiia* was also liquidated, as was Technical-Artistic Group A, which consisted of former VAPLITE members and which had held together for some time around the *Universalnyi Zhurnal* (Smolych, Yohansen, Slisarenko, and others).

But this unification was not enough. The Kremlin, as its centralist tendencies increased, began to impose a new role upon literature. Instead of an educator of the masses in the spirit of the world revolution, it was to be a propagandist of the “leading role” of Moscow (later—of the “great Russian people”). With Stalin’s personal intervention, the proletarian and all other literary organiza-

tions were dissolved on April 23, 1932, under the pretext that there was insufficient contact between the writers and the masses, and of alleged abuses caused by what was called narrow-minded group politics. As a result of this reorganization all separate writers’ associations in all the Republics of the Soviet Union were disbanded, leaving the single, official Union of Soviet Writers “with a Communist fraction within it.” The leading light of this Union was Maxim Gorky, who was noted for his anti-Ukrainian attitude and who, it was expected, would link up Soviet literature with the traditions of old Russian literature. The Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine was formed in 1934, and from then on executed in literary life the dictates which emanated from Moscow and which were implied in such catch phrases as “socialist realism,” service to “friendship among the peoples,” etc.

The Prose of the Twenties and Thirties

Ukrainian story- and novel-writing of the twenties was at first dominated by the so-called “ornamental,” impressionistic story, of which the subject matter was chiefly the Revolution and the Ukrainian-Russian war.

In the next stage, attempts were made to produce more dynamic plots and to paint large canvasses. Under the pressure of official criticism, the answer to the timeless problems of human life had to be continually related to the “actual” themes of the war and the Revolution, to social and national relations under the new conditions, etc. Popular themes dealt with were love “for a woman of the enemy camp,” the “new life,” the conflict between national feeling and duty as dictated by loyalty to the Communist party, and so on. In the twenties, Ukrainian prose writers were still able to treat these matters fairly freely and could introduce much that was individual into their work. In particular, they were able to write satirical descriptions of “everyday revolutionary life,” the new

manners and customs, and the attitude of the Ukrainian village towards the town or city which had fallen under the sway of alien elements.

The range of ideas and themes in Ukrainian literature grew quite extensive in particular, the theme of the "city" became an organic part of Ukrainian prose and poetry. Stylistically, there were an extraordinary number and variety of literary currents—from traditional Realism (Panch) and Realism in the stylized narrative (Constantine Hordienko) to Impressionism (Kosynka and, to a certain extent, Pidmohylnyi) and Expressionism (Dniprovsky, Senchenko). For the first time adventure stories became important in Ukrainian literature (Smolych). A philosophical form of prose (Liubchenko) also appeared; various types of sketches were cultivated (Mariamov, Yohansen, and other writers of the New Generation and of Group A); and the medium of the *feuilleton* was much used (Ostap Vyshnia, Kost Kotko, and others).

Typical of the Impressionist prose of this time were the lyrical stories of GREGORY KOSYNKA (1899–1934), with their preponderant plastic, visual images (*V Zhytakh* [Among the Growing Rye, 1926], *Na zolotykh bohiv* [Against the Golden Gods, 1922], "Holova Khodi" [The Head of a Chinese, 1923], and others). In them he portrayed strong, determined peasant-insurgents refusing to submit to the occupant; and in his heroes we see and feel the staunch native might of the Ukrainian peasant.

In his musical, emotionally saturated *Syni etiudy* (Blue Studies), NICHOLAS KHVYLOVYI extolled the Revolutionary insurrections (*Legenda* [Legend], *Kit u chobotiakh* [Puss in Boots]); but he saw in them the "shades of the Medieval knights," and felt a strong link with the Ukrainian past, while he found the present full of conflicts which could not be resolved ("Ya" [Myself, 1924]). He pictured the drabness and the filth of post-Revolutionary life, with dictates

coming from Moscow, "the center of All-Union philistinism" and the petty bourgeoisie ("Redaktor Kark" [Editor Kark, 1923], "Sanatoriina Zona" [In the Sanatorium District, 1924], "Synii Lystopad" [The Blue November, 1923], "Na hlu-khim shliakhu" [On the Deserted Road, 1923], "Zavulok" [The Blind Alley, 1923], and others). His lyrical flights gave way again and again to Expressionism, and at times he lapsed into satire and the grotesque ("Ivan Ivanovych," "Revisor" [The Inspector General, 1929]).

MICHAEL IVCHENKO (1890–1939) in his collections *Shumy vesniani* (The Sounds of Spring, 1919), *Imlystoiu rikoiu* (Down the Hazy Stream, 1926), *Zemli dzvoniat'* (The Lands Ring Out, 1928), produced lyrical, philosophical, Impressionistic stories permeated by pessimism and his keen sense of the ephemeral nature of happiness and the vanity of human hopes of achieving it. In 1929 he unexpectedly adopted the traditional Realistic manner in his novel *Robitni sily* (The Laboring Force), which was strongly attacked by official critics for setting forth the need to raise and develop a leading cadre among the Ukrainian intelligentsia which would be determined to free itself from the influence of the Russian Revolutionary ideology.

ANDREW HOLOVKO (b. 1897) introduced into his Impressionistic stories and novels of life in the post-Revolutionary village (the collection, *Mozhu* [I Can, 1926]) elements developed in Ukrainian Modernistic prose of the early twentieth century, and this same influence is also to be seen in the novel *Burian* (Weeds, 1927), which gives a gloomy picture of the decay of the village under the new regime, and was quite popular in its time. In his later trilogy *Maty* (Mother, Part I—1931) he combined his earlier Impressionistic manner with the Realistic style of peasant narrative.

The first literary creations of several writers paid tribute to ornate lyric prose: Arkadii Liubchenko (*Buremna Put'* [The Stormy Path, 1926]), Alexander Kopy-

lenko (1900–58, *Buinyi khmil'* [The Luxuriant Hops, 1925]), Panch (b. 1891, *Tam, de verby nad stavom* [Where the Willows Grow by the Pond, 1923]), and others.

GEORGE YANOVSKY (1902–54) was a lyric poet (*Prekrasna Ut* [The Beautiful Ut, 1928]), a story writer, and a Romantic novelist. In his cycle of stories *Krov zemli* (The Blood of the Earth, 1927) his boundless admiration for strong-willed people and his taste for the clear-cut, dangerous situation are apparent. His novel *Maister korablia* (The Ship Builder, 1928), employs the devices of "Leftist art" in its construction—complex composition, inserted stories, and even reportage. It is full of the poetry of the sea and proclaims constructive labor as an ideal. His novel *Chotyry shabli* (Four Sabres, 1930) portrays in highly stylized language the

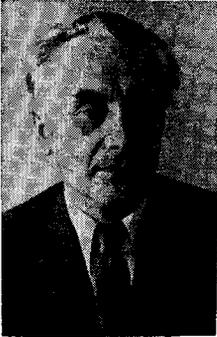


FIGURE 550.
G. YANOVSKY

courageous Ukrainian insurgents, irrepressible and adventurous, reminiscent of the Zaporozhian Kozaks. In it, he shows the deep national feeling in the powerful movement of the period between 1918 and 1921. Of his later writings, note should be made of the novel, or rather the cycle of stories, *Vershnyky* (The Riders, 1935), in which, in spite of a certain compliance with official demands, he depicted this same elemental national force. In it, as in earlier works, his original, stylized narrative manner, rhythmical and poetic, should be noted.

ARKADII LIUBCHENKO (1899–1945) took the revolutionary story as the theme of his first writings, as can be seen in his collection *Buremna Put'* which he wrote in the lyric style. Then he moved on to more or less romantic stories (the collections *Vona* [She, 1929], *Vitryla tryvoh*

[The Sails of Anxiety, 1932]). In his allegorical *Vertep* (The Puppet Show, 1927) he set forth the need for a philosophical comprehension of the course the new Ukraine must take, and the need to find and form a firm, humanistic philosophy of life. In his *Obraza* (An Insult, 1927) we find a satire on the intelligentsia of the NEP (New Economic Policy) period. He was a master of fine, artistic language. In his romantic stories, the influence of French prose, in particular that of Flaubert, is readily noticeable.

JULIAN SHEPOL (M. Yalovy, 1891–1934) in his novel, *Zoloti lyseniata* (The Golden Foxes, 1928), produced a work of abstract imagery, full of the joy of life ("romantic vitalism"), in which the influence of Romanticism is felt.

ALEXIS SLISARENKO (1891–?) started out by writing poetry, first Symbolist, and then, for a short period, Futurist. Then he turned to prose. Unlike the "ornately Impressionistic" and the later Expressionistic prose, which was quite widespread in the middle twenties, his stories were noted for their firm construction, clear imagery, and sharp, tense situations—*Plantatsii* (The Plantations, 1925), "Avenita" (1927). As he developed, he inclined toward the novel with a definite plot (*Zlamanyi gvynt* [The Broken Screw, 1929], *Chornyi anhel* [The Black Angel, 1929]). Another Futurist, GEO SHKURUPII (1903–43), employed the same kind of prose (the collection of stories *Peremozhets' drakona* [The Conqueror of the Dragon, 1925], and the novels *Dveri v den'* [The Doors into the Day, 1929], and *Zhanna Batalionerka* [Jeanne of the Battalion, 1930]).

GEORGE SMOLYCH (b. 1900) cultivated two genres simultaneously: the novel with a strong plot and many elements of fantasy (*Hospodarstvo d-ra Galvanescu* [The Property of Dr. Galvanescu, 1929], *Ostannii Eidzhevud* [The Last of the Edgewoods, 1926], *Po toi bik sertsia* [On the Other Side of the Heart, 1930], and others), and slightly fictionalized memoirs (*Fal'shyya Mel'pomena* [The

False Melpomene, 1929] and, later, *Dytynstvo* [Childhood, 1937], *Nashi tainy* [Our Secrets, 1936], *Teatr nevidomoho aktora* [The Theater of an Unknown Actor, 1940]).

OLEK DOSVITNII (1891-1934) wrote travel novels, transferring their action to the exotic setting of the distant Orient (*Amerykantsi* [The Americans, 1925]; *Tiunhui* [1926]; *Hiulle, Alai* [1927], and others).

Closely related to these writers was MIKE (MICHAEL) YOHANSEN (1895-1937). A poet, prose theoretician, and translator, he was also a bold experimenter in prose. With great originality he combined elements of Romanticism with an attempt to give his prose a sharp and definite plot, especially in his *Podorozh d-ra Leonardo* (The Journey of Dr. Leonardo, 1928), in which the real hero was the Ukrainian steppe and the Donets River, in *Podorozh liudyny pid kepom* (A Journey of the Man under a Cape, 1932), in the artistic sketch *Kos-Chahyl na Embi*, 1936, and in his autobiographical novel *Yuhurta*, 1936, which gave a picture of pre-Revolutionary Kharkiv and was confiscated by the censorship.

IVAN SENCHENKO (b. 1901) began his literary career with Expressionistic satires on village and town life in pre-Revolutionary times and during the NEP: *Iz zapysok Kholuia* (From the Notes of a Toady, 1927); *Chervonohrad's'ki portrety* (Portraits from Chervonohrad, 1928); the collection *Dubovi hriady* (Oaken Ridges, 1929). His work was sharply criticized, and he tried his luck with a historical novel, *Chorna brama* (The Black Gates, 1936), which had a certain resemblance to Romain Rolland's *Colas Breugnon*. Later he was forced to use colorless subject matter about youth and industry in the novel *Metalisty* (The Metal Workers, 1932), and others.

The Expressionistic stories of IVAN DNIPROVSKY (SHEVCHENKO), 1895-1934 (the collections *Zarady nei* [For Her Sake, 1928], *Atsel'dama*, 1932) were de-

voted to the horrors of war and to personal conflicts arising out of the war and the Revolution.

VALERIAN PIDMOHYLNYI (1901-3?) first attracted attention with his attempts to write Impressionistic psychological stories, which show some influence by the "ornate school" (*Tvory* [Works, 1920], the collection *Problema khliba* [The Problem of Bread, 1927]). His further writing experimented in Expressionism (*Viiskovyi litun* [The Military Flyer, 1924], *Tretia revoliutsiia* [The Third Revolution, 1925]). His novel *Misto* (The City, 1928) described the career of a peasant youth, the student Radchenko, who "conquered" the city (Kiev). The novel appealed to the young people from the Ukrainian villages to take this Ukrainian city by storm and in so doing to imbue it with the Ukrainian spirit. Its composition and style revealed the depth of the study Pidmohylnyi had made of the French Realists, in particular Maupassant, whose works he had translated quite well. His last novel, *Nevelychka drama* (A Little Drama, 1930), was written in the same style.

BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH (b. 1899) went from the Impressionism of his early prose to the psychological Naturalism of his novel *Smert'* (Death, 1928), which caused considerable discussion. It rather boldly presents a hero who finds it impossible to reconcile his feelings as a Ukrainian with acceptance of the Bolshevik Revolution. Antonenko-Davydovych also courageously presented the questions of the industrialization and the de-Russification of Ukraine in his interesting factual report *Zemleiu ukrains'koiu* (Throughout the Land of Ukraine, 1930).

The work of V. DOMONTOVYCH (VICTOR PETROV, b. 1893) holds a special place in the prose of the twenties. His closeness to Neoclassicism can be seen in his novel about the life of the contemporary intelligentsia - *Divchyna z vedmedykom* (A Girl with a Teddy Bear,

1928), and in his biographical novels *Romany Kulisha* (Kulish's Romances, 1930) and *Alina ta Kostomarov* (1929) which were highly esteemed by the critics. Of later attempts at fictionalized biography the most interesting was Natan Rybak's *Pomyłka Onore de Balzaka* (The Error of Honoré de Balzac, 1940) in which historical Romanticism is combined with an emphatic sociological treatment of the action.

In a number of epic works of this period, the traditional Realistic or Naturalistic manner is dominant, and the influence of Impressionism is seen in varying degrees. Some deal with World War I and the 1905 and 1917 revolutions and their effect upon both the village and the city, and others with the Ukrainian-Russian War of 1917-21 (Panch's *Z moria* [From the Sea, 1929], *Bez kozyria* [Without a Trump-Card, 1929], and *Holubi eshelony* [The Sky Blue Echelons, 1928]; Alexis Varavva's *Zapsky polonenoho* [Notes of a Prisoner]; Jacob Kachura's *Chad* [Smoke, 1929]; P. Lisovyi-Svashenko's *Zapsky Yuriia Dibrovy* [Notes of George Dibrova, 1930]; Pervomaisky's *V povitovomu mashtabi* [Within a Small County, 1930]; Le's *Yukhym Kudria*, 1927, and works by other authors).

At the same time the contemporary period of the NEP in village and city was presented. In some cases, the treatment was critical and dealt with individual problems arising from the new mode of life: Panch's *Revansh* (Revenge), the collection *Solomiani dym* (Smoke from Straw, 1925), the short novel *Bilyi Vovk* (The White Wolf, 1929); Alexander Kopylenko's *Vyzvolennia* (Liberation, 1928); HORDII BRASIUK'S *Donna Anna*, 1929; Gregory Epik's *Bez gruntu* (The Rootless, 1928); Pervomaisky's *Okolytsi* (The Surrounding District, 1929), *Pliamy na sontsi* (Sun Spots, 1928); Serhii Zhyhalko's *Lypovyi tsvit* (The Linden Blossom, 1930); Borys Teneta's novel *Harmoniiia i svyniushnyk* (Harmony and the Pigsty, 1928); the

collection of stories *Desiata sekunda* (The Tenth Second, 1929), and others. Similar to the above is the novel by VOLODYMYR GZHYTSKY, *Chorne ozero* (The Black Lake, 1929), in which he sets forth the colonial policy of the Russians in their dealings with the enslaved peoples of the East.

Some of these authors tried to make their work consistent with the "social command," that is, to deal with the current problems of life in conformity with official demands. Thus, the problem of "collectivization" was brought to the fore in works which were later sharply criticized, some of them even being confiscated. Among them were *Persha vesna* (The First Spring, 1931) by Epik, *Zakhar Vochura* (1932) by Gzhytsky, *Mukha Makar* (1930) and *Mamo, vmyraite* (Die, Mother, 1931) by Panch. Of books about industrialization, many of which were likewise later confiscated, the following should be noted: *Povist' nashykh dniv* (The Story of Our Days, 1928) by Panch, *Novi berehy* (The New Shores, 1932) by Kotsiuba, *Narodzhuiet'sia misto* (A City Is Born, 1932) by Kopylenko, the popular *Roman Mizhhiria* (A Novel of the Land among the Mountains, 1929) by Le, *Pereshykhtovka* (Recharging in the Blast Furnace, 1932) by Kyrylenko, and others. The Soviet authorities were especially suspicious of historical novels, which they almost always accused of nationalistic idealization of the Ukrainian past (*V stepakh* [In the Steppes] by SAVA BOZHKO, 1930; *Kozak i voievoda* [The Kozak and the Governor] by NICHOLAS HORBAN, 1929; the two-volume *Liudolovy* [Hunters of Men] by Z. TULUB, 1932; and others).

Poetry in the Twenties and Thirties

In addition to the poets already mentioned, there is NICHOLAS BAZHAN (b. 1904) who, after writing lyric poetry—*17 patrol* (17th Patrol, 1926) and *Riz'blena tin'* (Sculptured Shadow, 1927)—turned to Expressionism in *Budioli*

(Buildings, 1929) which is devoted to the philosophy of history and the development of Ukrainians and Ukrainian culture in different epochs. Permeated with philosophy, extraordinarily rich in expression, and passionately written are *Hofmanova nich* (Hoffman's Night, 1929), *Sliptsi* (Blind Beggars, 1930-1), *Trylohiia prystrasty* (A Trilogy of Passion), *Chyslo* (The Number, 1931), and others, all of which came under intense Communist party criticism in the early thirties. Under the harsh terror of 1934-5, Bazhan wrote the poem *Bezsmertia* (Immortality, 1937), which he dedicated to Kirov, and from that time started conforming to the demands of the Soviet regime.

The works of Ukrainian Expressionist THEODOSIUS OSMACHKA (1895-1962) are strong and original. He is the author of the collections *Krucha* (Precipice, 1922), *Skyts'ki vohni* (The Scythian Lights, 1925), and *Klekit* (The Gurgling, 1929). Then, because of official repression, he fell silent until World War II. The collection by EUGENE PLUZHNYK (1898-1936), *Rivnovaha* (Equilibrium, 1943), did not appear during his lifetime. He wrote fine, Impressionist poetry, which went into the collections *Dni* (The Days, 1926) and *Rannia Osin'* (An Early Autumn, 1927). Both DEMETRIUS FALKIVSKY (1898-1934) and ALEXIS VLYZKO (1908-34) were shot. The former is the author of the collections *Obrii* (The Horizons, 1927) and *Polissia*, 1931; while the latter, who sang of the sea and made his characters strong, wrote *Za vsikh skazhu* (I Shall Speak for All, 1927), *Zhyvu, pratsiuu* (I Live, I Work, 1930), and others.

MICHAEL YOHANSEN's life was tragically cut short in 1937. He was known chiefly for his experiments. A poet-linguist, he sought to combine Romanticism and Symbolism with Expressionism in his works *D hori* (Heavenward, 1921), *Krokoveie kolo* (The Step Ring, 1923), *Dorobok* (The Output, 1924), *Yasen'* (Ash-tree, 1930).

VOLODYMYR SVIDZINSKY (1885-1941) was silent as a poet for most of his life. He was noted for his deep, tender lyricism and for his fine, rich vocabulary. He was the author of *Lirychni poezii* (Lyric Poems, 1922), *Veresen'* (September, 1927), and *Poezii* (Poems, 1940). He was later burnt to death in a locked stable by the Bolsheviks, during their retreat before the Germans.

IVAN BAHRIANYI (1907-63) also published little in his lifetime. His writing was temperamental, imbued sometimes with philosophical, sometimes with journalistic overtones, as can be seen in his poem *Mongolia*, 1927 (his collections of poems were *Do mezh zakazanykh* [To the Forbidden Boundaries, 1928], *Ave Maria*, 1929, *Skel'ka* [A Small Cliff, 1930]).

VOLODYMYR SOSIURA (b. 1898) was extremely popular among young people in the twenties. He wrote *Chervona zyma* (The Red Winter, 1922); the collections *Misto* (The City, 1924), *S'ohodni* (Today, 1925), *Yun'* (Youth, 1927), the poems *Mazepa* (1929), *Taras Triasylo* (1926), *Dva Volod'ky* (Two Volodias, 1930), another collection, *Sertse* (The Heart, 1930), which was confiscated, and many others. He was a Romantic poet of great lyrical power but little sophistication. He broke down under the pressure of persistent party criticism and so never realized the hopes which had been placed in him.

Official criticism similarly stunted the literary growth of Teren Masenko, Basil Mysyk, Eugene Fomin, Ivan Kaliannyk, and many others, while it gave its support to such official proletarian lyricists as Ivan Kulyk (*Chorna epopeia* [The Black Epic, 1929]), Leonid Pervomaisky (*Proloh do hory* [Prologue to a Mountain, 1933]), Sava Holovanivsky, Stephen Kryzhanivsky, and Paul Usenko. As might be expected, with the exception of Andrew Malyshko (b. 1912) and Ihor Muratov (b. 1912), no young poet of more than average stature appeared in the thirties.

Drama in the Twenties and Thirties

Achievements in drama were more modest than in the other branches of literature (the plays of Ivan Dniprovsky: *Liubov i dym* [Love and Smoke, 1926], *Yablunevyi polon* [Appleblossom Captivity, 1930]; Jacob Mamontov's *Respublika na kolesakh* [A Republic on Wheels, 1928]; Myroslav Irchan's *Platsdarm* [Place d'Armes, 1933]; Ivan Kocherha's *Feia hirkoho myhdalu* [The Fairy of Bitter Almonds, 1926], *Pisnia pro svichku* [Song about a Candle, 1931]; George Yanovsky's *Duma pro Brytanku* [A Duma about Brytanka, 1938]; and others). However, Khvylovyi's group produced an extraordinarily powerful playwright, NICHOLAS KULISH (1892–1942), one of the greatest in Ukrainian literature. His first work was in the vein of ethnographic Realism, presenting scenes of peasant life which he treated in accordance with the requirements of propaganda (97, 1925; *Komuna v stepakh* [A Commune in the Steppes, 1926, first published 1931]). From *Khulii Khuryna* (1926), Kulish went on to write highly original Expressionistic plays. In *Narodnyi Malakhii* (The People's *Malakhii*, 1929), the author reveals the Bolsheviks' deception of the Ukrainian people, and against this background he presents a Ukrainian version of Don Quixote in the person of Malakhii Stakanchyk. *Myna Mazailo* (1929) is an original Expressionistic farce in which the action is carried on by cardboard people, typical members of the petty bourgeoisie of a Ukrainian city during the period of Ukrainization. *Patetychna sonata* (The Sonata Pathétique, 1931) is a vivid, almost poster-like, allegorical treatment of the Revolution of 1917, which is represented as an expressive sonata full of profound tragedy. The central figure is the proud and willful Maryna, who, in reality, is the personification of the heroic self-sacrificing struggle for the liberation of Ukraine. Finally, mention must be made of the play *Maklena Grasa*, 1933. Kulish's

dramas were created in close association with the *Berezil* theater which was directed by Les Kurbas. The Sonata Pathétique was staged by two leading theaters in Russia, but its presentation on the Ukrainian stage was not allowed. *Narodnyi Malakhii* and *Maklena Grasa* were banned after a few performances.

The Liquidation of Writers

Already terrorized by the Bolshevik repression of the Ukrainian village (the liquidation of the "kulaks," collectivization in 1929–31, and the artificially created famine of 1933) the Ukrainian intelligentsia was itself the object of systematic and planned persecution from 1929 on. When the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (*Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukraïny*) was put on trial in 1930, the following were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment: Academician Serhii Yefremov, a prominent literary scholar and critic, Andrew Nikovsky, a critic, Michael Ivchenko and Ludmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska, both writers. With the creation of the All-Union Association of Soviet Writers, Ukrainian writers were perforce included in the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (SRPU) which was headed by I. Kulyk and later by A. Senchenko, a Communist party official, and thus were made directly subservient to Moscow. In January, 1933, under a decision by the Central Committee of the VKP(b), a campaign was started against national expression in the non-Russian republics, above all, against Ukraine.

After the arrest of Yalovyï and the suicide of Khvylovyï (1933), writers were subjected to sharp criticism. Many were expelled from the party, others were exiled or imprisoned, and some were executed (in December, 1934: Kosynka, Vlyzko, Ivan Krushelnytsky, Burevii, Falkivsky). Many writers were deported and, at the same time, their works were confiscated from the libraries, as were handbooks and studies in which they were mentioned.

The first wave of terror, the victims of which were most of the members of VAPLITE, the Neoclassicists, MARS, *Pluh*, and the New Generation (Kulish, Yalovyi, Dosvitnii, Vrazhlyvyi, Yohansen, Epik, Slisarenko, Kotsiuba, Kalianyuk, Zerov, Drai-Khmara, Fylypovych, Kosynka, Pidmohylnyi, Antonenko-Davydovych, Pluzhnyk, Falkivsky, Filiansky, Savchenko, L. Mohylianska, Tulub, Teneta, Valerian and Clement Polishchuk, Semenko, Vlyzko, Buzko, Zahul, Pylypenko, Paniv, Nicholas Dukyn, V. Shtanhei, and many others), was followed, in 1937-8, by another wave of persecution. The new victims were precisely those writers who had helped to "criticize" and "uncover" the first victims, i.e., former members of the VUSPP, such as Koriak, Kovalenko, Kulyk, Mykytenko, Kyrylenko, Shchupak, and others. It is typical of these repressions that all except two of the writers who had emigrated from Western Ukraine (then occupied by Poland) were destroyed. As political emigrants, they had grouped themselves in the organization *Zakhidnia Ukraina* (Western Ukraine) and published collections of their works under that name. This group included Basil Atamaniuk, Basil Bobynsky, Mechyslav Hasko, Meletius Kichura, I. Tkachuk, Alexander Berezynsky, Anthony and Ivan Krushelnytsky, and many others. Among them the most outstanding were: Myroslav Irchan (*Bila Mavpa* [The White Monkey, 1928], *Rodyna Shchitkariv* [The Family of Brush Makers, 1927], and others); and Volodymyr Gzhytsky (*Chorne ozero* [The Black Lake, 1929]).

The Decline of Literary Activity

The fearful terrorism, of which the aim was to make Ukrainian literature into an organ of Soviet government propaganda, makes it easy to understand why there was a sudden decline in literary activity between 1933 and 1941. The collections of Tychyna (*Chuttia yedynoi rodyni* [The Feeling of a Single

Family, 1938], *Stal' i nizhnist'* [Steel and Tenderness, 1941]), Rylsky's *Kyiv* (1935), *Lito* (Summer, 1936), *Ukraina* (Ukraine, 1938) and others; Bazhan's poem *Bezsmertia* (Immortality), and his expurgated collection *Yamby* (Iambic poems, 1940), Malyshko's poetry, the collections of Pervomaisky, Sosiura, Muratov, Constantine Herasymenko, Masenko, Ivan Vyrhan, Nahnybida, and others—almost without exception contain an approved treatment of themes laid down by the Communist party authorities: exaltation of "the sun in the Kremlin" (Stalin), of the "happy life," the "achievements of labor," and, above all, "friendship among the peoples" of the Soviet Union. Amid this torrent of eulogies, any individual works of value were simply lost.

Typical of this period was the demand that authors rewrite their works in the spirit of "socialist realism," in other words, the new versions were to conform to official requirements and be open propaganda. Among such works were: the "second" editions of Andrew Holovko's novels, *Burian* (Weeds, 1932) and *Maty* (Mother, 1935), and the "revised" version of Panch's novel *Pravo na smert'* (The Right to Death, 1933) which appeared under the title *Obloha nochi* (The Siege of the Night, 1935). The range of subjects permitted was restricted. The Revolution and the War of 1917-21 were allowed but both had to be treated exclusively from a social and not a national point of view: *Parakhomenko* (1939) by Panch; *Shliakh na Kyiv* (The Road to Kiev, 1937) by S. Skliarenko; *Desnu pereishly bataliony* (The Battalions Have Crossed the Desna, 1937) and *Polk Tymofii Cherniaka* (The Regiment of Timothy Cherniak, 1938) by Alexis Desniak; *Nashi tainy* (Our Secrets, 1936), *Visimnadsiatylyitni* (The Eighteen-Year-Olds, 1938) and *Teatr nevidomoho aktora* (The Theater of an Unknown Actor, 1940) by Smolych. Dealing with the "building of socialism" in the city and in the village

were such works as Mykytenko's *Ranok* (Morning, 1934), Kyrylenko's *Vesna* (Spring, 1936), G. Shovkoplias' *Inzheneriy* (The Engineers, 1934), V. Chyhyryn's *Divchata* (The Girls), and *Kviten'* (April), a cycle of stories about life on a collective farm written by Hordiienko. "Friendship among the peoples" is the theme of novels about the life of young people by Kopylenko, *Duzhe dobre* (Very Well, 1936) and *Desiatytkliashnyky* (The Tenth Graders, 1938), as well as the autobiographical works of Smolych already mentioned. The historical novels were O. Sokolovsky's *Bohun* (1931), L. Smiliansky's *Kotsiubyns'kyi* (1940), Le's *Nalyvaiko*, and Rybak's *Pomylka Onore de Balzaka* (The Error of Honoré de Balzac).

When the *Berezil'* was disbanded and a "new course" was set for the theater, the Ukrainian plays in the repertory of the Ukrainian theater were restricted to open propaganda. Furthermore, the theater was prevented from looking for new forms, new ideas, or new techniques. Up to 1937 Mykytenko annually produced plays which were written in conformity with the current decisions of the Central Committee of the VKP(b): *Dyktatura* (Dictatorship, 1931), *Kadry* (The Cadres, 1932), *Sprava chesty* (A Matter of Honor, 1932), *Divchata nashoi kraïny* (The Girls of Our Land, 1933), *So'lo na fleiti* (A Flute Solo). Korniiichuk did the same in his plays—*Zahybel' eskadry* (The End of a Squadron, 1934), *Platon Krechet*, (1936), *Pravda* (The Truth, 1937), *Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi*, (1939), *V stepakh Ukraïny* (In the Steppes of Ukraine, 1941); as did Pervomaisky in *Nevidomi soldaty* (Unknown Soldiers, 1931), *Maty* (Mother), and others, and Sava Holovanivsky (*Smert' ledi Grey* [The Death of Lady Grey, 1934] and *Dolia poeta* [The Poet's Fate, 1939]). The few plays written by Ivan Kocherha (1885–1952)—*Maistry chasu* (The Masters of the Time, 1934), *Pidesh—ne verneshsia* (If You Go, You Will Not Return, 1936)—stand

alone. They attempt to present philosophical problems and to provide an unexpected solution to them.

The sheer terror directed against Ukrainian writers, the incessant persecution, the campaigns against them by official Soviet organs, the continued adverse official criticism, prove that, even after the suppression of the Ukrainian cultural revival in the literature of Soviet Ukraine, forces were still at work which the Soviet regime could not but consider hostile. What is more, even through the officially dictated subject matter and the official ideology, there can be detected, here and there, fruitful attempts to arrive at an independent outlook and style: *Vershnyky* (The Riders) and *Korotki istorii* (Short Stories, 1940) by Yanovsky; the stylistically experimental novel *Chuzhu nyvu zhala* (She Reaped Another's Field, 1939–40) by Hordiienko, individual poems by Malyshko and Pervomaisky, and some of the works of other writers.

N. Hlobenko

WESTERN UKRAINE AND THE EMIGRATION

After the failure of the Ukrainian liberation movement of 1917–21, political émigrés from central Ukraine took part in the literary life of Western Ukraine. Although the work of émigré writers was always centered around their own magazines and publishers, the relations between them and the local writers grew closer and closer as time went on. Literary developments in Western Ukraine were strongly affected by those in central and eastern Ukraine: what was being done in Soviet Ukraine was either imitated or rejected.

The 1914–18 war and the Ukrainian wars of liberation both found direct literary expression in a new genre, the *Strilets'ki pisni* (Songs of the Ukrainian Soldiers), which were closely related to folk songs. Many of them, written by Roman Kupchynsky (b. 1894), Nicholas

Holubets (1894–1942), Leo Lepkyi (b. 1889), and others, became immensely popular. The historical events of the period were indirectly reflected in Symbolism, of which the chief representatives in Western Ukraine at that time were the poets grouped around the journal *Mytusa* (1922): Basil Bobynsky (1898–1938, a series of sonnets entitled *Nich kokhannia* [A Night of Love, 1924], *Taina tantsiu* [The Secret of the Dance, 1925], *Smert' Franka* [Death of Franko, 1927], *Poezii* [Poems, 1930], and others); Oles Babii (b. 1897, *Poezii* [Poems, 1923], poem *Hutsul's'kyi Kurin'* [Hutsuls' Battalion, 1928], *Za shchastia omanoiu* [For a Delusion of Happiness, 1930], *Perekhrestia* [Crossroads, 1930], and others); Maria Pidhirianka, Joseph Turiansky, George Shkrumeliak, and, to a certain extent, Kupchynsky, Holubets, and others. This Symbolism corresponded to the mood of the moment in its vagueness and a certain perplexity. It also showed various influences—from Hugo von Hofmannsthal to Paul Tychna. But the Mytusians did not produce any outstanding Symbolist works and they all abandoned Symbolism after a short while. Writers began to form groups chiefly in accordance with their political positions. Gradually most of these literary centers became isolated from each other. Chief among them were: *Visnyk* (The Herald, 1922–39), which was nationalist; *Novi Shliakhy* (New Highroads, 1929–32), which was Sovietophile; *Dzvony* (The Bells), which united the Catholic writers (after 1930); the Warsaw group *My* (We, after 1934); and others.

The Emigré Writers and the Visnyk Group

The most active in the literary life of Western Ukraine in 1921–39 were the group of writers associated with the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald, 1922–32), and, later, with *Visnyk* (The Herald, 1933–9), which was edited by the temperamental

publicist Dmytro Dontsov (b. 1883). This journal, the most popular among the nationalistically inclined elements of the population, transformed the outlook of the younger generation of Galicia and Volhynia. The victory of the nationalist trend in the social-political sphere was paralleled by the defeat of Futurism in literature, which was replaced by Romanticism and Classicism. However, this group owes its rise to the émigré men of letters rather than to the West Ukrainian writers.

After the war the work of the émigré writers was at first concentrated in the prisoners' camps, where several newspapers and hectographed journals (*Veselka* [Rainbow], 1922–3) were published. Somewhat later, the socialist-minded writers, who were the majority of the writers of the older generation, grouped themselves around the journal *Nova Ukraïna* (The New Ukraine, 1922–8), which was published in Prague by M. Shapoval.

The poetry of the Prague émigré group attained a high level and was greatly influenced by the personality of one of the group's founders, GEORGE DARAHAN (1894–1926), a soldier of the Ukrainian army who, after passing through Polish prisoners' camps, arrived in Czechoslovakia with an incurable illness. Developing the imagery of military life in the medieval and contemporary periods of his country, Darahan, in his collection of poems *Sahaidak* (The Quiver, 1926), followed a path which was later taken by his successors: he wrote of medieval Kiev, of Mazepa, of a hard, heroic age of revolution in Ukraine, using lyricism bound by a rigid form. This was an unexpected extension of the spirit of Classicism which adopted quite non-Classical forms—a new aspect in Ukrainian poetry.

Another émigré writer, Maksym Hryva (1893–1931), described in his poems the feelings of a guerrilla fighter in the region of Chernihiv, while Nicholas Chyrsky (1902–42) wrote several dozen dramas,

comedies, and scenes for reviews (*Pianyi reid* [The Daring Raid], *Otaman Pisia*, 1936, etc., and a collection of lyric poetry, *Emal'* [Enamel, 1941]). Chyrsky's use of suspense and witty repartee and his purity of language assured the success of his dramatic works on the stage.

The spirituality of the Prague group was especially strong in the poetry of ALEXIS STEFANOVYCH (b. 1900, the collections *Poezii* [Poems, 1927], *Stefanos*, 1939). He deliberately sought "difficult" modes of expression, and in his poems would pass from the present to the Middle Ages, and from Muromets, Prince Ihor, and Hetman Bohdan back to the heroes of the last war, through descriptions of Volhynia and Polisia (*Volyns'ki sonety* [Volhynian Sonnets]) to religious poetry. Stefanovych was a lonely figure, and his gems of poetry were permeated with an unearthly coldness. He plumbed the depths of the ancient and the medieval Ukrainian literary traditions in his works.

OKSANA LIATURYNKA (b. 1902) devoted her work to themes and motifs of medieval Ukraine, even going back, through the medium of the oldest folklore, to ancient times. Her collections *Husla* (The Psalter, 1938) and *Kniazha emal'* (The Princely Enamel, 1941) represented the movement into the past of a soul to which was granted "the bewitching power to project great audacity through the mist of the centuries."

Almost all the writers of the Prague group collaborated on the Lviv *Visnyk*. In the mid-thirties the journal *Proboiem* (Breakthrough, 1934-43), edited by Oleh Olzhych, Oleh Lashchenko, and others, started publication in Prague (closed by the Germans in 1943).

LEONID MOSENDZ (1897-1948) left the collections of poetry *Yunats'ka vesna* (Youthful Spring, 1933) and *Zodiac* (1941), a series of stories, *Vidplata* (Revenge, 1939), *Liudyna pokirna* (Homo Lenis, 1937, 1951), the novels *Zasiv* (The Seeding, 1936, 1941, 1946), *Ostannii*

Prorok (The Last Prophet, 1960), and others. An erstwhile soldier, he wrote of an unknown warrior "who has thousands of names." He was able to reconcile his activist attitude toward life with his inclination for reflection. In his dramatic poem *Vichnyi korabel'* (The Eternal Ship, 1933), he set forth a conflict which was typical of his age and his ideas—the conflict between heroism and weakness in human nature.

GEORGE LYPA (1900-44), a poet, essayist, and publicist, who perished in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was an outstanding figure in West Ukrainian and émigré literature. He combined clearness of style with a clearness and firmness of ideas, and in his life displayed great civic courage. His poems (the collections *Svitlist* [Brightness, 1925], *Suvorist'* [Severity, 1931], *Viruiu* [I Believe, 1938]) are distinguished for the exactness and the laconic power of their expression. His rhythmic are original throughout. In prose, in his three-volume *Notatnyk* (Notebook, 1936-7), which is a cycle of stories, he extolled the self-sacrifice and the deeply ethical outlook of the soldiers who took part in the Ukrainian liberation movement. The effort he made to imbibe the spirit and to master the language of the Ukrainian Kozak period can be seen in his historical novel *Kozaky v Moskovii* (The Kozaks in Muscovy, 1934, 1942). Lypa always wanted to link the present as closely as possible to the old Ukrainian traditions. For this reason, he used themes from the Ukrainian medieval and Baroque periods, and he also used the genre of the *Vertep* (puppet-show) in his *Yarmarok* (Fair), which contains a gallery of traditional types (gypsies, beggars, kozaks). He also wrote a number of dramatic works (*Poiedynok* [The Duel], *Motria*, *Verbunok* [Conscription]), and was one of the most distinguished translators of the western European poets. His essays, *Bii za ukrains'ku literaturu* (The Battle for Ukrainian Literature, 1935), *Pryznachennia Ukrainy* (Uk-

raine's *Destiny*, 1938, 1953), *Chornomors'ka doktryna* (Black Sea's Doctrine, 1940, 1942, 1947), *Rozpodil Rosii* (Dis-memberment of Russia, 1941), laid out far-reaching schemes and aroused much discussion. His highly cultured style, his idealistic faith in man, and the scope of his creative activity showed Lypa as a many-sided writer with great integrity.

Wide recognition was enjoyed by the poetry of EUGENE MALANIUK (b. 1897). His poetry and his publicist work had a profound effect upon the new Ukrainian poetry and he had many imitators. In several collections of poetry—*Stylet i stylos* (The Stiletto and the Stylos, 1925), *Herbarii* (Herbarium, 1926), *Zemlia i Zalizo* (The Earth and Iron, 1930),



FIGURE 551.
E. MALANIUK



FIGURE 552.
O. OLZHYYCH (KANDYBA)

Zemna Madonna (The Earthly Madonna, 1934), *Persten' Polikrata* (The Ring of Polycrates, 1939)—Malaniuk presented a highly original image of Ukraine as Scythia, the Hellas of the Steppe. Cursing her, Malaniuk nevertheless always returned to his image of Ukraine as both a heroine and a slave, and his angry poetry was often illuminated by an idyllic tenderness. Being the foremost Ukrainian poet abroad he became the target of the attacks of Soviet critics who made his name (along with that of Dmytro Dontsov) a symbol of "fascism." In reality, Malaniuk longed for the "Scythian-Hellenic beauty" to vanish, and wished that "on the fertile land north of Pontus (Ukraine's) own

Rome might rise, and a *Capitolium* come to stand beside the *Lavra*." Malaniuk in his work wrote of the coming of a new epoch when the cell would be reduced to "rubble and ashes," and the book be nothing but "torn paper." His later poetry was "simpler" and it was quite evident that he had become reconciled to the rhythm of classical forms and moods.

The poet OLEH OLZHYYCH (KANDYBA, 1909–44), who was tortured and killed by the Nazis in Sachsenhausen, described his age more clearly than anyone else, an age which was "as cruel as a she-wolf." His work is quite modest in quantity: the collections *Rin'* (Gravel, 1935); *Vezhi* (The Towers, 1940); *Pidzamchia* (Around the Castle, 1946), which was published posthumously. More disciplined than his contemporaries, he avoided superficial effects and achieved greatness in simplicity. In *Rin'* he wrote of times long past, the hardness of life then and the militant spirit it engendered. Olzhych wrote about the fighting spirit of his generation in his *Vezhi*, in which the very vigorousness of this theme eclipsed the exceptional fineness of his art—its concentration of expression, which was made possible by his special disregard for the emotional connotations of words. The extreme conciseness of his verse in this collection links it with the work of Stefanovych, and the fine workmanship and simplicity of form are quite in harmony with the severity of the poet's personal life: "plenty is merely vanity, and happiness—a blind sin." His posthumous collection *Pidzamchia* has some of the tranquillity of an aquarelle, and reveals that exciting warmth with which the heart of the poet, while he was alive, had been so full.

At the opposite extreme from Olzhych stood the emotional poetry of OLENA TELIHA (1907–42) who was shot by the Germans in Kiev. She published her verses in the *Visnyk*. Her posthumous collections of poetry are: *Dusha na*

storozhi (The Soul on Guard, 1946), and the fuller *Prapory dukha* (The Banners of the Spirit, 1947). Teliha's poetry is extraordinarily intimate, unusually feminine, and, at the same time, effectively heroic, and shows great severity toward herself and others. She had considerable influence on the younger writers.

OSWALD BURCHARDT (1891-1947) formed a symbolic link between the Ukrainian poets of Soviet Ukraine and those grouped around the *Visnyk*. In 1931 he left Soviet Ukraine and took the pen-name of YURI KLEN. In his works he succeeded in reconciling the Romantic-voluntaristic outlook of the poets of the *Visnyk* with the Kievan Neoclassicists' respect for form. He became one of the "quadriga of the *Visnyk*," the others being Malaniuk, Olzhych, and Teliha. In addition to his numerous poems (both original poems and translations) which were printed in various journals, he published separately his poem in octaves, *Prokliati roky* (The Accursed Years, 1937, 1943), and the collection *Karavely* (The Caravels, 1943). Klen's idealistic Romanticism and his liking for a balanced form influenced others to depart completely from that lyrical disorderliness which had been evident in the early twenties.

The *Visnyk* group also numbered among its members writers of the younger generation, the most talented of whom was SERHII KUSHNIRENKO, the author of the collection of poems, *Pruzhin'* [The Strain], and of stories extolling the age of steel and militant severity, an attitude which was quite typical of the youth of his day.

None of these centers produced any outstanding prose. The prose work of ROSTYSLAV YENDYK (b. 1906) was important insofar as he was a spokesman for the nationalist outlook in literature. He was the author of the collection of stories *Proklin Krovu* (The Curse of Blood), *Rehit Aridnyjka* (The Laughter of the Demon, 1937), *V kaidanakh rasy* (In the Chains of Race), and *Zov zemli*

(The Call of the Earth, 1940). Interesting as a literary document of the Western Ukrainian youth problems in the 1930's was a collection of stories by SIGIMUND PROTSYSHYN, *Molode pokolinnia* (The Young Generation). Also noteworthy were the stories of BASIL KARKHUT (*Tsupke zhyttia* [A Tough Life], and other stories).

ULAS SAMCHUK (b. 1905), an outstanding prose writer, was also published in the *Visnyk*. However, he portrayed his heroes as sober-minded, business-like men and his Realistic style did not fit in with the militant-voluntaristic Romanticism of the *Visnyk*. Samchuk first published collections of stories (*Vidnaidenyi Rai* [Rediscovered Paradise], *Rozbyta bohynia* [The Shattered Goddess]), but later achieved success with his trilogy, *Volyn'* (Volhynia, 1932-7); the first volume has been translated from Ukrainian into other languages. In it, Samchuk presented pictures of the young peasant intelligentsia which had grown up in the years following World War I. His trilogy is a literary account of the development of a generation trying to make for itself a better tomorrow. This realistic picture of provincial life was the chief prose work in Ukrainian literature outside Soviet Ukraine. The author's sincerity (most of his works have an autobiographical flavor) assured the success of his epic tale. Samchuk's subsequent works are less of a chronicle and treat more of ideas (the novel *Kulak* [The Wealthy Peasant, 1932]). In them he aimed at a well-constructed plot (*Hory hovoriat'* [The Mountains Speak, 1934]), and developed an original lyric manner in which to present it (*Maria*, 1934). At the same time he no longer confined himself to his native Volhynia, but depicted the Transcarpathia (*Hory hovoriat'*) and Soviet Ukraine (*Maria*) as well.

Because of the writers of outstanding talent grouped around it (although some, for instance, Lypa, later abandoned it), the *Visnyk* gained decisive influence

which it exerted up until 1939, when all the independent Western Ukrainian publications in existence came to an end as a result of the war and the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Soviet Union. However, before this happened, a group of Ukrainian nationalist writers of the younger generation began their literary career in the *Visnyk*. The majority of their works were edited by BOHDAN KRAWCIW (b. 1904), the central figure of the *Lystopad* (November) literary group. His first collection of verse, *Dorooha* (The Road, 1929), expressed the boisterousness of the younger generation in Galicia, which dreamed of ships and broad roads leading to the wide world. Because of the hardships of his life (he was a political prisoner for a long time) and through persevering work on his language, the poet achieved great restraint of expression, a precise, clear-cut form which approaches that of Neoclassicism (collections *Sonety i strofy* [Sonnets and Strophes, 1933], *Ostannia osin'* [The Last Autumn, 1940], *Pid chuzhymy zoriamy* [Under the Alien Stars, 1941]).

The Group around the Journal *My* (We)

The other center of literary activity—particularly in the thirties—was in Warsaw, where, around Lypa and Natalia Livytska-Kholodna, a new group, TANK was formed. Several journals were published there, among which the first place was taken by the quarterly *My* (We, 1934–9). *My* became a center of publication for those who considered themselves followers of Simon Petliura's ideology. Literature, in their view, cultivating high literary standards, had to serve the nation and to follow in the path of the heroes who had fought for Ukraine's independence, of whom Petliura was, for them, the central figure.

The most interesting works published by the journal *My* were those by ANDREW KRYZHANIVSKY (*Istoriia odnoho vagonu* [A Story of a Certain Coach], *Ochi v truni* [Eyes in a Coffin], a novel

Sontse v piskakh [Sun in the Desert], and others) whose writing was in some degree influenced by Khvylovyi; IVAN CHERNIAVA (his novel *Liudy z chornym pidnebinniam* [People with Black Palates, 1935] was published separately); PAUL ZAITSEV, an author of critical and literary studies; NATALIA LIVYTSKA-KHOLODNA (b. 1902), collections of poetry, *Vohon' i popil* [Fire and Ashes, 1934], and *Sim liter* [Seven Letters, 1937]); and YAROSLAV DRYHYNICH, whose lyric poems were remarkable for their plasticity and exquisite vocabulary. The soul of *My* was BORYS OLKHIVSKY (d. 1944), a talented reporter (*Viter v netriakh* [The Wind in the Wilds]), a critic, and a scholar of great promise (the study *Vil'nyi narid* [A Free People, 1937]).

The Catholic Writers

Catholic writers formed the *Logos* association around the Lviv journal *Postup* (Progress, 1921–31) and the publication *Dobra Knyzhka* (The Good Book), the moving spirit of which was the poet, publicist, and critic, Orestes Petriichuk-Mokh (collection of poems *Pro tse, shcho liubliu ya* [What I Am Fond of, 1924]). Much was published by S. Semchuk, V. Limnychenko, Gregory Luzhnytsky-Merriam (poems *Vechirni smutky* [Evening Sorrows], prose sketches *Chornyi snih* [Black Snow], criticism under the pseudonym of Nyhrytsky, the drama *Posol do Boha* [A Delegate to God], and others), and, finally, Myroslav Kapii.

Between 1930 and 1939 the journal *Dzvony* (The Bells) was published, in which, in addition to the authors already mentioned and the literary critics Julian Redko and Nicholas Hnatyshak (1902–40), NATALINA KOROLEVA (b. 1888) also wrote. She had previously worked for the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk*. She published separately *Inakshyi svit* (A Different World, 1935), *Vo dni ony* (Once upon a Time, 1935), *1313* (1935), *Son tini* (The Dream of a Shadow),

Legandy starokyjivs'ki (The Legends of Ancient Kiev, 1942), and other works in which she followed Lesia Ukraïнка in going beyond strictly Ukrainian themes. She worked on Old and New Testament subjects and themes from the Middle Ages, wrote stories based on life in Asia, and about the supernatural. Attracted by the mystic element in man's life and in nature, she searched for harmony in the world, for the living God.

The shining light of *Dzvony* was a poet from the Lemkian region, BOHDAN IHOR ANTONYCH (1909-37), author of the collections *Pryvitannia zhyttia* (The Welcome of Life, 1931), *Try persteni* (Three Rings, 1934), *Knyha leva* (The Book of the Lion, 1936), and the posthumous *Zelena Yevanheliia* (The Green Gospels, 1938) and *Rotatsii* (Rotations, 1938). This young poet lived in the full flood of life, and its joy shone in him. He addressed familiarly the sun, moon, stars, and clouds, and was equally at home when writing of the village or the town, as well as with philosophic lyricism. Antonych opened the door for Ukrainian poetry on to a world of "pitchers filled with sunlight," of sorcery, curses, fragrant wood, singing doors, joyous perception, and a fear of nature. In his Lemkian motifs he uncovered from within the forgotten world of the people's soul, and by his pantheistic approach to God ("Let us listen to the grand concert, when of an evening God places His hands on the keyboard of the universe") Antonych made meaningful his joy of living.

The Novi Shliakhy Group

Developments in Soviet Ukraine aroused interest in the political and cultural events taking place there, and resulted in so-called "Sovietophilism."

ANTHONY KRUSHELNYTSKY (1878-1941), the author of the novels *Rubaiut' lis* (The Felling of the Forest, 1919), *Homin halyts'koi zemli* (The Voice of the Galician Land, 1930), *Duzhym pomakhom kryl* (With a Powerful Sway of the

Wings), in company with several younger men of letters (Ivan Krushelnytsky, R. Skazynsky, Stephen Masliak, Anthony Pavliuk, and others), founded and edited, with financial assistance from Soviet Ukraine, the journal *Novi Shliakhy* (New Highroads), in which were published the first works of AVENIR KOLOMYIETS (1906-46, an expressionistic collection of poems, *Provisni kadry*, and the lyric poem, *Deviatyi val* [The Ninth Breaker]), the novel *Tini nad Prykrepiamy* [Shadows over the Prykrepy], and dramatic works), and of George Kosach. This group wrote in quite a variety of styles, but in general their watchwords were those that demanded freedom from traditional forms. The extreme artistic positions, like that of the Futurists, seem to have corresponded to the extreme social and political tendencies (Yaroslav Kondra, book of poems *Yurba* [The Crowd, 1931]). Khyvlovyyi's influence on prose was revealed in the production of lyrical sketches and in prose writers' abandonment of plot. Much more realistic tendencies were shown in the unpretentious stories of Peter Kozlaniuk (now a Ukrainian Soviet writer).

The response of the nationalist elements in Western Ukrainian society, which became very vigorous during the terror in Soviet Ukraine in the thirties, dealt a heavy blow to Sovietophilism in this area. The chief collaborators on the Sovietophile journals, among them the Krushelnytsky family, moved to Soviet Ukraine and were "liquidated" there in 1934 and later. The group of Sovietophilic authors, which produced nothing or very little of genuine artistic worth, lost its adherents and sympathizers, with the exception of a very few, none of whom were outstandingly talented individuals (Yaroslav Halan, Stephen Tudor).

The Nazustrich Group

A number of poets from Western Ukraine grouped themselves around a

literary journal with a newspaper format, *Nazustrich* (Towards, 1934-9), which was headed by the critic MICHAEL RUDNYTSKY, who believed in taking purely aesthetic criteria for criticism. *Nazustrich* familiarized the general public with the work of Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Antonych, and GEORGE KOSACH (b. 1909). The works of the latter (collections of poetry *Cherlen'* [Redness, 1934] and *Myt' iz maistrom* [A Moment with the Master, 1936], prose works *Charivna Ukraïna* [The Enchanting Ukraine, 1937], *Chad* [Smoke, 1938], and others) are noted for their pathos-filled Romanticism, highly ornamented style, and variety of themes (ancient times, Polisia, foreign lands).

SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY (b. 1906) revealed a variety of talents—as a critic, a painter, an adept in the graphic arts, and the author of several collections of poetry (*Barvy i liniï* [Colors and Lines, 1933]; *Buruny* [Breakers, 1936]; *Slova na kameniakh* [Words on Stones, 1937]; *Snovydiv* [1938]). He moved steadily toward more difficult themes and strove for greater and greater perfection of forms. Having begun with Romanticism, which he partly derived from books, Hordynsky later sought an equilibrium between it and other forms, especially in the poem *Snovydiv*, which is written in octaves, and in the collection *Slova na kameniakh*; but even when using the most classical forms, he remained a Romantic but tended toward rhetoric.

Other Litterateurs and Literary Centers

In the twenties and thirties, reminiscences "from the recent past" were quite frequently written. Among the numerous memoirists were some talented writers whose works came close to having significant literary value. This is also true, because of the quality of their style, of the scholarly biographies of Mazepa and of Orlyk (English trans.: Hryhor Orlyk, France's Cossack General, 1956) by Elias Borschak. Some writers became very popular through their realistic descriptions of the period of Ukraine's

struggle for independence (especially Fedir Dudko: *Divchata odchaidushnykh dniv* [The Girls of the Courageous Days, 1937], and the historical work, *Velykyi Het'man* [The Great Hetman, 1936]). Remarkable literary characteristics were revealed in the collection of short stories, *Lypneva otruta* [A July Venom], by Basil Sofroniv-Levytsky.

Satire and humor usually were confined to humorous sketches and *feuilletons* (Joseph Makovei, Stephen Charnecky, Roman Kupchynsky, Fed' Tryndyk, and others).

As literary critics the following were successful: Paul Zaitsev, Eugene Malaniuk, Dmytro Dontsov, Joseph Nazaruk, Luke Hranychka, Ostap Hrytsai, Nicholas Hnatyshak, Osyp Bodnarovych, Dionysius Lukianovych, Michael Rudnytsky, Daria Vikonska, Alexander Mokh, Michael Mukhyn, Demetrius Nykolyshyn, Oleh Lashchenko, and others.

There was also a fairly large group of women writers working on the various literary journals published in Lviv. Among them, in addition to Natalena Koroleva and Catherine Hrynevych (see above), the most outstanding were Irene Vilde (mood etudes, and the novels *Metelyky na shpyl'kakh* [Pinned Butterflies, 1935] and *Bie vos'ma* [The Eight Strikes, 1936]), Sophia Yablonska, Sophia Parfanovych, Irene Vynnytska, Halyna Zhurba (*Zori svit zapovidaiut'* [The Stars Announce the Dawn, 1933], *Revoliutsiia ide* [The Revolution Is Coming, 1937]), Daria Vikonska (1893-1945, author of reflective prose poems on love and art, as in the collection *Rais'ka yablinka* [An Apple Tree from Paradise, 1931]), O. R. Zhepetska (*Nad Horynym* [By the Horyn River]), and others.

It is characteristic of the period that the writers of the older generation did not exert great influence. And this in spite of the fact that some of them wrote very valuable works at that time, particularly during the twenties. Such were Stefanyk, Cheremshyna, Martovych, Makovei, Bohdan Lepkyi, Vynnychenko, Cherkasenko, Kobylanska, Bor-

duliak, Modest Levytsky. This is even true of Catherine Hrynevych, although in her fondness for the Ukrainian Middle Ages she used ancient Kievan motifs that were typical of the work of such poets of the younger generation as Darahan, Malaniuk, Olzhych, Stefanovych, Liaturynska, and others. The same may be said of poets who had been popular only a short time before, such as Oles, Voronyi, Karmansky, Charnetsky, and Pachovsky. They did not join in the enthusiastic acceptance of the voluntaristic Romanticism, which was so general in those years, nor in the attempt to develop a strict, severe form, and add depth to the themes and the philosophical basis of literature.

Now, literature was definitely no longer an "incomplete," "peasant literature." Even in dealing with peasant themes new ideas and the new standards and techniques of the literary art were employed. Efforts were made to transcend regionalism finally by a broad philosophical conception of the nation and its history.

In Bukovina, literary life remained in complete decline under the Rumanian regime. The local writers were grouped around the nationalistic journal *Samostiina Dumka* (Independent Thought), which was published in Chernivtsi (1931-7). Literary activity was more lively in Transcarpathia where the poets Basil Grendzha-Donsky (b. 1897), Zoreslav (b. 1909) and Ivan Irliaivsky (Roshko, 1919-42) were at work. Andrew Harasevych (1917-47) also came from Transcarpathia but he published his works in the periodical journals of Galicia and Prague. His collection *Sonety* (Sonnets) was published separately in 1941. Posthumously were published his collected poems *Do vershyn* (Toward Heights, 1959).

World War II brought together writers from Eastern and Western Ukraine who previously had been separated by political boundaries. The illustrated literary-artistic monthly *Nashi dni* (Our Days) edited by Ivan Nimchuk and M.

Strutynska appeared in Lviv in 1941-4. Although published under war conditions and the severe German censorship this periodical presented not only fiction and works on the history of literature but also articles on ideological problems. The popular family monthly *Vechirnia hodyna* (Evening Hour) was published at the same time. Other literary and publishing centers (Kharkiv, Kiev, Berlin, and Prague) did not attain the importance of Lviv.

I. Korowyt'sky

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9. DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

SOVIET UKRAINE

This period of literary life was closely connected to the political changes which took place in Ukraine. About 80 Ukrainian Soviet writers and poets joined the Red Army, while the remainder became actively engaged in the war effort in the hinterland. As a result, many writers, through their political work during the war years, became members of the Communist party. The activities of the writers during the period of 1941-5 were subordinated to the requirements of the war propaganda (cf. the newspapers *Za Radians'ku Ukrainu* [For Soviet Ukraine] and *Za Chest' Bat'kivshchyny* [For Honor of the Fatherland], a literary collection entitled *Ukraina v ohni* [Ukraine in the Fire], and the like).

But the lessening of police terror with respect to Ukrainian culture, brought about by the circumstances of war and the resurgence of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, resulted in a relaxation in the Ukrainian cultural life of 1943-6 of the Soviet control. There was a noticeable diminution of the official exaltation of all that was Russian, a tendency toward national traditionalism began to manifest itself, and the motifs of genuine Ukrainian patriotism appeared here and there.

In their attempt to create the illusion of an "independence" of Soviet Ukraine, so as to undermine Ukrainian liberation aspirations and revolutionary activities, the Soviet authorities brought a few leaders of Ukrainian culture back from exile and provided them with the opportunity of working in Ukraine. Among them were those who hitherto had been considered politically "unreliable." These men of letters and science included writer Ostap Vyshnia, poets M. Tere-shchenko and I. Vyrhan, and historians of literature and critics A. Doroshkevych, A. Shamrai, and others.

An impressive number of Ukrainian writers, literary critics, and artists in 1943-7 dared to reveal their mind and spirit in such an independent manner that as a consequence they were confronted later on with the dangerous charge of "nationalism." The Soviet publicists uncovered nationalist tendencies subsequently in *Narys z istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature, 1945), edited by E. Kyryliuk and S. Maslov. The book treated the period of the literary development of the Kievan *Rus'* of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries as part of the Ukrainian literary process. It "rehabilitated" in the Ukrainian literature such figures as Shchoholiv, Oles, and Steshenko, and also gave positive evaluation to those groups of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that had gathered around the *Rada*, *Hromads'ka Dumka*, and *Hromada* (see "Press"). Soviet critics detected nationalism in the works of a great number of older and younger writers, such as Rylsky, Yanovsky, Kundzich, and Smiliansky.

The postwar wave of persecution of the cultural life of Ukraine began in the summer of 1946, parallel with simultaneous onslaughts upon the cultural and spiritual life of the other Soviet republics, and lasted until the "thaw" initiated by N. S. Khrushchev.

In September, 1947, the Plenum of the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, acting upon Moscow's instructions, condemned a number of Ukrainian writers for "nationalist errors," considering as a manifestation of nationalism even attention paid to Ukrainian ethnographic peculiarities. Another plenary meeting, which took place in February and March of 1949, initiated a campaign against "cosmopolitanism," which was directed this time almost exclusively against Ukrainian writers and critics of Jewish origin (writers L. Pervomaisky and S.

Holovanivsky, critic I. Stebun and others—all of whom were later rehabilitated). In the latter half of June, 1951, in Moscow, there took place an observance of Ukrainian art and literature, with some 2,500 participants from Ukraine attending. It resulted in a new persecution of Ukrainians engaged in cultural activities, for their alleged nationalism and for their lack of enthusiasm in Sovietizing the cultural process of Ukraine. Especially sharp were the accusations of nationalism directed by *Pravda* (cf. "Against Ideological Distortions in Literature," published in the July 2, 1951, issue of *Pravda*) against Sosiura for his poem, *Liubit' Ukraïnu* (Love Ukraine), written in 1944, because he sang therein of "an eternal Ukraine" and of "a Ukraine in general," and not of Soviet Ukraine as an integral part of the USSR. Subsequently, Sosiura repented publicly in *Pravda*, expressing gratitude for the fact he was not done away with, but allowed to continue his literary labors.

Later on, at the plenary session of the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine on July 30, 1951, Korniiichuk, its president, delivered an address on ideological distortions, in which he directed his principal attack against the following: Sosiura, Rylsky, Kryzhanivsky, Voskresenko, Vyrhan, Tychyna (the last for reissuing his old works, which were "ideologically inadequate") and the critic Kobyletsky.

But even Korniiichuk himself, along with composer K. Dankevych, was subjected to the vituperations of *Pravda* in 1951 for his libretto for the opera *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, forcing him to repent and revise his work.

Terrorized by the party supervision, Ukrainian literature none the less did not attain these achievements which the Communist party set for it. At the eighteenth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine (March, 1954), it was reported that Ukrainian writers had produced a series of important works. At the same time, however, it was announced

that there was a "lag" of Ukrainian literature behind reality, a preponderance of historical themes with "insufficient treatment of the themes of the present time," and a "colorlessness and superficiality of imagination."

In 1954 the Communist party developed a vast propaganda campaign centered around the "300th anniversary of the reunion of Ukraine with Russia." Into this effort were conscripted the Ukrainian Soviet writers. As a result there appeared a series of pseudo-historical novels, short stories, and poems; for example, a collection of Rylsky, *300 lit* (The 300 Years, 1954), Malyshko's *Knyha brativ* (The Book of the Brothers, 1954) and Rybak's *Pereiaslav'ska Rada* (The Pereiaslav Council, 1953-4, earlier edition 1948).

Combating Ukrainian nationalism in the literature remains an unending task of the party in Ukraine. At the Fourth Plenum of the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (1957), writers V. Shvets, A. Malyshko, and M. Shumylo were denounced for their nationalist views. At the same plenum writer George Smolych, who was a member of "The Committee for the Return to the Homeland" in East Berlin, a body which endeavored to entice political refugees to return to the USSR, stated: "Among the inimical ideologies which constantly attack our ideology, the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is especially perfidious. . . . We ought to strengthen our aggressive propaganda on all fronts, we must especially strengthen our attack against the ideology of bourgeois nationalism."

The liberal course that appeared in the field of cultural policies after the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956) was marked by the posthumous rehabilitation of a number of Ukrainian writers who were executed or deported in the era of the Stalinist terror (only a few, among them V. Gzhytsky and B. Antonenko-Davydovych, returned from exile). Their writings, however, as far as they

were imbued with the spirit of protest against national subjugation, are being re-edited and reinterpreted in accordance with the present-day policies of the party. Weakened also were the police restrictions regarding the studies of the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the list of authors whose writings could be consulted was lengthened. But none of these changes eliminated the vassal relation of Ukrainian literature to Moscow.

Prose

The greatest contemporary Ukrainian prose writer, G. YANOVSKY, wrote a novel *Zhyva voda* (Living Water, 1945-7) dealing with the war and the postwar reality in Ukraine. The Soviet critics sharply condemned this novel, asserting that the author gave a "distorted picture of life and reality of the Soviet people" and "exaggerated the role of biological instincts." In fact, the book contains much somber truth about the spiritless Soviet life, about the pessimism of the most thoughtful people living under the Soviet regime, and about the terrible exploitation. Of heroic pathos perfected to the extreme was its "Aesopian language," which lulled the censorship at the beginning. The imagery of Yanovsky, compared with that of other Soviet writers, has a more personal touch. The construction of phrase, the purely individualistic pause to be found in it, the lyrical excitation, the erasure of boundary between epic narrative and lyrical appeal—all comprise the stylistic attributes of *Zhyva voda*. With the collection of *Kyivs'ki opovidannia* (Kievan Stories, 1948), Yanovsky made an attempt to save himself from physical destruction. Characteristic of his attempt is the short story "Biznes" (Business) with its propaganda rendition of the "mercenary" qualities of Ukrainian nationalists and their "servile lackeying before American imperialists," who are depicted as shooting down those D.P.'s who long to return to the USSR. But even the Kievan Stories did not satisfy the top-notch party

leadership, who found in them a "gravitation towards dead antiquity" (e.g., the story "Na Yarmarku" [At the Fair]). Yanovsky was forced to rewrite *Zhyva voda* under the title *Myr* (Peace, 1950), introducing into the work a series of spurious and unrealistic situations in the spirit of "communist optimism."

Yanovsky died in 1954 and in the same year the last volume of his short stories, *Nova knyha* (The New Book), appeared, which contained many of his previous short stories. His novel, *Chotyry shabli* (The Four Sabres), which was published in 1930, continued to be banned even after his death and was not incorporated in any collection of works of the writer. Also, his novel *Zhyva voda* has been removed from all official bibliographies as a work condemned by official Soviet critics. During the war, Yanovsky wrote (1944) a play, *Syn dynastii* (Son of the Dynasty), and in the early fifties his stage drama, *Dochka prokurora* (Daughter of the Attorney General), attained a small measure of success.

PETER PANCH created, in addition to a number of stories and novels for the youth (*Chervoni halstuky* [The Red Neck-Ties], 1947, *Erik shukaie shchastia* [Eric Looks for Happiness], 1950), a trilogy, *Homonila Ukraïna* (Ukraine Seethed), consisting of *Zaporozhtsi* (The Zaporozhians), *Pospolyti* (The Common People), and *Nekhai voroh hyne* (Let the Enemy Die), which was completed and published in 1954. The most interesting volume is *Zaporozhtsi* (1946). The national character of the events of the Ukrainian liberation struggle of the seventeenth century is more objectively presented here than in the other two parts of the trilogy. Panch found here his own individualistic style of romantic pathos. Subjected to the attacks of the party critics (cf. journal *Dnipro*, nos. 1-3, 1954), the author was forced to follow the official concept of the "Russian-Ukrainian brotherhood" in the last two parts of his trilogy. Although Panch accented the "class contradictions" in the Ukrainian society of the seventeenth

century, nevertheless in his account Khmelnytsky emerges as an all-national figure above class, for according to the contemporary Soviet historiography he symbolized the desire of the Ukrainian people to "reunify" with the Russian people. Many objectively true traits of the national psychology and of Ukrainian patriotism were interwoven into the makeup of the characters of the novel, exemplified by Col. M. Kryvonis and his wife Yaryna. The author depicts the historical reality on the basis of extensive studies of historical material, especially of the ancient folklore.

NATAN RYBAK wrote a historical novel, *Tak skhodylo sontse* (Thus the Sun Rose), which appeared in the journal *Vitchyzna* (The Fatherland) in 1947. The novel is interesting for its content; the author was attracted by the picture of the powerful Ukrainian state in the times of Khmelnytsky. Later Rybak included this novel as a component part of his work, *Pereiaslavs'ka Rada* (The Pereiaslav Council), adapting the original text to the party requirements for "ideological adequacy." *Pereiaslavs'ka Rada* gives a totally false conception of the Khmelnytsky period; the entire national liberation movement of the time of Khmelnytsky is not portrayed as being directed towards the realization of Ukrainian aspirations to attain independent statehood, but rather towards making Ukraine subservient to Moscow. The second volume of *Pereiaslavs'ka Rada* (it was run serially in the newspapers) covers the historical period of 1654-60, and presents the relations of Ukraine with Sweden as an intrigue on the part of a group of Kozak officers and the Vatican. Rybak strives to paint a sharp contrast: Moscow is shown as the embodiment of political wisdom and "progress," while Sweden is depicted as a country of "savage West European barbarism."

Despite the fact that the guiding motif of the novel was pro-Russian, the author was compelled to rewrite it several

times, and its subsequent editions appeared in a "revised version" with numerous changes and supplements. In 1960, Rybak's new novel was published, entitled *Chas spodivan' i zvershen'* (Time of Expectations and Accomplishments), of which the first part, *Blyskavkam nazustrich* (Towards the Lightning), appeared in 1958 in *Vitchyzna*. The hero of the novel is a young Soviet scientist and the action takes place in Ukraine, Moscow, Germany, and Canada.

G. SMOLYCH, in addition to his publicist activity, also continues to write literary works. In his novel, *Vony ne proishly* (They Did Not Pass, 1946), he depicts the German occupation of Kharkiv in 1941-2 (with many curious improbabilities). The novel is replete with distortions of reality, and yet it possesses original methods of composition, wittiness, and a suppleness in the chosen genre. Also, the novel *My razom buly v boiu* (We Were Together in Battle) by G. Smolych, written in 1948, is dedicated to the struggle against the German invaders. His other novel, *Svitanok nad morem* (Dawn at Sea), written in 1953, has for its theme the struggle of Bolshevik underground resisters against the French interventionists during 1918-19 in Odessa, in the south of Ukraine. The theme of the novel is very similar to his other ones. His later work, *Myr khatam, viina palatsam* (Peace to Huts, War to Palaces, 1958), is devoted to the events of the October Revolution and the conquest of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks. It is a tendentious novel with a grotesque and vulgarized presentation of the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution, including a lampooning of its principal leaders (Hrushevsky, Petliura, Vynnychenko).

OSTAP VYSHNIA, upon his return from exile in 1941, was commissioned to write biting satires against the Ukrainian nationalists. Vyshnia's satires on everyday Soviet life frequently provide accurate pictures of the Soviet reality (the mediocrity of the officials, the bureau-

cracy, the boasting about "successes of socialist construction," and the like), although the general level of his literary creativeness had fallen low when compared with that of the period before his exile. His satires did not appear in separate books until 1945: *Samostiina dirka* (Independent Little Hole, 1945), *Zenitka* (The Anti-Aircraft Gun, 1947), *Vesna krasna* (Beautiful Spring, 1949), *Mudrist' kolhospna* (Collective Farm Wisdom, 1952). Vyshnia died in 1956.

In regard to the older writers, mention should also be made of I. LE, who is still working on his seven-volume novel, *Ukraina* (Ukraine), involving the Ukrainian history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which thus far have appeared the novels *Nalyvaiko* (1940) and *Khmel'nyts'kyi* (1957); of A. HOLOVKO, who wrote a novel entitled *Artem Harmash* (1951) depicting the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine in 1917-19 and Bolshevism's war against the national movement, which was presented as "bourgeois"; and of A. KOPYLENKO (d. 1958), author of the novels *Leitnanty* (The Lieutenants, 1947), which deals with the return of the military from the war and their leading role in the postwar life, and *Zemlia velyka* (The Great Earth, 1957), and of several collections of short stories published during and after the war.

Among the younger prose writers special popularity was won by OLES (ALEXANDER) HONCHAR (b. 1918), who devoted his trilogy, *Praporonostsi* (The Standard Bearers) to the events of the last war. The work consists of the following parts: *Al'py* (The Alps, 1947), *Holubyi Dunai* (The Blue Danube, 1948), and *Zlata Praha* (Golden Prague, 1948). He also wrote the novel *Zemlia hude* (The Earth Is Humming, 1947). In the trilogy the author endeavors to develop the idea of Soviet Messianism in Western Europe. In the novel *Zemlia hude* he deals with the Bolshevik underground in Poltava during the German occupation in 1941-2. The principal

character of the novel, Lialia Ubyivovk, is now regarded as one of the canonized Soviet heroines of the "Patriotic War." In his later novel, *Mykyta Bratus'* (1951), through the narration of the protagonist, Mykyta, a collective farm worker, Honchar presented an idealized picture of postwar conditions on a collective farm. The author succeeded in creating a character who is an incessant talker and a comic figure, endowed with a gentle Ukrainian humor. Whenever Honchar frees himself, even for a moment, from the official ideology, he displays a keen enjoyment of the beauty of nature, masterfully manages an expressive plastic phrase, knows how to make good use of the Ukrainian literary language, and is a master of composition. In style he owes a great deal to Kotsiubynsky.

In addition to those mentioned, O. Honchar is the author of such novels as *Tavria* (1952), *Shchob svityvsia vohnyk* (That the Fire May Gleam, 1955), *Partyzans'ka iskra* (The Partisan Spark, 1956), and *Perekop* (1957), and also of such collections of short stories as *Noveli* (Novels, 1949), *Modryi Kamen'* (1950), *Pivden'* (The South, 1951), *Chary-Komyshi* (1958), and *Masha z Verkhovyny* (Masha from the Hills, 1958). Honchar's last work, a novel, *Liudyna i zbroia* (Man and the Arms, 1960), depicts the tragic fate of Ukrainian students, senselessly sent to the front lines by the Soviet command during World War II.

Among the younger prose writers during the war, BASIL KOZACHENKO (b. 1913) also distinguished himself, especially by his short stories collected in the book *Try lita* (Three Years, 1945), and in his novels after the war, such as *Atestat zrilosty* (A Certificate of Maturity, 1946), and *Sertse materi* (A Mother's Heart, 1947), in which one readily observes traces of the romanticism of Hohol (Gogol) and Yanovsky and of Teslenko's impressionistic storytelling. His later short novel, *Novi Potoky* (New Currents, 1948), depicts the actual conditions of

the Ukrainian collective farm village of 1946. Since it did not altogether conform with the limits of the pattern of "socialist realism," the novel evoked the critical comments of Soviet critics; a similar critical attitude was taken toward one of his latest novels, *Salvia* (1956).

An outstanding place in postwar prose is occupied also by other writers of the older and younger generations. Among them we must single out ALEXANDER DOVZHENKO (1894-1956), with his motion picture stories, such as *Povist' polumiannykh lit* (Tale of the Flaming Years, 1944-5) and *Antarktyda* (Antarctic, 1952), and especially his autobiographical novel, *Zacharovana Desna* (The Bewitched Desna, 1954-5), and *Poema pro more* (Poem about the Sea).

An excellent stylist and master of the language, MICHAEL STELMAKH (b. 1912) displayed his unusual talent in novels written according to the requirements of "socialist realism." In 1944, he published a collection of short stories, *Berezovyi sik* (The Birch Sap). After the war, he wrote several novels, such as *Velyka ridnia* (The Great Family, 1949-51) and *Krov lud'ska-ne vodytsia* (Human Blood—Not Water, 1957), which deal with the struggle of the landless peasants against the more prosperous farmers (the *kurkuls*), a line officially encouraged by the Soviet authorities, and *Khl'ib ta sil'* (Bread and Salt), 1959, which depicts village life before and after 1917.

ALEXANDER ILCHENKO (b. 1909) is the author of several collections of short stories and biographical novels, including one of Shevchenko. In 1958, Ilchenko published a remarkable historical and humorous novel, *Kozats'komu rodu nema perevodu, abo Mamai i chuzha molo-dytsia* (The Kozak Breed Never Passes, or Mamai and Someone Else's Bride).

Present-day Soviet reality and partly also the historical past serve as themes for BASIL KUCHER (b. 1911), author of such collections of short stories as *Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava, 1950), *Vohnyk* (Small Blaze, 1952), and *Kry-*

nytsia (The Well, 1955), and of the novels *Chornomortsi* (The Black Sea Kozaks, 1952), *Ustym Karmaliuk* (1954), *Proshchai, more* (Goodbye, Sea, 1957), and *Trudna liubov* (Difficult Love, 1960).

The imaginative and adventurous genre of Ukrainian prose in the Ukrainian SSR is manifested in the works of VOLODYMYR VLADKO (b. 1900), who after the war published his re-edited and expanded science-fiction novels, *Arhonavy vsesvitu* (The Argonauts of the Cosmos, 1952) and *Nashchadky skify* (The Ancestors of the Scythians, 1952), and wrote a new novel, *Syvyi kapitan* (The Grey-haired Captain, 1959).

One of the women writers who demonstrated their literary creativeness after the war is IRENE WILDE, the author of such novels as *Ti z Koval'skoi* (Those from Kovalska Street, 1947) and *Sestry Richyns'ki* (The Richynsky Sisters, 1958), as well as collections of short stories dealing with the life of the Western Ukrainian intelligentsia.

The young prose writer PAUL ZAHREBELNY published numerous collections of short stories and novels, among which the novel *Europa-45* (Europe-45, 1959) is the most outstanding.

During the official "thaw," a number of Ukrainian poets and writers were "rehabilitated" and permitted to pursue their artistic vocations. Among them were BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH, who in 1959 published a collection of short stories entitled *Kryla Artema Letiuchoho* (The Wings of Artem Letiuchy), a literary account, *Zbruch* (The Zbruch River), and a much criticized novel, *Za shyrmou* (Behind the Screen, 1961); and VOLODYMYR GZHYTSKY, who revised his previous novel, *Chorne ozero* (The Black Lake) which he rewrote according to the requirements of party censorship, and published his new collection of short stories, *Povernennia* (The Return, 1958) and an autobiographical novel, *U svit shyrokyy* (Into the Wide World, 1960).

Poetry

Among the poets the most prolific has been MAKSYM RYLSKY, an outstanding personality and a full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. During the war years he produced about ten volumes of poetry and publicist writings (*Za ridnu zemliu* [For the Native Land, 1941], *Slovo pro ridnu matir* [A Song about Mother, 1942], *Neopalyma kupyna* [The Incombustible Thorn-Bush, 1944], and others). Employing the clichés and motifs of the "common fatherland—USSR," Rylsky none the less has penetrating words of love for Ukraine ("Zhaha" [The Thirst]). He was forced to pay his due to the requirements of a sharp polemical smearing of Ukrainian nationalism (Ya—syn kraïny Rad!) [I Am the Son of the Land of the Soviets!], and other poetry). In his collection *Chasha druzhby* (The Chalice of Friendship, 1946), he even went so far as to extol the Russian tsar, Peter I; and Moscow became for him "the heart of the nations, the brain of the earth." Yet the Soviet critics found in Rylsky an "influence of nationalist ideology, which reappeared in the period of war" (Kryzhanivsky). The characteristic trait of Rylsky's writings in the postwar period is the use of a great quantity of Ukrainian historical and literary reminiscences. In the book *Mandrivka v molodist'* (A Journey into Youth, 1944), and in "Kyïvs'ki oktavy" (The Kiev Octaves, in the collection *Virnist'* [Fidelity], 1946), Rylsky eulogized in idyllic tones the Ukrainian national and cultural life of the Revolutionary era, and with sympathy presented such outstanding men of Ukrainian culture as Antonovych and Naumenko, thereby incurring the ire of the Soviet critics. Suppressed by the censorship the poet sought themes which would be permissible and yet reflect his interest in Ukrainian subjects. Hence, his poems on Shevchenko, Kotliarevsky, Shchepkin, Zankovetska, and others. His poem "Molodist'" (Youth) represented a de-

parture from the canons of "socialist realism," employing a humorous and flippant tone with respect to Soviet reality which provoked some criticism. The latest books of poetry of Rylsky are: *Sad nad morem* (An Orchard on the Sea, 1955), *Troiandy i vynohrad* (Roses and Grapes, 1957), *Daleki neboskhyly* (Distant Skies, 1959), *Holosiïvska osin'* (Autumn in Hološiiv, 1960); all of them are marked by classic perfection, maturity, and serenity.

Of the poets active during the war and postwar years, the greatest artistic achievement was attained by L. PERVOMAIISKY, a Ukrainian Jew, especially through his collection *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1943). The themes of his poetry are varied and, under the Soviet conditions, quite fresh and original. His poems reflect not only the directives for official optimism; they also express moods of fatigue and a feeling of despair at the sight of the heavy war sacrifices. His gamut of love and erotic motifs is a long one: from passionately stormy love to a humor not unlike that of Boccaccio. His book, *Slovians'ki balady* (Slavic Ballads, 1946), which contains translations of folk song-ballads from the various Slavic languages, is a valuable contribution. In 1949, Pervomaisky was accused of a tendency toward Zionist ideas (his poem, "Yak tse stalos' zi mnoiu—ne znaiu" [How it Happened To Me—I Don't Know]). In the poems published subsequently, "ideological deviations" likewise were found ("Zhinka kolo Zolotykh Vorit" [A Woman by the Golden Gate]). Pervomaisky was most bitterly denounced by official party circles for his poem "Kazka" (The Fable), published in 1958, in which he complained that he has been seeking a fable, but cannot find one.

Another notable work in the Ukrainian literature is A. MALYSHKO's collection, *Chotyry lita* (The Four Years, 1946). In his better poems Malyshko seeks unusual subjects or angles of perspective. The poetic style of Malyshko is an uncon-

cealed, emphatic imitation of classical and folklore models upon a thematic canvas which, it would seem, makes such imitation impossible. He is also fond of capricious changes of meter in different strophes of the same poem. In places he is a sentimental fantast, because he easily and directly, almost childishly, mingles his wishful dreaming with reality. At times he uses images which are as complicated as a dream (e.g., his poem, "Khotiv by tu noshu skynut' z plecha" [I Would Like to Cast This Garb Off My Back]). He is seeking the support of the national traditional form: *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (The Tale of Ihor's Armament), Shevchenko, the archaic song, and the like. His next collection of poetry, *Za synim morem* (Beyond the Blue Sea, 1950), is permeated with coarse tendentiousness. These poems besmirch the American way of life and make heroes out of the Communist elements who act as Soviet agents in the United States. The poem "Vin povernuvsia dodomu" (He Returned Home, 1951) dealing with the war in Korea, was penned in the same spirit. Its basic idea is the condemnation of "American imperialism." Among his latest works are "Shcho zapysano mnoiu" (What I Have Written, 1956), *Sertse moieï materi* (My Mother's Heart, 1959), and *Poluden' viku* (Mid-century, 1960).

The creative work of P. TYCHYNA in this period was totally subordinated to official propaganda tasks. Among his poems of greater poetic value we must distinguish the work entitled *Pokhoron druha* (The Funeral of a Friend, 1942). The mournfulness of the funeral procession and the intensification of human feeling into despair, especially when the coffin of a close friend is being lowered into the ground, are presented with extraordinary plasticity of expression. Almost all of his collections of poetry, published after the war, are characterized by good form, although their contents are purely propagandistic. Tychyna also appeared as a translator: *Baiky*

kharkivs'ki (The Kharkiv Fables) of Skovoroda, works of the Bulgarian poet Khristo Botev, etc.

Among the orthodox Communist poets is N. BAZHAN, who during and after the war revealed a considerable creativeness (collections, *Kliatva* [An Oath, 1942]; *Stalinhrads'kyi zoshyt* [The Stalingrad Copy Book, 1943]; *V dni viiny* [In the Days of War, 1945]; a cycle, *Anhliis'ki vrazhennia* [English Impressions, 1948], and others). The poem "Danylo Halyts'kyi" (Daniel of Halych, 1942), unfolds as a theme the defeat in 1238 of the Crusaders led by Bruno. Among Bazhan's latest works the most notable is *Mickiewicz v Odesi* (Mickiewicz in Odessa, 1957), a cycle of poetry which depicts the spiritual life of Adam Mickiewicz in 1825.

Among the older generation poets worthy of mention are T. MASENKO, who in 1957 published a collection, *Sorok vesen* (The Forty Springs), and in 1958 the collection, *Yak pakhne zemlia* (How the Earth Smells); and P. DOROSHKO, noted for several poems written in 1945-7, and a few published recently. V. SOSURRA, extremely prolific, has not produced anything interesting either in a thematic or artistic form in comparison with his prewar creativity.

Outstanding among the younger poets is PLATON VORONKO (b. 1913): collections, *Dobryi ranok* (Good Morning) and *Slaven myr* (Glorious Peace, 1950). Soviet official critics placed a high value on his poem "Raikom komsomolu" (The District Committee of the Komsomol). But later he was accused of formalism (attention paid to the inner instrumentation of the verse, the inner rhymes and alliterations). Some of his poems for children are genuinely fresh and permeated with feeling (e.g., the poem "Lypka" [The Little Linden Tree]). Among the recent collections of Voronko, the most outstanding are *Oboviazok* (Duty, 1955), *Moia Hutsulshchyna* (My Hutsul Land, 1956), and *Teplo zemli moieï* (The Warmth of My Land, 1959).

Another notable publication was the first collection of the verse of LIUBOV ZABASHTA (b. 1918), *Novi berehy* (The New Shores, 1950), possessing original poetizing of shipbuilding and pictures of the industrial landscape. Her latest collections are: *Kalynovyi ketiah* (The Guelder-Rose Cluster, 1956), and *Vybrane* (The Chosen, 1958).

Mention also should be made of VALENTINE TKACHENKO (b. 1920). Her collection *Liryka* (Lyrics) was published in Kiev in 1956. Subsequent publications were such collections as *Osin' tilky pochynaietsia* (Autumn Is Only Beginning, 1958), and *Zavzhdy liubliu* (I Always Love, 1959). Her first collection after the war was *Divocha liryka* (The Maiden's Lyric), published in 1946. She is a poetess who, through sheer strength of direct feeling, sometimes overcomes the official party directives of "socialist realism."

In addition to those mentioned above, there were other poets who demonstrated their literary creativeness during World War II and the postwar period, but whose literary offerings include several collections of poetry written according to the requirements of the party censorship and critics and possessing no originality or high artistic qualities. However, all of them are recognized by the Soviet literary critics and are included in the history of the so-called post-October literature, as well as in the various anthologies of poetry and bibliographical indexes. The poets represented in this group are from both the older and the younger generations, such as the following: Sava Holovanivsky, Natalia Zabala, Maria Pryhara, Stephen Kryzhanivsky, Nicholas Nahnybida, Alexander Yushchenko, Paul Usenko, Alexander Pidsukha, Lubomyr Dmyterko, Serhii Voskrekasenko, Ivan Nekhoda, Nicholas Upenyk, Ihor Muratov, Stephen Oliinyk, Nicholas Hirnyk, Eugene Bandurenko, Basil Shvets, Gregory Kryvda, Dmytro Pavlychko, Nicholas Klymenko, Andrew Miastkivsky, and others. After

their return from exile and after "rehabilitation" in 1956, poets Basil Mysyk and Mechyslav Hasko resumed their literary activity; Mysyk is also known for his translations of the works of Robert Burns.

Despite the fact that their poetry dealt primarily with themes relating to collective farm life or industrial progress, and of course, to the glorification of the Communist party, Lenin, the "communist development," and the like, many of these poets were denounced in the years 1957-9 for their "non-conformist ideas," and so forth. For instance, S. HOLOVANIVSKY was denounced for his poem, "Operation," in which he wrote: "You must suffer, and the pain will pass." Valentine Tkachenko was charged with "isolation from the joy of our [Soviet] life"; LUBOMYR DMYTERKO was criticized for his "defeatist moods," BASIL SHVETS for his "false views," and DMYTRO PAVLYCHKO for his "linguistic nationalism" and the like.

Some freshness and originality of artistic expression were brought into Ukrainian poetry under the Soviet regime by the poets of the younger generation: LINA KOSTENKO (b. 1930), Tamara Kolomyiets (b. 1935), Nadia Prychodko, and Nicholas Vinhranovsky (b. 1936), all of whom emerged as poets during their student days. The most talented among them is Lina Kostenko who has already published two collections, *Pro-minnia zemli* (The Rays of the Earth, 1957), and *Vitryla* (The Sails, 1958), in which she demonstrated good examples of modern poetry, and for which she was charged, by the Soviet critics, with "formalism" and "detachment from the Soviet reality," even though she denied it.

Great promise is shown by five other young poets—Vitalii Korotych (b. 1937), Ivan Drach (b. 1936), the author of "Nizh u sontsi" (Knife in the Sun, 1961), Robert Tretiakov (collection of poems—*Zorianist* [Starlight, 1961]), a Russian who writes in Ukrainian, Nicholas Syn-

haivsky (b. 1936), and Eugene Hutsalo (b. 1937).

Drama

Among those dramatists who in pre-war years were officially recognized as being of the "first rank" is Alexander Korniiichuk (b. 1910). His stage play *Front* (The Front, 1942), inspired by Stalin or his close advisers, gives the official version of the reasons for the series of defeats suffered at the beginning of the Soviet-German war, exonerating the government and putting the blame on certain military circles. The comedy *Misia mistera Perkinsa v kraïnu bol'shevykiv* (The Mission of Mr. Perkins to the Land of the Bolsheviks, 1945) offers a primitive caricature of Americans. The comedy *Pryizhdzhaite v Dzvonnove* (Come to Dzvonnove, 1945) presents an officially iconographic picture of the postwar Ukrainian village. The collision and struggle between the nationalists and the "Soviet people" is depicted there. In the same spirit of commonplace "ideological adequacy" were written the other plays of Korniiichuk (*Makar Dibrova*, 1948; *Kalynovi Hai* [The Guelder Rose Grove], 1949). Especial attention was drawn to his play, *Kryla* (The Wings, 1954), through which Korniiichuk expressed an official criticism of the "shortcomings" of the Stalinist era and heralded "changes." The most recent works of Korniiichuk, *Chomu posmi-khalysia zori* (Why the Stars Smiled, 1958), and *Nad Dniprom* (On the Dnieper, 1960), differ little either in subject matter or in style from his previous works. Korniiichuk's dramaturgy is pure journalese; its literary value is insignificant.

LUBOMYR DMYTERKO (b. 1911), in his play *General Vatutin* (1948), sings the praises of the Red Army, and in another play, *Naviky razom* (Forever Together, 1950), transfers the worship of Moscow to the period of Hetman Vyhovsky (the seventeenth century). The play is written in a spirit of primitive melodrama, and distorts or omits altogether the most

important historical facts. His drama *V zolotii rami* (In the Golden Frame, 1958) is devoted to the process of bureaucratization of Soviet arts depicting their total lack of spirit. The author, however, ended the play in a loyal and "ideologically adequate" way, thus avoiding party censure.

In his play *Ostannia zustrich* (The Last Encounter), ALEXANDER LEVADA (b. 1909) endeavored to cast light on the question of moral terror in the Soviet Union inflicted on those considered politically unreliable, but did not dare to pose the problem in all its magnitude. His most recent dramatic work, *Faust i smert'* (Faust and Death, 1960), is dedicated to flight into outer space.

VASYL MYNKO (b. 1902), in the comedy *Movchaty zaboroneno* (Forbidden to Keep Quiet), already written in the period of "thaw," presents the dark side of collective farm life. The play was condemned by the official Soviet critics. His most recent works, which for the most part were published in various journals and reviews, are: *Na khutori bil'a Dykanky* (On the Farm near Dykanka, 1958), a comedy; a play, *Chornyi zmii* (The Black Snake, 1958); and another play, *Spovid' Yuliana* (The Confession of Julian, 1959).

Outstanding works in the development of Ukrainian drama are I. KOCHERHA's (1881-1952) play, *Kytai's'kyi flakon* (The Chinese Flask, 1944), as well as his *Yaroslav Mudryi* (Yaroslav the Wise, 1944). The latter work reflects the local color of the epoch, the glory and cultural greatness of medieval Kiev. The atmosphere of "book worship" in medieval Ukraine and the poetry of knightly love (the Norwegian knight Harald and Yaroslav's daughter Elisabeth) are presented with equal success. Kocherha also wrote the dramas *Chasha* (The Chalice, 1942) and *Nichna tryvoha* (The Night Alert, 1943), a philosophical drama, *Istyna* (The Truth, 1948), the one-act plays *Khai bude svitlo* (Let There Be Light), *Khai zhyve shum* (Long Live Noise), and *Dosyt' prostiahaty ruku*

(Enough to Stretch Out the Hand, 1946), and a movie scenario, *Yaroslav Mudryi* (Yaroslav the Wise).

The principal center of literary life in the postwar years was Kiev, which was and still is the seat of the Union of Writers of Ukraine and where the principal Ukrainian literary reviews appear, such as *Vitchyzna* (The Fatherland), *Dnipro* (The Dnieper), and *Literaturna Hazeta* (The Literary Gazette) renamed *Literaturna Ukraïna* in 1962. Other literary centers are in Kharkiv, where the review *Prapor* (The Banner) appears, in Lviv, where the review *Zhovten'* (October) is published, and in Uzhhorod in Carpatho-Ukraine. The central literary publishing houses are the *Radians'kyi pys'mennyk* (The Soviet Writer,) *Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oi literatury* (The State Publishing House of Artistic Literature) and the publishing house *Molod'* (Youth), all in Kiev.

The Ukrainian underground literature, connected with the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and its publications, cannot be fully characterized and appraised as yet. Its principal genres are the war song, the sketch, the satire, and memoirs. After the heroic death of G. POZYCHANUK (1911-45), a master of the miniature, first place in that literature is now probably to be awarded to MARTA HAI, who is both a poetess and a novelist.

G. Boiko-Blokhyn and B. Krawciw

THE EMIGRATION AFTER THE WAR

After the war, particularly between 1945 and 1949, almost all literary activity outside the sphere of Soviet influence was produced in the countries where émigrés were living temporarily—in Western Germany and Austria. The literary endeavors of the Ukrainian settlers in the United States, Canada, Brazil, England, and other countries produced little of significance.

The process of merging the Eastern

and Western Ukrainian elements in literature which developed in Lviv in 1942-4 has been continued in emigration. Writers who previously lived under different regimes are now coming close to one another in language, level of artistic maturity, and ideology. Stress has been laid on the significance of the postwar years, the emergence of a new age, and Ukraine's role in and contribution to this age. This was made especially clear in the call that went out from the MUR (*Mystets'kyi Ukraïns'kyi Rukh* [Ukrainian Artistic Movement]), the union of emigrant writers, founded in Germany in 1945 for the creation of "great literature." The call was for works of high literary quality, which would serve the needs of the nation while contributing something new to the treasury of world literature. The *Almanac* and the *Cahiers* of the MUR, and the artistically published journal, *Arka* (Munich, Germany), were intended to serve this purpose.

When most Ukrainian émigrés left Germany, the MUR ceased its works, and the associated literary journals were discontinued. New York is now the home of the Union of the Ukrainian Writers in Exile, *Slovo* (The Word). Most émigré writers live at present in the United States, Canada, and Germany.

The most important contemporary Ukrainian literary periodicals in the West are the monthly *Suchasnist'* (Our Times), formerly *Ukraïns'ka Literaturna Hazeta* (Ukrainian Literary Journal), published in Munich, and the bimonthly *Kyïv* (Kiev) published in Philadelphia. Some place has been devoted to literature in the following periodicals, among others: *Porohy* (Rapids) in Argentina, *Lysty do pryiateliv* (Letters to Friends) and *Ovyd* (Horizon) in the United States, *Novi Dni* (New Days) in Canada, *Ukraïna i svit* (Ukraine and the World) in Germany, and *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh* (Liberation Path) in England.

Prose

The first émigré writings were somewhat haphazard; but soon more substan-

tial works of deeper significance appeared. The four-volume novel *Dity chumats'koho shliakhu* (The Children of the Chumak Road, 1948-51), by DOKIA HUMENNA (b. 1904), is a chronicle of several farm families forcibly uprooted from a hard-working but prosperous life in the steppe who have lost the rhythm of the old life and are unable to find a new direction in the hostile Soviet world. The Naturalistic descriptions are impressive in their precision but the traditional Realistic manner is softened by lyrical images and descriptions. Other widely read works by this prolific author are: the collection of short stories *Kurkul's'ka Vilia* (Kurkul's Christmas Eve, 1946), the psychological novel *Mana* (Delusion, 1952), a tale of the olden times in Ukraine, *Velyke Tsabe* (The Great Tsabe, 1952), the novel-chronicle *Khreshchatyi Yar*, 1956, the collection of short stories *Zhadoba* (Desire, 1959), and reports on her travels throughout America, *Bahato neba* (Plenty of Sky, 1954), and throughout Canada *Vichni vohni Alberty* (The Eternal Fires of Alberta, 1959). Also traditional in style is the work of F. MELESHKO (the novel *Try pokolinnia* [Three Generations], Vol. I, 1943; Vol. II, 1959).

Other voluminous works written abroad are SAMCHUK's *Ost* (The East, 1948), and *Temnota* (Darkness, 1957), which gives a broad picture of the life of a well-to-do family in the years of the Revolution and of the struggle for Ukraine's independence and during the twenties. Samchuk describes the clashes of ideas which were agitating the whole of Ukraine at that time. From the chronicle the author changes here to the discussion of social problems, and gives his conception, as opposed to the Romantic conception, of Ukraine's historical role and of her history in the twentieth century. Samchuk kept his previous novel, *Yunist' Vasylia Sheremety* (The Youth of Basil Sheremeta, 2 volumes, 1947), within the limits of the chronicle. It is partly autobiographical, the action

taking place among young people in the *gymnasium* (high school) in his beloved Volhynia, under the Polish rule. The events of World War II, in particular life in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, are described in his novel *Choho ne hoit' vohon'* (What Is Not Healed by Fire, 1959).

The unhurried descriptive style of Samchuk and, to an even greater extent, that of Humenna, links them with the traditions of the Realistic novel of the nineteenth century.

IVAN BAHRIANYI (1907-63) in his *Tyhrolovy* (The Tiger Hunters, 1946-7) is close to them in his use of narrative devices, but his work is highly dynamic. *Tyhrolovy*, which appeared in English as *The Hunters and the Hunted*, 1955, is a novel of adventure describing the life of Ukrainians in Siberia, how they hunt wild animals and how they escape across the border. Central to this work is a strong-willed man's overcoming of the obstacles placed in his path by fate. Bahrianyi's next novel, *Sad Hetsyman's'kyi* (The Garden of Gethsemane, 1950, recently published in French translation), in its treatment of a dynamic subject, combines exaggerated Expressionistic images with Naturalistic descriptions of almost documentary precision. As a result, Bahrianyi created an uneven work, which is nevertheless one of the most powerful in modern literature and perhaps the only profoundly optimistic literary work on the Soviet prison and the sorry lot of a human being in it. His other works are the novels *Ohnenne kolo* (The Fiery Circle, 1953), which treats of the events of World War II, *Buinyi viter* (Wild Wind), and *Marusia Bohuslavka*, 1957, and the satiric poem *Anton Bida—heroi truda* (Anton Bida—Hero of Labor), which ridicules life in the USSR.

The works of VICTOR DOMONTOVYCH (PETROV) are exquisite, gentle, analytical, and subtly ironic: two novels of the life of the Ukrainian intelligentsia under the Soviets—*Doctor Seraphicus*, 1947,

and *Bez gruntu* (Without Base, 1948)—and the short stories, “Apostoly” (The Apostles), “Pomsta” (Revenge), “Pry-borkanyi haidamaka” (The Subdued Haidamak), and others. Domontovych’s profound erudition and the clarity and precision of his language permit him to introduce into his writings monologues and dialogues on abstract themes and meditations, particularly on art.

Several of the novels of GEORGE KOSACH show considerable creative endeavor—*Enei i zhyttia inshykh* (Aeneas and the Life of Others, 1947) and *Den’ hnyvu* (The Day of Wrath, 1948)—as do his shorter stories. Kosach’s style is rightly called Baroque; he makes use of repetition, circumlocution, rhetoric devices, pathetic codas, and a rich but artificial vocabulary. In the late 1950’s Kosach became the editor of a pro-Soviet journal, *Za synim okeanom* (Beyond the Blue Ocean).

IHOR KOSTETSKY (b. 1913) has consistently followed the experimental trends in modern prose (James Joyce and Ernest Hemingway) in his style (*Opovidannia pro peremozhystiv* [Stories about the Victors, 1946], *Tam, de pochatok chuda* [Where the Miracle Begins, 1948], and the play, *Blyzniata shche zustrinutisia* [The Twins Will Meet Again]).

Among other works mention must be made of the novel of HLIB SKHIDNYI—*Arkadii Yarosh*—which pinpoints the flow of man’s consciousness through succinctly presented details of external behavior; the Impressionistic works of ALEXANDER SMOTRYCH (b. 1922) (*Nochi* [The Nights, 1947], *Vybrane* [Selected Short Stories, 1952]), which reveal man’s bestiality in time of war; a humorous chronicle by S. RYNDYK, *Smilians’ka khronika* (The Chronicle of Smila); the short stories of YURI KLEN; and the novels of BASIL CHAPLENKO (*Pyvoriz* [Pot-Companion, 1943] and *Pivtora liuds’koho* [Neither Head nor Tail]), his historical novel *Chornomortsi* (Black Sea People), and other works. During the war G. POZYCHANUK also attracted

attention with his miniatures written in the spirit of Stefanyk. He perished in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) soon after.

THEODOSIUS OSMACKHA (1895–1962) in his novel *Starshyi boiaryn* (The Best Man, 1946), opens up the world of Ukrainian demonology. He follows the tradition of Hohol’s (Gogol’s) Ukrainian stories and Vasylychenko’s short stories. In his subsequent novels *Plian do dvoru* (Expulsion, 1951) and *Rotonda dushohubtsiv* (1956, published in English as *Red Assassins*, 1959) he describes the gruesome experiences of the Ukrainian people in the thirties of this century. Osmachka’s prose is deeply poetic; he produced a whimsical interlacing of real images with those of fantasy, of subjective and objective images.

Among the numerous works of fiction by émigré writers, BASIL BARKA’S novel, *Rai* (Paradise, 1953), which presents the life of Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR with profound humanity, has surrealist elements in its style.

I. KACHUROVSKY, in his book *Shliakh nevidomoho* (The Road of an Unknown Man, 1956) and the novel *Zaliznyi Kurkul’* (Iron Kurkul, 1959), depicts the gruesome tensions of World War II. The characters in IVAN SMOLII’S works, *Divchyna z Vinnytsi* (The Girl from Vinnytsia, 1947), *Kordony padut’* (The Boundaries Are Vanishing, 1951), *Manekeny* (Mannequins, 1956), *Zrada* (Betrayal, 1959), and *U Zelenomu Pidhiri* (Near the Border, 1960), also find themselves in situations which are a strain on their emotions.

I. KYRIAK, since 1906 an immigrant in Canada, in his epic novel *Syny zemli* (Sons of the Soil, 1939–45), depicts the life of the first Ukrainian immigrants in Canada (English edition, *Sons of the Soil*, 1959).

There should also be some mention of other authors and their works: DARIA YAROSLAVSKA reveals the life of Ukrainian DP’s in Europe and their further fate in the novel, *Pomizh berehamy*

(Between Extremes, 1953). Another of her novels, *V obimakh Melpomeny* (In the Embraces of Melpomene, 1954), tells about the life of the Ukrainian Theater's members in Western Ukraine. Also active in prose-writing (novels, stories, reportages) are: VIRA VOVK (novel *Dukhy i dervishi* [Ghosts and Dervishes, 1956]); ANATOL HALAN (*Pakhoshchi* [Odorousness, 1951], *Porazka marshala* [Marshall's Defeat, 1955] and other works); ALEXANDER HAI-HOLOVKO (*Poiedynok z dyavolom* [Duel with the Devil, 1950] and *Odchaidushni* [The Braves, 1959]); OLHA MAK (*Z chasiv Yezhovshchyny* [From the Times of Yezhov], *Boh vohniu* [God of Fire, 1955], *Zhaira* (1957), and other novels); GEORGE TYS (historical novel *Pid L'vovom pluh vidpochyvav* [The Plow near Lviv Rested, 1938], *Reid u nevidome* [A Raid into the Unknown], a collection of stories *Symfoniia zemli* [The Earth's Symphony, 1951] and other works). Also active in story-writing are: EUGENE HARAN (short stories); BASIL HAIDARIVSKY (the novel *Zaiachyi pastukh* [The Hare's Keeper, 1962], stories and novellettes); VITALII BENDER (novel *Marsh molodosty* [The March of Youth]); LEONID POLTAVA (historical novel *1709*); OKSANA KERCH (novel *Albatrosy*); OSTAP TARNAVSKY (short stories); BOHDAN NYZHANKIVSKY (short stories); ZOSYM DONCHUK (stories); and FEDIR ODRACH (stories from Polisia).

Memoirs hold a place of honor in the literature of the Ukrainian émigré, being represented by such interesting works as *Dalekyi svit* [Remote World, 1955], by HALYNA ZHURBA and *Piat' do dvanadtsiatoi* [Five to Twelve, 1954] by Samchuk.

Poetry

The outstanding postwar poetic work is THEODOSIUS OSMACHKA's *Poet* (1947), a poem in octaves divided into 23 songs. It is an extremely complex work about a man who, out of the depths of despair, wages a fierce struggle with eternity. His

struggle takes place against a background of the destruction of Ukrainian peasantry during collectivization. Before the eyes of the poem's hero, the Chekists (Soviet secret police) destroy his family, and he, seeing in this the destruction of the soul, rises in revolt against the principles of spiritual and biological life, and finds himself face to face with the cosmos and eternity. During the war years, Osmachka published a collection of Expressionistic poems *Suchasnykam* (To My Contemporaries, 1943). His short poems of 1943-8 were collected in a book, *Kytytsi chasu* (The Bouquet of Time, 1953). In 1954 his selected poems *Iz-pid svitu* (From under the World) were published. Standing in contrast to the *Poet* are the collections by MICHAEL OREST (b. 1901), the only émigré Parnassicist poet. His works (*Luny lit* [The Echoes of Years, 1944], *Dusha i dolia* [Soul and Destiny, 1946], *Hist' i hospoda* [The Guest and the Inn, 1952], *Derzhava slova* [The Realm of the Word, 1952]) are directed towards the highest spiritual goals and are far from everyday life.

GEORGE KLEN worked feverishly, during his years abroad, to complete his gigantic poem *Popil imperii* (The Ashes of Empires), which was posthumously published in 1957. In this work, the tragic destiny of his fatherland is presented against a broad background of two revolutions and two wars, which bring out in sharp contrast the two opposing elements in life—good and evil.

BASIL BARKA (b. 1908), in his collections *Apostoly* (The Apostles, 1946), *Bilyi svit* (The White World, 1947), *Psalom holubynoho polia* (Psalm of the Field of Doves, 1958), and *Troiandnyi roman* (Roman de la Rose, 1956), revives folklore with all its wealth of conception and style. His desire is to restore the heart to a brutal world. This same conception also appears in his essays *Zhaivoronkovi dzherela* (The Fountains of the Lark, 1956) and his latest collection of verse, *Okean* (Ocean, 1959).

VADYM LESYCH (b. 1909) reveals in his several collections of poems such as *Lirychnyi zoshyt* (The Lyric Sketchbook, 1953), *Poezii* (Poems, 1954), *Rozmova z bat'kom* (A Talk with Father, 1957), and *Kreidiane kolo* (A Chalk Circle, 1960), and in the long poem *Naperedodni* [On the Eve, 1960], his original world of poetry expressed in a passionate poetical language with highly musical rhythm and the Baroque-like picturesque architecture of verse. His poetic work of the last decade is an outstanding continuation of his early poetical achievements of the 1930's (collections from the period of his youth, among them especially *Rizblu viddal'*, 1935, under the pen name of Yaroslav Dryhnych) which were considered "interesting for the plasticity of their sentences and their luxurious vocabulary." Lyricism, individual symbolic attitude, contemplation with religious inclination, and sincere humanity are the most characteristic elements of his poetry.

The works of IVAN BAHRIANYI, are more social and political than philosophical, as can be seen in his collection *Zolotyj bumerang* [The Golden Boomerang, 1946].

From among the numerous poets of the younger generation, there should be mentioned as noteworthy first of all the following authors: OLEH ZUIEVSKY (*Zoloti vorota* [The Golden Gates, 1947], *Pid znakom Feniksa* [Under the Sign of Phoenix, 1958]); ALEXIS VERETENCHENKO (*Dym vichnosty* [The Smoke of Eternity, 1951], historical poem *Chorna dolyna* [The Black Valley, 1953]); IHOR KACHUROVSKY (*Nad svitlym dzherelom* [Over the Bright Stream, 1948], *V dalekii havani* [In a Remote Harbor, 1956]); LEONID LYMAN (masterful poems in literary magazines, not collected as yet in a separate publication); PETER KARPENKO-KRYNYCIA (*Polumiana zemlia* [Earth in Flames, 1947], *Soldaty moho legionu* [The Soldiers of My Legion, 1945-6], *Poemy* [Poems, 1954], *Povernennia druha* [The Return of the Friend,

1958]); MICHAEL SYTNYK (*Vidlitaiut' ptytsi* [The Birds Fly Away, 1946], *Zaliznychyj storozh* [A Railroad Guard, 1947]), HANNA CHERIN (*Crescendo*, 1949); LEONID POLTAVA (*Za muramy Berlinu* [Outside the Walls of Berlin, 1945], *Ukrains'ki balady* [Ukrainian Ballads, 1952], *Ryms'ki sonety* [Roman Sonnets, 1958], and other works, especially poems for children); IRENE NARIZHNA (*Nastroi* [Impressions, 1943]); DIMA (*Rosiani zori* [The Dewy Stars, 1952], *Myt'* [Moment, 1955], and poems for children); YAR SLAVUTYCH (*Homin vikiv* [The Echo of the Centuries, 1946], *Spraha* [Thirst, 1950], *Oaza* [Oasis, 1960], and other collections of poems); OSTAP TARNAVSKY (*Slova i mrii* [Words and Dreams, 1948], *Mosty* [The Bridges, 1956], *Samotnie derevo* [The Solitary Tree, 1960], and other works); ZINOVII BEREZHAN (poems in magazines and almanacs, not collected); VIRA VORSKLO (poems in different magazines); BORYS OLEKSANDRIV (*Moi dni* [The Days of Mine, 1946]); L. DALEKA (*Lehit i bryzy* [The Wind and the Breeze, 1957]); NICHOLAS SHCHERBAK (*Piankyi chebrets'* [The Redolent Thyme, 1953], and other collections); GEORGE BURLAKIVETS; OLHA LUBSKA.

Poets of the older generation (some of them mentioned elsewhere) also continued to be active, among them: MALANIUK (*Vlada* [Rule, 1951], *Piata Symfonia* [The Fifth Symphony, 1954], *Poezii v odnomu tomi* [Poems in One Volume, 1954], *Ostannia vesna* [The Last Spring, 1959]); HORDYNSKY (*Vohnem i smerchem* [With Fire and Hurricane, 1947]); LIATURYNSKA (collected poems *Kniazha emal'* [The Princely Enamel, 1955]); MOSENDZ (*Kanitfershtan*, 1945, and *Volyns'kyi rik* [The Volhynian Year, 1948]); KRAWCIW (*Korabli* [The Ships—Selected Poems, 1948], *Zymozielen'* [Chelidonium Majus, 1951], *Dzvenyslava* [Sonnets, 1962]); BOHDAN NYZHANKIVSKY (*Shchedrist'* [Lavishness, 1947], *Vahota* [Ponderability, 1953], and satirical poems); THEODORE KURPITA (*Not a Pass*, 1946,

and other works); ROMAN ZAVADOVYCH, (poems for children); OLES BABII; NYKYFOR SHCHERBYNA; ALEXANDER NEFRYTSKY-HRANOVSKY; VOLODYMYR YANIV (*Shliakhy* [Lines, 1951]); T. PASICHNYK (epic historical poem *Petro Hordienko*, Part I, 1944; Part II, 1957); and O. KOBETS (poems for children).

A witty poetic parody by P. HOROTAK (a pseudonym of the poets, Klen and Mosendz), *Diabolichni paraboly* (Devilish Parabolas, 1947), created a real sensation.

A modernist group, the so-called New York Group consists of some young poets living in New York and Chicago: EMMA ANDIYEVSKA (collections *Poezii* [Poems, 1951], *Narodzhennia Idola* [The Birth of the Idol, 1958], *Ryba i rozmir* [Fish and Dimension, 1961]); EUGENIA VASYLKIVSKA (*Korotki viddali* [Short Distances, 1959]); BOHDAN BOYCHUK (poems *Chas bolu* [The Age of Pain, 1957], a poem *Zemia bula pustoshnia* [The Earth Was Void, 1959]); BOHDAN T. RUBCHAK (poems *Kaminnyi sad* [Orchard of Stone, 1956] and *Promenysta zrada* [The Bright Betrayal, 1960]); GEORGE TARNAVSKY (poems *Zhyttia v misti* [Life in the City, 1956] and *Popoludni v Poughkeepsie* [Afternoon in Poughkeepsie, 1960], a novel *Shliakhy* [Pathways, 1961]); and PATRICIA KILINA (*Trahediia dzhmeliu* [A Tragedy of the Bumblebees, 1960]). Inspired by contemporary Western poets, they are trying to give new life to Ukrainian poetic language. Some of them, such as Andiyevska, George Tarnavsky, and Rubchak, are also successful prose novices. The New York Group has edited four yearbooks of poetry *Poezii* (Poems; 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962).

The following poets also have a place in the modernistic trend in Ukrainian poetry: VIRA VOVK (collections of poems *Liryka* [Lyrics, 1955], and *Chorni akatsii* [The Black Acacias, 1961]); IRENE SHUWARSKA-SHUMYLOWYCH (poems *Spivuche svitlo* [Singing Light, 1959]); MARTA KALYTOVSKA (collections: *Liryka* [Lyrics, 1955], and *Rymy i ne-rymy* [Rhymes and

No-rhymes, 1959]); MARYNA PRYKHODKO; and VOLODYMYR BILIAIV (BILYK).

The Drama

GEORGE KOSACH has proved to be the most active playwright. In the 1940's he wrote several Romantic plays which, in places, contain far-fetched and psychologically improbable situations (*Voroh* [The Enemy], *Order* [The Warrant]). His *Duistvo pro Yuriia Peremozhtsia* (a Mystery play about George the Conqueror) is characteristic of his interest in the surrealist idea in the theater. The plays of IVAN BAHRIANYI are expressionistic, poster-like compositions (*Morituri*, *General*, *Rozhrom* [The Havoc]). LIUDMYLA KOVALENKO's realistic drama, *Domakha*, which deals with the collectivization of the peasants and their powers of endurance, met with great success on the stage. She is also the author of the comedy *Xanthippe* (1946) and the collection of plays *V chasi i prostori* (In the Time and in the Space, 1956). Other writers active in the playwriting are: Serhii Lediansky, George Tys, Dima, Anatol Halan, Ivan Kernytsky, Nicholas Ponedilok.

Humorous Writings

Satire and humor is represented successfully in the literature of emigration by IVAN KERNYTSKY (IKER) (*Tsyhans'kymy dorohamy* [Gypsy Roads, 1947], *Pereletni ptakhy* [Migrators, 1952], and the novel, *Heroi peredmistia* [Hero of Suburbs, 1958]), and also by NICHOLAS PONEDILOK (*Vitaminy* [Vitamins, 1957] and *Sobornyi borshch* [All-Ukrainian Borshch, 1960]). Mention should be made also of S. Ryndyk, M. Tochylo, and Martin Zadeka. THEODORE KURPITA published, under the pen name ТЕОК, his satirical poems and parodies, *Karykatyry z literatury* (The Parodies on the Literature, 1947). Worthy of special mentioning is a collection of satirical verse of BABAI's (poet Bohdan Nyzhankivsky's pseudonym in satirical poetry) *Virshi ironichni, satyrychni i komichni* (Satirical, Ironical, and Comical Verse, 1959).

A considerable amount of humorous writing has appeared by the authors associated with the monthly, *Lys Mykyta* (Mykyta the Fox), published in Detroit.

Translations

Ukrainian poets in emigration published several excellent translations from European literature, mainly from poetry. SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY translated (under the pen name YURI BUREVII) selected poems of the German poet, Theodor Koerner *Lira i mech* (Lyre and Sword, 1940), and in 1961 a very valuable selection the works of several European poets, *Poety Zakhodu* (The Poets of the West). BOHDAN KRAWCIW translated selections of Rainer Maria Rilke (*Rechi i obrazy* [Things and Images, 1947]). The most active translators were MICHAEL OREST and IHOR KOSTETSKY. M. Orest published *Vybrani poezii* (Selected Poems) of Stefan George, 1952, *Vybrani poezii* (Selected Poems) of Rilke, Hofmannsthal, and Dauthendey, 1953, *Poezii* (Poems) of Ch. Leconte de Lisle, 1954, and, later, three separate short anthologies of French (1954), German (1954), and general European (1959) poetry, the latter under the title *More i mushlia* (The Sea and the Shell). Ihor Kostetsky published, as a collective work with other translators, *Vybranyi* (Selected Works) of T. S. Eliot, 1955, and *Vybranyi* (Selections) of Garcia Lorca, 1959. He also translated Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, *Shakespeare's sonety* (Shakespeare's Sonnets), 1958, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, 1958, and, with the cooperation of other translators (mostly his own translations), *Vybranyi Ezra Pound* (Selected Works of Ezra Pound), 1960.

Poet THEODOSIUS OSMACHKA translated Oscar Wilde's *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, 1958, and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Henry IV* (1961); likewise YAR SLAVUTYCH did *Vybrani poezii* (Selected Poems) of John Keats, 1958; ALEXIS VERETENCHENKO did Lord Byron's poem

Mazeppa, 1959; and NICHOLAS PONEDILOK did *Medea*, the tragedy by Jean Anouilh, 1959.

Among the translators from Ukrainian (especially from poetry) into different European languages in the last decade, the following should be mentioned as most outstanding: HANS KOCH (1894–1959) with his anthology of Ukrainian lyrics in German translation *Die ukrainische Lyrik 1840–1940* (1955); ELIZABETH KOTTMEIER with her German translations in the anthology of modern Ukrainian lyrics, *Weinstock der Wiedergeburt* (1957); translations into French of EMMANUEL RAIS, who also published his excellent essays and critical works in Ukrainian literary magazines; translations into English of PATRICIA KILINA and EUGENIA VASYLKYVSKA (both Ukrainian poets), of VERA RICH (a young English poet, translator of Shevchenko—*Song out of Darkness*, 1961), and of the young American author MORSE MANLY; and translations of the well-known Polish poets and translators JOSEPH LOBODOWSKI and GEORGE NIEMOJOWSKI into Polish, of IHOR KOSTETSKY and IHOR KACHUROVSKY (both Ukrainian authors) into Russian, of MASIEI SIADNIOV into Belorussian, and of VIRA VOVK into Portuguese. Besides the translations mentioned elsewhere, of novels of Osmachka, Bahrianyi, Kyriak, and others, the following were recently published: in Germany a selection of Ukrainian short stories and stories of different authors, *Blauer November* (The Blue November, 1959), in German translation by ANNA-HALLA HORBATSCH, and in the United States short stories by M. KHVYLOVYI, *Stories from the Ukraine* (1960), translated into English by GEORGE S. N. LUCKYJ.*

*This chapter does not include an account either of the translations from different languages into Ukrainian made by Ukrainian Soviet writers or various translations made from the works of Ukrainian authors in the USSR into different languages. Likewise, it does not include any information about the translations from the Ukrainian classics.

Literary Criticism

After a period of decline in the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainian literary criticism was revived during the first years of emigration. Widespread discussion was caused by the dispute between the "Europists" (VOLODYMYR DERZHAVYN, b. 1899) and the "Organists," who saw in contemporary literature a return to a Ukrainian style (GEORGE SHERECH [SHEVELOV], b. 1908). Among others active in literary criticism were: Ostap Hrytsai (1881-1954), Dmytro Dontsov, Volodymyr Doroshenko, George Dyvnych-Lavrinenko, Ivan Koshelivets, George Boiko-Blokhyn, Alexander Mokh, Alexis Izarsky, Peter Odarchenko, Ihor Kostetsky, Vadym Svaroh, Gregory Luzhnytsky, Gregory Kostiuk, Vadym Lesych, Bohdan Krawciw, A. Yuryniak, Bohdan Romanenchuk, and Peter Holubenko.

VICTOR BER (PETROV), an outstanding critic, was also noted for his philosophical essays. HUMENNA's *Epizod iz zhyttia Evropy Kryts'koi* (An Episode from the Life of Cretan Europe) might be described as a philosophical essay in dialogue.

I. Korowyt'sky

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Some of these works also cover the earlier period.

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10. UKRAINE IN LITERARY WORKS WRITTEN IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The interest in Ukraine demonstrated by the writers of Russian literature of the eighteenth century is primarily connected with the sojourn in Russia of numerous Ukrainians and their strong cultural influences within the Russian empire. The plays of Ukrainian authors

(T. Prokopovych, D. Tuptalenko, and others) and the *kobzars* and Ukrainian choruses at the Imperial Court maintained the interest in contemporary Ukraine among the educated strata of Russian society. The discovery of the earliest Chronicles and the first attempts at producing handbooks of history, connected with the spread of the Synopsis

attributed to I. GIZEL, prompted several Russian dramatists (A. SUMAROKOV and YA. KNIAZHININ) to seek subjects in the history of Kievan Rus', which the ideologies of the Russian empire treated as the beginning of Russian history.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Much attention was paid to Ukraine at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the authors of travel notes. Ukraine attracted them both by its scenery ("Our Ukraine is Another Italy"—Prince P. Shalikov) and by the originality of the manners and customs of its people, who remained faithful to their old traditions. Among these travel books the most outstanding are: *Puteshestvie v poludennuiu Rossiiu* (Journey to Southern Russia) by V. IZMAILOV (1800–2), which is rich in pictures of Kiev scenery and of the life of a Ukrainian family, and in historical reminiscences; *Puteshestvie v Malorossiiu* (Journey to Little Russia) by Prince SHALIKOV (1803), and also his *Novoe Puteshestvie v Malorossiiu* (A New Journey to Little Russia, 1803 and 1804), which vividly describe the Dnieper, the Poltava scenery, and the life of the local nobility; P. SUMAROKOV'S *Dosugi krymskogo sud'i, ili vtoroe puteshestvie v Tavridu* (Leisure Moments of a Crimean Judge, or The Second Journey to Tauris, 1803); a number of sketches by I. VERNET and A. LEVSHIN; I. KULZHINSKY'S *Malorossiiskaia derevnia* (The Little Russian Village, 1827); V. PASSEK'S *Putevye zapiski* (Travel Notes, 1834) and *Ocherki Rossii* (Russian Sketches, 1838); O. MURAVIEV'S *Puteshestvie po sviatym mestam russkim: Kiev* (Journey to the Holy Places in Russia: Kiev, 1844); I. KULZHINSKY'S *Poezdka iz Malorossii v Gruziiu* (A Journey from Little Russia to Georgia, 1850).

The periods of pre-Romanticism and Romanticism in Russian literature were

characterized by the great interest taken in the *bylinas* and the tales, as well as in historical subjects dealing with the period of Kievan Rus'. Beginning with collections of fables, such as *Russkie skazki* (Russian Tales) by M. CHULKOV (1780), and heroic poems (M. KHERASKOV'S *Vladimir* [1785], N. RADISHCHEV'S *Alesha Popovich* [Alesha, the Priest's Son] and *Churila Plenkovich*), and passing through the sentimental story *Predslava i Dobrynia* by K. BATIUSHKOV (1810, published 1831), these *bylinas* and tale motifs also appear in V. ZHUKOVSKY'S *Dvenadtsat' spiashchikh dev* (Twelve Slumbering Maidens) and in A. PUSHKIN'S *Ruslan i Liudmila*. Among literary works based on these motifs *Brodiashchii ogon'* (The Wandering Fire, 1832) by P. BAISKY (O. SOMOV) was especially popular, as were the novels of A. WEL'TMAN, such as *Koshchei bezsmertnyi*, *bylina starogo vremeni* (The Immortal Koshchei, a Bylina of the olden times) (1833). All this work is characterized by its foreboding, its gloomy fantasy, and its attempt to present the mystical world of the ancient pagan.

Among the literary works dealing with Chronicle subjects of the ancient Kievan period, the most outstanding were the poems (*dumas*) of K. RYLEEV, *Oleg Veshchii* (Oleg the Seer), *Ol'ga pri mogile Igoria* (Olga at Igor's Grave), *Sviatoslav* (1822), *Mstislav Udaloj* (Mstyslav the Brave, 1823); the poem by V. KÜCHELBECKER, *Sviatopolk Okaiannyi* (The Accursed Sviatopolk, 1824); the ballads of A. MURAVIEV, *Ol'ga* and *Sviatoslav*; the poem by A. BEZTUZHEV-MARLINSKY, *Andrei, kniaz' pereiaslavskii* (Andrew, the Prince of Pereiaslav, 1828–30); as well as a very popular story by M. ZAGOSKIN, *Askoldova mogila* (Askold's Mound, 1833). Zagoskin's work combined elements of the *bylina* and Chronicle epos, and shows the influences of Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* and the works of Walter Scott.

According to the enumeration of V. SYPOVSKY, among the Romantic works published in Russian during this period and written by Russian as well as by outstanding Ukrainian authors, there were over thirty on the historical events which occurred in Ukraine during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1816 F. GLINKA's novel *Zinovii Bogdan Khmel'nitskii, ili osvobozhden-naia Malorossia* (Zinovii Bohdan Khmelnytsky or the Liberated Little Russia) appeared. In 1818 R. GONORSKY printed, in *Opyty v proze* (Experiments in Prose), *Kozaki i Bogdan Khmel'nitskii* (The Kozaks and Bohdan Khmelnytsky). The years 1822-5 saw the publication of popular works of K. RYLEEV: the duma *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii*, excerpts from the poems *Voinarovskii*, *Nalivaiko*, and *Gaidamaki*. In 1828 an excerpt from the poem *Gaidamaki* written by A. PODO-LINSKY was printed. After the publication of BAISKY's (SOMOV's) *Gaidamak* (1826) and E. ALADIN's *Kochubei* (1827), A. PUSHKIN's poem *Poltava* (1829) appeared. Noted for its imperialist Russian attitude, Pushkin's poem was clearly influenced by RYLEEV's *Voinarovskii*, A. KORNILOVICH's *Zhyzneopisanie Mazepy* (Biography of Mazepa), and the story by Aladin, *Kochubei*, mentioned above.

Among the other works of similar character published during this period, the best known were the stories "Gaidamak" and "Nochleg Gaidamakov" (The Haidamaks Night Camping) by BAISKY, and F. BULGARIN's novels *Dimitrii Samozvanets* (Dimitri the Pretender, 1830), with its descriptions of life at the Sich, and *Mazepa* (1833-4).

Certain works are to be placed midway between Ukrainian and Russian literature. They were written by Ukrainians, but in Russian: for example, the famous story *Taras Bul'ba* by GOGOL (1835); "Panna Sotnikovna" (The Captain's Daughter, 1840) and "Tatarskie nabegi" (Tatar Raids, 1844) by KVITKA-OSNOVIANENKO; the story "Telepen'" by

HREBINKA (from *Rasskazy piriatiintsa* [The Stories of an Inhabitant of Pyriatyn], 1837), and also his ballad "Ukrainskii Bard" (1837), his poem "Getman Svirgovskii" (1839), his story "Nezhinskii polkovnik Zolotarenko" (Zolotarenko, Colonel of Nizhyn, 1842), and his novel *Chaikovskii* (1843). Pub-

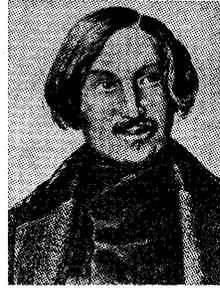


FIGURE 553.
N. HOHOL (GOGOL)

lished in 1843 also was *Michailo Charnyshenko, ili Malorossia vosem'desiat let nazad* (Michael Charnyshenko, or Little Russia Eighty Years Ago), a novel by P. Kulish.

Toward the end of this period there appeared the novels *Mazepa, Getman Malorossii* (Mazepa, Hetman of Little Russia) by M. SEMENTOVSKY (1845), *Getman Ostriianitsa, ili epokha smut i bedstvii Malorossii* (Hetman Ostriianytzia or The Epoch of the Troubles and Calamities in Little Russia) by V. KORENEVSKY (1846), *Zinovii Bogdan Khmel'nitskii* by A. KUZMICH (1846), *Porubezhniki, kanva dlia romanov* (The Borderers, a Canvas for Novels) by A. SKALKOVSKY (1849), and others.

A number of works dealing with Ukrainian manners and customs, written mainly by Ukrainian authors and in the traditions of Ukrainian literature, reveal the great interest, so characteristic of the Romanticists, in folk demonology as reflected in customs and folklore. In addition to Gogol in the renowned stories "Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki" (Evenings on the Farm near Dykanka, 1831-2) and "Vii" from the collection *Mirgorod* (1835), the following authors paid tribute to this enthusiasm: Hrebinka, M. Markevych, Baisky, A. Churovsky, V. Dal, and lastly Kulish in his first stories written in Russian in 1840-1.

Besides these works we find a number

of writings which depicted Ukraine of that time, or in its recent past. In some of them the ethnographical element predominates: *Pan Khaliavskii* by G. KVITKA-OSNOVIANENKO (1840), as well as his *Ukrainskie diplomaty* (Ukrainian Diplomats) and *Yarmarka* (the Fair); the story by I. SREZNEVSKY "Maior! Maior!" devoted to G. Skovoroda (1836); V. NARIZHNYI'S *Dva Ivana* (Two Ivans, 1825); the story "Svatovstvo" (*Match-making*) by SOMOV (1831); and *Poltavskie Vechera* (The Evenings in Poltava) by HREBINKA (1848). In others there are definite features of the novel of adventure: for example, *Bursak* (1824) by NARIZHNYI. And some, their genre difference notwithstanding, completely conform to the poetics of Romanticism: A. POGORELSKY'S novel *Monastyрка* (1830); Prince A. SHAKHOVSKOI'S *Marusia, Malorossiiskaia Safo* (Marusia, the Little Russian Sappho, 1839); I. KOZLOV'S *Chernets, kievskaiia poema* (The Monk, a Kievan Poem, 1825). Others still are nearer to the then new Naturalistic "physiological" style: M. KOVALEVSKY'S *Melkopomestnye pomeshchiki* (Petty Noble Landowners, 1848), for instance. The most important example of this style is the collection *Mirgorod* by N. GOGOL (1835). This line was continued in the 1850's and 1860's by A. STOROZHENKO in his works *Brat'ia-bliznetsy* (Twin Brothers, 1857), *Stekhin rog* (The Cliff of Stekha, 1861), and others. Close to the "physiological style" in the 1860's and 1870's were the stories of A. SVYDNYTSKY, V. SYKEVICH, and P. RAEVSKY.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

With the decline of Romanticism interest in the colorful ethnic way of life of the Ukrainian people and in the stormy heroic history of Ukraine sharply decreased, and consequently considerably fewer popular works on Ukrainian subjects appeared. In the poetry of the 1860's and 1870's we find the well-known

poem "Ty znaesh kraj" (You Know the Land) written by Count A. TOLSTOI, who was born in Ukraine. He also frequently turned to the themes of the *bylinas*. A number of poets (L. MEL, A. MAIKOV, and others) gave paraphrases of the Ihor's Tale and of certain Chronicle subjects. In the prose of the latter part of the nineteenth century Ukrainian themes were cultivated primarily by the Ukrainians N. KOSTOMAROV (*Chernigovka*), D. MORDOVETS (Mordovtsev), and G. DANILEVSKY.

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Ukraine was included in the works of Russian writers of this period usually only as a setting. In these works we find its landscape, some coloring of the dialogue, and certain minor characters who are Ukrainian. K. STANIUKOVICH set the action of his *Morskije rassказы* (Sea Stories) in the Black Sea and its ports. M. GARIN-MICHAILOVSKY gave his trilogy (*Detstvo Temy* [The Childhood of Tema], *Gimnazisty* [The Gymnasium Students], *Studenty* [The Students]) and some of his other stories a southern background. N. LESKOV, who was always attentive to local color, frequently turned to Ukraine, quite often utilizing Kiev with its past as a background. His work often reminds us of Gogol and perhaps Storozhenko, especially his story "Nekreshchennyi pop" (The Unbaptized Priest) which projects the Romantic image of a Ukrainian village. A. CHEKHOV, born in Taganrog (Tahanrih), reproduced in a number of works the natural setting of the southern steppe and occasionally depicted a few episodic Ukrainian characters: for example, in "Chelovek v futliare" (Man in a Case). The action of the novel *Sanin* was placed by M. ARTSYBASHEV in Okhtyrka. The nature of Ukraine was reproduced effectively by A. KUPRIN in "Olesia," "Yama" (The Pit), "Poedinok" (The Duel), and "Belaia akatsiia" (The White Acacia). Far more deeply is Ukrainian

nature perceived and conveyed in its peculiarity by VLADIMIR KOROLENKO, who, in so doing, resembles the Romantics of the period between the 1820's and the 1940's. Korolenko's stories of this type are: "Istoriia moego sovremennika" (The Story of My Contemporary), "Les shumit" (The Forest Murmurs) "Slepoi muzykant" (The Blind Musician), and "V durnom obshchestve" (In Bad Company). Some pages of *Zhizn' Arsenieva* (The Life of Arseniev), a novel (1933) by IVAN BUNIN written abroad, also are filled with the spirit of Ukraine.

M. GORKY, who was hostile to the Ukrainian cause, lived on friendly terms with Michael Kotsiubynsky for a time and left us his reminiscences about the latter. In his short story, "Yarmarka v Goltve" (The Fair in Goltva), Gorky presented the well-worn picture of a "lazy Little Russian"; in his "Vyvod" (Withdrawal), a horrible picture of the torture of a woman; and in the novel *Mat'* (Mother), a sympathetic "khokhol" (the contemptuous Russian term for a Ukrainian).

The poetry of the first decades of the twentieth century reveals in some of its most outstanding works a picture of Ukraine, but one in which it is deprived of its inherent national character. In the poem "Vozmezdie" (Retribution), A. BLOK presents it as a "new America." IVAN BUNIN wrote several poems on the theme of the Ukrainian steppe, and there is a Kievan cycle of verses in the work of the outstanding Russian poetess ANNA AKHMATOVA (GORENKO), a Ukrainian in origin.

THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

In the post-Revolutionary period, Ukrainian elements abound in the *Duma pro Opanasa* (A Duma about Opanas), written by EDWARD BAGRITSKY of Odessa. Among Russian works of the 1920's which are totally or partly devoted to the period of war in Ukraine (1917-21),

the most outstanding are: the novel *Belaia gvardiia* (The White Guard) by M. BULGAKOV, later turned into the play *Dni Turbinykh* (The Days of the Turbins); the novels of I. EHRENBURG—*Rvach* (The Crafter) and *Zhizn' Lazika Roitshvanetsa* (The Life of Lazik Roitshvanets); *Khozhdenie po mukam* (The Way through Torments) by A. N. TOLSTOI; the novel of M. ALDANOV, *Begstvo* (The Flight); a series of stories by OLGA FORSH; L. SLAVIN's *Interventsiia* (The Intervention); the novel by E. BRAZHNEV, *V dymu kostrov* (In the Smoke of the Bonfires) written with a strong anti-Ukrainian bias; the collection of stories by I. BABEL, *Konarmiiia* (The Cavalry Army); the books of N. OSTROVSKY highly praised by the Soviet authorities, *Kak zakalialas' stal'* (How the Steel was Tempered) and *Rozhdennye Burei* (The Offsprings of the Storms).

The happenings in Kuban region during the years 1917-21 and the period of "collectivization" are dealt with in *Zheleznyi Potok* (The Steel Current) by A. SERAFIMOVICH, and in *Razbeg* (The Impetus) by V. STAVSKY. The life of pre-Revolutionary Odessa is reflected in *Benia Krik* by I. BABEL. The events of the Revolution of 1905 in Odessa are handled in *Beleat parus odinokii* (The Lonely Sail Shows White in the Distance) by V. KATAEV. The pre-Revolutionary life of the miners of the Donets Basin is described in *Ya Liubliu* (I Love) by A. AVDEENKO.

The Shevchenko Jubilee celebrating his 125th Anniversary in 1939 led Soviet Russian writers to attempt a series of belletristic biographies of the poet (C. PAUSTOVSKY and M. ZOSHCHENKO, for example.)

An attempt at representing the construction of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station was made in the novel *Energiia* (Energy) written by F. GLADKOV, known for his anti-Ukrainian attitudes.

In general, Russian literature, with the exception of the period of Romanticism, has noticed in the main only the lin-

guistic-ethnographic peculiarities of Ukraine, although the more talented writers have revealed psychological characteristics of the Ukrainians including their sense of a distinct historical destiny and their aspirations as well. On the other hand, in the period of Romanticism Ukraine's love of liberty and struggle for freedom often were held up by the Russian Romantic writers, especially by K. Ryleev, to serve as a model for the Russian people to follow. But this struggle for liberty was treated rather as an abstract ideal than as historical fact. With the activation of the Ukrainian struggle for liberty from Russia, the political treatment of Ukraine and Ukrainians at first was excluded from Russian literature; later many Russian writers were to present the representatives of the Ukrainian movement of liberation in the darkest colors—*Memoirs* by KOVPAK on the war of 1941–5, and other works dealing with the war.

A special problem is that of the style, ideology, and mood—not theme—brought into Russian literature by writers of Ukrainian origin. It has been pointed out, for example, that the works of N. Gogol, by their nature, actually belong to Ukrainian literature, and that the humor of Chekhov and Zoshchenko and the lyricism of Akhmatova have a Ukrai-

nian character. These problems have not yet been fully studied.

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II. POLISH-UKRAINIAN LITERARY RELATIONS

Mutual Polish-Ukrainian influences on language and literature are as old as the political and cultural relations between the two neighboring peoples. Historical and linguistic evidence indicates that Polish-Ukrainian cultural relations were already close in the Kievan *Rus'* period.

Polish expansion to the southeast, which began in the fourteenth century, resulted in even closer contacts which have left lasting traces on literature.

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE PERIODS

In the Renaissance and Baroque periods, Polish writers readily used motifs drawn from the life of the Ukrainian people, described the scenery of the Ukrainian lands, and frequently made use of a vocabulary akin to the Ukrainian. The *Roxolania* of SEBASTIAN KLONOWICZ (1545–1602), the *Stelanki* of

SZYMON SZYMONOWICZ (1557–1629), and the *Roxolanki czyli panny ruskie* of SZYMON ZIMOROWICZ (1604–29) are the most important works in which this was done. Ukrainian motifs are also to be found in the seventeenth century Polish chivalrous epic, in many of which the wars with the Turks and Tatars form the background. Particular mention must be made in this respect of the poems of SAMUEL TWAROWSKI (1600–60), the *Kronika* (Chronicle) of WESPAZIAN KOCHOWSKI (1633–99), and the most important work of this type, *Wojna Chocimska* (The Khotyn War) of WACŁAW POTOCKI (1625–96).

In their turn the Ukrainian writers of the period drew on Polish literature. The chroniclers of the Baroque period often used the works of Polish chroniclers and historians, and the great outburst of religious polemics, evoked by the Church Union of Brest, contributed to closer contact between the two literatures. The development of the Kievan Mohyla Academy went hand in hand with the strong influence of the Polish Baroque on Ukrainian poetry and the "school drama" of the time.

THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

Polish-Ukrainian literary relations again grew lively during the Romantic period. During the luxuriant flowering of Polish Romanticism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century great interest was shown in Ukrainian matters. The poets of "the Ukrainian school" were not only acquainted with scenery and people of Ukraine, but they readily



FIGURE 554.
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turned to the history of Ukraine in their writing, attempting in some cases, for instance J. BOHDAN ZALESKI (1802–86), an interpretation of the common past. SEWERYN GOSZCZYŃSKI (1803–76),

who was greatly influenced by Byron, idealized the Ukrainian national and social liberation movement, while A. MALCZEWSKI (1793–1828) in the poem *Marja*, and especially JULIUS SŁOWACKI (1809–49), described the Ukrainian landscape with unparalleled art. No less vivid, although weaker artistically, are the pictures drawn of Ukraine in the stories of JOSEPH IGNATIUS KRASZEWSKI (1812–87), MICHAEL GRABOWSKI (1805–63), and MICHAEL CZAJKOWSKI (1808–86). Grabowski was a distinguished critic of "the Ukrainian school" and was a personal friend of Panteleimon Kulish; he had a profound understanding of the atmosphere of the steppe and of the great drama of Ukrainian history.

LUCIAN SIEMEŃSKI (1809–78) was also strongly influenced by this literary trend. In some parts of his poem on the Kievan expedition of Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave) his style resembles Ihor's Tale, while in his translation of the *Odyssey* which has value as poetry he used frequent expressions which were considered "Ukrainian provincialisms" in the Polish language.

During the Romantic period influence was mutual. The Polish historian of literature, J. TRETIAK, writes that at that time a certain "literary union" was brought about. The Ukrainian "poet of the steppe and the grave-mounds," AMBROSE METLYNSKY, had much in common with Malczewski and Goszczyński; among the students in Kharkiv a group—BOROVYKOVSKY, KOSTOMAROV, KORSUN—maintained close contact with the Poles who happened to be professors at the university there, learning Polish, studying Polish history, and reading in the original the prominent Polish Romantics. Even before this, the precursors of the *Khlopomany* (peasant-lovers) movement had appeared in the persons of Prince JABŁONOWSKI and BRATKOWSKI. When the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius was founded in Kiev, its work was influenced by the Messianic and Pan-Slavic ideals of ADAM MICKIEWICZ.

Although SHEVCHENKO dealt in his writings with the historical conflict between Poland and Ukraine, in his poem dedicated to Zaleski he appealed for Polish-Ukrainian understanding and KULISH later did the same. During Shevchenko's exile in Kirghizia the Poles BOLESŁAW ZALESKI and Z. SIERAKOWSKI were among his sincere and devoted friends and he maintained close contact with them after his release. When he heard of Shevchenko's death, Bohdan Zaleski wrote, in Paris, a touching poem expressing his feelings on the loss of the Ukrainian poet—"To a new grave unknown to me, which is freshly grown at Kaniv." Bohdan Zaleski also corresponded with Gogol for many years.

W. SYROKOMLA and several other Polish poets of the time translated Shevchenko's poems. On the Ukrainian side Borovkovsky translated the *Sonety Krymskie* (Crimean Sonnets) of Mickiewicz, and HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY and Kulish also translated works by this Polish writer. M. SHASHKEVYCH made a good rendering of a fragment of Goszczyński's *Zamek Kaniowski* (The Castle of Kaniv).

MARKO VOVCHOK, during her eight years' residence abroad, maintained close contact with Polish émigrés and, among them, with some writers. An echo of Mickiewicz can be found even later, in LESIA UKRAÏNKA's Crimean verses (*Baidary, Bakhchysarai, Bakhchysaraiskyi Palats* [The Palace of Bakhchysarai], *Mohyla v Bakhchysaraiu* [The Grave in Bakhchysarai]).

In distant Africa, a Podilian, HENRY JABŁOŃSKI (1818-69), expressed his nostalgia for Ukraine in his lyrics which were permeated by the same atmosphere as the poems of Malczewski and Słowacki. The echoes of Goszczyński resounded with passionate force in the poetry of L. SOWIŃSKI (1831-87), a democrat and a radical, a Kozakophile and a revolutionary, who may be placed somewhere between the Romantics and the *khlopomany* (peasant-lovers). The interesting and promising *balagula*

movement withered prematurely, stifled by its own anarchism.

In the *Khlopomany* period, there were frequent cases of the Ukrainization or rather the re-Ukrainization of persons whose families had long been Polonized. First mention must be made of THADDEUS RYLSKY, PAWLIN SWIEĆICKI, and VOLODYMYR ANTONOVYCH. They were all adherents of a movement to achieve greater Polish-Ukrainian understanding. The cause of a Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement had been preached even before this in the stylized verses of TYMKO PADURA (1801-71), which were written in the style of folklore. He was famous as a Kozakophile, but his poetry was rather weak. He wrote only in Ukrainian, although he was descended from a family which for many generations had belonged to the Polish gentry (*szlachta*). A strong social accent gives dramatic dynamism to a play by JOSEPH KORZENIOWSKI (1797-1863), *Karpaccy Górale* (Carpathian Mountaineers), based on the life of the Hutsuls. The Dnieper region of Ukraine is the subject of sketches by the same author, entitled *Żywi i umarli* (The Living and the Dead).

The violent repressions of the Czarist government in the sixties hindered the development of art and culture in Ukraine and, at the same time, dealt a blow to the cause of Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement. However, these traditional relations, although under constant attack, continued to be fostered. MICHAEL STARYTSKY, an indefatigable promoter of the Ukrainian theater and himself a playwright, adapted for the stage Kraszewski's story, *Chata za wsią* (A House beyond the Village) and translated Słowacki's *Mazepa*. The latter, along with the *Zaczarowane Koło* (The Enchanted Circle) of LUCIAN RYDEL, was very successful on the Ukrainian stage.

Of the outstanding Ukrainian writers living at the turn of this century, IVAN FRANKO was the one who maintained close relations with Polish writers and

Polish literature. He was a contributor to the *Kurjer Lwowski*, and a personal friend of Jan Kasprówicz and of Bolesław Wystouch and Bolesław Prus. WŁADYSŁAW ORKAN (1855-1930) was closely connected with a group of Ukrainian poets called the *Młoda Muza* (The Young Muse) group—Karmansky, Pachovsky, Lepkyi, and others; he translated into Polish a series of Ukrainian short stories which were collected in the volume *Młoda Ukraina* (The Young Ukraine). Mention must also be made of the contacts of BASIL STEFANYK and CATHERINE HRYNEVYCH with the Cracow group of writers (Orkan, S. Przybyszewski, W. Moraczewski and others).

THE POSITIVIST PERIOD

In the Positivist period Ukrainian motifs appear less often in Polish literature. However, the action of H. SIENKIEWICZ's *Ogniem i mieczem* (With Fire and Sword) and *Pan Wołodyjowski* takes place almost entirely in Ukraine. Sienkiewicz's appraisal of historical developments is much more serious, more profound, and more accurate in the second of these stories. The poets and prose writers of *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland) rarely pick subjects connected with the East, but the blazing sun of Podolia and its scenery are passionately reflected in the lyrics of KAZIMIERA ZAWISTOWSKA, who died young. Polish-Ukrainian relations are referred to by S. ŻEROMSKI's *Kostek Napierski* and *Przedwiośnie* (Early Spring).

Before World War I Polish and Ukrainian writers and intellectuals met most frequently, usually in a friendly spirit, in Kiev and also in St. Petersburg where many Ukrainians and Poles lived at that time. Mutual personal and political relations were especially good in Kiev. The Poles maintained a lively contact with Antonovych, Lysenko, and Thaddeus Rylsky, whose son Maksym subsequently made a superb translation of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. The tradition of "the Uk-

rainian school" was fostered in particular by WŁODZIMIERZ WYSOCKI (1846-94), a poet of average talent whose verses on Ukrainian themes were set to music by the composer Władysław Zareba. In Mohyliv on the Dniester a group of Poles headed by JOACHIM WOŁOSZYNOWSKI published a Ukrainian weekly *Scitova Zirnytsia* which contributed to a revival of literary life in the region. Joachim Wołoszynowski's son, who after World War I became known as a prose writer and a poet, used recollections of his childhood spent in Ukraine in writing his biographical novel about the life of Julius Słowacki.

1917 TO THE PRESENT

After World War I Soviet Ukraine was cut off from the West. In Poland literary relations developed more favorably in Warsaw, where many Ukrainians settled, than in Lviv. But even there they were not very close, being mostly limited to contributions to several publications specializing in Eastern problems and to the works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute. In Lviv the youthful Polish literary group *Sygnaly* was interested in making contact with the Ukrainians but they achieved only modest results because they did not have any prominent authors among them. Developments in Ukraine during the war and the revolution were vividly reflected in Polish literature in Z. KOSAK-SZCZUCKA's novel *Požoga* (The Fire), and in the short stories by E. MAŁACZEWSKI. However, neither of them was objective and they lacked historical perspective. The subject was dealt with rather superficially by ANDRZEJ STRUG in *Pokolenie Marka Świdy* (The Generation of Mark Swida) and *Odnaka za wierną służbę* (Reward for Loyal Service). J. KADEN-BANDROWSKI presented several pictures of the Kievan campaign of 1920 in his well-written *Rok 1920* (The Year 1920). Ukrainian motifs are to be found in the lyrics of J. IWASZKIE-

WICZ, a poet born in the Kherson region; the work of JÓSEF ŁOBODOWSKI was recognized by critics as a continuation of "the Ukrainian school"; a real masterpiece of its kind is *Na wysokiej poloninie* (On the High Plateau) by STANISŁAW WINCENZ, a work on the life of the Hutsuls, which is strongly imbued with local beliefs.

In the interwar period great progress was made in translations into Polish. The biweekly *Zet*, the weeklies *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* (The Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin), *Wotyń* (Volhynia), and *Sygnaly* (Signals), and especially the monthly *Kamera* (Camera) published in Kholm (Chełm) by K. A. JAWORSKI, systematically provided the Polish reader with modern Ukrainian poetry. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw published a large volume of translations of Shevchenko's works, to which many Polish writers of both the older and the younger generation contributed (Czesław Jastrzębiec Kozłowski, K. Wierzyński, Thaddeus Hollender, Łobodowski). But the political situation made closer literary cooperation impossible.

In drama mention must be made of the work of MARIA DĄBROWSKA. *Genjusz sierocy* (The Orphan Genius) is an ambitious attempt to present objectively the dramatic era preceding the revolution led by Khmelnytsky. The heroes of the work were King Władysław IV and Chancellor Ossolinski among the Poles and George Nemyrych and the governor, Kysil, among the Ukrainians. An adaptation of *With Fire and Sword* for the stage by Sienkiewicz had no literary value.

Literary contacts between Poles and Ukrainians increased after the war of 1939-45. There has been much translation on both sides; each country has had plays of the other in the repertoires of its theaters. But these contacts have developed exclusively within the framework of the Soviet "friendship among peoples" and it is hard to evaluate their depth and sincerity. New translations of

Polish classics continue to appear (e.g., a two-volume set of Słowacki's works, edited by Rylsky). In the emigration the problems of Polish-Ukrainian cultural cooperation have been systematically discussed in the monthly *Kultura*, edited in Paris by J. Giedroyc.

STYLISTIC TIES

The stylistic ties between the literatures of the two peoples first became quite strong in the Baroque period. It is not hard to trace definite analogies in form between the polemical prose of such Ukrainians as Ivan Vyshensky, Smotrytsky, and Mohyla and the pamphlets of a Pole like S. Orzechowski. These were not mutual influences but rather the result of a common spirit of the time. This, as has already been mentioned, can also be seen in the chronicles of that period.

Since the Romantic "Ukrainian School" was to a considerable extent influenced by folklore, it was natural that at least some of its poets should be close to those Ukrainian writers who like Metlynsky and Shevchenko took poetry as the point of departure for their own styles. It is similarly easy to discern the far-reaching similarities in form between the prose of the Ukrainian Romantics and that of Grabowski and Czajkowski; a similarity which is further accentuated by the fact that they employ common themes.

There is also no lack of analogy in the styles of the period of positivist Realism. Certain similarities are evident between the post-Romantic Ujejski and Franko. And this is, to a certain extent, also true of the work of Adam Asnyk, a pseudo-positivist. And again interest in social problems has its counterpart in Polish literature in the work of Maria Konopnicka.

In comparing contemporary Ukrainian and Polish poetry, a common choice of subjects and a common reaction to life's events (the strong sense of catastrophe

to come) are more evident than similarities in form. Nevertheless the Neoclassical trend in the Ukrainian lyric, which is still vigorous though none of the Kievan Neoclassicists is alive today, is close to the Parnassianism of the severe poetry of L. Staff and some of his successors in the Skamander group (especially Wierzyński). Paul Tychyna, who has been well translated by Joseph Czechowicz, has exerted a certain influence on the Polish younger generation.

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