

Songwriting and Singing: Ukrainian Revolutionary and Not So Revolutionary Activities in the 1860s

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This paper examines the composition and singing of revolutionary populist, patriotic, and nationalist songs by Kyiv-based Ukrainophile students and young intellectuals in the early 1860s. The first part discusses the writing of three songs: two by Anatolii Svydnytsky and one by Pavlo Chubynsky. Svydnytsky was a student at the St. Vladimir University in Kyiv (hereafter Kyiv University) during the years 1857–60, after which he left to teach Russian in a Myrhorod county school in Poltava gubernia.¹ Chubynsky was a law student at St. Petersburg University until the spring of 1861, whereupon he returned to his father's country home near Boryspil, on the road from Kyiv to Pereiaslav, to write his dissertation.² Both participated in Ukrainophile activities, which included writing for the St. Petersburg-based Ukrainophile journal *Osnova*, attending meetings of the Hromadas—societies of Ukrainian populist intellectuals in St. Petersburg and Kyiv—and participating in Hromada-sponsored activities, such as endeavors related to popular education, including teaching in Sunday schools and distributing Ukrainian-language popular literature to peasants and city youth.³

¹ On Svydnytsky, see M. Ye. Syvachenko, *Anatolii Svydnytsky i zarozhennia sotsialnoho romanu v ukrainskii literaturi* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainiskoi RSR, 1962). He is best known as the author of the first realist novel in Ukrainian, *Liu-boratski*, which he completed in 1862 but was not published until 1886.

² On Chubynsky, see Dmytro Cherednychenko, *Pavlo Chubynsky* (Kyiv: Alternatyvy, 2005). He is best known as an ethnographer and the de facto head of the Southwestern Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the years 1873–76.

³ The texts of the three songs I am discussing appear at the end of this article. The Hromadas were unofficial, and therefore illegal, societies of nationally conscious Ukrainian intellectuals. They served as the organizational vehicles and nuclei of the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century. On their activities in Ukraine and St. Petersburg, see L. H. Ivanova and R. P. Ivanchenko, *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh 60–kh rr. XIX st. v Ukraini* (Kyiv: Mizhnarodnyi instytut lnhvistyky i prava, 2000), esp. 154–238.

The second part of this paper examines an episode in late 1862, when a small group of radicals, led by the Kyiv University student Volodymyr Syniehub, went to several villages in Poltava gubernia to teach songs to and sing with peasants as a way of inciting them to rebel against landowners and imperial authorities in conjunction with the Polish insurrection that broke out in January 1863. Syniehub attended meetings of the Kyiv *Hromada*, knew Chubynsky well, and also knew Svydnytsky.⁴

The Ukrainophile intellectuals associated with the Hromadas are known to have focused on legal activities, such as scholarship, cultural work, and popular education, and to have avoided revolutionary activities. Therefore it is worth examining this seemingly incongruous episode of fomenting rebellion. Moreover, it is intriguing to look at what traditions, influences, events, or conditions of singing and songs may have fostered or spurred the writing of patriotic, nationalist, and revolutionary populist lyrics at that particular time.

These activities became possible and more likely as a result of the far-reaching changes in the Russian Empire that began after the accession of Alexander II in 1855. Early in the new tsar's reign, censorship and other administrative and police controls over the activities of educated imperial society, including those at universities, were relaxed. The universities also began accepting greater numbers of students from social backgrounds other than the nobility. Questions related to the undertaking of fundamental reforms, such as the peasantry's emancipation from serfdom, changes to land ownership and usufruct rights, and other relations between peasants and nobles, including self-government, were discussed fairly openly in print.

Discussions about the types of reforms to be enacted revealed a divide between those favoring conservative, liberal, and even quasi-socialist approaches. In the period leading up to and just after the 1861 emancipation act, tensions and antagonisms between peasants and landowners became more acute. By the late 1850s and early 1860s, major cities in the Russian Empire, and especially the universities there, became fertile areas for the spread of radical ideas among intellectuals and students. In this same period, the national movements of non-Russian peoples were revived or activated. The most notable was the Polish movement, whose leaders launched an attempt to resurrect the Polish state through armed rebellion in 1863. The growing resistance of Balkan Slavs to Ottoman rule throughout the nineteenth century also affected the national senti-

⁴ Syniehub's attempt to incite rebellion is described briefly in Syvachenko, *Anatolii Svydnytsky*, 56–63, and is mentioned in Ivanova and Ivanchenko, *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh*, 199.

ments of non-Russian Slavs. The unification of Italy in the late 1850s and early 1860s also had an influence on the development of national consciousness among non-Russian intellectuals and students.

The leadership of the revived Ukrainian national movement was initially centered in St. Petersburg, where by 1858 a Hromada had been organized. Soon thereafter Hromadas were organized not only in major Ukrainian cities of Kyiv and Kharkiv, but also in the provincial towns of Poltava and Chernihiv. The journal *Osnova*, the first publication to provide a forum for Ukrainian intellectuals and students associated with the Hromadas, began appearing in St. Petersburg in 1861. While the core of the St. Petersburg Hromada was the older generation of "Cyrillo-Methodians," who focused exclusively on cultural tasks, the Kyiv Hromada was dominated by university or former students, mostly at Kyiv University, who were more inclined toward radical views.

By the early 1860s Kyiv had become the center of the Ukrainian national movement. While many Kyiv Hromada members focused on cultural work, such as gathering folk songs and other ethnographic materials and participating in popular education endeavors such as teaching in Sunday schools, some members became involved in revolutionary activities linked to the land question and peasant emancipation.⁵ Some also sympathized with or actively supported the Poles before the 1863 Insurrection. For instance, the Russian army colonel Andrii Krasovsky, who attended Kyiv Hromada meetings, was arrested in 1862 for distributing a proclamation to soldiers of the Chernihiv regiment calling on them to disobey orders to quell peasant disturbances. During his interrogation Krasovsky revealed his sympathy for the Polish cause.⁶ Pavlo Chubynsky, who attended meetings of the St. Petersburg and later the Kyiv Hromada, also initially sympathized with the Poles.⁷

The question of whether one should support, oppose, or remain neutral toward the Polish national movement or, more specifically, the goals its leaders set vis-à-vis Right-Bank Ukraine, and whether the Poles should take up arms to achieve their goals, was of particular importance to Ukrainian intellectuals and to students at Kyiv University, where there was a large Polish student body. Polish students at Kyiv University supported the claims to Right-Bank Ukraine and Kyiv; this led to a politi-

⁵ Ivanova and Ivanchenko, *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh*, 182.

⁶ See H. I. Marakhov, *Andrii Krasovsky: Borets proty kriposnytstva i samoderzhavstva* (Kyiv: Derzhpolityvydav, 1961); and Ivanova and Ivanchenko, *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh*, 183–89.

⁷ See Ivanova and Ivanchenko, *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh*, 202; and Cherednychenko, *Pavlo Chubynsky*, 15.

cally charged atmosphere that, at times, was characterized by boisterous meetings and arguments between Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian students. These interethnic verbal confrontations stimulated and sharpened a sense of social awareness and national consciousness among the university's Ukrainian students.⁸

The vast majority of Kyiv Hromada members came to oppose the Poles not only because of their claims to Right-Bank Ukraine, but also because the leadership of the Polish movement, especially in the Right Bank, was dominated by the Polish gentry, some of whom were large landowners. In 1861 some *khlopomany*—Ukrainophile Poles and Polonized Ukrainians—led by Volodymyr Antonovych left the Polish student body and joined the Kyiv Hromada. Antonovych, who soon assumed a leading role in the *Hromada*, vehemently opposed Polish plans to organize a revolt in Right-Bank Ukraine and Kyiv.⁹

Some Kyiv Hromada members, however, wanted to take advantage of the upcoming insurrection to foment rebellion among the Ukrainian peasantry so as to achieve radical social changes and even topple the tsarist regime. It is possible, too, that the opposition of many Kyiv Hromada members to the Polish insurrection was tentative. For instance, Volodymyr Pylypenko, an associate of Volodymyr Syniehub, testified after his arrest that many Hromada members actually had a wait-and-see attitude regarding whether an armed struggle would actually break out between the Poles and Russian imperial forces.¹⁰ In this politically charged atmosphere some Hromada members and sympathizers produced incendiary literature, including poems and songs, that were then used as a means of inciting rebellion among the peasantry on the eve and at the start of the armed conflict between the insurgent Poles and the Russian state.

⁸ See Mykhailo Strytsky's memoir, "K biografii N. V. Lysenko," in his *Tvory v shesty tomakh*, vol. 6 (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1990), 403–405. Strytsky notes and briefly describes some of those meetings and how they influenced Mykola Lysenko's developing national awareness. Mykhailo Drahomanov, for his part, wrote succinctly that the "Polish movement had a great influence on my political education" ("Avtobiograficheskaia zapiska," in his *Literaturno-publistychni pratsi*, vol. 1 [Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1970], 43).

⁹ On Antonovych, see my article "Volodymyr Antonovych: Ukrainian Populist Historiography and the Politics of Nation Building," in *Historiography of Imperial Russia: The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State*, 373–93, ed. Thomas Sanders (Armonk, N.Y. and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1999); and my Ph.D. diss., "Volodymyr Antonovych: The Making of a Ukrainian Populist Activist and Historian" (University of Alberta, 1992).

¹⁰ Volodymyr Pylypenko made this claim during his interrogation by Russian authorities regarding the Kyiv Hromada. See Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv in Kyiv (hereafter TsDIA), fond 473, desc. 1, file no. 20, l. 188 zv.

The writing and distribution of politically or socially charged and even inflammatory revolutionary poetry—not intended for publication—by radical students and the intelligentsia in the Russian Empire was not unusual. Some of Taras Shevchenko's political poems fall into this category. In the political atmosphere of the late 1850s and early 1860s, that activity was quite common.¹¹ In the late 1850s, for instance, Polish students at Kyiv University composed satirical songs that appeared in handwritten clandestine journals.¹²

Therefore it was not unusual that the Kyiv University student Anatolii Svydnytsky, whom Mykhailo Drahomanov described as having the outlook of a *haidamaka*, composed inflammatory songs.¹³ Two songs Svydnytsky wrote at this time were “U poli dolia stoiala, brivonky morhala” (In the field fate awaited, beckoning with her eyebrows) and “Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti, iak kozak v nevoli” (It's been more than two hundred years since the Cossacks were enslaved).¹⁴ Soon after he composed them in 1860, Antonovych commented on their incendiary nature: “In a quiet voice [Svydnytsky] began singing two songs to me I had not heard before, whose contents made such a strong impression that I could not believe my own ears and forgot where I was, where I was sitting, and the people to whom I had been speaking.”¹⁵

In those songs Svydnytsky called on the peasants and Cossacks' descendants to slaughter their enemies and thus liberate themselves from social and national oppression. In “U poli doli stoiala,” in which he refers to the killing of Polish *szlachta* in Uman during the *haidamaka* rebellion in the late eighteenth century and its leaders, Ivan Honta and Maksym Zalizniak, Svydnytsky called on the peasants to sharpen their knives, rise up against the landowners (*pany*) and the tsar, and kill their oppressors. In “Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti” he also referred to Zalizniak, but unlike in “U poli dolia stoiala,” where social grievances were the reason for his exhortation to kill, he justified his call to violence by Ukraine's national oppression

¹¹ Syvachenko, *Anatolii Svydnytsky*, 54–55.

¹² See Ivanova and Ivanchenko, *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh*, 172.

¹³ Syvachenko, *Anatolii Svydnytsky*, 37–38.

¹⁴ The earliest version of “U poli dolia stoiala” was probably written during the investigation of Syniehub and his compatriots. It was published in H. Marakhov et al, comps., *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh na Ukraini v 1856–1862 rr.*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainiskoi RSR, 1963), 87–88. The most complete version of “Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti” was published in my article “‘Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti’: Naipovnishyi variant pisni v zapysi Panasa Myrnoho,” *Ukrainskyi istoryk* 34, nos. 1–4 (1997): 230–31.

¹⁵ See V. [Volodymyr Antonovych], “Do biohrafii A. P. Svydnytskoho,” *Zoria*, 1886, no. 11 (1 June): 195.

under Russian rule. Svydnytsky decried Khmelnytsky for exposing Ukraine to Muscovite bondage and called on the Cossacks to drop their plows, grab their knives, and kill their enemies, bringing into sharp focus his intense hatred of Russian rule.¹⁶

The final song we are examining, which became known to tsarist authorities during their investigation of Syniehub and his associates, is what became Ukraine's national anthem—"Shche ne vmerla Ukraina" (Ukraine has not yet died).¹⁷ The author, Pavlo Chubynsky, wrote the lyrics in 1862 during an evening gathering of Ukrainian and Serbian students in a Kyiv apartment he was sharing with Volodymyr Syniehub (among others). According to one memoirist who was present, Chubynsky wrote the lyrics "spontaneously" after hearing the Serbian students sing a patriotic song,¹⁸ probably the hymn "Hej Sloveni,"¹⁹ which was modeled in part on "Mazurek Dąbrowskiego," the current Polish national anthem.²⁰ Chubynsky's lyrics were first published in early 1864 in the Galician populist journal *Meta*, where they were attributed to Taras Shevchenko.²¹

At that time the tsarist authorities did not know Chubynsky was the author of "Shche ne vmerla," even though he had been placed under police surveillance soon after returning to Ukraine from St. Petersburg.

¹⁶ In the ninth verse Svydnytsky calls on the Cossacks to strangle their enemies as if they were snakes, to cut and stab them, and then burn their bodies to relieve the stench in Ukraine. See my "Vzhe bilshе lit dvisti," 230.

¹⁷ The version of Chubynsky's hymn Volodymyr Pylypenko recited to tsarist authorities is found in TsDIA, fond 473, desc. 1, file no. 20, ll. 82 and 82 verso. It was published in Cherdnychenko, *Pavlo Chubynsky*, 85–86, but without proper references. A shorter version, which Syniehub recited to the authorities, is found in *ibid.*, ll. 97 verso–98.

¹⁸ See L[eonid]. Beletsky [Biletsky], "Iz vospominanii o P. P. Chubinskom," *Ukrainskaia zhizn*, 1914, no. 3: 55.

¹⁹ "Hey Slovene" was the national anthem of Yugoslavia after 1945, and of Serbia and Montenegro until 2004.

²⁰ The Polish anthem begins with the words "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła" (Poland has not yet died). Although the Serbian hymn was Chubynsky's immediate inspiration, the opening line of the Ukrainian anthem mimics the Polish one. The Serbian hymn was sung to the melody of the Polish anthem, and it can be assumed that Chubynsky also intended his lyrics to be sung to this melody. The Galician Ukrainian composer Mykhailo Verbytsky composed the current music to Chubynsky's lyrics in 1864.

²¹ See *Meta*, 1863, no. 4: 271–72. Although dated December 1863, this issue actually appeared in early 1864. This version of "Shche ne vmerla" has a third verse, which admonishes Khmelnytsky for giving Ukraine away to the "evil Muscovites." The fourth verse, written in the spirit of Ukrainian pan-Slavism, offers support for the national-liberation struggles of other Slavs, exhorts them to unite their efforts, and admonishes Ukrainians not to be left behind in this quest. The text does not differ significantly from the version Pylypenko recited to the tsarist authorities.

Hence it was probably not the underlying reason why the authorities decided to exile him to Arkhangel'sk gubernia in November 1862.²²

Suspicious about Chubynsky were aroused by what the police and local landowners viewed as suspicious gatherings of young people at his father's country home near Boryspil. One of the visitors there was Syniehub. Informants reported that the Kyiv University students who gathered there "walked around in Little Russian [Ukrainian] garb, sang seditious Little Russian songs, and passed the time in boisterous orgies."²³ In addition to these activities, which could be described as patriotic, the spies also reported that Chubynsky and a circle of followers "were stirring up the peasants against the landowners."²⁴ Taken together, these accusations, especially those of inciting the peasants (which included attributing authorship of the incendiary proclamation "Usim dobrym liudiam" to Chubynsky), convinced the authorities to exile him.²⁵

While the evidence against Chubynsky was largely circumstantial, and the police reports were based in part on exaggerations by neighboring landowners, the same cannot be said of the evidence against Syniehub and his small group of compatriots, who were arrested in April 1863 for sedition. Syniehub and two associates, Volodymyr Pylypenko and Semen Pleshchenko, began agitating among the peasantry in the Poltava gubernia villages of Pylypcha, Nosivka, Korniiivka, and Malyi Krupil in late 1862. Pylypcha became the center of their operations after Syniehub made the acquaintance of a local landowner and gubernial secretary, Viktor Pototsky (Potocki), who allowed them to set up their headquarters in his home. From there Syniehub and his small band of revolutionaries, which at times included Pototsky himself, ventured out to hold talks with the peasants, sing along with them, and teach them the words and melodies of "seditious" songs.²⁶

In his testimony to the authorities Pylypenko said Syniehub had taught him those songs in Pototsky's house. Each day he and Leonid

²² A. [Oleksander] Rusov cites Chubynsky's authorship as the reason for his exile in his memoir "Iz vospominanii o P. P. Chubinskom," *Ukrainskaia zhizn*, 1914, no. 1: 39. Cherednychenko claims Chubynsky's authorship was the main reason for his exile in his *Pavlo Chubynsky*, 84.

²³ Excerpts of the police report are in Volodymyr Miiakovsky, "Istoriia zaslannia P. Chubynskoho," in *Volodymyr Miiakovsky: Nedrukovane i zabute. Hromadski rukhy deviatnadsiatoho storichchia*, ed. Marko Antonovych (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1984), 337.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 337–38.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 335–39; Chubynsky's defense, entitled "Istoriia moiei ssylki," appears on 339–42; and the proclamation "Usim dobrym liudiam" is on 344–45.

²⁶ Much of the relevant testimony Pylypenko gave is in TsDIA, fond 473, desc. 1, file no. 20, ll. 72–81 verso and 188–200.

Pototsky, Viktor's brother, and Syniehub would approach Pylypcha's young Cossacks and peasants, drink vodka with them, and join them in a *khorovod*.²⁷ During one such encounter Syniehub advised those assembled "to sing not Muscovite songs but their own," began singing Ukrainian songs, including "U poli dolia stoiala," and tried to convince them they should support the Poles.²⁸ According to Pylypenko, the purpose of Syniehub's agitation was to attract support for Polish efforts and "draw Russian soldiers away from Poland."²⁹

After his arrest and some time in prison, Syniehub was exiled from 1866 to 1869.³⁰ Chubynsky, too, was freed from exile in 1869; thereafter he headed an ethnographic-statistical expedition in Ukraine and other parts of the empire's Southwestern Land, during which he collected hundreds of folk songs.³¹ Also sentenced to exile were other Ukrainophiles, including Oleksander Konysky of Poltava and Stepan Nis and Ivan Andrushchenko of Chernihiv, who may or may not have engaged in revolutionary activities. At times Ukrainophile activities, such as support for the 1863–64 Polish Insurrection, involvement in anti-tsarist activities, and agitation among the peasantry convinced the tsarist authorities to resort to administrative and police measures against individual Ukrainophiles they considered dangerous and to issue the Valuev Circular, which took aim against the entire Ukrainian populist movement by forbidding the publication of Ukrainian-language educational and religious literature. Popular-education efforts in Ukrainian were also curtailed.³²

The specific events and activities that led to repressive measures against individuals and the Ukrainian populist movement as a whole occurred in the dynamic and politically charged atmosphere of the late 1850s and early 1860s—decades during which the formation of national identity and political and social radicalization accelerated. The Polish national-liberation struggle proved to be a key catalyst in awakening national feelings and patriotism among Ukrainian students at Kyiv Univer-

²⁷ A line dance during which songs can be sung.

²⁸ TsDIA, fond 473, desc. 1, file no. 20, ll. 190–92.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 189 verso.

³⁰ See Feliks Kon et al, eds., *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii: Bio-bibliograficheskii slovar*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1928), 373–74.

³¹ The expedition's findings were published in *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii krai*, 7 vols. (1872–79).

³² On the background and origins of the Valuev Circular, see A. I. Miller, *Ukrainskii vopros' v politike vlastei i russkom obshchestvennom mnenii (vtoraia polovina XIX v.)* (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2000), 96–115. See also Fedir Savchenko, *Zaborona ukrainskva 1876 r.* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970; reprint of the 1930 Kyiv edition), xv–xx and 183–204.

sity, primarily in reaction to the Polish movement and its particular manifestations in Ukraine.³³ This led to a parting of ways between Polish and Ukrainian students at Kyiv University as they faced making clear and divergent choices with regard to the Polish national movement. The social questions of the day, related to the terms of the peasants' emancipation and their hunger for land, also led to a rapid sharpening of social awareness among Ukrainian students and young intellectuals.

The prerevolutionary situation of the late 1850s and early 1860s was conducive to Anatolii Svydnytsky's and Pavlo Chubynsky's incendiary populist, patriotic, and nationalist lyrics. Their songs convey the importance of both national and social grievances and reflect the fundamental concerns of most populist students and young intellectuals of that time. They also point to the authors' possible support and encouragement of radical and even violent measures to counteract social and national oppression.³⁴ The Syniehub affair is an example of how songs were used to incite violence.

This was not the only time that intellectuals taught songs to peasants. In an earlier and unrelated incident, which occurred in the late spring and early summer of 1861, the Ukrainophile artist Hryhorii Chestakhivsky of St. Petersburg, who settled in Kaniv to take care of Taras Shevchenko's gravesite, reportedly taught local peasants *haidamaka* songs and also berated peasants who sang in Russian. Along with teaching the peasants songs, Chestakhivsky also recounted tales about the *haidamaka* uprisings and distributed Ukrainophile popular literature written in Ukrainian.³⁵ The uniqueness of the Syniehub affair was that he and his compatriots sang songs with the express intent of inciting peasants to rebel, while Chestakhivsky taught the peasants songs with the intent of awakening or sharpening their social and national awareness.

Chubynsky's and Svydnytsky's songwriting and Syniehub's and Chestakhivsky's attempts to use songs to reach out to the peasantry were real instances of Ukrainophiles creating or singing songs to foment rebel-

³³ See, for instance, Drahomanov, "Avtobigraficheskaia zapiska," 43–44, which describes how his views of Poles changed and what reaction Polish pretensions to Right-Bank Ukraine caused among his Ukrainian compatriots.

³⁴ One should keep in mind, however, that the norms of poetic license also played a role, in contrast to political pamphlets and other such literature.

³⁵ See D. F. Krasitsky and K. T. Shevchenko, comps., *Smert i pokhorony T. G. Shevchenko (dokumenty i materialy)* (Kyiv: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainkoi SSR, 1961), esp. 102–105 and 111–12. On Chestakhivsky's activities, see also Serhy Yekelchyk, "Creating a Sacred Place: The Ukrainophiles and Shevchenko's Tomb in Kaniv (1861–1900)," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 20, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1995): 22–24.

lion or raise national and social awareness in the early 1860s. But most Ukrainophiles limited themselves to activities that were legal, that is, to cultural and social activities and efforts linked to scholarship and popular education, including undertakings directly related to songs and singing. For instance, many Kyiv Hromada members and other Ukrainophiles earnestly engaged in collecting, studying, and publishing folk songs.³⁶ While these activities were essentially scholarly in nature, the Ukrainophiles recognized that singing folk songs could also raise national awareness and help build a national identity.³⁷

Organizing choirs and singing patriotic songs was clearly an important and effective means of nation building in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ukraine. Mykola Lysenko, who became a member of the Kyiv Hromada during the period examined here, founded a national school of Ukrainian classical music. He was also a pioneering ethnomusicologist who organized choirs that sang folk songs in Kyiv and other cities in the Russian Empire.³⁸

Ukrainian intellectuals and their supporters taught Svydnytsky's "Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti" and Chubynsky's "Shche ne vmerla" to the populace. In the process they struck a responsive chord. After Mykhailo Verbytsky set Chubynsky's lyrics set to music, the song quickly gained popularity in Galicia. Meanwhile peasants in Poltava gubernia apparently picked up and sang Svydnytsky's "Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti" in the 1860s: in 1867 the writer Panas Myrny (pseud. of Panas Rudchenko), who hailed from Myrhorod in that gubernia, recorded the words in a notebook, thinking that it was a folk song.³⁹ Many years later, in 1901, Ivan Franko commented on the song's popularity in Galicia.⁴⁰

Today Chubynsky's song is Ukraine's national anthem. Meanwhile choirs and folk ensembles throughout Ukraine perform Svydnytsky's "Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti." On a CD of authentic folk songs recorded in Kyiv oblast, in the liner notes the song is described for some reason as being of

³⁶ See, for instance, V. Antonovich and M. Dragomanov, *Istoricheskiia pesni maloruskago naroda*, 2 vols. (Kyiv: Tipografiia M. P. Fritsa, 1874–75).

³⁷ Ukrainophiles also wrote lyrics and composed music to patriotic songs intended for the general populace. The Kyiv Hromada member Oleksander Konysky wrote the religious hymn "Bozhe velykyi, iedynyi" ([Our] One, Great God), which Mykola Lysenko set to music.

³⁸ See Taras Filenko and Tamara Bulat, *The World of Mykola Lysenko: Ethnic Identity, Music and Politics in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ukraine* (Edmonton: Ukraine Millennium Foundation, 2001).

³⁹ See my "Vzhe bilshe lit dvisti," 229.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Cossack origin,⁴¹ and on the disc itself, in the refrain “In prison, under Muscovite guard,” the word “Muscovite” has been changed to “Turkish.”⁴² The song is also featured on a CD by the popular Ukrainian folk-rock group Haidamaky, where the lyrics are also attributed to folk sources.⁴³

Song writing and singing can help accelerate or consolidate identity formation, build support for a cause, and inspire action in times of crisis, revolution, and war. They are also effective means of promoting identity and patriotism in more peaceful times. As testimony to this, of the three songs examined here two are still sung today, and one of these two has the distinction of being Ukraine’s national anthem.

The Songs⁴⁴

У полі доля стояла ...⁴⁵

У полі доля стояла,
 Бривоньками моргала:
 З гаю хлопці до мене!
 Добрий розум у мене.
 Добрий розум в голові,
 Гострі ножі у траві.
 Гострі ножі аж горять —
 На панів та на царя.
 Гострі ножі — порада.
 Збирай же ся громада!
 Гострі ножі точені,
 В кровій панській мочені.
 Ой мочені, купані,
 У городі Умані,
 Берить ножі у руки,

⁴¹ The eponymous title of the CD is “*I a [sic] vzhe rokiv dvisti, iak kozak v nevoli*”: *Zabuti pisni ukrainsiv*, released in 2005 by Ukrainska dividi kompaniia JRC. The song was recorded in the village of Luka in Kyiv-Sviatoshyne raion.

⁴² In the lyrics, which allude to Khmelnytsky bringing Ukraine under Muscovite rule and the Cossacks’ loss of freedom as a result, the word “Turkish” makes no sense. But in Soviet Ukraine, singing “Muscovite” with the remaining lyrics unchanged or only slightly modified would probably have resulted in admonishment, if not repression, by the authorities. The more incendiary lyrics Panas Myrny wrote down are also not used here.

⁴³ “*I vzhe rokiv 200*” appears on the CD *Haidamaky*, released in 2002 by Comp Music Ltd. The group does not use the more incendiary lyrics that Panas Myrny recorded.

⁴⁴ With my orthographic changes in brackets.

⁴⁵ Source: *Suspilno-politychnyi rukh na Ukraini v 1856–1862 rr.*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii nauk URSR, 1963), 87–88.

Давайте муки за муки.
 Ми в Умані бували
 І про Умань чували,
 Про [Г]онту і Залізняка,
 Про Галайду і Харька.
 Цар все п'є та гуляє,
 Їздить зайців стріляє,
 Дере з вдови, сироти
 Для німців на чоботи.

Вже більше літ двісті ... ⁴⁶

Вже більше літ двісті,
 Як козак в неволі
 Понад Дніпром ходє
 Викликає долю:
 «Ой вийди-вийди из води —
 Визволь мене, серденько, из біди».

Не вийду, козаче
 Не вийду собою
 Хоть рада не можна
 Бо й сама в неволі, —
 Ой у неволі у ярмі,
 За московським калавуром у т[ю]рмі.

В т[ю]рмі, у кайданах
 Од часів Богдана,
 Од ёго самого
 В неволю віддана
 Ой ти, Богдане-Гетьмане!
 Запродав ти Україну и мене.

Мене молодую,
 Козацькую долю,
 Запродав в тяжкую
 Московську неволю, —
 Ой у неволю, в кайдани,
 Нерозумний Гетьмане-Богдане!

⁴⁶ Source: Bohdan Klid, “‘Vzhe bilshе lit dvisti’: Naipovnishyi variiant pisni v zapysi Panasa Myrnoho,” *Ukrainskyi istoryk* 34 (1997): 230–31.

Ти вмерь ... тобі добре
Л[е]жать де л[е]жати;
А встань — подивися
Де Вкраїна-мати
 Де наші коні соколи
 Та де козаченьки, як орли?

На панщині, в плузі,
В великій неволі
Замість того щастя,
Замість тиї долі,
 Ой обступили на округи
 Як ті чорні хмари вороги.

Тяжкі вороженьки,
Ще тяжчая туга
Як вітер пові[є]
З Великого Лугу
 Кинь плуг, козаче, бери ніжъ,
 Та де здивав воріженька, тай заріжъ.

Зроби з серпа спис
А [з] коси шаблюку;
Души вороженька,
Де здивав гадюку
 Ой души, брате, ріж, коли,
 Щоб не смердів на Вкраїні — запали.

Тоді всі святити[ї],
[І] сам Бог святий з неба
Пошлють твою долю
З неволі до тебе.
 Ой Залізничче! Де ж ти? де?
 Промов хоч словечка до людей.

Промов як з-за тебе
Ножі освятились,
Як голови лядські
По майдані котились
 Ой хто не баче, не чує,
 Ой як Москва в Україні панує.

[І]з ратищ козацьких
Серпи покували
А гострі шаблюки
На коси змінили,

А дітей наших всіх на гурт
У [p]екрути не забаром заберуть.

Идуть наші діти
У світ очі дерти ...
Вертайтесь до роду
Не жить — хоть умерти.
Ой [із] чужої сторони,
[I сходились] Україну боронить.

Повій буйний вітре,
З лісів та на лози,
Навій добрим людям,
Навій добрий розум.
Ой повій, вітре, та скажи:
Козаченьку! не сподівайсь од чужих.

Не надійсь ні на князів
Сини чоловічі,
Бо долі ні волі
Не бачит[и] в вічі.
Ой Боже слово! зроду врод —
Нема дужчих и сильніших за народ.

Ще не вмерла Україна⁴⁷

Ще не вмерла Україна,
[I] слава, [i] воля!
Ще намъ, браття-молодці,
Усміхнеться доля!
Згинуть наші вороги,
Якъ роса на сонці;
Запануємъ, браття й ми
У своїй сторонці.

Душу, тіло ми положимъ
За свою свободу
[I] покажемъ, що ми браття
Козацького роду.
Гей-гей, браття миле,
Нумо братися за діло!
Гей-гей пора встати,
Пора волю добувати!

⁴⁷ As published in *Meta*, 1863, no. 4: 271–72.

Наливайко, Залізняка
[І] Тарас Трясило
Кличуть насъ изъ-за могиль
На святее діло.
[І] згадаймо славу смерть
Лицарства-козацтва,
Щобъ не втратить марне намъ
Свого юнацтва.

Душу, тіло [і] д.

Ой Богдане, Богдане,
Славний нашъ гетьмане!
На-що віддавъ Укра[ї]ну
Москалям поганимъ?!
Щобъ вернути [її] честь,
Ляжемъ головами,
Назовемся Укра[ї]ни
Вірними синами!

Душу, тіло [і] д.

Наші браття Сл[ов'яни]
Вже за зброю взялись;
Не діжде ніхто, щобъ ми
По-заду зістались.
Поєднаймось разомъ всі,
Братчики-Сл[овя'ни]:
Нехай гинуть вороги,
Най воля настане!

Душу, тіло [і] д.

