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# TARAS ŠEVČENKO
# 1814-1861

## A SYMPOSIUM

*edited by*

VOLODYMYR MIJAKOVS'KYJ

*and*

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*on Behalf of the Ukrainian Academy*
*of Arts and Sciences in the United States*

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# EDITORS' NOTE

Seven out of the nine articles which constitute this book have been written especially for the occasion by the members and associates of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States. The remaining two articles were published previously: Viktor Petrov's in *Arka*, No. 4–5 (Munich, 1948), and Pavlo Zajcev's in *My*, No. 9–10 (Warsaw, 1939). Heretofore they were unavailable to those who do not read Ukrainian. Moreover, their publication in this collection is justified by the fact that copies of both *Arka* and *My* are very hard to come by.

The intention of the editors was to present various aspects of Ševčenko's work and life as seen from the distance of a century: sources of his world view (Volodymyr Mijakovs'kyj, Mykola Shlemkevych), peculiarities of his poetry (Viktor Petrov, George Y. Shevelov, Pavlo Zajcev) and painting (Damjan Hornjatkevyč), his theatrical interests (Valerian Revutsky); finally, the impact of Ševčenko on later generations (Jurij Lawrynenko, Petro Odarčenko). Some of the articles concentrate on summing up the research done and stating the present state of knowledge; others aim mainly at advancing new points of view and outlining new vistas in research. The authors were given a free hand in choosing one of the two approaches.

Despite the editors' liberal attitude, it is possible that *one* image of a poet and artist emerges – the image of a man who, in the first half of the nineteenth century anticipated the styles of our century, expressionism and surrealism. In this he was like Blake, Poe, Whitman, Hölderlin, and Baudelaire, although he was completely independent of these older or younger contemporaries. If such a central image does emerge, it is because the authors were guided by the facts of Ševčenko's work and life, not by preconceived notions, and because all of them saw Ševčenko from the vantage of mid-century men whose experience has been formed and molded by the social upheavals and art revolutions of the century which has elapsed since Ševčenko's death.

*New York, March 1961.*

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## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

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

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

In the transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet in its Russian variant there are the following peculiarities:

| | |
|---|---|
| г | g |
| и | i |
| ъ | omitted |
| ы | y |
| э | ė |

# ŠEVČENKO IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS

VOLODYMYR MIJAKOVS'KYJ

There are a number of reasons for the attention given by scholars to the political organization of Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1840's which was known as the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

First, the Brotherhood arose against the background of the European movement of that period, a movement that found its way to all the countries of Central Europe and culminated in the turbulent events of 1848.

Second, the ideology of the Brotherhood had an undeniable connection with and, indeed, a striking resemblance to that of earlier Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish political associations which were active in the Ukraine. There was also a close ideological relationship between the Brotherhood and the liberation movement of the sixties and later.

Finally, the Brotherhood had in its ranks a number of the outstanding men of that era – scholars and writers such as Taras Ševčenko, Mykola Kostomarov and Pantelejmon Kuliš, who soon became known far beyond the borders of their own country.

The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius was liquidated at the very beginning of its formation and activity. The exact date of its inception is not known, but it is assumed that the Brotherhood was active for no more than a year or a year and a half. In the course of that short period the Brothers were unable to implement any of their objectives, such as the publication of a popular journal for peasants and of basic textbooks. They had no time even to complete the organizational and ideological structure of their association. Their inspiring and original thoughts were buried in the records of the investigative committee, without having produced any great resonance in Ukrainian society.

Nevertheless, news of the Brotherhood began to spread, and interest in its ideological premises began to grow.

The investigation of the Brotherhood's activities was conducted in 1847 by the Third Division of the Office of His Imperial Majesty. The records

of the investigation include the statements of the accused and of witnesses as well as the correspondence and works of members of the Brotherhood, and therefore constitute the most valuable source of information for the study of the history of the association and of the relations among the individual members.[1] To this source material should be added the few later memoirs of Kostomarov and Kuliš. Kostomarov in particular referred several times in his writings to the Brotherhood and to Ševčenko's activity in it.

For the past fifty years, aside from a few articles and other brief publications on the history of the association and the roles of individual members, the literature on the Brotherhood has been limited to the works of V. Semevskij, M. Voznjak, Z. Hurevyč, J. Gołąbek, and P. Zajončkovskij.[2] Ševčenko's role in the Brotherhood has been broadly discussed in general works and in special studies of the poet. However, M. M. Novyc'kyj's work, "Ševčenko in the Records of the Court Proceedings of 1847," is the only study based on first-hand source materials.[3]

Membership in the Brotherhood was largely limited to the eleven men who were brought before the judicial inquiry and who were more or less severely punished for their activities in the association.[4] Along with a few scholars and teachers, the Brotherhood largely consisted of Ukrainian university youth, coming from various social segments and from various provinces of the Ukraine. The Brothers had also a wider circle of sympathizers and close friends who, as far as idelology was concerned, were

[1] The records of the investigation of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius have not yet been published in the Soviet Union in the form used for publication of the Decembrist and Petraševskij files. The bulk of the testimony by the Brothers was published by M. Hruševs'kyj, in *Zbirnyk pamjaty T. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1915), pp. 101–256, and in a separate reprint, *Materijaly do Kyrylo-Metodijivs'koho Bratstva*, prepared by Hruševs'kyj (Kiev, 1915). This publication was based not on the original investigation records, but on office copies, not always complete or exact, sent to D. Bibikov, Governor-General in Kiev, for his own information. Henceforth these texts will be referred to as *Materijaly*.

[2] V. Semevskij, "Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo, 1846–1847", *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, No. 5 and 6 (1911); reprinted in *Golos Minuvšego*, Moscow, No. 10–12 (1918); M. Voznjak, *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke Bratstvo* (Lviv, 1921); Z. Hurevyč, *Moloda Ukrajina, do visimdesjatyx rokovyn Kyrylo-Metodijivs'koho Bratstva*, Ed. by M. Javors'kyj (Kharkiv, 1928); Józef Gołąbek, *Bractwo Św. Cyryla i Metodego w Kijowie* (Warsaw, 1936); P. Zajončkovskij, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo* (Moscow, 1958). Only the works of Semevskij and Zajončkovskij are based on materials from the original archives.

[3] *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (Kiev, 1925), pp. 51–99.

[4] They were Mykola Kostomarov, Mykola Hulak, Vasyl' Bilozers'kyj, Taras Ševčenko, Pantelejmon Kuliš, Mykola Savyč, and students at the University of Kiev: Jurij Andruz'kyj, Opanas Markovyč, Oleksander Navroc'kyj, Ivan Posjada, and Oleksander Tulub.



an integral part of the association. Here D. Pyl'čykov and P. Čujkevyč, both teachers, may be mentioned. There were also a few persons included in the investigation by pure accident, such as the well-known Slavophile F. Čyžov.

## 1

Although there was a great divergence of interests and views among the individual members, three main problems were fundamental in their ideology: the Slavic problem, which under contemporary conditions and according to current concepts was basically the national issue; the social problem, centered on the demand for abolition of serfdom and for general education; and the political problem, involving plans for creating a federation of republics out of the imperial powers. All the ideas of the Brotherhood were based on the principles of Christian ethics. This was stipulated for all members, including Ševčenko.

The very taking of Cyril and Methodius, the first enlighteners of the Slavs, as patron saints of the Brotherhood suggests that the Slavic question was uppermost in the ideology of the association.

The idea of unity among and union of all Slavs was entirely in accord with the prevailing concepts of that romantic period in all civilized countries of Europe. Romanticism paid close attention to all expressions of national "spirit" in folklore, religious belief, and the like. The idea of Slavic unity was sought in the ancient past of the Slavic tribes, and from that point of view also the history of each individual Slavic nationality, its language and literature, customs, habits, and religious concepts were studied. Czechs such as Jan Kollár, P. J. Šafařik, and Václav Hanka were founders of these Slavic studies, and their names were universally identified with the Slavic renaissance.

Such events as the publication of a grammar of the Slavonic language by Jernej Kopitar (1808), the publication of Serb folk songs by Vuk Karadžić (1814–1815), Hanka's discovery of the Královédvorský manuscript (1817), the founding of the Czech Museum in Prague (1818), which became the center of collecting Slavic literary and historical materials and relics, were the landmarks in the development of interest in Slavic studies and in awakening interest in Ukrainian problems as well. By the late eighteen-twenties, and particularly in the thirties, there was in the Ukraine a literary renaissance which closely resembled that of the Western Slavs. Thus, the collection of Ukrainian folk songs published by Myxajlo Maksymovyč in 1827 and 1834, the first attempt, by D. Bantyš-

Kamens'kyj, to write a Ukrainian history (three editions: 1822, 1830, 1842); the discoveries of new historical documents, Cossack chronicles, made by Bodjans'kyj, Kuliš, Kostomarov, and others, and the dissemination among Ukrainian intellectuals of the well known manuscript of the so-called *Istorija Rusov* (History of Rus') – these and similar events supplied more and more data for comparison with what was known about Western and Southern Slavs.

Certain aspects of the Russian imperial ideology contributed to these developments. The official Russian three-unitary formula covered not only the Orthodox religion and czarist absolutism, but the factor of "nationality" as well. The government's interest in developing Slavic studies is evidenced in the work of two Russian ministers of national education: Admiral A. Šiškov (1824–28) and Count S. Uvarov (1833–1849). Šiškov even championed a plan to invite Hanka, Čelakovský, and Šafařík to Russia as teachers and scholars. In fact, the introduction of Slavic studies in St. Petersburg was on Šiškov's initiative, and the Uvarov University Statute of 1835 introduced systematic Slavic studies in four universities, including that of Kharkiv. The University of Kiev, founded in 1834 (after the liquidation of the Vilna institutions of graduate education and the College of Kremjanec', as a result of the Polish uprising) was in a special situation. The Uvarov Statute was introduced there first in 1842, but the Chair of Slavic History and Literature remained vacant for some time thereafter.

The selection of Kharkiv as a center for Slavic studies was fully justified, since it had been the center of Ukrainian cultural life since the turn of the century. Such outstanding writers as Petro Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (1791–1856) and Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko (1778–1843) were active there. There, too, the first literary journals were published, such as *Ukrainskij Vestnik* (1816–1821) and *Ukrainskij Al'manax* (1831), as well as literary collections such as *Zaporožskaja Starina* by I. Sreznevs'kyj (1834–1838) and, later, *Snip* by O. Korsun (1841) and *Molodyk* by I. Bec'kyj (1843–44).

The Pan-Slavic ideas which Kostomarov brought to Kiev and circulated in the Brotherhood were directly related to the ideas of Izmail Sreznevs'kyj, who had spent three years in various Slavic countries. In the thirties Sreznevs'kyj had been in the center of the Kharkiv group of young writers, pioneers of the Ukrainian literary renaissance who comprised the so-called Kharkiv school of romantics, with Kostomarov, no doubt, first among them. Sreznevs'kyj, at that time professor of statistics, was interested in history, ethnography, and folklore, and recorded folk



songs and historical legends and tales for his *Zaporožskaja Starina*. Born in Russia, he spent his youth in Kharkiv and became a Ukrainian convert. In 1835 he published his "Ukrainian Chronicle of 1640–1657," as a separate issue of his *Zaporožskaja Starina*. It was devoted entirely to excerpts from chronicles and songs of the Khmelnytsky epoch.

Sreznevs'kyj's works were of great interest to the young Kostomarov, who was about to graduate (1836) from the University of Kharkiv, where there were no professors in this field. It was natural, therefore, that Kostomarov, being only five years Sreznevsky's junior, and, like him, a Ukrainian convert, should have adapted himself to the romantic atmosphere and idealized the Ukrainian past. He accepted as reliable sources such works as *Istorija Rusov* and *Zaporožskaja Starina*. He was struck by the similarities between Ukrainian folklore and anthropology and those of other Slavic civilizations. This led him directly to the problem of Slavic unity. Kostomarov derived from the foreword to *Zaporožskaja Starina* his views on the importance of tales and historical songs *(dumy)* for the study of the past, and in particular for the investigation of the life of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Sreznevs'kyj had written: "The scarcity of historical records about the past of the Cossacks compels the interested student to look for other sources of information, and he finds for his study a rich, inexhaustible mine in the people's legends and historical songs".[5] Nine years later, in 1843, this idea formed the basis of Kostomarov's master's thesis, entitled "Ob istoričeskom značenii Russkoj narodnoj poèzii" (On the Historical Significance of Russian Poetic Folklore). In the thesis defense, Sreznevs'kyj was the principal official opponent.

Under Sreznevs'kyj's influence and encouragement, Kostomarov began to study Polish and Czech, and attempted to translate into Ukrainian excerpts from the Královédvorský manuscript. Through the very close friendship which developed between them, Kostomarov learned directly about the great upsurge of the Slavic consciousness in Slavic lands, a great enthusiasm for Slavic unity, and a tireless zeal for the study of the national past and the collection and publication of folklore.

Not long before he moved from Kharkhiv to Kiev in 1844, Kostomarov planned a periodical publication of *Zapiski o Južnoj Rossii po Slavjanax* (Notes on Southern Russia and the Slavs) in cooperation with Sreznevs'kyj and Amvrosij Metlyns'kyj. In Kiev Kostomarov induced Kuliš to work on these publishing plans, which, however, were never realized. Kuliš, for his part, attempted to convince Ševčenko to join the group.

[5] A. Gruševskij, *Rannie ètnografičeskie raboty N.I. Kostomarova* (SPB, 1911), pp. 16–17.

The publication was supposed to contain not only articles from the field of Slavic studies, but also prose and poetry in Ukrainian.[6]

The whole complex of the romantic ideas of the Sreznevs'kyj group – ideas about the Slavic renaissance and unity in close connection with the rebirth of the Ukrainian people – was brought to Kiev by Kostomarov, together with his own essentially historical interests, which at that time were concentrated on the Khmelnytsky era.

Slavic studies, as noted above, had not yet been introduced at the University of Kiev. Now, from the official point of view, they were particularly welcome, because until recently the faculty and student body had been predominantly Polish. This preponderance had been partially weakened through the university reorganization which resulted from the uncovering of the so-called "Konarski conspiracy" in 1838. (See below). Uvarov, Imperial Minister of Education, forced upon the university "special" measures to suppress the "plague of hatred between the two Slavic nationalities".[7] Here Uvarov meant only the Russian and Polish nationalities. Czech Slavic studies, with their pro-Russian character, suited his purposes at the time. Thus, without even awaiting the establishment of an official chair of Czech language, a course in the Czech language was introduced in the curriculum, to be taught by Kondrat Straškevyč, professor of classical languages.[8] These official plans did not foresee, however, the existence of a third Slavic nationality, namely the Ukrainian, the young representatives of which had just begun to relate to Slavic studies the idea of a national rebirth of their own people.

Kostomarov found in Kiev a group of Ukrainian university youth who had been prepared by the lectures of Myxajlo Maksymovyč for the adoption of these new ideas. Kostomarov soon became a spiritual leader of this group, as Sreznevs'kyj was in Kharkiv. These youth were ready to be standard-bearers for the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius. They not only studied Slavic languages and literatures, but collected Ukrainian ethnographic and folkloric material for comparative analysis; they also wrote poetry in Ukrainian.

"The Ukrainian songs and the oral tradition of the Ukrainian people inspired the young minds in Kiev with the blessed idea of raising their nation from the darkness", said Kuliš later,[9] and Kuliš' autobiography,

[6] Kuliš' letter to Ševčenko, December 31, 1844, *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (1925), p. 79.
[7] M. V. Vladimirskij-Budanov, *Istorija Imp. Universiteta Sv. Vladimira*, I (Kiev, 1884), p. 75.
[8] *Biografičeskij slovar' professorov Imp. Universiteta Sv. Vladimira* (Kiev, 1884), p. 627.
[9] P. Kuliš, *Xutorna poezija* (Lviv, 1882), p. 7; quoted here from Z. Hurevyč, *Moloda Ukrajina* (Kharkiv, 1928), p. 10.



published later in *Pravda* in Lviv, added: "Christianity and the history of the Slavs were the light and the warmth they needed for the great undertaking." [10]

This group of young people and their student colleagues attended the lectures on Slavic mythology which Kostomarov gave in 1846, at the beginning of his teaching career. In these lectures he presented a comparative analysis of the pagan religious beliefs of various Slavic tribes. He concluded that "the foundations of the religious beliefs of all Slavs were the same; this is apparent in the similarities among current national customs and rites, feasts, divinations, popular beliefs. There were also, of course, national differentiations in the religion of the Slavs."[11]

This was the year–1846–when Kostomarov compiled his *Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu* (Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People), the work which was to express the fundamental ideas of the Brotherhood. There he paid much attention to the "Slavic question", devoting to it almost the entire second half of the work. Outlining the history of the Slavic race, Kostomarov idealized certain elements, considering the Slavs superior to the Romance and Germanic nations. According to his scheme, all were equal among the Slavs; there were "neither kings nor masters" and "even before the acceptance of the faith... the Slavs worshipped one God" (stanza 57). Later, however, because of their own faults and sins the Slavs were subjugated to the Germans, Turks, and Tatars (stanza 63). Regeneration of the divided Slavs came through the idea of brotherhood, with the Cossacks as standard-bearers (stanza 76). The Ukraine had to carry out a unifying rescue mission among the Eastern Slavs. A messianic notion of the Ukraine's historic mission was clearly expressed at the end of the Book (stanza 108): "And the Ukraine will rise from her grave and again will call to her brother Slavs; and they will hear her call, and the Slavic peoples will rise..."[12]

Thus the essentially scholarly problems of broad Slavic studies were fused with poetic romanticism and colorful idealization of the past and the future, even by such outstanding scholars as Kostomarov.

Among all the Brothers Pantelejmon Kuliš and Kostomarov were

[10] "Žyzn' Kuliša", *Pravda* (Lviv, 1868): quoted here from A. Pypin and V. Spasovič, *Istorija slavjanskix literatur*, I, second edition (SPB, 1861), p. 376.
[11] *Slavjanskaja mifologija*, Sočinenie Nikolaja Kostomarova, extracts of lectures, held at the University of St. Vladimir in the second half of 1846 (Kiev, 1847), p. 105.
[12] M. Kostomarov, *Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu* (Augsburg, 1947), p. 24. English translation taken from B. Janivs'kyj, *Kostomarov's "Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People"* (New York City, 1954) (Research Program on the U.S.S.R., Mimeographed Series No. 60). Stanza numbering is from the translation.

closest in scholarly interests. Kostomarov himself related that during his first meeting with Kuliš in 1844 they both discovered with great satisfaction that they had been familiar with the same historical sources – unpublished at the time. When they started to talk about folk songs, Kuliš showed Kostomarov a sheaf of recorded texts.[13] Both men intended to become scholars. In 1846 Kuliš received a fellowship to visit various Slavic countries. (He was unable to go because he was arrested when the Brotherhood was uncovered.) Kuliš was interested primarily in Ukrainian problems, and thus less enthusiastic than the other members about the concept of Slavic unity. Nevertheless, he believed that his and Ševčenko's work would benefit the cause of "Ukrainian and Slavic freedom," as he put it in his *Xutornaja Poezija* (Farmstead Poetry).[14] He was strong and deep in his Ukrainian patriotism: when the Brotherhood was active he stated that "the Ukraine and the Ukrainian language had become sacred to him".[15] Here, Kuliš was closer in feeling to Ševčenko, whom he met in 1843, than to the "convert" Kostomarov, who sometimes even hesitated to call himself Ukrainian. Kuliš actually had to convince him that he was![16]

Within the Brotherhood it was Mykola Hulak and, in particular, Vasyl' Bilozers'kyj, who most effectively supported Kostomarov's Slavic idea. Hulak came to Kiev in 1845, upon completion of his studies in Derpt (Tartu). A lawyer, Hulak became greatly interested in studying Czech law at Kiev. Together with Posjada, a student, he began to study the Czech, and with Kostomarov the Serbian, languages. Of all the Brothers, only Hulak and Kuliš kept up a correspondence with Hanka, the Czech historian and philologist, who sent to Hulak in March of 1846 a book of old Czech law and a letter outlining his plans for publishing old texts in the Czech law. Kuliš fostered great hopes for Hulak as a prospective scholar and writer, and as an active member of the Brotherhood. He helped Hulak to go to St. Petersburg, where, Kuliš believed, working conditions were most favorable. Kostomarov also kept in close touch with Hulak. The available data indicate that all the organizing work in the Brotherhood was actually handled by Kostomarov and Hulak, with Vasyl

[13] N. I. Kostomarov, *Literaturnoe nasledie* (SPB, 1890), p. 47.
[14] Quoted in O. Hermajze, "P. Kuliš i M. Kostomarov jak členy Kyrylo-Metodijivs'koho Bratstva", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, collection I (Kiev, 1925), p. 54.
[15] Letter of March 14, 1846 from P. Kuliš to O. Markovyč, *Za sto lit*, I (Kiev, 1927), p. 50.
[16] Letter of May 2, 1846 from Kuliš to Kostomarov. See my publications "Ljudy sorokovyx rokiv (Kyrylo-Metodijivci v jix lystuvanni)", *Za sto lit*, 2 (Kiev, 1928), p. 83. Henceforth cited as "Lystuvannja".



Bilozers'kyj. Ševčenko and Kuliš were not actively engaged in the organizational work of the association.

Vasyl Bilozers'kyj said during the investigation that at the university "he had read with great interest everything that concerned the Slavs, and in this way had become gradually acquainted with the history, literature and languages of the Slavic nationalities".[17] In a letter to O. Markovyč he expressed great satisfaction with the news that Kostomarov was to lecture on Slavic mythology, adding: "He was good enough and gracious enough to open my eyes to the great truths".[18]

While teaching in Poltava Bilozers'kyj was working on his dissertation on the history of Slavic literatures. Kostomarov and Navroc'kyj sent him books and journals on the subject from Kiev. He also managed to find some books in his field in the library of the Poltava Military School. In his letters to the Brothers there are many comments on his reading. He read with great enthusiasm Kollár's poem, "Slávy Dcera" (Daughter of Glory) – a quintessential statement of belief in Slavic unity.[19] He also made extensive notes on an article by a French Slavist, Robert, on literary and political Pan-Slavism.[20] He sought to surround himself with "people of noble ideas", who "could translate words into deeds".[21] Bilozers'kyj attempted also to propagate the ideas of the Brotherhood at literary evenings, arranged in Poltava by Sophie Kapnist-Skalon (see below). There he read the Ukrainian literary works of Kuliš, Ukrainian, Serb, and Czech folk songs, and excerpts from "Slávy Dcera". "I shall attempt", he wrote to Opanas Markovyč, "to give these evenings a very serious character; I shall select for the readings works which convey the Christian and national ideas. I made up for myself a plan of action which will grow and bear fruit".[22] He found a very attentive audience, particularly in Alexandra Kapnist, younger sister of the hostess. He wrote to Markovyč: "Mlle Kapnist supported my ideas and I was surprised to find that she agreed with me when I was discussing Slavic aspirations and Slavic literatures, and maintaining that they would be a guarantee for the existence of the Ukraine".[23]

[17] *Materijaly*, p. 87.
[18] "Lystuvannja", p. 56, letter of August 30, 1846.
[19] Bilozers'kyj could have had this work in its latest enlarged edition (Budapest, 1845), which included in its two parts 622 sonnets.
[20] Ciprien Robert, "Le deux panslavismes", *Revue de deux mondes*, 1846, 1er novembre.
[21] "Lystuvannja", p. 59.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

There he also met a Czech composer, Alois Jedlička, who sang Czech songs. "And in addition", Bilolzers'kyj wrote, "he is personally acquainted with Šafařík, Hanka and others dear to my heart. This is a real find for me".[24] During the hearings Bilozers'kyj admitted that the Pan-Slavist idea had so captured his interest that he "had made himself wholeheartedly [its] champion".[25] By the term Panslavism he understood the unification of all Slavic nationalities in a common family. This would be automatically accomplished when all Slavic peoples felt the need for such fraternal unity.[26] At the hearings he formulated very well the Christian, idealistic aspects of his naive conception of Pan-Slavism, which he accepted most sincerely. At that time Bilozers'kyj wrote about the future union of the Slavs as follows: "Being inspired by love of humanity it must develop in itself the Christian rules of life; apply them in society; and in this way bring a new element, a new driving force, so to speak, to the action of mankind".[27]

In Poltava, Bilozers'kyj recalled with emotion the earnest conversations at the meetings of the association. In particular he remembered those with Hulak.[28] From the views expressed by the members, it is clear that Bilozers'kyj had great moral authority among them, although he himself said that he never pretended to be the leader of the Slavophiles.[29] "Thank God", Markovyč wrote to Hulak, "for making him the star leading us to Bethlehem".[30] And Kuliš, in one of his letters, saw Bilozers'kyj as "that very vessel", in which he poured all his secret and veiled feelings.[31] What Ševčenko thought about Bilozers'kyj as a Brother is not known. It is known only that Kuliš brought the two together, and that Bilozers'kyj was thrilled by Ševčenko's poems, that he kept a notebook filled with them. On the occasion of the publication of Ševčenko's poem "Jeretyk, abo Ivan Hus", Bilozers'kyj gave it an interesting evaluation which deserves to be quoted here as an appraisal by one of the Brothers of Ševčenko's importance for the Brotherhood:

I found myself thinking with pleasure about what a genius we have in Ševčenko. Only a genius can with one deep feeling understand the demands of a people, even the needs of the whole century. No science or learning can do this without

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[25] *Materijaly*, p. 88.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[28] "Lystuvannja", pp. 55 and 59.
[29] *Materijaly*, p. 101.
[30] *Za sto lit*, I, p. 40.
[31] "Lystuvannja", p. 47.



the fire of poetry and religion. I ardently hope that his translations of the Psalms will reveal this minstrel's true and blessed spirit. Then a new and inexhaustible spring of life would renew our literature and set it on a sound foundation.[32]

Here only one aspect of Ševčenko's poetry has been discussed – its religious and moral effect on the Brotherhood. It could be a strictly subjective reflection of Bilozers'kyj's feelings. Kuliš, Kostomarov, and Markovyč appreciated in Ševčenko's works that which corresponded most closely with their own romantic seeking of the national spirit in poetry. They all, Ševčenko included, deeply loved folk poetry and were engaged in collecting and recording folklore. This was a general phenomenon of the romantic era in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. But it became specific with the Brotherhood in its relating of the problem of Slavic unity with the Ukrainian national point of view, as it was elaborated by Kostomarov, Hulak, and Bilozers'kyj.

Ševčenko's attitude toward Kostomarov is seen in Kostomarov's autobiography and in a few of his literary sketches published during the twenty years he outlived Ševčenko. These give a view of Ševčenko's attitude towards the Slavic question as it was understood by the Brothers. Kostomarov related the following concerning the first months of their friendship:

At that moment my whole being was taken up with the idea of Slavic unity, the spiritual community of all peoples of Slavic descent, and when I began to talk about it with Taras Hryhorovyč, I found out that he had the same enthusiastic feeling and thoughts, and this made me very close to him.[33]

Kostomarov mentioned that Ševčenko was present at the last meeting of the Brotherhood at Christmas in Hulak's home, where the central theme was the Slavic idea. During the investigation, however, neither Ševčenko nor any other member gave a clear account of the poet's attitude toward the Slavic question. We know, however, that Ševčenko did not learn of the idea from the Brotherhood, but had been acquainted with the problem before he entered the association. It is much more difficult with Ševčenko than with Kostomarov to trace the sources of his knowledge. Of the various Slavic languages, Ševčenko undoubtedly knew Polish, and this would have helped him to understand Czech, which is closely related.

The first statement of Ševčenko's views on the fraternity of Slavs

[32] Letter of May 1, 1846, from V. Bilozers'kyj to M. Hulak, "Lystuvannja", p. 52.
[33] "Pis'mo k izdatelju-redaktoru *Russkoj Stariny*", by N. Kostomarov, *Russkaja Starina*, XXVII (1880), p. 598.

appears in 1841, in his foreword to "Hajdamaky", where he states: "We are all – Slavs... children of one mother". However, in the poem this idea is applied only to two Slavic nationalities: Polish and Ukrainian. Similarly in his drama *Nikita Gajdaj* (1841), of which only fragments remain, the idea of Slavic unity is built into the framework of Polish-Ukrainian relations. The source of this notion of Polish-Ukrainian Brotherhood could have been from belles lettres. The idea could be traced to the so-called Ukrainian school in Polish literature, but I cannot indicate any definite, immediate source. It is certain, however, that the foreword to "Hajdamaky", which presents a clear position on the Slavic question, is not taken from any of the Czech scholarly works which had been a source for Kostomarov and other members of the Brotherhood. One could refer tentatively to the literary works of Bohdan Zaleski,[34] Michał Czajkowski,[35] and Severyn Goszczyński.[36] Their influence on Ševčenko in the 1840's has been considered by historians of Ukrainian literature. Michał Grabowski, Kuliš' friend, with whom Ševčenko had some connection in 1843 while publishing *Živopisnaja Ukraina* (The Ukraine in Pictures) is another possible influence.[37] Whatever the sources, it is important to stress that Ševenko's ideas about the Slavs had already been formed by the early forties.

[34] It is a well-known fact, that Bohdan Zaleski was interested in the Slavic question and that he was even a candidate to go to various Slavic lands to prepare himself for lecturing on Slavic languages and literatures in Warsaw (V. A. Francev, *Pol'skoe slavjanovedenie konca XVIII i pervoj četverti XIX st.*, Prague, 1906, pp. 390 and CLX). Zaleski helped Mickiewicz by supplying him with essential literature on the Slavs and translating Serb songs from the collection of Vuk Karadžić for his lectures at the Collège de France in 1840 (H. Batowski, *Przyjaciele Słowianie*, Warsaw, 1956, pp. 43, 45, 51, 55). Later on, in his poem "Gwar Słowiański", Zaleski mentioned Šafařík, Kopitar, and Vuk Karadžić *(Pisma* by J. B. Zaleski, St. Petersburg, 1852, II, p. 201).

[35] Czajkowski's novel "Wernyhora" (Paris, 1838, second edition, 1842) was known to young Ševčenko, and it was used by him while writing "Hajdamaky": P. Fylypovyč, "Ševčenko i Hrebinka", *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (Kiev, 1925), p. 25. Later (1855), Czajkowski supported Mickiewicz in the latter's mission to the southern Slavs, who were dominated by the Turks. This mission was sponsored by France (Batowski, pp. 166–176).

[36] M. Močul's'kyj, "Goščyns'kyj, Slovac'kyj i Ševčenko", *Naša Kul'tura*, Nos. 4, 7–12 (Warsaw, 1936). Also B. Navroc'kyj, "*Hajdamaky*" *T. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1928).

[37] Reference to this instance in Ševčenko's letter to O. Bodjans'kyj, July 29, 1844, in T. Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, XI (Warsaw, 1935), p. 31. M. Grabowski had planned in 1839 to publish in Kiev a literary journal under the title "Przeglądnik literatur słowiańskich". For that publication he attempted to contact among others Hanka *(Michala Grabowskiego listy literackie*, ed. by Adam Bar, Kraków, 1934, pp. 73–74, 92). One year later, in 1843, at the time of Grabowski's personal contact with Kuliš, the former applied for permission to publish the journal "Słowianin" in Kiev: *Pypin i Spasovič*, p. 749.



Ševčenko's interest in Slavdom was intensified during the so-called "three years" (1843–1845). At that time the subjects and the ideas in his poetry showed a closeness to the ideological atmosphere of the Brotherhood. The first appearance in his poetry of a topic from Czech history, specifically from the history of religious conflict, of struggle for the "Gospel of Truth and Justice", was not accidental. Neither was the fact that Ševčenko at that time began to translate The Psalms, which he published in his *Bukvar* (Primer) in 1861, nor that he took as a motto for his poem "Jeretyk abo Ivan Hus" (1845) the same quotation from Psalm 117 (118) which was used a year later by Kostomarov as a coda for his *Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People:* "The stone which the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone".

The theme from Czech history in the poem "Jeretyk abo Ivan Hus" was given to Ševčenko by his friend Osyp Bodjans'kyj, a Slavist who was sent to various Slavic countries on scholarly missions which coincided with Sreznevs'kyj's. Bodjans'kyj's studies in Bohemia were directed by Šafařík, and from Bodjans'kyj Ševčenko could have heard a great deal about this Czech scholar.[38] In the correspondence between Ševčenko and Bodjans'kyj, however, there is no evidence that the latter gave Ševčenko any information needed to write his "Jeretyk". Alexander Čužbyns'kyj in his memoirs quotes Ševčenko as saying that he had read all the contemporary source material about Hus and his epoch, and had even interrogated the Czechs he knew about the details he needed.[39]

At that time, the most recent source available to him could have been the thesis written in 1845 by S. Palauzov, one of Bodjans'kyj's students: *Ioann Gus i ego posledovateli* (John Hus and his Followers). This thesis was published in Moscow when Ševčenko was in the Ukraine, about a month before the poem was completed. If there is a possibility that Ševčenko used data from Palauzov's book, it would mean that he had seen it during the writing. This could have been arranged with Bodjans'kyj's assistance.[40] Pavlo Zajčev, Ševčenko's biographer, surmises that Ševčenko could have derived some data about Hus from Jedlička, the Czech musician and composer whom Bilozer'skyj had met in Poltava, and whom Ševčenko met in July, 1845, in the home of the Rodzjanko family.[41]

[38] Bodjans'kyj translated into Russian some of Šafařík's works: *Slavjanskie drevnosti* in 1837, and *Slavjanskoe narodopisanie* in 1843.

[39] A. Čužbinskij, *Vospominanija o T. G. Ševčenke* (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 12.

[40] On the utilization of Palauzov's book by Ševčenko: Ivan Bryk, "Ševčenkova poema 'Ivan Hus'", *Zapysky* of Ševčenko Scientific Society, (Lviv, 1919), 119–120 pp. 126–127.

[41] Pavlo Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (New York-Paris-Munich, 1955), pp. 141–142.

Hus was presented in Ševčenko's poem as a fighter for the national and religious liberation of the Czech people. The work itself does not bear any marks of the Brotherhood's idea of Slavic unity, but in the "Epistle to the Glorious P. I. Šafařik", written a month later and attached to the poem as a dedication, the idea found its most outspoken expression. The idea of Slavic unity is linked here with Šafařik, who brought "all Slavic streams into one sea." The captivity and disunity of the Slavs is blamed on the Germans, who "set the big house afire."

Ševčenko mentioned Šafarík and other enlighteners of the Slavs in his "Epistle to My Dead, Living, and Yet-to-be-born-Fellow countrymen", in December, 1845. Here the view of the Slavic problem is essentially different. He reproaches Ukrainian society:

I Kollara čytajete
Z usijeji syly
I Šafarika i Hanku
I v slovjanofily
Tak i pretes', i vsi movy
Slovjans'koho ljudu,
Vsi znajete, a svojeji
Dast'bih

("You read / with all your interest Kollár / Šafařík and Hanka, / and you want to be / Slavophiles. You know / all Slavic languages, / but you don't care / about your own".)

He expressed this thought even more clearly and forcefully in 1847, in the foreword to a projected new edition of his *Kobzar*. He reproaches those educated Ukrainians who "bartered away their own good mother to a worthless drunkard, and what's more, added a 'v' [to their names]."[42] He asked "why V. S. Karadžić, Šafařík and others had not become German, (although this would have been convenient for them) but had remained Slavic, true sons of their mothers and had kept their good name. Alas! Yet, Brothers, do not despair, but pray and work wisely for our unhappy Ukraine".[43]

This kind of nationalist Ukrainian interpretation of the patriotic element in the ideology of the Brotherhood distinguished Ševčenko's work in the 1840's, although of course the nationalist trend of thought was accepted to some extent by all the Brothers. This was the basis, a

[42] Reference to those Ukrainians who russianized their names by ending them with the letter "v".

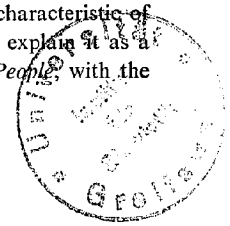
[43] M. M. Novyc'kyj, *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (1925), p. 73.



natural foundation, for all the other elements of their social and political ideology.

The most extreme expression of the patriotic element in the ideology of the Brotherhood is found in the form of Ukrainian messianism in Kostomarov's *Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* and in his short story "Panyč Natalyč" (Master Natalyč).[44] The messianic idea, however, is not found in any of the Brotherhood's documents, nor in the private correspondence of the members. Kostomarov himself made no mention of it in his recollections of the Brotherhood.

One can doubt if the messianic idea was ever really characteristic of Kostomarov's views. This author would be inclined to explain it as a literary reflection of Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish People*, with the Ukraine plainly substituted for Poland.



## 2

The Slavic Idea of the Kievan group arose primarily under the influence of the literary works of the Romantic period. It also had its source in the accounts of those who travelled in Slavic countries in the thirties and forties. These people were moved by a general enthusiasm for the idea of a revival of the Slavs. They were excited about the common past of the Slavs, and about the possibilities for their common future. As for the social ideas of the Brotherhood, they were born in life itself, fostered by the striking contrast between the idealism of youth and contemporary conditions. Testimony to this was given by almost every single member.

Kostomarov wrote the following in his letter to K. Sementovs'kyj (12/9/44) on the situation of the peasants: "They would be better off at hard labor... They are treated so awfully that it exceeds any idea of oppression, and it terrifies a friend of mankind". The position of the peasantry had not changed since Beauplan, he wrote: "In Russia there is a terrifying barbarity; in Russia when you travel from the Great Russian provinces toward the Western provinces you may follow the deterioration of the life of the common people in direct relation to the traces of the fallen Polish Republic". "Their 'terrific' liberalism", as Kostomarov put is, "does not prevent the Polish nobles from abusing the serfs. They are true Lafayettes only in words". Kostomarov's diatribes against the nobility in this letter have a strongly anti-Polish character. "There are no restric-

[44] A fragment of that short story, preserved among Kostomarov's papers taken during his arrest, was published by myself; see: *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (1924), pp. 131–133.

tions for the noblemen [the Poles] here and this is very bad. They are allowed to eat and fatten in their palaces like swine, to go abroad, to spend their money lavishly, to live at the expense of the Russian homeland, to slander Russia".[45] These words were written in 1844, before the Brotherhood was founded. During the life of the association, these words were echoed in some anti-Polish passages in *The Books of Genesis*.[46]

Ivan Posjada, a twenty-four-year-old student, wrote during the investigation that when travelling through Poltava Province he saw the precarious position of the peasants "who were suppressed by the landlords and estates managers".[47] In papers confiscated during the hearings he wrote: "Everything is taken away from the peasants by the arrogant landlord at the very moment the peasants have need of it".[48]

Opanas Markovyč commented during the hearings on the sad plight of the peasants in Poltava Province, which might bring "humiliation and extermination of the whole population", and "corruption and moral decay in the common people".[49]

One V. Tarnovs'kyj, a manorial landowner, read an article on serfdom in Hulak's presence at Bilozers'kyj's place in Kiev, in which he pictured a gradual process in the Ukraine of conversion of free peasantry into a new slavery, and he gave a "terrifying picture of a cruelty of our time".[50] Hulak's own analysis of the problem was from a legal point of view. In a letter to Hanka in 1846 he wrote that "the legal condition of the lower classes... slaves, serfs, servants, peasants, subjects and others... deserves because of its gravity and timeliness consideration above all other matters".[51]

There is no need to cite Ševčenko's works on the subject. His views are too well known. During the hearings he clearly stressed "the destitution and horrifying oppression of the peasants, by their landlords, the leaseholders and their managers in the Ukraine".[52] Ševčenko's works and letters from the period before the founding of the Brotherhood, and

[45] *Ukrajina*, No. 3, (Kiev, 1925), p. 48.
[46] "...and they ravaged Poland, as before they had ravaged the Ukraine. And Poland deserved this because she had not heeded the Ukraine, and had destroyed her own sister". *Books of Genesis* (stanzas 102–103).
[47] Quoted from the records of the Cyril-Methodius case of the Third Division of His Imperial Majesty's Office. "On the Ukrainian-Slavonic Society", 1847, No. 81, part 9, sheet 15. Henceforth referred to as "Case", with relevant sections identified.
[48] *Ibid.*, sheet 4, Posjada file, No. 3.
[49] Case, part 11, sheet 20.
[50] *Za sto lit*, I, p. 37.
[51] *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (Kiev, 1926), pp. 131–138.
[52] *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (1925), p. 94.



particularly those of the so called "three year" period, were more violent in their anti-serfdom than those of any other member. As a former serf, he simply could not stand the contempt for a fellow human being which was directed against the serf. Such poems as "Son" (Dream, 1844), "Velykyj L'ox" (The Great Cave, 1845) and, in particular, "The Epistle" condemned the subjugation of the Ukraine and the injustice against the Ukrainian peasant. The fierce imagery of these poems imparted a new intensity to the arguments of the other Brothers. Many had handwritten copies of them. Some knew them by heart. When Posjada wanted to give a full picture of the peasants' plight, he did so by paraphrasing passages from Ševčenko's "Son": "Terrible conditions prevail in our country; the old mother is left alone and her only son, the only hope and support of her old age, is taken from her for the army. For years the peasant has had to sell his last cow to pay the exorbitant taxes".[53]

The Brotherhood developed no definite plans for abolishing this bondage, although obviously they considered the issue. One of them, Jurij Andruz'kyj, a student, drafted his own interesting plan, which provided for redemption of those peasants in estates which were under wardship. Money for this purpose would come from planned economies in the army and the higher levels of the national administration. All male serfs were to receive their freedom at the age of sixty, and all females at fifty, with the landowner obligated to provide subsistence until their deaths. All children with at least one free parent were to be freed as well. To prevent abuses, manorial lords could take over their estates only upon taking an oath. Moreover, they were to maintain schools for their serf-peasants. Voluntary emancipation of the serfs was to be rewarded.[54]

In the bylaws of the Brotherhood, *Glavnye Pravila Obščestva*, the association's social program was set forth in a rather general form: "The Association will immediately concern itself with the abolition of bondage and the spread of general literacy".[55] During the hearings Vasyl Bilozers'kyj said: "Introduction of schools was desired by all those concerned with the general welfare".[56] In the Brotherhood there were two education plans; one by Andruz'kyj [57] and another, more detailed, by Bilozers'kyj.[58] Both plans provided first for the education of the teacher, who would then return to his village and teach there for the rest of his life.

[53] Case, No. 81, part 9, sheet 4, manuscript No. 3.
[54] *Za sto lit*, 2, p. 35.
[55] *Knyhy bytija*, p. 32.
[56] *Materijaly*, p. 96.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[58] *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (1924), pp. 126–129.

## 3

General education and the abolition of serfdom were the conditions for broad political changes, which were to be based on Christian ethics, Pan-Slavic ideas, and, most importantly, on the personal freedom of all men, whatever their social class. Under such conditions, there would be, according to the *Book of Genesis*, neither "tsar... nor prince..., nor lord nor boyar, nor serf nor slave".[59]

Historians are right in deducing that this political aspect of the Brotherhood's ideology is related to the merging of Decembrist with Polish democratic ideas.

The Decembrists were vividly remembered in the Ukraine two decades after the armed uprising of the Černihiv infantry regiment in the Province of Kiev, and its liquidation by the imperial armed forces, along with the severe chastisement of clandestine organizations. Many friends and relatives of the punished Decembrists, and some who had been members of pre-Decembrists organizations, no longer active by the 1820's, remained in the Ukraine. After the severe punishment of the Decembrists, their ideas still were very much alive, and inspired subsequent political movements and organizations. Immediately after the hanging of the five leading Decembrists and the deportation of hundreds of young, educated, and active men whose only aim was "the welfare of mankind" a cult of the Decembrists began to develop, which kept alive the interest in those first "champions of freedom". Members of the Brotherhood were among those who paid tribute to the memory of the Decembrists.

The ideological link between the Brotherhood and the Decembrist Society of United Slavs was demonstrated conclusively half a century ago by Vasilij Semevskij, a Russian historian.[60] The Decembrist associations had a forerunner in the Masonic lodge *Jedność Słowiańska* (Slavic Unity), which was founded in Kiev in 1818 and had a predominantly Polish membership. Among the founders of the Society of United Slavs (1823) was a young Pole, Julian Lubliński, a student from Warsaw, born in Volynia and a member of the Warsaw political organization known as *Związek Wolnych Polaków* (Association of Free Poles). In the course of a year the Society of United Slavs had spread throughout Volynia and

[59] *Knyhy bytija*, stanza 103.

[60] V. Semevskij, p. 141. The most comprehensive works from the history of the Society of the United Slavs are: M. Nečkina, *Obščestvo Soedinënnyx Slavjan* (Moscow, 1927), and Chapter XIV in her two-volume work entitled *Dviženie dekabristov*, II (Moscow, 1955), pp. 133–182.



other regions of the Ukraine, and at the end of 1824, in order to unify its activities, it merged with the Southern Association of Decembrists.

It is apparent from the ideological documents of the United Slavs, such as *Pravila* (Rules), *Katexizis* (Catechism), and *Kljatva* (Oath), that the society had two principal goals: "unification of all Slavic nationalities" and "abolition of peasant bondage".[61]

Kostomarov says in his memoirs that, during the search of his rooms, an [old] newspaper containing information on the Decembrists lay on a table. The paper was not used against Kostomarov during the hearings, however, and there is reason to believe that it was a copy of the official newspaper *Russkij Invalid* (Russian Disabled Veteran) containing the report of the investigating commission, with ample, although biased, information about the activities of secret societies in the 1820's.[62]

From this publication, Kostomarov could have received some idea of the program of the Society of United Slavs, a program which was stated as follows: "The aim of the society was to unite eight Slavic tribes in a common alliance and in a republican system of government, while preserving the independence of each. These were enumerated on an octagonal seal as Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary with Transylvania, and Serbia with Moldavia and Wallachia".[63] The Ukraine was not listed there as a separate nationality. This particular correction was made by the Brotherhood. Like the United Slavs, however, they did not recognize Belorussians as a separate national group.

Kostomarov mentions the Decembrists in *The Books of Genesis:* "And the voice of the Ukraine resounded in Muscovy" with the demand "to banish the tsar and destroy the nobility, to found a republic and unite all the Slavs with it... and this the Ukraine had desired and striven for, for almost two hundred years before this" (stanza 105).

There was another circumstance, which has not been noted, in Kostomarov's life which might account for his personal interest in the Decembrist movement. He was a native of Ostrogožsk in the Province of Voronež. It was there that Kondrat Ryleev, on his return from campaigns abroad, was stationed with his cavalry-artillery troop. There he married the

[61] *Vosstanie dekabristov* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1926), V, pp. 12–13, and 17–18; also, Nečkina, pp. 149, 152, 181.

[62] *Donesenie sledstvennoj komissii* (Report of the Investigation Commission), published as appendix to *Russkij Invalid*, July 12, 1826; see, *Gosudarstvennye prestuplenija v Rossii v XIX v.*, by V. Bazilevskij (V. Bogučarskij), I (St. Petersburg, 1906).

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

daughter of the local landowner, Tevjašov [64]. Ryleev, although living in St. Petersburg, often summered at his family estate. Kostomarov was only eight years old when Ryleev's tragic death by hanging deeply moved the young Decembrist poet's contemporaries. Ryleev was enshrined as a martyr and his writings on the Ukraine were copied out by hand and widely read by the youth. There were many references to Ryleev's influence in the thirties,[65] and memories of him in the Ostrogožsk area must have been still vivid when Kostomarov was living there.

In order to realize the extent of Decembrist influences in the Ukraine it need only be mentioned that it was in the Ukraine (and Belorussia) that the troops of the First and Second Russian Armies were stationed after the termination of the European military operations of the Napoleonic Wars. After the disbanding of the Semenovskij regiment in St Petersburg following its revolt in 1920, many of its officers who belonged to still secret societies were sent to various military units throughout the Ukraine. There they founded new clandestine organizations and became active members of the Southern Society of Decembrists. The memoirs of their contemporaries attest to their close relations with the local populations-in the Right-Bank Ukraine, with Polish groups which maintained the traditions and ideas of the Polish statehood movement,[66] and in the Left-Bank Ukraine, with the Ukrainian landed gentry, which fostered ideas of Ukrainian autonomy. In Poltava Province in particular, in the first half of the century, there were several families enthusiastically concerned with the political movements that had resulted from the great developments in Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth centuries. Such noble families as the Repnins in Jahotyn, the Kapnists in Obuxivka, the Muravjov-Apostols

[64] Kostomarov's estate, Jurasivka, was located some 40 miles from the village of Bilohirja, Tevjašov's estate.

[65] See V. Mijakovs'kyj, "Vidhuky v Xarkovi ta Kyjevi na smert' Rylejeva", in *Ukrajina*, No. 6 (Kiev, 1925), pp. 57–68.

[66] Pelagia Rościszewska's diary depicts very close relations of the Polish nobility with the officers of the Russian armies stationed in the Right-Bank Ukraine. A few passages of the diary discuss the two most outstanding Decembrists in the South: Serge Muravjov-Apostol and Michael Bestužev-Rjumin. Alex. Trubeckoj, brother of a Decembrist, married Rościszewska's daughter. Pelagia's husband, Walenty Rościzewski, was among the founders of the Masonic Lodge of the United Slavs and its first Master of Chair; Prince Serge Volkonskij, a Decembrist, joined that lodge, too. Besides the above-mentioned, the diary referred also to other close friends from among the Decembrists and members of the Polish underground associations, who were arrested later, after the Decembrist revolt. See "Excerpt from the Diary of Pelagia Rościszewska", *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, No. 1 (1951), pp. 29–35.



in Xomuteć, the Lukaševyčs in the district of Perejaslav and the Ševčenkovyč'kyjs in Myrhorod were still imbued with the ideas of 1825. It is, therefore, most interesting, and certainly not accidental, that most of the members of the Brotherhood came from the Poltava area.

The pro-Decembrist sympathies of the opposition among the nobility are known from the memoirs of Sophie Kapnist-Skalon, the daughter of a Russian writer and Ukrainian autonomist, Vasyl' Kapnist. Sophie Kapnist was a close friend of Sergej Muravjov-Apostol; the Decembrist N. Lorer was very much attached to the entire Kapnist family, virtually a member of it. The Decembrist M. Lunin was also intimately acquainted with the family. No wonder, then, that the year 1826 was a year of tragedy for the Kapnist family, and for Sophia, personally.[67]

From 1833, she had lived in Poltava, where she had conducted a literary salon. There she was closely associated with Hulak and Navroc'kyj, of the Brotherhood, and we have already noted her relationship with Bilozers'kyj, who taught with her husband at the Poltava Military School. His participation in her soirées led the editor of her memoirs to comment that "close ties were established between the members of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, on the one hand, and on the other with the standard-bearers of autonomist ideas from the beginning of the century (V. Kapnist) and the left wing of the Decembrists (S. Muravjov-Apostol)."[68] Bilozers'kyj made use of the enthusiasm for the Decembrists in order to propagate his Pan-Slavism, and Kostomarov was interested in applying the federalist and republican ideas of the Decembrists to the Ukrainian political ideology of the forties.

However, Ševčenko, among all the Brothers, was best fitted by his experience for acquaintance with Decembrist ideas. All his life he was deeply interested in the bearers of that ideology. He constantly sought personal contact with surviving Decembrists. Ševčenko spent his youth (1833–1843), when his own world-view was being formed, in touch with literary and artistic circles in St. Petersburg, where the memory of the events of December, 1825, was still very vivid. Count Fedor Tolstoj, Vice-President of the Academy of Arts, who was a great influence on Ševčenko in the fifties, was in his youth a member of the *Sojuz Blagodenstvija* (Society of Welfare) where such outstanding Decembrists as Prince Sergej

[67] *Vospominanija i rasskazy dejatelej tajnyx obščestv 1820–x godov*, general eds. J. G. Oksman and S. N. Černov, I (Moscow, 1931).

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 293: "Vospominanija S. V. Kapnist-Skalon", Introduction by J. G. Oksman

Trubeckoj, Nikita Muravjov, Sergej Muravjov-Apostol, and Pavel Pestel' began their political activity.[69]

Ševčenko's stay in Jahotyn in 1843 brought him into close contact with the family of Prince Nikolaj Repnin, whose brother was Prince Serge Volkonskij, an outstanding member of the Southern Society of Decembrists. There Ševčenko also met Oleksij Kapnist, Sophia's brother, who had been an active member of the pre-Decembrist secret societies.

In 1845 and 1846 the poet made his celebrated journeys of the "three year" period in the Ukraine, particularly in the Poltava region, where he visited people and places reminiscent of the Decembrists. Then he read aloud his most revolutionary works, in which allusions to the Decembrists can be found. These works were written during this period in various parts of the Poltava region. It is evident that he felt deep admiration for the Decembrist movement as a precursor of liberation, and contributed this sense to the Brotherhood.

It remains to examine certain Polish sources as possible factors in the development of the Brotherhood's ideology. This problem has been discussed a number of times, particularly in connection with the similarity of *The Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* with Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish People.* Mickiewicz wrote the book in 1832, immediately after the Polish uprising of 1831, to lift the spirits of the disillusioned conspirators, and it was one of the first propaganda works to influence the assembling of the worsted Polish forces for new resistance. By the mid-thirties, in addition to the old Patriotic Society which had been active during the Decembrist period in the twenties, a number of new groups arose, particularly in such Polish emigré centers as Paris, Kraków and Poznań. Vasyl' Ščurat accumulated vast quantities of material in his work, *Ševčenko i Poljaky* (Ševčenko and the Poles) about these secret Polish societies, which may be considered the ideological forerunners of the Brotherhood.[70] It should be emphasized that all these Polish conspiratorial societies, which Ščurat linked ideologically with the Brotherhood, operated at least five years after the Decembrists. Thus the Poles were closer in time to the Ukrainian conspirators. Relations between the Southern Decembrists and the Polish Patriotic Society of the twenties

[69] N. Kovalenskaja, "Xudožnik-dekabrist F. P. Tolstoj (1783–1873)", in the collection *Očerki iz istorii dviženija dekabristov*, ed. by N. Družinin and B. Syroečkovskij (Moscow, 1954), pp. 516–560.

[70] Vasyl' Ščurat, *Ševčenko i Poljaky. Osnovy Ševčenkovyx zvjazkiv z poljakamy*, reprint from the *Zapysky* of the Ševčenko Scientific Society, 119–120 (Lviv, 1917), pp. 217–347.



had continued for several years, long enough to account to some degree for the influence of the Decembrists' federal-republican ideas upon the principles of the secret Polish societies of the thirties.

In the very first issue of *Pólnoc* (The North) the official publication of *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland,) there began, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary (1835) of the St. Petersburg uprising, a series of articles, "Republikanie rosyjcy" (Russian Republicans). The articles included excerpts from the report of the commission which had investigated the Decembrist movement.[71]

With the collapse of the Polish uprising of 1831 the movement's major handicap – its aristocratic character and consequent lack of popular support – became evident. This deficiency was readily acknowledged by the initiators of the uprising themselves. In consequence, such new centers of Polish conspiracy as The Democratic Society in 1832 and Young Poland in 1834 began to propagate in their manifestos principles almost identical with the ideas of the Ukrainian democrats of the forties. In its appeal to the peasant guerilla fighters not only in Poland, but in the Ukraine as well, the Democratic Society solemnly proclaimed: "God gave soil to all men in order that everyone be nourished by its fruits..." Addressing the Belorussian and the Ukrainian peasants, the appeal asked: "Where did the nobles find the law which lets them idle, and orders only you to toil?" It pictured familiar scenes from Ukrainian life: "He [the peasant], is not responsible for the fact that he was born of a toil-worn mother, on straw or the hard earth".[72]

This appeal is also interesting because it advanced some positive demands, such as the peasant's right to own the soil, to acquire an education, and to participate in legislation. These demands were fully acceptable to the members of the Brotherhood.

Ščurat quotes widely from the contemporary Polish propaganda literature and shows its affinity with the Brotherhood, not only in ideas, but even in phraseology. Thus the articles of Mickiewicz's *Towarzystwo Braci Zjednoczonych* (Society of United Brothers) began with an invocation from the Gospel according to St. John: "You will know the truth, and the truth will make you free".[73] The same sentence was referred to on

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 233. At that time, this report of the Investigation Commission was the only source of information about the "Decembrist Case". Pelagia Rościszewska writes in her diary about the great interest this report aroused in her contemporaries; see *The Annals*, p. 32 (her notations for July 4th and 20th 1826).

[72] Ščurat, pp. 228–230.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Kostomarov's Cyril-Methodius seal, and was used by him in his *Books of Genesis* (stanza 22). In the Writings of Ludwik Kulikowski, a member of *Zjednoczenie* (Unity) in the early forties, the principle is set forth that the only law in Christian Poland should be the Divine Law.[74] The view of Divine Law as the foundation of human law is basic in Kostomarov's *Books of Genesis*. In the investigation record the *Books* themselves are referred to as Divine Law. Ščurat found in the revolutionary writings of the Polish political emigration in the thirties and forties such ideas as unification of the Slavs, abolition of bondage, republicanism and a constitution based on the principles of the Gospel.

The only link Ščurat failed to establish was a direct one between the members of the Brotherhood and the Polish conspiracy abroad. Yet such a connection was not only theoretically possible, it doubtless existed through the political movement known as *Konarszczyzna*, a name derived from Szymon Konarski, an Emissary for the Patriotic Society, who founded in Lithuania and the Ukraine in the late thirties some truly democratic branches of the society *Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego* (Association of the Polish People). In 1838 an investigation was conducted which uncovered considerable participation by the student body of Kiev University in these associations. As a result of the investigation the University was closed for two years, and all students were expelled. The University was reopened in 1840, the year Kuliš enrolled. A year later, Bilozers'kyj enrolled. Thus the Brothers must have had knowledge of the widely-discussed liquidation of the Konarski movement. Konarski had concentrated his activities in Lithuania, Volynia, and Kiev Province. His agents distributed propaganda literature, smuggled into Volynia from abroad. Mickiewicz's *Books* held an important place in this literature, and were well known in the Right-Bank Ukraine, and particularly in Volynia, since it bordered on Poland, where the Konarski movement was strongest. The great demand for Mickiewicz's works may be seen in the fact that four editions came out in a three-year period (1832–1834).

During the Third Division's Investigation, Kostomarov acknowledged that he had had in Kiev a copy, with his marginal notes, of Mickiewicz's *Books*, which he called *Pielgrzymka* (Pilgrimage). However, the copy was not included with his record, which was dispatched with him to St Petersburg, and the nature of his notations is not known. Among his papers there was also a copy, in longhand, of the third part of Mickiewicz's

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 265: in Mickiewicz's *Books* – "Divine Law"; cf. "the rule, according to the Divine Law" in the "Pravoslavnyj katexizis" by S. Muravjov-Apostol.



dramatic poem "Dziady" (Forefathers). Most of its characters were Polish insurgents who had been banished to Siberia. During the police interrogation Kostomarov explained that he had received this poem from a Polish student in the town of Rivne. It is fairly certain that he also brought the *Books* from Rivne. He had used his stay in Rivne for collecting various historical, ethnographic and folklore materials. From there he wrote to K. Sementovs'kyj that he had obtained these materials through his students.[75] Since almost all his students were Polish,[76] it had been easy for him to get materials in Polish.[77] Along with the *Books*, so extensively used for propaganda by Konarski, Kostomarov could have acquired information about the ends and ideological premises of the movement *(Konarszczyzna)*; he could have read the appeals that the Polish democratic press had published abroad. He would have found that they had much in common with his own thinking on the plight of the peasant and on the problem of the Slavic peoples.

These guesses are based on facts referred to by V. Ščurat. But the question of direct contact between the members of the Brotherhood and the Polish clandestine groups still remained open. Ščurat's rather marginal assumptions on Ševčenko's probable connections with the Poles have been for the most part rejected as unfounded by his critics.[78] One fact, however, established incontrovertibly by Ščurat, seems significant. Ševčenko had some contact with the Polish democratic group of Romuald Podbereski in St. Petersburg. This group published *Rocznik Literacki* (Literary Annual), among the subscribers of which in 1843 was "Kobzar, Taras Ševčenko".[79] However, this group was rather literary, with a democratic orientation, and the Brotherhood had not yet been founded. Similar connections between Ševčenko and Polish literary circles of democratic orientation in St. Petersburg have been mentioned in the biography of Jan Barszczewski, a second-rate Polish poet who worked for

[75] "I instructed all my pupils to supply me with songs, and I received quite a few", letter of December 16, 1844, *Ukrajina*, No. 3 (1925), p. 53.
[76] "My pupils one and all are Polish", *ibid.*, p. 45.
[77] A report in the files of the Governor-General of Kiev (1845, Second Secret Section, No. 26, sheet 9) gives us some ideas of the sentiments among the students at that time: "Kostomarov, a teacher at the Gymnasium of Rivne, had a notebook containing the compositions of his pupils. In this book, there were two compositions, one about the musician Lipiński and another about the astronomer Copernicus. In the latter is was said that Copernicus was of Russian descent. Below that article was a notation, made by one of the students: 'Do not be insulted, but Copernicus was a genuine Pole'".
[78] See review by M. Novyc'kyj, *Zapysky* of Hist.-Phil. Division of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, II–III (1923), pp. 220–230.
[79] Ščurat, p. 317.

*Rocznik Literacki* and who also published the yearly publication *Niezabudka* (Forget-me-not) in St. Petersburg from 1840 to 1844.[80]

Very important data about the relations of Ševčenko and the other Brothers with the Poles were first made available a year after Ščurat's work was published. In 1918 the memoirs of Julian Bielina-Kędrzycki were posthumously published in a Polish newspaper. Part of them, which referred directly to Ševčenko, was published in Ukrainian by Ščurat in 1927.[81] A former student at the University of Kiev, Bielina, was the first to present information on attempts by Ševčenko and Kostomarov to initiate talks about a Polish-Ukrainian understanding based on the ideas of the Brotherhood. According to Bielina, these talks took place between the twentieth and thirtieth of July, 1846, after Ševčenko's return from the expedition which was excavating the graves of Perepet and Perepetyxa. Ševčenko and Bielina had known each other earlier. They lived across the street from each other on Kozyne Boloto (now Ševčenko Place) in Kiev. Ševčenko had moved there in late April. Thus their acquaintance prior to the political talks could have lasted only some three months. (In late June and early July Ševčenko was away from Kiev with the Archeological Commission working on the excavations). Bielina stressed the cordiality of his meetings with Ševčenko, and spoke of their intimacy as if they had known each other for many years. That period, the summer of 1846, was also the time of Ševčenko's closest relations with Kostomarov, the time of the most candid discussions of problems of the Brotherhood. It was then that Kostomarov's *Books of Genesis* was composed. The initiative for these Polish-Ukrainian talks was taken by Ševčenko, while the cautious Kostomarov had some reservations. "He was not happy with the talks", Bielina noted, "expressed himself reluctantly... and was not sincere".[82] Kostomarov told Bielina in Ševčenko's presence of the formation of the Brotherhood, about possible future work in common for Slavic unity, and about a future federation of the Slavs. Bielina recalled that Kostomarov, not trusting a stranger, spoke without conviction of unification "under one orthodox tsar, and in one orthodox faith", in

[80] Gabriel Korbut, *Literatura Polska*, III (Warsaw, 1930), p. 495. It is stated here in a reference note that Barszczewski was acquainted with Ševčenko. Barszczewski died in 1851. Thus his friendship with Ševčenko must have been in the eighteen-forties. This fact has not yet been brought out in the literature.

[81] Bielina-Kędrzycki's memoirs in Polish were published in *Gazeta Lwowska*. See especially nos. 38, 42, 61. Ščurat's translations into Ukrainian were published in *Ukrajins'kyj Holos* (Przemyśl, 1927). The part of the memoirs concerning Ševčenko was translated anew for the publication *Spohady pro Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1958), pp. 199–207. Henceforth referred to as *Spohady*.

[82] *Spohady*, p. 204.



effect what he was to say, also without sincerity, to his police interrogators later. Ševčenko, too, stressed Kostomarov's lack of sincerity during the discussions. He said that one could simply gather from Kostomarov's words that he wished "to put all Slavs in the priest's house".

Ševčenko's political views on the government of Russia and on Ukrainian independence were clearly expressed in his revolutionary poetry of the forties. Kostomarov's views were recorded in his *Books of Genesis*. Like Ševčenko, Kostomarov dreamed of a free Ukraine "without the tsar and nobleman", but he lacked Ševčenko's straightforwardness, courage and integrity and consequently was not firm in his views.

The question as to why Ševčenko decided to reveal the affairs of the Brotherhood to the Polish student Bielina-Kędrzycki has been partially answered in the memoirs of Wacław Lasocki. These memoirs supply a great deal of new information about student and political movements in Kiev in the middle of the nineteenth century.[83]

Bielina-Kędrzycki attended the University of Kiev from 1846 to 1851. Lasocki called him "The lutist and chronicler in song of those gloomy times". According to Lasocki, his poems were never published, but were extremely popular in those years. They were often sung on various student occasions. His poems were sharply satiric, exposing with a great deal of humor various aspects of social, literary, and particularly student, life. In his songs he criticized the editors of the conservative weekly *Tygodnik Petersburgski* (Petersburg Weekly). These were the notorious Polish "Moscowphiles", Ignacy Hołowiński, Count Henryk Rzewuski, and Alexander Przecławski. These criticisms mean that Bielina was associated with the editors of the Polish annual *Gwiazda* (The Star). To avoid arousing the suspicions of the Russian censorship, the first issue of *Gwiazda* was published not in Kiev but in St. Petersburg, in 1846, under the editorship of Zenon Fisch, who later under the pen-name Padalica participated in the Ukrainian-Polish discussions with Kostomarov and Antonovyč. *Gwiazda* was published for three more years after 1846, in Kiev, edited by Jakób Jurkiewicz, whose pen-name was Benedykt Dołęga.[84]

The political and polemical articles in *Gwiazda*, particularly those written by Albert Gryf (Antoni Marcinkowski) were directed against the group of Polish conservative writers. Members of the Brotherhood were well aware of the existence of the young Polish journalists of democratic

[83] Wacław Lasocki, *Wspomnienia z mojego życia*, I, ed. by Michał Janik and Felix Kopera (Kraków, 1933).

[84] The censor's permit to publish *Gwiazda* was issued in Kiev, December 10, 1846.

orientation in Kiev, and very probably sought direct contact with them.[85]

Bielina related his talks with Ševčenko and Kostomarov to two student friends, Antoni Pietkiewicz and Alexander Jabłonowski, who suggested that they be discontinued.[86] Pietkiewicz, later well-known as the Polish poet Adam Pług, was closely connected with *Gwiazda* group. Jabłonowski, who later became a celebrated historian, had had previous knowledge of the Brotherhood, Bielina said.

Ševčenko and Kostomarov approached the discussions with a view of Bielina as a representative of Polish democratic youth; Bielina himself spoke in the discussions as a member of the Polish underground movement as well. It is evident from Lasocki's memoirs that in the mid-forties Bielina joined the clandestine group led by Izydor Kopernicki,[87] to which Zygmunt Milkowski, a writer later well known as T. T. Jeż, and Alexander Szumowski, then a teacher at the Chernihiv Gymnasium, also belonged. It seems, however, that the Brothers were not aware of this area of Bielina's secret activities.

The attempts to bring about an understanding between the Ukrainian and Polish democratic groups failed not only because Bielina's friends Pietkiewicz and Jabłonowski had reservations about the talks, but also because half a year later the activity of the Ukrainian democratic group was stopped by the imprisonment of its members. The objectives of the Brothers were recalled some ten years later, but only in part, in the social and educational areas of their program. The era of Pan-Slavic ideas had gone, and the time for republican principles among Ukrainian intellectuals had not yet come. In the sixties the older members of the Brotherhood, Ševčenko, Kostomarov, Kuliš, and Bilozers'kyj, again attempted to realize their programs. At that time, however, a younger generation took over the burden of the plans of the Brotherhood.

[85] Among the subscribers listed at the end of the first volume of *Gwiazda* are Ševčenko's friend, Myxajło Lazarevs'kyj, and Vasyl' Bilozers'kyj of the Brotherhood. Among *Gwiazda*'s collaborators, Jan Barszczewski, Ševčenko's acquaintance from St. Petersburg, was mentioned. Barszczewski published two poems in the first volume of *Gwiazda;* he was also very active as a subscription collector for *Gwiazda* in St. Petersburg.

[86] *Spohady*, p. 205.

[87] V. Antonovyč's friend, he was later prosector of the dissecting room of the University of Kiev.

# THE SUBSTRATUM OF ŠEVČENKO'S VIEW OF LIFE

MYKOLA SHLEMKEVYCH

> The invisible door, closed to the mind
> Will be opened by the sound as by a key.
> A key of unfailing instinct.
> Not a bird and not a flower –
> Here the content is what matters
> What matters are the origins of
> Things and acts, the music of all
> That is essential, the unfathomed depth.
>
> *B. I. Antonyč*

To enter through the open door of Ševčenko's poetry and to approach the "origins of things and acts" Ukrainian is still a dream, even today, one hundred years after poet's death. Studies of Ševčenko form an entire literature, fill a whole library, with such famous names as Pantelejmon Kuliš, Mykola Kostomarov, Oleksander Konys'kyj, Myxajlo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, Vasyl' Domanyc'kyj, Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj and Serhij Jefremov, right down to the present biographers, bibliographers, textual scholars and editors of Ševčenko. The last important contribution to this scholarship was Zajcev's biography of Ševčenko.[1]

Like all works of scholarship, these studies attempt to sort out and pigeonhole the poet's activities according to definite categories (biography, bibliography, definitive texts). The arduous efforts of the scholars in this direction are continuing and many of their tasks are still unfulfilled. During the last decades new attempts have been made to reveal the poet's inner and intimate world.[2]

Paralleling these studies are attempts to analyze and interpret the meaning of Ševčenko's works and to enrich our understanding of them. In spite of their scholarly detachment, these attempts cannot achieve the distance and perspective necessary for strict critical evaluation. The authors and compilers of these interpretations look at Ševčenko through

[1] Pavlo Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (Munich, 1955).

[2] Mariėtta Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1946).

the prism of their own wishes and inclinations and through the prism of the demands of their times.

A good example of this kind of treatment is the approach by O. Ohonovs'kyj,[3] which reflects the attitudes of the Galicians in the second half of the nineteenth century. That generation of the Ukrainians was still in search of its own nationality. It had to struggle not only against hostile views which denied the existence of the Ukraine as a cultural and political entity, but also against tormenting inner doubts in its determination to assert itself nationally and culturally. It looked for and found justification of its claims in two facts: 1. the existence of the Ukrainian peasantry untouched by denationalization, possessing vital traditions of a genuine folk culture; 2. the vitality of the old Cossack and Hajdamak traditions in the central and eastern Ukraine. These two were to them sure sources of faith in the existence of the Ukrainian nation. To them, therefore, Ševčenko appeared, above all, as a minstrel of the historical traditions of the Ukraine and a fighter for the rights of the peasants. In fact, this image of the poet corresponded to the demands of that generation.

Some change in the approach to Ševčenko may be seen at the beginning of our century. No longer, as Vjačeslav Lypyns'kyj would say, was the Ukraine a mere "philological" nation. Ukrainians were more politically conscious, they organized to fight for their rights. To them the greater appeal lay in the Ševčenko of the 1840's – the author of the programmatic "Zapovit", "Son", "Velykyj L'ox", "Kavkaz", and "Poslanyje".

Any such approach to Ševčenko also determines the criteria of aesthetic judgement. Whoever regards Ševčenko primarily as a minstrel of the Cossack and Hajdamak tradition and a crusader for the peasant liberation will probably consider the poem "Hajdamaky" the poet's greatest accomplishment. This would place the highest aesthetic value on the work of the young Ševčenko. This is what Ohonovs'kyj contended in his history of literature. There is little doubt that "Hajdamaky" is an outstanding work, containing some of the most poignant poetic passages (the sermon of the priest, passages beginning with "Het'many, het'many...", "Oj, Dnipre, mij Dnipre...") as well as the most tender lyrical digressions ("U haju haju Vitru nemaje..."). Today, most would agree, however, that the poem has also many weaknesses (ethnographic regressions and journalistic polemics) and that it would therefore be difficult to consider this uneven work Ševčenko's masterpiece. Similarly,

[3] Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj, *Istorija literatury rus'koji*, four parts (Lviv, 1887–93).



early in the twentieth century the poem "Son" of 1844, although its value is more political than artistic, was frequently regarded as being on the level of the poems "Zapovit", "Kavkaz", and "Poslanyje", generally acknowledged as Ševčenko's best.

These attitudes towards Ševčenko, dictated by the demands of society and time, are also evident in the assessments of his life and literary career. Ševčenko's life was in the ascendance until 1847, when the poet was exiled and forbidden to write or to paint. This broken line of Ševčenko's life is often applied to his literary creativeness as well; the year 1847 is taken as the pinnacle and beginning of the decline of his creative powers. If this were true, how could one account for such later masterpieces as "Neofity", "Marija" and his various brilliant "Imitations" of the Prophets and the Psalms? Obviously, after the setback of the years after 1847, Ševčenko's genius experienced a definite resurgence.

A tendency to simplify Ševčenko is also visible in the pictorial image of the poet. The well known portrait of Ševčenko wearing a fur cap and coat and with the Cossack mustache was eagerly accepted as the ideal image by all those who thought of him as the wandering minstrel *(kobzar)* of the Ukraine. Its appeal was, to use a term of modern psychology, to the archtype of the collective unconscious, This portrait has obscured from the people other images of Ševčenko as a young man which we see in his self-portraits of the 1840's. Even today, the outstanding sculptures of Ševčenko (by Arkhipenko, Pavlos') leave one dissatisfied. The complete man still eludes us.

The various methods used in evaluating Ševčenko to which we have referred are not used exclusively by this or that scholar, but are usually combined with a varying emphasis. This is also true whenever attempts are made to explain the causes of some of Ševčenko's beliefs, ideas or creations. To be sure, such attempts are usually made after the material on a certain topic has been meticulously collected, but then a definite pragmatic tendency comes at once to the fore.

Some elements in Ševčenko's life provide a ready explanation of themes and ideas in his works. His childhood spent in a family of serfs, his people living in political and social oppression explain why there are so many social and revolutionary themes in his poetry. Similarly, one can easily discern the reasons for the historical themes. As a small boy Ševčenko came into direct contact with the people who remembered or took part in the *hajdamaky (Koliji)* rebellion; he walked the paths trodden by the *hajdamaky* in the Čyhyryn and Zvenyhorodka districts, and recollected most vividly the stories about the rebellion told to him by his grandfather.

One can also see why the early anti-Polish tendency of Ševčenko was later, when he learned more about conditions in Russia under Nicholas I, replaced by a strong anti-Russian feeling.

It is more difficult to know why, in the works of Ševčenko, such a prominent, indeed a central, place is occupied by the fate of a girl, a mother, and a family. His biography offers a few clues, among them the poet's yearning, after the early death of his own mother, for protection and haven which, as the psychoanalysts tell us, may be safely found under the wing of a mother who protects the child from the terrors of the night. Our losses, as Nietzsche wrote, are eyes with which we see our ideal. Further, Ševčenko's dependence on his sisters must also have left some mark. There lies the beginning of a psychoanalytic explanation.[4] Yet this beginning leads to greater complexity if one attempts to unravel the causes and effects. In the psychological analysis of literary creation it is easy to mistake a stimulus for a cause and it is difficult to say to what extent the soil into which a seed was cast has determined the growth. In Ševčenko's case, his childhood experiences, which may be classed as erotic: meeting the unforgettable Oksana, and his later love affairs, or the lack of them, as Ševčenko himself complains, led to a definite literary expression. It is, however, virtually certain that had another writer undergone the same experiences the end product would be different. Why are Ševčenko's erotic lyrics written from a girl's point of view and not that of a young man, as is the case in most love lyrics in world literature (Ukrainian literature is no exception)? Why have these themes assumed in Ševčenko the form of female laments and joys and spread all over his entire poetic career, and why are his finest poems "Kateryna", "Najmyčka", "Vid'ma", "Neofity", "Marija" centered around the girl and the mother?

In order to find a clue to these answers one must refine one's methodological approach and plumb the depths even further. Modern scholarship often resorts to new methods, used primarily in fields other than literature, but serving as an aid in the search for better literary appreciation. The phenomenological method in philosophy aims at extracting the "ideal content" which is hidden behind the artistic images of a poet. Modern psychology, too, probes the deeper layers, the substratum of our consciousness.

At one time, the psychologists divided all spiritual phenomena into three main categories: intellectual, emotional, and volitional. This scheme,

[4] St. Balej, *Z psyxolohiji tvorčosty T. Ševčenka* (Lviv, 1916).



according to which the human psyche could be compared to an apartment with many rooms, separated from one another by closed doors, has been rejected in our century. The school of Wilhelm Dilthey emphasized the functional connections among the above categories.[5] The so-called "structural" psychology distinguishes different "forms of life," different structural types (political man, aesthetic man, *homo oeconomicus*, etc.) depending on the type of structural combination.[6] Aristotle's old concepts of the three souls *(anima vegetativa, sensitiva, rationalis)* have been revived and attempts have been made to confirm them experimentally. The vegetative and animal layers form the basis for what sometimes is referred to as the "child in man" – for everything that is playful in man. The contemporary Dutch philosopher, Johan Huizinga (1872–1945), in his book *Homo ludens*,[7] has given a detailed analysis of this layer in the human psyche which, according to him, also provides a stimulus for creative activities and art. The physiological functions of walking, seeing, and hearing become an elementary joy in a dance, an excursion or a communication with nature in the rapture of a sunset, the delight in awakening spring and birdsong, but may lead to ballet, painting, or music.[8] This layer is the source of such human feelings as joy and sorrow, expectation, hope and disappointment, resignation, despair, anxiety, and compassion – a layer which the artist is always attempting to reproduce in his works, in words, colors, sounds, or other forms.

Jung's analysis of the deeper layers of human personality is also helpful in understanding the creative processes.[9] He distinguishes between the "collective unconscious" and the "personal unconscious". The collective unconscious is the reservoir of all human experience, of the "primordial images [which are] the most ancient and the most universal 'thought-forms' of humanity". The personal in man, according to Jung, is rooted in the collective and is intimately related to it.

The upper layers of personality – intellect and conscious purposeful will – are the conscious *ego*. The submerged but vital part below is the

[5] Cf. Wilhelm Dilthey, "Das Wesen der Philosophie", in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, 6, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1905–29), p. 167.

[6] Eduard Spranger, *Lebensformen: Geisteswissenschaftliche Psychologie und Ethik der Persönlichkeit*, 5th ed. (Halle/Saale, 1925).

[7] John Huizinga, *Homo ludens; A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston, 1955).

[8] The process which, according to Wundt's terminology, is "heterogony of aim" – the means become the ends.

[9] C. G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, transl. by R. F. C. Hull (New York, 1956).

great *id*, what may be called the *anima communis*, the living self, or the collective unconscious. This *id* is the innermost core of man, the substratum of his being. The conscious *ego* is but the organizer, manipulator of the resources below.

The inner self is continuous, flowing like a river, regardless of whether we are awake or asleep, while the conscious *ego* must have a break in sleep. Goethe wrote that "man cannot stay conscious for long. He has ever to return to the unconscious, for therein are his roots".

The inner, subconscious *id* and the conscious *ego* – this antithesis of soul and spirit – has occupied psychologists and philosophers in the twentieth century, in particular Ludwig Klages. According to them, the soul is the stream and rhythm of life, myth, symbol, dream, mood, unconsciousness, enthusiasm, passion, love, yearning for beauty, self-sacrifice, the womanly and motherly instincts. Spirit encompasses intellect, consciousness, reason, purposeful will, abstraction, construction, action, domination over nature, attainment, civilization and the self-assertion of man.[10]

The interaction between these various layers, sometimes peacefully coexisting, sometimes clashing, is different in each man. Its end product is a "structure" or a "life form" which may be a more or less integrated person. The more successful the integration is organized by the conscious *ego*, the greater is the chance of forming a real individuality. The stress and strain between the subconscious and conscious layers lead to the problems of temptation, sin, self-denial, and various types of rebellion. Against the deepest unconscious self there rises an opposition from the conscious self, against the tribal consciousness – the personal will, against tradition – an individualist longing, or, to use the image of Ivan Franko, "the eternal revolutionary", who rebels against the inertia of tradition, the law of tribal wisdom, the substratum of his own self. This inner struggle for a new form of integration, for a new "structure", may assume a sociological direction – in the struggle against an established order which is inconsistent with the intellect and will of a group of persons.

Among Ševčenko's works it is not difficult to distinguish those in which the generations speak through the author from those where his conscious, individual self predominates. In the voice of the generations there are, in turn, different levels heard. In his early works, "Ivan Pidkova", "Tarasova nič", "Hajdamaky", and "Hamalija" Ševčenko is the faithful

[10] Cf. Erich Rothacker, *Die Schichten der Persönlichkeit* (Bonn, 1948).



spokesman for his people and his kin in their deepest roots. Later his critical self intrudes into the picture and slowly removes the "ancestral philosophy" as one guilty of political anarchy. In his works dealing with serfdom, the Cossacks and the *hajdamaky*, Ševčenko is the spokesman of past centuries, the voice of the Ukrainian people in their long struggle for social and national liberation and taking shape. Later works of Ševčenko, "Poslanyje", "Ivan Hus", "Kavkaz", bear the unmistakable mark of new ideas perhaps not older than a decade of Ukrainian thought – ideas of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, ideas which Ševčenko shared not with millions, but with only a few of his countrymen. His conscious *ego* is no longer satisfied with the Ukraine of the hetmans, and the greatest of them, Khmelnytsky; he turns to the vision of a "Washington with a new and just law".

Far deeper than these expressions of ethnic consciousness or the ideologies of the Ukrainian intelligentsia lie the sources of what may be measured not in centuries but in thousands of years of Ukrainian history and prehistory. It is in these depths that we have to look for an explanation of the ever present theme of girl-woman-mother in Ševčenko's poetry. Here the confirmation is found of what was emphasized above: the unconscious life of generations in us is continuous, whereas ideologies and beliefs are subject to sudden changes. This submerged substratum of Ševčenko's being, assimilating new motifs, evolving into an "autonomous complex", provides the basis for the most mature integration of his creative spirit.

It is easy to understand why most scholarly studies of Ševčenko limit themselves to works which express his conscious self. They can and do provide competent scrutinies of the early historical poems, based on the ideas which led to the creation of the modern Ukrainian national and political consciousness, and of the political poems of the 1840's which reflect the ideology of the Ukrainian elite. Far less attention is devoted to Ševčenko's great poems which originate below these strata, and the limited attempts which have been made are often misdirected in the search for political and social symbols in these poems ("Kateryna", "Vid'ma"). Semi-scholarly and journalistic writings are filled with references to Ševčenko's historical and political works while such masterpieces as "Najmyčka" or "Marija" are ignored. Sometimes a preoccupation with the ideological aspect of Ševčenko's works, with his conscious *ego*, completely obscures for the critics the poet's unconscious *id*. Then even such gems as "Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty" are treated as unimportant, although it so obviously reflects the dreams of generations absorbed by

Ševčenko's poetry and relates to the last vision of primeval paradise the poet had before his death:

Postavlju xatočku – sadočok
Kruhom xatyny nasadžu;
Prylyneš ty u xolodočok
Tebe, mov kralju, posadžu,
Dnipro, Ukrajinu zhadajem,
Veseli selyšča v hajax,
Mohyly-hory na stepax, –
I veselen'ko zaspivajem... [11]

(I shall erect a cabin / and plant an orchard around it; / You will come to this cool shade / I will enthrone you, like a queen, / We shall remember the Dnieper and Ukraine, / the gay villages amidst the groves / and the mounds in the steppes, / and we shall sing a merry song).

Here Ševčenko's dream of paradise on earth, transposed into the heavenly kingdom, is the fulfillment of the longing of the deepest stratum in the poets soul, while the national and political ideals symbolized by "the Dnieper, the Ukraine" and her history symbolized by the mounds, are but reminiscences. It is rather ironic that the publicist interpreters of Ševčenko who are most anxious to stress the irrational forces of life neglect this core of irrationality in the poet's work. The greatness of Ševčenko's poetry lies in the fact that it surges through the depth and the shoal. To those who fail to catch the sound from these depths and are satisfied with what they see on the surface, Ševčenko could answer in Goethe's words:

Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst,
Nicht mir!

The "ideal" content, the basic issue of Ševčenko's first great poem "Kateryna", is the clash between emotion and wisdom of the kin, between eros and logos. The poet cannot deny the power of eros, the very urge to create life. It is rooted in the deepest, animal stratum of the soul, though humanly sublimated. On the other hand, he is equally aware of logos – the traditional order of life – which for Ševčenko is represented by *ljudy dobri* (good people). The latter, as the poet sees it, is the authority demanding absolute obedience; it stands for the basic order of life,

[11] All quotations from Ševčenko's poems are from the edition of his works published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in Kiev, in 1939.



which, in Ševčenko's words, will come about when "there are no foes or adversaries and there will be son and mother and there will be people on earth". For Ševčenko, therefore, the social system is based on the free union of free families, and any offence against good family relationships is a mortal sin against society. The preservation of the family is regarded as of primary importance and it remains so even when Ševčenko is postulating political and social ideals which culminate in the superstructure of the Washingtonian republic with "a new and just law". Ševčenko's vision of a free and well-knit family as a prerequisite for a free society is unmistakable. Its repercussions are to be found in Drahomanov's concept of *hromada* (community), which cannot be attributed exclusively to Proudhon's influence. The concept, according to Vadym Ščerbakivs'kyj, has its roots in Ukrainian prehistory.[12]

The clash of elemental forces is the theme of "Kateryna". The fact that the unfaithful lover is a Russian (and in a later poem, "Vid'ma" – a landlord) is incidental and represents the upper layer of Ševčenko's mind; his concern for national self-determination and social struggle. In his poem "Najmyčka" we see the same fundamental issue without the historical embroidery. There is no Russian and no landlord seducer – the heroine alone is the sinner against the law. "Catherine did not listen to her father or mother" and "let people say what they like" – are like a gauntlet flung against the institutions of family and society, which require the ritual of legal matrimony. This sin brings about punishment. The second part of the poem begins with a powerful scene before the family tribunal:

Sydyt' bat'ko kinec' stola,
Na ruky sxylyvsja;
Ne dyvyt'sja na svit Božyj;
Tjažko zažuryvsja.
Kolo joho stara maty
Sydyt' na osloni,
Za sl'ozamy ledve, ledve
Vymovljaje doni...

(The father sits at the end of the table / bending over his hands. / He does not see God's world, / he is in deep sorrow / Next to him sits the old mother, / she sits on a bench. / Through her tears / she can hardly scold her daughter...)

[12] Vadym Ščerbakivs'kyj, *Formacija ukrajins'koji naciji: Narys praistoriji Ukrajiny* (Prague, 1941).

The father sits as a judge while the mother is the prosecutor:

Ščo vesillja, donju moja?
A de ž tvoja para?
De svitylky z družen'kamy,
Starosty, bojara?

(Are you going to have a wedding, daughter of mine? / Where is your bridegroom? / Where are your sisters with candles and the bridesmaids? / Where are the elders, the boyars?)

This is the first charge. The daughter Catherine has sinned against accepted custom and law. This is followed by a curse – the call for highest punishment:

Prokljatyj čas-hodynon'ka
Ščo ty narodylas'!
Jakby znala, do sxid soncja
Bula b utopyla...

(May the hour be cursed / that you were born. / Had I known, before the sunrise / I would have drowned you...)

Yet this is the breaking point. This, after all, is not a prosecutor's speech, but the words of a mother – a fact felt deeply by the poet. It is the emotion of a mother, in whose soul the same forces clash momentarily – the personal instincts with the social needs; it is tenderness which follows:

Donju m oja, donju moja,
Cvite mij roževyj!

(Daughter, my daughter, / my wild rose).

After this brief tenderness the judgment continues. The mother brings up the second charge: the betrayal by Catherine of the sacred bond between mother and daughter:

Donju moja
Ščo ty narobyla?...
Oddjačyla!... Idy ž šukaj
U Moskvi svekruxy.
Ne sluxala mojix rečej,
To jiji posluxaj.
Idy donju, najdy jiji,
Najdy, pryvitajsja,
Bud' ščaslyva v čužyx ljudjax,
Do nas ne vertajsja!



(My daughter / what have you done? / You have repaid me! Go and look / in Moscow for your mother-in-law. / You have not listened to my advice / now go and listen to her. / Go, my daughter, find her / find her and greet her. / Be happy among strangers / don't come back to us!)

Although the mother's heart is bleeding:

Donju moja, donju moja,
Dytja moje ljube!

(Daughter, my daughter, / my dear child!)
the law is inflexible and the verdict is "Idy od nas" – go away from us.

The last words of the accused are:

Prosty meni, mij batečku,
Ščo ja narobyla!

(Father, forgive me / for what I have done.)

Her judging father's answer is short, but it contains in a condensed form the outlook of generations:

Nexaj tebe Boh proščaje
Ta dobriji ljudy;
Molys' Bohu ta jdy sobi...

(May God forgive you / and good people. / Pray to God and go).

This, perhaps, is the climax of this scene: emotion and eros are face to face with the mighty "archtypes of the collective unconscious:" God, old wise men, father and mother. Every line of the verdict is pregnant with meaning. "May God forgive you" hearkens back to the Biblical "Vengeance is mine, I will repay", which is echoed in Ševčenko's poems "Vid'ma", "Neofity", and "Marija". The problem of forgiveness and reconciliation is treated by Ševčenko in his digressions in the poems "Moskaleva krynycja" and "Varnak". The "good people" represent here the social executive organs – possibly the same as later "prominent people" of the medieval Princely state. Catherine's sin is grave and its punishment is beyond the competence of a family court. God and good people – only they can absolve here. Today, the slogan would be "God and state". They – God and state – assume the ungrateful but necessary function of punishment only in order that men be good in an orderly ociety.

In his dissertation on Ševčenko's poem "Najmyčka", Ivan Franko, writing in the 1890's, observed that he could not comprehend the harshness of the judgement scene of "Kateryna",[13] and the reasons why she

[13] Ivan Franko, "'Najmyčka' T. Ševčenka", *Tvory v 20 tomax*, vol. 17 (Kiev, 1955), p. 116. First published in *Zapysky* of Ševčenko Scientific Society, VI (Lviv, 1895).

had to leave her home. Today, after another half-century, we can understand better both Ševčenko's original intentions and Franko's lack of understanding. At the time of writing "Kateryna" Ševčenko was much more a faithfull organ of tradition than an independent creative personality. He realized the nature of the conflict between the law of the kin and the personal will, but was unable to negate the first and to extol the second. Indeed, he reaffirmed the first, although his heart protested against the wisdom of the kin and its unwritten code. Franko, in the 1890's, on the other hand, could see no sense in the limitations imposed by tradition and custom – he was the exponent of the emancipation of the free spirit from ancestral ties.

After she is condemned, Catherine silently leaves her home, bids farewell to the cherry orchard, the witness of her sin, takes a lump of native soil and starts with her son on the road into the wide world, determined not to return. Her doom is clearly forecast by the minstrel – the spokesman for the ancestral law.

In this terrible moment, however, the poet's heart rebels and his sympathy goes out to Catherine and it will accompany her with all her sufferings until her death through drowning. It is this new unresolved conflict between sympathy with the sinner and the realization that one has to abide by the law of society that tortures the poet, who cannot reconcile the ancestral tradition with Catherine's challenge of it. And so a new poem was conceived – "Najmyčka" – another poem in the same cycle.

"Najmyčka" was composed in 1845 – a year of most profound political and ideological experience for Ševčenko. This fact alone proves that the elemental theme remained extant in the poet's subconsciousness. The ideas of his conscious *ego* changed rapidly, but the primeval *id* with its eternal problems preserved its continuity. The problem of "Najmyčka" is briefly this: Is it possible for Catherine to return to orderly family and social life? The prologue of the poem clearly states this question and establishes the continuity with "Kateryna". Najmyčka, the servant girl, is really Catherine, with her illegitimate son, but here there is no more room for such incidentals as the Russian from "Kateryna" (who still exists in the prose version of "Najmyčka"). Here is room only for the law of generations, the girl's sin and the result of their clash – banishment. Self-destruction is only alluded to; it is not the solution of the problem. Najmyčka does not say like Catherine "I will not return". On the contrary, she tries to return home and to find reconciliation with God and the "good people" to whom Catherine was turned over by the family tribunal.

The plot of "Najmyčka" is simple: a mother secretly places her illegitimate son with an old, childless, elderly couple and later becomes their maidservant and looks after the child without betraying her identity until the moment of her death. Marko, the adopted son of the old Troxym, grows up, marries, and inherits the property of the foster parents, becoming once more an accepted member of a family and society, like a cut-off shoot of an old tree grafted on a new trunk.



The answer which Ševčenko provides in this poem to the dilemma of Catherine's return home is clear: return is possible only on condition of complete self-abnegation and penance. Although the answer here is clearer than that at the end of "Kateryna", it is still tragic. Family and society are still regarded as bedrocks of order and the maidservant is helpless against them. However, law and order are no longer represented as grim and cruel as in "Kateryna"; on the contrary, they appear in pleasant and peaceful forms and convey the happiness of family life. For a moment, at least, man returns to the "paradise of the collective psyche".[14]

The scenery conveys this placid mood best of all. The events in "Kateryna" take place during a fierce winter storm, the people are hostile and nature is alien. In "Najmyčka" the sky is clear, the season – summer, and the location is the happy homestead of Troxym and Nastja. Winter is mentioned only in passing as a measure of time (Tryči kryha zamerzala, Tryči roztavala...).

As a work of art, "Najmyčka", written seven years after "Kateryna", is much superior. The theme is clear, unobstructed by anything, the composition is balanced, and the narrative moves evenly, with only a few lyrical and meditative digressions. There are already indications of the future four-iambic meter which was to become Ševčenko's favorite (Na xutir znovu blahodat' Zza haju temnoho vernulas' Do dida v xatu spočyvat').

Although a step forward in his search for the answer to the tragic dilemma, "Najmyčka" is not Ševčenko's last word on the subject. The answer is positive but tragic. The price of reconciliation is self-denial and a living death. Could Ševčenko accept it, especially in view of the fact that such a tragic decision was apparently handed out by an extremely benevolent fate which ordained that the cottage of Troxym and Nastja is found by chance by the servantmaid as a haven for herself and her child?

The poem "Vid'ma" represents the next attempt to solve the problem. In comparing "Vid'ma" with "Najmyčka" and with the still later poem "Marija" it seems almost as if Ševčenko chose in "Vid'ma" the most difficult setting for his theme. In "Kateryna" the heroine's sin was all too human: love and betrayal. In "Najmyčka" there is no actual sin

[14] C. G. Jung, p. 159.

mentioned, although one is atoned for. In "Vid'ma" the sin passes from mother to daughter; it is, moreover, made more heinous by the seduction of a serf-girl by the landlord.

The prologue of the poem "Vid'ma", as in "Najmyčka", suggests that the old theme has been taken up again in the hope of finding a new solution to the problem:

Moljusja, znovu upovaju,
I znovu sl'ozy vylyvaju,
I dumu tjažkuju moju
Nimym stinam peredaju.

(I pray, again I trust, / again I shed my tears, / and my heavy meditation / I entrust to the mute walls).

The word "again" used twice underlines recurrence and continuity.

Ozovitesja ž, zaplačte,
Nimiji, zo mnoju
Nad nepravdoju ljuds'koju,
Nad doleju zloju.

(Answer me, and cry, / o mute ones, with me / over human falsehood, / over bitter fate).

What in "Kateryna" was accepted as law (while there is sympathy for the guilty one), is regarded in "Vid'ma" as "human falsehood" or "evil fate". Catherine's protest against tradition was purely emotional; here it assumes proportions of a revolutionary ideology:

Ozovites'! A za vamy,
Može ozovet'sja
Beztalannja nevsypušče
I nam usmixnet'sja.
Pojednaje z nedoleju
I z ljud'my i skaže
Spasybi nam. Pomolyt'sja
J tyxo spaty ljaže.
I prymyrennomu prysnjat'sja
I ljudy dobri, i ljubov,
I vse dobro. I vstane vranci
Veselyj i zabude znov
Svoju nedolju. I v nevoli
Poznaje raj, poznaje volju
I vsetvorjaščuju ljubov.



(Answer me! And after you / there may answer / the tireless ill fate / and smile at us. / It will reconcile us with misfortune / and with people and will / thank us. It will pray / and go quietly to sleep. / And the one who is reconciled will dream / of good people, of love / and all good things; and he will get up in the morning / gay and will again forget / his ill fate. And while in slavery / he will recognize paradise, freedom / and all-creative love.)

The end and the means are clear: reconciliation through forgiveness and love.

The message of "Vid'ma" is, therefore, that the reconciliation, the return to normal life is possible through a complete regeneration and the erasing of the past. The clear separation from sin and its consequences is symbolized by the madness of Vid'ma (witch), on the psychological plane, and on the moral plane, by forgiveness toward the wrongdoer. Vid'ma nurses him, and so, finally, love-*eros* becomes love-*agape*, replete with pure compassion and mercy.

"Vid'ma", in comparison with the earlier poems, is set against a wider background. In "Kateryna" and "Najmyčka" the spotlight was on the family, the protocell of the society; the social milieu with its moral law was only vaguely hinted at. In "Vid'ma", after the purgatory of madness and forgiveness, the way to a new life is through serving society. This aspect came to the fore even more in Ševčenko's later poems "Neofity" and "Marija".

Apart from the motif of social service there is another new element in "Vid'ma": the world of the Gypsies. A familiar theme in romantic poetry, the free life of the wandering Gypsies was often idealized as an antidote to urban civilization. In "Vid'ma" we find the Ukrainian variant of this romantic escape, except that there it serves a rather special purpose. Ševčenko's imagination sends the unhappy girl to a different and better world. In "Kateryna" and "Najmyčka" there is no escape from the familiar world, but in "Vid'ma" a vision of a different, Gypsy world appears. It is the very opposite of Ševčenko's ideal world of harmonious families and society. Therefore the "witch" does not remain there for long, but only finds refuge at a time when her own world has rejected her. This step is a step toward a rebellion against society – a problem posed by Ševčenko in "Neofity" and "Marija". "Kateryna" leaves the impression of the struggle between the elements, "Najmyčka" – of the apparent reconciliation of these elements and an uneasy calm reigning over the tragedy. "Vid'ma's" atmosphere is of a dismal rainy autumn day with almost no hope of clearing.

Ševčenko could not be satisfied with "Vid'ma". The poem was yet another stage in the search for a solution. The self-abnegation of the maidservant is here more complete since it becomes an utter self-denial in insanity and forgiveness. In "Vid'ma" the service to society is more sacrificial and effective as penance than the maidservant's selfless care of her own son in "Najmyčka". Yet the sacrifices of the witch are not enough for her friends – she remains a witch even after death. The problem of redemption remains unsolved.

Artistically, "Vid'ma" is inferior to "Kateryna" and "Najmyčka" as well as the later poems of this cycle. It was written in 1847, when Ševčenko – arrested and exiled – was not able to concentrate his creative powers properly. It is diffused and not well constructed. The existence of several variants confirms the belief that the poet was not fully satisfied with this work.

Before painting a big picture the artist usually makes several sketches for it. This was also the way Ševčenko wrote his poems. Some of them can be regarded as sketches, where certain themes are started, to be developed later, until one day the final version emerges.

Certain themes in "Vid'ma" can be traced back to the poems "Lileja" and "Slepaja". They reappear in "Knjažna". The themes of the earthly paradise ("Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty") and of the evils which destroy this vision (serfdom, conscription) may be found in many of Ševčenko's longer poems. The theme of redemption through service for society may be seen in two poems, "Moskaleva krynycja", and "Varnak", with its final version in "Neofity" and "Marija".

The basic theme of society and the individual is ever-present. It is like "a nail in the heart" ("Maryna") tormenting the poet but also leading him to higher achievements. Ševčenko's "Neofity" and "Marija" are the pinnacles of his poetic achievement. Between "Vid'ma" and "Neofity" lie ten years of the most trying experiences and changes, which could not, however, suppress the working of the deepest strata of Ševčenko's soul.

The social theme, introduced in "Vid'ma", which extended somewhat the family circle, assumes in "Neofity" a new dimension and leads in a different direction. Thus far the individual who found himself in conflict with society either perished ("Kateryna"), or submitted to serving the family ("Najmyčka") or community ("Vid'ma"). The idea of submission is openly rejected in "Neofity" and is replaced by a new idea of regeneration. This regeneration must be brought about by social service, not through the negation or destruction of the individual but rather through the struggle for a new man and a new society. "Kateryna", "Najmyčka",



and "Vid'ma" marked the regression of the individual who reverted to the collective. In "Neofity" and later in "Marija" the individual remains supreme and by this reaffirmation elevates the collective.

The new social theme in "Neofity" may appear at first to overshadow the problem of the family-mother-and-child. The basic conflict is still between the individual and the world. However, they clash not as in earlier poems over past traditions, the wisdom of generations, but over the future. The hope of the new future which became so potent in progressive circles in the Russian Empire in the late 1850's did not assume for Ševčenko the form of an apocalyptic or a sudden solution. It was a matter of "influences". It was a natural unfolding of his earlier ideas.

The world of "good people" does not accept the new idea and destroys those who believe in it. The family, "mother and son", stand between the two worlds – the old and the new – and finally choose the latter.

This is the final ideological crystallization of Ševčenko's dislike of bonds set by the world and men, a dislike which made its first appearance in "Kateryna" and is more sharply expressed in "Vid'ma", where ill fate takes its place alongside "human falsehood".

In "Neofity" and "Marija" the emphasis is on the truth and the future of the great idea, not on the falsehood and the past. These two poems represent, therefore, the beginning of a final integration of various motifs sprung from all strata of Ševčenko's personality – the depths and surfaces with their dilemmas of human existence and the critical intellect. As if conscious of this great task, Ševčenko wrote in the prologue to "Neofity":

Pošly meni svjateje slovo,
Svjatoji pravdy holos novyj!
I slovo rozumom svjatym
I ožyvy i prosvity!

(Send me your hallowed word, / the new voice of sacred truth / and with your divine wisdom / enliven and enlighten this word).

The last works of the poet are replete with the most sincere wonder at the divine magnitude of life, the teachings and self-sacrifice of Christ, but at the same time there runs a parallel vein of skepticism and bitterness against the rigidity of dogma and church organization, so characteristic of the positivism of his time. This non-dogmatic attitude renders "Marija" an esoteric work for the few. But the analysis of this problem does not lie within the scope of this essay.

The conflict in "Neofity" is primarily between two forces: people with

their tradition based on falsehood and the new ideas of the future. Yet the theme of mother and son, the nucleus of the human race, constitutes as before the plot of the poem. It was noted earlier in this paper that Ševčenko's lyrical poetry is primarily that of a girl. It is equally significant that in the chief subject of Ševčenko's poems, the family, there is no father. He appears briefly in "Kateryna" in the role of a judge, but the two main characters are mother and daughter. They are inseparable in life and death:

A to j stara maty,
Ščo pryvela na svit Božyj,
Musyt' pohybaty...

(And even the old mother / who brought (her) into God's world / must perish).

In "Najmyčka" the old man Troxym is merely personification of a kind spirit (in opposition to Catherine's father) and the protector of the young mother and her son, a distant forerunner of Joseph of Nazareth in "Marija", who is the protector of Mary and her son. There is no father in "Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty". The plowmen are merely passing by, disappearing into the night. It is the mother and her daughters and the song of a nightingale that remain.[15] In "Neofity" the father is absent and not even mentioned. The family is represented by mother and daughter and later by mother and son:

V Italiji roslo
Male divča. I krasotoju,
Svjatoju čystoju krasoju,
Jak taja lilija, cvilo.
Dyvylasja na neji maty
I molodila. I divčati
Ljudej šukala. I najšla.
Nezabarom zrobylas' maty
Iz dobroji tiji divčaty:
Dytynu syna pryvela.

(In Italy there grew / a little girl. And her beauty, / pure, immaculate beauty / bloomed like a lily. / Her mother looked at her / and felt herself grow young. For her girl / she sought company. And she found it / ... Soon this good girl / became a mother / She bore a child – a son.)

[15] Cf. M. Shlemkevych, "Duša i pisnja", in *Ukrajins'ka duša* (New York, 1956), pp. 49ff.



In the light of our analysis it is permissible to look for the sources of Ševčenko's feminine world beneath the surface of consciousness. Were not the roots of Ševčenko's vision of the good life in the dark past of his people? It is supposed that the most typical ancient society in the Ukraine was matriarchal, when the guardian brother, and not the husband and father ruled in place of the matriarch when she was unable to do so herself. This is the society of "primitive democracy" (Ščerbakivs'kyj's term),[16] the society of the mother and son and "good people"...

In "Neofity", as was pointed out, the clash is between two worlds: the past, imperfect and decaying, and the future one founded on justice and love. The earlier themes of sin and penance are absent. However, both Alcides and subconsciously his mother are aware of the sacrifice which has to be made to bring the new ideal closer to realization. This, therefore, is a decisive turning point in Ševčenko's view of life.

In the earlier poems of this cycle, the most fundamental value, the measure of all values in life was that of the family:

U našim raji na zemli
Ničoho kraščoho nemaje,
Jak taja maty molodaja
Z svojim dytjatočkom malym;

(In our earthly paradise / there is nothing better / than the young mother / with her small babe.)

The good was everything that promoted the family's health and happiness. This was why Ševčenko had so much hatred of both serfdom and conscription. Both weakened the family. The woman, destined to become a mother, was often a plaything in the hands of the landlord. The young man who should become the founder of a family was recruited into the army and became a slave of forces inimical to the institution of the family. In "Neofity" the family remains the basic unit of life, but in the struggle between good and evil, the good of the family is no longer supreme; it is subordinated to the ideals of verity and justice. It is in this poem that Ševčenko achieved the integration of all his views and expressed it in the new idea of the regeneration of the world.

The last and the finest expression of this integration of the outlook and personality of the poet is "Marija". Artistically, this work is the most accomplished, not through elimination of separate motifs, as in "Najmyčka", where the motif of the seducer is missing, or in "Neofity",

[16] Ščerbakivs'kyj, pp. 37ff.

where the inner conflict is removed in order to depict the struggle between two worlds – good and evil. In "Marija" all the motifs merge into one unity. They do not break it as they did in "Vid'ma". They are all interconnected inseparably.

Scenes of sublime beauty and profundity follow one another. First we see how in young Marija's anxiety when she meditates on her destiny on the shores of the Sea of Tiberias notes are sounded similar to those advocating acceptance of the ancestral law, sinned against by Catherine, maidservant, and witch:

> Jomu [to Joseph] – ja stanu za dytynu,
> Plečmy mojimy molodymy
> Joho stariji pidopru!

(I will be as a child to Joseph / with my young shoulders / I will support his old ones.)

Yet this also contains an element of love-agape, in which the witch's tormented soul found peace.

There follows a sharp contrast to the mood of peace, acceptance, and submission when the tunic slips from her shoulders and the young girl has a premoniton of

> . . . speky ohnepalymoyi tiji,
> Ščo serce bez vohnju roztopyt'
> I bez vody prorve, potopyt'
> Svyatiji dumon'ky . . .

(the scorching heat / which without fire will melt the heart / and without water will break and flood / pious thoughts.)

In all the earlier sinners of Ševčenko desire was victorious over custom and this is where the girl's calvary began. In "Marija" this victory is sublimated and spiritualized with the message of the new truth, pronounced by the youth, who is the prophet of the new order. Instinct and spirit are reunited. The emotional rebellion has become integrated with the revolution of the spirit.

In "Kateryna", "Najmyčka", and "Vid'ma" the return home, to the bosom of the collective unconscious, of the ill-fated girl, is very much part of the theme. In "Marija" this problem of how to reconcile oneself after breaking away from society receives quite different treatment. Marija does not go back – she dedicates herself to the march forward. Like the servant maid, Marija is devoted to her son, yet not to give him back to the old order, but to support him in his fight for the new order



of truth and love. Marija's path is hard and humble; she denies herself for the sake of her son and the future. Yet Marija, like Catherine, retains her name. Those who renounce themselves lose their names as did Najmyčka and Vid'ma.

"Marija" is a most accomplished work not only in content, but in form. Both musical and visual components are fused into a unity. We have mentioned the unevenness of the earlier works, where the narrative four-foot iambic verse (with which Ševčenko began his very first *Kobzar* – "Reve ta stohne Dnipr syrokyj") used to alternate for no apparent reason with folk song rhythm, then dissolved in the placid meter of meditations ("Jest' na sviti dolja, ta xto jiji maje") to be replaced again by a free fable rhythm. Gradually the form becomes more and more homogeneous, gravitating toward the calmer four-foot iamb, which finally becomes the vehicle for the poet's most beautiful and poignant poetic imagery. Emotion still sometimes intrudes into the even and disciplined flow of verse in "Neofity". But in "Marija" the rhythm surges forth in a majestic and unbroken stream. It is interrupted only once, and that purposely in Marija's song "Raju, raju, / Temnyj haju. . .". This is the complete harmony of the stabilized form, perpetually recurring with the content full of deep, often irrational emotion. Here a perfect balance is accomplished between musically conveyed mood and visual imagery. Scene after scene exemplify this synthesis: Marija with the distaff and Joseph in deep contemplation of her; a dreamy girl crowned with a circlet of white lilies and red poppies – a vision in color of the spiritual integration of the pure agape with eros awakening in the young heart; and finally the unforgettable image of the Madonna with a lamb in her arms against the background of Mt. Tabor aflame with the rays of the setting sun. And here encompassed in the same flowing rhythm there is the surge of rapture and anxiety, captured and held in unequaled verse:

> O, svite naš nezaxodymyj!
> O, Ty, prečystaja v ženax!
> Blahouxannyj, sel'nyj kryne!

(Oh our unextinguishable light! / Oh thou, the purest of women! / The fragrant lily of villages!)

Linguistically, "Marija" can also lay claim to excellence. Its language is a synthesis of Ukrainian as spoken by the people and as it was written in sacred books, the medium of the folk song and the Cossack chronicles. Its beauty can be appreciated only from the perspective of our time. The populist aversion to the so-called "artificial language", based on Church

Slavonic, coupled with a suspicion of the hegemony of conservative ecclesiastical circles, made it impossible for his contemporaries to evaluate properly the poetic language of the mature Ševčenko. An example of this lack of understanding may be seen in Drahomanov's criticism of Ševčenko's later works.

The style of "Marija" is marked by unusual conciseness. In his earlier works, Ševčenko's ideas were often blurred by his diffuseness, e.g. the prologue to "Hajdamaky". It is built around two ideas of Heraclitus – that all is fluent and passes, and that whatever ways of the soul one would follow the end is never reached – the soul is boundless. But the conciseness in the aphorisms of Heraclitus is lost in the poem. In "Neofity", "Marija", and the Imitations of the Prophets Ševčenko's style, becomes terse and incisive and exuberance gives way to vigor, eloquence, and compactness.

Through the integration of content, outlook, form and style, which reflect the integration of Ševčenko's whole personality by his *ego*, the poem achieves the spirit of acceptance and detachment won at the price of sufferings overcome. "Marija" is full of the "quiet greatness" *(stille Groesse)* which Goethe demanded from a great work of art. Ševčenko himself wrote in the prologue to "Vid'ma" that the poem was a "heavy meditation" *(tjažka duma)*; he called "Neofity" in the introduction to the poem, a "*skorbna duma*" – plaintive meditation, while in his introduction to "Marija" he speaks of the poem as a "quiet and joyful psalm" *(psalom tyxyj i veselyj)*. It is the serenity of summits. Said Goethe: "*Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh*".

Although "Marija" marks a most important intersection in Ševčenko's thought and art, it does not lead to the end of the traveller's journey. In spite of its many-sidedness the integration is not consummate. From the very beginning Ševčenko is captivated by the proto-historical ideals of the agricultural Hyperborean, and he depicts him in an ideal paradise "without foe or oppressor", a paradise of the community of free families among the cherry orchards – the ideal of blessing for the meek in spirit, as Christ preached in His Sermon on the Mount. Yet at the same time Ševčenko is aware of another force, which is so often overestimated by his interpreters. It is expressed in language of the strongest protest and is akin to the cursing of the prophets from the Old Testament. On the one hand we see the God of Love and Forgiveness ("Neofity", "Marija") and on the other – the God of Anger and Revenge. *Deus caritatis* and *Deus irae*.

This contradiction, inherent in Christianity, tormented Ševčenko, particularly during the last years of his life. His vision of the true and just order is sometimes achieved through love and sometimes through salvation by destruction and revenge. Visions of revolutions brought about by the spirit of the good ("Neofity", "Marija") and rooted perhaps in the popular legend of the peace brought to Kiev and the Ukraine by the Apostle Andrew, "the grey haired, solemn and gentle old man" with a book in his hands, who was profaned by being "represented in armor" (Ševčenko's words), are sometimes replaced by a vision of a bloody and terrible revolt.



Ulovljat' i sudyt' ne budut',
V kajdany tuho okujut',
V selo na zryšče pryvedut',
I na xresti otim bez kata
I bez carja vas, bisnuvatyx,
Rozpnut', rozirvut', roznesut',
I krovju vašoju, sobaky,
Sobak napojat'...

(They will capture you and will not bring you to trial, / but will put you in tight chains, / will lead you into the village to be stared at. / And on that cross, without an executioner / and without a tsar, they will / crucify you, Devil's kin, / will tear you to pieces, will scatter your remains all around / and with your blood, you dogs, / will feed the dogs...)

To reconcile these two images of the future became for Ševčenko an impossible task because of his poor health and failing powers. This conflict is deeply rooted in modern Ukrainian thought, in which the ideal of the peaceful and pastoral life often clashes with the historical necessity to defend oneself from actual and potential attack by an invader and enemy. The cherry orchard versus the Zaporozhian Sič – these are the points of polarization of the modern spiritual Ukraine.

The long process of individuation of the great spirit approaching its fulfillment had also a symbolic significance. Individuation is the accepted term for self-realization, when according to Jung, "man becomes the definite, unique being he in fact is". Ševčenko's last works are documents of the integration of universally human and traditionally Ukrainian components with modern ideas of his conscious *ego* and the ideas of current trends. They are documents of the integration of contents that developed for thousands of years, of the irrational and rational sphere of the soul, where they arise and are shaped. All of them – the contents and the

spheres of the soul – find in the works of this period a functional coherence, as stressed by Wilhelm Dilthey. The spirit ceases to be the contradictor of the soul (Klages), as sometimes happens in the works of the young Ševčenko. The "form of life" join into a single entity, the characteristic of true individuation.

But individuation is also the problem and the task of a nation that strives to find itself as a collective individuality – "the being which it in reality is". The attitude of the Ukrainians toward the poet's spiritual world may serve as a mirror which indicates the phase of the process of self-realization in which the national consciousness finds itself. It was mentioned above that often only separate elements of his spiritual world are seen while the unconscious foundations are ignored along with the highest achievement in integration and individuation. Thus the world of Ševčenko is limited to the scope of the folk bard or of the social and political crusader. The collective and the popular eclipse the unique individuality of genius. One might say with Faust: "What you take for the spirit of the time, / Is in reality your own spirit, gentlemen, / In which the time is reflected".

The scope of Ševčenko's work has not yet been encompassed. Yet in the unconscious depths of the soul of Ukrainians slumber all the contents dredged to the surface by the poet, awakening at the sound of his words. This is the explanation of the unique cult that makes the anniversaries of the poet's birth and death occasions for national holidays. This profound affinity also explains the fact that all the social and political forces that emerged after his death endeavored to find their source and justification in his works. As the pious man quotes the Holy Scripture, so all these forces: conservative and revolutionary, national and international, ecclesiastical and anti-clerical, harkened back and still do so to Ševčenko. This affinity of Ševčenko with his nation makes it clear why the fighting national mass stirred up by the revolution for independence went to battle under banners bearings his portraits, and with his slogans on their lips.

However, the symbolism of his artistic images is not to be confined within national bounds. The theme of the Ukrainian family in Ševčenko's poems may be extended to embrace, allegorically, the Ukrainian or any people. What we termed Catherine's and the maidservant's protests against ancestral law will become, then, an attempted revolution or rebellion. Their non-return or return home could be, symbolically, a step from a revolution back to an organized society or state.

Catherine's emotional protest is more like a rebellion than a revolution.



It is unsuccessful. The theme of "Najmyčka" extends further. Today we are familiar with the "revolution devouring its own children", reneging on its initial aspirations. Above all, the Bolshevik revolution, promising the most decisive break with the past, has regressed to the methods of Ivan the Terrible. Like Najmyčka's Marko, revolution is grafted on an old and sterile root and the first generation withers away. In "Neofity" and "Marija" the rebellion is replaced by revolution (with great positive ideas of a future order). This is no longer a spontaneous rebellion, but a revolution that brooks no compromise with the past. The conflict is as tragic to the revolutionary as it is to the rebel against the established order in "Kateryna" and "Najmyčka". But there the rebellion and its result die, or are reconciled through submission and through the acknowledgement of tradition. Here death conquers death and final victory belongs to the revolution for a new world.

The secret and the power of creative genius lies in the ability to set up in a single and concrete symbol the manifold and the general. Thus the conflicts developed in the cycle from "Kateryna" to "Marija" may serve as the symbol of the eternal conflicts whose battlefields are the individual soul and the history of human societies.

Ševčenko was not a philosopher or a systematic thinker, but a poet who, as he put it, looked at the world through his heart. His thoughts are in images and symbols: his thinking – in anguish and anticipation. His philosophical problems have their origin in the deep substratum of his life which at the same time is the source of his poetry.

The student's task should be to explore these hidden avenues and to indicate the paths of Ševčenko's spiritual journey. It would be foolish to pretend that such explorations are scholarly investigations. But it would be equally foolish if scholars reject all that cannot be embraced by their academic criteria. Scholarship makes its advances slowly and carefully. It is to be hoped that it will investigate the dark valleys of Sevčenko's inner world into which we have ventured to look. Probably these future investigations will not follow the path of the one who ventured there first. But his only task was to enter the dark valley and on his return to tell of things hitherto unknown.

# ŠEVČENKO'S AESTHETIC THEORY: AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

VIKTOR PETROV

The Ukrainian Populists created a cult of Ševčenko. The anti-Populists were provoked into blasphemy: they rejected Ševčenko. In his collection of critical essays on the writers of the 19th century, Mykola Zerov did not include a single essay on Ševčenko. The title of Zerov's collection *(From Kuliš to Vynnyčenko)* itself sounds like a polemical challenge. Zerov brought to an end his outline of Ukrainian literary history before coming to Ševčenko, while the above collection of essays he began after Ševčenko. Ševčenko was simply omitted. Maksym Ryl's'kyj, like Zerov, failed to include Ševčenko among the poets for whom the Neoclassicists showed respect. In one of his lectures delivered in 1941, Ryl's'kyj divided those Slavic poets of whom he was speaking into the following hierarchy: the first place was occupied by Puškin; the second by Mickiewicz, the third and last by Ševčenko. This provoked a protest, but Ryl's'kyj's reply explaining this order by chronology was a vain attempt to establish an alibi. Would Ryl's'kyj, a classicist, have liked to put himself in the third place: Puškin, Mickiewicz, Ryl's'kyj?

In the same spirit of anti-Populist campaign, Mykola Xvyl'ovyj, in response to the ideas of the closed Neoclassicist circle, put forward as an ideological leader, for them and for himself, not Ševčenko but Kuliš. This, in fact, created a new set of values. The negation of Ševčenko was tantamount to the glorification of Kuliš, who suddenly received recognition which was denied to him during his lifetime.

Ševčenko studies written in the 1920's were limited to the poet's biography and, to a lesser extent, to the formal analysis of his poetry. They did not advance a definite concept of Ševčenko as a poet.

Today, both the concept of the Populists and the negative attitude of the Neoclassicists are out of date. The polemics between the remaining followers of Populism and anti-Populism can no longer command serious attention. The realities of the 1920's have become mere memories. From



the present perspective Ševčenko the revolutionary and Ševčenko the poet require a new evaluation.

The Populists were contemptuous of aesthetics. The anti-Populists were aesthetes. For them aesthetic values were determined by such categories as literary tradition, scholastic training, solid preparation, creative discipline, long and strict apprenticeship, and a sophisticated regard for form. All these Ševčenko lacked. This is why the Neoclassicists renounced him.

Ševčenko the poet is amorphous, untrained and undisciplined. As Kuliš described his works, they are "unkempt" *(nepryčesani)*. Ševčenko wrote in a poetic meter which had not the remotest relation to accepted literary conventions. Čiževsky called Ševčenko's meter "semi-popular" *(piv-narodnij)* and this appellation confirms the fact the Ševčenko's metrics cannot be fitted into any literary norm.

This point also marks the beginning of the dividing line between Ševčenko the poet and Ševčenko the painter. The line between his genius and his talent. As a painter, Ševčenko graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg with the title of "artist". He studied under Brjullov, a painter with an international reputation, and received several silver medals as prizes for his works. A cerificate issued to Ševčenko by the Academy of Fine Arts conferred on him and his heirs the right to "live in complete freedom".

Yet what use was freedom attested by signatures and seals of high officials? The diploma imposed responsibilities and limitations; the advice of his teachers was after all a form of restriction. While Ševčenko received silver medals for second prizes, other students received gold ones and the highest praise. Ševčenko must have felt that he was second-class. Brjullov's fame also contributed to the feeling of being inferior to his teacher.

One must admit that Ševčenko's paintings, portraits and etchings show great talent, but they are not the product of a genius. His genius is evident only wherever he rises above the tenets of a school. That is not in painting, but in poetry.

In order to show his genius Ševčenko needed complete freedom – no academic authority which would hamper him, no silver medals which would remind him how to write and how not to write. This complete freedom he never had in his career as a painter, but he attained it as a poet. Ševčenko's poetry was not written according to any book of rules. For it he received no medals, diplomas or official recognition. In it he felt no barriers; his lack of literary experience was a boon, for he paid no attention to the accepted literary conventions. In most cases, such

attempts at literary creation end in utter failure. Very rarely are there exceptions. Ševčenko was such an exception.

Schooling, theory, and canon – all existed for Ševčenko the painter. He learned and followed the laws of anatomy, light and darkness, perspective, geometry and the intricacies of the art of drawing. As a poet he lived in a different world. In his painting Ševčenko was a pupil, in his poetry – a rebel. In one he followed a doctrine, in the other he disobeyed it. As a poet he began not by writing in iambics, trochees or dactyls, according to the established rules of prosody, but by inventing his own, fantastic meter, which is sometimes labelled "*kolomyjka-like*" or "carol-like". He wrote like no one before him, like a dunce.

This is where the chances of a great victory lay for him, where an opportunity presented itself of becoming an innovator. Unlike other innovators, Ševčenko did not waste his time on fighting the old literary conventions. From the very beginning he simply ignored and bypassed them.

The path to literature lay before him open and short. It was a path beset by the greatest risks – a path that could lead to complete defeat in becoming a "*kolomyjka*" rhymester; or to a brilliant victory – the revelation of his own genius. This is also why the Populists accepted Ševčenko as a self-made, homespun genius. This is also why the anti-Populists rejected him. Needless to say, homespun and Ševčenko have nothing in common.

What, then, is a genius in his greatest artistic fulfillment? Someone endowed with extraordinary creative powers? This above all, but also much more than that. Not only extraordinary endowment, but also a concept and a theory make a true genius. He is not a freak or an accident, but a helmsman and a guiding star. His own doctrine is arrived at by overcoming all other doctrines; his philosophy is born in defiance of all other philosophies.

Ševčenko's poems are not products of hit-or-miss attempts at writing. His own creative experience served him as a basis for a theory. Theoretically, Ševčenko's work was as valuable as that of Goethe.

As a painter Ševčenko was too much Brjullov's pupil to start painting like Goya. He dared not paint the dreams and nightmares of "non-humans" *(ne ljudy)*, the macabre dream worlds of drunkards and the possessed. But he had the courage to depict all this in his poems.

The poem "Son", composed in 1844 in St. Petersburg, is subtitled "a comedy", and its motto is taken from St. John: "Even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth



him". The poem ends with these words: "Such was this weird dream: Only fools and drunkards have such dreams. Don't be surprised, my dear brothers, that I told you not what happened to me but what I saw in a dream."

This amounted to a proclamation of a new literary theory, unrelated to any of the doctrines current in Ševčenko's time. The thesis of the motto and that of the last lines of the poem are, if not identical, complementary. The epigraph states the fact of unseen and unknown truth – the ending of the poem transforms this into a premise of a literary theory. What the world does not see or know or accept may be learned from a different reality – that of dreams.

This, of course, was nothing new. The Romantics of the Jena school acknowledged the realm of dreams in their aesthetic doctrine. Yet Ševčenko believes in the reality of the "dreams of the possessed and drunkards" – the hallucinations of tipplers, and the chimeras of madcap – and in their displacement of the deformed though tangible realities of life.

Ševčenko's specific inclinations in his literary platform are not unlike those of his great contemporaries, E.T.A. Hoffmann and Edgar Allan Poe. Contrary to them, however, Ševčenko's distortion of reality toward the grotesque has a distinctly revolutionary flavor. He is not interested in the pathological aspects of the drunken phantasms or the parapsychological problem of the deranged; his purpose is to distort reality for a revolutionary aim. The grotesque becomes the backbone of a political pamphlet, the record of a dream – abiting accusation of tsardom.

Ševčenko's poem "Son" was a record of a delirium. The poet tells us exactly how and when the work originated. "Walking along the fence, drunk, from the banquet, at night I meditated, until I reached my hut. At home there are no children to cry and no wife to scold – it's quiet, like paradise, everywhere is God's peace – in my heart and at home. So I lay down to sleep. And I dreamt a very peculiar dream..."

The poem itself followed after this declaration of literary doctrine. One should, therefore, look not for Ševčenko's links with Romanticism or realism, but for his own Ševčenkoism – an exposition of his own literary theory based on the influences of the Bible, folklore, historicism, revolutionary inspiration, and the creative phantasmagoria of the poet himself.

It is this blending of the burlesque, nightmares, visions, quotations from the Bible and a revolutionary spirit that produced at the end of 1845 the great poem "Velykyj I'ox". Just as anti-imperialist and anti-tsarist as "Son", "Velykyj I'ox" is the best example of Ševčenkoism, the finest

crystallization of the literary theory put forward in "Son". Attempting to define the genres of these two poems Ševčenko called the first "a comedy" and the second "a mystery" *(misterija)*; definitions that are very accurate and convey the author's intention.

The path of Ševčenko's creative development from *Hajdamaky* (1841) to "Velykyj l'ox" (1845) is that from a "historical poem" to a "mystery". In its revolutionary intransigeance and national hatred "Velykyj l'ox" is as uncompromising as *Hajdamaky*. But the depiction of history is totally different in these two poems. In "Velykyj l'ox" there is no longer any attempt at historical verisimilitude. Ševčenko dismembers history, deforms reality. The subjects of revolution, oppression and defiance are transferred to a metaphysical plane. In place of simple hatred we see the enigma of punishment.

In *Hajdamaky* the personages are social types: the servant Jarema Halajda, the hajdamak chieftain Gonta, the confederates, the priest from Čyhyryn. The characters in "Velykyj l'ox" are not social types or historic personages, they are not even people – but souls: those of an infant, dead ones and demons, with a clear division into white souls and black non-souls, ravens. "Like snow, three birds flew over Subotove and sat down on the slanting cross on an old church. God will forgive us – we are souls now, not people".

*Hajdamaky* depicts the personal tragedy of Gonta, who kills his own children. In "Velykyj l'ox" people are punished for their barely conscious actions and feelings. "My mother played with me," reports one soul, "and looked on the Dnieper; she showed me the gilded barge... I looked and smiled... My breathing ceased. My mother also died. We were buried in one grave. This, my sisters, is the reason why I am still punished and why for my sins they won't let me [into heaven]. How could I know, in my swaddling clothes, that the tsarina – is a bitter foe of the Ukraine, a hungry wolverine?" *Hajdamaky* is history; "Velykyj l'ox" – a mystery. Reality becomes irrational; actuality is deformed. The characters, the scene, the details and images – all serve to bring out the literary intention.

Neither the motto nor the finishing lines of "Son" were meant to be taken lightly as an aside. They amounted to the literary declaration of a poet who has found his own path. Everything else in these poems serves as means to the fulfillment of this end.

On November 13, 1844, Ševčenko wrote in St. Petersburg the following poem, consisting of eigth lines:



Čoho meni tjažko, čoho meni nudno,
Čoho serce plače, rydaje, kryčyt',
Mov dytja holodne? Serce moje trudne.
Čoho ty bažaješ, ščo tebe bolyt'?
Čy pyty, čy jisty, čy spaton'ky xočeš?
Zasny, moje serce, naviky zasny,
Nevkryte, rozbyte, – a ljud navisnyj
Nexaj skaženije... Zakryj, serce, oči.

(Why am I sad, why am I bored / Why is my heart weeping, crying, lamenting / Like a hungry child? My heavy heart, / What do you desire? what hurts you so? / Do you wish to drink, to eat, or to sleep? / Go to sleep, my heart, for ever to sleep, / Uncovered, tormented; let the malicious people / rage... Close your eyes, my heart.)

No literary critic would dare to call this verse realistic. Yet at the same time it could not be classed as romantic, whether one compares it to the Kharkiv Romantic school or to the Romantic poets with whom Ševčenko was acquainted (Kozlov, Žukovskij). The poem cannot be pigeonholed, but in its imagery it reflects Ševčenko's literary theory.

The poet concentrates on non-sensory images. His scheme has a definite logic. He wishes to materialize that which the world does not accept, what it does not see or know. The opening line of the poem, after hundreds of similar folksongs, sounds today a little sentimental. But its origin goes back to before sentimentalism. It comes from the times of the Baroque and Skovoroda's "soul, which cries inside" – the metaphysical theme of the anguish of the soul. After asking why his heart is crying, the poet introduces a startingly realistic metaphor "like a hungry child". The abstract "heart" at once blends with the concrete "hungry child". The process of the estrangement and isolation of the heart is further stressed in "what do you wish – to eat – to drink – to sleep". The last line "close your eyes, my heart" leaves no doubt about the intention of the poetic device.

The "uncovered heart", the "heart with closed eyes" are images which do not fit within the realist or romantic tradition. They remind us of pre-nineteenth century imagery or that of modern times. It is the surrealist imagery of a Dali, or a Max Ernst, in which the inner elements are the "organs" which have an independent existence as personages. After about a century of defiance of literacy canons, modern poetry has touched on something which was the cornerstone of the poetic doctrine of Taras Ševčenko.

# THE YEAR 1860 IN ŠEVČENKO'S WORK

GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

Striking reversals of fortune cut Ševčenko's life into clearly demarcated periods: serfdom, liberty, arrest and exile, liberty again. This periodization has been applied to his work mechanically, without deeper analysis and without marshalling sufficient evidence. From the years of serfdom too few works have been preserved – perhaps none at all, for dating "Pryčynna" as written in 1837 is controversial. Universally acknowledged, however, is the breakdown of Ševčenko's work into three periods: before his exile, in exile, and after his release from exile.

In reality the situation is more complex. Ševčenko always remained himself. The unity of his work is striking: in the author of "Marija" one immediately recognizes the author of "Pryčynna" and "Kateryna". But at the same time there is a veritable gulf between the first and the last of the poet's works in regard to style, *Weltanschauung*, mood, and philosophy. The changes in the poet's mind and the development of his creative style proceeded in steep ascents and abrupt falls, and to try to accommodate it in three periods is to oversimplify reality. No adequate periodization of Ševčenko's poetry has yet been devised, and one can trace many misunderstandings in interpretation to the tendency to give one period undue prominence while neglecting others. A complete picture of Ševčenko can be recreated only after scholars have worked out the particular periods in Ševčenko's poetry and have gleaned the common element from their differences and contradictions.

After a six years' involuntary silence during exile Ševčenko resumed his work by radically revising his "Moskaleva krynycja" (the first version had appeared in 1847, the second in 1857). In both, topic and style, this work is more closely connected with the preceding years than with the following. This is Ševčenko's last epic poem drawn from Ukrainian life and filled with details of folk customs. The two later epic poems, which were to be his last, "Neofity" and "Marija", derive their themes from



the ancient world. In later years the Ukrainian theme was to be reduced to miniatures, in which the plot is not worked out but only alluded to, the characters are rendered by lapidary symbolic allusions and through a lyrical mood. They are detached from the background of manners and customs, without details of everyday life, existing in some kind of illuminated abstraction. The new period starts not with "Moskaleva krynycja" but with "Neofity", which is dated December 1857.

On the other hand, there is a clear division between the works written prior to 1860 and the works that originated between January 1860 and February 1861, the last year of the poet's life. In order to grasp the particularities of the poetry of that last, brief period in Ševčenko's life one must at least glance at the characteristic features of Sevčenko's work from 1857–1859.

Here we find works of different genres and with different stylistic peculiarities. But what gives this period its imprint are Ševčenko's typical "imitations" of Biblical prophets and psalms (The 11th Psalm; Isaiah, Chapter 35; Ezekiel, Chapter 19; Hosea, Chapter 14) and two poems from the time of the beginning of Christianity: "Neofity" (The Neophytes) and "Marija" (Holy Virgin Mary). Of the seventy-two printed pages filled by the works of that period, fifty-two are taken up by the above-mentioned works. The particular style and mood of these poems, however, characterizes the majority of the other works of those years as well. They were years full of Biblical visions portending a bloody retribution, a revenge which was to strike the sinners and exploiters, when "Evil tyranny / Will bathe itself, itself / In its own blood" ("Imitation of Ezekiel"), ("Zlaja svojevolja / Sama skupajet'sja, sama / V svojij krovi" "Podražanyje Ijezekijilju"), when the poet hurled into the face of the sinners and the non -repentant:

vsjudy
Vas najde pravda-msta, a ljudy
Pidsterežut' vas na totež,
Ulovljat' i sudyt' ne budut',
V kajdany tuho okujut',
V selo na zryšče pryvedut',
I na xresti otim bez kata
I bez carja vas, bisnuvatyx,
Rozpnut', rozirvut', roznesut'
I vašej kroviju, sobaky,
Sobak napojat'...
("Osiji. Hlava XIV.")

(Anywhere / Justice-Revenge will find you, and the people / Will seek you out, / Will capture you and will not bring you to trial, / But will put you in tight chains, / Will lead you into the village to be stared at, / And on that cross, without an executioner / And without a tsar they will crucify you, Devil's kin, / Will tear you to pieces, will scatter your remains all around / And with your blood, you dogs, / Will feed the dogs. – "Hosea, Chapter XIV.")

Everything in this excerpt is characteristic. The identification of revenge with justice, the rejection of judicial trial in the name of mob law, the apotheosis of cruelty, the blind and bloodthirsty rebellion, the inebriation with the blood of one's victims, and the vision of a paradise to come after the triumph of people's revenge. This is a poetry of apocalypse which, however, does not lead to the end of the world but to an idyllic future realm of justice; a poetry of hatred which flows from an overabundance of love; a poetry of martyrdom that one voluntarily accepts on behalf of others and which one tries to compensate for by torturing others. The entire poem is built upon contrasts, upon frequent and deliberate departures from logic, upon a morbid enjoyment of one's own and other people's suffering, and upon the dream of forever liberating oneself and all the others from that suffering.

In style, this is above all a poetry of hyperbole and metaphor, which are piled one on top of another, which grow into odd clusters, now mutually contradictory, now frighteningly coherent in their visionary quality. The verse is constructed in such a way that the meter is constantly broken by pauses in the middle of the line, by tearing the phrases asunder by verses. The construction of the phrase would have been rhetorical, with a series of anaphoras and epistrophes, appeals and curses, if the rhetorical line itself had not been broken by "side jumps" and deviations from that very same rhetorical structure. This is not simple rhetoric, it is a perverted rhetoric struggling with chaos and anarchy. The principle on which the style of the poems from those years is based is to let the reader perceive a certain scheme, a certain line – be it in the structure of the verse, in the arrangement of images, or in the pattern of the sentence – yet at the same time never to allow the scheme to materialize itself. It is the principle of the permanent conflict between the literary form and the self-will of the poetic genius.

The same abundance of contrasts, a union of elements which theretofore had never been united and had always seemed incapable of such a union, also characterizes the language of the works of that period. Ševčenko's contemporaries did not, as a rule, accept this overabundance



of contrasts. It violated too much their sense of style. The works of that period did not achieve popularity and did not find any imitators, and if anyone dared to voice his opinion of them, the judgment was negative. Wrote Myxajlo Drahomanov:

> The even quality of Ševčenko's writings was upset to a large degree also by the inclination of Ukrainian writers to make jokes, to pretend that they were fools without proper education – sometimes right after the poet had reached up to Apollo, Numa, etc., sometimes in a context in which such a joke would be altogether out of place and would [only] ruin the verse which without it would have been beautiful... When careless working over and unevenness and jokes are joined by cynicism and the mixing up of the old with the new (e.g., the Bible with St. Petersburg affairs), Ševčenko sometimes produces works which anyone with a literary education or even with a simple taste finds disgusting to read. Such are, for instance, as if by intention, the anti-tsarist writings of 1860.[1]

From the perspective of 100 years it must be admitted that Drahomanov's observations were to the point but that his judgment was naive and dictated by his positivist, pragmatic world outlook. The breaks in Ševčenko's imagery and the abundance of contrasts in his style in the poems of 1857–1859 are not the result of careless working over, but logically follow from a stylistic principle. The application of the principle in what Drahomanov called "anti-tsarist writings", but what actually should have been called works of social vision, is by no means accidental. From the viewpoint of poetical masterliness, Ševčenko's works of this period reach the pinnacle of his poetical achievements, and a more careful analysis will reveal behind the ostensible chaos an unusual command of the material, a hidden consequentiality and system.

This can be proved by analyzing the particular logic in the development of images, by an analysis of the enjambments and an examination of the euphony of Ševčenko's poems. This is easiest to do and the results can be verified most readily if one examines the language of the poetry from this period. Already in "Neofity", a poem which opens the period, one is struck by the unprecedented combination of Church Slavonicisms, which are usually associated with the Church or with classical poetry; of vulgarisms, which had scarcely ever been admitted to serious poetry before; and of a few word structures that are typical of folk songs. If one tries to present this statistically one receives the impression of a disorganized piling up of heterogeneous and mutually exclusive elements. If

[1] Myxajlo Drahomanov, *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily j socijalizm* (Kiev, 1914; 3rd ed.), pp. 106–107.

one adds to this the great number of Greek and Roman words (according to Jevhen Pelens'kyj's calculations,[2] there are 80 words which are used 180 times to designate the *realia* of Roman life, but used in a capricious sequence, alternating with modern words with a trite everyday meaning) one can comprehend much better the feeling of utter stupefaction and confusion which the poem evoked in Ševčenko's generation and among his immediate successors.

In fact, the use of these evidently incompatible elements is governed by more than chance. It is subject to extraordinarily interesting "rules of the game", which have not been completely elucidated as yet, though this would have constituted a most fruitful subject for a special study. Sometimes stylistically heterogeneous words are being ostentatiously identified: "*plebeji-hrečkosiji*" (Plebeians and sowers of buckwheat) – a favorite expression of Ševčenko's to designate the peaceloving Ukrainian peasants, "*bajdak*..., *čy galera*" (A small galley..., or a galleon). Sometimes a sentence is constructed in such a way that one can clearly perceive a series of shifts from the poetic to the vulgar level, up to the poetic and down to the vulgar level again ("Til'ky my, Adame, / Tvoji čada prestupniji, / Ne odpočyvajem / Do samoji domovyny / U prospanim raji. / Hryzemosja, mov sobaky / Za maslak smerdjačyj, / Ta tebe šče znevažajem, / Praotče ledačyj"; Only we, Adam, / your sinful flocks, / do not rest / until our very grave / in the paradise that we have slept through. / We snap at each other like dogs, / [fighting] for a stinking bone, / and in addition we are disrespectful of you, / you lazy forefather). Sometimes entire larger sections of the text each of which remains consistent in its vocabulary are contrasted with one another so that the shift from one fragment to the other becomes the more striking.

The abundance of contrasts in the language of "Neofity" has an effect both upon the meaning and the emotions. In terms of meaning, it lifts the subject out of the context of one epoch. By constantly shuttling the reader back and forth, from ancient Rome to contemporary St. Petersburg, it finally creates the illusion that he is nowhere and yet everywhere: it renders the conflict universal. Emotionally, it unbalances the reader, chafes his nerves, tells him not to accept what he is reading as simply another literary work. The poet does not want to present the reader with just another literary piece, but with an outcry of pain, a piercing scream of raw nerves. One need not mention, of course, that negating the literary quality of a piece of literature is a literary technique. By other methods

[2] Jevhen Julij Pelens'kyj, *Ševčenko-kljasyk: 1855–1861* (Kraków-Lviv, 1942), p. 99.



and with a different purpose the same has been done by Leo Tolstoj. The most elementary example of this technique is any work written in the form of a diary.

The union of contrasting elements in "Neofity" has the character of a challenge, and its effect is one of stupefaction. In "Marija" the same technique is used with less insistence and far more balance. The result is, therefore, a great deal milder although the means employed are none the less revolutionary, especially for its time. Vulgarisms have almost completely been excluded from the poem. Its text is clearly enough divided into prayer-like sections distinctly orchestrated with Church Slavonicisms and sections in the vernacular language. This is an approximate scheme of the division: lines 1–25 are in the Church Slavonic stylistic key, lines 26–91 in the vernacular, 92–117 – in the Church Slavonic; lines 118–192 – in the vernacular, with a gradual shift to a rhetorical, exalted presentation; lines 192–206 – Church Slavonic, lines 207–218 – in the vernacular, lines 219–232 – in Church Slavonic; 233–238 – vernacular, 239–254 – Church Slavonic, 255–283 a peculiar synthesis of both styles; lines 284–366 in the vernacular; lines 367–386 – in specific archaic rhetorical key; 387–620 – vernacular, 621–640 – synthesis of both styles; lines 641–655 – vernacular, 656–743 a synthesis again.

Following is an example of the synthesizing style:

Favor-hora,
Nenače z zlata-serebra,
Daleko, vysoko sijaje,
Až slipyt'. Pidnjala
Na toj Favor svoji svjatiji
Očyci krotkiji Marija
Ta j usmixnulas'. Zajnjala
Kozu z kozjatočkom z-pid haju
I zaspivala.

(Mount Tabor, / as if from gold and silver, / shines far and high, / almost blinding men. Mary raised / her holy meek eyes to that Tabor / and smiled. She drove / the goat with her little one out of the grove / and began to sing.)

The Church Slavonic current is fed by such words as *zlato* (gold), *serebro* (silver),[3] *sijaje* (shines), *svjatiji* (holy), *krotkiji* (meek). The cor-

[3] Properly speaking, *serebro* is a Russianism, but in this context it plays the role of a Church Slavonicism.

responding forms in the vernacular would have been *zoloto, sriblo, sjaje, svjati, krotki*. Apart from that, the semantic connotations of the words *svjatiji, krotkiji* themselves lead over to the ecclesiastic or religious sphere. Here belongs also *Favor* (Tabor), a name which is known from the Bible. On the other hand, the word *zajnjaty* in the meaning of *zahnaty* (to drive), the article-like *toj* (that) used when repeating the word *Favor, kozjatočko* (little goat) clearly belong to the vernacular level. Finally, while formulae that might have been immediately derived from folk-songs are lacking, appositional constructions of the type *Favor-hora, zlata-serebra* subtly hint at the style of folklore. The effect of this union of styles is one of an extraordinary wealth of associations. Things and events in daily life are transposed to the abstract religious plane, the prosaic becomes poetic, the remote and abstractly religious – close and intimate. Ivan Franko, sending Uljana Kravčenko a copy of "Marija", wrote: "This is, in my opinion, the most beautiful pearl of our poetry. Read it and keep reading yourself into it and pay good attention as to how one can raise ostensibly prosaic things to [the level of] high poetry."[4]

The effect of both "Marija" and "Neofity" is that of universality. The action takes place in Galilee and concurrently in the Ukraine, far away yet near, in the past and everyday. But in "Neofity" this is achieved by emphasizing the incompatibility of the combined elements, in "Marija" – by their mutual interpenetration. The impression one receives from the style of "Neofity" is one of a sudden blow, the impression from the style of "Marija" is one of caress, the soft loving stroking of one's head. Better than any theoretical considerations "Marija" shows how deeply mistaken Drahomanov was when he attributed the stylistic shock he had received from reading "Neofity" to an imperfect working over of the poem. The contrasts in "Marija" are almost invisible. Nevertheless, the poem is built upon contrasts in everything, from the vocabulary to the verse torn apart by enjambments; it is built upon that which Drahomanov labelled the mixture of the Bible with Petersburg affairs. "Marija" has the elements of an idyl which were almost absent from "Neofity", with its white anger and indignation, but the former poem includes no less tragedy and protest than the latter. It, too, belongs to the revolutionary and prophetic period in Ševčenko's poetry.

The situation changes noticeably in the beginning of 1860. Only one work from that period resembles "Neofity". It is "Saul", dated October

[4] *Literatura i mystectvo* (Lviv), 1941, No. 5, p. 35.



13, 1860. It is perhaps not accidental that this work remained unfinished or, to be more precise, was only begun. So far as we know, Ševčenko did not even try to take it up again. We would also look in vain in this period for imitations of the Prophets or other parts of the Bible. They have disappeared.

An external indication of the change in style, tone, atmosphere is a distinct limitation in the number and role of Church Slavonicisms in the language of the poems. They can be found in greater concentration only in humoristic, satirical poems, such as "Velykomučenyce kumo!", "Kuma moja i ja", "Umre muž velij", where their role is distinctly that of parody and their point is directed against the Church. Apart from them, even in the lyric of political invective, which in Ševčenko's work earlier had constituted a veritable concentration of Church Slavonicisms in conjunction with vulgarisms, Church Slavonic words are hardly ever used. In "Xoča ležačoho ne bjut'" there are at most three Church Slavonicisms *(skorb, pečal', psy*, – the latter two need not necessarily be considered as such), in "O ljudy! ljudy neboraky!" there is one *(oskvernennyj)*, in "I tut i vsjudy – skriz' pohano" there is none.

In place of the stylistic experiments of the preceding years when Ševčenko boldly introduced into poetry expressions which had never been used in it before, when he united words which, it seemed, belonged to incompatible stylistic spheres, there now appears as a cardinal rule the law of wise economy. From a seething, expansive style the poet proceeds to the self-limitation of the mature artist. Work in breadth is replaced by intensive polishing of the given material. Semantic contrasts become more important than stylistic ones. The effect is calculated to invite the reader to deep thinking, not to deal him a blow which will throw him off balance.

Significant from this viewpoint is Ševčenko's persistent work on the translation of excerpts from the "Ihor Tale", several variants of which are available. It is easy to note how much terser and more concentrated is the variant of September 14 than the variant of June 4. In other poems, too, the most general concepts, images of historical events and epochs are as if coded in brief symbols. Such is, for instance, the poem

I Arximed i Galilej
Vyna j ne bačyly. Jelej
Potik u čerevo černeče!
A vy, svjatiji predoteči,
Po vs'omu sviti rozijšlys'

I kryxtu xliba ponesly
Carjam ubohym. Bude byto
Carjamy sijaneje žyto!
A ljudy vyrostut'. Umrut'
Šče nezačatiji carjata...
I na onovlenij zemli
Vraha ne bude, supostata,
A bude syn, i bude maty,
I budut' ljudy na zemli.

(Archimedes and Galileo / did not even see the wine. The unction / flowed into the monks' big bellies. / And you, holy forerunners / have spread yourselves throughout the world / and have carried a morsel of bread / to the wretched tsars. Perish / will the grain sown by the tsars! / But the people will grow up. Die / will the not yet conceived princes... / And on the renewed earth / there will be no foe and adversary / But there will be a son, and there will be a mother, / and there will be people on the earth.)

In its composition the entire poem is built upon alternating contrasting images of those who seek truth and justice and those who try to destroy both of them. Archimedes and Galileo is the first image of the seekers of truth, it is replaced by the image of the apostles, the holy forerunners, only to expand into the image of harmonious people who will grow up in the near future, and to end with the image of a harmonious community founded upon the principles of the Christian family – the son, the mother, and the people as such. With these are contrasted the images of the pot-bellied leaders of the Church ("the monks' big bellies"), of the tsars and princes, which are generalized in the image of the foe and adversary. As a composition the entire poem constitutes an interweaving of these two series of images, in which now one, now the other series emerges in plain view as if in a rope tied of two different strands, one black and one white. Furthermore, each series moves from the particular (Archimedes and Galileo are lonely seekers of truth, on the one hand; on the other we find the well-nourished princes of the Church) to the utmost generalization at the end of the work: "the people", as such, are contrasted with "the "foe" *per se*.

A third series of images pertaining to food runs parallel. It is first introduced by the images of wine and of unction which flow into the belly, it is replaced by the image of bread, a staple food and not an expression of luxury and surplus, of bread which as yet exists only in wretchedly small, counted morsels, and is then generalized in the image of grain sown by the tsars and subject to destruction.



At first sight this poem consists of pithy, abrupt maxims. Actually, its composition is extraordinarily consequential and severe in its juxtaposition of "the people" and "the tsars", both words being used in a symbolic, generalized sense, which becomes clear after the poem moves through a series of partial images. The poet's judgment is rendered not by invective but by the oxymoron of wretched tsars who need "a morsel of bread", the slightest possible understanding of truth and justice.

The exposure of hidden semantic nuances of the word by means of antitheses, by the unfolding and the gradation of symbolic images, and the use of oxymorons becomes the chief technique of Ševčenko's poetry. Each poem seems to become an exploratory journey down into the deep mine of verbal meanings, an uncovering of the semantic wealth of the language. Without citing any more poems of this type in their entirety I shall give several examples in which the contrasts in meaning becomes apparent even within a single sentence. "Carjam, vsesvitnim šynkarjam, / I dukači, i taljary, / I puta kutiji pošly" (To the tsars, the world's tavern-keepers, / send ducats and talers, / and forged fetters.) ("Molytvy"), "Cari z ministramy-rabamy" (The tsars with their slaves of ministers). ("I tut i vsjudy – skriz' pohano"), "Po maniju lakeja, čy to žercja" (According to the command of the lackey that is the priest). ("Kuma moja i ja"). The words that have been linked together here – tsars and tavernkeepers, ducats and fetters, ministers and slaves, lackey and priest – are not contrasts in style but in meaning. The possibilities inherent in the language are now utilized in depth, not in breadth. Neither linguistic rules nor stylistic traditions are violated, the poetic innovations are developed in accordance with them. Instead of protest and revolution we find the cultivation of the given. In place of expansion, there is concentration, growth in depth.

The tendency to utilize the semantic resources more deeply and more intensively to some extent determines the composition of the poems. One of Ševčenko's characteristic techniques is the insistent accumulation of words that have been taken from the same semantic field but are now used with different connotations and often in a metaphorical sense. This is a peculiar system of leitmotivs which occur over and over again, but each time in a different association. Such is, e.g., the image or rather the semantic field of winter in the poem "Mynuly lita molodiji".

Mynuly lita molodiji,
Xolodnym vitrom od nadiji
Uže povijalo. Zyma!

(The years of youth have passed, / cold wind has already started blowing / [away] from hope. It's winter!)

The metaphor of cold wind, not too original by itself, first alludes to the semantic field of winter. The image of winter is introduced with a separate sentence. The metaphorical cold wind prepares the reader to understand winter as a metaphorical expression of old age. Later this image is made more concrete –

Sydy odyn v xolodnij xati
(Stay by yourself in a cold house)

– but only for the purpose of emphasizing the motive of loneliness:

Nema z kym tyxo rozmovljaty,
Ani poradytys'. Nema
Anikohisin'ko. – Nema!
Sydy ž odyn, poky nadija
Oduryt' durnja, osmije...
Morozom oči okuje, –

(There is no one with whom one could have a quiet talk, / nor is there anybody to ask for advice. – There is not / a single soul. – There is no one! / Stay there alone until Hope / fools the fool, mocks him... fetters your eyes with frost, –)

This is a new stage in the exploration of the semantic field of winter, namely, frost, which now leads the poem to the theme of death. We continue to read:

A dumy hordiji rozvije,
Jak tu snižynu po stepu!

(And the proud thoughts will be blown in all directions, / Like that snowflake in the steppe.)

Another word from the same semantic field, the snowflake, this time is introduced not in the direct unfolding of the poem's theme but in a comparison. Thus the leitmotiv of winter is again emphasized but in a particularly delicate way.

Sydy ž odyn sobi v kutku.
Ne ždy vesny – svjatoji doli!
Vona ne zijde vže nikoly
Sadočok tvij pozelenyt',
Tvoju nadiju onovyt'!



I dumu vol'nuju na volju
Ne pryjde vypustyt'... Sydy
I ničohisin'ko ne ždy!...

(Stay by yourself in the corner, / Do not wait for Spring – the holy fate! / She will never descend again / to make your little garden green, / to renew your hope! / And to set the free thought free / she will not come... Stay / and do not expect the slightest thing.)

The theme of winter is here emphasized and denied by the antithetical image of the forever unattainable spring.

Other series of images which are repeated and further developed run parallel in the poem: the image of the lonesome house which is later narrowed down to one corner and contrasted on the one hand with the cold snow-covered steppe, where powerless man seems to be dissolved in the cosmic elements, and on the other hand – but only in thought – with the green garden in springtime that had been cultivated near the house, the world which man would have liked to create for himself. Against the background of these unfolded images one is struck with particular force by the implicit, thrice-repeated image of hope – the waiting without hope. The culmination comes finally in the oxymoron of the enslaved free thought, which is expressed not directly, but by means of an allusion (the free thought which no one is able to set free!).

The verbal resources of the poem are unusually modest. No word that would have sounded out of place in colloquial language has been used – there are no Church Slavonicisms, no foreignisms, no vulgarisms. The lexical material is clearly neutral. The theme of loneliness, old age, and expectation of death, which is introduced as a meditation of a subjective, lyrical character, grows into a philosophical generalization about the pettiness and wretchedness of man thrown into this world. This is accomplished exclusively by a technique of probing more deeply into the semantics of a given word, a complete, radical exploitation of the possibilities of meaning inherent in a word.

One could analyze in the same fashion the obvious image of the flock in the poem "O ljudy! ljudy! neboraky", that of the sunrise in "I tut i vsjudy – skriz' pohano", and others. The extreme simplification of language in an external sense coupled with an unusual condensation in utilizing the semantic nuances of words, which characterized Ševčenko's poems of that period, left its imprint upon the unexpected growth of a special poetic genre which one might call a poem condensed into a miniature. Along with the lyrical philosophical meditation and satire linked

with invective this genre became basic in Ševčenko's poetry. Out of thirty-one poems of this period seven at least belong to this genre: "Divča ljube, čornobryve", "Oj dibrovo – temnyj haju", "Podražanyje serbs'-komu", "N. Ja. Makarovu", "Tytarivna-Nemyrivna", "I den' ide, i nič ide", and "Zijšlys', pobralys', pojednalys'".

Characteristic of Ševčenko's new, "condensed" style is his "Tytarivna-Nemyrivna" (The Sexton's Daughter from Nemyriv). This is the last in a long series of his poems about fallen girls, which starts as early as 1838 with "Kateryna" and through a long chain of variants and variations in 1859 leads to "Marija". Now Ševčenko takes up the theme again. But now he works it out in twelve lines:

Tytarivna-Nemyrivna
Haptuje xustynu...
Ta kolyše moskovščenja,
Maluju dytynu.
Tytarivna-Nemyrivna
Ljud'my horduvala...
A moskalja-projdysvita
Nyščečkom vitala!
Tytarivna – Nemyrivna
Počesnoho rodu...
Vyhljadaje projdysvita
Moskalja z poxodu.

(The sexton's daughter from Nemyriv / is embroidering a kerchief... / and is rocking the Russian soldier's child in its cradle, / the little baby. / The sexton's daughter from Nemyriv / would look down upon people... / but secretly welcome / that rake of a Russian soldier! / The sexton's daughter from Nemyriv / is from an honorable family... / and now she is looking out for the Russian soldier, / that rake, to return from the campaign.)

But this does not yet constitute the final achievement of condensation. A subsequent version reduces the theme to a single line. Here is the poem:

Zijšlys', pobralys', pojednalys',
Pomolodily, pidrosly.
Hajok, sadočok rozvely
Kruhom xatyny. I pyšalys',
Nenače knjazi. Dity hralys',
Rosly sobi ta vyrostaly...



Divčatok moskali ukraly,
A xlopciv v moskali zabraly,
A my nenače rozijšlys',
Nenače bralys' – ne jednalys'.

(We came together, married, became one, / grew young and grew up. / We planted a little grove and a little orchard / around the cottage. And we walked proudly, / as if we were princes. The children played, / they grew and by and by they became adults... / The girls were stolen by the soldiers, / the boys were recruited into the army, / and we drew apart, it seems, / as if we had wed, but never become one.[5])

The line which I have in mind is "Divčatok moskali ukraly" (The girls were stolen by the soldiers). This theme can "sing" (i.e., can be made out distinctly) only because it has been included as a part of the broader context of the image of a family's disintegration. The motive of the boys who had been recruited into the Russian army and thus lost to the family and the country is almost as typical of Ševčenko's poetry as the motive of the fallen girl.

There is a poetry for poets. Ševčenko's miniatures of the type cited here is a poetry for the readers of Ševčenko. If one reads the "Tytarivna-Nemyrivna" without being familiar with Ševčenko's entire preceding work it will remain only a vignette, interesting because of its union of ironic notes with notes of sympathy, but nothing more. The stupendous wealth of muted themes, moods and motives will reveal itself only to him who knows the poems that Ševčenko had written on that theme. One may assume that the poet knew that his works as a whole would become the acquisition of millions of people and that each of his millions of readers would be sensitive to each allusion, each hint of his earlier works. (In the poem "Dolja" [Fate], of 1858, the poet had addressed his fate as follows:

Xodimo dal'še: dal'še slava,
A slava – zapovid' moja!

(Let us go forth: for fame beckons us forth, / and fame is my commandment).

The miniatures of 1860 are a poetry for the dedicated, esoteric poetry in a certain sense, inaccessible to the uninitiated, to the casual passer-by.

[5] Although I have translated the subject of these verbs as *we* Ukrainian syntax leads us to assume an indefinite *they* and it is not until the penultimate line that there appears the subject *we*.

Implicitness and deliberate abandonment of logic no longer are drawbacks. Such are the departures from logic in the poem "Zijšlys', pobralys'" cited above. It begins with five verbs. "Married" logically follows "came together". "Became one" only reinforces "married". But why does "grew young" come after that? Should one understand it as a metaphor, namely, they grew young in spirit? This would have been a rather banal interpretation. But even assuming this for a moment, one cannot justify the following "grew up". Grew up after the wedding? Where is the subject for these verbs? According to the logic of the Ukrainian syntax it would have been natural in such a case to assume that the subject is one of third person plural, an indefinite "they". But in the penultimate line of the poem there suddenly and unexpectedly appears the subject "we". But who are "we"? This poem cannot be autobiographical because Ševčenko had not been married and had no children. But one cannot judge Ševčenko's poems of this period according to the criteria of a court of inquiry or those of a realistic work. In them the planes of time and space have been either suspended or intermingled. The action in the poems takes place nowhere and yet everywhere, now and at the same time in the past and beyond the limits of time. What matters is the union of images and motives and the allusiveness of those images and motives and of their union. It is the children who grew young and then grew up, but this refers to the parents as well, this also refers to the childless Ševčenko. It is he who has been recruited into the army, but it is also in himself that the image of the fallen girl is embodied. He accepts and absorbs in himself all images of his poetry and all images of reality. The poem becomes panchronical and pantopical, the dividing line between lyric and epic poetry disappears, melts away. Should one call this, following Viktor Petrov, surrealism? If so, this is a very peculiar type of surrealism, unlike that which Petrov found in Ševčenko's poems of the 1840's, although it is genctically linked with the latter.[6]

Implicitness is the principle which underlies the composition of this poem of eight lines:

Divča ljube, čornobryve
Neslo z l'oxu pyvo.
A ja hljanuv, podyvyvsja –
Ta až poxylyvsja...
Komu vono pyvo nosyt'?

[6] Viktor Petrov, "Estetyčna doktryna Ševčenka", *Arka* (Munich), 1948, No. 3–4, p. 39. A translation of this article appears in this volume.



Čomu bose xodyt'?...
Bože syl'nyj! Tvoja syla
Ta Tobi ž i škodyt'.

(A sweet girl with black eyebrows / was carrying beer up from the cellar. / I glanced, looked at her – / and bent my head... / To whom is she carrying the beer? / Why is she walking with bare feet?... / O mighty God! Your might / is harming You Yourself.)

No one has yet dared to give an exhaustive commentary on this poem. One can hardly provide one which would be adequate. Why is the image of the barefooted girl carrying beer from the cellar so tragic that the inference from it is the denial of the principle underlying the structure of the universe, in which beauty and goodness inevitably engender evil so that the point of challenging God becomes inevitable? What is hidden behind the image of the barefooted girl: the theme of a future prostitute? of a girl thrown out into the streets of St. Petersburg? simply that of an insurmountable and persistent human loneliness which is also the theme of the poem "Mynuly lita molodiji"? One could write pages about this miniature, collect all those motives in Ševčenko's poetry with which it can be linked by allusions but, at best, it would be only hypothetical, only possibilities. The point and the sense of the poem is precisely that none of those possibilities excludes any of the others.

In the poems of 1860 the connection between Ševčenko's style and that of the folksongs becomes more and more pronounced. It will be remembered that the latter to a large extent characterized Ševčenko's lyric poems at the beginning of his literary career and then receded into the background during the period of the "three years" (1843–1845) and again during the first years after returning from exile (1857–1859). But now the use of folklore style is subordinated to the new principles of Ševčenko's poetics.

To a certain degree one can notice it even in such a relatively simple poem as "Oj dibrovo – temnyj haju!" (O grove – you dark copse!). As has already been observed by M. Nakonečnyj, the immediate source for the poem is a folk song which in 1836 was printed in the almanac *Rusalka Dnistrova* by Ja. Holovačkyj, M. Šaškevyč and M. Ustyjanovyč. Following is the folk song as cited there:

Oj dubrovo, dubrovon'ko!
Ta dobroho pana maješ,
Ščo sja v odnim roku

Troma barvy pryodivaješ:
Odna barva zelenen'ka,
Vsemu svitu mylen'ka.
Druha barva žovten'ka,
Vsemu svitu sumnen'ka.
Tretja barva bilen'ka,
Vsemu svitu studenen'ka.[7]

(O grove, little grove! / You have a good lord, / so that in one year / you can dress in three colors. / One color is green, / liked by all the world. / The second color is yellow, / which is sad to all the world. / The third color is white, / which is cold to all the world.)

In Ševčenko this theme of three seasons which was impressionistically characterized by three dabs of color: green, yellow, and white, is treated as follows:

Oj dibrovo – temnyj haju!
Tebe odjahaje
Tryči na rik... Bahatoho
Sobi bat'ka maješ.
Raz ukryje tebe rjasno
Zelenym pokrovom, –
Až sam sobi dyvujet'sja
Na svoju dibrovu...
Nadyvyvšys' na donen'ku
Ljubu, moloduju,
Voz'me jiji ta j ohorne
V ryzu zolotuju
I spovyje dorohoju
Biloju haboju, –
Ta j spat' ljaže, vtomyvšysja
Turboju takoju.

(O grove – you dark copse! / [He] dresses you / Thrice a year. ... A rich father / you have. / First he will richly cover you / with a green cloak, / so that he himself is astonished / [when he looks] at his grove... / Having looked his fill / at his darling young daughter / he will wrap her / in a golden vestment / and wind around her an expensive / white veil, – / and will go to sleep having grown tired / of such care.)

[7] *Rusalka Dnistrova* (Budapest, 1837), p. 35.



Besides enriching the dictionary and breaking the inertia of the verse by the introduction of enjambments, the basic change consists in the personalization of the images of the poem. In the folk song this is only hinted at – the image of the good lord who changes the colors of the grove. In Ševčenko the good lord nor only becomes the father of the grove (in Ukrainian this is a feminine word) but the grove correspondingly becomes a pretty girl. The simple theme of the change of seasons becomes at the same time the theme of the laws of life and death, alike for plants and for man, the rhythm of life in the world. The white color in the folk song naively introduces only the theme of coldness. In Ševčenko it brings the theme of death as the lawful continuation and transformation of life, of reconciliation in death. Perhaps God's sleep, on a mention of which the poem ends, is a hint that God, too, is subject to the rhythm of the universe and consequently to sleep and death? The theme takes a turn that could hardly be imagined in a folk song.[8]

From the motives and the poetic resources of folk songs is composed the poem "Nad Dniprovoju sahoju" (On the Cove of the Dnieper). It starts out with the image of a sycamore among the bushes of osier, guilder rose, and fir. (In order to understand the poem it has to be kept in mind that in the Ukrainian language sycamore is masculine, and osier, fir, and guilder rose – feminine.)

Nad Dniprovoju sahoju
Stojit' javir miž lozoju,
Miž lozoju z jalynoju,
Z červonoju kalynoju.

(On the cove of the Dnieper / there stands a sycamore among the osier, / among the osier with the fir, / with the red guilder rose.)

The vocabulary, the images, and the repeating of the preposition *miž* (among) – all this and the very measure of the verse, too – are completely in the spirit of the folk song. In the following quatrain this style is maintained, only the comparison of the sycamore tree with the saddened Cossack is added:

Dnipro bereh ryje-ryje,
Javorovi korin' myje.
Stojit' staryj, poxylyvsja,
Mov kozak toj zažuryvsja, –

[8] It is characteristic that in the first variant of this poem there was the Church Slavonicism "Nadyvyšys' na *dšču* svoju" [probably, *dščer*], see Taras Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v desjaty tomax* (Kiev, Akademija nauk URSR, 1939), II, p. 471. In the final version the folklore diminutive *nadyvyvšys' na donen'ku* has been used instead.

(The Dnieper is digging-digging, / is washing the root of the sycamore. / The old one stands bent down / like a Cossack in grief, –). On the whole, this, too, is a comparison out of folklore, but in folklore man is compared to a tree rather than vice versa. This is thus the first departure from the style of folk songs (within this very style!), but it is as yet hardly noticeable.

In the following quatrain, however, the comparison is continued and almost becomes independent:

[Kozak] ščo bez doli, bez rodyny
Ta bez virnoji družyny,
I družyny i nadiji
V samotyni posyvije!

([A Cossack] who is without fortune, without family / and without a faithful wife, / a wife and hope / will become grey in the solitude.)

Obviously, there are too many details for a mere comparison. The motive of the absence of a wife and growing grey sever the connection with the sycamore tree. But the image of the sycamore appears again in the following semiquatrain.

Javor kaže: – Poxyljusja
Ta v Dniprovi skupajusja. –

(Says the sycamore: "I shall bend down / and bathe in the Dnieper".) After this comes a radical break. The Cossack who seemed to have figured only in the comparison is suddenly introduced into the main texture of the poem as an equivalent actor beside the sycamore:

Kozak kaže: – Pohuljaju
Ta ljubuju pošukaju.

(Says the Cossack: "I shall roam around / and look for my beloved".) But the image of the beloved which the reader is now expecting does not materialize. It appears, to be true, but only in a comparison:

A kalyna z jalynoju
Ta hnučkoju lozynoju,
Mov divčatočka iz haju
Vyxodžajučy spivajut',
Povbyrani, zakvitčani
Ta z talanom zaručeni,
Dymky-hadon'ky ne majut',
Vjut'sja-hnut'sja ta spivajut'.



(But the guilder rose with the fir / and the supple osier, / like girls who sing / coming from the grove / dressed up in flowers / and, being engaged to fortune, / need not think [sad] thoughts, / wind and bend and sing.) Must one add that the last line again increases the ambiguity? For "wind and bend" refers to the bushes only, "sing" – only to the girls.

Thus the resources of the folk song have been used very similarly to the original model, but by means of consequent, gradual shifts in the imagery the dividing line between the seemingly real Dnieper landscape and the comparison, between the images of nature and of people, between the always generalized and somewhat abstract folk song and the subjective lyrical poetry with "I" as its hero, has been expunged. A multiplicity of planes and a removal from the context of a photographic reproduction of reality, the transformation of the objective into the subjective and vice versa – these are the main characteristics of Ševčenko's treatment of folklore in 1860.

I shall not analyze the poem "Teče voda z-pid javora" (Water Flows from under the Sycamore Tree). It, too, has been composed by giving the resources and images of the folk song different meanings, though here the shift is achieved not by switching from the plane of "reality" to the plane of comparisons, but by a parallelism of three images that seem to be in no way connected among themselves, namely, the guilder rose and the sycamore, a duck with her ducklings, a girl who is not yet engaged promenading in the garden. The poem breaks off with a *pointe* on a most significant detail, without there being any clear indication what its "meaning" might be.

It is not difficult to guess why in the poems of 1860 Ševčenko turned again to the resources of folklore. Folklore now attracted Ševčenko with the universal character of its images and the simplicity of its language, a simplicity, however, which to a large extent had a symbolic character. The poetics of folklore suited the new concern of the poet, his transition from expansion to intensification, to introspection, to his search of the essential while accepting the transitory.

As if symbolic in this respect is Ševčenko's last poem "Čy ne pokynut' nam, neboho" (Should we not leave, my dear poor thing), which he wrote some ten days before his death. The theme of the poem is reconciliation with death, which does not exclude love of life and of this world. Stylistically speaking, this tragically serene idyl passes from one of Ševčenko's styles to another: it consists of a colloquial dialogue, of humoristic elements almost in the fashion of Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj, of passages modelled on folk songs, which are, of course, again personalized

and arranged according to a scheme of multiple planes, when for example, the image of the Ukraine simultaneously serves as the image of the otherwordly Paradise.

This is not the first time the theme of death has appeared in Ševčenko's work. It is one of the most constantly recurring themes, along with the liberation of the Ukraine, the longing for a harmonious social order, the fallen girl, exile, the idyl of the family and the countryside. Nobody has yet analyzed the direct and indirect ramifications of this theme in the poet's works, the evolution of his attitude toward death, though this would have been a fascinating and important aspect of Ševčenko's work. We have no space to enter into this question here. It suffices, however, to compare the poem of 1847, "Kosar" (The Reaper), with the poem written shortly before his death to perceive the difference. The image of death in the poem of 1847 is the image of the inexorable reaper who

Ponad polem ide,
Ne pokosy klade,
Ne pokosy klade – hory.

(Walks along the field, / mows down not strips, / mows down not strips – but mountains.) In anticipating his own death –

I mene ne myne,
Na čužyni zotne,
Za rešotkoju zadavyt',
Xresta nixto ne postavyt'
I ne pomjane

(And he will not pass me by, / will cut me down far from my homeland, / will strangle me behind the bars, / nobody will put up a cross for me / and remember me) – there is a consciousness of the inevitability but there is no acceptance of this inevitability. The atmosphere of the poem is one of terror and nightmares. It has determined both the brutally terse images of the poem and its staccato rhythm.

The tone of the poem "Čy ne pokynut' nam, neb oho" is jocularly sad. However much the poet may love this world –

Bač, jakyj šyrokyj,
Ta vysokyj ta veselyj,
Jasnyj ta hlybokyj

(Look, how wide, / and high and gay, / light and deep [it is]) – he himself requests his companion, the Muse, to leave this world together with him:



. . . xodimo spat',
Xodimo v xatu spočyvat'.
Vesela xata, ščob ty znala.

(. . . Let's go to sleep. / Let's go and rest in the cottage. / The cottage is gay, don't you know?) And again:

Poky vohon' ne zaxolonuv,
Xodimo lučče do Xarona –
Čerez Letu bezdonnuju
Ta kalamutnuju
Pereplyvem, perenesem
I Slavu svjatuju –
Moloduju, bezvičnuju.

(While the fire is still warm, / let us rather go to Charon – / Across the bottomless / and muddy Lethe / shall we go and shall carry over / the holy Glory, too, / young and ageless.)

The *danse macabre* of "The Reaper" has yielded to an idyl, the protest – to acceptance, the horror – to quiet sadness. Death now comes as a simple, logical and lawful end of one stage in life. The other part of life – glory, fame, i.e., his poetry, his accomplishments – remains to live. All aspects of life and death form a single harmony.

This evolution in the attitude toward death, this perception of the harmony in life and man constitute a key not only to this poem. It is the key to the entire last year in Ševčenko's work. The stylistic evolution which we have traced, the transition from the destructive seething style to a concentrated, monolithic, and harmonious one, was not a transition in form only. It was connected and went hand in hand with a change in the poet's mood and *Weltanschauung*. One after another, the themes and problems of the preceding years were reviewed and rethought, given a different meaning in the works of Ševčenko's last year. And everywhere the review and the rethinking proceeded in the same direction of renouncing external effect, of concentrating upon the inner world and the spiritual values of man, of a peculiar all aceptance, balance, of merging with the universe in an ideal harmony.[9]

[9] It would have been interesting to compare these observations about Ševčenko's work with the testimony of his contemporaries about the impression he made as a person at the end of the 1850's. Turgenev, who could never understand Ševčenko from the height of his squire's liberalism, nevertheless sensed in Ševčenko "stored up bitterness at the bottom of his soul". (A. I. Kostenko, comp., *Spohady pro Ševčenka,* Kiev,

The preceding years, after the return from exile, had been years in which the poet became inebriated on ideas of revolt and punishment, when he called upon everybody to rise to a blind and implacable rebellion:

A ščob zbudyt'
Xyrennu volju, treba myrom,
Hromadoju obux stalyt',
Ta dobre vyhostryt' sokyru –
Ta j zaxodyt'sja vže budyt'.
("Ja ne neždužaju, nivroku", 22.11. 1858).

(In order to wake up / wretched liberty one must together with all others / in the community sharpen the axe, / make it like steel – / then one can go about awakening her. – "I am not ill...,"). The poet envisaged a bloody revenge when

Viter z polja
Dyxne, pohne i polama.
I vaša zlaja svojevolja
Sama skupajet'sja, sama
V svojij krovi.
("Podražanyje Ijezekijilju, 6. 12. 1859).

(The wind from the field / will blow, will bend and break. / And your evil tyranny will bathe itself, itself / in its own blood. – "Imitation of Ezekiel").

The last vision of the inexorable national and social punishment was contained in the poem "Osiji. Hlava XIV" (Hosea, Ch. XIV), written December 25, 1859, with its bloody image of revolt and mob law, unparalleled in its cruelty:

1958, p. 428). Jakov Polonskij writes: "In moments of intense heartfelt emotions, he could repel any dandy *(frant)* by wild expressions of his ardent hatred of all that which had ruined his life". *(Ibid.*, p. 432). Michael Mikešin, speaking about Ševčenko's opinion of the statue of Peter I in Petersburg, recollected: "In his speeches there were many exaggerations and much gall, but it was impossible to contradict him in such moments and I silently enjoyed listening to him as one might enjoy the gifted hallucinations of a person with fever." *(Ibid.*, p. 459). Nadija Bilozers'ka points out in Ševčenko "a hatred which almost reaches fanaticism" *(ibid.*, p. 501). It is the more significant that in the memoirs of Katerina Junge, which specifically refer to the year 1860 (spring), an altogether different mood of the poet has been pointed out: "The good and mild nature *(duša)* of Ševčenko was extremely sensitive to any kindness; he had been so warmed in the friendly and sympathetic atmosphere that he could not abandon himself to melancholy for any length of time and said sincerely, 'Now I am so happy that I have wholly been compensated for all my suffering and have forgiven everybody'" *(ibid.*, p. 329).



Ne vtečete
I ne sxovajetesja, vsjudy
Vas najde pravda-msta.

(You will not be able to flee / nor to hide, anywhere / Justice-Revenge will find you.)

It is characteristic that the apocalyptic quality of Ševčenko's "Imitation" stands almost wholly by itself, without much support from the original text. In the Bible the images of horror and punishment take only two verses: "Assyria shall not save us, we will not ride upon horses: and we will say no more, 'Our God,' to the work of our hands". The entire remaining portion of the chapter is devoted to an idyl of God's grace: " I will be as the dew to Israel: he shall blossom as the lily", etc. In Ševčenko the proportion of the parts is exactly reversed: out of the seventy lines of the poem hardly five mention the bright future.

This mood, these images are not recreated in any of the poems of 1860. One can trace the gradual reappraisal of revolt in the four variants of the poem "Molytva" (Prayer), all of which were written at the end of May 1860. First, the poet's wrath is now directed exclusively against the "tsars." But even for them the poet no longer desires bloody punishment. In the variant of May 25 he asks God:

Cariv, kryvavyx šynkariv,
U puta kutiji okuj,
V sklepu hlybokim zamuruj.

(The tsars, the bloody tavern-keepers, / put into forged chains / and inter them in a deep dungeon.)

The poet is concerned not with revenge and not so much with punishment as with simply rendering them harmless. But even this seems to him to be too strong now. In the variant of May 27 he actually retracts his original wish that those who are responsible for social injustice should be put in chains. Now he writes:

Zlonačynajuščyx spyny,
U puta kutiji ne kuj,
V sklepy hlyboki ne muruj.

(Stop those who conceive evil, / do not put them in forged chains, / Do not inter them in deep dungeons.) And finally, in the version of May 31 the poet is even prepared to leave to the tsars all the goods of this world –

Tym nesytym očam,
Zemnym boham-carjam,
I pluhy, j korabli,
I vsi dobra zemli...

(To these greedy eyes, / the gods and tsars of this world, / [leave] ploughs, ships, / and all the goods of the earth...) – thus leaving to humankind the happiness of work and the happiness of inner concentration, shifting the entire conflict from the plane of social action to the plane of the human soul, faith and feeling.

Now his positive hero is not a revenger nor an executioner but the man he calls a "peace-loving man... with a good heart" *(dobroserdyj... tyxoljubec' svjatyj)* ("Molytva", final variant), his ideal is "ageless, inseparable love" *(ljubov bezvičnaja, suhuba)* ("Rosly ukupočci, zrosly"), and his main wish and prayer that God might help "those whose hands create good" and "those who are pure in heart", *(dobrozyždušč̆ym rukam, čystym sercem)* that He might send all – I emphasize: all – "sense of unity and fraternal love" *(jedynomyslyje i bratoljubyje)*.

In the poem "Svite jasnyj! Svite tyxyj!" (June 27, 1860) the poet uses the word *svit* (world) with an unusual attribute, which, so far as I know, no Ukrainian poet before him and possibly no poet ever had dared to use: he calls the world, the entire world. the whole earth and everything that exists on it, his brother. Every person is now for him the carrier of "free holy spirit (soul)" *(vol'noji svjatoji duši)* ("Lykeri", August 5, 1860), and the attribute *svjatyj* (holy) is not accidental here. Indeed, the criterion for judging everything the poet sees from now on is the sacredness of the human soul. Correspondingly, the carriers of evil, the tsars are now described as the *cari ubohi* (wretched tsars) *(ibid.)*. Closed for them is the secret of the human soul and its sacredness. The first sentiments therefore, which they evoke is not so much one of hatred as of pity.

Ševčenko did not become unctuous and sanctimonious. The evil which reigns in the world continues to hurt him and to evoke his indignation. From time to time invective breaks out in his work. But it is no longer directed to incite the people to a social revolt which would drown the world in a sea of blood. In the poem "O ljudy! ljudy neboraky!" (O people, wretched people) of November 3, 1860 the poet exclaims:

Čy bude kara
Carjam, carjatam na zemli?

(Will there be punishment / for the tsars and princes on earth?) But he



expects that it will be God who will punish them and not the confused and blind mob:

Povynna but', bo sonce stane
I oskvernenu zemlju spalyt'.

([Punishment] there must be, otherwise the sun would stop / and burn the defiled earth.) If in "Osiji. Hlava XIV" he envisaged and desired that the evil would be punished according to mob law, now he sees how

Ljydy *tyxo*,
*Bez vsjakoho lyxoho lyxa*,
Carja do kata povedut'.
("Xoča ležačoho j ne bjut'," 20.10.1860.)

(The people will *quietly* / *without any evil spite* / lead the tsar to the executioner. "Though One Does Not Kick a Man Who Is Lying Down"; italics are mine).

This is not bloody revenge, but the inevitable and deserved elimination of one who is responsible for the social evil.

Instead of the leader of a rebellious mob the poet now envisages in his dreams and aspirations an apostle of Justice and Reason:

I den' ide, i nič ide.
I, holovu sxopyvšy v ruky,
Dyvuješsja, čomu ne jde
Apostol pravdy i nauky!
(5. 11. 1860)

(The day goes by, the night goes by. / And grasping your head with your hands / you keep wondering why the apostle / of Justice and Reason does not come.)

The apostle of Justice and Reason is a further development of the images of Archimedes and Galileo, of the image of the apostles in the poem "I Arximed i Galilej", which was cited at the beginning of this essay. In the last year of Ševčenko's life the image of the apostle of Justice and Reason is no longer confined to his poetry, but is realized in practical action. When in September of 1860 the last self-portrait of Ševčenko's was shown at an exhibition one sensed in it, according to the critic of the *Severnaja Pčela*, such a grandeur that one heard from the last rows of the spectators such exclamations as "Is this Palij? Dorošenko? Sahajdačnyj?" (all three are famous Ukrainian Cossack leaders). The critic adds: "Mr. Ševčenko lacked only the *bulava* [the hetmans' mace

of office]".[10] One may assume that the hidden grandeur which struck the contemporaries in that self-portrait expressed a new feeling of Ševčenko's, namely, his readiness to take upon himself the mission of the apostle of Justice and Reason not only in poetic imagination but in actual life.

The last months and literally the last days of Ševčenko's life were filled with his worries about the typesetting, the printing, and later the distribution of his *Bukvar'* (Primer). The censor's permission was obtained November 21, 1860, and it was published in January of 1861. The poet's letters in January and February are full of expressions of his concern about the distribution of the *Bukvar'*. There is, of course, such a big difference between the mission of the apostle of Justice and Reason, the reformer of the social order, and the publication of the primer that these things seem incompatible and their juxtaposition ridiculous. But the *Bukvar'* was only the first stage in Ševčenko's plans, perhaps even a stage that was to some degree symbolical. In the letter to Myxajlo Čalyj of January 4, 1861, Ševčenko told him about his further plans: "There is an idea to print after the primer a textbook of arithmetic, at the same price and of the same size as the primer; after the textbook of arithmetic one of geography, at 5 kopecks; and one of history, but only of our [Ukrainian] history, I could perhaps squeeze into 10 kopecks. If God would help to do this small deed, the big one would take care of itself.[11] Here one finds a clear underlining of the connection between the small deed – popular education – and the big: the emergence of a new and harmonious social order. Not the axe, but the book is to be found at the basis of the conception of the apostle of Justice and Reason. With the smallest book, the primer, Ševčenko began his activity as an apostle of Justice and Reason.

Jevhen Kyryljuk has carefully traced the use of the image of the axe as a symbol of revolt in Ševčenko's poetry. He has demonstrated how this image echoed the very same image in the revolutionary proclamation of Hercen, in Hercen's brochure *Kreščenaja sobstvennost'*, in the articles in *Kolokol*, in the letter to Hercen (which, in his opinion, originated in the circle of Nicholas Černyševskij), in one poem by Nicholas Nekrasov.[12] This makes the more noteworthy the fact that Ševčenko now explicitly rejects the use of the axe. In the poem "Buvaly vojny j vijs'koviji svary" (There Had been Wars and Military Feuds), of November 26, 1860 he

[10] Pavlo Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (Munich, 1955), p. 364.
[11] T. Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, ed. by P. Zajcev (Warsaw, 1935), XI, p. 269.
[12] Jevhen Kyryljuk, *T. H. Ševčenko. Žyttja i tvorčist'* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 507 ff.



seems to engage in direct polemic with himself of a year before, writing that the change of the social order would come about without the axe.

I bez sokyry
Až zareve ta zahude,
Kozak bezverxyj upade.

(And without the axe, / with a roar and a rumble, / the headless Cossack will fall.)

Ševčenko was not a sociologist, nor did he care at all about the refinements of ideology. But if we wanted to bring his ideas of 1860 together in a coherent whole his ideas could have been expressed more or less as follows. He was expecting a change in the unjust order of life as the result of the appearance of the apostle of Justice and Reason. The latter, basing himself on all those whose hearts were pure and whose hands created good, would eliminate the "tsar", who was responsible for all the evil, and would establish a new order in which brotherly love and justice would triumph. In this order everybody who did honest work and was pure of heart could build his life in harmony with other men like him and in harmony with the universe, *svit-brat* (one's brother – the world), which had been established in accordance with God's laws.[13]

Ševčenko's view of the Church and God is again unambiguous. He continues to reject the Church, which had become an integral part of the unjust order. He exhorts:

Ne xrystys',
I ne klenys', i ne molys'
Nikomu v sviti! Zbrešut' ljudy
I vizantijs'kyj Savaof
Oduryt'! ("Lykeri", 5.8.1860)

(Do not make the sign of a cross, / do not swear and do not pray / to anybody in the world! The people will tell lies / and the Byzantine Lord of Sabaoth / will make a fool out of you. – "To Lykeria".) But this is only stated so that the poet can continue:

[13] It is possibly to this time that the recollection by Ja. Polonskij refers. "I remember that once at a *soirée* at Bilozerskyj's, the editor of the journal *Osnova*, Ševčenko supported the idea of a visiting Slav from Galicia [Galician Ukrainian ? – Editor] that any politics was amoral, that it was because of political considerations that all kinds of injustice had always been committed and that from them all the misfortunes of nations and peoples were derived and that it would have been best for a state, therefore, to have no politics at all" *(Spohady pro Ševčenka*, p. 433).

Ne oduryt' Boh,
Karat' i myluvat' ne bude:
My ne raby Joho – my ljudy!

(But God will not fool you, / He will neither punish nor pardon you; / for we are not His slaves – we are human beings!) Already in "Neofity", that is, at the high point of the revolutionary period in Ševčenko's work, Ivakin has found what he called "traces of the dangerous poison of Christianity acting upon the poet". The motive of Christian all-forgiveness in "Neofity", as he observed correctly, "sounds with a sharp dissonance against the background of passionate revolutionary philippics".[14] Now these are no longer "traces of" but a complete hegemony of the Christian conception of God as the symbol of Justice and Grace, as the center of the universal harmony. The second center of the world's harmony is to be found in the human soul. Human beings are thus not slaves of God for they are particles of God and a social order in which the harmonious development of each human soul would be assured constitutes God's kingdom on earth.

In the last period of his creative career Ševčenko perceives and denounces two sins of mankind. These sins are extraordinarily characteristic and show how consistent and sincere was Ševčenko's philosophy of those years. One of the sins is the sin of covetousness arising from self-aggrandizement, greed and violence. This is a mortal sin because it violates the very basis on which the structure of the universe rests, the harmony and balance of man in himself, of man in relation to other men, and of man in relation to God. The image which embodies that sin is the image of the "tsars" and "princes". It has already been characterized above, the basic references have been cited and there is no need to dwell on it any longer here.

The concept of the second sin is no less characteristic of the new moods of Ševčenko. The poems "Himn černečyj" (Nuns' Hymn), of June 20, 1860, and "Velykomučenyce kumo!" (O You Saintly, Martyred Woman), of December 2, 1860, are devoted to that concept. This is a sin against oneself, against one's own body, and consequently, against one's soul. This is the sin of the non-acceptance of life, of an incomplete enjoyment of all that which is offered by life. This is the sin of denying oneself sexual life, of monkishness, which the poet calls with an oxymoron appropriate to this period of his work, *hrix pravednyj* (the righteous sin). It makes man

[14] Jurij Ivakin, *Satyra Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 260–261.



blind, "inert of heart". In his new synthesis, in seeking and confirming the universal harmony Ševčenko accepted all aspects and expressions of life, with the exception of evil. Nothing was so alien and remote to him as asceticism. As one who eternally dreamt about a family happiness, he nevertheless would rather have even debauchery than virginity and he ended his poem "Velykomučenyce kumo!" with the advice:

Prokyn'sja, kumo, probudys',
Ta kruhom sebe podyvys',
Načxaj na tu divoču slavu
Ta ščyrym sercem, nelukavo,
Xoč raz, serdeho, sobludy![15]

(Awake, my good woman, awake, / take a look around yourself, / don't give a damn for your maidenhead / and sincerely, without evil, / err, my dear woman, if only once.)

Having made a sharp break with the rebelliousness of the preceding period, with its stylistic destructiveness, and having affirmed a *Weltanschauung* of harmony in the universe and in the social order, and asserted the principle of balance in the very style of his poetry, Ševčenko in the last months of his life adopted a somewhat new approach to the problem of the national freedom of the Ukraine. There is no change in his nostalgia and his deep affection for his country. The landscape of his idyls is always the landscape of the Dnieper region (e.g., "Nad Dniprovoju sahoju" of June 24, 1860), of the Ukrainian village (for instance, "Teče voda z-pid javora" of November 7, 1860). Conversely, the landscape of his nightmares is always the landscape of Russia, usually of St. Petersburg, as in "Jakos' to jdučy unoči" (November 13, 1860), "O ljudy! ljudy neboraky!" (November 3, 1860), to some extent in "Kuma moja i ja" (1860). In Ševčenko's last poem the Ukrainian landscape is clearly identified with that of Paradise:

. . . nad Stiksom, u raju,
Nenače nad Dniprom šyrokym,
V haju – predvičnomu haju,
Postavlju xatočku, sadočok
Kruhom xatyny nasadžu.
("Čy ne pokynut' nam, neboho", 15. 2. 1861.)

[15] In the first version of the poem Ševčenko had been even blunter. The last line of the poem read: "Xoč z psom, serdeho, sobludy" (Err, my dear woman, if need be, with a dog). See *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v desjaty tomax*, II, p. 478.

(... on the Styx, in Paradise, / which is as on the wide Dnieper, / in the grove – the grove existing from times immemorial, / I shall build a small cottage and will plant / a small garden around the cottage.)

It is significant that the landscape of the Ukraine is always a serene summer landscape, without a trace of the romantic atmosphere of storm and flood rains from Ševčenko's beginning romantic period; a landscape on which there constantly shines a mild sun which seems never to set or to hide behind the clouds. The Russian lansdcape, on the contrary, is a night landscape of fog and blizzards, of mist and ghostly lights which emerge from the darkness, from nowhere, like the eyes of Satan.

The deep affection of the poet for his native country thus persists. But from the poems of this period there disappear themes derived from the history of the Ukraine, the themes of national oppression which had been so characteristic of the period of the "three years" (1843–1845). The reason for this is easy to grasp: not in the bloody skirmishes and battles of the past and not in blind revolt does Ševčenko now seek the liberation of man, but in the establishment of the inner harmony of the human soul, the harmony in relations between human souls. If this harmony is found and achieved the problem of the Ukraine will solve itself. The problem of the Ukraine and her liberation is now subordinated to another, larger problem.

This is explicitly shown by the only poem of this period which is devoted to a philosophical interpretation of Ukrainian history. This is the poem, cited above, "Buvaly vojny j vijs'koviji svary" (There Had Been Wars and Military Feuds), which was written November 26, 1860. In it Ševčenko negates the Ukrainian past. The revolts and wars of the old Ukraine now appear to him to have been in vain:

Buvaly vojny j vijs'koviji svary:
Halahany, i Kyseli, i Kočubeji-Nahaji,
Bulo dobra toho čymalo.
Mynulo vse, ta ne propalo,
Ostalys' šašeli: hryzut',
Žerut' i tljat' staroho duba...

(There had been wars and military feuds: / Halahans, and Kysils, and Kočubejs-Nahajs, / there had been plenty of that stuff. / All has passed, but not perished, / borers have remained: they are gnawing, / eating and helping the old oak decay...).

The ruling classes of the Ukraine have brought about this tragedy by linking their fate with Russia, becoming what the poet calls the nursemaids and the servants of a foreign fatherland ("njan'ky, / Djad'ky otečestva čužoho"). But the oak itself, that is, the Ukraine, is still full of life though it may be hidden in the roots:

A od korinnja tyxo, ljubo
Zeleni parosti rostut'.

(But from the roots quietly and pleasant to look at / green offshoots are growing.) Those are the apostles of Justice and Reason about whose coming the poet had written three weeks before composing this poem. The poet continues about the offshoots:

I vyrostut'. I bez sokyry
Az zareve ta zahude,
Kozak bezverxyj upade.

(And they will grow to maturity. And without the axe, / With a roar and a rumble, / the headless Cossack will fall.) It is in this very poem that Ševčenko states that the end of the old history of the Ukraine will come about without the axe, not through a revolution, but through the triumph of Justice. And he repeats the line he has used before in order to reaffirm the immortality of the Ukraine:

Mynulo vse, ta ne propalo,

(All has passed but not perished) and after that he resumes the previously begun sentence about the fall of the old Ukraine, the headless Cossack (headless, because he had lost the ruling class), the old oak, whose crown has been gnawed out by borers but whose roots (the peasantry, the hard working hands from "Molytva") are still alive and are giving off green offshoots. In his fall the oak

Roztroščyt' tron, porve porfiru,
Rozdavyt' vašoho kumyra,
Ljuds'kiji šašeli.

(Will shatter the throne and tear the purple, / will crush your idol, / you borers in the form of men.)

The end of the old history of the Ukraine, the triumph of Justice in the Ukraine, Ševčenko envisages as the end of the unjust order throughout the world, the beginning of the end of the "tsars and princes". In the period of "Ivan Hus" (1845) and of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Ševčenko had held the belief that the liberation of the

Slavs would begin from "the stone which the builders rejected", i.e., from the Ukraine. An echo of this belief can be sensed also in the poem "Buvaly vojny j vijs'koviji svary". But while in the former context he dealt with political revolution and the establishment of a just order in its wake, now he speaks of moral revolution and the change of the political order as the result of it.

The poem ends with an image of the death of the borers and the establishment of an order in which –

... my pomolymosja Bohu.
I nebahatiji, nevbohi.

(We, neither rich nor poor, / shall pray to God.)

Until now attempts have been made to interpret this work as another revolutionary poem of Ševčenko's, in spite of its explicit declaration that everything he prophesies will come about "without the axe". "Undoubtedly", writes Ivakin, "the poet refers in his allegory to a revolution which will liberate the Ukraine from tsarism and from serfdom as well". In such an approach the images of the poem are ignored and the poem itself torn out of the context of Ševčenko's work of this period and placed in the context of works of a quite different period. Naturally, the conscientious critic must admit that "the allegorical content of the image of the headless Cossack [i.e., of that 'old oak,' the Ukraine] is not quite clear".[16] When analyzed against the background of the ideas and moods of the 1860's, however, this poem does not leave anything unclear. The concept of Ukrainian history in this poem has been reviewed and subordinated to a new general conception of life, man, and God in Ševčenko's work. From the old there have remained two elements: the boundless love of the Ukraine and the belief in her special mission as a pioneer of the new order, but this time not one that is limited to the Slavs, but one extending to all of mankind.

"It would be a great mistake to consider Ševčenko's work as something static and not to take into account his ideological and artistic development", justly observed O. Bilec'kyj and A. Dejč.[17] Ševčenko's works are to be characterized in the framework of several distinct periods. It is true that the periods are brief, mostly two or three years each. But his entire poetical career, as we know it, embraces at most some fifteen years, if one

[16] Ivakin, *op. cit.*, pp. 331–332.
[17] A. I. Beleckij, A. I. Dejč, *T. G. Ševčenko. Vvedenie v izučenie poëta* (Moscow, 1959), p. 141.



excludes those barren years of exile in which nothing was written. And the number of brief periods in his short career only proves with what speed Ševčenko grew and matured, which is not surprising if one considers the fantastic quality of his life which had carried him up from the lowest depth of society to its very pinnacle, which hurled him to the bottom and exalted him again.

The division into periods does not mean, of course, that there is nothing in common between the works of the different periods. There is an undeniable continuity, there is a cyclical quality in Ševčenko's turning again to themes, motives, images, ideas, and moods that he had already tested out. Speaking about the last period in Ševčenko's work I have occasionally pointed out the similarities to and differences from works of the preceding periods, referring, e.g., to "Kosar", the "Pryčynna", "Jeretyk, abo Ivan Hus". But this is only a small part of what could and should have been done in this regard. There are many more threads which link the periods together into a living whole. One of the primary tasks of Ševčenko studies is thorough research of each particular period in the poet's work so that later the common and the divergent characteristics of the periods can be pointed out.

This has not been the topic of this essay. Its task has been a more modest and a more limited one by far, namely, to show that the traditional conception of the one St. Petersburg period after the exile is wrong, that in reality we are dealing with two periods which in some respects are even opposed to each other. One of them, until the end of 1859, was a period of revolutionary rebelliousness in style and in ideas; the second, which encompasses the remainder of Ševčenko's life was a period in which the poet sought and to a large degree found, harmony in style as well as in his world outlook. This has determined the structure of this essay – to contrast the two periods after exile, to underline the differences between them while paying less attention to the interconnection and similarity which appears so clearly, for example, in "Marija". The objective of further research will be to give a well-rounded characterization of each of these periods, to point out the convergent and divergent trends between them and between the other periods in the poet's work.

That which now can be called the second Petersburg period after exile was even shorter than the other periods, not much more than one year. But the cause of this brevity was the poet's death. It would be an idle task to predict how long that period would have lasted had Ševčenko been fated to live longer. It might have been the beginning of a period of a stable balance, something on the model of Goethe's mature old age,

which in the case of the German poet had replaced the youthful *Sturm und Drang*. It might have been a passing mood. An early death resulting from the raptures and catastrophes of Ševčenko's life interrupted his growth long before he had reached the pinnacle.

There arises an obvious question whether the reason for the changes in Ševčenko's moods should not be sought in the changes in his life. Basing ourselves upon the data available to us, we must answer the question negatively. The change in his mood was not linked with his illness and the approach of death. His contemporaries left a considerable number of recollections on the last years of Ševčenko's life. The first mentions of his illness are from September 1860. Fedir Černenko writes that the poet looked "very ill" at the end of September.[18] L. Tarnavs'ka mentions this in a letter to her son dated September 30.[19] L. Pantelejev refers in this connection to the fall of 1860.[20] The first indication that Ševčenko himself grew aware of how near his death was one can perceive in the abandonment of his previous intention to marry. Kostomarov tells that upon meeting Ševčenko at a performance of "Wilhelm Tell" in October 1860 he asked him, "Come now, Taras, when is your wedding?" The reply he received was: "Most likely when you have yours; it is not for us to marry: we shall stay bachelors unto death".[21] This mood is reflected in Ševčenko's poem "Jakby z kym sisty xliba zjisty" (If I Could Only Sit Down with Somebody to Share my Bread), which he wrote November 4:

... dovedet'sja odynokym
V xolodnij xati kryvobokij
Abo pid tynom prostjahtys'.

(... I shall have to stretch myself out alone / in a cold hut with crooked walls / or along a fence.) This feeling, however, was not a certainty nor was it the only mood. Ševčenko went to see a doctor November 23.[22] As late as January 4, 1861, Ševčenko tells in his letter to Myxajlo Čalyj, which has been cited above, about his far-reaching plans to write a series of books for popular education. It is only in the second half of January, it seems, that the inevitability of death clearly impressed oneself upon the poet's thinking.

[18] Zajcev, *op. cit.*, p. 372.
[18] *Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu Akademiji Nauk URSR*, VII/VIII (1926), p. 377. The date of the letter seems to be erroneous.
[20] Akademija Nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR, *Biohrafija T. H. Ševčenka za spohadamy sučasnykiv* (Kiev, 1958), p. 317.
[21] *Spohady pro Ševčenka*, p. 317; Zajcev, *op. cit.*, p. 372.
[22] V. Anisov, Je. Sereda, *Litopys žyttja i tvorčosti T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1959), p. 348.



In any case, there is no factual base for the assertion that illness and the sense of impending death had been consciously realized by the poet prior to September 1860. The last Petersburg period in Ševčenko's work, however, dates from the very beginning of 1860.

Chronological reference also shows that the roots of the new feeling are not to be found in the poet's love life. After the journey to the Ukraine from which Ševčenko returned in the fall of 1859 he cherished the dream of marrying Xarytja Dovhopolenko. On February 1, 1860, he wrote in the letter to Bartholomew Ševčenko: "She does not let me sleep".[23] After realizing that it was impossible to marry, he started a brief courtship with Lukerija Polusmakova, which lasted from July 27 to September 10, 1860. Neither the dates of his expectation to marry Xarytja nor the dates of the abortive courtship of Lykerija coincide with the last period in Ševčenko's work.

Finally, one can seek a connection between Ševčenko's moods and his contacts with Russian radical revolutionaries in St. Petersburg. It is in this area that the juxtaposition of dates opens up interesting possibilities. Soviet students of Ševčenko have expended considerable effort to establish the existence and the character of Ševčenko's meetings with Nicholas Černyševskij. In this regard much still remains hypothetical, but it is assumed that Ševčenko had met Černyševskij in September 1859 and then went to see Černyševskij at Ljuban' sometime in the second half of May 1860.[24] If one assumes that those meetings left some imprint upon the poet's work, the effect of each was quite different. After the first meeting we see a veritable outburst of poems of hatred and of apocalyptic visions, the most powerful in Ševčenko's entire poetical career: "Vo ludeji vo dni ony" is dated October 24, it is followed December 6 by "Podražanyje Ijezekijilju" and December 25 by "Osiji. Hlava XIV". But after the second meeting with Černyševskij Ševčenko writes the four versions of his "Molytva", in that very month, in May 1860. As we have already seen, only the first and earliest variant, dated May 24, of that poem contains some of the revolutionary mood. Each successive variant consistently replaces the concept of revenge and punishment with the concept of love, forgiveness and fraternity. One receives the impression that the meeting with Černyševskij compelled Ševčenko to reflect on

[23] T. Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, XI, p. 242.
[24] Mariètta Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1946), pp. 322 ff., 327. Šaginjan's assumption that Ševčenko saw Černyševskij in September 1859 contradicts her own statement that in September of that year "the poet started drinking heavily. He drank from the first days until the end of September" (p. 214).

those questions more deeply, to review them thoroughly and to dissociate himself sharply from Černyševskij's radical materialistic positions. After May no meeting of Ševčenko's with Černyševskij has been established. In the light of the gradual reshaping of "Molytva" the absence of further meetings does not appear to be a mere coincidence.

And it is here that we can make an important observation. We have shown above the differences between the last two periods in Ševčenko's work: one from his release from exile to the end of 1859, the other from the beginning of 1860. Here it should be repeated that the dividing line between them, however distinct, is not as definite as it might seem, at least in Ševčenko's mood and outlook. The moods of forgiveness and of the expectation of the apostle of Justice and Reason, but not of violence and revenge, moods so characteristic of the last year, had not been alien to Ševčenko in the previous years, either. For instance, one could easily trace them in "Neofity". A distinct parallel to the patent, almost polemical "without the axe" in "Buvaly vojny j vijs'koviji svary" are the following lines from "Neofity":

I bez ohnja i bez noža
Stratehy Božiji vozprjanut',
I t'my i tysjači pohanyx
Pered svjatymy pobižat'.

(And without fire and without knives / God's strategists will take heart, / and thousands and thousands of evil men / will run before the holy men.)

The lines from the poem "Lykeri", dated August 5, 1860 –

Ne xrystys'
I ne klenys', i ne molys',
Nikomu v sviti!.....
..... Ne oduryt' Boh

(Do not cross yourself / and do not swear, and do not pray / to anybody in the world!... / God will not fool you) – had already been anticipated in the following lines in "Neofity":

Molites' Bohovi odnomu,
Molites' pravdi na zemli,
A bil'še na zemli nikomu
Ne poklonites'.

(Pray to God alone, / pray to Justice on earth, / but do not bow / to anybody else on earth.)



The vision of the apostle of Justice and Reason clearly appears already in the lines of "Neofity":

Pošly meni svjateje slovo,
Svjatoji pravdy holos novyj!
I slovo rozumom svjatym
I ožyvy i prosvity!

(Send me the holy word, / the new voice of holy Justice! / And inspire and enlighten / the word with holy Reason.)

It is characteristic that the third line of the excerpt just cited read in the first draft as follows:

I slovo plamenem svjatym.[25]

(And... the word with the holy flame.) The decisive idea of the sacredness of Reason, as we see, did not appear by accident, but is the result of conscious work, a continuing polishing of the text.

After all, these ideas were not new to Ševčenko, even in "Neofity". They had been very clearly formulated in his "Poslanyje" (Epistle) to his dead, living and yet-to-be-born fellow-countrymen, that is, as early as 1845, with his concept of national unity, not revolution.

Obnimite ž, braty moji,
Najmenšoho brata, –
Nexaj maty usmixnet'sja,
Zaplakana maty.

(Embrace, my brethren, / the smallest brother, / so that your mother will smile, / the mother who has been crying.)

In the first years after exile these moods and ideas did not disappear from Ševčenko's work. But they coexisted more than ever before with ideas of implacable revenge, a covetous and bloody social revolution. It may be assumed that in this were reflected the sentiments in Russia at the end of the 1850's, before the promised but intentionally delayed reforms, the influence of the radical revolutionaries of St. Petersburg and in particular the influence of Hercen's *Kolokol* that is cited so often in the poet's diary in the years 1857–1858.

Dissociating himself from this circle of ideas and sentiments in 1860 was not, therefore, something completely new. To a large extent, it was Ševčenko's return to himself, his overcoming and rejection of influences

[25] See *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v desjaty tomax*, II, p. 436.

that were alien to him. As in the 1840's when he was confronted with the complex of the "*hajdamaččyna*", another version of blind and bloody revenge, and overcame it in the poems of the "three years", he now overcame the complex of the Russian revolutionary radicalism of Hercen and his followers. Now, as then, he emerged from this conflict enriched, with the diction of his poetry more manly and balanced. In this, it seems, lies the essence of the last Petersburg period in Ševčenko's work.

# ŠEVČENKO'S CREATIVE PROCESS

PAVLO ZAJCEV

The psychological state that we are accustomed to call inspiration is a certain mood – an experiencing of special creative emotions. The state of inspiration may differ in intensity from artist to artist, as well as within the artist.

The highest of these levels is ecstasy, "creative frenzy". On the lower levels of the creative intensity, the conscious working of the mind (subordinated to the will of thought) plays a certain role; during the process of the "creative frenzy", however, the poet sinks into this so-called "creative trance", when the creative process is completely spontaneous and when the mind works wholly subconsciously. This process is intuitive. When its duration is long or when it recurs frequently, it can be called "possessedness".

If the creativity of certain poets is either completely without inspiration or is accompanied by a weak and minimal creative intensity, their work is not necessarily devoid of certain, at times high, quality. Such poets base their work on canons of euphony, prosody, figures of speech and other characteristics found in the works of poet-geniuses who created spontaneously. But even so, the works of poet-craftsmen always lack that "something" which distinguishes the works of inspired poets.

The true creative process always is connected with emotional tension, with an accelerated blood pulse. This was a fact well known to artists even in ancient times. The ancient prophets, priests, and priestesses have known, as do the shamans in primitive nations of our time, how to induce in themselves this state of elation with the help of narcotics. Narcotics have also been used for the same purpose by important poets of the modern era. But when this is done, it is not at the outset of their careers.

Usually a genius discovers himself suddenly, by creating something spontaneously, i.e., without the use of will or intellect. It was thus that Ševčenko discovered himself.

In his short autobiography Ševčenko tells us about the conditions under which he wrote his first "verse exercises". He wrote them during "the bright, white summer nights" in the St. Petersburg Summer Park. From these, his first "numerous attempts", we now unfortunately have only one – the ballad "Possessed" *(Pryčynna)*. This statement by Ševčenko is extremely valuable because it brings us directly to his creative laboratory right at the outset of his poetic career. He began to write not in his tiny room in the house of the painter Širjaev, but surrounded by nature (even though it was somewhat prettified), in a fascinating park, in the mysterious opalescent mist of the white northern nights, in a light that evokes (especially in southern people) a strange, undefinable restlessness and insomnia. So we have here: (1) a general elation, and (2) an unusual aesthetic arousal. The fact that the sight of nature evoked in Ševčenko deep aesthetic emotions we know from him as well as from others who knew him well. But even if we lacked this information, no one would deny our hypothesis, because it is typical of most artistic natures.

When I stress this point here, I do it in order to prove later that a prerequisite for Ševčenko's creative process was always an experiencing of aesthetic impressions – impressions that did not have to be directly connected with the creative process but which were favorable to its arising, as a mood, against the background of which this process was more easily completed.

Therefore we must be interested in the character of Ševčenko's perceptual-aesthetic emotions. Fortunately we have enough data on this, which are very useful because the creative (motor-artistic) emotions of an artist usually correspond to the perceptual emotions, except that the former contain in addition the desire to put them into words.

The perceptual-aesthetic emotions of Ševčenko were very similar to those of a religious person united with God in prayer. Even in his early childhood he experienced these intense aesthetic and prayer sentiments which we call ecstasy. In his short poem "I Was Just Over Thirteen" *(Meni trynadcjatyj mynalo)*, he describes how he "felt so blissful, as if with God", and "how good it was to pray", that

> Hospodnje nebo i selo,
> Jahnja, zdajet'sja, veselylos'!
> I sonce hrilo – ne peklo!

(There was God's Heaven, and the village, / the sheep looked joyful, / and the sun shone, but never burned).

Prayer (contemplation and not petition), as a feeling of some special



benevolence, liberates him, when still a little boy, from the fetters of reality. One can see from his description of the experience that this state of prayer is closely connected with the aesthetic impression (sunshine, the village, the sheep). This description gives us an image of highly intense emotions; but even when Ševčenko's emotions were not so intense, his self-analysis gave him material to prove, if not the identity, then the extreme tonal affinity, of aesthetic and religious emotions. In the short novel *The Twins*, Ševčenko describes how he, after mass in the Lavra Monastery, went out on the so-called Printer's Porch to look at the beautiful panorama beyond the Dnieper River. He says that no other view "could supplement one's prayer as well as this". Being deeply aesthetically moved by nature is, according to Ševčenko, a supplement to prayer.

Ševčenko's creative process was of the same type. For him, praying is synonymous with creating. In the poem "The Muse" *(Muza)* he asks the muse, "Help me to finish my prayer" while speaking all the while of his poetic career and asking the muse to help him create to the end of his life. In the poem addressed to Ščepkin, "Tell Me My Fortune, Enchanter" (Zavoroži meni, volxve), we come across the same thing. Writing that he had not yet lost faith in his work, Ševčenko says:

> Može šče raz prokynut'sja
> Moji dumy-dity;
> Može šče raz pomoljusja,
> Z ditkamy zaplaču...

(Maybe they will awaken yet, / my poems, my children; / maybe I will *pray* yet, / crying with them...)

And finally: "Čy molytys'... čy timja rozbyty?!" (To pray... or to smash my head!)

Frequently, before starting to write, he prays.[1] This is why for Ševčenko any type of art is "divine", the artists are "priests" or "embodied angels", and music is "divine harmony". This is why he believes that understanding beauty is being closer to God.[2] This is not a result only of learning the terminological clichés of romantic aesthetics. Ševčenko's outlook on art as "divine" and "holy" is a result of self-analysis, of

[1] See, for example, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, IX (Warsaw, 1930), p. 206, last line of seventh chapter. Henceforth referred to as *Tvory*.

[2] "If beauty in all its forms had a positive influence upon even half of mankind, then we would soon reach perfection and finally would embody the divine commandment of our Divine Teacher". "A Voyage", *Tvory*, IX, p. 225.

observation of his own creative process and of the nature of his experiences in general. Writing, he experienced a state of unusual "benevolence"; he united with God as during contemplative prayer – a sentiment known only to a chosen few.[3]

Frequently, in the perceptual-aesthetic emotions of Ševčenko, the visual impressions evoked, by association, audio-imaginary impressions: the rhythm of lines and hues united with the rhythm of musical notes. Viewing a real scene that appealed to him, he heard a musical motif or even a whole complex of motifs that corresponded to the visual impression. In the description already mentioned of his feelings as he looked at the panorama beyond the Dnieper, Ševčenko, as he says, "compared lines and tones (light and shade) of the landscape with the mighty harmonies of Haydn"; i.e. he heard, one can reasonably assume, the motifs of a Haydn oratorio.[4] One cannot maintain that this was standard procedure, but one can say that it was a frequent one. One can also say that this occurred during the experience of extremely strong visual impressions. It would often happen that he was not the "composer" of the associative musical "accompaniment", but the visual impression would reach its climax at the time when he heard a melody performed by someone else.

Here are two examples. In the short novel *The Twins* he describes with extreme vividness an impressive picture of a fire in the Kirghiz steppe.[5] He did not sleep all night, but sat by his tent hypnotized by the "extraordinary picture", the light-and-shadow effects of the frenzied fire; and he suddenly heard a song sung by a mounted Kirghiz, "who improvised his song, monotonous like the steppe". After hearing this song, Ševčenko says: "*The picture was complete*". It would not have been complete had there been no singing. In the same way, another landscape illuminated by the setting sun moves him deeply with an aesthetic sensation having a musical accompaniment. It was on the bank of the Dnieper River opposite the city of Perejaslav, in the Traxtemyriv Mountains, in October 1845. Ševčenko recreated this experience very vividly in the letter written from exile eight years later to A. O. Kozačkovs'kyj, who had been with him that day by the river:

[3] This would immensely delight the late Abbé H. Brémond, the author of the incisive study *La Poésie et la Prière* (Paris, 1936), who, knowing nothing about Ševčenko, maintained that prayer and writing poetry were related.

[4] It is apparent from the context that this association arose from the sadness (Ševčenko calls it "melancholy") of the grandiose landscape and the grandiosely sad musical epic of Haydn.

[5] *Tvory*, IX, pp. 117–18.



"Remember that beautiful evening, that broad panorama with a long and wide violet streak in the middle, and behind that violet streak a brilliant, as though golden, cathedral of Perejaslav? What lovely and festive silence! Do you remember? For a long time we couldn't say a word; then a white and almost invisible dot sang:

Hey, down the valley, the valley, behind the herd...
A beautiful evening, a beautiful land and divine songs!"

The musical illustrations of "lines and tones (hues)" of the landscape is first of all a festive silence (also a type of music), and the final bars – *pointe* or coda of the impression – are the sad song. This desire of the poet to stress the musical element of the described impressions is highly important. It was the landscape that interested him most, and he described it – the first one (the fire in the steppe, in *The Twins* in prose; the second one in prose (in the letter to Kozachkovsky), as well as in verse, in the poem "Dream" *(Son)*, written in exile, one of his most perfect elegiac visions.[6]

The panorama of Perejaslav, seen across the Dnieper River, he mentioned for the third time in the short novel *A Voyage*. It is interesting to note that after he mentioned the mood evoked in him by the sight of Perejaslav, once illustrated by a song, he proceeded to his impression of the panorama seen across the Dnieper in Kiev, illustrated by the Haydn oratorio. The association between these landscapes, put to music, so to speak, is quite apparent.[7]

The musical element played an important role in Ševčenko's perceptual impressions, as well as in his creative process. While for other poets "singing" and "song" to denote poetry may have only a metaphoric meaning, for Ševčenko they are completely real. Writing his poems, he not only saw imaginary pictures, but he also heard a melody in the mood and rhythm of which he frequently composed his poetic works. Before expounding this view, I should like to introduce quotations from Ševčenko which permits us to maintain that sometimes he "heard" his works as words and images with a melody, as a complete song. In 1843 he wrote to O. Afanas'jev-Čužbyns'kyj: "who knows from where the song flows and flows, and the verses form themselves? Before you know it,

[6] *Tvory*, IV, p. 25, especially lines 104–113.

[7] It is remarkable that the poem "Dream" has no variants. One cannot help thinking that the fullness of sensory emotions (visual as well as musical), which unrderlay "Dream", corresponded to the fullness of creative emotions, i.e., such initial perfection of them that Ševčenko had nothing to correct.

you have forgotten what you thought, and you begin to write something which comes from nowhere." We will return again to this statement, extremely important in another aspect of Ševčenko's creative process; but here I would like to stress "the song flows and flows". The melody even seems to precede the creation of the poetic work, as if it calls forth its rhythm if not the contents, and obviously is not extinguished in the further process of poetic creation. There is no reason for suspecting that Čužbyns'kyj was inexact in quoting Ševčenko. In the light of this, we can understand more easily this very important characteristic of Ševčenko's poetry which results in the unusually frequent change in meter in many of his poems.

"Hamalija" is a classic example of this. There we have six different meters in a rather short poem. In longer poems of Ševčenko, such as "Kateryna" and "Hajdamaky", the change in meter is even more pronounced. This cannot be explained by a mere change in emotions. The poetry of other lyrical poets *par excellence* does not exhibit this characteristic. On the other hand, it should be stressed that in the works of certain poets that satisfy us by achievements in their imagery the meter sometimes seems inappropriate, for instance, too fast for the content, a serious fault. We never find this in Ševčenko. He knows not only how to choose the appropriate rhythm for a given subject, but how, in the same meter, to write an elegy and to describe a feast or a dance. An example of this is the reflective elegy "A Sweet Girl with Black Eyebrows" (*Divča ljube, čornobryve*). It is written in the *kolomyjka* form (8 plus 6). The sprightly poem "Hey, I was young and righteous" (Oj bula ja molodoju prepodobnyceju) was written in the same form. Yet this does not disturb the seriousness of the mood evoked by the first poem. We must assume that Ševčenko felt the meter of the elegy in a minor, not a major key. The major-key melody corresponded to one modification of the given meter, and the minor-melody to another. As has been proven by scholars, Ševčenko borrowed the modifications of the meter from Ukrainian folk songs, from sung poetry, where there is a fluctuating rhythm, since a song can be sung in a slow or fast tempo. Ševčenko's tendency to follow the principles of Ukrainian folk poetry was not conscious. With him it was a result of the subconscious influence of melody that sounded in him during the process of writing a poem.

We lack space here for the thorough documentation needed to prove that, while writing, Ševčenko "sang" his poems. I will not insist on this hypothesis, but will point out that Ševčenko, in his epic poetry, as well as in ballads, makes his heroes sing from time to time. Besides these



songs, many of his shorter lyrical poems are written in the form of Ukrainian folk songs. This singability of his poems is obviously the reason why many of them were put to music and why they are so frequently sung. Here we try to arrive at this rationally, whereas composers perceived this intuitively long ago.

I have already mentioned that a prerequisite for Ševčenko's writing was an "aesthetic arousal", almost an aesthetic catharsis – purification of his soul from everyday feelings. The work that sprang up under such conditions need not have been directly connected with the subject of the experienced aesthetic awakening. This was true at the very outset of his career, when he wrote poems in the Summer Park during the white nights; it was true also in his later years. Not only nature could so arouse him, but also works of art, as well as images brought forth by reading, his own vivid dream visions, music, and probably most frequently the mixed audio-visual aesthetic impressions.

In his diary Ševčenko mentions how some irresistible force (he calls it a vocation) stimulated his imagination, forced him to "ponder" or "to forget what he was thinking", and induced in him the process of composing poems. This happened when he saw the paintings of Karl Brjullov: "Before his bewitching canvas I fell into reveries and evoked in my heart my blind *kobzar* and the bloodthirsty *hajdamaky*. In the twilight of his luxurious studio, as if on the torrid and wild steppes... before me passed the martyred shadows of our hapless hetmans. The steppe spread out before me, dotted with high mounds. My beautiful, my unfortunate Ukraine preened herself before me in all her immaculate and melancholy beauty... And so I grew more pensive and I could not take my spiritual eyes off that native and enchanting beauty". As a result he "then composed Ukrainian poems".

Brjullov's paintings were not the direct source of Ševčenko's works of that period. They were merely the source of overall aesthetic arousal, as a result of which there arose through association the concrete images that were the subject-matter of poems of that period. Obviously, it would also happen that imagination gave rise to the fixation of concrete images observed. But it would also happen frequently that a certain aesthetic disturbance was merely the first source of a future aesthetic disturbance, and the fixation occurred as a result of complex stimulations associated with one another even if separated in time.

The spontaneous fixing of a work in word-images was frequently long prepared. Sometimes it was not enough to be moved by an image or a whole complex of images, even though there were propitious impulses.

This was only a preparation for creation. He had to wait for a certain state of emotional agitation and for a certain pulse rate for the images to be spontaneously created and put into words. We have a very vivid testimony by Ševčenko, an authentic description of the preliminary and the immediate stages of the creative process. This is the story connected with the writing of a poem "The Seaman". The poem is not extant and it is not certain that it was written, or if written, completed,[8] but this matters little; the important thing is that Ševčenko describes the creative process from his own experience. I suspect that in this story Ševčenko combines the circumstances of two distinct experiences – those of writing the poem "The Blind One" ("The Slave") and of an unfinished poem "The Seaman".[9] Ševčenko read *Morskoj Sbornik* (The Naval Journal) and he was intrigued by the noble deed of a wounded Ukrainian sailor who was to be decorated for his heroism. Of several hundred men being decorated, he was the only one who did not ask any favor for himself. Instead, he requested that his sister be freed from serfdom. After reading this, Ševčenko could not sleep for a long time. He was moved to the very depths of his soul by the moral heroism of the sailor, and thought about it at length. Then in his imagination he saw real scenes from the plot of the poem: the terror of the Sevastopol hospital, the sailor's return to his native village, and his meeting with his sister. But Ševčenko still did not write the poem, although he wanted to. Some time later, while again reading *Morskoj Sbornik* before going to sleep, he again came across the story of the magnanimous sailor. He fell asleep. His dream was very complicated but extremely vivid, with chiaroscuro and mighty celestial music. It is one of the most vivid descriptions of a storm in world literature. Against the background of a violent (at the end, quiet) octave of the storm, Ševčenko heard the melody of "The Duma about Oleksij Popovyč". He sang that melody, began to chant, and finally fell silent. Then he saw other things: a Scottish bard appeared and suddenly changed into a *kobzar* singing "The Duma about Ivas' Konovčenko". Upon waking, Ševčenko went for a walk and thought about dumas, coming to the conclusion that he should imitate their style.

But all these perceptual-aesthetic experiences did not induce motor-artistic emotions in Ševčenko. Refreshed by the sleep and relaxed, he found the morning beautiful and sunny. He was peaceful rather than

[8] The possibility that this poem was written should not be excluded, however. See *Tvory*, IX, p. 371.

[9] I do not want to give here my views on this matter because it is a subject for a separate study.



elated. As he began to think further, his thoughts revolved around the unpleasant surroundings in which he lived. In the afternoon he took a nap, and as the day drew to a close, he began to think, but not about people that disturbed him, as in the morning. His thoughts, now "much rosier", began to "dwell on the past turbulent life, on the sadly sweet songs" of the Ukrainian people. "Enchanted by them", "imbued by their mournful *tone*" (obviously, because this reminds him of the motifs – again *music!*), he decided to write a poem upon returning home, and even wrote a motto for it.[10] But suddenly some association tore him away from the poem, and he thought about his past. Now he had another vision, but no longer in a dream: Ševčenko saw himself in his student room, where he had lived with his friend Šternberg, on the Vasil'evskij Island in St. Petersburg. He saw all the smallest details of the room; he remembered a few touching moments from his life of that time, when he and Šternberg had been "poor but innocent like children", and after mentioning "the family of pure, sensitive youths", he was so "completely submerged in the beautiful past" that he cried a little. This was a deep aesthetic experience: "a beautiful magic world full of alluring and gracious images", a world of moral beauty, appeared before him. As always, this working of his imagination bordered on reality: "I saw these beautiful pictures, I touched them, I heard this celestial harmony; in a word, I was possessed by the spirit of a living and holy poetry."

Tears "revived" him, at first tears of yearning for the past, and then emotional tears, "blissful tears", as he says. In this state he "suddenly felt this fresh, live force of the spirit which is the only one capable of a miracle in our imagination", i.e., he felt creative exultation. After this he again prayed to God and only then started writing the poem. He did not leave the house for some ten days, until the poem is finished.

Here we have all the elements that constitute the prerequisite for creative emotions, and a description of the creative state itself with its prayer-aesthetic agitation. We have already met these elements before (agitation of the imagination by certain pictures, music, prayer), separately as well as combined.

Here we have, in addition, a moment of extreme emotional tension (tears). This tension is necessary for the flowing of the words into pictures. This is, Ševčenko says, "poetic transport".

In discussing Ševčenko's creative process, one should emphasize one of

[10] Taken from "The Duma about Oleksij Popovyč", which he heard in his dream.

his psychological characteristics which left its imprint on his works. This characteristic we find in many other poets, but it is extremely pronounced in Ševčenko. It is his incredible talent for identifying himself with others. This was the source of his extremely intense lyricism; it permeates the works in which he describes imaginary experiences of his heroes, especially their suffering. This is also the source of numerous lyrical digressions in his poems, in which he expresses his compassion for his heroes (in "Kateryna", "The Princess" *(Knjažna)*, "Maryna", "Marija", and others). They interrupt the film-strip of the plot, so to speak; they break into the narrative and cut it in parts; they are a result of the highest creative inspiration, of the strongest emotions (emotions experienced during the process of fixing his imaginary visions), of the most dramatic situations, into which his imagination put his heroes. Lyrical digressions (a classic example is "Cathrine, my heart, your woes beset you!"... [Kateryna, serce moje, lyšen'ko z toboju]) were such an inseparable part of his work, and the memories evoked in him by their creation so dear to him, that in correcting his poems he never crossed out one of them. This is very characteristic, because in further stages of his career, while reworking his finished poems, Ševčenko very frequently would shorten them, sometimes eliminating fairly long sections.

The force of Ševčenko's imagination was so strong that the line between the real and unreal was frequently obliterated. I have quoted earlier his own statement about the "realism" of his creative visions: he "saw these beautiful images, he touched them". When he saw (as is obvious from his biography) physical or moral suffering in life, he would be so moved by this suffering that he would feel it as his own; his compassion for the heroes of his works was no less. Having this talent for getting into someone else's soul, he would feel so close to his heroes that, for him, they would be completely real people. He would cry over their imaginary misfortunes and sufferings.

In the poem "Three Years" he speaks of those tears:

... Ti sl'ozy,
Ščo lylysja z Katruseju
V moskovs'kij dorozi

(... These tears, / that were shed for Catherine / on the Russian roads)– are obviously real tears. In "Marjana the Nun" *(Marjana Černycja)* he speaks of the little boy who guides the blind *kobzar*:

Dostemennyj syn Katrusi!



(A true son of Catherine!) as if this son of Catherine really existed and the readers could see him.

When Ševčenko placed himself in the situation of one of his heroes, he would become one with him, and this would be only one step away from expressing through his hero his own thoughts and feelings.

Ševčenko's transference to his heroes of his own spiritual characteristics, his peculiarities, his convictions and propensities, his personal way of reacting to certain phenomena, may be illustrated by many examples, but probably the most vivid example is the tirade-prayer of John Hus:

... Blahoslovy
Na mest' i na muky,
Blahoslovy moji, Bože,
Netverdiji rúky!

(... Bless, O God, / my revenge and my torment, / bless, O God, / my feeble hands!)

Embodying himself in Hus, Ševčenko says through his lips that which Hus could never have said. This prayer is Ševčenko's own thoughts, which stem from his revolutionary ideas. Ševčenko himself noted the unnaturalness of these words on Hus' lips and so, reworking the poem, he checked himself and changed them to:

Ne na mest' i muky ...

(Not my revenge and my torment ...)

Thirteen years after the poem's completion, Ševčenko was again rewriting it, and again forgetting himself. He embodied himself in Hus and made him express even bloodier tirades, which reflect Ševčenko's even more revolutionary ideas of that time. In the 1858 version of the poem, Hus did not believe that his "quiet words" would impress his enemies, and he said:

Vony posnuly, ne počujut',
Ohnem zbudžu jix, napoju,
Napoju i nahoduju
Holodnyx krovíju ...
Cariv nesytyx ...

(They have fallen asleep, they will not hear, / so I'll wake them with fire, / I shall feed their hungry mouth with blood / of bloodthirsty czars...)

Checking himself, Ševčenko crossed out this mad part of Hus' monologue. But he did it a little later, because the words "of bloodthirsty

czars" were not included at the beginning, but only later were added in pencil; still later the whole passage was crossed out.[11]

There are many more facts that document Ševčenko's creative process, I shall dwell a little more on the spontaneity of this process. Earlier, in a different context, I quoted Ševčenko's letter to Čužbyns'kyj: "Who knows from where the song flows and flows, and the verses form themselves? Before you know it, you have forgotten what you thought, and you begin to write something which comes from nowhere."

Already complete, formed into words and images, the poem asked to be written down on paper. In the prologue to his first volume of poems, "My Thoughts, My Thoughts", Ševčenko said:

Serce rvalosja, smijalos'
Vylyvalo movu,
Vylyvalo, jak umilo ...

(The heart struggled, laughed, / Overflowed with words, / It spoke the best it could ...).

From emotions and the subconscious working of the mind connected with them, poems were born without the help of will, without rational effort, without conscious thinking. All that was left to do was to write them down. He himself could not explain why and how certain images came to his mind (see the incident in Brjullov's studio) or whence came the urge to write them down, why "they formed themselves into sad rows on the paper". He could not understand the Russian literary critics who chided him for not writing in Russian and for choosing "peasant" subject matter. In the prologue to *Hajdamaky*, he describes with extreme vigor and freshness how he was possessed by certain images completely against his will, how his imagination worked, and how intense and fertile it was. This passage is so well known to everyone that I will not quote it in entirety.[12] It is sufficient here to mention only a few passages:

A tym časom
Pyšnymy rjadamy
Vystupajut' otamany,
Sotnyky z panamy,

[11] This proves that the passage was written spontaneously and that in writing it Ševčenko did not control his emotions by reason.
[12] Lines 37 through 196 of the poem, *Tvory*, II, pp. 54–56.



I het'many – vsi v zoloti,
U moju xatynu
Pryjšly, sily kolo mene
I pro Ukrajinu rozkazujut'...

(And, in the meantime, / the otamans come / in sumptuous files, / captains and noblemen, / and hetmans – all in gold. / They come into my house, / sit down beside me / and speak to me of the Ukraine.)

These imaginary pictures evoked tears from the poet's eyes, joyous tears, tears of creative bliss:

Dyvljusja, smijusja, dribni utyraju ...

(I look, I laugh, I wipe the fine tears ...)

He has just seen a wild Cossack banquet, he "is not alone, he has life companions":

U mojij xatyni, jak v stepu bezkrajim
Kozactvo huljaje, bajrak homonyt';
U mojij xatyni synje more hraje,
Mohyla sumuje, topolja šumyt',
Tyxesen'ko "Hrycja" divčyna spivaje –
Ja ne odynokyj, je z kym v sviti žyt'!

(In my little house, as in an endless steppe, / the Cossacks are making merry, and the ravine echoes; / in my little house the blue sea is playing, / the grave-mounds mourn, the poplars rustle, / the girl sings "Hryc'" – / I am not alone, I have life companions.)

The spontaneity of Ševčenko's creative process is corroborated also by statements by him outside of his poetry, as well as by statements of other people. These statements testify that he wrote extremely easily and quickly. This may be further substantiated by the manuscripts of his works in first drafts. In his letter of December 8, 1841, addressed to Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, he says: "I am sending you what I have. 'Hannusja' was composed today, in a great hurry, and I am not sure whether it is worth anything." "Hannusja" is the ballad "The Drowned One". It has 203 verses, but it would be a mistake to think that he spent the whole day writing this long ballad. At that time he lived not alone but with his friends, and even if he had not gone to the Academy, he must at least have left the apartment to eat. He also wrote the letter to Kvitka the same day, from which facts it would seem that he "composed" the ballad in a few hours. This word "composed" is very important here, because

with Ševčenko it always included the whole creative process (if he had used the word "written" then one could say that he merely wrote down the final version of the poem that was already in rough draft).

Another more vivid example is his writing of "Fate", "The Muse", and "Glory". We read about this in his diary, in the entry of February 2, 1858. "After a night spent frivolously, I felt a yearning to write poetry: I sat down and without the least effort I wrote this piece. Is this not the result of nervous excitement?" Obviously it was the result of nervous excitement, of a joyous elation present in the contents of this inspired triptych. The situation is clear: after a sleepless night spent in drinking wine in the company of his friends, Ševčenko came home and before going to bed, wrote this triptych. He wrote it "without the least effort"; he "immediately wrote down" "that which had come from nowhere", which amounts to 88 lines of poetry! This is a documented example of inspired improvisation. I would like to mention here that when I or someone else read this piece to foreign poets who understand Ukrainian, they always feel intuitively that the poem was written completely spontaneously, and those of them not knowing who the author was said that he must have been a genius.

But Ševčenko had long periods of inactivity. The most productive time of his life was October 9 or 10 through December 21, 1845. This comprises 72 days, but two or three of them should not be counted because he did not write at all on those days. I made the most accurate compilation of all the data [13] and concluded that Ševčenko, in a maximum of 27 to 28 days, or a minimum of 18 days, wrote 3174 lines of poetry. This means a minimum of 100 lines, or a maximum of 180 lines daily. But when we consider that on certain days he would write only one small poem, this means that he wrote 200 lines per day. What kind of poems were these? In the course of some nine to thirteen days, in the village of Marijins'ke near Myrhorod, Ševčenko wrote "The Heretic" (374 lines), "The Blind One" *(Slipyj*, 720 lines) and "The Great Grave" *(Velykyj l'ox*, 583 lines). This was in the middle of October. After coming to Perejaslav, he wrote in the course of five to seven days "The Caucasus" *(Kavkaz*, November 13, 178 lines) and "Servant Woman" (Najmyčka November 18 – 537 lines). And in Vjunyšča, from December 14 through 22, he wrote in the course of five to eight days "Epistle to my ... Fellow-Countrymen" *(Poslanyje)*, "Xolodnyj Jar", translations of nine Psalms "To Little Marjana" *(Malen'kij Marjani)*, "The Days Pass" *(Mynajut'*

[13] I will not cite them here, for they would be interesting only to a specialist.



*dni)*, and "Three Years" *(Try lita)* – a total of 782 lines. There is no question here that during this time he wrote all day. In Marijins'ke he paid a visit to the servants of the landowner Lukjanovyč, frequently read the Bible, wrote letters and saw friends. We do not know how he spent his time in Vjunyšča, but A. O. Kozačkovs'kyj, who was Ševčenko's host in Perejaslav, said later in his memoirs that at the time Ševčenko "wrote as if in fun, in the midst of other people's talking, and would even participate in the discussion without ceasing to write". All this time he wrote his masterpieces and, as we see, with extreme ease. This was truly a miracle, a true "divine ecstasy", platonic Θεῖα Μανία.

Was it always this way? The manuscripts of the first versions of his poems could tell us a lot, but unfortunately not many of them are extant. From the first period of his career (1837 through 1842) as well as from the second (1843 through 1847) we have absolutely no first drafts. At this time he showed great carelessness not only toward his first drafts but toward all his manuscripts.

P. Martos, the publisher of the first edition of *Kobzar*, tells us that pages with poetry written on them were scattered around on the floor in Ševčenko's room. Ševčenko, writing to O. Korsun, the publisher of *Snip*, regrets that he is sending him only parts of "Marjana the Nun", because, as he writes, "some pages got lost, and I shall have to rewrite them". As to first drafts, he usually destroyed them. The fact that from the third period of his career, the exile, we have five or six original first drafts of his poems (mostly fragments of them) is due to his having written them in pencil in his album.[14]

From the last period of his career, which followed his return from exile, we have many more first drafts. Even Ševčenko's writing materials are very characteristic, and speak of the spontaneity of Ševčenko's writing process. When he felt like writing something, he would grab the nearest sheet of paper. Sometimes he would write on a freshly printed etching lying on the table, at other times on someone's letter recently received and which he found either on the table before him or in his pocket. Such poems were either left completely unchanged, or were changed very little.

Unfortunately the poems written on the walls of his little room in the Academy of Arts (where he lived during the last two and a half years of his life) were not preserved. Ševčenko's habit of grabbing his pencil and writing on the wall – sometimes at night, no doubt, since much of the writing was on the wall above the bed – is a truly unusual fact. It is known

[14] In the first draft of the fragment "We are stupid and proud people", *(Durni ta hordiji my ljudy)*, only four to five lines out of 39 were changed.

that all the walls of his little room were covered with such writing. After the poet's death, no one ever thought about preserving this writing, if not on the wall, then at least by photographing it. This was not done, and the copies that were made by Z. Nedobytovs'kyj and H. Čestaxivs'kyj of the poems that they deemed important have also been lost. Although these copies would not have mirrored the complete picture of the process in which we are interested, still we would have had very important material. The writings on the wall were undoubtedly the very first versions. Their copies would have given us at least some idea of what episodes and motifs most disturbed the poet's imagination, and which of them were the starting points of a given work.

Of that period's first drafts of larger works, only one has been saved – that of the poem "Marija". A thorough analysis of this work gives us very important findings. In the original version we have 527 lines, and only in one eighth of them do we have revisions. There are three or four large revisions. So seven eighths of the poem was written "without the least effort", as the poet says. Furthermore, not all the corrections were made during the first writing of the work; some of them were undoubtedly made either after a part of the poem was completed, or after the whole poem was completed. Thus, a thorough study of those first drafts which are available gives us the same picture of Ševčenko's creative process as do his own or other persons' statements: he wrote in the state of inspiration.

There are no poets, including the best, who leave their work in its first state, not even Ševčenko. In the first period of his career, Ševčenko, some of his contemporaries thought, did not devote enough time to polishing his poems. Kuliš always chided Ševčenko, saying that he "relies too much on his natural talent". As early as 1846, without being acquainted with Ševčenko's poems from 1843 to 1845, Kuliš subjected the pre-1843 printed works of Ševčenko to a very incisive critical analysis. He saw in Ševčenko's unshakable faith in his own talent and in his "lightheartedness, carelessness and laziness", the reasons for Ševčenko's "mistakes". He demanded that Ševčenko "use with mastery" the talents of a genius and, encouraging him to do this, maintained that Ševčenko would then write "marvels" by which he would overshadow Puškin.

Kuliš was somewhat in error. Even in the first period of his career, Ševčenko reworked his compositions, although not to the degree that the Parnassians did. An example of this is "The Night of Taras" *(Tarasova nič)*, which Kuliš even at that time trenchantly called Ševčenko's most



dynamic and best composed work. Now we know that Ševčenko worked longest on this poem. We have a statement of P. Martos concerning this, as well as the manuscript of the version prior to that published in *Kobzar* in 1840. As can be seen from this manuscript, Ševčenko deleted 36 lines from the first version. This was the dialogue of Taras Trjasylo with his Cossacks. With this he achieved an extraordinary symmetry in the unusually complicated structure of this poem, and eliminated the defect, which had consisted in prolonging the action. The work became much more dynamic.

With the exception of this example, we have no other record of important textual revisions in his work during the years 1837 through 1850, i.e., in three quarters of it. All variants of his works differ only in minor stylistic details. There are many of these changes and they show that Ševčenko very carefully reworked his poems. On the other hand, very interesting material is contained in the work done in 1858 on his poems written between 1847 and 1850, in exile. The same can be said about the work done in 1858 and again in 1860 on his earlier works, (mostly from the first St. Petersburg period), as well as his work on poems written between 1858 and 1860, especially on "Marija" and "The Neophytes".

Correcting, polishing, "sifting" (as Ševčenko says) his works, he proceeded on the basis of personal aesthetics, as would any other poet. This is no longer a spontaneous process. Here the presence of the intellect is evident. It is the work of aesthetic criticism and self-criticism.

When he was reworking poems written eight to eleven years earlier, he was free of the influence of auto-suggestion, and he could be objective toward his own "children". In 1858 he completely rewrote the few poems written in exile. This work consisted primarily of condensing. Ševčenko first of all eliminated unnecessary epilogues that did not strengthen the effectiveness of the poems (for instance, in "The Monk" – *Černec'*; he eliminated non-vital motifs or episodes and didactic conclusions (in the prologue to "The Tsars," the burlesque conversation with the muse; in "The Witch" *(Vid'ma)*, the end of the poem, with its motif of the aspen tree; [15] and others).

In 1858, while reworking his early poems from 1839–1842, he introduced some sizable corrections only in *Hajdamaky*, but they are not a result of his critical attitude toward his earlier style; they stemmed mainly from his desire to correct a historical error: to transfer the murder of the churchwarden from Vil'šana to Mlijiv, where it actually took place.

[15] This process may be very easily illustrated by comparing the different versions of some of the above-mentioned poems, which I collected in *Tvory*, IV.

But there were very few of these corrections (four or five), and he did not carry out his plans concerning them.

Most of his other works remained unchanged. Those that were corrected ("The Poplar Tree" *(Topolja)*, "Kateryna", "The Drowned One", and others) show only unimportant stylistic changes (mostly in "The Poplar Tree"). In *Hajdamaky*, beside the already mentioned corrections, he also eliminated certain passages. These changes of 1858 were not incorporated into the *Kobzar* of 1860 due to circumstances beyond Ševčenko's control, and after this edition was published, Ševčenko started in a leisurely manner to make new corrections. The new changes frequently differ from those of 1858.

His tendency to make his works more dynamic, his plots (or his canvases, as Ševčenko called them) more condensed, followed the line of his aesthetic canons. His views are worth quoting: "The first attempts are always very complicated. Young imagination knows no boundaries, does not limit itself to one grandiloquent word, one note, one line; it requires space, it grows, and in this growth it very frequently gets lost, falls and breaks against the adamant laconicism." He said this in 1856, well taught by many years of work. But, on the other hand, although very critical toward his works from the exile period, he made the fewest changes in the poems from his earliest period. It is possible that the works stemming from his "young imagination" were precisely those dear to him, that he did not want to lift his hand against that which had "flowed" from under his pen, and that he refused to falsify his creative process. In 1858 and 1860, he could have followed the advice of Kuliš and corrected the errors in his early works. Ševčenko considered Kuliš a good critic, and his suggestions followed Ševčenko's own aesthetic canons of laconicism. In 1858 Ševčenko wanted to let Kuliš become a partner in the polishing of his work from the exile period, saying that Kuliš was the only one who "sometimes tells the truth". All the others (i.e., Maksymovyč and Ščepkin) bowed down before Ševčenko's poetic work, and he could get nothing from them save admiration. But when Kuliš later tried to introduce corrections into the early works of Ševčenko, the latter categorically forbade him to do so, and Kuliš, with a few small exceptions, failed in his intentions. Only one passage,

Naš zavzjatyj Holovatyj
Ne vmre, ne zahyne

(Our brave Holovaty / will die not, nor perish . . .) he managed to change to



Naša duma, naša pis'nja
Ne vmre ne zahyne

(Our *dumas*, our songs / will die not, nor perish . . .). He barely succeeded in introducing even this change, and did so possibly without Ševčenko's consent, as some of his remarks lead us to believe.

It is worth mentioning here that Ševčenko never made a change in his most spontaneous works. Such poems as "A cherry orchard by the house. . ." *(Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty)*, "Ivan Pidkova" and short songs or ballads have no variants; or the variants differ so little that they are hardly worth mentioning.[16] "A Cherry Orchard by the House" is one of the most masterful primitive works of art. Such a piece may be created only spontaneously, and Ševčenko considered the poem one of his dearest creations.

Concerning Ševčenko's work on the poems from his last period, the work on "Marija" supplies us with the most interesting data. I have already mentioned that the first-draft manuscript consisted of 527 lines (October 24, 1859). In the final version (November 3, 1859), "Marija" has 743 lines. After expanding certain motifs, he first of all thoroughly reworked the life of Jesus Christ, especially his childhood, virtually rewriting it. Here he introduced, with a master's skill, a series of episodes: the little gallows in the form of a cross, which the little Jesus makes and plays with; the fiery teardrop of the Virgin Mary which awakens the little Christ; touching scenes from Christ's life: when his holy mother follows him and washes his tired feet, when Christ plays with children, and many others. All this imparts to the poem's final version an artistic completion and a certain radiance. It makes deeper Ševčenko's approach to the main elements in the poem – the final stage of Mary's tragedy, and her maternal heroism. In the original version, the lives of Jesus and Mary were narrated only sketchily.

On the other hand, Ševčenko deleted, in the later version of "The Neophytes," a good part of the prologue, where his fantasy, fed by his enraged emotions and by his reaction to bitter reality, made him write too fiery lyrical meditations. These may have been of some value as separate pieces, but in the poem they only extended already long, although dynamic, reflective invectives and apostrophes. Ševčenko was right in stemming the flow of these wrathful meditations which could have been expressed in a different place.

[16] The small variations frequently arose, not due to intended changes, but because Ševčenko would write the poems down from memory, to give them to someone.

Beside the expanding and condensing of the subject matter of his poems, we do not find in the whole of Ševčenko's work any other changes which would attest to his having difficulties in composing works with even very complex plots. With his creative insight, he would grasp the complete structure, the whole complex of episodes in their internal compositional order. Lermontov, whose creative process was so close to Ševčenko's (he also wrote spontaneously), without going through the tortures of searching for words, had difficulty in constructing his poems. He spent a lot of time re-constructing his works. "The Demon" is a good example of this, and textual scholars are still trying to determine the original text of the poem. A textual scholar concerned with Ševčenko's work has no such difficulties. Ševčenko might be misled by his emotions, as was the case with "The Neophytes," but with one stroke of his pen he would relentlessly cross out what disturbed the symmetry of the poem, or would easily add that which the poem lacked.

In this article, I have tried to show the reader the creative laboratory of Ševčenko, bringing to light, on the basis of objective data, the most important aspects of Ševčenko's creative process. I do not pretend to have exhausted the questions (they are much more numerous), nor the completeness of the documentation of my arguments; had I done so, this article would have been a monograph.

The psychology of Ševčenko's work is still little studied.[17] The biographers, textual scholars and students of prosody have compiled a great deal of well-classified and illumined material. Now it is the psychologists' turn.

[17] With the exception of small articles dealing with Ševčenko's creative process in separate works, and the article by S. Balej, *Z psyxolohiji tvorčosty T. H. Ševčenka* (The Psychology of Ševčenko's Work) (Lviv, 1916), we have no such work. Balej's study is interesting, but not always convincing, and based on much too limited material.

# PROBLEMS IN THE EVALUATION OF ŠEVČENKO'S ART AS A PAINTER

DAMJAN HORNJATKEVYČ

Ševčenko's contribution to art has been the subject of wide interest among art historians. Ten Ukrainian studies, two in Russian and many articles in Ukrainian, Polish, and German have been devoted to Ševčenko the artist.[1] In spite of this, many different and sometimes strange views of Ševčenko's art still prevail. The most crucial and unresolved problems are: the extent of Brjullov's and Rembrandt's influence on Ševčenko, and Ševčenko's place in the history of Ukrainian and European art.

Brjullov's and Rembrandt's influence on Ševčenko has been analyzed by Oleksij Novyc'kyj, Kost' Šyro'ckyj, Dmytro Antonovyč and Volodymyr Sičyns'kyj. They all agree that Ševčenko was under the influence of these two masters only for a time. Brjullov's influence on Ševčenko was due to the close relationship between the teacher and his pupil. The extraordinary generosity of Brjullov towards Ševčenko and the care with which the famous Russian painter surrounded the former serf whom he had helped to liberate, were reciprocated by Ševčenko with the deepest affection. It is not known whether Brjullov showed much personal interest in his other pupils, but there is no doubt that Ševčenko was his favorite and was admitted to the innermost circle of his friends. It is also obvious that Ševčenko was full of admiration for his teacher, whom he called "Charles the Great," "immortal," and "divine." There is no doubt that Brjullov's reputation at the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg was very high and there must have been many students who fell under his influence.

[1] The most valuable publication on Ševčenko the artist is Opanas Slast'on's *Maljunky Tarasa Ševčenka*, Part I (St. Petersburg, 1911), Part II (1914). Its excellent reproductions have not been surpassed by those in a recent Soviet edition *Ševčenko – xudožnyk* (Kiev, 1954). The best scholarly accounts of Ševčenko's art may be found in: Oleksij Novyc'kyj, *Taras Ševčenko jak maljar* (Lviv–Moskva, 1914); Dmytro Antonovyč, "Plastyčna tvorčist' Tarasa Ševčenka" (with a supplement: V. Sičyns'kyj, "Ševčenko – graver"), published as volume 12 of the complete edition of Ševčenko by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw (Warsaw–L'viv, 1937); *Maljars'ki tvory Ševčenka*, vol. VIII of the complete edition of Ševčenko published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences under the editorship of Serhij Jefremov (Kiev, 1931).

During his early period, Ševčenko openly acknowledged Brjullov's influence, which showed itself in theme, composition, technique, and coloring.

A few years after he graduated from the Academy, Ševčenko freed himself from Brjullov's influence. This he recorded himself in the entry in his diary for July 1, 1857, as follows:

> I lived in his [Brjullov's] apartment, or should I rather say, in his studio. And what did I do? What did I work at in this holy of holies? It is strange even to recollect... I wrote Ukrainian verses, which later fell like a terrible burden upon my soul. Before his [Brjullov's] bewitching canvas I fell into reveries and evoked in my heart my blind *kobzar* and the bloodthirsty *hajdamaky*. In the twilight of his luxurious studio, as if on torrid and wild steppes along the Dnieper, before me passed the martyred shadows of our hapless hetmans. The steppe spread out before me, dotted with high mounds. My beautiful, my unfortunate Ukraine preened herself before me in all her immaculate and melancholy beauty... And so I grew more pensive and I could not take my spiritual eyes off that native and enchanting beauty. This was nothing less than my destiny.

If one compares the personalities of Brjullov and Ševčenko one is, above all, struck by their dissimilarities. Brjullov's outlook on life was sombre, even pessimistic. In spite of the fact that fortune seemed to have smiled on everything he did and fame and well-being came to him naturally, Brjullov was a disillusioned man. The cause of this was apparently to be found in his incurable illness – tuberculosis of the lungs. Ševčenko, on the other hand, was an undaunted optimist, despite the many hardships and misfortunes that befell him.

According to P. Delarov, "Brjullov, like most of the prominent men of his time, was a typical rationalist, both in his personal and artistic life, a man of despondency and reflection, who did not believe in nationality nor in an organic bond between the latter and the individual, nor in history and the shape of things past, present, or future, nor in the historical future of his people, nor in the immortality of his own soul."[2]

Delarov attributes Brjullov's "lack of faith" to the historical events of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The pessimistic outlook was reflected "even in the choice of subjects for [his] pictures. [Brjullov's] entire artistic output is concerned with the reproduction of catastrophes and moments immediately preceding or succeeding them ... The ever-present catastrophe is, so to speak, collective in *The Last Days of Pompeii*, private and individual in *Inez da Castro*, or cosmic in *The Destroyer Time*. The rationalism and moodiness of Brjullov's entire philosophical attitude

[2] P. V. Delarov, "Karl Brjullov i jego značenije v istorii živopisi", *Iskusstvo i xudožestvennaja promyšlennost'*, 1899, issue 15, pp. 126-27.



is characteristic not only of his imagination but also is very clearly perceptible in his compositions, where dreams and fancies vanish like smoke and strong dislike is obvious of everything romantic, medieval, and Christian-German."

Delarov also made a penetrating observation that

> Brjullov was primarily a sculptor in his paintings, rather than a pure painter. His strongest feeling is not for color but for lines and shapes. He himself was devoted to the watercolor technique rather than to oils and admitted that he felt helpless when painting a picture in an evening light. He nearly destroyed his *Bathsheba* because of his inability to reproduce accurately the color of a woman's body in an evening light. His work was usually completed as soon as he finished its sketch in pencil. This proves that Brjullov saw all nature as lines and forms, and colors were for him not optical phenomena but merely accidental characteristics. Hence all Brjullov's pictures... are, in fact, colored bas-reliefs, and in order to appreciate them one must approach them from this angle. Only then will we notice an almost complete absence of detail in the foreground, the lack of depth in the background and the neglect of the harmony of colors. We shall be taken aback by the poverty of half-tones, the sharpness of contours, complete neglect of the effects of space by the stone-like folds in clothes, and by the flagrant violations of aerial perspective. Only in the ancient Greco-Roman world did Brjullov feel at home. He could not approach the Romantics... from them he borrowed only the flaming red color in which they reveled.

Against this analysis of Brjullov's art, Oleksij Novyc'kyj placed Ševčenko.[3] The contrast could not be greater. Brjullov was an epic artist – Ševčenko, a lyric one; Brjullov a pessimist, Ševčenko one who looked at nature, life and people without contempt, one whose work is full of "bright sorrow," "the joy of crying," and "the great poetry of suffering." To Brjullov Ševčenko owed his technique and his fondness for red colors. The limited influence of Brjullov on Ševčenko was pointed out in an early study by Kost' Šyroc'kyj,[4] who divided Ševčenko's creative activity into two parts: 1. pre-exile, under a strong influence of Brjullov; 2. the period after 1847 with the waning of this influence.

The influence of Ševčenko's other teachers in the Academy cannot be compared to that of Brjullov's. Frequently Ševčenko spoke of them with contempt, perhaps because they considered themselves competitors of Brjullov. In comparing Brjullov's drawings to some "clumsy pencillings" of Fedor Bruni, Ševčenko condemns the latter, quite unjustly, in his diary as the one "who aspired to be equal to Charles the Great" (entry for

[3] Oleksij Novyc'kyj, *Taras Ševčenko jak maljar* (L'viv–Moskva, 1914), *(Zbirnyk Istoryčno-Filosofičnoji Sekciji NTŠ u L'vovi)*, p. 11.

[4] Kost' Šyroc'kyj, "K. Brjullov i T. Ševčenko", *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1912, No. 2, p. 58.

July 10, 1857). On another occasion, Ševčenko condemned Bruni and Cornelius as "moral degenerates" who "forsook the eternal beauty of nature." Unfortunately, Ševčenko's diary ends in May, 1857, before he resumed contacts with his former professors and friends while exploring the art of etching. There is no doubt, however, that his relations with Bruni improved after 1860, when Ševčenko etched his portrait.

Ševčenko's attitude toward Alexander Sauerweid, the Academy's authority on battle scenes, was negative. They met socially in a narrow circle of friends at a time when Brjullov was trying to obtain a divorce from his wife. Ševčenko was inclined to believe that Sauerweid was responsible for spreading ugly rumours about Brjullov. It is certain that Ševčenko was Sauerweid's pupil, since the latter's course in historical painting was a compulsory subject at the Academy.

Another teacher of Ševčenko, though from a later period when Ševčenko was competing for the title "Academician," was the Russified German, Friedrich Jordan. An accomplished etcher, Jordan was famous for the painstaking labors he undertook to make copies of famous pictures. It took him fifteen years to reproduce one painting by Raphael. During the eighty-three years of his life Jordan produced only seventy-five works. Ševčenko held the old master in high esteem.

As for Rembrandt's influence on Ševčenko, it is evident in an early self-portrait with a candle, painted during the years at the Academy and repeated in an etching in 1860. This influence remains visible in Ševčenko's later paintings as well as in his poetry and prose, as has been demonstrated by K. Kysilevs'kyj.[5] To be sure, Brjullov had also employed the technique of light and shadow and this he passed on to Ševčenko. This Rembrandtian outlook on life and nature is best expressed in one of Ševčenko's novels, *Mandrivka z pryjemnistju, ta ne bez morali*:

> I entered my house and stopped near the door in order to enjoy a truly Rembrandtian scene. My Troxym, resting his head on his hands crossed on a huge open book, was soundly asleep, barely illuminated by the burnt candle, and all things around him vanished in transparent darkness. A magnificent combination of light and shadow suffused the whole scene. For a long time I stood on the spot struck by the unusual beauty of harmony. I was afraid to stir, even to breathe. It seemed to me that all this beauty would vanish from my breath as the steppe mirage vanishes from the slightest breeze.[6]

He wrote in the same work "I look: the golden sun is hanging poised

[5] Kost' Kysilevs'kyj, "Maljars'ki svitlotini v Ševčenkovij poeziji", *Kyjiv*, 1951, No. 2, pp. 80–84.

[6] T. Ševčenko. *Tvory*, IX (Warsaw, 1936), p. 196.



over the violet horizon and has scattered his emerald rays all over the boundless space. New beauty! New enchantment! Struck by the wondrous harmony I silently let my hands drop and – holding my breath – looked at this grandly splendid oratory without sound" (p. 222).

Ševčenko left more than 1000 paintings which represent a considerable artistic achievement. This he accomplished despite the tsar's personal order that he be deprived of all facilities for painting during his exile. For a period of ten years (1847–57) Ševenko painted only sporadically. No other European painter had to create under such adverse conditions.

According to subject, his paintings may be divided into eight categories: 1. portraits; 2. landscapes; 3. historical paintings or drawings; 4. genre paintings; 5. religious themes; 6. architectural monuments; 7. two series of illustrations – "The Ukraine in Pictures" and "The Parable of the Prodigal Son"; 8. illustrations. Ševčenko was not limited to one medium; he used oils, watercolors, pencils, and the etching needle and he also tried his hand at sculpting.

What is Ševčenko's place in the history of Ukrainian painting? Among his predecessors were three outstanding masters: Antin Losenko (1737–1773), Dmytro Levyc'kyj (1735–1822) and Volodymyr Borovykovs'kyj (1757–1825). All of them were primarily painters of portraits and religious pictures. Levyc'kyj and Borovykovs'kyj were the best representatives of "neo-classicism" and their portraits could be placed beside those of Gainsborough, Vigée-Lebrun, and Greuze. Borovykovs'kyj's religious pictures are the finest achievement of that art in the Ukraine. Ševčenko followed these two masters of the portrait, but was more interested in the psychological rather than the formal analysis of the face. His faces, without a trace of smile, produce their effect by the expression of the eyes (e.g., portraits of Varvara Repnina and of Bruni). Ševčenko's portrait of Princess Kejkuatov, somewhat reminiscent of the manner of Borovykovs'kyj, speaks to us through the eyes, despite many decorative details (hairdress, shawl). His portraits have almost no background and are usually free from decorative detail. They are synthetic both in composition and in characterization, always aiming at generalization. From his own records we learn that Ševčenko painted his portraits very quickly, after a few sittings.

Of special importance are Ševčenko's self-portraits. As with Rembrandt, they tell the story of the artist's life. Early self-portraits of Ševčenko convey his youthful enthusiasm and lofty aspirations; the later ones, especially those from exile, show a tired and often dejected man, rapidly aging and apathetic. However, a Stoic quality predominates, and we

are left with the feeling, especially in paintings of groups of the Kirghizes which include Ševčenko, that he remained unbroken by his hard lot.

Throughout the nineteenth century the test of a painter's greatness remained his ability to paint historical scenes, which called for many skills. European academies of fine arts had established chairs of historical painting which were held by such prominent artists as Mariano Fortuni in Spain, Ernest Meissonier in France, Karl Pilotti in Germany, Hans Mackart in Austria, Václav Brožik in Czechoslovakia, Jan Matejko in Poland, and Vasilij Vereščagin in Russia. As a pupil of Brjullov and Sauerweid, Ševčenko quite early became interested in historical painting. Among his efforts in this field during his studies at the Academy, are an etching "Tributes in Čyhyryn," a composition "Xmel'nyc'kyj's Death" (two variants) and pencil sketches "Mazepa's Death" (signed "Mazepa is dying, with Charles XII nearby"), "Mazepa and Vojnarovs'kyj." As we know, the second part of *Živopisnaja Ukraina* (The Ukraine in Pictures) was to include the following historical pictures: "Ivan Pidkova in Lviv", "Pavlo Polubotok in St. Petersburg", and "Semen Palij in Siberia." Ševčenko's "Xmel'nyc'kyj's Death" and "Tributes in Čyhyryn" show a serious attempt to recapture the spirit of history. It is, therefore, quite proper to regard Ševčenko as the pioneer of Ukrainian historical painting.

A contribution was made by Ševčenko to the painting of life in the country. It is true that in Western Europe the Barbizon school in France attempted to approach village life from a new angle and to portray the peasants in a favorable light. In Eastern Europe, where the lot of the peasant was incomparably worse, the villager was long ignored by art. Ševčenko was the first artist in the Ukraine and one of the first in the Russian Empire to take a sympathetic and humanitarian approach in painting village life. His tendency is not nationalistic, since he depicts with equal sympathy the Kirghiz and the Ukrainian peasants at their daily tasks. Although in this genre Ševčenko's predecessor was Aleksej Venecianov, the Russian painter used peasants merely as models for his studies and sketches, in postures calculated for effect. This fact was observed by Oleksij Novyc'kyj *(Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, II, Moscow, 1903, pp. 221–222). Ševčenko's approach was more serious and was full of social content.

The largest and the richest share of Ševčenko's artistic heritage is devoted to landscapes. In 1914 Olexij Novyc'kyj counted 311 landscapes by Ševčenko – at a time when only 651 works in all were known to have survived.[7] Since then the total figure has risen more than to 1000, in which the number of landscapes has also increased.



Ševčenko was a great lover of nature, which is so well reflected in his poetry. Landscape was to him a source of irresistible attraction and inspiration:

The sun goes down beyond the hill,
The shadows darken, birds are still;
From fields no more come toilers' voices,
In blissful rest the world rejoices.
With lifted heart I, gazing stand,
Seek shady grove in Ukraine's land.
Uplifted thus, 'mid memories fond
My heart finds rest, o'er the hills beyond.
On fields and woods the darkness falls
From heaven blue a bright star calls,
The tears fall down. Oh, evening star!
Hast thou appeared in Ukraine far?
In that fair land do sweet eyes seek thee
Dear eyes that once were wont to greet me?
Have eyes forgotten their tryst to keep?
Oh then, in slumber let them sleep
No longer o'er my fate to weep.

("Sonce zaxodyt', hory cornijut'", translated by A. J. Hunter)

Studies of landscape were at that time frowned upon in the Academy of Fine Arts and Ševčenko had no teacher to lean on in his landscape painting. It is, therefore, true to say that Ševčenko's teacher was nature herself and that, unaided, he tried to reproduce her moods on canvas. In this, also, Ševčenko's landscapes are original and not imitative. In other respects Ševčenko went even further, for he paid little attention to detail and concentrated on giving a single impression of the landscape. In this he was ahead of his own time and foreshadowed the coming of impressionism.

Ševčenko's landscapes can be divided according to subject matter into two groups: Ukrainian and Kazakh. The first are filled with sun and bright colors, peace and serenity; the second group is very different – melancholy, austere, nostalgic and even dismal. Although his landscapes are primarily reflections of a mood, all of them are technically above re-

[7] O. Novyc'kyj, p. 67.

proach and with an excellent feeling for perspective. Most of them are watercolors, some are sepias and a few are drawings. It is interesting to observe that among them there are no Russian landscapes, although Ševčenko spent a long time in St. Petersburg and travelled through Russia after his release.

The series by Ševčenko, "The Ukraine in Pictures," had an obvious educational intention. It stimulated interest in Ukrainian history and geography. After some lack of success, which was possibly due to P. Kuliš' refusal to write the accompanying texts,[8] the project was revived by Lev Žemčužnikov, a Russian who became an enthusiastic promoter of the Ukrainian folk style in architecture.

I have analyzed Ševčenko's cycle "The Parable of the Prodigal Son" in another article.[9] The cycle represented the sum total of Ševčenko's experiences in exile, his exposé of the moral degradation and social injustices of the Russian state. The obvious contrast between the series on the Ukraine and the cycle on the prodigal son suggests perhaps a conscious opposition by the artist of the sunny Ukraine in her past and present to the darkness and gloom of the Russia of his time.

Ševčenko's religious paintings must be judged against the background of the artistic tendencies of his time. While Ševčenko's art is often on the border of classicism and romanticism, his religious pictures are classicist, very much influenced by Brjullov, who was the painter of the large picture *Ascension of the Virgin Mary* in the Kazan cathedral at St. Petersburg (1836). This work was well received, though it was an obvious imitation of a similar picture by the Frenchman Pierre Prud'hon. Brjullov also painted *The Crucifix* and other religious pictures which Ševčenko praised and admired. However, in his own religious art Ševčenko showed some independence from Brjullov. Nearly all his religious pictures show great contrast in colors and have a dark background in order to create a visionary atmosphere *(The Crucifixion, The Ascension, The Death of St. Andrew, The Apostle Paul in Prison)*. Although few in number his religious pictures form an important part of his total artistic production. It is known that many of them perished in the fire of the Lyzohub church in Sedniv. It is also recorded that Ševčenko was involved in icon painting and that Uskov, the commandant of the Novopetrovskoe Fortress, attempted unsuccessfully to obtain permission for Ševčenko to paint a picture for the local church. Ševčenko's scorn for icons in Byzantine style was

[8] D. Antonovyč, pp. 149–50.

[9] "Maljars'kyj cykl' T. Ševčenka-Prytča pro bludnoho syna", *Naukovyj zbirnyk UVAN y SŠA*, I (New York, 1952), pp. 23–37.



characteristic of his age. Only after Prince Grigorij Gagarin, the prominent artist and archaeologist, became the vice-president of the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts (1860), was a museum of religious antiquity founded at the Academy, which gave rise to serious study of Byzantine iconography.

Ševčenko's sketches and drawings of architectural monuments have great documentary value. Of special interest are *The Ruins of Xmel'nyc'kyj's Palace in Subotiv, Bohdan's Church in Subotiv*, and churches in Kiev and Poltava, many of which have since been destroyed.

In assessing Ševčenko's development as an artist it must be remembered that it was conditioned by several schools and trends. In spite of the dominant neo-classicism, Ševčenko was subject to the influences of romanticism and realism. His principal teacher, Brjullov, represented the neo-classicist tradition, which left an indelible mark on Ševčenko's art and poetry, but romanticism was an equally strong force. It was the latter which led Ševčenko to historical themes from his native country's past. It was also romanticism which dictated Ševčenko's interest in depicting village life. However, important as his contributions in these fields were, perhaps the most interesting feature of Ševčenko's art is the anticipation, chiefly in his landscapes, of the coming of plein-air and impressionism.

# ŠEVČENKO AND THE THEATRE

VALERIAN REVUTSKY

This subject has been frequently discussed. Almost a century after the birth of the poet V. Bocjanovs'kyj wrote a study "Ševčenko and the Ukrainian Theatre" (1912); in 1925 Petro Rulin devoted an article to this topic; in the symposium entitled *Ševčenko ta joho doba* he also gave a detailed analysis of Ševčenko's dramatic criticism.[1] The problem of the relations between Ševčenko and the prominent Russian actor M. Ščepkin has been analyzed by a number of students such as N. Storoženko, A. Jarcev, M. Močul's'kyj, V. Hajevs'kyj, M. Josypenko, O. Borščahivs'kyj, and others. Ševčenko's connection with music and the stage was dealt with by M. Hrinčenko, D. Revuc'kyj, P. Kozyc'kyj and others. This article therefore does not offer new research but aims at a summary of past studies.

Chronologically Ševčenko's connection with the theatre falls into two periods, one from 1838 to 1845, that is, from the year of his liberation from serfdom to his return to the Ukraine, and the second, from 1857 to his death (with brief interruptions). In the first period Ševčenko came to know the theatre of St. Petersburg and the Ukraine; in the second period he attended, in addition, the theatre in Nižnij Novgorod and, during a brief visit, in Moscow. The earlier period saw his dramatic activity and the beginning of acquaintance with various outstanding theatrical personalities, while in the latter we observe his attempts as a dramatic critic.

## I. ŠEVČENKO AND THE CONTEMPORARY OPERATIC AND DRAMATIC REPERTOIRE

Toward the end of the 1830's, when Ševčenko found himself in St. Petersburg, the city was distinguished by its lively theatrical life. In addition to the Great Opera Theatre, which had existed since the eighteenth century,

[1] See also his "Ševčenko i K. V. Piunova", *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (1925).



there was the Alexandrinskij Theatre for drama, founded in 1832. In 1833 the Mixajlovskij Theatre was opened, where the French troupe presented its performances. From 1827 performances were given continuously during the summer by the Kamennoostrovskij Theatre as well as by the Theatre-Circus, which functioned up to 1840 and afterwards was called "The New Theatre Near the Semenovskij Bridge".

The prevalent genres were Western European, mostly French or Italian opera, ballet, melodrama and vaudeville. However, in the mid-thirties these began to alternate with the national Russian repertory. In 1834 the historical melodrama *The Hand of the Almighty Has Spared the Fatherland* (Ruka Vsevyšnego otečestvo spasla) by N. Kukol'nik created a great sensation; in 1835 *Askold's Mound* (Askol'dova mogila) was staged, while in 1836 the premiere performance of Glinka's first opera *A Life for the Tsar* (Žizn' za carja) took place. Ševčenko was able to attend many performances. From the poet's diary and his stories it is possible to make a list of the operatic works seen by Ševčenko in St. Petersburg. Of works by German composers he mentioned Weber's *Preciosa* and *Der Freischütz*, and Mozart's *Don Giovanni*; by Italian composers, Donizetti's *La Figlia del reggimento* and *Linda de Chamouni*, Bellini's *Norma* and *I Puritani*, and Rossini's *William Tell* (he was not acquainted with Verdi on the stage); by the French composers Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* and *Les Huguenots*, and Auber's *Le cheval de bronze* and *La Muette de Portici*; by the Russian composers Verstovskij's *Askol'd's Mound*, Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar* and *Ruslan and Ljudmila* and Dargomyžskij's *Rusalka*. Probably Ševčenko could have listened to such current operas as Mozart's *The Abduction from the Seraglio*, Weber's *Fra Diavolo*, Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*, and others, From among all these operas Ševčenko most warmly praised *Don Giovanni*, *William Tell*, and the operas of Meyerbeer and Glinka.

While in Nižnij Novgorod Ševčenko noted in his diary: ... "During the intervals small orchestra played beautifully several pieces from Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, perhaps because it is difficult not to play this enchanting creation beautifully ..."[2] We also learn that "he greatly admired Rossini's *William Tell* and was completely carried away by Tamberlink's and de Bassini's singing," being in the habit of exclaiming in Little Russian: 'May the deuce take his mother, how splendid!'[3] The melody and the mighty dramatic temperament of Meyerbeer could not

[2] Ukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk, *Tvory T. Ševčenka*, IV (Kiev, 1927), pp. 110–111. Further cited: *Tvory*, IV.

[3] N. Kostomarov, *Russkaja starina*, III (1880), p. 65.

but have influenced Ševčenko. He called the overture to *Robert le Diable* "A beauty of a melody"[4] and in a letter to M. Ščepkin he wrote: "Be so kind as to snatch somehow from that K-v those 100 roubles and send me fast the score of *Les Huguenots* – I cannot afford to go to it; such a misery!"[5] While in Nižnij Novgorod Ševčenko related with enthusiasm that the pianist Tatarinov "played several pieces from Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* and *Les Huguenots* and has elevated me to seventh heaven".[6] *Les Huguenots* are also mentioned in Ševčenko's *The Artist*.[7]

Both Glinka operas evoked Ševčenko's complete approbation. M. Mikešin notes in his reminiscenses that "Ševčenko idolized Glinka."[8] About the opera *A Life for the Tsar* Ševčenko wrote: "A work of genius! Immortal Glinka!"[9] About Glinka's second opera *Ruslan and Ljudmila* in a letter of January 25, 1843, to H. S. Tarnavs'kyj, he wrote: "And what an opera, indeed! And especially when Artemovs'kyj sings as Ruslan, it fairly takes one's breath away – indeed, it's quite true!"[10]

Three aspects of Ševčenko's favorite operas engaged his interest. The first was the melodies, some of which he knew by heart. The second aspect was their effective and colorful pageantry. The high style of the performances, in settings by the famous Viennese designer Andrew Roller (1805–1891), who began his career in St. Petersburg opera in 1834, made a great impression on Ševčenko. Finally, Ševčenko was very sensitive to the heroic and patriotic aspects of performances such as *William Tell*, *A Life for the Tsar*, *Les Huguenots*, and others.

Ševčenko was indifferent to comic opera, which abundantly figured in the repertories of the St. Petersburg theatres. Similarly the contemporary ballet repertory received scant attention in his writings. The exception to this was an incident connected with the arrival of Maria Taglioni who, literally, created a revolution in the conservative ballet performances in St. Petersburg in the 1830's. In the story *The Artist* he notes that after the completion of his painting duties in the *Great Opera Theatre* [11] "the theatre has opened and the enchanting Taglioni began her bewitching performance".[12]

[4] *Tvory*, IV, p. 75.
[5] *Povne vydannja tvoriv Tarasa Ševčenka*, X (Chicago, 1960), p. 219. Further cited *Vydannja*, X.
[6] *Tvory*, IV, p. 129.
[7] T. Ševčenko. *Tvory*, II (DVXL, Kiev, 1949), p. 464. Further cited *Tvory*, II.
[8] T. Ševčenko. *Kobzar* (Prague, 1876), p. XXI.
[9] *Tvory*, IV, p. 174.
[10] *Vydannja*, X, p. 23.
[11] See P. Rulin, "Ševčenko i teatr", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, I (Kiev, 1925).
[12] *Tvory*, II, p. 412.



In the same story he describes his visit to Taglioni with K. Brjullov during her performance of *Gitana*, which was one of the most remarkable items of her repertory. The reason for Ševčenko's enthusiasm for Taglioni must be sought in the romanticism of her style. F. Koni wrote about her that "...in all her movements, hoverings, gestures and dances – there is no effort nor artifice visible... The ground is for her only a point of support, her real element is air."[13]

Ševčenko never saw the works of Victor Hugo, the founder of the romantic drama. Hugo's plays could not be staged in Russia, except for the German melodramatic adaptation of his novel *Notre Dame de Paris*, produced under the title *Esmeral'da* in St. Petersburg by V. Karatygin. In 1838 Karatygin freely translated Shakespeare's *King Lear* and in 1841 *Coriolanus*. Because of the strict Russian censorship Schiller's romantic dramas were not staged either. A dominant position in the dramatic theatre was maintained by French melodrama in the original (performed by the French troupe in the Mixajlovskij Theatre) and in translations and reworkings by V. Karatygin, R. Zotov, M. Obodovskij, young N. Nekrasov and others. Along with Guibert Pixérécourt, known as *le père du mélodrame*, and A. Dumas *(père)* there appeared such dramatists as F. Pyat, V. Du Cange, Ph. Dennery, A. Anicet-Bourgeois, a German dramatist J. Auffenberg and others, authors of melodramas bearing such poignant titles as *Thirty Years, or the Life of a Gambler*; *Salvator – Chieftain of Invisible Brothers*; *Kean, or Genius and Frustration*; *A Living Dead Woman*; *Sixteen Years of the Arsonists*; and *The Haunted House*. Ševčenko was not attracted by the melodrama *Thirty Years, or the Life of a Gambler* which he agreed with K. Brjullov in terming "an oversalted drama".[14] He was still more critical of the dramas of N. Kukol'nik and N. Polevoj. In the story *Kapitanša* (The Captain's Wife) he wrote ironically about the authors who can "construct on nothing an entire dramatic fantasy of no less mediocre style than that of the respected N. Kukol'nik, who has distinguished himself in this fantastic genre".[15] It is not known whether Ševčenko saw the drama *The Spanish Mother* by another tendentious writer, N. Polevoj, in 1842 in St. Petersburg, but later in Nižnij Novgorod he saw it and made the following remark: "And in general *The Spanish Mother* is an ordinary drama."[16]

Finally, as far as melodrama is concerned, there is an interesting re-

[13] F. Koni, "Tal'oni v Peterburge", *Severnaja pčela*, No. 204 (1839).
[14] *Tvory*, II, p. 436.
[15] *Tvory*, II, p. 251.
[16] *Tvory*, IV, p. 125.

mark which Ševčenko made in his diary for 1857 after seeing for the first time the play *The Son of Love* by A. Kotzebue. In that year the play was an absolute anachronism. Hearing himself called by a German lady he spoke with, "a coarse barbarian, incapable of sympathizing with anything beautiful and moral", he still delicately remarked... "I... also liked it in a sense, but not exactly."[17]

Ševčenko had an opportunity to see vaudeville many times at the end of the 1830's and the beginning of the 1840's (for example *Mish-mash* [Plutanina] by P. Fedorov), but vaudeville in general occupies an insignificant part in his writings. Even one of the most outstanding vaudeville writers of that time, D. Lenskij (1805–1860), attracted Ševčenko merely as a translator of Béranger: Ševčenko failed to mention Lenskij's vaudeville *Plain and Fancy* (Prostuška i vospitannaja) which he saw. In this genre, the only lasting impression which Ševčenko gained was from his countryman M. Ščepkin in the vaudeville *The Soldier-Magician* (Moskal' čarivnyk) by I. Kotljarevs'kyj. Ševčenko also had an opportunity to see in the role of Čuprun his other distinguished countrymen K. Solenyk (1811–1851) and S. Artemovs'kyj (1813–1874).

The dramatic repertory in St. Petersburg changed radically during Ševčenko's years of exile. In the final years of the 1850's there appeared realistic comedies, the beginnings of Ostrovskij's and Suxovo-Kobylin's theatre. Ševčenko did not let this change go unremarked. As early as 1850, while still in exile in Novopetrovskoe, he read Ostrovskij's first comedy *It's All in the Family* (Svoi ljudi sočtemsja) and noted later: "It appears to me that for our time and our half-literate middle class satire is indispensable, but it must be intelligent, noble satire, such as for example in Fedotov's *The Bridegroom* (Ženix), Ostrovskij's *It's All in the Family*, and Gogol's *The Inspector General*."[18] But he did not like two other plays by Ostrovskij with which he was acquainted, *A Lucrative Position* (Doxodnoe mesto) and *A Holiday Nap* (Prazdničnyj son do obeda). In the latter he found... "repetitiousness and dull repetitiousness".[19] With respect to the former play P. Rulin was probably correct in stating that "Ševčenko accepted deviations from naturalness in romanticism, but he was too genuine to be able to hear the preaching of copy-book morality".[20] In general Ševčenko remained more in sympathy with the theatre of the 1840's. Acknowledging the achievements of the new epoch, he still felt

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 568.



that to affect the spectators' emotions was the main purpose of every theatrical performance – drama or opera.

## II. ŠEVČENKO'S THEATRICAL ACQUAINTANCES

Most of Ševčenko's theatrical acquaintances made St. Petersburg their headquarters. Ševčenko was personally associated with many actors for a long time, including Ščepkin, the opera singers Semen Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and Iosif Petrov and their wives (Aleksandra Artemovs'ka and the renowned opera singer Anna Petrova-Vorob'eva). Other personalities in the theatre field were met by Ševčenko only sporadically, but some of them left traces in his works. Mention is to be made first of all of the world renowned artists – the tragic actor Ira Aldridge and the ballerina Maria Taglioni, as well as of a group of Nižnij-Novgorod actors, headed by C. Piunova (Klimovskij, Vladimirov, Vasil'eva, Trusova), the Moscow actors I. Samarin and S. Šumskij and others.

Ševčenko met Ščepkin (1788–1863) in Moscow in 1843. In 1844 he dedicated to Ščepkin his poems "Čyhyryn" and "Pustka". In the same year he met Ščepkin in St. Petersburg when the latter stayed there for a month and a half. Among the new roles which Ščepkin brought with him was that of Čuprun in Kotljarevs'kyj's *The Soldier-Magician*. On his way to the Ukraine in 1845, Ševčenko again met Ščepkin. The next well-known meeting was in Nižnij Novgorod, where Ščepkin came to see Ševčenko on the latter's return from exile. The poet referred to it as the "holiday of holidays and the celebration of celebrations... six days filled with joyous, triumphant life".[21] Later, Ševčenko was Ščepkin's guest in Moscow.

Ščepkin, since he was considerably older, had a strong psychological influence on Ševčenko. When Ščepkin brought to Nižnij Novgorod *The Soldier-Magician*, in which he performed Ševčenko's favorite part, it was because he wanted to bolster Ševčenko's morale after his banishment. Nor was it by chance that in Nižnij Novgorod his repertory included such plays as Gogol's *Inspector General* and the vaudeville by T. M. Sauvage and Deslaurier's *The Sailor* (Matros). While playing the part of Ljubim Torcov in Ostrovskij's *Poverty Is No Crime*, Ščepkin acquainted Ševčenko with the most recent developments in drama.

After *The Soldier-Magician* the greatest impression Ščepkin made on

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Ševčenko while in Nižnij Novgorod was in the vaudeville *The Sailor*. This role was one of the best in the romantic actor's repertory, and the aria

Otčizna dorogaja,
tebja ja vižu vnov'!
Vse ta že žizn' prostaja,
te ž laski i ljubov'![22]

(Oh my beloved homeland, / I see you again! / There is the same simple way of life, / the same tenderness and love) which he sang must have had an enormous impact on Ševčenko, who had hoped to return to his native Ukraine again.

There is no doubt that Ševčenko had a considerable influence on Ščepkin, too. Močul's'kyj states that *Kobzar* dispelled Ščepkin's doubts about the vitality of the Ukrainian language and had made him an ardent apologist for Ukrainian.

The second close friend of Ševčenko in the theatrical field was his fellow countryman, the well-known opera singer Semen Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (1813–1874). The son of a priest, he was born in the town of Horodyšče, in the Čerkasy district of the province of Kiev. In 1838 the composer Glinka took him from the Ukraine and after a year sent him to study singing in Italy, where in two years he made successful appearances in Florence. In 1842 he joined the opera of St. Petersburg. He distinguished himself in the role of Čuprun in *The Soldier-Magician*, Karas' in his own opera *A Cossack Beyond the Danube* (Zaporožec' za Dunajem), and as a Zaporozhian Cossack and the elder, respectively, in his own plays *Ukrainian Wedding* (Ukrajinskaja svad'ba) (1851) and *St. John's Eve* (Noč' nakanune Ivanova dnja) (1852). The actual subject of *A Cossack Beyond the Danube* reflects the love and deep nostalgia for the Ukraine which were common to both Artemovs'kyj and Ševčenko.[23] Both became acquainted some time before 1842 and from that time their friendship grew steadily until Ševčenko's death. When Ševčenko was permitted to correspond from his confinement in Novopetrovskoe, Artemovs'kyj helped him financially. In a letter of June 30, 1856, Ševčenko again speaks of Artemovs'kyj's help. On the second day after his return to St. Petersburg Ševčenko visited Artemovs'kyj and felt "as if in one's

[22] M. Močul's'kyj, "M. Ščepkin i T. Ševčenko" *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, II–III (1917).
[23] D. Revuc'kyj in T. Ševčenko, *Tvory*, IV (DVXL, Kiev, 1949), p. 445.



own house. We reminisced and talked over many things, but still did not manage to recall or discuss them all thoroughly."[24]

Artemovs'kyj's operatic repertory consisted of 32 roles. Ševčenko greatly admired *Ruslan and Ljudmila*, *Don Giovanni*, *Le Cheval de bronze* and *William Tell*, and there was undoubtedly a sentimental attachment to "my friend Semen" who sang the leading roles in them (the role of Don Giovanni was regarded as his best). As for the role of Čuprun, Kuliš wrote that "this is a thorough personification of a Little Russian common man, who is simple, happy and completely contented with his lot. It is not a fool whom you see before you, at whom you are laughing..."[25] These words testify quite vividly as to what exactly could have attracted Ševčenko in Čuprun as performed by Artemovs'kyj ("the enchanting Semen").[26] It was the portrayal of national and personal dignity.

Similarly Ševčenko maintained a close relationship with another singer, Iosif Petrov (1807–1878). Petrov also came from the Ukraine. He was born in Jelysavethrad. In 1826 he joined the company of the well-known Ukrainian enterpreneur Danylo Žuraxovs'kyj, where he appeared with Ščepkin. Four years later, in 1830, he entered the St. Petersburg opera company, made his debut as Sarastro in *The Magic Flute* and remained with them until his death, performing about 130 most varied roles. It was for his excellent voice (bass with baritone high notes) that Glinka wrote the parts of Susanin and Ruslan, and S. Dargomyžskij that of the miller. Petrov revealed his dramatic talent with particular power and strength in the role of Bertram in Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le diable*. Ševčenko greatly admired this romantic opera with Petrov participating in it. The Russian writer Ivan Lažečnikov wrote of Petrov's performance as Bertram: "...that glare from the fascination of which your soul cannot free itself and that saffron face distorted with devilish passion, and that thick crop of hair from which, it seems, a whole nest of snakes is ready to come out at any moment..."[27] Ševčenko mentioned a similar role performed by Petrov – that of Caspar in *Der Freischütz*.

During the first period of St. Petersburg life up to his banishment Ševčenko expressed enthusiasm for Petrov's wife, Anna Petrova-Vorob'eva (1816–1901). He noted later that "...Petrov in the role of Susanin is as good as before, and Leonova in the role of Vanja is also good, but

[24] *Tvory*, IV, p. 164.
[25] P. Kuliš, "Ob igre g. Artemovskogo v malorossijskoj opere 'Moskal' čarivnyk", *Russkij Vestnik*, 2 (1887).
[26] *Tvory*, IV, p. 171.
[27] I. Lažečnikov, *Sobranie sočinenij*, 5 (St. Petersburg, 1858), p. 89.

she is much below the excellence of Petrova, whom I heard in 1845".[28] Glinka, attracted by her charming contralto, wrote that part for her as well as the part of Ratmir *(Ruslan and Ljudmila)*. At the end of the 1850's Ševčenko was unable to hear her, because she had left the stage, after her voice had broken in the baritone part of Richard Forth *(I Puritani)*.[29]

Among the theatrical personalities whom Ševčenko met occasionally, in the dawn of his enthusiasm for the theatre, sporadic meetings with M. Taglioni opened before him "a still unheard of fabulous world...",[30] a world of exalted theatrical romanticism. Another event which took place in St. Petersburg at the end of 1858 and which affected his whole being was the arrival in St. Petersburg of the Negro tragedian, Ira Aldridge (1805–1867). The Russian actor Sosnickij said that he "... has never seen in his lifetime such a talent [as Aldridge's] and never imagined what height talent may attain".[31] The performance of this actor made an unusual impression on Ševčenko. The sculptor M. Mikešin relates how he saw Aldridge in his dressing room after the performance: "... in a wide chair, reclining in fatigue, King Lear was lying, and on him, literally on him, was to be found Taras Hryhorovyč; tears poured down from his eyes; incoherent, passionate words of swearing and tenderness drowned by a loud whisper were heard from him as he covered with kisses the great actor's oily face, hands and shoulders..."[32] A student of Ševčenko, B. Suxanov-Podkolzin, states that Ševčenko and his friend Starov "reacted so intensely to Aldridge's performance that the public protested".[33]

Ševčenko met Aldridge in the family of Count F. Tolstoj, where the daughter of the Count K. Junge acted as interpreter for them. "I recall how both of them were deeply moved one evening, when I told Aldridge Ševčenko's story and translated for Ševčenko the tragic actor's account of his life. The warm friendship continued during the meetings at which Ševčenko painted Aldridge's portrait..."[34]

Ševčenko's theatrical acquaintances bespeak his artistic inclinations and tendencies. He was usually fascinated by romantic actors – actors of

[28] *Tvory*, IV, p. 174.
[29] See G. Rieman, *Muzykal'nyj slovar'* with collaboration of P. Nejmann *et. al.* (Spb, 1901–04), p. 263, and A. Gozenpud, *Muzykal'nyj teatr v Rossii* (Leningrad, 1959), p. 749.
[30] P. Rulin, pp. 112–113.
[31] S. Bertenson, *Ded russkoj sceny* (St. Petersburg, 1916), p. 117.
[32] Ševčenko, *Kobzar* (Prague, 1876), p. XXII.
[33] B. Suxanov-Podkolzin, "Vospominanie o T. G. Ševčenko", *Kievskaja starina*, (1885), II, pp. 237–238.
[34] K. Junge, *Vospominanija* ("Sfinks", 1913), p. 167–177.



soul, and not of mere technique. Thus we can explain his reaction to the performances of Aldridge and Taglioni. To this type of actor, in the main, his talented countrymen Ščepkin, Artemovs'kyj and Petrov belonged.

## III. ŠEVČENKO AS A DRAMA CRITIC

Ševčenko wrote only one drama review: of the performance of Catherine Piunova and other actors of the theatre in Nižnij Novgorod; but his critical evaluations of the actors of his time are abundantly scattered in his diary, letters and writings, especially in *The Artist*. Ševčenko had a broad knowledge of theatrical repertory; his acquaintance with theatre personalities gave him an opportunity to obtain an insight into the inner life of the theatre. Kuliš mentions an amateur performance of *Nazar Stodolja* at Christmas in 1844 in St. Petersburg; during the period of Ševčenko's banishment to the Novopetrovskoe fortress, according to the memoirs of the company commander Kosarev, Ševčenko took an active part as an actor and designer in the presentation of *It's All in the Family*. He played the role of Rispoloženskij.[35] Even if we were to reject this story, as the poet's first biographer O. Konys'kyj does, there still remains the indisputable fact that Ševčenko knew how to produce a play. Ševčenko himself was a playwright. Finally, he was interested in the general theory of art. It is well known, for example, that he read very carefully and critically K. Libelt's *Estetyka*.

And yet, Ševčenko's only dramatic review was evoked by a personal incident in his life, his affection for the young actress C. Piunova (1843–1909) during his stay in Nižnij Novgorod. By writing his review he wanted to do her a favor. In his diary Ševčenko noted: "A benefit performance by the pretty Piunova. The theatre is filled to the brim with spectators and the performer was charming – a wonderful topic for a newspaper article. Why not try it? Shall I try it? Let's try at random..."[36] Thus, there appeared in *Nižegorodskie Gubernskie Vedomosti* Ševčenko's review, which obviously roused interest since it was reprinted in *Moskovskie Vedomosti* No. 18, 1858. The review gives a brief analysis of performances by four Nižnij Novgorod actors (Vladimirov, Klimovskij, Vasil'eva, Trusova) and the benefit performer C. Piunova in a romantic melodrama

[35] N.D.N., "Na Syr-Dar'e u rotnogo komandira", *Kievkaja Starina* (1889), pp. 536–538.
[36] *Tvory*, IV, p. 142.

*The Ragpicker of Paris* by F. Piat, and in the French vaudeville *The Smart Grandmother* in Fedorov's version.

Ševčenko, since he was in love with Piunova, could easily have become subjective, but he did not. Acknowledging at the beginning the abilities of Piunova and her prospects for the future, Ševčenko realized that she was at her best in the roles of young girls. "There is no doubt" he wrote "that these are her better roles, but she should not forget that in these there is a hidden monotony and facility which can harm her talent." The advise follows that "she can boldly expand her repertory; there will be more work and she will have to ponder her roles more carefully." With regard to her performance in the role of Antoinette in *The Ragpicker of Paris* Ševčenko writes: "Madam Piunova performed Antoinette's role quite conscientiously, but it is evident that she had no sympathy for the character."[37]

Thus Ševčenko correctly analyzed Piunova's stagecraft. During her early years she was successful because of her youth, but she was rather indifferent to her work and this with the lack of training made her later merely an average actress. P. Rulin in his study "T. Ševčenko i K. Piunova" quotes an interesting remark by a well known drama critic B. Varneke, who saw her in her later years in the Ostrovskij's play *The Storm*: "She played the role of Kabanixa rather superficially."[38]

In the first period of Ševčenko's stay in St. Petersburg the most celebrated tragic actor was Vasilij Karatygin (1802–1851). He excelled in melodrama. Reviewers emphasized his exceptional technique. These characteristics did not escape Ševčenko's attention. Ševčenko commented on one of his best roles, in the melodrama *Thirty Years, or a Gambler's Life*: "... Between the second and third [act] he [K. Brjullov] went backstage and dressed Karatygin for the role of a beggar. The public raved, not knowing why. What does the costume mean to a good actor!"[39]

There is not the least doubt that Karatygin's best monologues, especially in his historical roles, performed in a highly rhetorical style, impressed Ševčenko greatly. Karatygin's skill as an actor was responsible for Ševčenko's high opinion [40] of a melodrama by a little known dramatist, J. von Auffenberg.

Although Ščepkin remained for Ševčenko the ideal actor, on one occasion at least he preferred Karpo Solenyk "the first Ukrainian professional

[37] T. Ševčenko, *Tvory*, III (DVXL, Kiev, 1949), pp. 500–501.
[38] P. Rulin, p. 112.
[39] *Tvory*, II, p. 436.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 438.



actor",[41] whom Ševčenko saw in the Ukraine in 1845 in Romny during the famous Illins'kyj fair: "There I saw for the first time the actor of genius Solenyk in the role of Čuprun *(The Soldier-Magician)*. He appeared to me natural and more graceful than the inimitable Ščepkin".[42] Solenyk was then appearing with the Kharkiv group of actors. N. Myz'ko, comparing his performance of Ukrainian roles with that of other actors, wrote: "...in their performance there was more or less expression of the national character; but in Solenyk's performance all these features were united, came into focus, and formed the complete and finished type of a real Ukrainian..."[43]

The best evidence that these remarks of Ševčenko about Solenyk were objective is Ščepkin's own statement. Ščepkin referred to Solenyk as "a man of enormous talent", and his daughter relates that he was sufficiently impartial to acknowledge that Solenyk played Ukrainian roles better than he himself did.[44]

Finally, in order to evaluate Ševčenko as a theatre critic, it is worth while to examine one more note in his dairy: "Samojlov," writes Ševčenko, "is inferior to Sadovskij..."[45] It is said that Sadovskij (1818–1872) was a master of realistic folk character, while V. Samojlov (1812–1887) was an exceptionally talented actor in the characterization of types. In Ševčenko's time there was no clear distinction between art as imitation and art as psychological identification. Samojlov personified the former, Sadovskij the latter. Ševčenko sensed in Sadovskij more "soul" and thus appreciated him more highly. The contrast Ševčenko felt between the two actors was a contrast in two types of theatre. The preference for Sadovskij conveys what Ševčenko expected and demanded from the theatre.

## IV. ŠEVČENKO AS A PLAYWRIGHT

Ševčenko's activity as a dramatist falls in the same first period of his St. Petersburg life during which he made the acquaintance of the theatre personages of that time. D. Antonovyč in his article "Ševčenko as a Dramatist" assumes that it was the critic Alexander Elkan who could have prompted Ševčenko to write plays, "promising that, thanks to his

[41] A statement of O. Kysil' in his *K. Solenyk* (Kiev, 1921).
[42] *Tvory*, IV, p. 59.
[43] N. Myz'ko, "Vospominanija o Solenike, znamenitejšem malorossijskom aktere", *Osnova*, III, (1861), pp. 176–184.
[44] M. Ščepkin, *Zametki ego, pis'ma...* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 348, 278.
[45] *Tvory*, IV, p. 183.

contacts, they would be presented on the stage of the Aleksandrinskij Theatre".[46] Chronologically, Ševčenko's activities as a playwright began in 1841.

Ševčenko's attempts at playwriting cannot be understood if we fail to consider that they appeared during the popularity of French melodrama. "Pixérécourt was not distinguished from Hugo, merging with him into one current of *romantic drama*."[47] The rhetoric of the elevated, emphatic style of the romantics fused with the adventurous, pageant-like elements of the boulevard melodrama of Pixérécourt. These peculiarities were also transplanted into the Russian theatre. Ševčenko, in all probability, saw the historical melodramas of N. Kukol'nik (1851) and the plays of his follower, N. Polevoj, such as *A Russian Never Forgets a Good Deed* (Russkij čelovek dobro pomnit) (1839) and *Paraša from Siberia* (Paraša Sibirjačka) (1840), along with those of other writers like V. Zotov, A. Viskovatov, and I. Skobelev. Nekrasov wrote about this genre of Russian melodrama that in these works there is an obligatory"... admixture of several scenes of madness, love of a poor man for a rich daughter, prison, a military march and music, faintings and so on".[48] But the most important element was a conflict between patriotism and love.

Ukrainian historical drama originated primarily in the interest in national past, which marked the Ukrainian romantics, but the period of melodrama left a deep imprint on it.

Kostomarov's historical dramas *Sava Čalyj* and *The Night at Perejaslav* (Perejaslavs'ka nič) were written in 1838 and 1840. Ševčenko was acquainted with them. However, the immediate impetus for Ševčenko's playwriting was his friendship with Ja. Kuxarenko (1798–1862), the author of the play *Life of the Black Sea Cossacks* (Čornomors'kyj pobyt). P. Zajcev notes that the discussions which were conducted in Ševčenko's circle during Kuxarenko's stay in St. Petersburg resulted in the writing by Ševčenko of the three-act play *Danylo Reva*.[49]

Ševčenko's first sketches of drama known to us bear the traces of romantic influences in general, and Ukrainian historical romanticism in particular. While writing his poem *Hajdamaky* he inserts in it a prose dialogue with an element of folk speech ("Svjato v Čyhyryni"). Dated

[46] D. Antonovyč, "Ševčenko-dramaturh" in T. Ševčenko, *Tvory*, IV, ed. P. Zajcev (Warsaw-Lviv), 1935, p. 201.
[47] S. Mokul'skij, "Melodrama", *Literaturnaja Enciklopedija*, VII (Moscow, 1934), p. 125.
[48] S. Danilov, *Russkij dramatičeskij teatr* (Moscow, 1957), p. 168.
[49] P. Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (New York, 1955), p. 92.



the same year (1841) is a fragment of the play *Mykyta Hajdaj*, in Russian, adapted by Ševčenko from the melodrama *The Bride* (Narečena).[50] Judging from the excerpt, we may conclude that this was a historical melodrama from the times of Xmel'nyc'kyj, like Kostomarov's *The Night at Perejaslav*. A close resemblance can also be perceived in the names of the heroines of Ševčenko's and Kostomarov's dramas (in Ševčenko–Marjana, in Kostomarov–Maryna). *The Night at Perejaslav* was written in 1840, the year the melodrama by N. Polevoj *Paraša from Siberia* opened. Kostomarov's play was to a certain extent a Ukrainian parallel to *Paraša from Siberia*. Like Polevoj's play it revolves around a conflict of love and patriotism, shifting this conflict to the Cossack period of Ukrainian history. However, *The Night at Perejaslav* proved to be a drama for reading and never reached the stage.

Ševčenko decided to try to create his own drama *The Bride* with the plot from the same Xmel'nyc'kyj epoch. How far he advanced in its writing and exactly when it changed into *Mykyta Hajday*, is difficult to ascertain. With regard to style the extant fragment of it is, judging by its intensity, elevated language and rhetorical features, closely related to Victor Hugo. The fragment has an aura of mystery about it, so typical of the melodramatic genre, for example in the episode where the charter is sewed into a fur cap before it is sent to the Polish king and the sejm. The setting: ("Evening, The interior of the house is dimly lighted by a smoking candle...") preserves a typical romantic, "Rembrandt-like" color. The gloom and mystery are enhanced by the guard's song describing young wife's unfaithfulness to an old and jealous *voivode* who has gone to war. There are also in the excerpt from *Mykyta Hajdaj* indications of the national Ukrainian and Pan-Slavic idea, typical of the period of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

After *Mykyta Hajdaj* Ševčenko planned another drama *The Blind Beauty* (Slepaja krasavica). In a letter of December 8, 1841, to H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko Ševčenko wrote: "I am working on another drama – it will be called *The Blind Beauty*. I don't know what will happen to it..."[51] There is every reason to think that this drama did not get beyond the planning stage; nine months later, on September 30, 1842, in a letter to Kuxarenko, Ševčenko mentioned the poem "The Blind One" *(Slepaja)* in Russian, a poem which has been preserved. Apparently, the versified form of drama in Russian proved difficult for Ševčenko and consequently he abandoned these attempts and undertook the prose form.

[50] D. Antonovyč, p. 205.
[51] D. Antonovyč, p. 205.

M. Novyc'kyj establishes the date of writing of *Nazar Stodolja* as some time before 1843 and there are cogent reasons for assuming that it is a reworking of Ševčenko's previous drama *Danylo Reva*. This drama was under the definite influence of Kuxarenko's play *Life of the Black Sea Cossacks*, which Ševčenko himself passed on to the censor, hoping to see it on the stage. Kuxarenko's drama "describes a series of interestingly written sketches of life among the Black Sea Cossacks during the time (1794–96) when the customs and traditions of the Zaporozhian *Sič* were still alive among them...".[52] Ševčenko was also well acquainted with other Ukrainian dramas, primarily with the works of I. Kotljarevs'kyj and H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko. In all probability, he knew such plays as *Little Russian Life* (Byt Malorossii v pervuju polovinu XVIII st) (1831), *Čary* (Sorcery) by K. Topolja (1837), *St. John's Eve* (Kupala na Ivana) by St. Šereperja (1839), but all these plays, including the most outstanding, Kotljarevs'kyj's *Natalka from Poltava* (Natalka Poltavka), did not affect Ševčenko's writings. Ševčenko decidedly opposed the great accumulation of detail describing the mode of life and the sentimentality of the heroes typical of these plays.

*Nazar Stodolja*, as has been stated, appeared in 1843. In a letter to Kuxarenko Ševčenko wrote "... I have composed in addition a short poem *Hamalija* which is being printed in Warsaw. Once it is printed, I shall send it to you. Also *Nazar Stodolja*, a three-act play – in Russian. It will be performed in the theatre after Easter."[53]

Hence we get a clear impression that Ševčenko was preparing his play in the Russian language for performance in the Aleksandrinskij Theatre. This is confirmed by the conjectures of D. Antonovyč that... "Nazar's role itself seems to be adapted to the stage technique of V. Karatygin, and that of Hnat to Brjanskij, who in his youth had played a role in the Ukrainian language in *The Cossack-Poet* (Kozak-stixotvorec) by Prince Šaxovskoj; the part of Xoma was destined for Tolčanov (father), who distinguished himself in villains' roles..."[54]

There is no doubt that the strict Russian censorhip was responsible for the delay in its performance; perhaps major alterations were demanded. Kuliš indicated later that, for example, the heroine in the earlier (probably in the first) version was called Lukija and not Halja. The censorship procedures in all likelihood dragged on for a long time and in

[52] Je. Xomenko, "Do istoriji tekstu komediji Ja. Kuxarenka *Čornomors'kyj pobyt*", *Ričnyk Teatral'noho Muzeju* (Kiev, 1930), p. 113.
[53] *Vydannja*, X, p. 26.
[54] D. Antonovyč, p. 208.



the end permission was not granted. It was not the Imperial Theatre but an amateur group of the Medical Academy which performed *Nazar Stodolja* at Christmas of 1844. This was a second version, a Ukrainian one, which has come down to us and into which Ševčenko included additional scenes describing Ukrainian Christmas customs.

O. Kysil' described *Nazar Stodolja* as a melodrama with four basic characters typical of this genre: a noble hero in love (Nazar), a virtuous heroine (Halja), a villain (Xoma), a kindhearted comedian-simpleton (Stexa).[55] The play depicts the universal conflict of good and evil (Nazar and Hnat vs. Xoma) where virtue ought to triumph over evil. The conflict centers neither on social nor religious grounds. Both Xoma and Nazar are officers in the Cossack army; but Nazar is a bearer of loyalty, Xoma of treachery. The ideal yearnings of Nazar are in conflict with Xoma's materialist proclivities. The simplicity and open-mindedness of Nazar are contrasted with Xoma's duplicity. Xoma's callousness is in conflict with Nazar's generosity. Xoma sees himself as a human being, but in the eyes of Hnat he is "such a villain that he is not worth even mentioning".

The play is constructed as a series of contrasting situations, abrupt transitions from threats to supplications, from pride and self-assurance to self-humiliation. Thus, on entering, Nazar says that he "will not let himself be a laughing stock even to the hetman himself", then he prostrates himself before Xoma, begging for mercy. This contrast is underlined by Hnat's words: "...Whom are you begging for? To whom are you bowing? Before whom are you prostrating yourself?", and then again suddenly the scene changes to the former setting: "...Do you want fire? There will be plenty of fire! For you I shall call forth all hell"... Xoma is called by Nazar a "liar", in contrast he becomes a "kind person", and then again an "executioner". The same method of rapid switches was employed by Ševčenko in a scene with Nazar and Hnat. In the estimation of Nazar, Hnat at the beginning was a "scoundrel", then a "good friend", later a "stone", and finally a "reliable friend". Xoma's anger is replaced by terror, then by self-assurance and finally by trepidation...

The plot of *Nazar Stodolja* is activated, as is typical of melodrama, by fortuitous and unexpected incidents. In the first act the sudden appearance of Nazar is a surprise, in the second act the main line of action undergoes an abrupt change with Hnat's suggestion that Halja be kidnapped, in the third act the appearance of Xoma interrupts the solemnly triumphal

[55] O. Kysil', *Ukrajins'kyj teatr* (Kiev, 1925).

scene of the lovers; the last surprise is Xoma's repentance at the end of the play.

Like an opera, *Nazar Stodolja* contains numerous scenes effective theatrically but not necessary for the evolving of the plot: the household servants in the first act, girls and boys in the inn, Jewish entertainers, servants in the third act; the play also encompasses ritual elements: a matchmaking, a singing and story-telling *kobzar*, dances, pantomimes, etc. Light and darkness alternate in a contrasting manner without any transitional modulations (the first act – darkness, the second – light, the third – darkness); there predominates an atmosphere of mystery and horror (Christmas eve, a snowstorm, the howling of wolves, a ruined inn where a Cossack officer and Jews were murdered, where a corpse of Tymofij, the son of Xmel'nyc'kyj, is lying, the brightness of the moon's reflection, etc.). The ritual and the moments pertaining to the mode of life are utilized primarily as exotic ornamentation. In the composition of *Nazar Stodolja* the three unities are absent. The action is transferred from Xoma's living room to a peasant's house and then to an inn and so on. The atmosphere of place and time is achieved in a condensed but successful manner by employing historical details rather than a broad historical setting. With respect to historicity, *Nazar Stodolja* is superior to the historical melodramas of Ševčenko's contemporaries like Kukol'nik or Polevoj.

Ševčenko's dramatic writings cannot be compared with his poetry. Ševčenko was not a playwright by vocation. But in the history of the Ukrainian theatre his *Nazar Stodolja* initiated a new genre – the historical melodrama, which was partially continued by M. Staryc'kyj and I. Tobilevyč. The novelty introduced by Ševčenko consisted in a departure from the overburdening of dramas with features of everyday life. The former Ukrainian dramaturgy (especially I. Kotljarevs'kyj and H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko) portrayed a moral hero. Nazar still has some traits of this hero, although he is endowed with romantic qualities, too. Unfortunately, after Ševčenko, heroic character on the Ukrainian stage was again lost in the imitation of everyday life.

*Nazar Stodolja* was the apex of Ševčenko's art as a dramatist. Besides this play, Ševčenko also wrote in dialogue form the mystery "Velykyj Ljox" (1845), fragments from "Vid'ma" (1847), "Moskaleva Krynycja" (1848), and "Sotnyk" (1849). But they were not destined for the theatre and their dialogue constitutes only a device in Ševčenko's poetry.

# ŠEVČENKO AND HIS *KOBZAR* IN THE INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF A CENTURY

JURIJ LAWRYNENKO

## 1. THE STORY OF A HERO

Taras Ševčenko was born in 1814, in the obscure village of Morynci in the province of Kiev, under the thatched roof of a tottering hut, one of the innumerable old huts inhabited by serfs throughout the Ukraine. But not until 1840 did he emerge as the hero of the profound tragedy which was to be his creative life and of the legend which was to grow to such staggering dimensions after his death. That year in Petersburg, the brilliant capital of an immense and multifarious empire, Ševčenko published a slim volume of poetry entitled *The Kobzar of Taras Ševčenko*. And so a poet and a hero was born. Two years before that memorable date, he was still an unknown – one of the many servants in the court of Vasilij Ėngel'gardt, Knight of the Cross of Malta, senator of the Russian Empire and an active privy counsilor. It was when the young serf's situation was most desperately hopeless that good fortune smiled on him and events began to move rapidly in his favor. To the uninitiated, who did not know the youth's inner powers and possibilities, this seemed a miracle. A celebrated painter and fellow countryman happened to discover some of Ševčenko's drawings and poems which had been done in secret and were usually destined for the refuse heap. He showed them to several court painters and literati, referring to the humble young author as a "diamond in a sheepskin coat." Some of them, who soon became his close friends and champions, decided to buy him out of serfdom for the handsome price of 2,500 roubles. This was a timely decision because at that very moment the painter-serf, harried into the pit of hopelessness, faced the desperate alternative of killing either himself or his owner. But his fate was to shape souls, to show a whole nation its destiny.

His course was beset with difficulties. Not only did one of the most ferocious of the tsars, Nicholas I, stand in his way, but the "future tyrants", foreseen by the poet in his *Kobzar*, also did their best to thwart

his development and dwarf his stature. Their spiritual precursor, Vissarion Belinskij, the herald of the radical circles of that time, called "raving" by some of his contemporaries, spoke up to pass judgement on the poet. He called Ševčenko a nonexistent poet of a nonexistent nation, a nonexistent literature and a nonexistent language. He asserted that "that kind of literature is published only for the diversion and instruction of the authors themselves, since it seems that they have no other reading public. The common man doesn't understand them and can't possibly find any sympathy with any of their work."[1]

In five short years after the first edition of his *Kobzar*, the young poet reached the heights of his poetic power and was rapidly conquering the souls of his countrymen. Although most of his poems were not published in the literary periodicals of that time; although they never were discussed in lecture rooms, university halls, or literary salons – none of these things existed in the Ukrainian society of this time – they were circulated among the people by word of mouth. Their glowing ideas were riveted into the minds of thousands.

In May 1843, Ševčenko went from Petersburg to Kiev, the capital of his native land. There he became the center of a circle of young men who called themselves the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, and whose aim it was to act toward the restoration of human values and the resurrection of freedom and equality of individuals and nations before the law and before God. These idealists were the first to understand fully the ideas behind the message of Ševčenko's poetry. However, the group was soon uncovered, and the poet was arrested along with the other members.

In 1847 the action of the tragedy which was Ševčenko's life again shifts to Petersburgh, this time to the casemates of the Third Department (the secret police) and to the offices of the tsar and his henchmen. At the police interrogations, the poet did not betray his friends, nor did he give away the secrets of their organization. Of all the prosecuted members, his sentence was the heaviest, since in addition to belonging to a subversive organization and refusing to divulge valuable information, he had to take responsibility for his poems, some of which were directed against the tsar and his government. On this occasion Vissarion Belinskij wrote his friend, P. Annenkov: "Ševčenko was sent to the Caucasus as a soldier. I am not sorry for him. If I were the judge, I wouldn't have done less."[2]

Ten years of the poet's life were irretrievably lost in the deserts of

[1] *Otečestvennye zapiski*, 22 (St. Petersburg, 1842), pp. 12–14.
[2] *P. V. Annenkov i ego druz'ja, 1835–1885* (St. Petersburg, 1892), p. 604.



Central Asia, where he was strictly forbidden to write and paint. In the meantime, peasants in the Ukraine were sporadically taking up arms against the oppressors and war was raging in the Crimea. After the tsar's death, the amnestied poet triumphantly returned to Petersburg and from there to his beloved Ukraine. But his stay in the Ukraine was cut short by the Russian authorities; he was soon deported from his country and brought back to Petersburg under police escort. There was still the constant threat of new arrests, and the emancipation of the serfs (among them his own two sisters), about which he dreamed day and night, was being delayed by the imperial bureaucratic machinery. But at that time he wrote his best poems, in which the golden glory of life and the scorching flares of anger blend in a superb harmony. And then came loneliness. And illness. And spiritual and physical agony. And an early death.

With the death of the poet, a saint was born. His body was transported in a mighty procession across the entire empire, from Petersburg to Kiev. Among his beloved historical mounds (*mohyly*), about which he wrote so often, grew the greatest of them all, on the Černeča Hora by the river Dnieper, where he was buried. Ševčenko's physical life was only a prologue to a legend which was born with his death and which has grown steadily through these hundred years.

The ground out of which this legend sprang and on which it grew is Ukrainian soil, regardless of the empires which happened to oppress it at different times – Russia, Austria, Poland, the U.S.S.R., or the Third Reich. There were many personae in this legend. There were individuals – his friends and his foes and also the indifferent who, nevertheless, were quick to take the first opportunity to use his good name for their own devious purposes in a true Machiavellian manner. There were also groups – governments, political parties, plotters of revolts and revolutions. But the most important protagonist was the Ukrainian nation, "the people of Ševčenko..."

The greatest individual character in the legend, who was primarily responsible for its birth and promulgation, was a personal friend of Ševčenko, his sworn brother, who witnessed his triumphs and his agony – the poet and scholar, Pantelejmon Kuliš (1819–1897). He was the first to see the true power of Ševčenko's poetry, and very soon became his fervent champion and outstanding publisher, editor, and interpreter, mercilessly quenching in his own heart the sudden and painful flares of jealousy. He dreamed that someday his friend would find his place among the brightest luminaries of world literature, and did his best to educate and cultivate him in the finest European tradition. He soon assumed

the role of guide and mentor, begrudging his charge even a thimbleful of brandy or an off-color joke. Kuliš himself was a good poet and an excellent scholar. In his historical works and his imaginative writing, he tried to achieve a synthesis of feeling and intellect, to understand the reasons behind the agelong tragedy of Eastern Europe which tore asunder his and his young friend's beloved land. This phenomenal man, always persistent, industrious, straightforward, and pathetically lonely, scourged with all the energy of his vast gifts all those who dared to interpret the work of the poet for their own purposes, who tried to misuse it in order to spread ruin and devastation.

Another forceful personality in the drama of Ševčenko's posthumous influence was Myxajlo Drahomanov (1841–1895), a spiritual son of Vissarion Belinskij and of the Western positivist-rationalist-socialist ideology. With his first-rate analytical mind, overwhelming erudition and disdain for any kind of sentiment, he took an open stand against Kuliš whom he considered a dangerous opponent in the intellectual struggle for the minds of young Ukrainians. He did succeed in turning large members of the young generation of his time to socialism. But although his victory was considerable, it was in the end a Pyrrhic one. Later, having observed with alarm the altogether irrational frenzy of "rationalist-socialist" terrorists, the impeccable intellectual began to doubt his own beliefs, tempered considerably his radical socialism and even became a leader of a movement for a constitutionally democratic reform of the empire. However, now it was too late to shut the sluicegates, to the forceful opening of which he had contributed so much. Drahomanov, who was an antagonist of Kuliš, nevertheless incorporated certain of Kuliš' ideas in his later works.

The third hero of the Ševčenko legend was Ivan Franko (1856–1916), Drahomanov's follower, who strenuously fought within himself and finally subdued the powerful influence of his master. Although he was a highly gifted poet, he refused to stay exclusively within the realm of art and decided to become directly committed to the stress of his times, devoting much of his creative energy to hard-hitting, semi-naturalistic novels and to ephemeral political articles. A religious man, he nevertheless found it necessary to assume the leadership of an anticlerical movement and had to bear to the end of his days the stigma of godlessness in the midst of a homogeneously religious society. Franko, like Kuliš before him, dedicated all his creative efforts to halting the decay which was spreading throughout his land and to securing the liberation, self-fulfillment, and spiritual growth of his people. Although from childhood



he was devoted to the ethical values of his family, of his native village, and of the poetry of Ševčenko, he nevertheless decided to follow Drahomanov in his crusade against the influence of the great poet. However, as he matured, Ševčenko again became an important force for him, and not only did he reconcile himself with the spirit of the genius, but became one of the most noted scholars of his poetry, choosing his ideas as a weapon in the ensuing battle against the ideological dictatorship of his former master, Drahamonov. Yet Franko never accepted Kuliš and envied his forceful, constructive spirit, as well as his intimate acquaintance with Ševčenko. At the peak of his intellectual power, Franko himself was tempted by the role of a Moses of his people, for which he had many (although to a large extent unrealized) attributes.

In the days of political thaws and of frenzied terrorism and counter-terrorism, there was a host of political sects and parties with their petty leaders who, in their turn, lived but one day. Next to them appeared weak and uneffective nonpolitical intellectuals who were ready for any compromise in politics, while utterly uncultured politicians forced *Kobzar* into their arsenal of weapons, believing that "the end justifies the means."... Although the imperial absolutist apparatus of Russia (and the less absolutist system of Austria) was slowly weakening and preparing itself for suicide, it was nevertheless very much alive when it came to the question of Ševčenko. A few Ukrainians in the service of tsarist Russia, Polish aristocrats, and Russian revolutionaries, together with the Russian reactionary clergy, had their say about the poet's posthumous fate; and finally the ominous shadows of Lenin and his followers fell on the pages of his poetry. When the Russian revolution was about to erupt, they all tried their hardest to appropriate the poet and his legacy for their own purposes, although until then most of them had been indifferent, if not openly hostile, to the phenomenon of Ševčenko.

In the ultimate degradation and ruin of Eastern Europe, in the turbulent Witches' Sabbath of "the Possessed," there constantly acts or stands as witness another protagonist – the Ukrainian people, "Ševčenko's people," as Kuliš called them. The struggle for Ševčenko is a struggle to gain control of that nation whose strength has been unchained by the poet. It is true that the people did not even attempt to arrive at a critical definition of the poetic synthesis of *Kobzar*, which at that time eluded even the most perceptive scholars, critics and political theorists. But although they were still far from understanding the profundity of Ševčenko's poetry, they were in intimate communion with it. There was something in Ševčenko's poetry which made Kuliš call it the "eternal

image" of the poets' people; it reflected both their brightest possibilities and their lowest weaknesses. Of all the political parties of the national revolution and the resurrected Ukrainian Republic of 1917, the most powerful influence was the slim volume of poetry called *Kobzar*. After the fall of the Ukrainian government, most pro-Ukrainian parties had to go into exile. But the influence of *Kobzar* remained and grew stronger than ever. After a few unsuccessful and costly attempts to annihilate Ševčenko's influence, the new invader had to admit its unconquerable power and proceeded to attempt to adjust himself to it and to deform it so that it would fit his own ideology, uncomfortably passing the live coal of Ševčenko's ideas between the palms of his hands.

Such is the outline of this legend about the hero whose prototype is so familiar in the history of mankind – a hero who rises out of the abyss of human misery, humiliation, and grief to the throne of a prince of the spirit, clashes with princes of empires, undergoes persecution and torture, and at the moment of his death becomes an invincible force.

## 2. SOME TRAITS OF THE POET IN RELATION TO THE PHENOMENON OF HIS INFLUENCE

The image of Ševčenko as a living man and the image of the hero of the Ševčenko legend are far from identical. In his lifetime, Ševčenko did not like playing roles, and as long as he lived, nobody dared to assign a role to him. He was a simple man. It is indeed difficult to understand how such simplicity could give birth to such complex profundity. This is the problem of getting to know that peculiar character of his poetry which simplified the emotional but complicated the intellectual cognition of *Kobzar*. While scholars and even some political theorists attempted and often failed to interpret Ševčenko intellectually, the people accepted him with emotional spontaneity. Artless recitation and singing of his lyrical poetry and rather naive dramatization of his epic poems at commemorative concerts, which every Ukrainian community faithfully presented every year, were received by audiences with fervor, as if they were beholding a revelation, as if they were witnessing a mystic act which revives and liberates. Solitary reading, too, had an almost healing effect on the reader. The plastic and musical effectiveness of many of his poems accounted for their adoption as lyrics for folk songs. They became a natural and organic part of folk music and were performed, together with true folk songs of ancient origin, in an almost lithurgic (or Dionysian) manner, both tempestuous and profound. All of this was accomplished by one



book of poetry in a land where not so long before illiteracy had been the rule rather than the exception. *Kobzar* crossed this barrier of illiteracy as effectively as it crossed the barriers of censorship and repression. "His tongue was contagious." Every reader of Ševčenko would agree with Kuliš in this. This "contagion" operated on many poetic levels, and it depended on the reader as to the level on which the poetry was most effective.

Ševčenko himself placed his poetry uppermost in his life. The very fact that he was considered a poet afforded him much pride and happiness. After Belinskij's vicious attack, in which he sneeringly referred to Ševčenko as a peasant poet, the latter, with his characteristic humility, wrote his friend H. Tarnovs'kyj: "I don't mind being a peasant poet, as long as I am a poet. That is enough for me."[3] And yet Ševčenko's conception of poetry was by no means simple. It included, among others, three aspects: "sacred poetry," "the living smile of art," and "poetry as thought." Although he used these epithets interchangeably, most often he would characterize his poetry with the adjective "sacred." "Send me, for the sake of sacred poetry, at least one volume of Lermontov" he wrote from exile. "Sacred poetry" was one of his favorite everyday expressions.

His poems are like fragments of a fervent personal creed. Whatever the immediate theme of a poem – whether it happens to be a lyrical song, a description of a mother and her child, an observation on man's fate, a vision of the liberation of his people, an epic scene with Ukrainian warriors, a miniature painting of a sunset, a star, or a young girl – it contains elements of a prayer, a psalm, a confession, an act of faith. However, this poetry, which knows how to look at the universe through the tender greenness of a young leaf, has nothing maudlin or sentimental, nothing passively contemplative about it. On the contrary, prophetic anger and deadly sarcasm are very much a part of this "sacred poetry" in which classical beauty as harmony gives way to baroque beauty as power, and where a prayer often turns into a desperate dispute with God.

And Ševčenko's readers accepted *Kobzar* somewhat as believers accept the Holy Writ.[4] With his daring variations on the verses of the biblical

[3] T. Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv* (ed. by P. Zajcev), XI (Warsaw, 1935), p. 24.

[4] There is a characteristic statement by the Ukrainian ethnographer and historian, P. S. Jefymenko, concerning his experience in the 1850's when he was a gymnasium student: "When I was a student of the fifth grade, it happened that I came across a book which had a stunning effect on me and influenced my whole life. This was Ševčenko's *Kobzar*. I wept in torrents over this book, forgetting ordinary life and being in seventh heaven". M. D. Bernšteyn, *Žurnal "Osnova" i ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj proces kincja 50–x – 60–x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959), p. 35.

prophets Hosea and Ezekiel, and on David's psalms, as well as by his poems with themes from the New Testament, such as "Marija" ("Holy Virgin Mary") or "Neofity" ("The Neophytes"), Ševčenko constructed a formal basis for such interpretations. In addition, these imitations of the Bible blended with the tone and world-view of other poems in *Kobzar*. Ševčenko was called prophet, apostle, martyr, father. To a reader in an essentially cruel and unjust society, Ševčenko was much more than a mere poet; he was someone infinitely great and good, someone who spoke one's own thoughts so beautifully and forcefully, who prayed for one, fought for one, laughed and wept with one, who loved and chided one. "I shall give them my words which will protect them and guard them" *(Ja na storoži kolo nyx postavlju slovo)* – those words were welcomed as a pronouncement of an omnipotent, all-loving Messiah.

In his personal life, however, Ševčenko was lonely, almost neglected. The only compensation he expected was that his words would find sympathy in the hearts of men. In his everyday life he longed for at least a crumb of the simplest human attention: "One tear from some hazel eyes – and I shall be a lord above all lords" *(Odna sl'oza z očej karyx – i pan nad panamy)*. Later, his grateful people compensated for his suffering a thousandfold; there are not many books in the world over which so many tears have been shed as over *Kobzar*. The poet wept under the unbearable burden of despair because he saw how in the midst of a licentious and lawless empire his own life and the lives of his people were broken and drained of the blood of life. It was the "bright", the "quiet", the "free and innocent world" that was dying, it was God himself who was dying in despair. The reader, however, wept over *Kobzar* not because of this burden but because of a feeling of liberation from it, since it seemed to vanish when named, when sung out in poetry.

Not only the poetry of Ševčenko, but also his life gave a sound basis for the cult of Ševčenko-as-prophet. The reader readily identified the poet with his poetry. This identification is so complete that the poet himself is often called "Kobzar", both formally and in casual conversation. The reader had many reasons for this identification. Ševčenko's poetry can be called "*Bruchstücke einer grossen Konfession*", a phrase Goethe used in reference to his own poetry. The reason for this is not only the artistic, stylistic sincerity ("We were never sly, never crafty, you and I", he tells his Muse), but also the wide open, often painful sincerity of a human heart. In this case it would hardly be a cliché to say that Ševčenko lived his poetry. It was almost a part of him, it was within him all his creative life, causing him infinite joy and infinite suffering. Originally it was the



"small" *Kobzar* (1841), then it increased with new editions, but always it was the one and only *Kobzar*.

The censors' merciless abridgements of *Kobzar* showed the disfranchised poet and his people how afraid their oppressors really were of the unsparing truth which burned in the book. And persecutions of Ševčenko's person confirmed and strengthened that knowledge. Through reading *Kobzar* and witnessing the life of its author, contemporary Ukrainians learned how dearly the poet paid for the sincerity of his poetry and for his complete identification with it. "I am punished and tortured but I shall never repent" *(Karajus', mučus', ale ne kajus')* – those words, written in exile, became an everyday folk proverb throughout the Ukraine. In the imagination of the people, the poet became a martyr who proudly bore unjust punishment for his ideas, and no one could erase this image from the minds of the people. It was so deeply engraved on the nation's consciousness because it corresponded so closely with the facts of his tragic life story, every detail of which the nation knew by heart. Twenty-four years as a serf, ten years of imprisonment and exile, and finally an early death at the age of forty-seven, became for Ukrainians heavy and indisputable accusations of their enemy.

After Ševčenko's death, many of his prognostications came true. The serfs were emancipated. Half a century later, the two empires which divided and ruled the Ukraine crumbled in ruin. The revolution of 1917–1921 realized the cruel retributions of which Ševčenko had warned the heedless emperors and landowners. The Ukrainian press was legalized. Ševčenko's highest ideal – the Ukraine's independence and self-rule – became a reality, even though it was quenched again several years later.

The conception of *Kobzar* as the Scriptures and of Ševčenko as a martyr and prophet cast upon the poet the shadow of an ascetic, almost Byzantine gloom and severity which the Kobzar himself hated and rejected. The readers almost unanimously missed another aspect of *Kobzar* which Ševčenko himself thought very important and of which he was very proud. He called it "the living smile of art." Biographers and the reading public have not paid enough attention to the carefree, almost reckless traits in his nature – his humor which on occasion could be surprisingly biting and sarcastic, his love of company and his amazing ability to divorce himself blithely from his everyday cares and chores, and take to his bed, avidly reading history, art history, poetry, and imaginative literature. Nor did they realize that he would vanish for several days or weeks in the company of his fellow-artists, most often with Brjullov, the leading painter of Petersburg; or in the circle of carousers

who called themselves "Lipsoakers" and who were rebellious and highly cultured noblemen from the Poltava region. Often, he would take long hikes across the Ukrainian fields and villages, or explore on foot the obscure areas of Petersburg, stopping at taverns where sailors of many nations came to drink. Such escapades brought him rest and relaxation, filled him with new energy and were reflected in the carefree playfulness which characterizes many poems of *Kobzar*. However, the brighter side of Ševčenko's poetry was characterized even more by serene goodness and love of life, love of plants and animals, and above all, love of the individual man, of his happiness and his pains. For these reasons some scholars of Ševčenko look to anthropocentrism as his central philosophy.

The two aspects of his poetry, the "sacred" and "the living smile of art", are based on the idea of simplicity. Simplicity was very important to Ševčenko. "It is simple and alive" or "it comes to life because it is so simple" – thus Ševčenko expressed his praise of the then popular book *Zapiski o Južnoj Rusi* (Notes on the Southern Rus') by Pantelejmon Kuliš. But readers who misunderstood Ševčenko's simplicity considered him not only "simple" but also folksy; they drew the most dangerous conclusions from the term "poet of the people". The legend which claimed that the poet was not highly educated and cultivated was accepted by many as praiseworthy. The most popular portrait of Ševčenko, which was displayed next to the icons in every Ukrainian house, depicted him as a son of the village, dressed in the fur cap and sheepskin coat usually worn by peasants; from under a pair of heavy eyebrows his eyes stared piercingly. Actually, however, after his emancipation from serfdom, Ševčenko always wore well-cut European clothes, and belonged to the highest artistic and cultural circles of the capital and the empire, intimately associating with celebrated writers, painters, and rebellious noblemen, whose names are highly regarded to this day. Sometimes he could be gloomy and brooding, but most often he smiled with such warmth and friendliness that his smile was remembered and commented on by several contemporaries in their memoirs.

Paradoxically, in the minds of Ukrainians the image of Ševčenko as a crude countryman was quite compatible with the image of Ševčenko as the "creator of a nation" or "founder of the modern Ukrainian language and literature". Ukrainians did not seem to realize how much intelligence and education and concentrated effort was needed to find again and rebuild a nation's language which had been virtually lost in many historical catastrophes; which had been precariously guarded, in underdeveloped form, by illiterate peasants and other low strata of society. This almost superhuman effort in the field of language alone was considered not as the product of the brilliance and strength of one man, but as some sort of miracle. Although people often used the epithet "genius" in conjunction with the poet's name, they did not seem to understand the very human struggles through which this genius realized itself. Ševčenko single-handedly rebuilt the limited language of the lowest social groups into a literary language of the highest order, successfully supplementing it with words from the Ukrainian version of Church-Slavonic and with words of international usage. It was this, and not the mistaken theory that he lowered his poetry to the humble language of the peasants, which accounted for the fact that all Ukrainians were able to understand him.



The naive picture of Ševčenko in the popular imagination also led to an identification of his poetry with folk literature. A careful reading of *Kobzar* suffices to prove that Ševčenko did much more than emulate folk tradition. However, it is only recently that scholars began to work on Ševčenko's style, carefully tracing the wonderfully complicated patterns of his own individual poetic technique.[5]

The third aspect of Ševčenko's conception of poetry is "poetry as thought". He liked to call his poems thoughts or meditations (*"dumy"*), because he believed that only with the help of the intellect can the heart grow wise and reach the realm of truth. This poet and philosopher of the heart, who created his world mainly around aesthetic and ethical, that is, emotional, values, who was immune to the plague of rationalist-positivistic dogma and its concepts of "progress," nevertheless highly respected the sciences and considered wisdom the sum of the heart and the mind, the emotional and the rational cognizance. It was the highest human achievement, by which man could reach truth and justice; it was the road leading to God himself. Wisdom to Ševčenko could not be achieved merely by the piling up of facts, by the enumeration of the obvious, or by a mechanical eclecticism based on established sources, but rather by

[5] Dmitry Čiževsky in his analysis of formal devices used by Ševčenko to achieve lyricism in his poetry, turned his attention to Ševčenko's system of terminal and internal rhymes, to his partial rhymes, and also to his original meters. Čiževsky writes: "It is of interest that Russian versification accomplished a similar reform in poetry early in the twentieth century, sixty years after Ševčenko; A. Tolstoj, who knew Ukrainian folk songs and Ukrainian poetry, was the first to use these rhymes in the second half of the nineteenth century". Discussing the secrets of musicality in *Kobzar*, Čiževsky adds: "Such an internally consonant language has been attained 'only by a few poets belonging to the world of romantic poetry, which was full of musicality' to the same extent (K. Brentano)". Dmitry Čiževsky, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1956), pp. 428 and 429.

the ability to synthesize feeling and thought, the old and the new. That is why he said: "If you had learned as you should have learned, you also would possess your own wisdom" *(Jakby vy včylys' tak, jak treba, to j mudrist' by bula svoja)*.

The reader recognized the intellectual content of *Kobzar* mainly by the aphoristic character of many lines and stanzas which served him as touchstones and which he regarded as examples of folk wisdom that penetrates to the core of things and at the same time reaches out toward the future. But these also seemed the result of some miracle, rather than the product of a brilliant intellect. "Ševčenko, the prophet" – that popular cliché precluded the recognition of Ševčenko as an intellectual, just as the popular cliché "Ševčenko, the folk poet" extinguished the true image of Ševčenko as a conscious artist with a fully developed critical awareness.

This misunderstanding proved very harmful to the readers' interpretation of the poet's social and political thought, where he was also an innovator. None of his Ukrainian contemporaries could grasp the manifold reasons for Russia's social and economic oppression of the Ukraine. Nor did they understand why the Ukraine was unable to win its independence and create an autonomous state. None of them dared to speak out for an independent Ukraine, for the liquidation of the Russian and Austrian empires and for an alliance of Slavic nations as independent republics with equal rights. He alone had the courage to discuss those problems openly in his work.

Some political theorists helped the process of oversimplification of Ševčenko's thought by emphasizing only his idea of alliance and purposely leaving out his idea of independence, while others stressed his idea of independence, ignoring his idea that nations should cooperate in moving toward independence as a sort of liberation fraternity. Some accepted only his gospel on the necessity for national solidarity, while others faithfully spread his word on an immediate uprising against the exploiters. Some saw in him only a rational and careful builder, while others considered him a heedless and angry rebel. Ševčenko's boundless love of freedom appealed to anarchistic elements of a nation which had been denied the opportunity to cultivate its freedom normally, and which, as a result, time and again broke through in spasms of anguished, all-consuming rebellion. While many Ševčenkos were being born in people's minds, Ševčenko's conception of liberty as a prerequisite of life, growth and creativity, as tolerance and self-discipline, and finally as the basic law of the universe – "of the free and unchained world" *(svitu vol'noho, nespovytoho)* – went unnoticed or was roundly ignored. This conception



of freedom had nothing in common with either anarchism or socialism. Although Ševčenko was a contemporary of Bakunin, he carefully avoided anarchism. Although he had friends among important socialists of that time, notably in the group of Petraševskij, this true harbinger of the agrarian revolution could never reconcile himself to any form of socialism.

It is a human weakness to reduce to a dogma the separate elements of the whole. But in Russia and in the Ukraine, under the tremendous pressure of an absolutist regime and the master-slave social structure, this weakness became a disease. In effect everyone was labelled either a reactionary or a revolutionary. Normal political growth became impossible. Ševčenko's political thought was a synthesis of radicalism and conservatism, thus contributing to the formation of a full and balanced human being. But although the reader felt the greatness of such an integrated personality, he nevertheless spoke of his own Ševčenko, of "our Ševčenko", applying the poet's ideas to his particular political theories. Thus began the bitter "battle for Ševčenko" which is still raging, often with devastating results.

And yet *Kobzar* did become the incontestable "ruler of souls." A nation which never enjoyed liberty even in its most elementary forms and which never had a chance to form any unifying postulates through the competition of different currents of thought, nevertheless acknowledged *Kobzar* as its single-hearted creed. It seemed that for a time the word "Kobzar" was a stronger unifying force than the very word "Ukraine."

## 3. KOBZAR IN THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF BROTHERHOOD OF SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS

Wilhelm Scherer once complained of "the inefficacy of the great achievements of German literature". Can poetry as such ever hope to contribute to social and political achievement? It may be attributed to the character of the time, to sheer coincidence or the impressive presence of a great poet in a political organization, but the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the 1840's gave a generally positive answer to this question.

I use the qualification "generally", because Mykola Kostomarov, the founder and leader of the Brotherhood and the author of *Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* (Knyhy Bytija Ukrajins'koho Narodu) and other works advancing the organization's program, transplanted Ševčenko's synthesis of Ukrainian rebirth into political soil with the help of the foreign influence of the national-Christian messianism of Adam

Mickiewicz (another poet!). Kostomarov's romantic messianism, with its uncompromising idealization of the Cossacks and its highfalutin, pretentious phraseology, far removed from political reality, is somewhat alien to its acknowledged source -- Ševčenko's thought.

Historians correctly regard this Ukrainian organization as the beginning of the political renascence of the Ukraine. As an organization, the Brotherhood was abolished by the regime about two years after its birth, but as an idea it is still active today. It succeeded in organizing around it only a small group of people but at its head stood men of the first magnitude, the brightest constellation of modern Ukrainian political history – Ševčenko, Kuliš, and Kostomarov.

Ševčenko figured only as a poet and a personality in the organization. He had no ambitions to be a leader. The leadership rested on the shoulders of Mykola Kostomarov, a future historian of the first rank and a well-known essayist. Pantelejmon Kuliš was perhaps the most versatile of the group. He was to become a perceptive and industrious historian, an ethnographer, a talented writer and journalist, and an energetic public man. The members of the organization were united by a specifically Ukrainian version of "romanticism", which concentrated primarily on national renascence.

In many respects, this was "Young Ukraine" – the Eastern outpost of the "Young Europe" movement of the first half of the nineteenth century, with its well-known belief in the priceless value and sovereignty of each individual and nation, and with its practical approach to liberty through the liquidation of the remnants of feudalism and absolute monarchism; through emancipation of the serfs, constitutional guarantees of individual rights and liberties, free elections and the parliamentary system. The members of the Brotherhood were acquainted not only with the West European mainstream of the "Young Europe" movement, but also with its West Slavic branches, the most prominent example of which was probably "Young Poland", conceived and led by Adam Mickiewicz. But the ideology of the Brotherhood was fundamentally its own, based on Ukrainian soil and tradition. This ideology had its roots in Ševčenko's poetry, and it was up to Kuliš and Kostomarov, who were intellectually equipped for such a task, to translate his poetic ideas into the language of historiography and politics.

At the heart of Ševčenko's synthesis of poetry and thought was man as the highest value of the Universe. This anthropocentric concept could have been a reaction to the abyss of ruin, degradation and social and national oppression into which the Ukrainian nation had fallen. Save for



centuries of heroic Cossack self-defense, that nation was denied everything, including its language. The rehabilitation of the Ukraine and its people became the center of every wish and dream. The people's scorn was turned not only against the foreign oppressors, but also against those Ukrainians who made such oppression possible – particularly against the narrowly egoistic, denationalized Ukrainian nobility.

Nihilistic and mystical aspects of European romanticism found no place in the philosophy of Ševčenko and of the Brotherhood. The poet's anthropocentrism led neither to the deification of man (as in the thought of Ludwig Feuerbach or, in a different way, of Friedrich Nietzsche), to anthroposophy (in the manner of J. P. V. Troxler) or to theosophy, which tried to substitute "knowledge" of God for belief in God. To the members of the Brotherhood, all men were equal in the eyes of God. In his poetry, Ševčenko often dwells on the ethical teachings of Christ and the miracle of man, admitting into his microcosmos the macrocosmos of God. Ševčenko often puts the God of the Bible to a test: the complex of long-suffering Job, as it is described by Carl Jung, often appears in *Kobzar*, when Ševčenko cries out against God's many injustices. But since man possesses many elements of the divine, he is also partially responsible for the divine. This philosophy of the "responsible heart" (as it was called by the philosopher and poet, of the baroque period, Hryhorij Skovoroda) is the essential quality of *Kobzar*. The "responsible heart" is humble before God but it will never be a slave. "We are not his slaves – we are men" *(My ne raby joho, my ljudy)*, writes Ševčenko. This road to God may be traveled only by a strenuous spiritual endeavor; the individual must reach it by himself. Thus the idea of liberty is essential to Ševčenko's notion of God; liberty is at the root of life and beauty. The members of the Brotherhood projected this concept of man, as advanced by Ševčenko, upon their idea of the Ukrainian nation.

Thus, on the basis of this synthesis of *Kobzar*, the political ideology and program of the Brotherhood was formed. It proclaimed the spiritual, political and social liberation of the Ukraine and advocated a federation of independent Slavic republics. A constitutional and parliamentary political system, based on the republican traditions of the constitutional Cossack Hetman state and on the new concepts put forth by "Young Europe", the liquidation of the three empires (Russia, Austria and Turkey) which cut into the living flesh of the Slavic nations, immediate emancipation of the serfs and a cultural and spiritual renascence of the people – these were the major aims of the Brotherhood. Their realization required many expedients, and yet the members flatly rejected the maxim

that "the end justifies the means", together with the deification of power that was typical of monarchist as well as of post-revolutionary Russia.[6]

This daring program and the activity based on it seems incredible when we consider the absolutist regime of Nicholas I. And yet the members did not lack confidence in their cause. For it was deeply rooted, it was to outlive not only Nicholas I but also all three of the empires whose grip at one time seemed indestructible.

The importance of *Kobzar* for the Brotherhood is seen in the writings of Kostomarov and Kuliš. Kostomarov wrote:

> Ševčenko's muse tore the veil from the life of the people. It was at the same time frightful and sweet and painful to behold! The muse of Taras opened some underground vault, for centuries locked with many locks and sealed with many seals.[7]

Kuliš reported the effect of *Kobzar* on the youth of Kiev who later formed the first cadres of the Brotherhood:

> His song became for them the sound of an archangel's trumpet. When I think of a heart that comes to life, of eyes that catch fire, of a tongue of flame above a man's head, I think of that time in Kiev... Looking back, I may say without blasphemy about his great spirit: He was the light that burneth and shineth. Ševčenko appeared before us as a concrete justification of our inspiration from above.[8]

Ševčenko's poetry gave the people the incentive and the strength to act and it inspired the belief that "with one blast of its trumpets walls and prisons will crumble", that "where there are godlike souls, divine miracles occur", and that "growth originally takes place within leaders and only then... does it pass into the people".[9]

Meanwhile, the situation was rapidly worsening. In March, 1847, when the Brotherhood's ideological endeavors were in full swing, and when the first practical steps were being taken in the Ukraine, in the rest of the empire and even abroad, to turn its ideology into reality, the organization was disrupted and banned by the tsar's agents. Nicholas I and his government were astonished that such activities could be going on in their empire. Criminal investigations were ordered throughout the Ukraine

[6] For more on the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, see Volodymyr Mijakovs'kyj's article in this volume.

[7] *Osnova*, no. 4 (St. Petersburg, April, 1861), p. 49; *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, I (Kiev, 1925), p. 50.

[8] Pantelejmon Kuliš, "Istoryčne opovidannja"; this Kuliš' memoir was published as a preface to his book, *Xutorna poezija* (Lviv, 1889). See p. 9.

[9] Kuliš quoted from Osyp Hermajze, "Kuliš i Kostomarov, jak členy Kyrylo-Metodijevs'koho Bratstva", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, I (Kiev, 1925), pp. 48-49.



and the remainder of the empire, as well as abroad, where the tsar had the power and authority to arrest Savyč, a member of the Brotherhood, and bring him back to Petersburg. However, the tsar succeeded in putting his hands on only about a tenth of the members, among them Ševčenko, Kostomarov and Kuliš; he also succeeded in confiscating some documents, part of the organization's correspondence, as well as some of Ševčenko's unpublished poetry.

At the hearings the poet proved to be stronger than the politicians. Ševčenko did not give away any of the organization's secrets, and refused to enter into any compacts with his interrogators. Here he was stronger than the organizer of the Brotherhood, Kostomarov himself. But the tsar understood the political weight and importance of the poet much better than did the interrogators. And furthermore, he had personal reasons for persecuting Ševčenko. In the poem "Son" (The Dream), the poet had dared to attack the tsar's very person, and had ridiculed his court and his government. We have the powerful image of the emperor boxing the ears of his chancellor who, in his turn, executes the punishment on the face of his inferior officer, and the blow travels by chain reaction down to a mass assault on the citizens by the tsarist police. The tsar was less interested in Ševčenko's formal membership in the subversive organization than in the influence of his poetry on its members and – what was most important – on the Ukrainian nation. This information was brought to him by his agents and by the prisoners themselves. For example, the accused Jurij Andruz'kyj testified that not only Ševčenko's poetry but his very presence in Kiev spurred on the activity of the Brotherhood:

> And everything probably would have fallen apart. But fate decided otherwise: Taras Hryhorovyč Ševčenko arrived in the city. His fame as a poet thundered across all Little Russia; his poetry was placed above Žukovskij's, and they hoped to see in him their own Schiller.[10]

Similar information was supplied by the tsar's own secret service. For example, the informer Antonelli, in his denunciation of Michael Butaševič-Petraševskij, the leader of the well-known Russian illegal group, alluded to the opinions of Petraševskij on the political repercussions of the activities of the Brotherhood and of Ševčenko's poetry:

> In his recounting of recent events at the University of Kiev, in which Ševčenko was implicated, a certain person [Petraševskij] said that the conspiracy was uncovered by the student Petrov who, incidentally, was admitted into the service,

[10] Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Materijaly do istoriji Kyrylo-Metodijevs'koho Bractva. Pryznannja kyrylo-metodijivciv*, reprint from *Zbirnyk pamjaty Tarasa Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1915), p. 36.

in the Third Department, today... That person reported further that, regardless of the failure of the aforementioned undertaking [the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius] it nevertheless rooted itself deeply in Little Russia. The success of its ideas may be attributed to a large extent to the works of Ševčenko, which are being circulated in great numbers in that land and which cause great intellectual agitation, as a result of which Little Russia is still in a state of ferment.[11]

Count Aleksej Orlov, the head of the Third Department (the secret service of the empire), in his official report to Nicholas I on the results of the investigation of the members of the Brotherhood, wrote: "Ševčenko did not belong to the Ukrainian-Slavic organization and acted separately following his own perverse disposition."[12] This was the result of Ševčenko's unbending attitude at the inquest. But this victory did not help the poet in the least. On the contrary, Ševčenko received the heaviest and cruellest punishment – military penal servitude in Asia – "for the authorship of mutinous and highly offensive works". Tsar Nicholas I signed the decree, and in his own hand added a note which directed that "Ševčenko be placed under strict guard, and that writing and drawing were to be prohibited". It was a rather accurately measured punishment of the poet who had such a decisive influence on the Ukrainian liberation movement.

For ten years Ševčenko was a private in the Fifth Batallion of the Special Corps of Orenburg, and for ten years his name was "Number 191". While his torturous road led him to Kara-Kumy, the Aral Sea, the fortification of Novopetrovskoe (on the Eastern coast of the Caspian Sea), and to other points in Asia, a special order was issued to conduct an intensive search among the people of the Ukraine for manuscript copies of his poetry. But in spite of the purge, people thought about the poet, read his works and longed for his return. On March 6, 1850, the poet received a letter from Serhij Levyc'kyj, who at that time resided in Petersburg. Part of the letter described the feelings of many Ukrainians toward him:

There are many here who think about you, and [Mykola] Holovko [an astronomer and mathematician at the university of Kharkiv] claims that, althouhg you are gone, there are over a thousand people here ready to stand firmly for what you said. To those people truth is so important and so great that they would not hesitate to speak out before Karlo Ivanovyč [the tsar] himself.[13]

[11] *Delo petraševcev*, III (Moscow, 1951), pp. 406–07.
[12] P. Zajončkovskij. *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo* (Moscow, 1959), p. 132–33.
[13] M. Novyc'kyj, "Do istoriji areštu Ševčenka 1850 roku". *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, pp. 162–163.



Unfortunately, the guards confiscated this letter and soon in Kharkiv the police broke into the quarters of Holovko. He died while he was trying to defend himself.[14]

Under such circumstances, the poet's bonds with the Ukraine were weakening considerably. The vigilance of his guards increased and he could not even keep the secret notebook which he used to carry in his boot, and in which he had stealthily written new poems. In six years (1851–1856) he did not write a single line of poetry.[15] He complained that everybody had forgotten his existence.

## 4. THE REVIEW *OSNOVA* – KULIŠ' ATTITUDE TOWARDS ŠEVČENKO

Meanwhile, peasants were rising in a series of rebellions throughout the Ukraine and the empire, and there was a new wave of liberal and revolutionary opposition. After the unsuccessful Crimean War and the death of Nicholas I, the government began to show signs of reform. The possibility of the emancipation of the serfs became more and more real. Kuliš, whose exile had been terminated earlier, expressed the opinion of many Ukrainians when he wrote in a personal letter that if Ševčenko returned from Asia, "for us, in the Ukraine, the sun would come up in the middle of the night".[16] Through the concentrated efforts of many influential friends, Ševčenko finally gained his freedom in July, 1857. Since he was forbidden to enter the Ukraine and both capitals of the empire, he stopped for six months at Nižnij Novgorod.

At that time Kostomarov wrote Ševčenko about a project planned by members of the former Brotherhood, the publication of inexpensive mass editions of Ukrainian works. Ševčenko's new poetry became Kuliš' primary concern. He tried to organize financial aid for the poet. He collected Ševčenko's works, asking the poet to edit and amend them. He planned a new edition of *Kobzar* and proposed a series of reproductions of Ševčenko's paintings and drawings for mass circulation. He induced the poet to drop his plans for an edition of his short novels

[14] Ja. D. Dmiterko, *Obščestvenno-političeskie i filosofskie vzgljady T. G. Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1954), pp. 37 and 69.
[15] M. Antonovyč (See *Ševčenko*. Annual 8–9 p. 22 [New York, 1961, The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.]) has shown that the eight-line poem "O dear God, a disaster comes again" (Mij Bože mylyj, znovu lyxo) was written in 1857, not in 1854 as it had been tentatively dated before.
[16] Viktor Petrov, *Pantelejmon Kuliš u pjatdesjati roky. Žyttja, ideolohija, tvorčist'*, I (Kiev, 1929), p. 260.

in Russian and to work more energetically at his Ukrainian poetry.

While Ševčenko was preparing the new complete edition of *Kobzar*, Kuliš organized his own publishing concern in Petersburg. After long and strenuous tangles with the censors, he was finally able to publish *Kobzar* in 1860. *Kobzar* soon drew the attention of influential foreign circles.

As could be expected, the reactionary Russian press abused the poet. But a number of the leading Russian and Polish critics praised Ševčenko as one of the outstanding poets of the time. The return and success of Ševčenko had a crucial influence on the revival of the Ukrainian social and political movement of the 1860's.

After publishing *Kobzar*, Kuliš made plans for a Ukrainian review, originally another project of the Brotherhood, and made efforts to obtain official permission for such an undertaking. But the government did not trust Kuliš, and for a time he had to confine himself to the publication of *Xata (The Home)*, an anthology-type almanac. In it were published ten new poems by Ševčenko, as well as a "Preface Addressed to the Community" by Kuliš, in which he called Ševčenko the leading poet in contemporary Ukrainian literature.

In all, Kuliš publishing firm in Petersburg put out forty titles in large editions for mass circulation. Among them, besides Ševčenko, were the works of Marko Vovčok, Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, Storoženko, Kuliš' essay on Kvitka and his *Hramatka*, an elementary Ukrainian grammar. Thus, in approximately two short years, depending mainly on the work of his friend Ševčenko and his new protégée, Marko Vovčok, Kuliš was able to renew the Ukrainian literary and social development which had been interrupted by the purge of 1847.

But Kuliš' plans went much further. Besides renewing literary life in the Ukraine, he also strove for a political renascence and a concentration of Ukrainian strength. He believed that the rapidly increasing socio-political changes in the empire, particularly the liquidation of serfdom, should be merged with the new Ukrainian national political thought and action. Unlike the Poles, who were preparing a new armed rebellion, Kuliš rejected all underground activity. Perhaps he saw that the gigantic empire, which stretched from Germany to Japan and included hundreds of nations was at a decisive turning point in the years 1859-1861. It was a point in history which permitted only three alternatives: the old way of uncompromisingly supporting the absolutist monarchy and its regime; the way of revolution which was so much like its progenitor, the monarchy, against which it now rebelled; and finally the West European way of



reform, liberalization and an honest relationship of nations which would lead to a federal commonwealth and to the system of legal opposition. Kuliš wanted the Ukrainian movement to choose this third way. This precluded all compromises of principle but included the art of compromise in strategy and tactics.

First of all, Kuliš demanded permission for a legal Ukrainian press and for representative Ukrainian organizations. The first Ukrainian monthly journal *Osnova* (1861–1862), and the second (after the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius) Ukrainian organization, *Hromada* (The Community), were in large part the results of these activities of Kuliš. Ševčenko, who took an important part in the preparation of *Osnova* (he died after the appearance of its first number) justly referred to it in private conversations as "my review". In the two years of its existence, *Osnova* printed more than seventy poems by Ševčenko, his play and his diary, as well as a number of memoirs and critical papers about him and his work.

Besides popularizing and interpreting Ševčenko's work and discovering new literary talent, *Osnova* revived the Ukrainian political consciousness which afterwards no repressions could subdue. During the two years of the existence of *Osnova*, the legal (later not quite legal) organization *Hromada* was formed. This organization to a great extent shaped and directed the Ukrainian movements up to 1905.

Until the 1870's Kuliš was the first and the last Ukrainian political thinker who more or less divined the political weight of *Kobzar* and the means by which the poet's ideals could be realized. That is why the Soviet version of the history of Ukrainian literature continually attempts to build an artificial wall between Kuliš and Ševčenko, representing Kuliš as an enemy of the poet and of the Ukrainian people, and putting Ševčenko, in a provisional and makeshift way, among the Russian prerevolutionary "democrats", with Černyševskij at their head. In reality, however, Kuliš' attitude toward Ševčenko, from their first meeting in June, 1843, until the poet's death in 1861, was one of selfless friendship and desire to help. Kuliš set before himself these four tasks concerning Ševčenko: to help the poet in realizing his genius in literature; to make *Kobzar* available to the largest number of Ukrainians possible and to help them to understand it; to promote his works in Russia, Poland, and the rest of the world, as one of the highest cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people; and to prevent him from serving the causes of the revolutionary underground, and especially from implicating himself in the Russian revolutionary movement.

Kuliš performed his first self-imposed task as critic, editor, and publisher of *Kobzar* with fervent devotion. He was afraid that the abnormal conditions of the poet's life and work, and the abnormal situation of Ukrainian literature as a whole, would prevent the poet from fully realizing his genius. Although his outlook was similar to Ševčenko's (the romantic "philosophy of the heart"), his temperament and tactics were quite different – he was abrupt and strict in everything he did. Therefore he did not hide from his friend the fear that in *Kobzar* the sacred call to freedom might become a summon for confused rebellion, for that uncontrolled spontaneity typical of Ukrainians who in hopeless revolts against both the Poles and the Russians had lost the faculty of social self-discipline and constructive effort toward national and political independence. He wrote Ševčenko, quoting Puškin: "You, Mozart, are a god, and you yourself do not know it," and at the same time added: "I shall exclude myself from any group which praises you unconditionally."[17] In a letter of 1846, Kuliš explains to Ševčenko why he is so concerned about the poet's works:

> Your poems do not belong to you alone and they do not belong only to your time; they belong to all of the Ukraine and they will speak of her forever. Therefore I feel that I have the right to meddle in the affairs of your imagination and of your creativity, and demand that you bring your works to the highest possible standard of perfection.[18]

Visualizing Ševčenko, the poet, as a potential Ukrainian Goethe and seeing in him the possibilities of a heroic genius of the type admired by Thomas Carlyle, Kuliš did not begrudge Ševčenko high praise, nor did he spare his feelings when it came to sharp criticism. This visionary, who alone among his countrymen had a truly profound insight into history and the present, fervently wished to save Ševčenko, whom he considered the gift of fate and of God, from the destruction by the tsar's police on one hand and by the poison of Russian revolutionary nihilism on the other. He also strove to save him from the emotional rebelliousness of Ukrainians. His dream was to introduce his friend to Western Europe, in order to draw him away from Russian influences. In 1847 Kuliš asked his bride, Hanna Barvinok, to give up her dowry and donate the money to Ševčenko for a long trip to Western Europe. The poet's arrest upset this plan.

[17] Quoted from V. Petrov, "Kuliš i Ševčenko (Do istoriji jix vzajemovidnosyn v 1843–44 rr.," *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, I, p. 64.
[18] M. Novyc'kyj, "Ševčenko v procesi 1847 r. i Ševčenkovi papery", *Ukrajina*, No. 1–2 (Kiev, 1925), p. 82.



The poet seems to have been the only lasting friend and collaborator of the lonely and quarrelsome scholar. Although this friendship was not easy on him, Ševčenko held Kuliš in high esteem and was always ready to overlook and forgive his friend's many lapses of tact. On March 18, 1858, Ševčenko made an entry in his diary which elucidates his feelings toward Kuliš:

> I have finally finished rewriting and sifting my poetry of 1847. What a pity that there is nobody here with whom I could go over it intelligently. Maksymovyč simply reveres every line I write, and the same can be said of Bodjans'kyj. I will have to wait for Kuliš. Although he is unnecessarily cruel at times, he occasionally tells the truth. However, no one dares to tell him the truth in return, if one still wants to stay on good terms with him.[19]

Much research is still to be done on the direct influence of Kuliš on Ševčenko's poetry, but even a superficial study of the poet's career reveals the fact that he wrote his best poems when he was closest to his friend. Six months after their acquaintance, Ševčenko began a cycle of poems called *Three Years (Try Lita)*, which proved to be central in the synthesis of *Kobzar*. In it we find many of Kuliš' ideas on the "inner ruin" of Ukrainians.

Kuliš did everything possible in a hostile and despotic regime to fulfill his second self-imposed task as Ševčenko's editor and publisher. The heartfelt seriousness with which he approached this task may be seen in the fact that in spite of his unwavering decision to use strictly legal means in the battle of the Ukrainian nation for recognition and self-rule, he was ready to publish *Kobzar* by circumventing the censors, in other words, illegally, when it seemed that they would either ban it or kill it by senseless cutting.[20] Kuliš also popularized Ševčenko's poems, together with the review *Osnova*, in the Western Ukraine, then occupied by Austria, where he travelled in the years 1858 and 1861. It was by no means easy to assert Ševčenko's genius, to make clear his commanding position in Ukrainian literature and to separate him from the "small fry", as Kuliš called the numerous minor writers working at that time. It was particularly difficult to dispel the erroneous view of Ševčenko as an uncultured and uneducated countryman with an innate talent for poetry – a notion which originated in the enemy camp and also among the native supporters of the poet. In this connection Kuliš wrote:

[19] *Povne zibrannja tvoriv Tarasa Ševčenka*, IV (Kiev, The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1927), p. 159.
[20] Cf. *Kievskaja starina*, no. 5 (1898), p. 237.

If people only knew what a mind this Ševčenko had and how much he learned both in remote lands that are better not revisited and in the capital, living with all sorts of people. We knew Ševčenko at the time when he wrote his best works. There was not a single living and life-giving book that he failed to obtain and read. And let us not forget that Ševčenko was also working very hard at his painting and analyzing all the trends of art, which gave him plenty of food for thought. Ševčenko travelled throughout the Ukraine, spoke with thousands of people, and this is an important part in a person's education, a library of human existence. We were fortunate to hear his critical judgements and often were amazed at how deeply his mind penetrated, how swiftly and directly it reached the core of literary matters.[21]

Kuliš was well prepared to succeed in his third task for Ševčenko, which was to popularize his works in Russia and other countries. Kuliš' name was respected in Russian literary, scholarly and journalistic circles of that time and he knew the literature and languages of many lands. As the first editor, publisher and interpreter of Ševčenko and Marko Vovčok, he contributed to the recognition of Ukrainian literature in Western Europe, as for example, in France, where both writers were favorably received by the critics. In the empire itself, Ševčenko's success was so great that some Russians and other non-Ukrainians delved into Ukrainian for the sole purpose of being able to read *Kobzar* in the original. Through the efforts of those Russian emigrés who were close to Herzen, a Russian edition of Puškin and Ševčenko *(Novye Stixotvorenija Puškina i Ševčenki)*, was published in Leipzig in 1859, containing those poems of Ševčenko which were banned in the empire. Two years later a Russian translation of *Kobzar* came out in Russia itself. Poles, Georgians, Slovaks and Czechs took an interest in the Ukrainian poet. Kuliš kept mentioning Ševčenko in his Russian writing (in Russian journals and also in the epilogue to the Russian translation of his novel *The Black Council)* and in his letters. Moreover, he vigilantly defended Ševčenko against the attacks of the Russian conservative press.

Kuliš' fourth task lay in keeping the Russian revolutionaries away from Ševčenko. Ševčenko as a man and a poet had nothing in common with their religion of hatred and vengeance. Černyševskij failed to understand that the nature of Ševčenko's anger toward the oppressors was very different from his own; it was closer to the anger of Christ when he banished the moneylenders from the temple. By fiercely attacking Kuliš, Černyševskij hoped to attract Ševčenko to his camp and to use the poet's influence on Ukrainians for his own purpose. Kuliš warned Ševčenko

[21] *Osnova*, no. 1 (1862); quoted from *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 1 (Kiev, 1925), pp. 10–11.



of this danger in a letter of December 22, 1857: "The Russians will try to win you over. Do not give in to them and remember my advice." Kuliš was also trying to save the poet from another arrest by the police. The persistent efforts of Černyševskij and his friends to compromise Kuliš in the eyes of Ševčenko caused much bitterness in the proud heart of Kuliš. But he believed in Ševčenko's strength ("The devil himself will not be able to steal your soul," he wrote jokingly), and his belief was well founded. In the recent attempts to show that Ševčenko and Černyševskij were great friends, the reader cannot find a single instance of conclusive proof; what we do see, however, is Černyševskij's desire to exploit Ševčenko for his own political aims and his utter failure to understand the poet's world of ideas.

Ševčenko's untimely death canceled many of Kulis' plans and those of the wide circle of the poet's friends and associates, most of whom were associated with the journal *Osnova*. They must have felt like children who had lost their father, and yet their loss made them understand even more deeply the man who had lived among them. Kuliš became the most zealous guardian and the greatest interpreter of the poet's legacy. His oration at Ševčenko's grave was the most beautiful tribute at the poet's magnificent funeral, at which such Russian writers as Dostoevskij, Saltykov-Ščedrin, Turgenev, and Nekrasov were present. Kuliš spoke of the irreplaceable value of Ševčenko to the Ukraine and of his importance to Slavs and the rest of the world. Immediately after the poet's death, he wrote in *Osnova*:

Ševčenko is our poet and first historian. His word has become the nucleus of new strength... and this new strength is our national conscience. His thought embraced all of the Ukraine, its blood stained mounds *(mohyly)* and its terrible glory; he turned folk ballads into a living panorama of what existed and what now exists in that land. With his voice, our whole nation sang out its fate – his word, like a loud echo, swiftly flew everywhere where our blood has been spilled and where our bones are buried – and all hearts awoke to his song. Ševčenko marked wide horizons for our people. For his readers he marked a straight road which now they will know and will not have to ask the way of anyone else. From now on only those among us will be worthy builders who will lead our great national community, knowing its spiritual needs and at the same time sharing its pure tastes and its pious outlook.[22]

In his funeral oration in Petersburg, Kuliš announced the plan for transporting the poet's body to the Ukraine and permanently burying it on a

[22] P. Kuliš, "Čoho stojit' Ševčenko, jako poet narodnij", *Osnova*, No. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1861).

hill by the Dnieper, near the town of Kaniv.[23] Kuliš predicted that this event would be a great national demonstration for the Ukraine. It was to be a political act, by which the Ukrainian nation was to proclaim its renascence under the guidance of its poet. In this funeral oration, using diplomatic language, Kuliš complimented the tsar's regime for having allowed Ukrainians to do homage to the poet's memory, thus hinting that the government should begin reforms and that it should legalize all of Ševčenko's works:

> We thank the Almighty that we live in an age when people are not crucified or burned at the stake for telling the truth. Neither in catacombs nor in caves are we assembled today to honor a great man for his just teachings; we are assembled in the light of day, in a great capital, to thank him for his life-giving word.[24]

Kuliš stressed the fact that Ševčenko's victory was the victory of the spirit and not of revolutionary violence:

> We should fight evil with our minds, not with violence. Even as you liberated yourself without using force, O Poet, so that no chains in the world were strong enough to bend your head, so shall we liberate all our brothers.[25]

Here we see Kuliš as a political thinker who counted on a constructive and legal endeavor, in the name of ordered constitutional liberty. And he fought for this idea for many more years. We see the tragedy of his efforts in the subsequent actions of the regime, which resulted in the collapse of *Osnova* and the destruction of all his other projects. The Polish insurrection of 1863 and the activities of the Russian revolutionaries hastened this purge, since the government provocatively accused Ukrainian intellectuals of collaboration with these two forces.

In March, 1863, Count Dolgorukov, the Chief of the Imperial Police, received an anonymous letter:

> Out of the corpse of Ševčenko was born a large gang of the most dangerous separatists and haters of Russia. Now their headquarters are in Kiev but some group themselves around *Osnova*, in which almost every article smells of revolution and separation of Little Russia from the empire.[26]

[23] P. Kuliš, "Slovo nad hrobom Ševčenka", *Tvory*, VI (Lviv, 1910), p. 497; first published in *Osnova*, No. 3 (1861).
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 496.
[25] *Osnova*, No. 6 (1861).
[26] A. Gercen, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, XVI (Petrograd, 1920), p. 299.



This was an obvious provocation. Neither Kuliš nor the others connected with *Osnova* had any plans for a rebellion. The real progenitor of the revolution was the tsar himself and his unreasonable regime which flagrantly trampled underfoot all ideas of the basic rights of man. Michael Katkov, editor of *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, told Kostomarov that collecting money for Ukrainian publications was a graver offense against the state than collecting money for the Polish insurrection. Remembering twenty years later Katkov's well-known anti-Ukrainian attacks in *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, Kuliš wrote:

> We have nor forgotten the words of the Moscow oracle who said that the Polish insurrection was nothing in comparison to the insurrection of Ukrainian literature. In the former case, the empire would lose an insignificant province but in the latter case, the language of the peasants having matured into a literary language, the empire would split in its very center.[27]

In 1863 Petr Valuev, the Minister of the Interior, issued a secret circular stating that "the majority of the Little Russians themselves prove conclusively that there never existed, does not exist now, and shall never exist such a thing as a Ukrainian language". As a result, the government shattered all legal attempts of Ukrainians to speak for themselves, exiled a large number of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and proceeded to russify the Ukraine. The house that Kuliš had so painstakingly built with *Kobzar* was in ruins.

## 5. THE ROLE OF ŠEVČENKO IN KULIŠ' ONE-MAN WAR AGAINST THE SPECTER OF RUIN AND ITS CULTS

> The strongest minds can act only in a society which is ready to accept and make use of their contributions.
> From a letter of Kuliš to Šenrok, 1889

The thirty-five years of Kuliš' activities after the death of Ševčenko help us to understand the political fate of *Kobzar* then and in our day. Those years were marked by Kuliš' rebellion against the cult of Ševčenko and the cult of the Cossack period of Ukrainian history, to the growth of which he himself had at one time contributed so much. During that time Kuliš tried more than ever to add rationality to the emotional appreciation of Ševčenko, or, as he himself put it, to wed the heart with the intellect.

[27] P. Kuliš, "Zazyvnyj lyst do ukrajins'koji inteligenciji", *Tvory*, VI (Lviv, 1910), p. 580; first published in *Xutorna poezija* (Lviv, 1882).

Here the thinker and political theorist consciously posed for himself and fulfilled the task of annexing his own life's work to the legacy of the poet. Through this effort Kuliš put the problem of Ševčenko's political legacy in its proper perspective. And yet Kuliš' gigantic endeavors satisfied no one. Ukrainians labelled him either a traitor or an egocentric bungler; Poles thought of him as a dreamer; and Russians hated him for obvious reasons – the regime for his nationalism, and the revolutionaries for his sound conservatism. It seems that Kuliš consciously addressed himself to future generations who would take up the mission of ending the "decay" and rebuilding the Ukraine.[28]

The year 1863 may be considered the breaking point in the catastrophe of Eastern Europe. It was the year when the promising liberalization in the politics of the regime, which had begun with the death of Nicholas I, the fiasco of the Crimean war, and the insurrection of the peasants ("Kozaččyna" of Kiev Province); and which was later reinforced by the emancipation of the serfs and other, more timid, reforms, finally went up in smoke.

For Ukrainians, the year 1863 was the fateful time when the tsar once and for all revealed his destructive intentions toward the Ukraine. By unconditionally subscribing to the circular of Valuev, the tsar outlawed all forms of Ukrainian renascence, and by supporting the landowners and granting them fantastic privileges, he condemned the peasants to increasing poverty. As a result, Ukrainian political forces either hid under the cover of a defeatist "apolitical culture," or went to the other extreme by joining militant socialism.

[28] "No one knows what part of our work will be appreciated by posterity... Had I not had my own program of work, our countrymen would have killed my spirit a long time ago. I am not interested in the praise of future generations, but I want them to get rid of fiction and to find a historical, national, and poetical truth. Everything will pass away except the truth". (Kuliš' letter to M. V. Karačevs'ka-Vovkivna, *Červonyj Šljax*, No. 8 [1925], p. 122).
Not until the 1920's did the attitude towards Kuliš somewhat change. Mykola Zerov was the first to elucidate objectively the relations between Kuliš and Ševčenko as poets. He showed that Kuliš was the only one of all the poets active during the three decades following Ševčenko's death who did not show in his poems that slavish dependence on Ševčenko, which, because of the false cult of the great poet, had a devastating influence on Ukrainian poetry for some 40 years. Kuliš opened a new stage in the development of Ukrainian poetry and led it from "Provençalism" to world literature. In his foreword to *Pozyčena kobza* (1897), a collection of Ukrainian translations of Western poetic masterpieces, Kuliš expressed his gratitude to Ševčenko, whose *Kobzar* had made these translations into Ukrainian possible. (See M. Zerov "Poetyčna dijalnist' Kuliša", *Do džerel* [Kraków-Lviv, 1943], pp. 17–58). In the 1920's extensive studies were begun on Kuliš, including his relations with Ševčenko, and his work in fields other than poetry, but the terror of the 1930's suppressed them.



For Poles, 1863 was the year of the devastating suppression of their last insurrection.

For Russians, and notably for their more enlightened spokesmen, such as the "Westerners" and the reformists, 1863 meant an abrupt end to all their efforts. The only Russian groups which were actually satisfied with the events of that year were the reactionary monarchists and the revolutionists. Černyševskij did not attempt to hide the fact that he was more afraid of reforms than of penal servitude or the gallows. He knew that only the total victory of uncompromising reaction would give him and his political offspring unconditional power in the future of Eastern Europe.

Kuliš, with his remarkable political vision, foresaw what today, in the retrospect of a hundred years, is obvious to everyone: the year 1863 and the subsequent years left the nations of Eastern Europe with a "choice" between the despotism of the tsarist bureaucracy and the despotism of revolutionary bureaucracy. The two deadly enemies were like opposing air currents which meet in a tornado, tearing out roots and destroying foundations.

The Russian symbol of this dilemma was Dostoevskij, with his profound and moving analysis of man "from the house of the dead," with his frantic leaps from the socialism of Petraševskij's group to devoted adoration for the tsar, with his antitheses of freedom and conscience, Christ and the Grand Inquisitor, blessed Alyosha and "the possessed" – antitheses which, in his circumstances, could be relieved only by epileptic attacks.

Kuliš' tragedy [29] was that he had the uncomfortable gift of an almost prophetic vision. He went forth to search out truth and to look it in the eyes, no matter how terrible that truth may have been. He did it with the passionate drive of his unbridled temperament, with the steadfastness of

[29] We have no intention here of identifying with one another two different personalities, Kuliš and Dostoevskij, who stood side by side at Ševčenko's fresh grave at the Smolenskoe Cemetery in St. Petersburg. There occurred, however, some instances of strange coincidence in time and facts: compare Christ-like Prince Myškin and elemental Rogožin of *The Idiot* with "God's man" and the Zaporozhian Tur of Kuliš' *Čorna Rada*, written at an earlier date. Dostoevskij was sent into exile for his participation in the Petraševskij circle, and Kuliš for his membership in the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius; in January 1861 both Dostoevskij and Kuliš began to publish the periodicals *Vremja* and *Osnova*, respectively; later, both writers intiated the publication of their own one-man journals, *The Diary of a Writer* and *P. A. Kuliš' Journal* (The latter was not approved by the censorship; this was the difference in status for a Russian and for a Ukrainian). Both Dostoevskij and Kuliš went simultaneously abroad (although for different reasons) and then came back to try once more to influence the ominous course of events at home.

his logic, with the broad sweep of his thought, and with his sense of responsibility. The fate of Eastern Europe put many barriers in his path, challenged him to many contests. "At that time I walked on both sides of the political crevice," he wrote before his death.[30]

Kuliš' immediate reaction to the catastrophe of 1863 was his plan to erect the "Ukrainian Piedmont" in the Western Ukraine, which at that time was under a new and comparatively liberal Austrian constitution. This political undertaking was meant as a direct, practical response to the ban on everything Ukrainian in the Russian empire, the "apolitical culture" movement of the "Hromada" (Ukrainian Community) in Kiev, the transition of an important part of Ukrainian youth to revolutionary socialism, the persistent attempts of Petersburg to graft pro-Russian sympathies in the Western Ukraine and the equally persistent attempts of Poles to polonize it. There were many barriers in Kuliš' path, and yet he achieved victory in the end. Even Ivan Franko, who on the whole was hostile to Kuliš (as late as 1910 he called him a renegade), had to acknowledge his pioneering services to the Western Ukraine, raising them to the level of *Kobzar*, which Kuliš brought into that territory:

> We know that in the 1860's the popular movements among our youth [in the Western Ukraine] were born of the prophetic words of Ševčenko and the personal example set by Kuliš... whose point of departure were the ideas and views formed in the [Central] Ukraine.[31]

Kuliš moved to Warsaw (1864–1867) where he was to occupy high public office, and from there helped the Western Ukraine in setting up the journal *Pravda* (The Truth), which took the place of the Petersburg *Osnova*. For nearly twenty years *Pravda* published the writings of all outstanding Ukrainian intellectuals on both sides of the imperial border. The growth of Ukrainian education and educational literature, the formation of new cadres of Ukrainian intelligentsia, the deathblow dealt to Western Ukrainian Russophiles, who were supported by Petersburg – all of these accomplishments were partly the results of Kuliš' efforts. Many defamatory stories about Kuliš, instigated by the enemies of his cause, were being circulated; it was said that he supported the Russian government in its actions against the Poles and, conversely, that he collaborated with the Poles against Petersburg.[32]

[30] "Materialy k biografii P. A. Kuliša", *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 57 (1897), p. 346.
[31] Ivan Franko, *Moloda Ukrajina* (Lviv, 1910), p. 5.
[32] Kuliš' feelings of that time are reflected in his letter to his friend Xil'čevs'kyj: "What a false idea you have concerning my authority in Muscovy. You do not know these people, brother! You cannot go ahead with the truth, they are afraid of truth... Not a word about pride, brother! One can hardly breathe in a hostile crowd but you are under impression that I dominate. You mention the road I am following, I would be a rascal to turn from this road because of a certain Aksakov or Katkov. Your advice – "give way to others" comes from the lack of knowledge of the situation. We stand at Thermophylae. Damn the mother who bore submissive men. Let them crush us and then proclaim to the world that they have triumphed over a great evil: this will bring us the greatest glory in case we do not succeed in crushing those headless fanatics". "Pis'mo Kuliša k I. F. Xilčevskomu", *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 60 (1898), p. 147.



But it seems that this man was born to go against the current. When the government gave him the choice of ceasing his pro-Ukrainian activities or leaving his job, he chose the latter, and decided to go to Western Europe (1868–1871). He took with him an enormous file of materials pertaining to the Cossack period of Ukrainian history – the result of his extensive research in the archives and libraries of Poland. While abroad, Kuliš scrupulously re-examined his own ideas. He scrutinized the achievements and the methods of the constructive spirit of the European West, and made a profound study of the genesis of the irrational spirit of the European East. In 1868 he prepared a sketch for an autobiography and published it anonymously in *Pravda*, under the title *The Life of Kuliš* (Žyzn' Kuliša).

In 1868 "Zemlja i Volja" was formed, a precursor of the later terrorist "Narodnaja Volja". Kuliš resented the fact that various Leftist movements then in the Ukraine used *Kobzar* as a partial justification for their ideologies.

In his autobiography, Kuliš reflected on the reason for the triumph of *Kobzar* against the background of the old and the new "political misery of the Ukraine", and tried to understand why this new Ukrainian renascence, so much inspired by Ševčenko's poetry, seemed to be followed by a new Ukrainian defeat. In order to throw the light of his reason upon the irrational darkness of the historical situation of his time, Kuliš felt the need to remove himself from the influence of *Kobzar* and to put its author at a distance for a more objective scrutiny. This is how he described his meeting with Ševčenko:

> It may be said, that their meeting was a meeting of a Cossack from Zaporozhian Sič and a town-bred, well-to-do Cossack. Indeed, they were representatives of the two halves of the Cossack community. Ševčenko represented the members of Right-Bank Cossacks who, after the treaty of Andrusiv, remained without leaders and had to go under the Polish domination, who ran off to Sič, and from Sič returned as "Hajdamaky" to plunder the possessions of their

landlords; who had recently murdered eighteen thousand Jews and members of the Polish nobility in a single assault on the town of Uman', and who hoped for only one thing – to crush the landlords with their own boots. Kuliš, however, stems from those Cossacks who freely conferred with the tsar's boyars, who erected the Board of Little Russia for tsar Peter, who helped Catherine in the writing of "Nakaz" and who were instrumental in the founding of educational institutions to replace the old theological seminaries. One learned history straight from the leaders of the "Hajdamaky", read it with the wounded Cossack heart tortured under the subjection of its enemies, the Poles; the other studied the Ukrainian tradition with those whose ancestors never knew serfdom, who once withstood the enemy at the side of such warriors as Ljanckorons'kyjs, Pretwyčs and Wyšneveč'kyjs, defending Southern Rus', Lithuania and Poland, and who later came to the aid of the Muskovites. Both of them had a profound feeling for their nationality, only Ševčenko's blood stormed without rest; Kuliš, however, even then looked for the balance of the heart and the mind, for the balance of desire and responsibility.[33]

In 1871 Kuliš, bitterly disappointed by the cul-de-sac of the Western Ukraine, executed one of his most baffling changes of front. From abroad, he returned to Petersburg, obtained a government appointment and published a three-volume historical work *Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi* (History of the Reunion of Rus'). In that scholarly endeavor, constructed on the basis of the materials which he obtained in Poland and abroad, as well as in Petersburg, Kuliš strove to give a critical interpretation of Ukrainian history during the Cossack period up to the year 1620. The author strongly opposed the cult of the Cossack and particularly the theories of his contemporary, the noted historian, Mykola Kostomarov. He directed his attack mainly against the glorification of Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj. His view differed from Kostomarov and the official Russian version of history in seeing in the Treaty of Perejaslav, by which Xmel'nyc'kyj gave up the Ukraine to Russia, a bankruptcy rather than a victory of the Cossacks and their great Hetman. According to Kuliš, Xmelnyc'kyj contributed nothing to the construction of the political, economic and cultural order of the Ukraine and, having wasted his brilliant strategic talent in defeating Poland, had to give up the leadership of the country to Russia. Attacking the "complex of rebellion" and the cults of the Cossacks and of revolt in general, Kuliš permitted himself several digressions for the sole purpose of criticizing those poems of Ševčenko which glorify

[33] "Žizn' Kuliša," *Pravda* (Lviv, 1868); quoted from *Pantelejmon Kuliš*, a collection (Kiev, 1927, The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) pp. 110–111. At the decline of a life full of spiritual turmoil, Kuliš admitted that he had been wrong in dividing their (his and Ševčenko's) common "spiritual possessions" in such a way that Ševčenko had "heart" and he, "reason"; Ševčenko had "I desire" and Kuliš, "I must"; Ševčenko had negativism of protest and he, constructive features.



the idea of revolt. At the same time, he considered unsound Ševčenko's devastating sarcasm against Peter I and Catherine II, both of whom, according to his interpretation, fulfilled the mission of breaking the ruinous Mohammedan-Polish hold on the territory of the Ukraine.

In returning to Petersburg, Kuliš was influenced not only by European events of that time, such as the Franco-Prussian war and the failure of the federalistic mission of Austria, which, together with Poland and Hungary, discouraged Ukrainian rebirth in the Western Ukraine and thus promoted the activities of Russophiles there; but also by a storm brewing in the Ukraine. Many Ukrainian youth had joined the underground populist movement known as "Narodnaja Volja" and lived in anticipation of an immediate destruction of the present order and the establishment of a new, ideal, socialist Utopia. Ukrainians soon came to occupy important positions in the revolutionary movement, although its ideology was still being formed by such Russians as Černyševskij, Nečaev, Tkačev (and later Plexanov and Lenin). At the same time many young people left the conservative-liberal "Hromada" to form a peculiarly Ukrainian form of socialism. In 1870 Mykola Ziber, a member of "Hromada", founded the first Marxist group in Kiev. Myxajlo Drahomanov was growing into the most popular leader of socialism of the French (Proudhon) and English (guild socialism) type. But the feeble efforts of Drahomanov and Ziber to implant some Western form of socialism on East European soil were rapidly lost in the growing idolization of revolution. The cult of Ševčenko and the Cossack willy-nilly became a part of that powerful current.

It was against this background that Kuliš attacked Ševčenko. He called the poetry which his great friend had directed against Peter I and Catherine II, together with his poetic glorification of the Cossack and his revolutionary anger, "the products of a depraved, intoxicated imagination...no better than the dust which the wind raises from the face of the earth".

I realize that these words will not be to the advantage of their author but I hasten to point out that for a historian the word of truth should be more precious than the acclaim of his readers. No one praised Ševčenko more than the author of this modest work but this does not prevent him from seeing all the defects of Ševčenko's licentious muse.[34]

Kuliš was quick to point out that "the feelings of Ukrainian peasantry toward the idea of a monarchy are altogether friendly". Even the Cossacks who, because of turbulent disorders in Poland, were the only de-

[34] P. Kuliš, *Istorija vossoedinenija Rusi*, II (St. Petersburg, 1874), p. 24.

fenders of the soil against the Turks, "did not remember with bitterness the cruelties of Peter I and readily forgave Catherine II her betrayal of the Koliji Insurrection and her destruction of Sič". Kuliš thought that the reason for the Cossacks' alleged "friendly feelings" toward the two monarchs was that the latter helped the Ukraine in putting an end to the age-old Tartar plunders, which actions in turn made it possible for Ukrainians to inhabit the steppes and to cultivate the soil by the Black Sea. "In this case Ševčenko failed to interpret the feelings of the Ukrainian nation," he wrote concerning Ševčenko's attacks against the "hungry she-wolf" Catherine II and against Peter I. According to Kuliš, Ševčenko (as well as Puškin) became victims of "the absence in the individual, and in the society in which he develops, of what may be called a true knowledge of history."

At the time of the publication of *Zaporožskaja Staryna* (The Tradition of Zaporižžja) in Kiev, there were created, based on *Istorija Rusov (History of the Rusy)*, pseudo-folk *dumy* about the Polish and Ukrainian past which were designed to fill the Ukrainian heart with fantasy. The influential poet Ševčenko, as well as all of his contemporaries, took these for authentic folk literature; he did not suspect that Konys'kyj's stories, which served as the basis for many of them, were that writer's fictional creations, without any historical validity. Ševčenko's blind faith in the legends of the chronicles, without any scholarly verification of their origins, was injurious not only to himself but also to many of those who succumbed to the influence of his poetry.[35]

But the blow he dealt the authority of Ševčenko as a historical writer was not enough for Kuliš. Twice more he took up his pen to try to destroy the reputation of the poet by vehemently attacking those of his poems which glorified the Cossacks. In his essay on the bloody insurrection of Hajdamaky in 1768 against the Polish administration and the Polish gentry in the region of Kiev, which Ševčenko had described in his early poem *Hajdamaky*, the historian condemned "Ševčenko, the poet with little education" for celebrating the irresponsible spilling of blood "by cut-throats who had no idea of the meaning of humanity".[36] In the essay, Kuliš vividly painted the panorama of the insurrection on the basis of the available documents. He knew that in the poem *Hajdamaky* there is a passage where the poet attempted to establish an esthetic and ethical limit to the horrors which he described, where he tried to justify his treatment of that irresponsible "spilling of blood", that "forever-

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[36] P. Kuliš, "Mal'ovana Hajdamaščyna" *Pravda* (Lviv, 1876); quoted from D. Dorošenko, *Pantelejmon Kuliš* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 173.



hungry longing of man" to create hell on earth, "to paint with blood and illuminate with fire" "the earth, adorned by spring". Ševčenko strongly felt that such a limit was indispensable, and even wrote a foreword to his poem to explain this problem in a political framework:

It is pleasant to see a blind *kobzar*, sitting there with his young guide, and it is pleasant to hear him, as he sings a ballad of olden times, of the battles of the Cossacks and the Poles; it is pleasant... and yet you will sigh "Thank God that it is over!", particularly when you realize that all of us have one mother, that we are all Slavs. My heart weeps, and yet I have to tell the story, to remind sons and grandsons how their fathers erred.

But Kuliš pretended to ignore these remarks of Ševčenko. The politician in him considered it his duty to condemn the weaknesses in *Kobzar*, which were so heavily exploited by the followers of those "feuding Poles and Cossacks" in order to continue, consciously or unconsciously, the age-old historical destruction of Eastern Europe. Eighty years later Dmitry Čiževsky called this aspect of Ševčenko "the romantics of horror" Čiževsky agrees that "in this romantics of horror may lie the most obvious limitation of the young Ševčenko – a limitation of his time".[37]

What Kuliš actually attacked was not the poetry of Ševčenko, the Cossacks, or even the idea of revolution but rather the anticultural cult of Ševčenko, the antihistorical cult of the Cossacks and the antipolitical cult of the revolution.[38] The founders and supporters of these cults felt the blow and did not forgive Kuliš, condemning and ostracizing him. They used his pronouncements on Ševčenko and his apparent praise of the Russian tsars out of context, thus perverting his ideas and aims and compromising him in the eyes of his readers. And yet, when we look at his writings in retrospect, we see more love and respect in his painful criticism of Ševčenko and the Cossacks than in the emotional glorifications of their cultists.

A close scrutiny of the three volumes of the *Istorija Vosgoedinenija Rusi*

[37] Dmitry Čiževsky, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1956), p. 439.
[38] Kuliš rejected the reproaches of revolutionaries who described him as a reactionary. In his letter of 1889 to Šenrok (who later wrote Kuliš' biography) Kuliš wrote: "Concerning my views which are considered to be not quite liberal [I may say that] of all the Ukrainian writers, I am the most liberal, even challengingly liberal. My liberalism, however, is not meant for one day only. Radicalism might contribute to the cause of national freedom only after public opinion has had some influence on the course of events. Otherwise our progressive ideas will never be realized. This is why I camouflage my radicalism". P. Čubs'kyj (M. Mohyljans'kyj), "Vyxid P. O. Kuliša z rosijs'koho piddanstva ta povorot do rosijs'koho piddanstva", *Zapysky Istoryčno-Filolohičnoho Viddilu Ukrajins'koji Akademiji Nauk*, XIII–XIV (Kiev, 1927), pp. 162–63.

reveals, apart from the few compliments paid to Russian tsars, a deeper understanding and analysis of the corrupt and destructive monarchist politics than is to be found in the revolutionary literature of the time, which was meant to deal that monarchy the final blow. The work is addressed to the three nations which formed the base of Eastern Europe and at one time or another dictated its fate: the Ukraine, Russia, and Poland. Adhering to the maxim that "people should be judged by their successes rather than by their failures", Kuliš removes the halos with which each of the three partners had adorned himself.

> If Taurian Chersonesos was still under the influence of Greek civilisation, instead of under the Tartars who occupy it now, the word "Cossack" would probably be totally unknown to the people of today; as to those Cossacks who had won Siberia for the Muskovites, thanks to the Muskovite regime which scrupulously oppressed any desire of free activity, proper to every human being – those Cossacks, then, would not have bothered to travel that far for booty but, as masters of their land and under the influence of cultured neighbors, would have done much more for this broad, limitless wasteland which today is called the Russian Empire. The Cossacks, that product of the Tartar-infected deserts of the Rus' possessions, grew up in the midst of three gigantic but slovenly households: "polnische Wirtschaft, moskauische Wirtschaft, tatarische Wirtschaft".[39]

In five hundred years, from the time of the destruction of the old Ukraine-Rus' by the Mongols, Ukrainians, Poles, and Russians had not managed to establish a cultural and political order either in their own countries or anywhere in Eastern Europe. Kuliš pointed out that he criticized Eastern Europe so sharply only because he saw in the three dominant nations so many potentialities for a fully successful organization of life: the Ukrainians' love of freedom and abilities in the economic sphere, the Western aristocratic culture of the Poles, and the sense of government of the Russians. But these attributes proved harmful rather than beneficial.

Kuliš leveled his sharpest criticism at those he loved most – the Ukrainian and Polish nations. He was very impatient with the faults of the Ukrainians. It was he who first classified Cossacks into two types. One was the destructive warrior who grew up in the *Dyke Pole* (Wild Steppes) of Zaporižžja, in the neighborhood of Turks and Tartars, his deadly enemies, and whose life dream was to wage bloody battles against them on one side and against the Poles on the other. The Zaporozhian Cossack survived by hunting and by winning booty in assaults on his enemies. The other type, the town Cossack (horodovyj Kozak), was known for his sense of economic enterprise and civilization.

[39] P. A. Kuliš, *Istorija vossoedinenija Rusi*, II (St. Petersburg, 1874), p. 391.



Through painstakingly detailed analysis of the historical sources available to him, Kuliš tried to account for the failure of Poland, in spite of its brilliant Western culture, to bring order to Eastern Europe and to govern it wisely. According to Kuliš, this failure was due to the lack of economic foresight of the Polish landlords, their disregard for legal order founded on the basic freedoms and rights of the people they attempted to rule and the "hostility of the Polish unification policies" toward Ukrainians and other dissident nationalities of Eastern Europe. Kuliš, the merciless scourger of the "robber" element in the Cossacks, vehemently denied the erroneous claim, in which the Poles had persisted for two hundred years, that "all revolts of the Cossaks were for nothing but marauding" (I, 13). He pointed out that constant rebellion was the only means of protection from the plunder and robbery of the landlords. "The element of brigandage infected all classes and estates of Poland of that time", he wrote.[40]

Kuliš did not attempt to hide the primary purpose of his *Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi*. His purpose was to instruct those who had taken it upon themselves to lead Eastern Europe, the rulers of the Russian empire. Did Russia understand the gravity of its mission? Had it learned well enough the bloody lesson of history which showed so clearly that the policies of total unification had split Eastern Europe into a hundred parts, instead of unifying it? Kuliš provided the answer, pointing out that in his own time Russia was destroying the best elements of Polish society, thus stepping neatly into the shoes Poland had worn in the Ukraine. The Russian sense of government and Russian organizational abilities were directed not so much toward constructive ends as toward "the suppression of initiative and enterprise, qualities innate in every human being". They tended to destroy the oppressed nations and they blasphemed against the sacred ideas of equality before the law. But

> ...the force of events sooner or later teaches all despots and all who arrogantly defy history... History jealously protects truth not only in its most crucial affairs but also in its most insignificant happenings; life is precious in its every manifestation.[41]

How it was possible for Kuliš to combine a good government position in Petersburg with the writing of this important work, with its dangerous advocacy of an independent Ukraine, will remain one of the many mysteries of his complicated personality.[42] The book is written with tact,

[40] P. A. Kuliš, *Otdelenie Malorossii ot Pol'ši*, II (Moscow, 1889), p. 176.
[41] *Istorija vossoedinenija Rusi*, I, pp. 13 and 110.
[42] Some features characterizing Kuliš himself may be seen in the latter's words

responsibility and knowledge of the subject. The reader is made to understand that the author is an uncompromising architect of a free Ukraine [43] but that he also belongs to Eastern Europe and is profoundly concerned about its fate. He has deep respect for its three key nations. Nevertheless he is ready to condemn, without mincing words, their senselless hatred of one another.

Twenty years later, answering a question in a letter from Prince N. Šaxovskoj, Kuliš said that he planned his *Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi* as "a manual of Russian policies toward Poland and the Ukraine." He envisaged this relationship as the fulfillment of "international balance" between the Poles, the Russians and the Ukrainians, as well as a "re-establishment of the essential equality between the Old and the New Rus', that is to say, between Little Russia and Great Russia, which had been upset as a result of Tartar assaults and the elevation of Lithuania and Poland to the status of cultured nations". In this letter Kuliš regrets that, despite all he had said and done, he must , as an historian and politician, call Russia "the enemy camp".[44]

*Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi* and *Kobzar* do not contradict but supplement each other, because Kuliš and Ševčenko were building on common ground. The difference between them was the fact that Ševčenko stressed the vitality and freedomloving independence of the Cossacks, who had

referring to Hetman Sahajdačnyj, whom Kuliš put on a pedestal high above all other Cossack figures: "An outwardly friendly attitude towards the nobility [the Poles] and an unyielding insistence on his own position – this was a trait of Sahajdačnyj's which made him representative of the Ukrainian character that greatly influenced all Ukrainian history". *Istorija vossoedinenija Rusi*, II, p. 394.

[43] Kuliš clearly emphasized that he was applying to the imperial crown neither as a descendant of Hajdamaks now engaged in the underground revolutionary movement nor as an apolitical educationalist-loyalist full of secret cossackophile tendencies directed against the empire. Neither was he a russified renegade of the type of Ukrainian landowners and bureaucrats who in their indifference to the denationalization of the Ukraine had become hirelings of tsarism. Kuliš wrote of them: "They seem to be educated and they are often enormously rich, but their indifference is similar to that of a dumb herd, a part of which has already been separated from the rest and sent to a slaughterhouse". (II, p. V). Kuliš faced the imperial crown as a master, as a descendant of Ukrainian knights who had once protected the whole of Eastern Europe against the Mongolians and Turks, who had built a commonwealth together with Poland, but later had got even with the Polish magnates because of the latter's self-will and lack of "constructive sense". In regard to his position on the Ukraine, Kuliš wrote: "We should thoroughly keep in mind that we are at home, among our own family, in our own house; no one will give us this house, but no one will take it away either; no one will heat and illuminate it, except ourselves". (Letter to M. V. Karačevs'ka-Vovkivna, *Červonyj Šljax*, no. 8 (1925), p. 122).

[44] "Materialy dlja biografii P. A. Kuliša", *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 57 (1897), pp. 349–350, 346.



defended Ukrainian soil from enemy attacks and exploitation, while Kuliš devoted most of his attention to the constructive, lasting contributions of the Ukrainians and the Cossacks, and was much more severe in his criticism of their faults.

In Ševčenko we find the pain of the age-long oppression of the Ukraine while Kuliš provides us with a careful case history and diagnosis of it. In Ševčenko we have the apotheosis of supreme freedom; in Kuliš, we have the apotheosis of constructive self-discipline. In Ševčenko we have the power of the lyrical spontaneity of "the heart"; in Kuliš, the power of "the constructive mind." The two friends looked down into the same abysses and looked up into the same sky; for both of them love and affirmation of life defeated hate and negation of life. But while the poet seemed to transcend these abysses on the wings of his poetry, the thinker and politician had to plumb their depths and to climb their steep walls, carefully testing each stone. It was not easy, and the price Kuliš paid was his loneliness and, not seldom, closeness to a breakdown.[45]

## 6. *KOBZAR* IN THE "WAR OF TERROR" OF THE YEARS 1870–1880, AND DRAHOMANOV

The 1870's witnessed a catastrophe which Kuliš seemed to have foreseen in his *Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi*. This was the well-known series of purges and counter-purges in which thousands of young revolutionaries fell, and which cost the life of Tsar Alexander II. One after another, one against another, came the waves of reaction and "populist revolution". The guardians of the empire used excessive measures to smoke out the frightful revolutionary forces. The regime did everything in its power to bind together the Ukrainian liberation movement and the terrorist movement of "Narodnaja Volja", in order to be able to finish them both with one blow. Totleben, the Governor general of Odessa, put into general circulation a deliberately false story which claimed that "the Ukrainian liberation movement had a decisive influence on the social movements in Russia", that the organizers of "Narodnaja Volja" came from "a party of Ukrainophiles and only later became socialists", and that the dangerous Ukrainophiles "carry Ševčenko in one pocket and Karl Marx in the other".[46]

[45] "There were periods when I could not love my fatherland any more. This happened at moments of low spirits. Now I love her again, in spite of all the bad things inherent in her". *Pantelejmon Kuliš*, published by the Ukrainian Academy (Kiev, 1927), p. 77.

[46] Fedir Savčenko, *Zaborona ukrajinstva 1876 roku* (Xarkiv, 1927), p. XIV.

On May 30, 1876, Tsar Alexander II, then undergoing a rest cure in Ems, the German resort, signed a decree which would destroy the Ukrainian renascence movement once and for all. It outlawed not only different forms of Ukrainian activities, including printing, but also all Ukrainian activities within the framework of Russian institutions, conducted in the Russian language. The formal pretext for passing this decree was the publication in Vienna of several Ukrainian propagandist pamphlets by a revolutionary group.[47]

The first obvious result of this irrational decree was that all Ukrainian activities went underground, including the rather loyal, apolitical organization "Hromada" which, because of its newly acquired clandestine nature, willy-nilly fell in with the socialists. It entrusted to the socialists Myxajlo Drahomanov and Fedir Vovk the formation of the first Ukrainian emigration center since the time of Mazepa and Orlyk. The organization provided its two emissaries with the means of support for two years, as well as with funds for a journal, *Hromada* (The Community), and the preparation of a complete edition of *Kobzar*.

Drahomanov himself was in principle an opponent of terrorism, a socialist-reformer of the Western European type. But he supported the movement of political and cultural federation with Russia and was in close contact with Russian revolutionaries. As a result, many of his youthful supporters and pupils went over to "Narodnaja Volja". It is interesting to note that the cult of the Cossacks played an important part in the transition of the Ukrainian radical youth to the Russian revolutionary groups. It is these young "Ukrainian socialists"', the "rebels from Kiev" and the members of the so-called "Young Hromada" that the historian has in mind when he writes:

> The idealization of the democracy of Zaporižžja, with its philosophy of absolute and total equality... prepared the ground for a transition of the Ukrainian Hromada from Ukrainian traditional to contemporary socialistic ideas, and for their cooperation with the revolutionary and socialistic groups in Russia.[48]

[47] These were four pamphlets published in 1875 in Vienna by the circle of Ukrainian students headed by Ostap Terlec'kyj. Three of them were by Serhij Podolyns'kyj (penname of V. Kistko): *Parova mašyna* (Steam Engine), *Pro pravdu* (The Truth – adapted from the Russian pamphlet, *Xitraja mexanika* [An Artful Machiniation]), and *Pro bidnist'* (On Poverty). The fourth pamphlet was by F. Vil'xivs'kyj, *Pravdyve slovo xliboroba do svojix zemljakiv* (A Truth Told by a Farmer to His Countrymen). These publications are considered the beginning of Socialist literature in Ukrainian.

[48] Oleksander Rjabinin-Skljarevs'kyj, "Z revoljucijnoho ruxu 1870–x rokiv u dobu tymčasovyx heneral-hubernatoriv", *Za sto lit*, I (Kiev, 1927), p. 163.



The leader of "Hromada", Volodymyr Antonovyč, who had done so much to popularize the Cossack ideals of collectivism and equality in his historical works, tried in vain to negotiate with the people from "Narodnaja Volja" in order to prevent them from incorporating the Ukraine in their activities. "Hromada", which had failed to understand the reasons behind Kuliš' attacks of the cult of the Cossacks, now failed to understand those young Ukrainians who so facilely synthesized that cult with the cult of revolution.

In spite of Antonovyč's entreaties, it was the Ukraine that "Narodnaja Volja" chose as a suitable territory for its activities after the decree of 1876. The Ukraine gave the revolutionary movement of those years its strongest and most daring leadership. In the purge of "Narodnaja Volja" in the years 1877–1879, close to a thousand revolutionist-propagandists of the "peasant revolution" were arrested in the Ukraine. These Ukrainian revolutionists were fascinated not only by the tradition of the Cossacks but also by the revolutionary passages in *Kobzar*.[49] Ivan Franko wrote later:

> They would try to subjugate all their plans to the mystical term "the opportune time" [*slušnyj čas* – a term having its origins in Cossacks times] for which the peasants were hoping... They would try to resurrect the traditions of the Cossacks and the events of *Kolijivščyna*, and, as a last resort, would snatch at the most prominent representative of the new Ukrainian renascence, forcibly attaching him, as a man of ideas and as a man of action, to themselves.[50]

Jakiv Stefanovyč, a composer of songs for the Kobzars who performed at town fairs, founded in 1877 an insurgent organization, "Čyhyryns'ka Zmova" (The Conspiracy of Čyhyryn), which had nearly five thousand members and which was soon mercilessly liquidated by the regime. Among the peasants of Poltava Province a leaflet was circulated which distorted a passage from Ševčenko's *Hajdamaky* in order to instigate Ukrainians "to light up the Ukraine with fires and to bathe it in the blood of the gentry".[51]

[49] A heavy demand for Ševčenko's works at that time is indicated by the fact that Ševčenko's poem *Hajdamaky*, published in Kiev in 1875, had a circulation of 5,000 and the poem *Najmyčka* a circulation of 10.000. See V. Doroženko, "Bibliohrafija vydan' tvoriv Ševčenka", in T. Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, XVI (Warsaw-Lviv, 1939), *sub anno*.

[50] Franko. Foreword to M. Drahomanov, *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalizm* (Lviv, 1906), p. IX.

[51] Myxajlo Bužans'kyj, "Revoljucijni vidozvy v 1883 roci na Poltavščyni..." *Za sto lit*, III (Kiev, 1928), pp. 123–124.

The collection of materials pertaining to the role of Ševčenko's *Kobzar*' as revolutionary propaganda is far from completed. Publication of materials already available

Success for the revolutionists did not come for forty years. In the meantime, victory went to the reactionary camp, which took advantage of the opportunity to identify Ukrainians with Russian socialists and thus destroy the last vestiges of the Ukrainian liberation movement. A twentieth-century historian has this to say about those years in the Ukraine:

> That period put all the Ukraine under a military government. There was already a Kiev Governor general, and a decree of April 5, 1879 provided for governors general to Odessa and Xarkiv as well, dividing the Ukraine into three parts. For each part a satrap-plenipotentiary was appointed and vested with the powers of a commander-in-chief of a military operation. They were Čertkov, Totleben and Loris-Melikov.[52]

It was indeed a "ruin" in the terms of Kuliš and a tempest of "the possessed" in the terms of Puškin and Dostoevskij. By the irony of fate, *Kobzar*, which sang of "a bright, a quiet, a free, an unchained world" *(Svite jasnyj, svite tyxyj, svite vol'nyj, nespovytyj)*, was also pulled into this chaos, evil and vengeance.

The character of the age had a marked influence on the two emissaries of "Hromada", Drahomanov and Vovk, who had accepted the assignment to publish the fullest possible edition of *Kobzar*. Instead of going to Vienna, where the government did not allow socialist activities, they chose Geneva as the base of their operations. There Drahomanov, who at that time was showing the most acute symptoms of his radical-socialist fever, soon forgot why "Hromada" had sent him abroad, and set about organizing a stronghold of Ukrainian socialism in Western Europe. Both the journal *Hromada* and the edition of *Kobzar* were presented to the reading public as socialist publications. Soon the center of "Hromada" in Kiev, which at that time was doing everything possible to legalize its activities, severed all connections with the Geneva center.

In 1876 Alexander Rusov and Fedir Vovk published in Prague a two-volume edition of *Kobzar*. In the first volume were collected all the poems which the censors had approved for various publications in Russia and in the second were all those works which would have been or already had been banned by the authorities in the empire. Such an unfortunate arrangement gave birth to "two Ševčenkos" – the accepted one and the banned one – and Drahomanov himself called the Prague edition "stupid".

would take several volumes. Some material on the period under consideration in this chapter is found in the paper by A. Bačyns'kyj, "Tvory T. H. Ševčenka v revoljucijnij propahandi 70–80-x rokiv XIX st", *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, no. 5 (Kiev, 1960).

[52] Rjabinin-Skljarevs'kyj, p. 156.



In 1878, in Geneva, Drahomanov and Vovk published all the banned poetry of Ševčenko unofficially calling the collection "the bootleg *Kobzar*", after the little notebooks which the exiled Ševčenko had secretly carried in the legs of his boots. This was exactly what the insurgents needed: a portable and strictly revolutionary Ševčenko. The tsar's "Decree of May 30, 1876, Banning the Ukrainian Language" was printed as a foreword to that edition.[53]

In connection with the publication of the "bootleg *Kobzar*", Vovk published a long article in the journal *Hromada*, edited by Drahomanov in Geneva. There he repeated the rather naive view of Dobroljubov and Černyševskij about the "popular simplicity of *Kobzar*", which claimed that Ševčenko's poetry expressed "the world-view of the Ukrainian peasant", that "the people themselves speak with the lips of the poet". Vovk then proceeded to establish facile and unfounded parallels between Ševčenko and Burns, Thomas Hood, André Chénier, Hugo, Longfellow, Béranger, and Manzoni. In religion, Vovk's Ševčenko turned out to be "a thorough rationalist and sometimes even an anti-Christian revolutionist"; in the realm of morality he was a radical because he was against parental oppression of children, against marriage as a sacrament, and against asceticism; in politics he was an opponent of autocratic government and sometimes even an anarchist ("Ševčenko's political thinking may be characterized by his complete rejection of autocratic government and even government as such"); in international politics he was for free and brotherly communion with other nations, especially with Poles and Russians ("Not a narrow nationalism for the Ukraine – but a defense of our national individuality"); and finally in socio-economic questions he stood as the guardian of the masses against serfdom. Forgetting for a moment that Drahomanov was the real progenitor of Ukrainian socialism Vovk wrote:

> Ševčenko began the new, truly radical and democratic direction of Ukrainian national thought. He was the first to put the political and national question, as well as the question of serfdom, in the perspective of socialism.[54]

[53] The "bootleg *Kobzar*'" was published under the following title: Taras Ševčenko, *Kobzar'*, Part I. (Našym zemljakam na Ukrajini na rokovyny Ševčenka 26 ljutoho 1878 roku, Kuz'ma i Sirko vydavci. [For Our Countrymen in the Ukraine on the Occasion of Ševčenko's Anniversary, February 26, 1878, published by Kuz'ma and Sirko]. Foreword by S. O. [F. Vovk], "Zyttja j dumky Ševčenka", [Ševčenko's life and ideas]). Geneva, "Hromada" Publishing House, 1878, XXI + 126 pp.

A description and history of the Prague edition of *Kobzar'* and of the Geneva "bootleg *Kobzar*'" are presented in the foreword by Halyna Vovk to her *Bibliohrafija prac' Xvedora Vovka (1847–1918)*, (Kiev, 1929), pp. 10–11. See also S. Rusova, "Moji

And finally, Vovk pointed out how specific quotations from Ševčenko might be used for spreading revolutionary propaganda among the people.

Vovk's article is more of a political self-portrait than a portrait of Ševčenko, although it must be admitted in all fairness that some of its characterizations are true to the real Ševčenko. It presents a curious contrast to the scholarly anthropological and ethnographic research by which Vovk made his name in the history of science.

Vovk's article, as well as the ghost of Ševčenko which was suddenly omnipresent in Drahomanov's own domain of socialism, irritated the socialist leader. He published the article in order to follow it up immediately with his own paper, "Ševčenko, the Ukrainophiles and Socialism" *(Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalism)*. In it, he attacked not only the socialist cultists of Ševčenko but also the poet himself.[55]

Drahomanov began by pointing out that the cult of Ševčenko flourished despite the lack of a complete edition of the poet's works; he criticized the chaotic character of the Prague edition and the shallow, propagandistic character of the "bootleg *Kobzar*", in the publication of which he himself had collaborated. He went on to say that the conservatives' efforts were not much better: not only did the editors of the Lviv edition exclude all the anticlerical and revolutionary passages but they included poems by other authors, such as "Šče ne Vmerla Ukrajina" (The Ukraine Did Not Die) by P. Čubyns'kyj and tried to pass them off as Ševčenko's work. But Drahomanov's real interest was not in the study of Ševčenko's texts.

In the Central Ukraine, wrote Drahomanov, Ševčenko's separatist ideas were suppressed out of fear of the Russian censors; in the Western Ukraine some glorified Ševčenko as an enemy of Poland and Russia, some thought of him as the opponent of Russia alone (in order not to irritate the Polish censors), some presented him as "the prophet of the Ukrainian republic of the Cossacks and of insurrection against Moscow" (O. Partyc'kyj, *Providni ideji v pys'max T. Ševčenka*, 1872), while there were also those who saw in him the mild local patriot (Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj) or "the law-abiding progressionist of the Austrian type" without any trace of socialism or nihilism (Volodymyr Barvins'kyj).

spomyny", *Zasto lit*, II (Kiev, 1928), p. 154; O. Rusov, "Spomyny pro praz'ke vydannja 'Kobzarja'", *Ukrajina*, I (Kiev, 1907).

[54] F. Sirko (penname of F. Vovk), "Taras Ševčenko i joho dumky pro hromads'ke žyttja", *Hromada*, IV (Geneva, 1879), pp. 39–95, and separately, Lviv, 1906.

[55] M. Drahomanov, "Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalizm", *Hromada*, IV (Geneva, 1879); separate editions in Lviv, 1906, with I. Franko's foreword, in Kiev, 1914 and 1917, with A. Nikovs'kyj's preface. Here quoted from *Hromada*.



When the Prague edition of *Kobzar*, with its anticlerical poems, reached the Western Ukraine, some Ukrainian patriots were so frightened by it that they tried to keep it out of the hands of young people by banning it in the schools (J. Želexovs'kyj and others). In a twinkling the Apostle turned into Belial, "which is always the case with prophets whose worshippers refuse to see them objectively and historically but project upon them absolute values" (P. 117). "No matter how hard they tried, they failed to turn Ševčenko into a meek Uniate priest or an innocuous public servant of the Austro-Polish government" (p. 106). Here Drahomanov fixed for posterity a segment of the ever-changing, chaotic history of the uses and misuses of Ševčenko's work by his admirers, which was but a reflection of the chaotic social and political relations of a people deformed by enslavement.

Drahomanov's attack against the cults of Ševčenko was by no means original. Kuliš had been first to attack such cults, and Drahomanov merely listed more facts. While Kuliš, as a political thinker, related the cult of Ševčenko to the cult of the Cossacks and the cult of the revolution, and regarded them as a continuation of the age-old "ruin" of the Ukraine and all Eastern Europe, Drahomanov assumed the role of a party-line proselytizer for the radical-socialist doctrine. Thus Kuliš strove to save Ševčenko from his harmful cults while Drahomanov tried to degrade not only the cults but also the poet himself. Sensible and interesting when condemning the cult, Drahomanov becomes a boring, pompous doctrinaire when he attempts to diminish the stature of the poet. Here Drahomanov, whose intellect shines in such works as *Istoryčna Polšča i velykorus'ka demokratija* (Historical Poland and the Democracy of Russia), is very similar to Vovk, who was critical and factual in his anthropological studies but subjective and unconvincing in his excursions into Ševčenko's works.

Drahomanov's criticism of Ševčenko assumed that *Kobzar* had already been outlived by the nation, that it was the grain which had been left in the granary too long and had not served its purpose in its time, when it was still fresh, and now was of no use. Drahomanov rejected the idea of the universality of genius, particularly poetic genius, and denied that a poet could become the spokesman for a whole nation. Blinded by the philosophy of extreme rationalism, Drahomanov failed to see the beauty and wisdom of Ševčenko's poetry and "philosophy of the heart", and condemned his poetry as unnaturalistic and unscientific.

Acknowledging early in his essay that much remained to be done in assembling the data on Ševčenko's life and work, Drahomanov never-

theless presented his theses as indisputable and categorical. He disparaged Ševčenko as a "self-educated talent", a man who lacked the schooling necessary for a major poet. Speaking of Ševčenko's studies of French, which were interrupted by his arrest, Drahomanov, very unfairly, wrote that "it is clear that Ševčenko either did not attach much importance to the French language or was not used to systematic work, or both" (p. 131). Drahomanov stated further that Ševčenko did not know world history and erected his own conception of Ukrainian history on the basis of the "fragmentary and hazy thinking of the peasants" (p. 164). In his opinion, Ševčenko's reading was very limited, he was not familiar with the Western European intellectual currents of his time, had no idea of science, worked very little, had not known how to work in a systematic and ordered manner and therefore had not become an accomplished poet. Drahomanov considered Ševčenko's environment responsible for his "limitations", and charged Kostomarov, Kuliš, and the other members of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius with teaching him "nothing but the Bible".

Drahomanov tried to dismiss Ševčenko's poetic virtuosity in the same *a priori* manner. Ignoring the stages of the poet's development, he measured both his early and his late poems with the same yardstick, passing the same harsh judgment on such varied works as *Hajdamaky*, "Vid'ma" (The Witch), and "Neofity" (The Neophytes). Poems like "Son" (The Dream) and "Poslanyje" (The Epistle) he dismissed as "disheveled writing". From his rationalist and socialist standpoint, Drahomanov saw the period of 1858–1860, in which Ševčenko wrote some of his most profound and most moving poetry, as one of a sharp decline in the poet's powers. For the most part he concurred with Belinskij's condemnation of Ševčenko and concluded that "it is obvious that the poet did not apply himself to the polishing of his poetry and did not familiarize himself enough with the better examples of the artistic achievement of other writers" (p. 187).

Drahomanov based his accusation of the ethical inferiority of Ševčenko's poetry on the poem "Zapovit" (Testament), which had become the national anthem of the Ukraine.

> [Ševčenko's] vacillations between the consecrated knife and the brotherly kiss... obscured his images of the insurrection of oppressed slaves. This is obvious in such poems as "Zapovit" where he initially says "break your chains [here Drahomanov misquotes Ševčenko, using the word "*lomite*" for the original "*porvite*"] and bathe your freedom in the evil blood of your enemies" and then asks his readers to remember him "by a kind, soft word", as though it were possible to speak kind and soft words while the blood on one's hands is not yet dry (p. 164).



This suggestion of an immediate transition from the killing of one's enemies to words of brotherly love is absent from the poem, and should not, in all fairness, be read into it. Drahomanov's carelessness in quoting Ševčenko and the attempt to mislead the reader about the content of the poem reminds us that his article is not a serious literary explication of a work of art. Instead, we are witnessing a battle of two opposing world-views, two opposing epochs, two principles: the "wise heart", modest in its universality; and ultra-rationalism, smug in its narrow views. Ševčenko thought and felt not by short cuts of high-school logic but by epochs and generations. The poet sincerely hoped that his people would not be in chains nor bespattered with the blood of vengeance when they remembered him, but in a circle of "a free and new family". He hoped that his people would understand the tragedy of a man who was torn between wrath and love, and, having understood, would remember him with "a kind, soft word". The fundamental characteristic of Ševčenko's poetry, this magnetic field of love and hate, reconciliation and rebellion which Čukovskij considered quite unique,[56] was ascribed by Drahomanov to the poet's lack of education and unfamiliarity with scientific-rationalist views. Characteristically, Drahomanov pointed to Černyševskij's journalistic novel *Čto Delat'*? (What Are We to Do?) as a work of greater value than *Kobzar* (p. 193).[57]

In Drahomanov's essay there is but one short passage where the author, having transcended his dogma, acknowledged that Ševčenko

> had the individual nature of a poet, that is to say – a man who thinks and feels in images and who first of all tries to register these images on a canvas or on paper with words. Such a man may have great political power, but never directly (p. 185).

[56] Cf. K. Čukovskij, "Ševčenko", *Russkaja Mysl'*, no. 4 (1911), p. 94; no. 5, p. 101.

[57] Jevhen Čykalenko ably showed in his memoirs how some statements by Černyševskij found favor among gymnasium and university students of that time:
"In addition to the revolutionary literature, we were carried away by Dobroljubov, Pisarev, Šelgunov, and especially by Černyševskij and by the populist and tendentious fiction. For example, I was so impressed by Černyševskij's, *Čto delat'* and admired the hero of this story, Raxmetov, so much that I removed the mattress from my bed and for a long time slept on bare boards, just as Raxmetov did. Many of us were fascinated by the so-called nihilism and rejected poetry, music, and art in general. Some youths even violated common rules of decency, for example, they took off their boots in the street and dried off their deliberately soiled putties on the curbstones". (Jevhen Čykalenko, *Spohady* [New York, 1955], p. 87).

Here Drahomanov comes close to understanding the political possibilities of poetry. It would have been more logical, however, to accept poetry as autonomous and integral, and to regard *Kobzar* as an attempt at poetic synthesis. Unfortunately, Drahomanov's essay fundamentally is nothing but a rationalistic examination of a number of separate and unconnected passages in Ševčenko's work.

The systematic and scholarly research that began with the embryonic efforts of Kuliš has given us much factual material disproving Drahomanov's arguments with respect to Ševčenko's meager education, his inability to do systematic work, the limited range of his reading, his ignorance of Ukrainian history and world history, his unfamiliarity with literature, etc. And yet, the high scholarly and political reputation which Drahomanov earned by his other, more serious works, as well as the receptiveness toward socialist ideas, stood in the way of an objective evaluation of his essay by the reader. It is true that there were a few sporadic attempts to challenge Drahomanov's opinions of Ševčenko [58] but the first more or less systematic and decisive refutation did not come until 1925, in an essay by Pavlo Fylypovyč. Fylypovyč's verdict, although couched in mild terms, was firm:

> In Drahomanov's essay, written with talent and temperament, only his attacks against Ševčenko's cults and his statement that Ševčenko is a product of his environment are meaningful today. We must, however, look at that environment more carefully, treat it as a much more complicated organism than it was imagined by Drahomanov... Having before him only the scantiest factual material and an *a priori* conjecture of the meagerness of Ševčenko's education and of the low cultural and social level of the strata of society to which Ševčenko was close, especially in the 1840's, [Drahomanov] could only arrive at incomplete conclusions, and in this case incompleteness is often a methodological error and causes an incorrect presentation of facts.[59]

[58] Troxym Zvizdočot (Zin'kivs'kyj), "Taras Ševčenko v svitli evropejs'koji krytyky", *Pravda* (Lviv, 1891). In the spirit of Ševčenko worship, the author rejects Drahomanov's statements by referring to the high evaluation of Ševčenko by foreigners. Also P. Vartovyj (Borys Hrinčenko) in his "Lysty z Ukrajiny Naddniprjans'koji", *Bukovyna* (1892–93), while replying not to Drahomanov's monograph on Ševčenko, but to his *Čudac'ki dumky pro ukrajins'ku nacional'nu spravu*, rejected, among other things, Drahomanov's views on Ševčenko. Hrinčenko, however, merely worshiped Ševčenko as the prophet and "genius who was the first to proclaim the idea of the independence of the Ukrainian nation" and at the same time was always loyal to other nations. See also M. Plevako, "Ševčenko i krytyka. Evoljucija pohljadiv na Ševčenka", *Červonyj šljax*, no. 3 (Xarkiv, 1924), pp. 111–115.

[59] P. Fylypovyč, "Do studijuvannja Ševčenka i joho doby", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, I (Kiev, 1925), p. 17 ff.



Drahomanov's arguments against Ševčenko were intended to draw a distinct border line between the poet and socialism, and to banish Ševčenko's influence and cult from the socialist leader's own camp. Here Drahomanov refuted, point by point, the theses of Vovk's article, and concluded that Ševčenko could not be called a socialist revolutionary, an atheist, a rationalist, or even a "peasant poet". Since in the eyes of Drahomanov the lack of such qualities was a serious detriment to any man, let alone a famous poet, the essayist again simplified Ševčenko's portrait, adding to it characteristics from the seventeenth century, from Byzantine culture, from the narrow-minded *samobytniki* (advocates of selfhood) or straight from the peasants' "horse sense philosophy". Drahomanov was careful to point out that Ševčenko's religiosity, strengthened by the philosophy of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, never left the poet.

> We will not be too far off the mark when we compare Ševčenko's faith in his middle age with the faith of some Puritan of the seventeenth century, to which we have to add belief in the Virgin Mary and even in the sanctity of the Holy Mass, which Ševčenko, as a poet, a painter and a practitioner of the Orthodox faith, could not bring himself to eliminate from his thinking. Ševčenko remained a "Bible worshipper" to his death... Even in the poem "Marija" (The Holy Virgin Mary), which was his most daring deviation from the Scriptures, there is a passage which will justify such gentlemen as Želexovs'kyj in saying that Ševčenko never ceased to be a Christian:
>
> Vse upovanyje moje
> na tebe, mij presvitlyj raju,
> na myloserdyje tvoje,
> vse upovanyje moje
> na tebe, maty, vozlahaju.
> Svjataja sylo vsix svjatyx!
> Preneporočnaja, blahaja!
>
> (I bring all my hopes / to you, my brightest Paradise, / I place all my hopes / at your mercy, / I entrust them to you, O Mother, / O sacred power of all saints, / immaculate and kind!)
>
> Such words could not have been written by a consistent rationalist (p. 141).
>
> In 1859, the year he wrote "Marija", he prayed to God every day, and in 1860 he published *Južno-Russkij Bukvar* [The Primer for Southern Russians] with prayers and still another "Byzantine stuff". And so, Ševčenko even in the 1860's was only slightly touched by anticlerical thinking, although it was strong as far back as the 1840's, in Herzen's and Belinskij's groups in Moscow and Petersburg and under the influence of the newer rationalists, materialists and positivists (p. 143).

Drahomanov further wrote that Ševčenko was unfamiliar with the idea of "the unceasing progress of society" (p. 164). In fact, Ševčenko, as a constant reader of *Sovremennik*, must have been acquainted with the idea. But Ševčenko, like his two great contemporaries Gogol and Dostoevskij, refused to follow the new religion of "the rationalists, materialists and positivists". His critic Drahomanov failed to recognize the seed of tragedy in man and society, of which Ševčenko so clearly had warned his readers. Drahomanov saw no reason to attempt to solve riddles which presumably had been solved long ago; in his opinion, the only alternative left to Ukrainians was "to adhere to the ideas of European and American socialists".[60] In his time, Ševčenko had satirized the uncritical followers of fashionable philosophical trends:

Jakby vy včylys' tak, jak treba,
To j mudrist' by bula svoja.
A to zalizete na nebo:
"I my ne my, i ja ne ja,
I vse te bačyv, i vse znaju,
Nema ni pekla, ani raju,
Nemaje j Boha, til'ky ja!
Ta kucyj nimec' vuzluvatyj,
A bil'š nikoho!"
("Epistle")

(If you had learned as you should have learned, / you also would have your own wisdom. / But you clamber up into the sky: / "We are not we, and I am not myself, / and I saw it all, I know it all, / there is no Hell and no Paradise, / and there is no God, only I, / and a gnarled little German, / and nobody else".)

Drahomanov was fascinated with the new vogue of positivism and socialism, as before him Belinskij was fascinated with Hegel. "Nonsense", wrote Drahomanov, quoting the above lines (p. 130). "Really stupid stanzas", he repeated in anger thirteen years later.[61] He reproached Ševčenko for isolation from the West, hatred of the German nation, primitive patriotism, and smugness.

Although Drahomanov praised Ševčenko for his love of man and of freedom, he soon disposed of these virtues with phrases like "this is not nearly enough ground for regarding Ševčenko as a socialist" and "this cannot be placed on the same level with the socialistic ideas of the nine-

[60] "Perednje slovo do *Hromady*", M. Drahomanov, *Vybrani tvory*, I (Prague, 1937), p. 118.
[61] "Čudac'ki dumky pro ukrajins'ku nacional'nu spravu", *ibid.*, p. 266.



teenth century". Having duly noted Ševčenko's description of the work and love of a peasant couple on their own farm ("They reap wheat on their happy field"), Drahomanov commented: "It is not surprising that Ševčenko, who did not know European ideas of cooperation, could not even visualize a collective economy" (p. 166).

Here one sees again the difference between Ševčenko and Drahomanov. Ševčenko based his thought on values of man, family, and religious truth – values that do not depend on the fashion. Drahomanov, on the other hand, chose "the one and only guiding thread of infallible human progress", "collective economy", "the kingdom of the mind" – shutting himself within the walls of his age and turning his back on the imminent cataclysms that the new century was to bring to the world.

Unlike Ševčenko and Kuliš, Drahomanov had no conception of the tragic as a basic element in the structure of the universe. Max Scheler points out that this insensitivity to tragedy is a trait common to naturalism, determinism, and rationalism as ways of thought. In fact, the tragic motives of *Kobzar* and "the judgment of history", as conceived by Kuliš, deeply angered Drahomanov. He failed to understand Ševčenko's great love of man, liberty, and the beauty of life, and his despair at the sight of the inability of man and society to realize their possibilities. Of Ševčenko's line: "Sit still and do not wait for anything" *(Sydy i ničohisin'ko ne ždy)*, Drahomanov declared: "No European socialist could bring himself to make such a pronouncement. The Russian socialists of today do not speak thus, even those who spend their time entombed in prison" (p. 165). Since Ševčenko never became a socialist, he therefore "never was a political or social leader, even to the degree that these functions lie within the possibilities of any poet", wrote Drahomanov, adding that Ševčenko was not even a people's poet; "writing for peasants was furthest from his mind" (p. 135).

Of what use then is such poetry? Answering his own question, Drahomanov exhibited the practical side of his rationalism and proposed to apply to *Kobzar* the surgical "fragmentation method".

[The only way to use Ševčenko's works] as far as the common people are concerned, is to select his best, simplest and most lucid poems and to insert them into short stories... about government, society, etc. There are quite a number of such fragments in *Kobzar* which are beautiful for their wisdom, their style, their tears and their laughter, for the power of their images and for their simplicity. Such fragments show that we have before us not only a true folk bard, but also a wonderful man, a great intellect and a socially conscious individual. But they do not permit us to regard Ševčenko as many would regard him: as a man of new ideas... They only show us what he could have

become had he different friends who could have given him a truly European education! (p. 190).

This "fragmentation method" contradicts Drahomanov's own logic. Having ridiculed the method which the conservatives had adopted in their edition of *Kobzar*, Drahomanov proposes this very method to the radical socialists. This and other inconsistencies clearly demonstrated the failure of his frontal attack on Ševčenko. Drahomanov began, perhaps without realizing it, a new phenomenon in Ukrainian political history – "the battle for Ševčenko" – which today, on the centennial anniversary of the poet's death, goes beyond the borders of the Ukraine.[62]

Later, Drahomanov gave a practical demonstration of the "fragmentation method" in his two editions of the poem "Marija"[63] and in a stereotype edition of *Poeziji T. Hr. Ševčenka zaboroneni v Rosiji* (Poems of T. Hr. Ševčenko banned in Russia).[64] It was characteristic of Drahomanov to try to exploit politically Ševčenko's poem "Marija", the spirit of which was so alien to his rationalist thinking and which he had criticized so mercilessly in his essay. But, in spite of his rationalizations, the poem is a work of art. No wonder, Ivan Franko evaluated it as "a work by Ševčenko which it is difficult to surpass".[65] Arming it with a foreword and an arsenal of annotations and remarks, Drahomanov described with his characteristic directness the utilitarian-propagandistic reasons for publishing it. He wanted to confront religious people with the rationalism of the new "European thought on religion...in a capsule exposition of the ideas of the followers of the scientific criticism of the Bible according to the method of Reuss"; to illuminate the "progressive Christian" character of Ševčenko's presentation of the Virgin Mary and to prove that "there were no such women at the time of Jesus and that they appeared much later, in our time".

But there is a curious passage in Drahomanov's foreword to the Russian translation of "Marija", coming unexpectedly from the author of the disparaging paper written three years earlier.

[62] The Communist literary critic Volodymyr Korjak was the first to formulate the concept of "the struggle for Ševčenko", implying a corresponding "class straightforwardness". However, while the honest liberal rationalist Drahomanov had claimed only "fragments" of Ševčenko, Korjak, using the "fragmentation method', proclaimed the Communist monopoly of the whole of Ševčenko's work. (V. Korjak, *Borot'ba za Ševčenka*, Xarkiv, 1925, p. 113).

[63] *Marija. Poema T. H. Ševčenka.* Foreword and comments by Drahomanov. Translation from Ukrainian. (Geneva, 1885), 47 pp. [The Russian translation is not identified]. In 1882 in Lviv Drahomanov published "Marija" in the Ukrainian original, but using the Latin alphabet for the benefit of Polish and polonized laborers in Galicia who could not read the Cyrillic alphabet.

[64] Geneva, 1890, 248 pp.

[65] *Literaturna spadščyna*, I (Kiev, 1956), p. 351.



> Across this Ukrainian land and in other countries where Ukrainians live, the day of Ševčenko's death is commemorated yearly... as a holy day. Taras Hryhorovyč deserved such remembrance and such fame for his works and for the example of his life (p. III).

This marked the beginning of Drahomanov's retreat.

In 1889 Drahomanov wrote that although at one time he had believed that Ševčenko's works had been outgrown by the people, lately he had come to the conclusion that

> ... even the most learned among them [Ukrainians] still have far to go in order to catch up even with Ševčenko. On the basis of this conclusion, I have written a letter [to *Isvestija Slavjanskogo Obščestva*] where I have stated... that my aims are based on the desire for the political reform of all Russia, founded on the principles of liberty and decentralization; and that those aims are in harmony with the ideas of the old Ukrainophiles of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius [Kostomarov, Ševčenko and others].[66]

In 1891 Drahomanov said that "the program of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius of 1847, launched by Kostomarov, Ševčenko and others...is still the wisest idea that the Ukrainian patriots ever had".[67]

In 1894, a year before his death, Drahomanov granted Ševčenko the right to be called a genius and noted that the poet's national consciousness and his love of his fellow-men contributed to his stature as an "epochal phenomenon in the history of social thought in the Ukraine."[68]

Drahomanov's retreat before Ševčenko's thought coincided with his departure from the extreme rationalism and radical socialism exemplified by his essay "Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalizm". Hurt by the destructive results of the populist socialist-revolutionary movement of the 1870's, Drahomanov wanted to renounce the movement once and for all. He accomplished this in his historical work *Istoryčna Pol'ščа i velykorus'ka demokratija* (1881–1882). Kuliš had reason to call this work "a very interesting book";[69] in it the author seemed to continue Kuliš' own

[66] M. Drahomanov, "Avtobiohrafija", *Vybrani tvory* (Prague, 1937), p. 82.

[67] "Čudac'ki dumky pro ukrajins'ku nacional'nu spravu," *ibid.*, p. 264.

[68] *Lysty na Naddniprjans'ku Ukrajinu* (Kiev, 1917), p. 27.

[69] M. Lobodovskij, "Tri dnja na xutore u P. A. Kuliša i A. M. (Hanny Barvinok) Kuliš," *Kievskaja starina*, No. 4 (1897), p. 171.

*Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi*, by demonstrating how Russian, Polish and Russianized Ukrainian social-revolutionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century had repeated the mistake which Kuliš found had been made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Drahomanov showed how Russian revolutionists, with their terrorism and centralism, were the direct descendants of the Russian regime. The ex-socialist thinker now became the founder of the constitutional democratic movement in the Russian empire. The German sociologist Max Weber praised him highly for the first workable political program for the reconstruction of Eastern Europe on the basis of the Western European system of law and order.[70]

But Drahomanov's former students, who had absorbed so eagerly his early delusions, did not stand by him in his revision of his errors. Some of them, especially those active politically, carried to absurdity their vulgarization of the thesis of "Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalism". Although they participated in yearly commemorations of Ševčenko's death and readily used *Kobzar* for their propagandistic purposes, they had absolutely no contact with the spirit of Ševčenko. For example, Kostjantyn Arabažyn, a member of a Drahomanov circle in Kiev, wrote a vaudeville sketch *Popered spytajsja, a todi i lajsja* (First Find Out What It Is All About and Then Make a Row), in which a radical character sententiously expresses his opinions on Ševčenko:

> Ševčenko... well, I do not have very much respect for him. He should be respected only for writing in Ukrainian... but on the whole he was an uneducated man, liked the company of women and disliked reading... why, he did not even read Karl Marx, Saint-Simon and Fourier, so of what advantage can his works be to the people... can they free the people from the heavy circumstances of economic enslavement? The people need real work, they need bread.[71]

This would have been a good caricature of a limited, slogan-shouting young man, if the author had not spoken in all seriousness. Twenty years later Arabažyn repeated similar thoughts in an article printed in 1906, in *Vil'na Ukrajina*, the chief organ of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party.

> We would lose much by exchanging the bright and broad ideas of our time for the obscure poetic ideas and dreams of Taras Ševčenko, which oscillate and change ceaselessly. Ševčenko's worldview is very confused and unclear, his works contain all the confused elements of the soul of the people, with its romantic poetry, with its historical debris... There are many contradictions in the poetry of Ševčenko and this makes it possible for everybody to find in it thoughts close to his heart. A Ukrainian landlord cannot but enjoy this great fiction which the poet had imagined and which for so many years had permitted ... the overlord... to assert the well-being of his peasants, basing himself on such charming but unreal idylls as "Sadok vyšnevyj kolo xaty" (A Cherry Orchard by the House) in which only a nightingale disturbs the contentment of the people... Perhaps even some gendarme, preparing a pogrom of Jews and the intelligentsia for Easter, remembered *Hajdamaky* and sang out from his heart: "No Jews and no Poles!" (Ni žyda ni ljaxa!)[72]

[70] Max Weber, "The Condition of Bourgeois Democracy in Russia", *Archives of Social Science and Social Politics*, XXII (Tübingen, 1906), p. 267.
[71] Quoted from memoirs of M. Berenštam-Kistjakovs'ka, "Ukrajins'ki hurtky v Kyjevi v druhij polovyni 80-x rokiv", *Za sto lit*, III (Kiev, 1928), p. 212.



The reason such articles were needed for the pages of party periodicals and the reason they were based on Drahomanov's discussion of Ševčenko's poetry was explained much later by a Soviet Russian literary critic, Anatolij Lunačarskij, author of an extended essay on Ševčenko and an article on Drahomanov's views of the poet.

> Not only did [the young Ukrainian socialists] pull Ševčenko's work toward socialism; they did not hesitate to cut away at socialism to make it fit this amazing folk poet. This was what Myxajlo Drahomanov condemned so vehemently in his excellent study "Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalism". Drahomanov... does not consider himself a Marxist and yet the spirit of the Marxian scientific method is evident in such works of Drahomanov as the essay which we are now discussing. ... Drahomanov leaned a little too far in the other direction... his judgment is very strict and seems pedantic in spots but even such biting criticism as this may be explained by the brusque protest of Drahomanov against the vulgarization of scientific-socialist thought to accommodate any genius... It would have been to [Ševčenko's] great advantage to have had with him such a friend as Drahomanov.[73]

The political followers of Drahomanov split into two groups. Some, like K. Arabažyn, P. Tučaps'kyj (the co-founder of The Russian Social-Democratic Party) and others followed the line of Marx and the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Labor Party; others adopted the slogans of the Ukrainian Radical Party and the party of the Socialist Revolutionists *(Èsèry)*. With respect to Ševčenko, the Marxist group, from Arabažyn through the Communist Andrij Ričyc'kyj, was probably much closer to the views of the anti-Marxist Drahomanov than were the radicals and the Socialist Revolutionists, who considered themselves Drahomanov's men. Forty-five years after the publication of Drahomanov's essay,

[72] Quoted from Oleksander Lotoc'kyj, *Storinky z mynoloho* (Warsaw, 1933), p. 316.
[73] Anatolij Lunačars'kyj, "Ševčenko i Drahomaniv", *Pamjati Myxajla Drahomanova, 1895–1920* (Xarkiv, 1920), pp. 49–50.

Andrij Ričyc'kyj echoed Drahomanov on Ševčenko's "peasant' limitations" and his "hatred of the Germans", ignoring the great amount of evidence about Ševčenko that had been accumulated since Drahomanov's time. Ričyc'kyj explains away the political problem of Ševčenko's role in the Soviet ideological system by stating that Ševčenko was the bard of "the Ukrainian pre-proletariat".[74]

Among Ukrainian radicals and Socialist Revolutionists the position on Ševčenko evolved from complete disregard of *Kobzar* to its extensive utilization through the "fragmentation method". Because of the immense popularity of Ševčenko among the people, the Socialist Revolutionists tried to include *Kobzar* in the working program of their party ideology. Ševčenko's line from the poem "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus) "Fight and you shall conquer" *(Boritesja – poborete)* became their party slogan and served for the title of the journal published by the Foreign Delegation of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionists, with the cooperation of Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, in the years 1920–1922. The Socialist Revolutionists had succeeded in amalgamating the three cults discussed above – the cult of the Cossacks, the cult of Ševčenko, and the cult of the revolution. This amalgamation was to hinder the Socialist Revolutionists, the most powerful party of the independent Ukrainian Republic in the years 1917–1919, in fulfilling their constructive role. Later, when the Republic fell and the Ukraine was occupied by the Bolsheviks, those responsible for this amalgamation tried to join forces with the Bolsheviks. Soon they were physically destroyed.

## 7. KULIŠ' REUNION WITH THE IDEAS OF ŠEVČENKO

In compliance with the imperial decree of 1876, which outlawed the Ukrainian language, Kuliš' book *Xutorna filosofija* (The Farmstead Philosophy) was seized and destroyed in a print shop in Petersburg, and only one copy was saved. "It is of no avail to call a Russian your uncle," Kuliš wrote after the issue of the decree, with his characteristic calm irony.[75] He described the decree as an attack organized not only against the Ukrainian renascence movement but also against all hopes of reconstructing orderly life of the Eastern European nations.[76]

[74] Andrij Ričyc'kyj, *Ševčenko v svitli epoxy* (Xarkiv-Berlin, 1923), 200 pp.
[75] Kuliš, *Tvory*, VI, p. 581.
[76] In his letter to O. Kistjakovs'kyj, Kuliš writes: "What a time they have chosen to prevent the unification of Rus. Neither the Poles nor the Germans could find a moment better suited for their purposes of disunification." (Quoted from D. Dorošenko, *Pantelejmon Kuliš*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 44–45.)



Kuliš gave much thought to the new situation and finally decided to act without emigrating, without going underground and without resigning himself to the tsar's arbitrary decision. In 1881, when several members of "Narodnaja Volja" killed Tsar Alexander II and Alexander III ascended the Russian throne, Kuliš again went to the Western Ukraine where twenty years earlier he had tried to found the "Ukrainian Piedmont." With renewed energy he entered into the political activities of Western Ukrainians, protesting, in the name of Ševčenko, against the new enslavement of the Ukraine by the empire. But this time he included in his activities two strictly political maneuvers: he formally gave up his Russian citizenship [77] and began talks with the leading Polish figures in the Western Ukraine about a lasting Polish-Ukrainian alliance.[78]

Once again Kuliš distinguished clearly between himself and the cultists of Ševčenko and of the Cossacks and Hajdamaks (such as "Stara Hromada" [The Old Community] and the Socialist Revolutionists), together with the positivist and radical-socialist Drahomanov who recently had renounced Ševčenko as a poet poorly equipped for the age of rationalism. "Throughout the cities of the Ukraine you hear nothing now but the ideas of Drahomanov," wrote Kuliš. "We must ignore them."[79] At the time of his nation's new misfortunes, he turned once more to his late friend, painting a powerful portrait of the poet in his "Istoryčne Opovidannja" (A Historical Tale) and in his poems which he published in a collection *Xutorna Poezija* (Farmstead Poetry). Kuliš wanted to free Ševčenko's name from that treacherous political quagmire toward which it was being pulled not only by the Russian official reaction but also by both the apolitical and the terroristic founders of his cult. Kuliš does not represent Ševčenko as a "folk-bard" or a "peasant poet," nor is he a means to any political ends, but he is first and foremost a poet, a universal poet. "Before the eyes of my soul there stood a poet, the rising

[77] Kuliš did not renew his Russian citizenship for seven years. Then, in applying for the restoration of his citizenship, he begged in his official letter to the Ministry of the Interior, "that the highest authority to annul the Supreme *Ukaz* of 1876". In this way he emphasized officially that his acceptance of citizenship did not imply his acceptance of the government's anti-Ukrainian policy. (P. Čubs'kyj, "Vyxid P. O. Kuliša z rosijs'koho piddanstva ta povorot do rosijs'koho piddanstva, 1882–1891"), *Zapysky Istoryčno-Filolohičnoho Viddilu Ukrajins'koji Akademiji Nauk*, 13–14 [Kiev, 1927], pp. 153 and 156).
[78] Kuliš formulated this new tendency in his two publications in Lviv: 1) *Xutorna poezija*, with the author's reminiscences on Ševčenko as a foreword and his "Zazyvnyj lyst do ukraijns'koji inteligencii", an appeal to establish in Galicia the foundations for the Ukrainian renascence, as an afterword", and 2) *Krašanka rusynam i poljakam na Velykden' 1882 roku* (Lviv, 1882, published by the author), 32 pp.
[79] Quoted in Ivan Franko, *Moloda Ukrajina, Čast 'perša, Providni ideji j epizody* (Lviv, 1910), p. 12.

sun of poetry, of which as yet only a slice appeared on the reddening horizon and threw its rays upon the dewy grass."[80]

The greatest attribute of the poet was his naive, childlike genius, which embraced the All. This time Kuliš emphasized the rapid growth of the poet from his first romantic works to the mature cycle of "Try Lita" (Three Years). This growth, wrote Kuliš, gave cause for "grandiose hopes." In his mature period, "even the person of Ševčenko had changed since I had left the Ukraine. He was not a *kobzar* now. He was a national prophet." As a mature man at the height of his powers, he saw clearly his poetic mission. "At that time his muse protested with all her strength against the indolence of the powerful of this world."

Contradicting his former attacks against the poet, Kuliš now found in Ševčenko's freedom-loving and rebellious poems not "an intoxicated muse", not a "wild genius," but "the harbinger and the first hero of the *real* Ukrainian freedom, not the kind that was desired by the Cossacks."[81]

In Kuliš' poems, *Xutorna Poezija*, Ševčenko played a very important part. Kuliš took the motto for his collection from a poem by Ševčenko and dedicated several poems to his memory. Here again we see Kuliš' efforts to evaluate Ševčenko objectively. In the poem "Do Ševčenka" (To Ševčenko) Kuliš wrote of the days of The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the period of a creative friendship between himself and the poet, when before them "opened the sea of all the knowledge of the world," the sea of freedom.

Vtopyly b my v tim mori vsju moroku,
Jaka nam zmalku holovu moročyt',
I tjahne nas od Zaxodu k Vostoku,
I azijatstvo vične nam proročyt'.

(In that sea we would drown all our gloom / which darkens us all from our childhood, / which pulls us away from the West towards the East / and which prophesies for us an endless Asiatic future.)

But the "Northern darkness," the "blind despotism" of "insane Muskovites" sent the poet into exile, to Aral, and by inhuman cruelty called forth terrible songs.

Šče ne bulo Ovidija j ne bude,
Jakym ty stavs' nad mertvennym Aralom:
Takyx pekel'nyx not ne čuly ljudy,
Jaki na serci v tebe zvirstvo bralo.

[80] Kuliš, *Tvory*, VI, pp. 392–93.
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 384, 382, 396.



(There never was and there never will be such an Ovid / as you became by the dead sea of Aral: / never before had people heard such infernal notes, / as the ferocity of others played upon your heart.)

And thus, wrote Kuliš, was born Ševčenko's poetry "of the two-edged sword": poetry of all-embracing noble love and affirmation of the world on one hand, and of revolutionary vengeance on the other. "Like a fiery sword above our Ukraine" the word of Ševčenko will guard the unfortunate people and will not let "a new Batu" destroy human lives for centuries on end.

In the poem "Na Dvadcjati rokovyny velykoho poxoronu" (On the Twentieth Anniversary of a Great Funeral) Kuliš once more painted the tragic conflict of the members of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, referring to Russia as the "weird witch "who" killed our flowers with her Northern frost." He added his own poetic echo to Ševčenko's motives of revolutionary protests and threats. "We are now silent," Kuliš wrote in a poem "Božyj Sud" (Judgment Day), hinting at the decree of 1876, but

Koly ž čuje vid nas
Xto sumnyj tyxyj hlas, – –
V našyx spivax hrizne ščos' tajit'sja.
Mov na kryšax syči
Zavyvajut' vnoči,
Mov holosyt' Minervyna ptycja.
O, nastane strašnyj!
I, mov hrim holosnyj,
Zahovoryt' naš kraj veleljudnyj.

(And if you hear our / rueful muffled voice / it hides a threat in its songs. / As if screech owls were howling / from roofs at night, / as if the bird of Minerva were wailing. / Oh the judgment day will come. / And like loud thunder / our land full of people will speak).

In that collection Kuliš carried on Ševčenko's insistence on stripping from the face of Russia the mask of Slavophilism, and moreover gave an apt characterization of past and future phases of the empire.[82] And

[82] Obmanščyce, koho ty ne lestyla,
Komu mjakyx ne slala ty peryn?
Šče malo ty ljudej zanapastyla,
Ščo viryly obicjankam tvojim?...

Obnjaty svit zaliznymy rukamy
Sylkuješšja, ščob luds'komu umu
Sporudyty z prodažnymy popamy
Vselens'kuju, bezvyxodnu tjurmu.

yet, in these revolutionary themes he still relied on his self-imposed discipline and intellectual and emotional balance.[83]

Although in some of the poems there are still some sharp critical remarks on some of Ševčenko's political opinions, Kuliš regarded Ševčenko's work as the summit of Ukrainian poetry and of the Ukrainian spirit. Kuliš' criticism did not keep him from acknowledging Ševčenko's greatness. In one of Kuliš' poems, a fictional Ševčenko says to his people:

Ja vaš kobzar, poet, prorok jasnovydjuščyj!
Ja vičnyj obraz vaš, ja dux vaš nevmyruščyj...

(I am your *kobzar*, your poet, your prophet who foresees your future. / I am your eternal image, your undying spirit...)

According to Kuliš, Ševčenko's spirit assimilated within itself the highest values and the basest weaknesses of the Ukrainian people. That is why the poet is "the eternal image of his people." This is most generous praise and yet it does not even hint at a cult.

Thus, with Ševčenko's poetry as his banner, Kuliš entered his next political battle. He called to his side the Ukrainian intelligentsia who had been dispersed by the sudden blow of the 1876 decree and by the terror of those times. In his "Zazyvnyj lyst do ukrajins'koji inteligenciji" (A Letter Summoning the Ukrainian Intelligentsia), published as a postscript to the *Xutorna Poezija* (pp. 113–137), Kuliš wrote: "There is no abyss that a nation cannot transcend by means of its moral victory over an elemental force." He pointed to the political achievement gained

"A jak na vas koly v lyxu hodynu
Vozdvyhne vrah bezoščadnu vojnu,
To vyriže vas ti'ky polovynu,
A tam pryjdu i vas oboronju..."

(Whom did you not caress, o deceiver; / for whom did you not make a soft bed? / Did you not destroy enough of those who believed your promises?...

You attempt to take the whole world / in your iron embrace, so that, / together with your corrupt priests, you might erect around the human mind / a universal prison without exit.

"And if, perchance, in a desperate hour, / the enemy wages merciless war against you, / he will butcher only half of your number, / and then I will come and I will defend you").

[83] Molus', ne daj meni z rozpuky
Zrektysja rozumu moho:
Nexaj ne hasne svit nauky
V prominnjax sjajeva Tvoho.

(I pray, do not let me / go out of my mind from despair: / Let the light of learning shine forever / in the rays of Thy light.)



"by protesting before the intelligentsia of the whole world against the attempt at the blind and tyrannical murder of our national spirit."[84] He called upon the intellectuals from the section of the Ukraine dominated by Russia to contribute to the reconstruction of the Ukrainian spirit in the part of the Ukraine controlled by Austria, to help in establishing there a large publishing concern and to aid Western Ukrainians in their work by all available means. In the opinion of Kuliš, the freedom of the Ukrainian printed word in the Western Ukraine should be given full support by all Ukrainians, in order to counterbalance its prohibition in the Russian empire. "National consciousness and spiritual creativity of Ukrainians, their literature, is such a force," he wrote, "that no power in the world, let alone the Russian empire, will defeat it." He emphasized the fact that the Ukrainian nation "extended life-giving aid to two literatures" (the Polish and the Russian). Kuliš, author of *Istorija Vossoedinenija Rusi*, was speaking with the authority of a scholar and a historian when he said:

No, we are by no means a small nation, although our neighbors do not seem to notice us because they are too busy preening themselves. We are not small because when we stood by Poland, Moscow squirmed under the Polish heel; and when we went over to Russia's side, Poland began to squeal under the Russian heel... The greatest glory of the Ukrainian nation, however, is obvious from the fact that, having been left without a religious, political, military or scientific leadership, it nevertheless was able to produce an independent literature that seriously frightened the mighty Russian advocates of unification of Russia.[85]

At that time Kuliš also published in Lviv the first volume of his translations of Shakespeare's plays.[86]

In Lviv Kuliš saw with his own eyes the extent to which Ukrainian activities were being hampered by feuds between the Ukrainians and the Poles. In order to introduce the matter of Ukrainian-Polish agreement to the general public, he published an essay called *Krašanka rusynam i poljakam na Velykden' 1882 roku (An Easter Egg for the Ruthenians and*

[84] *La littérature oukrainienne proscrite par le gouvernement russe* (Geneva, 1878). Drahomanov presented this paper before the world congress of literature in Paris under the chairmanship of Victor Hugo.

[85] Kuliš, *Tvory*, VI (Lviv, 1910), pp. 579–80.

[86] *Šekspirovi tvory*. Translated from English into Ukrainian by P. O. Kuliš. Volume I: "Othello", "Troilus and Cressida", and "Comedy of Errors" (Lviv, 1882, published by the translator, printed in the printing house of the Ševčenko Society), 418 pp. In all, Kuliš translated fifteen of Shakespeare's plays, of which two went astray, and the rest were published by I. Franko in 1899–1902 in Lviv.

*the Poles for Easter of the Year 1882)*. Published by the author, the pamphlet was dedicated to "the two martyrs of the cause of mankind, Taras Ševčenko and Adam Mickiewicz, who liberated themselves from our great sorrow." There, Kuliš wrote:

> The two beautiful, most beautiful Slavic nations in the world... set against one another by their evil or blind leaders, were ready to sink their teeth into another, and thus kill the land, dear to them both...
>
> Here sits a brave Ruthenian with his fierce, thousand-year-old foe, the Pole, in a narrow closeness between two seas, and fury, inspired by centuries of delusion, turns them both into madmen... They waste their last drop of strength and their last means of survival on this miserable feud, prepare death for one another, of which not one grandson will be proud.[87]

Kuliš ruthlessly exposed the errors of both nations, and asked them to come to terms, to shake hands. Since the Poles controlled the Western Ukraine politically and economically, he asked them to take the first step toward reconciliation. He himself became friendly with some Polish noblemen of non-Polish descent (Count Sapieha, Tarnawski, Czartoryski), asking them not only to return to their own nation but also to lead it in its new rebirth. From the beginning, the Ukrainians opposed this plan. The Poles, however, became interested and gave a series of dinners in Kuliš' honor, at which they played their tune and he played his, reminding them that he was of Cossack descent and would agree only to a fair compromise.[88] But in their press the Poles published only their own speeches, roundly ignoring Kuliš'. Try as he would, he could not convince the Polish editors to publish his side of the issue.

In the meantime the Vatican issued a decree by which the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic monastic order of the Basilian Fathers was handed over, lock, stock and barrel, to the Polish Jesuits. Kuliš immediately went from Lviv to Vienna, where he published a pamphlet describing this decree as an example of the violation of the ancient Ukrainian possessions and organizations.[89] But the Austrian police confiscated all copies of the pamphlet. Kuliš then tried to publish it in Germany, in the Ukrainian language, but his enemies did their work quickly and efficiently, and all the German printers to whom he turned refused to take the order. All sides – Ukrainian, Polish and Russian – regarded him as a traitor. And yet, his plan for a Polish-Ukrainian alliance, like his uncompromising criticism of his own nation and his criticism of Russian and Polish policies, was a logical product of his age-old hatred of the destructive chauvinism which was so harmful in the relations of the Eastern-European nations. And he had one more plan. This was a basic revision of the Ukraine's stand on Turkey, another historical enemy. In his poems "Mahomet i Xadyza" (Mohammed and Khadize), "Marusja Bohuslavka" and in his play *Bajda, knjaz' Vyšnevec'kyj* (Bajda, the Prince of Vyšnevec') he considered certain cultural and creative forces of Mohammedanism higher than the comparable achievements of Christian cultures. All these international undertakings by Kuliš were remote from the noisy internationalist doctrines of the socialists; Kuliš' ideas on international relations were closer to Ševčenko's universal love of man, the love that grows out of the rich soil of bitter experience and not out of the hothouse soil of theory.

[87] Kuliš, *Tvory*, VI, pp. 612 and 619.

[88] M. Lobodovskij, pp. 166–171.

[89] *Vergewaltigung der Bazilianer in Galizien durch Iesuiten*, Published by the author (Vienna, 1882), 20 pp.



Leaving behind him many bitter disappointments and sixty-two years of his life, Kuliš shut himself off from the world on his small country estate in the province of Černihiv. But he did not even think of giving up his fight. In a new three-volume historical study *Otpadenie Malorossii ot Pol'ši* (The Separation of Little Russia from Poland, Moscow, 1888–1889) he analyzed the anti-state love of freedom of Ukrainians, the opposition to constitutional freedom of the Russians and the lack of the "constructive sense" in the cultured Poles, and discussed the ugly history of the hatred the three nations have had for one another from their beginnings.

In "the hermitage of Motronvika" Kuliš crowned his "rational" part of the synthesis, the "poetic" part of which was fulfilled by Ševčenko. He regarded as his spiritual forbears Bojan in Kiev Rus', Ivan Vyšens'kyj in the sixteenth century, Iov Borec'kyj and Iov Zalizo in the seventeenth century, Skovoroda in the eighteenth century[90] and Ševčenko in the nineteenth century. He lined up his own writings with the work of those Ukrainian thinkers. His works of that time were related naturally to the synthesis of *Kobzar*, as if by some unique architectural philosophical plan. To Ševčenko's poetical variations on biblical themes he added his own full translation of the Bible, the first in Ukrainian history.[91] At the time when the Ukrainian language was banned in the empire, he sent

[90] See M. Hrusevš'kyj's criticism of Kuliš' poem "Hryc'ko Skovoroda" in *Ukrajina*, no. 1–2 (Kiev, 1927).

[91] "I think about the great Biblical scholars Kautzsch, Reuss, and Vernet, and my soul longs for a translation of the Bible on a level still unknown to other oppressed peoples". Quoted from Kuliš' letter to Kistjakovs'kyj, *Kievskaja starina*, 57 (1897), p. 354.

from his country estate many new works to be published abroad. In 1887 his translation of the New Testament was published in Lviv. In 1890 the Lviv journal *Pravda* printed his translation of Byron's "Don Juan". In Drahomanov's publishing firm in Geneva a collection of his poems *Dzvin (The Bell)* came out in 1893. Mykola Zerov later called that collection one of the highest achievements in nineteenth-century Ukrainian poetry.[92] At the time of his death, in 1897, a collection of his translations from Goethe, Schiller, Heine and Byron: *Pozyčena kobza* (The Borrowed Kobza) was being printed in Geneva. In his desk drawer he left a great many translations from Shakespeare. He had the right to say in the opening poem in *Dzvin*, "Do Tarasa čerez ričku Axeron" ("To Taras across the River Acheron"):

Nedospiv tvij dospivuju, mij brate...
Nasliddja dorohe, klejnodamy bahate,
Lyšyv jesy meni v tvojij trydcjatystrunnij,
V tvojij poeziji vysokij, mnohodumnij,
Dubrovi zapašnij, šyrokošumnij.

.....

Komu ž ja peredam, koxanyj brate,
Tvoje dobro svjate, nad vsi skarby bahate?
Sobakam, čy vovkam, čy ludjam bezholovym,
Tym jazykam lyxym, kalikam kryvomovym,
Pys'mennykam slipym i pustoslovym?

(I finish your unfinished song, my brother... / You left me a precious legacy, rich in treasure, / in your thirty-stringed [poetry], / high and of many thoughts, / in your fragrant, swaying grove.

To whom must I entrust this, your domain, / richer than the world's treasures, my beloved brother? / To dogs or to wolves or to headless people, / to those evil tongues, to lying cripples, / to blind writers of empty words?)

To the cultists of Ševčenko he says:

Ne slavte kobzarja pisnjamy holosnymy:
Dzvenyt' jomy xvalu joho trydcjatystrunna.
Kolys' vin zablyščyt' miž dušamy jasnymy,
I znykne vsja xula voroža, nerozumna.

I bude dux joho iz viku v vik sijaty,
Sercja ciljuščoju vodoju pokropljaty,
I rany hojity i sl'ozy obtyraty.

[92] M. Zerov, *Do džerel*, p. 44.



(Do not praise the *kobzar* with your clamorous songs; / his thirty-stringed [bandura] rings with his glory. / There will come a time when he too will shine among shining souls, / and all the mindless, hostile defamation of his name will vanish. /

And his spirit will shine forth throughout centuries, / it will wash all hearts in healing water, / and will heal wounds and wipe away all tears.)

Here Kuliš did not treat Ševčenko's poetry in a utilitarian-political sense but gave it its proper role as the healer of hearts. Kuliš pointed out the wide disparity between the nation's cultural and social vanguard on the one hand and its poetical genius on the other. He considered himself a pioneer in the hard work of placing Ševčenko's legacy in its proper perspective and giving it back its true meaning, as well as in encouraging the nation to contribute its part to Ševčenko's poetry so that the work of the poet would not be lost forever.

Kuliš opened his last book, *Pozyčena kobza*, with a poem which presents Ševčenko as a poet who elevated the Ukrainian language to the high level of the literature of old Kiev, as Kuliš understood it, and to the high level of Western poetry. Kuliš considered his translations only a fulfilment of the achievement of Ševčenko's genius, fulfilment which meant no less than the Europeanization of the Ukraine. This is the logical conclusion of Kuliš' war against the parasites who fed on Ševčenko's cults. All incidental events, produced by the spite and the malice and the anger and the misunderstandings of everyday existence, vanish, and before us stands Kuliš' achievement – his rational contribution to the poetic synthesis of Ševčenko.

## 8. ŠEVČENKO'S ROLE IN IVAN FRANKO'S SELF-REALIZATION

When Drahomanov was publishing the pocket edition of *Kobzar* and attacking Ševčenko in *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalizm*; when Kuliš was responding in his *Istoryčne opovidannja – spohady pro Ševčenka i Kyrylo-Metodijevs'ke Bratstvo*, a new hero of the Ševčenko saga – Ivan Franko – appeared on the scene, without at first attracting much attention. Drahomanov's theory of rational socialism reflected the fact that the Ukraine, endowed by nature with all the resources for a healthy agricultural and industrial development, and with its oversized peasant class, had entered a critical period. The peasants, instead of rallying to the support of private farming, were letting themselves be used by the socialist revolutionary intelligentsia. It appears that Franko had not only the ambition,

but many excellent opportunities to do something about this unhealthy contradiction: as poet, he was second only to Ševčenko; as prose writer and Ukrainian encyclopedist, he was second only to Kuliš; he was an outstanding scholar, publicist and politician. But being only twenty, he identified himself with some one very alien in approach: Drahomanov. And even though Drahomanov imbued Franko with much knowledge, and gave him a European outlook, he himself was, at that time, still young; he was a dogmatist, an intellectual despot who did not understand his more talented pupil. Drahomanov's sole mission in life was to Europeanize the Ukraine and the entire East on the basis of rational socialism. Therefore he dismissed Ševčenko as an anachronism. In aligning himself with Drahomanov against Ševčenko and Kuliš, Franko involved himself in a conflict which affected him psychologically, esthetically, ideologically and politically. Franko could not live without love and yet, while he was still a young man, he rejected the greatest love of his life. He had the ambitions of Moses (see on his poem "Moses" below), yet, thanks to his natural modesty and the prevailing style, which set a value on the non-hero, on the rank-and-file builder of socialism, he always ended up as a work horse, engaged in a million humdrum tasks.[93]

Franko was a born poet, a poet "of the heart", or as he himself used to say, a "romantic". Yet for years he neglected his poetry for social and political work. In the spirit of positivist esthetics, as if following Nekrasov (whose work he admired and translated for a certain time), he could write: "you don't have to be a poet, but it is your duty to be a good citizen." He was a patriot of the Ukraine, a man imbued with the traditions of his people, and yet for two whole decades he fought against socially and culturally active groups in the Ukraine. With the Polish socialists and radicals, he devoted himself to the task of building international socialist parties which later were simply renamed as Polish parties. Franko was a fervent believer and yet he felt himself compelled to side with the forces opposing retrogressive clericalism; in so doing he was branded an atheist. This duality tormented him in every aspect of his

[93] "For twenty years I have been a baker, baking bread for everyday use. I liked... and still like to be one of those who march in line", said Franko of himself. (Quoted from Mykola Zerov: "Franko-poet", *Do Džerel*, p. 131). At the same time, Franko spoke of this labor as of some "heavy burden which fate has placed on my shoulders. I can... secretly curse the fate which has placed this burden on me, but I cannot relieve myself of it, I cannot look for another fatherland because, in my conscience, I would appear dishonest to myself". "Nieco o sobie samym", foreword to a Polish edition of a collection of Franko's works, *Obrazki galicyjskie*, Lviv, 1897, quoted from I. Franko, *Tvory*, vol. 1, part 2, New York, 1956, p. 277.



life, although slowly, gradually, with great difficulty and much suffering, he made progress in overcoming it. And at every critical point of this drama Ševčenko emerged as the liberating and redeeming agent.

Franko's complex spiritual development may be divided into four periods: 1) childhood and adolescence (till 1875), when Franko was still himself and admired Ševčenko, 2) orthodox rational socialism, when Franko ignored Ševčenko and, almost blindly, followed Drahomanov and the Russian socialists and "nihilists" of the Černyševskij and Pisarev type (1876–1886), 3) rebellion against rationalism, a great crisis, when he returned to purely poetic activities, studied Ševčenko and held him in high esteem (1886–1898), 4) sharp criticism of dogmatic radicalism, rationalism, socialism, a break with the radical party, participation in creating the national democratic party. In this fourth period Franko wrote his most beautiful poetry, and most important studies of Ševčenko; and made peace with Ševčenko and himself.

However, this division into periods must be qualified, since Franko never quite conquered his double. Throughout his life Franko wrote about his childhood and adolescence. There was the serene, though in its own way severe, atmosphere of a peasant family, the natural surroundings, the traditions, the faith, his love for his mother and particularly for his father, a blacksmith. It was his father who recognized the unusual talents of the boy and, although it was very unusual among peasants of that time, sent him not only to grammar school but to secondary school as well.

In the gymnasium, he was introduced to the world's classics and read them avidly; he collected folk songs (during his gymnasium years he wrote down about 800 songs), but most of all, he admired Ševčenko, whose works were then being disseminated in Galicia by Kuliš and his Galician friends. "I learned Ševčenko [the Lviv edition] almost by heart," he was to write in his autobiography.[94] The young man read Ševčenko's poetry to his first love, Olga Roškevyč, and he wrote his own first poetry partly under the influence of Ševčenko.

When Franko was nine years old, he sustained the shock of his father's death; when he was ten, his beloved mother entered a marriage necessitated by her large number of children and her inability to provide for them alone. When Franko was fifteen his mother, too, died. His stepfather was a kind man and he kept Franko at the gymnasium, but when Franko's mother died, his stepfather remarried and the boy ended up in the new family, which really was not his family at all. In the eyes of the sensitive boy all these events may have seemed as some undeserved

[94] Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, vol. 1, p. 164.

"betrayal" by the world which he loved so dearly.[95] The highly talented boy reacted to these severe tests in his young life with a strengthening of his will power, increased industriousness and intensified ambition. He graduated from the gymnasium with outstanding honors, but even prior to his graduation in 1874, made a successful poetic debut in the Lviv student journal *Druh*.

In December 1875, Franko, who was approaching his twentieth year, published in *Druh* (No. 23) a poem which forty years later, in 1914, shortly before his death, he included in his collection entitled *From the Years of My Youth* (Z lit mojeji molodosty):

Dux naš iz Tvoho duxa rodom,
I vično zvjazanyj z Toboju,
A vičniji ohnyva ti,
Lyš tvorčist' duxa iz ljubovju.

(Our spirit was born out of Thy Spirit / and is forever bound to Thee, / and the eternal links / are only the spirit's creativeness and love.)

But in 1878, writing in prison a poem "To My Friends from Prison" (Tovaryšam iz tjurmy), Franko proclaimed his new credo:

Naša cil, – ljuds'ke ščastja i volja,
Rozum vladnyj bez viry osnov,
I braterstvo velyke vsesvitnje,
Vil'na pracja i vil'na ljubov!

[95] In a letter to Olga Roškevyč, Franko made the following confession: "...in moments, when love, or some other deep feeling dominates me most strongly, I cause pain to the person dearest to me... You realized this a long time ago, just as another woman whom, next to you, I loved the best, realized this at a terrible moment... This was in 1872, in the afternoon of the Saturday before Whitsunday. The woman I speak about – my mother – was dying. On the morning of this Saturday, when I was still in class, I was seized with a terrible, unnatural, mad gayety. I laughed without stopping from 8 to 12. When I arrived at the station (in Drohobyč), I heard – well, I don't know what I heard. I only know that it was raining, I was hungry – I hadn't eaten lunch – and when I heard that my mother was dying, without stopping I ran all the way to Nahujevyči. I arrived in the afternoon – I was drenched down to my skin – and found my mother passing away. My stepfather was sitting near the window, combing wool. I stood near the bed, but I didn't say a word, nor did I shed a single tear. My mother couldn't speak, but she kept looking at me very intently. How my face looked then, I don't know. Early the next day my mother died. During the night she had been talking to another woman, and this is what that woman told me: "God, oh, God", said the poor deceased, "my dear Ivan ran here all the way from Drohobyč, he stood near my bed and looked at me so, so angrily. What, my God!, what wrong did I do him?" Do you know now with what terrible and heavy feeling my mother died?... and who knows whether this anguish which I caused my mother in her last moments will not want to revenge itself in some terrible way on my entire life?..." Myxajlo Voznjak, *Narysy pro svitohljad Ivana Franka* (Lviv, 1955), pp. 28–29.



(Our goal is happiness and freedom for the people, / a dominating intellect without religious precepts, / and great, universal brotherhood, / to be free to work and free to love!)

It was only much later that he acknowleged that this poem had been written in a prison which was not only physical (an Austro-Polish prison in Lviv), but spiritual as well. The significant point here is the fact that he had become prisoner of a dogma which was the vogue of all Europe: rationalism-positivism-socialism. He had donned the spiritual shackles of the new fashion (which turned into religion in the East) with the enthusiasm of the young person who suddenly "understood" everything, "grasped" the core of everything in the belief that the people of his backward country were blind to what he saw and knew; of a person impassioned by the heroic ambition to devote his life to opening the eyes of these people.

Franko poured his entire talent into his revolutionary poems "The Eternal Revolutionist" (*Vičnyj revolucioner)* and "The Stone-breakers" *(Kamenjari)* (with pickaxes they are digging a tunnel through the rocks – an exit for humanity from a sack of stone, laying down their bones for this cause.) For half a century these poems were the hymns of the Ukrainian socialist-revolutionary youth. In the name of these new ideals Franko neglected his studies at the university, rejected his betrothed, and used his poetic talents for party propaganda. And, naturally, his interest in Ševčenko diminished as his enthusiasm for Drahomanov increased. Thirty years later he admitted that he and those who shared his ideals had taken Drahomanov's attacks on Ševčenko rather frivolously:

... we, the young socialists and rationalists, were too poorly informed about Ukrainian history and literature, were too occupied with our own theory of socialism and with starting a local socialist propaganda machine, to be able to take a stand on this matter. Besides, Ševčenko was nothing more than a historical and literary figure to us and it never occurred to us to use him for our purposes and our ideals, particularly not in Lviv where most of the workers were Polish.[96]

This new period had begun in 1875, when, upon graduating from the gymnasium, Franko went to study at the university in Lviv. Here he found himself in a group of young radicals who were publishing *Druh* and who were led by Myxajlo Pavlyk. Pavlyk had been follower of Drahomanov for years. Drahomanov had tried to focus their attention on both Russian and western rational socialists, but his followers preferred

[96] Ivan Franko, foreword to M. Drahomanov, *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalizm* (Lviv, 1906), pp. IV–V.

Černyševskij, Pisarev, and Dobroljubov to their western forerunners.[97] Pavlyk and young Franko translated and published the writings of these Russian socialist revolutionists in their *Small Library (Dribna biblioteka)* series, and in *Druh*, *Hromads'kyj druh* and *Molot*. As far as the Ševčenko question was concerned, Pavlyk solved it very simply: to him, Ševčenko was a product of Russian revolutionary literature: "From Russian literature, from Russian books and from the Russian people, he gathered some new and progressive ideas, he – one of the most honest, most sincere friends of the Ukrainian common people, he, a son and bard of peasants – Taras Ševčenko."[98]

The collaboration and the friendship with Pavlyk cost Franko very dearly. He, the poet and thinker, became the work horse and the main productive force of the fanatical and yet rather drab group of radicals. During this time, Franko neglected his poetry and his language, the spirit of his soul. In the forewords to the *Small Library* series he enthusiastically popularized the views of Belinskij, "the genial father of the most modern school of criticism and literature", "the genial Černyševskij", "the most notable Russian critic, Dobroljubov", the "passionately convinced Pisarev...". Franko liked the idea that Dobroljubov, "having rejected all principles of esthetics, stands on purely social grounds, does not speak of belles lettres in relation to esthetic principles, but uses a literary work as an occasion for discussing real life... His friends and disciples, Černyševskij and Pisarev, followed the same path. They have brought the precepts of Belinskij and Dobroljubov to their fullest conclusions..." And in a letter addressed to Pavlyk, Franko wrote: "Pisarev is being passed from hand to hand here (the volumes that we have now) and is turning our heads terribly, much more thoroughly than Černyševskij did. Again I am spending entire days pouring over the economics of Černyševskij."[99]

And again writing to Pavlyk, Franko said things which show how much his esthetic values and his taste had suffered during this time:

Such realists [he is speaking of the third-rate Russian realists Pomjalovskij and Rešetnikov] are, in my opinion, by virtue of their sincere emotions and honest endeavors – though not in talent – above our most famous Balzacs, Flauberts, George Sands, who write of abstract people and of abstract interests, and often, not of interests, but for the sake of interests. I have much sympathy for such people and sense in their simple, unpolished word more painful woe and tears than in all the novels of the western writers.[100]

In line with these new tastes, Franko adopted the same attitude towards his own creative work as poet and narrator. He wrote in a letter to Pavlyk:

You know that when I write something I have no intention of creating a masterpiece, and that I don't care about perfection of style, not because this would be something bad in itself but because now the most important thing is the thought itself, and the chief task of a writer is to move, to arouse interest, to get his book into someone's hands, to awaken a thought in someone's mind.[101]

Like Černyševskij, the twenty-three-year old Franko proclaimed: "We have only one esthetic principle – reality." When reality takes the place of art the concept of "reality" is replaced by a programmatic understanding of it. Literature should be "tendentious and partisan", wrote Franko.[102]

Following the instructions of Drahomanov from Geneva, and under the direct command of the determined fanatic Pavlyk, the young radicals declared war on the so-called *narodovci*, as yet a weak movement of Galician cultural and social revival. Volodymyr Barvins'kyj and V. Navroc'kyj, most understanding leaders of this movement, tried to persuade Franko to join the national democratic camp, and Navroc'kyj tried very hard to convince Drahomanov to stop this ideological and dogmatic war in Galicia, but Drahomanov would not compromise. He coveted the "Ukrainian Piedmont," which had been created in Galicia by Kuliš; Drahomanov wanted to turn Galicia into an active center of Ukrainian and all-Russian socialism. Instead of joining those who were intent on building a "Ukrainian Piedmont," Franko and his friends attacked them for their "lack of internationalism." He broke with Ukrainian organizations, and under Drahomanov's guidance he set up international socialist organizations comprised largely of Poles and

[97] Drahomanov did not share this excessive enthusiasm for Pisarev and Černyševskij. In 1879, reproving Pavlyk and Franko for publishing a translation of Pisarev's "Pčely" (Bees), he explained their enthusiasm for Pisarev by claiming that they "are not Europeans, but Muscovites, after all." *Perepyska M. Drahomanova z M. Pavlykom*, vol. 3 (Černivci, 1910), p. 52.
In 1890, Drahomanov wrote to Lesja Ukrajinka about Pavlyk and Franko: "I hoped that our people would introduce European socialism at home, but Pavlyk's *Druh* has plunged into *What Are We to Do?* (Čto delat') and Russian "apostasy". Quoted from Mykola Zerov: *Do Džerel*, p. 153.

[98] M. Pavlyk, "Drukovanyj lyst do vsix rusyniv v Halyčyni" (An Open Letter to all Ruthenians in Galicia), *Perepyska M. Drahomanova i M. Pavlyka*, vol. 3, p. 269.

[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 53.

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 92–93.

[101] Franko's letter to Pavlyk, dated July 30, 1879; *ibid.*, p. 90.

[102] Quoted from M. D. Bernštejn, *Ukrajins'ka literaturna krytyka 50–70-x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959), p. 420.

Jews. First there was the Workers' Committee in Lviv (1878–1881) for which Franko drafted socialist programs and "catechisms"; then there was the Social Democratic Party of Galicia, and the Polish radical peasant party. Franko gave much of his time to the task of indoctrinating Polish socialists and radicals and devoted much of his energies to the work of these parties, hoping that

> once progressive ideas were accepted by Polish society, with the political power of the Polish nobility in Galicia broken, the national, political, and social enslavement of the Ukrainian people would come to an end because progressives would introduce an order which flows from the ideals of national, political, and social justice.[103]

But soon these international organizations were reorganized into purely Polish organizations which opposed Ukrainian socialism and which failed to support Franko as a candidate for the Parliament in Vienna. Drahomanov, the author of this whole ideology, was first to wake up to reality. In 1891 he wrote in a letter:

> I myself have wasted much ink and energy in the name of all sorts of federations, fraternities, etc., until I came to the conclusion that it is necessary to concentrate one's efforts on putting one's own corner in order and then one's "brothers" will come forward on their own and shake one's hand.[104]

Remembering all this twenty years later, Franko reiterated Drahomanov's bitter discovery:

> It took a whole decade; it wasn't until these two organizations [GSDP and the Polish Peasant Party] had grown powerful and influential that these Ukrainian idealists finally realized that they could not expect support for the Ukrainian cause from this source; and that they could reap a harvest only by sowing on their own soil.[105]

In 1877 the Austrian police intercepted a letter from Drahomanov, sent from Geneva to Lviv, and arrested Franko and his friends. The trial of Franko was the first trial of a socialist in Galicia. And although he was sentenced to only nine months imprisonment, he was driven even deeper into political and partisan fanaticism and isolation. Also, his bond with Olga Roškevyč was broken. This was caused by the fact that Franko continued on a course that isolated him from society more and more, and by the fact that a search of the premises of Olga's father (a priest) had been made. Olga and Franko were forbidden to write to each other

[103] Quoted from Myxajlo Lozyns'kyj, *Ivan Franko* (Vienna, 1917), p. 17.
[104] Quoted from Matvij Staxiv, *Proty xvyl'*. Istoryčnyj rozvytok ukrajins'koho socijalistyčnoho ruxu na zaxidnix ukrajins'kyx zemljax (Lviv, 1934), p. 50.
[105] Ivan Franko, *Moloda Ukrajina* (Lviv, 1910), pp. 34–35.



but, using a secret code, they continued to correspond. This correspondence shows how Franko defied his own heart and followed the "rationalist" doctrine of love expounded in Černyševskij's novel *What Are We to Do?* This correspondence also shows the lines along which Franko's spiritual conflict was developing. Franko demanded everything of Olga and yet he placed her below his duties as a rank-and-file socialist: "Think of me not as a man with a heart but as just a number", he wrote to the frightened but faithful girl.[106] He drove Olga into despair and into marrying a man she did not love, yet he continued to draw on her deep love. Not until 1880, when he was imprisoned again (he had seen Olga for the last time before he was imprisoned), did their romance come to a definite end. Franko described this episode in his autobiographic narrative *At The Bottom* (Na dni).

Losing Olga was one of the most shocking experiences of his life: "What am I without her? A walking corpse!" He wrote on the eve of 1879, in a letter to Olga: "At times, the pain returns with a strange force, and often I wish I could lose my mind so that everything that is whole and orderly in it would fall to pieces and disintegrate into a grey, colorless mass where neither I nor anyone else would be able to find any harmony."[107]

Franko knew that Olga's world, as well as his mother's, was a part of Ševčenko's world. Several years later he wrote an outline and the beginning of an article entitled "Woman and Mother in Ševčenko's Poetry." In two paragraphs Franko took a tremendous leap away from Drahomanov in outright rejection of his teacher's theory on the "datedness," the "antiquity" of Ševčenko's poetry and thoughts. As if criticizing his conduct towards Olga (and perhaps also toward his mother), Franko wrote:

> If it is true that the level of education and civilization of any nation may be measured by that nation's attitude towards women in life and in song, then it is also true that there is no better measure by which to judge the creativeness of Ševčenko and the influence of his work on society than his attitude towards women in life and in song.

Countering Drahomanov's theory further, Franko wrote:

> While in some ways, Ševčenko's ideas could be considered old-fashioned, immature, or insufficiently clear to be the guiding ideas of the new social reform movement of today, in the most exalted image of woman as mother, described by him in "Marija", the bard has left a towering monument of his thought and

[106] Myxajlo Voznjak, *Narysy pro svitohljad Ivana Franka*, p. 61.
[107] *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 48.

his expression, a clear and moving image of woman as citizen such as no other poet in the world has left us; an image which in breadth and stature of the principal idea (not in the details of perfection) will be difficult to surpass or even emulate, in real life or in song... an ideal which can be attained by humanity only in great moments of universal struggle between good and evil, achieved only by rare, blessed individuals.[108]

The great moral pressures of the spring of 1880: the loss of Olga, imprisonment in the Kolomyja prison; the walk, under guard, from Kolomyja to his native village Nahujevyči; the loneliness, starvation and exhaustion – all this did not break Franko; on the contrary, it awakened him and strengthened his spirit. He turned to Ševčenko and to himself – his poetic work. It was during this year (1880–81), when, like a peasant, he was working with spade and scythe, that Franko wrote the most beautiful lyric poetic cycles of his youth: "Spring Songs" *(Vesnjanky)*, "Ukraine," and "Poet;" (A poem in the latter cycle was dedicated to Ševčenko.) Of his party friends he wrote that they were "admirers who admire themselves most." He claimed that "our enemies are not other people," but those "invisible knots which have tied the strong to the weak by their suffering and their deeds. Like Laocoon among the serpents, all of humanity is entwined in this web...". In defiance of the socialist "catechisms" which he had written only recently, in defiance of Marx' *Capital*, which he had just been translating, Franko wrote this national hymn:

Ne pora, ne pora, ne pora
V ridnu xatu vnosyty rozdor.
Xaj propade nezhoda, prokljata mara!
Pid Ukrajny jednajmos' prapor!

(This is not the time / to bring dissent into the home. / Vanquish discord, cursed evil! / Under the flag of the Ukraine unite!)

Like Ševčenko, he depicts the Ukraine as love, as a human being, finally as the "image of God":

Vona tak harna, sjaje tak
Svjatoju čystoju krasoju,
I na lyci jarije znak
Ljubovy, ščyrosty, spokoju.

(She is so lovely, she shines / with such pure, sacred beauty, / and on her face there glows the sign / of love, sincerity, and calm.)

[108] Ivan Franko, "Ženščyna-maty v poemax Ševčenka", *Literaturna Spadščyna. Ivan Franko*, Vol. 1 (Kiev, 1956), p. 351.



"Does this love", which loves "like God's sun, everyone equally, interfere with the other and holy love for all those who shed their sweat and blood, for all those who are oppressed by chains?" Franko answers in the negative. These unappeasable contradictions, the contradictions of the international and the national which only yesterday had tormented his soul, had made peace with each other.

That same year, in 1880, in the "Poet" cycle, the opposition of the esthetic to the utilitarian needs of man and society disappeared altogether; poetry is no longer a servant, but a part of life, as sovereign and significant a part as work itself. In "Song and Work" (Pisnja i pracja), song, to Franko, is "the heart's betrothed," "the heart's delight," "the only gift which he had taken with him from the home of his parents." His "Spring Songs" of 1880 are written in the same spirit of harmony and accord with the world. This is the feeling for the creative forces of nature. It is from this feeling, and not from the bitterness of a prisoner, that the poet, like Antaeus, wants to draw his strength:

Zemle, moja vseplodjuščaja maty,
Syly, ščo v tvojij žyve hlybyni,
Kraplju, ščob v boju syl'niše stojaty,
Daj i meni!

(Earth, my all-fruitful mother / of the strength which lives in your womb, / one drop, that I may stand stronger in battle / give to me!)

But even during this short time, when he was so close to Ševčenko's worldview, Franko did not rid himself of his duty, nor of his ambition to alter the world through suffering and asceticism. With respect to asceticism, Franko and Pavlyk did not go so far as Černyševskij.[109] Still, in "The Thoughts of a Proletarian" cycle (1880) the cult of political suffering is clearly manifest:

Proty rožna perty,
Proty xvyl' plysty,
Smilo až do smerty
Xrest tjažkyj nesty.

(To run against daggers, / to swim against tides, / to know, until your death / how to carry your heavy cross.)

Once more the other half of Franko's soul manifests itself and forces him to hide in his files his unfinished article "Woman and Mother in Ševčenko's Poetry." It is possible that Franko did not want to arouse

[109] See, e.g., M. H. Černyševs'kyj, *Vybrani filosofs'ki tvory*, vol. 3 (Kiev, 1953), p. 801.

Drahomanov's anger. It is also possible that Pavlyk exerted some pressure here.[110] In any event, Franko found himself in Lviv, and working for the party again. Yet, after 1880 he could never again appease the other Franko who belonged to the world of Ševčenko's "heart." On the whole, the panorama of Franko's soul in the 1880's is uneven, entangled, full of zigzags. It is remarkable that Franko was fully aware of this conflict within him:

> Ja borotys' za pravdu hotov,
> Rad za volju prolyt' svoju krov,
> Ta z soboju samym u vijni
> Ne prostojaty dovho meni ("Nocturnal Thoughts", 1881)

(I am prepared to fight for the truth, / gladly will I shed my blood for liberty, / but in a war with myself / I will not last very long.)

This conflict also prevailed in Franko's attitude towards Ševčenko. In 1881–82, he contributed to the journal *Svit* an article entitled "A Contribution to the Evaluation of the Works of Taras Ševčenko". In the first part, he analyzes Ševčenko's *Hajdamaky*. He was interested in this poem only in its relation to the social revolutionary struggle; he saw in it a welcome opportunity to express his own views on the class stratification of the cossacks, and to debunk the views on *hajdamaky* held by Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj (a professor of literature at the University of Lviv) and Pantelejmon Kuliš. Franko wanted to show that Ševčenko's understanding of the *hajdamaky* uprising was superior to Ohonovs'kyj's and Kuliš'. Yet, still close to Drahomanov, he sharply criticized the poet for his "cossack patriotism," which did not see that liquidation of Ukrainian landlords was a requisite for national liberation.

Drahomanov did not like this particular article, because like Vovk some time before, Franko drew Ševčenko into the ideological arsenal of rational socialism. Trying to justify himself, Franko wrote to his stern teacher:

> The analysis of *Hajdamaky* had to be weak because I was mainly interested in crushing Ohonovs'kyj, and the historical error which you have pointed out to me, I have borrowed from him. If you will correct this error, you will slap at him – which is fine with me. The next analysis will be of "The Dream" and "The Caucasus", that is to say, a criticism of the political structure of Russia.[111]

[110] Franko allowed Pavlyk to read even his love letters to Olga Roškevyč and Pavlyk would criticize their love by destroying its romantic aura. Franko also allowed Olga to read Pavlyk's advice and thereby destroyed their love totally.

[111] *Materijaly dlja kul'turnoji i hromads'koji istoriji Zaxidnoji Ukrajiny* (I. Franko's correspondence with M. Drahomanov) (Kiev, 1928), p. 31.



Franko published the analyses of "The Dream" and "The Caucasus" in *Svit* in 1882. Here, he even borrowed the title – "A Kingdom of Darkness" *(Temne carstvo)* – from Dobroljubov. His only criterion was the degree of applicability of these poems to political propaganda. His aim was purely a political one – "to draw a picture of the evil and the injustice which prevailed in the political structure of the Russian nation in particular," in "the kingdom of darkness which lies at the edge of Europe, the bulwark of political oppression." He departed from Drahomanov in showing Ševčenko as the poet and political hero who, in the genre of political poetry, not only equalled the better western writers but surpassed them in courage.[112]

But the poetic and philosophical world of Ševčenko, the poetic mastery of these works, went unremarked in this article. And even though Franko did divorce himself from Drahomanov and his highly political evaluation of Ševčenko, he did not divorce himself from Drahomanov's method, the politically utilitarian approach to poetry. In his critical article "Kuliš' *Farmstead Poetry*" (*Svit*, No. 3, 1882, Lviv) he aligned himself completely with Drahomanov again. He ignored all the good qualities of the book – the recollections of Ševčenko, the appeal to the Ukrainian intelligentsia to build a "Ukrainian Piedmont" in Galicia, and finally, even the lyric poems. All this he brushed aside with a reference to a few of Kuliš' provocative poems about Catherine II. He ended by suggesting that Kuliš should try to learn from Dobroljubov. And to crush Kuliš ideologically, to disparage Kuliš' high opinion of Ševčenko, Franko attacked one of Ševčenko's major works, "Poslanyje":

> Undoubtedly, the poet worked out the basic thought of this work before writing it, but, at the time of its actual creation, other factors mingled themselves with this basic thought..., "If you had set about [it] as you should" [Ševčenko wrote: "If you had learned"] he says, "you also would have your own wisdom". How much our uncritical readers and critics have delighted in this and another phrase with the same message: "In your own home, your own truth and strength and freedom will reign". But so far, nobody has realized that these brilliant words, these seemingly patriotic and wise words, contain a great deal of Slavophile (in the sense of the Moscow Slavophile) mysticism and retrogressiveness. What kind of "own" truth is this? Truth, i.e., the universal laws of life and nature, are the same for everyone the world over, and this truth cannot be apportioned according to nationality.[113]

Yet, in the same year – 1882 – the opposite reactions are found in Franko.

[112] In that same year, in 1882, Franko translated into German six poems by Ševčenko as well as his longer works "The Neophytes", "Marija", The Caucasus".

[113] Ivan Franko, *Tvory v dvadcjaty tomax*, vol. XVII (Kiev, 1955), pp. 178–79.

Here, for instance, as if following Gogol, he is recalling his own youth:

Ne zabud', ne zabud'
Junyx dniv, dniv vesny –
Put' žyttja, temnu put'
Projasnjajut' vony.

Zlotyx sniv, tyx vtix,
Ščyryx sliv i liubvy,
Čystyx poryviv vsix
Ne stydajs', ne huby,
Bo mynut'...

(Don't forget, don't forget / the young days, the days of spring – / they light up / the path of life, the dark path. /

The golden dreams, these joys, / sincere words and love, / and all the pure impulses / don't be ashamed of them, / don't lose them / because [they] will pass... /

And then, after his attack on Kuliš in *Svit*, Franko, as the assistant editor, accepted works for *Svit* from Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, whose views were directly opposed to Drahomanov's; and even from one of Kuliš' admirers, Oleksander Konys'kyj. Thirty years later, with pride and bitterness, Franko wrote of this experiment: "The most important thing that can be said about *Svit*, is that...this was the first attempt at a compromise...among the elements of the whole Ukraine. But this attempt did not succeed...Drahomanov called *Svit* Galicia's cesspool."[114]

Two works reveal how painful Franko's spiritual conflict was: "Duel. A Winter's Tale" *(Pojedynok. Zymova kazka.)* and "Duel. A Poetic Phantasy" *(Pojedynok. Viršova fantazija)*. Both works were written in 1883. The duels were duels with himself. Two Myrons, doubles of the same person – the author – meet in a catastrophic civil war on opposite sides. One Myron is a member of a group of revolutionary socialists; the other Myron is simply a poet. Myron the revolutionary kills Myron the poet. Franko used the name Myron often as his literary pseudonym.

Up until 1886, Franko the rationalist and politician had no mercy for Franko the poet. He wrote: "In 1883–86, I took quite an active part in socialist propaganda, and in the labor agitation in Lviv and earned a living by writing for the Warsaw weekly *Prawda* and *Kraj*, the Polish weekly in St. Peterburg."[115]

[114] Ivan Franko, *Moloda Ukrajina* (Lviv, 1910), p. 26.
[115] Myxajlo Voznjak, "Materijaly do žyttjepysu Franka", *Za sto lit*, vol. I (Kiev, 1927), p. 182.



He wrote for German and Russian, as well as Polish papers, not only to spread international propaganda for rational socialism and to unite those in other nations who shared his opinions, but to fight the *narodovci*, his political enemies at home.

The constant agitation among the political parties and his exhausting journalistic work devoured Franko the poet and the thinker. From 1883 to 1885 he wrote no poetry. It is interesting to note that in 1885 Franko tried to justify his position on Ševčenko during the Drahomanov-Pavlyk era. He wrote that the radical socialist group had been

"attacked from all sides and labeled as 'pernicious radicals and rationalists' even though this group had the full right to point to Ševčenko as the father of its movement – that very same Ševčenko whom the older Galician Ukrainophiles were considering a saint, a national prophet".[116]

This was the first sign of the impending victory of Ševčenko in the internal struggle of the two Franko's. In the following years, 1886–1898, Franko rebelled against himself, against positivism and socialism. The poet and thinker was seeking definite contact with Ševčenko. And though this was not the first revolt, it was the most successful to date.

In 1886, Franko formally surrendered to Ševčenko:

Slabi my, bat'ku! Po Kavkaz vid Sjanu
Slabi, rozbyti na atomiv drib!
I xto rozbudyt' našu pravdu pjanu?
I xto holodnym dast' požyvnyj xlib?
Tarase, bat'ku naš, zamučenyj proroče,
Čy skoro bude svit po tij strašennij noči?

(We are weak, father! From the Caucasus to the Sjan, / we are weak, shattered into fragments! / Who will awaken our dazed truth? / Who will feed the hungry with life-giving bread? / Taras, our father, martyred prophet, / when will this terrible darkness be followed by light?)[117]

That same year, Franko wrote "Idyl" *(Idylija)* where, in a curious way, he combines his and Ševčenko's childhood in one picture. This pastoral poem depicts the innocent love of a young boy who, with his girl, goes forth to find a fairyland beyond "the steel pillars" which, in Ševčenko's world, had supported the heavens. And in this same year, Franko began writing his lyrical cycle entitled "Faded Leaves" *(Zivjale lystja)*:

[116] Ivan Franko, Letter to the Editor, *Kraj*, 1885. *Literaturna Spadščyna* Vol. I, p. 370.
[117] "V dvadcjat' pjati rokovyny smerty Tarasa Hr. Ševčenka", 1886, *Zorja*, No. 6, p. 85.

Po dovhim važkim otupinnju
Znov triskaje xvylja pisen',
Nenače z-pid popelu razom
Jazykamy blymne vohen'.
. . . . . .
Nu, hodi! Ne budu hasyty!
Xaj burxaje hrišnyj vohen'!

(After prolonged, deep stupor / a wave of songs is rolling again, / suddenly, as if from under ashes / a spark is bursting into flames. / . . . /
No! I will not extinguish it! / Let the sinful flames roar!)

Without interrupting his work on "Faded Leaves," Franko wrote "The death of Cain" *(Smert' Kajina)* in 1889. This long poem is a landmark in Franko's spiritual development. In this poem, Cain dies a dual death: first, he dies as the sinner who had exchanged faith, love, the "tree of life" for the "tree of the knowledge". After much suffering and aimless wandering, Cain makes a great discovery: God did not abandon those driven from paradise. He had implanted in their hearts a "speck of paradise" *(zernjatko raju)* – a need of love and of doing good for which knowledge becomes nothing but a technical means. And with this redeeming discovery Cain hurries to his people – from whose midst he had been banned because of his sin – and is killed by an old blind man set upon Cain by a group of children. This is Cain's second death, but now he is not Cain the fratricide. He is Cain filled with brotherly love. Knowledge, the idol of positivist socialism, was reduced to a mere instrument. The means was now measured by higher values: love, beauty, goodness; yet this same means, or instrument, could serve hate and evil as well.

Franko's relationships in Galicia continued to be hampered by party prejudices and quarrels. No objective, scholarly analysis of these relations has yet been written. But Franko did tell us in his "Death of Cain" why he continued to remain alone with his internal conflict. There were "children" and "blind men" on both sides of the barricade.

As a politician, Franko helped from 1890–1898 to build the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP); together with Pavlyk, he fought the *narodovci*, and conducted an anti-clerical propaganda campaign even though he realized more and more that the URP was turning into a socialist sect, not a party which would revive the poverty-stricken villages of the Ukraine.[118] As a historian of literature, Franko gradually came closer to

[118] See J. Lawrynenko, "Deščo do evoljuciji svitohljadu i polityčnoji dumky Ivana Franka", *Zbirnyk Ukrajins'koji Literaturnoji Hazety* (Munich, 1956), pp. 3–28.



understanding Ševčenko. As a poet, he finished "Faded Leaves" to which he added the subtitle "A Lyrical Drama."

"Faded Leaves" is composed of three "bunches," written in 1886-93, 1895 and 1896. It is the history of the loss of three loves, the first and most beautiful being Olga Roškevyč. "Faded Leaves" is also an account of Franko's own spiritual drama. After telling a legend, according to which the beautiful carriage of an unknown bridal pair plunged into the river Sjan and disappeared forever, Franko wrote:

Ce moho sercja drama!
Jakby ne ti lita tjažkoji muky,
Pekučyx boliv, sliz i bożevillja,
Hluxoji rezygnaciji, skaženyx buntiv
Prydavlenoho sercja, to ja sam,
Pryhadujučy našu peršu striču
I toj prominčyk jasnoji nadiji,
Ščo blys meni todi, – prysjah by nyni,
Ščo se buv son, nadsjans'kaja legenda.

(This is the drama of my heart! / Were it not for the years of painful suffering, / the agony, the tears and madness, / or dull resignation, raging revolts / of a repressed heart, then I myself, / remembering our first encounter / and that tiny ray of bright hope / which came to me then, – I would swear today / that this was a dream, a legend of the Sjan.)

Love in "Faded Leaves" takes on various interpretations, but love as the universal primeval source of life and creation is dominant throughout. Without this love, and in contrast to this love, all ideological "principles" become wasteful or even poisonous. Franko is tormented by the fact that even though in his early life he had had the rare fortune of being loved, he himself had rejected his and her love. And what for? "He saw ideals far off, beyond the horizon, and unwittingly he allowed real happiness to slip through his fingers." (Idealy bačyt het' až za horamy, a žyveje ščastja z ruk pustyv bez tjamy.)

Vse, ščo najdorožčeje,
Najuljublene,
Čym duša žyva bula,
Tut zahublene!
Čym duša žyva bula,
Čym pyšalasja...
Oce taja stežečka,
Ščob zapalasja!

(All that was the dearest, / most beloved, / that which gave life to the soul, / died here! / That by which the soul lived, / that which made it proud... / This is the path, / may it never have been!).

In his poem, "Yes, You Are My Only True Love" *(Tak, ty odna moja pravdyvaja ljubov)* Franko presents a haunting picture of the metamorphosis of a love that was allowed to die:

Ne raz u sni javljajet'sja meni,
O, ljuba, obraz tvij, takyj čudovyj,
Jakym jasniv v molodoščiv vesni,
V najkrašči xvyli svižoji ljubovy.

I na moje burxlyve serce ruku
Klade toj pryvyd, zymnu jak zmija,
I v serci vtyšuje vsi dumy j muku.

Na pryvyd tyxo, ne zmyhnuvšy, ja
Hljadžu. Vin xylyt'sja bez sliv, bez zhuku
Morhaje: "Cyt'! Zasny! Ja smert' tvoja!"

(How often have I seen in a dream, / O, beloved, your lovely face, / aglow with the beauty of a young spring, / in the most beautiful moments of an innocent love. / And upon my restless heart / you placed a hand, cold as a snake, / and stilled within my heart all thoughts and agony. / Quietly, without stirring, I gazed / at you. Wordlessly, you stooped down to me, soundlessly / your eyes said: "Quiet! Sleep! I am your death!")

Towards the end Franko began to project his lyrical drama upon the screen of his socio-political drama. The images of the youthfully self-confident "stone cutter," and the "eternal revolutionist" who had rejected love no longer impressed the poet: "Like an ox in the yoke, day after day I drag my heavy plow to the end" (Jak vil v jarmi, otak ja den' za dnem svij pluh tjažkyj do kraju dotjahaju); "the fountain of illusions has run dry" (Iljuziji krynycja peresoxla); "the time of the lean harvest is come" (Pora xudoho žnyva nadijšla).

Finally, toward the end of the cycle, in 1896, Franko, in deliberate journalese, tells his rational-socialist friends the terrible truth, that their pseudo-religion means death to man:

Bajdužisin'ko meni teper
Do vsix vašyx boliv i turbot,
Do vsix vašyx bojiv i hryzot!
Vsi ideji vaši, vaš narod,
Postup, slava – ščo meni teper?
Ja umer!

(I am oblivious now / to all your pains and troubles, / to all your battles and woes! / All your ideas, your people, / progress and fame – what do they mean to me now? / I have died!)



And he continues:

Ne možu žyt', ne možu zhynut',
Nesty ne možu, ni pokynut'
Prokljatyj cej tjahar žyttja!
. . . . . .
Zneviryvs' ja v ti jarma j šlyji,
Ščo tjahnu, mov toj vil na šyji,
Oce vže bil'š, jak dvadcjat' lit –

(I cannot live, I cannot die, / I cannot carry, I cannot abandon / the terrible weight of life! / I have lost faith in this harness and this yoke, / which I have been dragging from my neck / for more than twenty years.)

Franko often pointed out that he was not a genius who could overcome the irrationality of human rationalism. And time after time he tried to solve the riddle of Ševčenko's so-called "political poetry." How could Ševčenko, remaining a poet and within the limits of poetry, have had such a gigantic political influence? Franko did not realize immediately that Ševčenko's "political poetry" was not written out of political considerations but out of poetic genius.

In 1888 Franko was planning his doctor's dissertation on the subject "The Political Poetry of Ševčenko, 1844–1847" and he wrote:

There is no need to speak of the importance of Ševčenko's works in our literature; indisputably he occupies the first place... The powerful spirit with which he has imbued our literature has not ceased to live, and there is no Ukrainian poet or writer after Ševčenko, who is free from the influence of this spirit. The ideas Ševčenko dealt with, those that were the underlying thoughts of his poetic works, are still alive and for a long time to come will continue to be the leading ideas of Ukrainian literature.[119]

This confession is a far cry from Franko's 1882 article on Kuliš' *Farmstead Poetry* with its references to Ševčenko as "retrogressive." But Franko's methodological approach to Ševčenko still continued in the vein of rational positivism. That is why he looked for the key to Ševčenko's creativeness outside Ševčenko, most of all, in Belinskij. In 1888, Franko asked in a letter to Alexander Pypin, historian of Russian literature and an authority on questions pertaining to Belinskij:

What caused Ševčenko to write political poetry? What forces pushed Ševčenko along this path, what influence helped him form his ideas?... Only after reading your biography of Belinskij did I realize from the excerpts of letters you have published, that among leading people of that time things were being written

[119] Quoted from Je. P. Kyryljuk, *Ivan Franko, A Biographical Sketch* (Kiev, 1956), p. 83.

and discussed which really may have prompted Ševčenko to write political poetry.

It seems to me that Belinskij's criticism of *Hajdamaky*, fleeting and unjust though it may have been, had a significant influence on Ševčenko; it may have subdued his Cossack patriotism and swayed him to think along the lines of Belinskij – patriotism based on humaneness and socialism.[120]

In a letter of February 22, 1888, Franko sought advice on the same subject from Drahomanov in Geneva, telling him that he wanted to write about Ševčenko's political poem "Son":

> How did Ševčenko's political poetry fit into contemporary Russian literature and what prompted him to write it? When one studies the known facts about Ševčenko's life until 1846, many questions arise: what type of an education did Ševčenko get, what did he read, whom did he know, and who had any kind of influence on him? Where did Ševčenko's Slavophilism, traces of which we detect as early as 1841 (*Hajdamaky*) and in 1843 ("Hajdaj") come from?[121]

Franko dropped this subject not because (as some writers claim) Professor Ohonovs'kyj had advised him to do so – this would be a perfectly sound reason for changing the theme of one's dissertation, but not for dropping the subject altogether – but because he must have felt the inadequacy of his positivist approach to the subject.

In 1889, Franko wrote an article on Ševčenko's romantic poem "Perebendja."[122] And this time it is not Ševčenko's "politics," but the poet himself who interested Franko because the theme of the poem was actually the burning theme of Franko's own life as well. "Perebendja" is, so to speak, a programmatic portrayal of the poet, his relationship to his fellow man, to himself, and to God.

Franko presented a short survey on the subject of the Poet from the time of Horace through the time of Ševčenko. From Horace's time until the latter part of the eighteenth century, it was customary to contrast the Poet with the masses. Schiller and Goethe placed the powerful personality of the Poet in the service of his fellow beings. The European romantics portrayed the Poet as a genius, the bearer of a superhuman element, solitary, but unlimited in his vision and his understanding of the world. Adam Mickiewicz's Konrad is such a type, and to a certain extent, Alexander Puškin's "Prophet." Puškin's Poet is prophetic and regenerative, whereas Mickiewicz's Poet is Messianic and Jacobinic.

Ševčenko's Perebendja seems to have a very modest objective: to

[120] Quoted from Kyryljuk, *Ivan Franko*, p. 83, and I. Romančenko, "Franko pro Ševčenka", *Slovo pro velykoho Kamenjara*, a collection of articles (Kiev, 1956), p. 327.
[121] *Lystuvannja I. Franka i M. Drahomanova* (Kiev, 1928), p. 256.
[122] T. H. Ševčenko, *Perebendja*, with a foreword by Ivan Franko (Lviv, 1889).



dispel people's sadness. But with his songs he encompasses the whole contradictory range of the life of man and the nation. Most important, his songs could ennoble the heart and the mind. On the one hand, Ševčenko's Perebendja seems just a realistic image of the typical Ukrainian blind bard, the *Kobzar*, a character developed through centuries. But the plasticity and the depth of this image, the beauty and the simplicity of the poetic language, the combination of melancholy with shades of delicate humor, and upon all this, a touch of the color of Ševčenko's individuality – this, according to Franko, makes "Perebendja" a masterpiece which elucidates the mission and character of the Poet.

Having correctly delineated the distinction between Ševčenko's romanticism and the romanticism of other literatures, Franko still paid tribute to the positivist approach. From time to time, Franko said, Ševčenko's bard felt the need to withdraw himself from the crowd, from everyday human problems so that he might find contact with nature, with the universe, and with God; might eavesdrop on the secrets of life and compose his most beautiful song – a song of confession and adoration, "so that human ears would not hear because this is the world of God" *(ščob ljudy ne čuly, bo to Bože slovo)*. Franko saw in this the influence of Puškin who, in his opinion, had betrayed the ideal of the poet as prophet for the poet as a priest of art for art's sake. This is a typical trait of positivism: an under-estimation of universality and the power of beauty. Throughout his life Ševčenko wrote many times as if conversing with himself, with nature, the world as his brother, with God. In 1889, Franko was still far from the self-sufficiency of the poet, of a Perebendja.

This underrating of the sovereignty of the poet and poetry is also evident in Franko's "Ševčenko's 'Topolja'" *(The Poplar Tree)*. Here again his interest is centered not in the political poetry, but in the romantic ballads of Ševčenko's early works. And once again he distinguishes between the romanticism in Ševčenko's ballads and the romanticism in the ballads of western Europe (Bürger's "Lenore"), of Poland (Mickiewicz's "Ucieczka"), and of Russia (Žukovskij's "Svetlana"). Enumerating the analogies to "Topolja" in the various aspects of the universal and migratory subject of witchcraft, Franko noted that Ševčenko is altogether original in his total omission of the vampire motive, the demoniac conflict between the forces of good and evil in the soul of man. Of the author of "Topolja" Franko says, perhaps not without a certain tinge of envy: "healthy, strong, and humane in character."[123]

[123] Ivan Franko, "'Topolja' T. Ševčenka", *Radjans'ka literatura*, No. 3 (Kiev, 1941), pp. 181–194.

It would be interesting to know why Franko never published his article on "Topolja." Perhaps because it was free of politics? It was during this same year, 1890, that he plunged head-on back into political activities when he became the organizer and the ideologist of the Ukrainian Radical Party, and the editor of the party's publication *Narod*. He strongly opposed the Polish-Ukrainian pact which had been initiated, this time, by the Austrian government. On Ševčenko, Franko wrote only a journalistic article protesting deletions in the publication of *Kobzar* planned by the *narodovci* for the thirtieth anniversary of Ševčenko's death. The edition was to be complete except for deletions of expressions deprecatory of the Pope and Poland. At the same time he did welcome *Poeziji Ševčenka, zaboroneni v Rosiji*, published by Drahomanov in Geneva in 1890. Franko failed to note that he and Drahomanov had never managed to publish a complete version of *Kobzar*.[124]

In an article written in 1891 for the thirtieth anniversary of Ševčenko's death, Franko wrote in a pious tone about Ševčenko as a great and universal poet, and yet almost mechanically he associated him with the esthetically and ideologically different European and Russian realism which, Franko wrote, "introduced [into literature] the peasant, the simple villager."[125]

In 1893, in a collection of his poetry entitled *Dzvin*, Kuliš openly challenged Franko's generation of "blind and ranting writers," accusing them of ignorance and of failing to contribute to Ševčenko's bequest, of failing to preserve "the holy legacy, richer than all the treasures of the world" *(dobro svjate, nad vsi skarby bahate)*. Franko replied with an annihilating review of *Dzvin* accusing Kuliš of "poverty of thought" and "provincial culture." He spoke of Kuliš' "strange, fanatical, almost mad hatred of modern Ukrainian thought and literature." (He probably had Drahomanov and himself in mind here.)[126]

But immediately after this Franko turned more decisively towards his literary and scholarly work. That year he wrote his first laudatory review of *Istorija literatury rus'koji*, a history of Ukrainian literature written by Professor Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj, whom Franko had until then disliked.[127]

[124] "This new incomplete edition" – wrote Franko in his review of Drahomanov's collection of Ševčenko's poetry – "however modest, nevertheless constitutes a small contribution to the cognizance of Ševčenko's muse... Reading the freely flowing, fiery words of the old Kobzar... the "heart relaxes", the soul expands somehow..." Quoted from Jurij Bojko, *Franko – doslidnyk Ševčenkovoji tvorčosty* (Munich, 1956), p. 12.

[125] Ivan Franko, "Taras Ševčenko", *Zorja*, No. 5 (Lviv, 1891),.

[126] *Žytje i slovo*, No. 2 (Lviv, 1894).

[127] Ivan Franko, "Naše literaturne žyttja", *Zorja* (1893).



The following year, in 1894, Franko wrote an article entitled "Ševčenko herojem pol's'koji revoljucijnoji legendy" (Ševčenko, the Hero of the Polish Revolutionary Legend).[128] And early in 1895 he completed a study on Ševčenko's poem "Najmyčka." This is one of the best studies of Ševčenko produced by Franko and, at the same time, another victory in the drama of Franko's self-realization. Although the parallel Franko drew between the poem "Najmyčka" and Ševčenko's short Russian novel of the same name was erroneous (at that time, Franko had no way of knowing that the novel had been written at a later date than the poem), and the influence of the positivist method with its opposition of "realism" and "idealism" was still evident, Franko came very close to the esthetic and spiritual nucleus of Ševčenko's work.

Franko claimed that Ševčenko placed the esthetic values of a work above everything else and that he loved art with an exceptional ardor:

> His is an adoration of art. To Ševčenko, art is something divine, eternal, something that should be approached with holy trepidation. Great masters of art – poets, painters and sculptors – are to him objects of a cult, he wants to have all their works near him and, even under the most difficult circumstances in his life, he thinks primarily of them, he yearns for them; his thoughts of the needs of everyday life are only secondary. And this high opinion of art directed Ševčenko's hand and probably, during the writing of "Najmyčka", it compelled him to isolate the theme he selected from all extra details, from all the dross of daily life, as it were, so that he might elevate an ordinary fact of life into the lucid realm of ideas. In this instance, Ševčenko fused realism with idealism. He endeavored to recreate in this way an accurately observed and skillfully caught fact of living reality into a type, to crystallize it into a symbolic image of the idea itself.
>
> What is the idea that Ševčenko wanted to elucidate in his poem about the maid? It is one of Ševčenko's basic ideas. The foundation of society, according to Ševčenko, is the family, the same type of family which had been preserved on Ukrainian country estates and in Ukrainian villages, not as yet demoralized by extraneous elements. Family life, patriarchal and peaceful, was a most sacred thing.[129]

Committing another sin against positivism, Franko wrote that the greater the genius of the poet, the more perfectly he would disclose the "universally human, the eternal substance" hidden behind fortuitous forms, thereby "enriching the treasure of our experience in a most precious realm, the realm of feeling." "Ševčenko's "Najmyčka," wrote Franko,

[128] *Žytje i slovo*, No. 1 (Lviv, 1894).

[129] Ivan Franko, "'Najmyčka' T. Ševčenka. Vyklad habilitacijnyj vyhološenyj u l'vivs'komu universyteti 18 ljutoho 1895", *Zapysky* of Ševčenko Scientific Society, vol. VI, book 2 (Lviv 1895), p. 16.

belongs to such timeless works. "It is very rich in sincere and human spirit" and "at the same time, is wholly Ukrainian."

> All these people who live in this poem and who will, necessarily, gain the sympathies of a Pole, or a German, or a Frenchman, are Ukrainian and they think like Ukrainians. This is the great victory of art, to show in the particular, the individual, in the accidental, the universal, the eternal, the immortal (p. 19).

Franko's growing antagonism toward the leaders of the Ukrainian Radical Party was not unrelated to his new trend of thought. He began to criticize the party's radical doctrinarism as well as the sectarianism of Pavlyk, who had assumed the leadership of the party and the editorial duties of the party's publication *Narod*. Franko also criticized the doctrinaire Marxism of the leftist elements within the party. As early as 1895, Franko wrote in his review of Julijan Bačyns'kyj's book *Ukrajina irredenta*:

> Following the footsteps of Engels and Kautsky, the author expounds a "materialistic philosophy" which contains instant formulas for explaining the most complex historic phenomena: religion is a bourgeois invention; a national state is a bourgeois invention, etc. And all this is only an effect of production, a manifestation of production. Ah, to hold to such a delicate philosophy! A few of such formulas and man is shoed in all his four legs,... the entire future is like an open book to you now.[130]

Drahomanov died June 20, 1895, and it seemed that Drahomanov's death had untied Franko's hands. Only one year after the death of his teacher, Franko had the "third bunch" of his *Faded Leaves* ready and this small volume was finally published in 1896. Neither radicals nor conservatives could ever really believe that such a book could be published by one of the leading figures of the Radical Party. Therefore, Franko wrote in a foreword to this publication that this book was based on the diary of a friend of his, a suicide who could not find a way out of his conflict between his "deep sentiments" and "practical life." Society is oblivious of the drama of such people: "The upheaval within them, though immeasurably painful, is invisible to the foreign eye." Franko tried to justify the book, saying that the suffering embodied in it is "like the smallpox which is cured by smallpox vaccinations." He concluded his foreword by quoting Goethe's inscription in the flyleaf of a copy of *Werther*: "Be a man and don't follow my footsteps!" (Sei ein Mann und folge mir nicht nach!)

This was a foreword written by Franko the politician of the Drahomanov school of positivism, for a book by Franko the poet. In 1911, the

[130] *Zytje i slovo*, No. 6 (Lviv, 1895), p. 482.



foreword to a second edition of *Faded Leaves* was finally written by an undivided Franko who considered himself a successor of Ševčenko:

> Fourteen years after the first publication of *Faded Leaves* a second printing of this collection of lyric poetry has become necessary; this poetry is the most subjective since the publication of Ševčenko's autobiographical poetry, while, at the same time, it is the most objective in its method of depicting the complexities of human sentiment. ... It seems to me unnecessary to add here that the foreword, written in prose for the first edition and included in this edition without any changes, is also nothing but literary fiction. And I don't see any need for any explanatory keys to each of the poems: I believe that even without an autobiographical key, these poems have literary value of their own.[131]

This foreword shows Franko in the final act (1898–1916) of his personal tragedy. The influence of Ševčenko's works was not in turning Franko from a "follower of Drahomanov" to an "admirer of Ševčenko," but in the fact that Franko had become himself as Ševčenko had been himself. But Franko's victory came too late, after he had wasted the better part of his life, health and energy on things unimportant to him, when he was no longer able to achieve the unity and balance of a mature genius. The era of rationalism, unique for its productivity in technical and scientific developments, was incapable of producing genius. What's more, Franko's example shows that this era destroyed potential genius. It produced a common person, devoid of individuality, a person who did not attain authenticity and unity with the world. In his second foreword to *Faded Leaves* Franko pointed to the authenticity, and to the autobiographic and subjective qualities as the most significant elements of this poetry. The subjectiveness of the spiritual "heart" proved to be more objective than the programmatic objective realism of mere reason.

The final scenes in the fourth act of the Franko story can be divided as follows: 1898–1900, 1903–1907, and 1911–1916. In 1898 Franko met with several failures: for political reasons he was denied a professorial position at the University of Lviv, and as candidate of the Radical Party, he failed to be elected to the Parliament of Vienna in 1895 and again in 1897. These defeats explain the fanaticism of Franko the rationalist, a fanaticism which produced in 1895–1897 his partisan and radical propaganda brochures and his anticlerical attacks. In 1897 Franko wrote a brutal criticism of Kuliš. But, characteristically swinging from one extreme to the other, he left the Radical Party[132] and, together with Myxajlo Hru-

[131] Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, vol. XVI, book II (New York, 1958), pp. 7–12.

[132] In reply to Pavlyk's dubbing Franko a "political corpse" in the party organ *Hromads'kyj Holos* Franko published in that same periodical in 1900 an article entitled

ševs'kyj, he organized the Ševčenko Scientific Society, a literary publishing house, the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, the monthly *Literaturno-naukovyj Visnyk* (published for 20 years) – all things of great significance to the Ukraine. As a politician, he clearly supported the idea of national independence for the Ukraine, as evidenced in the article entitled "Poza mežamy možlyvoho" (Beyond the Realm of the Possible, 1900) written after he had severed his relations with international socialism.

All this is a definite self-assertion of that "other Franko" who had rebelled against positivism in his studies of Ševčenko and in his poetry between 1889 and 1896; and here again, this assertion began with studies of Ševčenko: "Iz sekretiv poetyčnoji tvorčosty" (From the Secrets of Poetic Creativity, 1898) and was reflected in his own poetry: the book entitled *Mij izmarahd* (My Emerald, 1898), and his poems entitled "Poxoron" (Funeral), and "Ivan Vyšens'kyj" (1898–1899).

In his article "From the Secrets of Poetic Creativity," Franko, before proceeding to reveal the secrets of Ševčenko's poetry, first deals with Dobroljubov, whom he had once considered an authority. Having quoted Dobroljubov on his concept of "realistic criticism," Franko wrote:

> What astounds us most in these words is the total destruction of art by "realistic criticism". To this type of criticism, a work of art has the same value as a real-life phenomenon; hence, a literary narrative has the same value as a journalistic news item... [Realistic criticism], inasmuch as it had developed in Russia in the 50's and 60's, was chiefly propaganda for certain social and political trends of thought masquerading under literary criticism.[133]

"Holos Nebižčyka" (The Voice of the Corpse). Here he presented a brilliant analysis of the sectarian ailments of Ukrainian socialism and of socialism in general, the turning of politics into religious dogma, and the party into the church. He charged that it created disunity among the peasants instead of helping them to organize their own leadership; that it demagogically ignited social animosity and did not understand injustice or comprehend the rights of man; it was incapable of "reducing varying interests to a common denominator", because it did not realize that a nation was a living structure:

> "I don't know, perhaps the thought will seem extremely heretical and unradical to you, the thought that here not only the worker, not only the peasant, not only the craftsman, but also the priest, the white collar worker, the merchant, and even the policeman may be wronged. And that it may be in the national interest to fight against all injustice. And that national progress may depend on the creation of conditions for the rise of all social classes necessary to certain functions of society..."

With this statement Franko indirectly refuted Drahomanov's attacks upon Ševčenko for his invocation to social and national "brotherly love". The entire text of this article by Franko has been reprinted by Myxajlo Voznjak in "Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu", *Ukrajina*, No. 6 (Kiev, 1926), pp. 161–62.

[133] Ivan Franko, *Vybir iz tvoriv* published by the Ševčenko Scientific Society, New York – Paris, 1956, p. 309.



In presenting a historical review of the opinions on the question, whether a poet creates consciously or unconsciously, Franko tended to favor the view that "the unconscious outweighed [the conscious] in the creative process." From Max Dessoir's study *Das Doppel Ich*, he cited ideas on the "subconscious mind" as the "rich granary," storing all man's impressions and experiences. "Almost everyone is a depository of a tremendous store of ideas and sentiments, but very few are capable of making use of them... But there are people who are able to dig out these deeply hidden treasures of their soul and give them expression in words understood by all. These fortunately talented psychological Croesuses and excavators of hidden treasures are our poets."[134] Franko then presented some very interesting analyses of a number of Ševčenko's poems, examples of poetic power in passages from *Hajdamaky* which earlier he had considered evidence of poetic weakness. For this analysis Franko selected those poems which were not based on social motives.

In his poem "Funeral" in *Poemy*, 1899, Franko attends his own funeral – the funeral of that same Myron, his double, who had betrayed his friends, the revolutionists, because he feared their triumph:

> Ja bačyv, ščo ti lycari zavzjati,
> Ščo jšly v ohon' i bylys', mov orly,
> V duši svojij buly i temni j pidli,
> Taki ž raby, jak i vpered buly.

(I saw that these determined warriors, / who plunged into battle and fought like lions, / in their souls were dark and evil, / the same slaves they had been before.)

In the poem "Ivan Vyšens'kyj" the conflict between the needs of Vyšens'kyj's own soul, between monastic love and service to God and "social duties" (Vyšens'kyj is being recalled to the Ukraine from the Athos monastery to help in the struggle against the Uniate), is solved by Christian love towards man. Vyšens'kyj's tragedy lies in the fact that he realizes this too late, only after the emissaries had sailed for the Ukraine. Filled with ecstasy, he rushes after them and unwittingly plunges from a cliff into the sea. The actual union of God and man in the soul continued to remain Ševčenko's secret. Franko repudiated self-denial but did not find self-assertion. And the title of Franko's new collection of poetry *Iz dniv žurby* (From Days of Sorrow) (1900) testifies that this new phase of his did not bring any happy solution.

Between 1903 and 1907 Franko lived under the greatest strain of his

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

creative life. It started with his speech on Ševčenko which he read on Ševčenko's anniversary in Stryj in 1903. At that time, there was unrest among the peasants in areas of the Ukraine which were under Austrian or Russian administration. The peasants were supported by the Ukrainian rural intelligentsia and it was they who actually began the revolution of 1905.

The leadership of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (RUP) was seized by the socialist minority, which meant that the peasants would continue to be without their own political leadership. Franko considered it one of the most important tasks of Ukrainian politics to get the peasants politically organized. It was under these conditions that he emphatically denounced Drahomanov's condemnation of Ševčenko's political poem "Poslanyje" with its message of national unity, even though he himself had followed Drahomanov with his own censure of this poem in 1882.

Having stressed the universal quality of the creative work of great poets as "something that flows from their great heart," and discussed "the influence of great poets upon the formation of the soul and the ideals of entire nations," Franko wrote: "In our nation Ševčenko is such a ruler of souls, the pilot of entire generations." Franko wrote of "modern Machiavellian methods of political and national oppression" concealed under modern socialist and liberal theories. Ševčenko may not have forseen these new trends, but he did leave a weapon against them, warning Ukrainians against the "torpor and lack of originality in [their] thinking" for which he had dubbed the masses of his own day the "cabbage heads."

This is how I would understand these words of Ševčenko, wrote Franko, for which the late Drahomanov had criticized him so often: "If you had learned as you should, you also would have your own wisdom".

Before we reprove Ševčenko for having expressed in these words and in his irony on "contemporary lights" a belligerent attitude towards general human progress, towards European thought and its luminaries, let us remember what examples of this thought and behavior Ševčenko may have had in mind when he wrote these words in 1846. Let us just remember that the German idealistic philosophy of Schelling and Hegel had been turned by many Russians into a doctrine of despotism, that towards the end of the thirties Belinskij had glorified Russian autocracy in the name of this philosophy. Also in Russia, this philosophy had come to form a strong foundation for the national centralization which stubbornly closed its eyes to the existence of nationalities and their special needs, which saw only states, their official languages and interests.[135]

[135] "Na rokovyny T. H. Ševčenka", *Literaturna Spadščyna*, Ivan Franko, Vol. I, p. 380.



Franko wrote further that "such 'contemporary lights' as realism in poetry, and another 'contemporary light' – the awareness of intelligent people of social problems" (socialism) had been paid for with cultural and political provincialization in the Ukraine, "had served as pretext for driving the Ukrainian intelligentsia off their own soil," for "centralization," and for "denying the existence of the Ukraine and her separate interests." Franko concluded:

That in the face of this massive apostasy of the best Ukrainian forces Ševčenko wanted the Ukrainians to have their own wisdom does not mean that he demanded that they stop learning from other, educated, nations. Nay, in this very same "Poslanyje"... he clearly defined the only intelligent course to be followed: learn about your own nation as well as about others *(I čužomu naučajtes' j svoho ne curajtes')*. This is what this own wisdom was supposed to be – a synthesis of one's own material, one's own life, with the fruits of the foreign, the universal, indeed, with the most advanced human achievement.... Coveting nothing but the achievements of foreign minds, achievements which have nothing in common with the dark and unenlightened aspect of the life of the Ukrainian people, has merely caused dissension between the Ukrainian masses and the elite, a dissension suicidal to both sides because even the presumably educated Ukrainians, not finding in the Ukraine favorable soil for the ideas which they had brought with them from distant lands, pined away spiritually. (p. 380).

Serhij Jefremov, who had listened to Franko's speech in Stryj, wrote in his memoirs twenty-five years later that he had thanked Franko immediately after the speech for this pleasant surprise because, just before this speech, Jefremov had read Franko's article "*The Farmstead Poetry* of Kuliš" in *Svit* of 1882, in which Franko had stated exactly the opposite view:

"But that's all nothing", he interrupted me somewhat embarrassed. "We were very young then, mind you, green, and looked at everything with the eyes of others. Drahomanov did not like "Poslanyje", so we all followed suit. I purposely picked this subject, so that I could finally correct this, my old, error.[136]

In 1904 Franko stopped his party and political activities for good. In his youth, he had tried to build an international socialist party opposing Ševčenko (1878–1890); then he had devoted himself to building a Ukrainian Radical Party without Ševčenko, or selecting from Ševčenko only politically useful elements (1890's); finally, he built the Ukrainian National Democratic Party which was supposed to fulfill Ševčenko's last will, taking into consideration the experience, contemporary needs

[136] S. Jefremov, "Z spohadiv pro Ivana Franka ta z joho lystuvannja", *Literatura*, Vol. I (Kiev, 1918), quoted from Ju. Bojko, *Franko – doslidnyk Ševčenkovoji tvorčosty* (Munich, 1956), pp. 7–8.

and future prospects of the Ukrainian people (1899–1904). And comparatively speaking, his work during this last period was the most fruitful; yet, in the eyes of Franko, this party, too, had failed to live up to its commitments. [137]

In 1905 Franko wrote his most significant work, the long poem "Mojsej" *(Moses)* which foretold the most difficult act of his spiritual drama. It would be an oversimplification to speak of "Mojsej" as being totally autobiographical, but Franko did, undoubtedly, present here a spiritual self-analysis, a confession and a summation of his quests. This poem also contains in a concealed form Franko's psychological confrontation with Ševčenko.

After Moses had led his people out of Egyptian bondage, he devoted all his life to a single goal – to find the "promised land." After forty years of hardship and wandering in the desert with his people, Moses rebuked his people and walked alone to the borders of Canaan. Here, he was smitten by grave doubts about everything, including Jehovah himself, and for this his punishment was that he was to die at the threshold of the "promised land." The voice of Jehovah says to him:

Tut i kosti zotlijut' tvoji
Na vzirec' i dlja straxu
Vsim, ščo rvut'sja ves' čas do mety,
I vmyrajut' na šljaxu.

(And here your bones shall rot / as an example, and to strike fear / into all who forever strive towards a goal, / and die on the way.)

Moses realized that, in fulfilling his mission, he had confused the spiritual concept of the "promised land" with the physical, the geographic, the material. His desire to rule was devouring his "sacred wishes" and in aspiring to the control of souls he was going against the natural course of things (because it was "so easy to interpret one's own desire as the will of Jehovah"). All his life, Moses knew neither mother nor lover – he knew only the demon who appeared to him, in the desert in the guise of his mother's voice. Moses' death is followed by tragedy, and the after-effects of his death verge on the absurd. Upon hearing of the death of Moses, the people fall victim to chaotic disorder; Joshua, "master of the stableboys," becomes their leader and arouses them into undertaking

[137] Franko accused the Ukrainian National Democratic Party of "having done nothing to organize the peasant masses and to lead them to a politically conscious life". See "Sprostuvannja d-ra Franka" in M. Voznjak "Franko v dobi radykalizmu", *Ukrajina*, No. 6 (Kiev, 1926), p. 163.



another march; "Onward! To arms!" *(Do poxodu! Do zbroji!)*. But the first act of these people is the killing of their most active members, those opposed to Moses:

I pidut' vony v bezvist' vikiv,
Povni tuhy i žaxu
Prostuvat' v xodi duxovi šljax
I vmyraty na šljaxu.

(And they will go down into the obscurity of the ages, / filled with longing and terror, / To advance marching on the path of the spirit / and to die on the road.)

In his greatest work, Franko presents no solution to his inner conflicts; he merely recounts all the acts of his spiritual drama.

After "Mojsej", as though confronting Drahomanov and Ševčenko, Franko published some of the works of Drahomanov and some of Ševčenko's poetry. First, he paid his respects to Drahomanov by writing an article in honor of the tenth anniversary of his teacher's death, and then followed it up with a vindicative foreword to the second edition of Drahomanov's *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socijalism* (Lviv, 1906). He offered full justification for Drahomanov's attack on the creators of "the blind and mythical cult of Ševčenko." Further, he wrote that since the publication of Drahomanov's work "many things would have to be added to the picture [of Ševčenko's cult] which he had presented, things in no way any less curious than the material gathered by Drahomanov." (pp. IX-X).

As for Drahomanov's unfavorable criticism of Ševčenko, Franko suggested that this was not to be taken seriously since Drahomanov did not study Ševčenko, nor had he been interested in Ševčenko as such:

The basic purpose of this article, that is to say, the reason it was written, was not a historical literary one but was rather of a timely and publicistic nature; Ševčenko was not the main cause, but rather a side issue. The real reason behind this article was the emergence and the propagation of socialist ideas in the Ukraine. The article was concerned with the degree to which Ševčenko could be considered a socialist or a social democrat, i.e., not merely as one who sympathized with these ideas but one who propagated them, and with the extent to which his works could be used for propagating these ideas among the Ukrainian people. To us today, the mere posing of such a question must seem irrational and unworthy of such a long and detailed answer as was given by Drahomanov. But we must think ourselves back into the times when Drahomanov was writing this article... Socialist ideas were inflaming people to fanaticism... Marx became the bible, and whatever was lacking in his works was supplied by imagination and passion. Everyone was envisioning great social upheaval; Engels and other West European socialists were predicting that this upheaval would come in ten years, and after these ten years had passed, the

term was postponed for another ten years, and so on. In the minds of Russians, particularly those with a broad but unsystematic education, these ideas caused complete chaos and were consummated in the most fantastic outlooks... (pp. VI–VII).

Franko stated further that in his book on Ševčenko Drahomanov had described "the desperate means the Russian revolutionists were resorting to." "And finally they seized upon the most outstanding spokesman of the new Ukrainian revival, adopting him [Ševčenko] as a man of ideas and a very influential figure in practical terms as well." Franko claimed that at that time any mistake of the socialists "could have led to ruinous consequences, to a loss in forces, and to formal catastrophes...".

There actually was a classic example in the decree of May 1876, for the issuance of which evil people used as pretext the publication of several Ukrainian propaganda pamphlets produced by a revolutionary group in Vienna. And this repressive measure, this decree, frustrated all... expressions of national life on Ukrainian territory for decades to come. Therefore, Drahomanov's article, destroying all socialist-revolutionary illusions concerning the person and the poetry of Ševčenko, served a useful purpose in that it contributed to achieving the sobriety without which the noblest revolutionary impetus often ends in blunder. (pp. VIII–IX).

But Franko failed to mention that Drahomanov was "sobering" the socialists at the cost of disparaging Ševčenko and, on the other hand, that said pamphlets had been published in Vienna by Ostap Terlec'kyj, a friend and follower of Drahomanov who a year after their publication became a friend of Franko.

In this same year, 1906, Franko published the first volume of a collection of letters written to him by Drahomanov; he wrote in the foreword:

Only now, after having read the letters in their entirety, do I realize how little they have given me to broaden my outlook on life, but how much suffering they have caused me. It seems to me that Drahomanov, without knowing or feeling it himself, was playing a cruel game with me; he tormented, rejected me and then again, beckoned me, altogether without much purpose because all this has been of no profit to the common cause, nor me personally.[138]

[138] M. Drahomanov, *Lysty do Ivana Franka i inšyx, 1881–1886* (Lviv, 1906), p. 9. Here Franko repeated what he had stated in a letter to Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj of August 16, 1898, at a time when he was leaving the Radical Party and was going through a critical period before the "fourth act" of his spiritual drama: "Undoubtedly, the late Drahomanov had great influence over me, but this influence was very peculiar, negative rather than positive. Particularly as a novelist I gained almost nothing from him, it seemed that he was not interested in my literary work and whenever he did give it some attention it was merely to reprove me. Directly or indirectly, he was always pushing me to publicism, but even in this field he disliked all but his own thoughts. Thinking of everything that has been retained in my memory from this influence, I would say that he was not a father to me, kind and understanding my errors, nor was he my leader; he was a whip cracking down upon me mercilessly, at times unfairly, but always painfully." Quoted from Myxajlo Voznjak, *Narysy pro svitohljad Ivana Franka*, p. 146.



In 1906–1908, when Franko was publishing Drahomanov's letters to himself and others, he was also preparing to publish a complete collection of Ševčenko's works in two volumes. He attached great significance to his publication of Ševčenko; this was the first time that Franko, the best literary historian of his time, had decided to repay a debt to Ševčenko. Franko's edition differs from the other editions of that time in that he did his best to present all available variants of Ševčenko's poetry.

While he was working on Ševčenko, Franko also wrote some of his own poetry. Typical is one describing how, on a cold winter night, when the pen keeps falling out of one's hand and the mind "refuses to obey," when "deep silence reigns in the soul," the poet hears sighs, the sighs of his "unborn children," of images that never had been put into the written word, of his life wasted in rebellion against his own "heart:"

Tatu! Tatu! Tatu!
Ce my, tvoji nevrodženiji dity,
Ce my, tvoji nevyspivani spivy,
Pered časom utopleni v bahnjuci.

(Father! Father! Father! / We are your unborn children, / we are your unsung songs / untimely drowned in the mire.) *(In knyhy Kaaf*, VII).

In the poetic cycle "Iz knyhy Kaaf" (From The Book of Kaaf) this same theme of wasted poetic talent is treated in its philosophical aspects. Here Franko, as if settling the historic dispute between Ševčenko and Drahomanov, gives more significance to the "heart", and even contrasts the "heart" which embraces all, with the one-sidedness of the "mind."

Jakby ty znav! Ta ce znannja pradavnje
Vidčuty treba, sercem zrozumit'.
Ščo temne dlja uma, dlja sercja jasne j javne...
I inšym by tobi vkazavsja svit.
Ty b sercem ris. Miž bur žyttja j tryvohy
Bula b nesxytna, jasna put' tvoja.

(If only you knew! But this age-old knowledge / you have to feel, understand with your heart. / What is dark to the mind, is clear to the heart... / and the world would seem different to you. / You would grow with your heart. / In the storms of life and anxiety / your path would be steady and clear.)

The last scene of the last act of Franko's spiritual drama were the years 1910–1916. Amidst omens of an approaching storm – World War I and the revolution in the Ukraine and Russia – and suffering great pain from his physical illness, Franko's first and most urgent task was to review his poetry. He could not think of leaving it in the form he had written it during Drahomanov's time, when he and his teacher had been careless about their style. Franko corrected the language of his earlier poems, and he collected, edited and published in "Iz lit mojeji molodosty" (From the Years of My Youth) the poems he had written before his period of rational socialism.

As a literary historian, Franko published his *Narys istoriji ukraijns'ko-rus'koji literatury do 1890 r.* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian-Ruthenian Literature up to 1890), Lviv, 1910. As a politician, Franko wrote a balanced report on the era of his generation in an outline entitled *Moloda Ukrajina* (The Young Ukraine), Lviv, 1910. In both works Ševčenko occupies first place, Kuliš the second. Yes, the Kuliš whom he had disliked from the moment he had joined the school of Drahomanov. "We know," he wrote, "that in the sixties the popular movement among our youth was born of the prophetic word of Ševčenko and the strong, personal example of Kuliš..." What a great effort it was for the ambitious, temperamental Franko to admit this!

Before his death Franko wrote two other important works on Ševčenko: one is devoted expressly to Ševčenko's poem "Marija", and the other work is a synthesizing essay on his life and poetry. (The latter is a re-written version of an article entitled "Taras Ševčenko," which had been published in *Zorja*, No. 5, 1891.)

"Ševčenko's 'Marija'," wrote Franko

> should be counted among the most beautiful, and the most deeply thought through, and the most harmoniously polished poems of Ševčenko. It occupies the first, and in certain respects the choicest, position among such gems of Ševčenko's poetic creations as "Knjažna", "Vid'ma", "Petrus'", "Sotnyk", and "Neofity".[139]

Franko suggested that Ševčenko conceived his first plan to write "Marija" as early as the time of his imprisonment or his exile, and as proof of this contention quoted some of Ševčenko's letters to Princess Varvara Repnina:

> Right now, I am like one falling into a precipice; ready to grasp at anything. Dreadful hopelessness, so dreadful that Christian philosophy is the only thing

[139] Ivan Franko, "Ševčenkova 'Marija'", *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva Imeny Ševčenka*, vol. CXIX–CXX (Lviv, 1917), p. 348.



> that can combat it... My only joy and consolation is the Holy Bible now. I read it every day, every hour. There was a time when I thought of analyzing a mother's heart on the basis of the life of Holy Mary, the Immaculate Mother of God. But now, this would be taken as a crime.

In another letter Ševčenko wrote:

> "I have conceived the idea of describing a mother's heart, based on the life of the Virgin Mary, Mother of our Savior; and another [idea] – to draw a picture of Her Crucified Son. I pray to God that someday these dreams of mine will be realized".[140]

Franko noted that Ševčenko, after his release, did not forget to execute his early intention, in an earlier spirit:

> Pondering a great many of the poems written by Ševčenko upon his return from exile, everyone must notice an unusually enlivened religious spirit in Ševčenko at that time, something quite natural after such a significant change in his life as the release from the armed services to which he had been condemned for life by the will of Tsar Nicholas I. (*Ibid.*, p. 349).

Franko pointed out the various sources to which Ševčenko may have had access, and the skill with which the poet had cast his own picture of Mary "on a purely human basis" without departing from the canonical text of the Bible, nor contradicting it.

This study of "Marija" was the swan song of Franko the Ševčenko expert. In it, the author of the image of the imperious Moses bows before the author of the image of humble Mary. "Rule" and "goal" cede their places of priority to love and its self-sufficiency. Two things in Ševčenko were demanding Franko's attention with growing intensity: the mother image and the esthetic magic of the poetry. Going through life – like Moses – without a mother, again and again Franko turned to Ševčenko, to see how the latter had managed, psychologically, never to lose contact with his mother. (Both Ševčenko and Franko had been orphaned since early childhood). And one cannot but remember here Franko's last farewell to his mother, as he described it in his letter to Olga Roškevyč in 1878. Related to this emotion is Franko's feeling about his lost love, the sensations of Franko the poet, who is the father of "unborn children" destroyed before they were born. It was not without reason that in his last article about Ševčenko in 1914 Franko wrote of a "thirst for lofe" as one of the poet's salient characteristics.

[140] T. Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, vol. X, ed. by P. Zajcev (Chicago, 1960), pp. 60, 68.

All of Franko's life had been a long, entangled and painful striving towards himself. During the last stage of his life, when under great suffering he was trying to get to the house where he was born, his illness depleted his vast resources and prevented him from reaching his "own home." Alone, amidst the fighting of World War I, he died in 1916, on the eve of the Ukrainian and Russian revolution. The great Ukrainian and East-European conflict between revival and ruin, between the self-determination and the annihilation of nations and people, a conflict which had been taking place in Franko's own soul, rolled over the grave of the poet and thinker and flooded his country and the entire European East.

## 9. THE AFTERMATH

In 1847, in a cell of the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg, Ševčenko wrote down a vision of the future in the poem "Meni odnakovo..." (It's all the same to me...). It's all the same to him whether he will live in the Ukraine or not, he does not care if he dies "in the snow in a foreign land," and whether a father will tell his son why and how he dies:

Ta ne odnakovo meni,
Jak Ukrajinu zliji ljudy
Pryspljat' lukavi, i v ohni
Jiji, okradenuju, zbudjat!...
Ox, ne odnakovo meni.

(But I do care if evil people / lull to sleep my Ukraine / and will awaken her in flames / already robbed... / oh, how I care!)

The vision came true, and many of our contemporaries cannot stop wondering how the visionary *Kobzar* could have foreseen it. Political events caused Ševečnko's "plundered land" to start living its own political life politically unprepared. So it is not surprising that political parties enter Ševčenko's story as uninteresting, juvenile, and immature *dramatis personae*, which, as Ševčenko says, lack "intrinsic wisdom," and independence. The parties may be roughly divided into Populist Democratic and Social Democratic, the populist factions tending in one way or another towards socialism. The attempts to form a national democratic party that would correspond to Ševčenko's wishes (the Ukrainian National Democratic Party of Franko or the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party of Mykola Mixnovs'kyj and Dmytro Antonovyč) were not successful. Most of the constructive work was done by the Populist Democrats



organized in "Hromada." They carried on their shoulders the laborious cultural work which Franko called "silent sowing." After the death of Kuliš, "Hromada" became the chief collector, publisher, and distributor of Ševčenko's works and biographical material. This creative element was simply incapable of staying in the underground designated by the Russian government for everything Ukrainian. The strategy of these people was a professed indifference to politics, and their goal, to legalize the Ukraine within the framework of the Tsarist empire. The popular cult of Ševčenko became a substitute for politics. As a result, the image of the poet grew dimmer, and Ukrainian politics not a bit stronger. The ideology of "Hromada," partly borrowed from the Russians, together with Dobroljubov's view of Ševčenko as a "folk" poet, gave rise to the description of Ševčenko as "a poet... of democratic and political radicalism," "a serf," "a writer of a peasant nation" and of "peasant literature."[141]

In the central position which would have been occupied by a Ukrainian national democratic party if one had existed, "Hromada" eventually accepted the teachings from Drahomanov's liberal period, changing first to the Democratic-Radical Party, then to the Society of Progressive Ukrainians, and during the revolution to the Ukrainian Party of Federalist Socialists. All this had little appeal for the younger circles, and they were usually attracted by radical socialism (the movement partly led by Drahomanov, and partly by the Russian socialists). Rebelling against "Hromada" and against socialists, another young group staged in 1892, at the grave of Ševčenko, a secret congress which founded "Bratstvo Tarasivciv" (The Fraternity of Taras). A year later they wrote in their declaration: "If now that we have had Taras the genius and apostle of language we had among us a political genius, then he would surely show us a new way and we would all follow it."[142]

There was no such genius among the "Tarasivci." Their abortive attempt was again repeated in 1900 with a bigger (though indecisive) success. This was the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (RUP), in which the nationalism of Mykola Mixnovs'kyj and the socialism of Dmytro

[141] Serhij Jefremov, "Apostol Pravdy" in his *Taras Ševčenko* (Kiev, 1914). The Communist treatment of Ševčenko as "a rebellious peasant", "a singer of the Ukrainian pre-proletariat" (Andrij Ričyc'kyj, *Taras Ševčenko v svitli epoxy*, 1923) and further as a "revolutionary and democrat unbroken by the police" *(Pamjati Tarasa Ševčenka*, Kiev, 1939), and a disciple of the Russian democrats (Je. Šabl'ovs'kyj, *Ševčenko i rosijs'ka revoljucijna demokratija*, Kiev, 1958), is nothing more than an echoing of Jefremov, although it differs from him politically. Concerning this paradox see Viktor Petrov, "Providni etapy sučasnoho Ševčenkoznavstva, *Ševčenko ta joho doba* (Augsburg, 1947), pp. 1–37.

[142] "*Profession de foi* molodyx ukrajinciv", *Pravda*, XVII, No. 5 (Lviv, 1893), p. 201.

Antonovyč tried to find a compromise. In the pamphlet *Samostijna Ukrajina* (An Independent Ukraine), written by Mixnovs'kyj, the slogan of the RUP was launched: "A single, united, indivisible, free and independent Ukraine from the Carpathian to the Caucasus." The pamphlet predicted that the twentieth century was going to be a century of wars for national independence on all continents of the earth. It stated very emphatically the separateness of the RUP from the Populist Democrat and reached over their heads towards Ševčenko:

> Thus the Ukrainophiles [i.e., Populist Democrats] are left without followers, and the youth of the contemporary Ukraine considers itself the direct heir of Ševčenko, and its tradition goes back to Mazepa, Xmel'nyc'kyj and King Danylo, by-passing the Ukrainophiles. There is no connection between the youth of the Ukraine and the Ukrainophiles, with the single exception of a terrible and fateful bond – payment with the youth's lives for the mistakes of their predecessors.[143]

The members of the RUP supported this declaration, although it lacked insight into social, political and economic matters. Stepan Tomašivs'kyj, who was to become an important historian, wrote in *Moloda Ukrajina*, the organ of the West Ukrainian (Galician) students (1900, vol. 6): "From the first appearance of Ševčenko's hand-written poems... till the present day, no one among the Ukrainians under Russian rule spoke of the independence of the Ukraine with such strong, clear and impassioned words, as in this little pamphlet."[144] Ivan Franko supported "Samostijna Ukrajina" in the article already cited, "Poza mežamy možlyvoho." In the first three years of its existence the RUP grew into such an influential organization that Lenin's publication, *Iskra*, began to apply systematic pressure on the socialist minority of the RUP, accusing it of chauvinism. With this help the socialist minority in the Central Committee of the RUP finally took control, twice split up the party, and in 1905 changed the party's name to the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labor Party (USDRP). From then on almost all of the politically conscious youth followed Marxist (USDRP) or Populist (the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries – UPSR) socialism. In 1917–18 both parties, in co-

[143] *Samostijna Ukrajina*, R.U.P., 1900, pp. 21–2.

[144] The sharp criticism of the RUP platform which appeared in the newspaper *Bukovyna* came under fire in a pamphlet (the co-author of which was Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj), *Vidpovid' Romana Stefanovyča na stattju "Ukrajins'ka Deržava", v 67 čysli "Bukovyny"* (Lviv, 1910), p. 27. On the question of the kind of Ukraine the youth wanted, the authors say: "Such as was described in 'Kobzar", a free Ukraine, not divided by borders, a Ukraine without lords and without serfs". See Andrij Žuk, "Jak narodylasja RUP", *Ukrajins'ka Literaturna Hazeta*, No. 9 (Munich, 1960), p. 3.



operation with the socialized Populist Democrats, took the leadership of the Ukrainian revolution and the Ukrainian government. But they were unable to coordinate the efforts of the Ukrainian people. The left dropped out in the formation of Ukrainian communism, and the USDRP and the UPSR became emigré parties.

Ševčenko's main field of influence did not lie in political parties. Around 1905 there arose a unique "Ševčenko movement" with a simple goal: commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the poet's death (1911) and the hundredth anniversary of his birth (1914). The core of this movement was the Ševčenko Committee, organized by the municipal *duma* of Kiev in September of 1905. Similar committees were formed in many other cities. They were united in a "United Sevčenko Committee," which also included representatives of many regional "Zemstvos," various civic organizations, and individual representatives of the fields of science, literature and the arts. The United Committee held a number of congresses, formed a jury which presided over three international competitions for a Ševčenko monument in Kiev; it collected for this monument 150,000 rubles (literally in kopecks, from every strata of society), and published in the form of an illustrated leaflet Ševčenko's biography, 40,000 copies of which were distributed by 1909. This was the period of new publications of a relatively complete "Kobzar," which became widely read. The data on the activities of the United Committee (which lasted ten years, from 1907 to 1917) show that the "Ševčenko movement" was widely representative of the people, from members of the Academy to illiterate peasants, from noblemen to farmers and factory workers. As a response to various prohibitive decrees of the government there arose mass petitions with thousands of signatures.[145] The unheard-of legal nature of this Ukrainian movement, and the fact that it was organized by the elective offices of the local governments, with spontaneous mass support, made this movement invincible. The liberation movements of the national minorities of the Russian Empire seemed to show a much greater liveliness and resistance to reactionary terror than all the Russian Socialist parties and movements combined.

This was a good political experience for an enslaved nation whose politics and culture were otherwise to remain in the underground or among emigrés. In the climate of the "Ševčenko movement" it became

[145] "Ukrajina i svit u Ševčenkove stolittja" (reportaž z hazetnyx vyrizok 1913–1914 rr.), *Svoboda* (Jersey City, 1961, issues of March 16–26). Documents from the archives of the "United Committee" published by D. Iofanov: *Materijaly pro zyttja i tvorčist' Tarasa Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1957), pp. 152–236.

possible to have a literary, not merely a political, criticism of the popular cult of Ševčenko. In contrast to Jefremov's book "Taras Ševčenko," which spoke of Ševčenko as a "peasant apostle," there appeared a book by Mykola Jevšan, an important Ukrainian esthetician and critic. Jevšan wrote of Ševčenko as first of all a poet. He denounced the parasitic use of Ševčenko's poetry for political purposes:

> We would like to forge for ourselves out of the poet's soul and songs a dogma which would serve us an excuse, and which would be once and for all a cover, a veneer for our squalid and stolid spirit. And so we have not learned anything from Ševčenko, but have grown accustomed to deluding ourselves and to insulting his memory...[146]

In 1910–1914, the final years of the broad "Ševčenko movement," there appeared a generation of modernizers of Ukrainian poetry: Maksym Ryl's'kyj, Pavlo Tyčyna, Mykola Zerov, Myxajlo Semenko. Mykola Zerov wrote at that time in a letter that his work, compiling an anthology of Ukrainian poetry, tempted him to declare war on "the borrowings in Ukrainian literature," which either vitiated Ševčenko by imitating him, or copied the antipoetic Russian "civic poetry" of the 1870's.[147]

Under these conditions there appeared even among the most reactionary monarchist circles those who tried to "defend" Ševčenko from Ukrainian nationalists. *Ševčenko kak russkij pisatel'* (Ševčenko as a Russian Writer, by Panas, Prague); *Oklevetanie Ševčenka nekotorymi patriotami* (Ševčenko Slandered by Some Patriots, by V. Demčenko, Kiev, 1912) – such pamphlets as these maintained that Ševčenko was a "Little Russian" who had remained a faithful citizen of the Russian Empire.[148]

But the Tsarist regime could not be so hypocritical toward Ševčenko as communism was to be. The tsar forbade the celebration of the anniversaries of Ševčenko's birth and death, the erection of the monument for him, and even masses for his soul. The socialist parties saw in this a good chance for strikes and protest demonstrations.[149] In 1914 in Kiev the anniversaries of the birth and the death of Ševčenko suggested imminent revolution. The grave of Ševčenko by the Dnieper in Kaniv was surrounded by army troops. All the domestic and some of the West Europe-

[146] M. Jevšan, *Taras Ševčenko*. Statti (Kiev, 1911), pp. 6–7.
[147] M. Zerov, *Corrolarium. Zbirka literaturnoji spadščyny*, ed. by Myxajlo Orest (Munich, 1958), p. 175.
[148] The pamphlets are not available to me. The data are quoted from P. A., "Nove zneslavljuvannja Ševčenka", *Svoboda* (Jersey City, January 26, 1961), p. 2.
[149] *Nelegal'ni vidozvy z nahody Ševčenkivs'kyx rokovyn*, Osyp Hermajze, ed. (Kiev, 1925, p. 64); Osyp Hermajze, "Ševčenkivs'ka demonstracija v Kyjevi r. 1914 (po materijalax Žandarms'koho Upravlinnja)", *Červonyj šljax*, No. 3 (Xarkiv, 1924), pp. 121–147.



an press discussed the matter. It was World War I that finally interrupted the "Ševčenko movement."

Three years later the two consecutive days of Ševčenko's anniversaries coincided with the first two days of the 1917 revolution in St. Petersburg.[150] In the Ukraine Ševčenko's name immediately became the rallying cry of the Ukrainian Revolution, and his "Testament" the official hymn of the reborn Ukrainian state. Countless publications of his poems began to flow from the printing presses, disappearing among the masses like water in parched soil. No political party followed the slogans of "Kobzar," but there was also no political party which did not try to use the popularity of "Kobzar" for its own propaganda. Thus came true the predicted holocaust of a land "awakened in flames, already robbed," the vision which had so disturbed Ševčenko and Kuliš. After four years of a bloody war, the Ukraine was occupied again, and divided among Russia, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

But Lenin was unable to restore the empire without certain compromises. He had to accept the idea of a federation, if only on paper. The New Economic Policy gave the Ukraine a respite during the decade of 1922–1932. It became clear that the destruction of the young Ukrainian state was not the destruction of the Ukrainian people. The suffering and the shock evoked a new and strong spiritual strength. In this process of rebirth, Ukrainian poetry reached the levels of the accomplishments of Ševčenko and Kuliš. In the person of Pavlo Tyčyna there appeared a poet who dug out from under the mud of primitive adoration the golden axle of Ševčenko's poetry: the poetic synthesis of the all-encompassing, wise "heart." The "heart," which has the musical key of the universe, is a part of the symphony of the universe, and is capable of re-creating this universe, and of containing within itself its contradictions. Thus came about the restoration of the unity of man with man and man with the universe.[151]

After the poets came the students of Ševčenko's heritage.[152]

The renaissance that came after the revolution liberated from half a century of ostracism the conservative Pantelejmon Kuliš, who in 1882

[150] The course of events was most strongly influenced by the support of the strikers in St. Petersburg by the members of the Izmajlovskij and Volynskij regiments, whose soldiers were Ukrainian. The USDRP was active in those units, and this party was always inclined to exploit Ševčenko anniversaries for their own goals. See M. Avdijenko, "Ljutneva revoljucija v Petrohradi i USDRP", *Litopys Revoljuciji*, No. 1 (Xarkiv, 1928), pp. 226–234.
[151] There were also some scandals: the anti-Ševčenko *putsch* of the futurists led by Myxajlo Semenko, who published a large volume of his futuristic poems called *Kobzar*. Semenko wrote: "Now I have Ševčenko under my feet".
[152] See P. Odarchenko's article in this symposium.

had warned against the cult of revolution in empires similar to the Russian Empire, saying: "If only it spoke in a voice of the intelligentsia. But what if the wild force of the dictators call forth from hell the wild force of the slaves?"[153]

The neoclassicist poets followed Kuliš' tradition in Europeanizing Ukrainian poetry. For the first time since the collaboration of Ševčenko with Kuliš the latter became the object of admiration of the leaders of the young intellectuals (Mykola Xvyl'ovyj, Jevhen Malanjuk). Then the confrontation of Franko, Drahomanov, Kuliš and Ševčenko was to come, which mirrors the tragic history of the Ukrainian people during the last century.

But at that point came the cataclysm of the terror of the 1930's. With one blow it cut short the growth of the Ukrainian spirit.

The two leaders of the Russian empire, Petr Stolypin, the prime minister from 1906 to 1911, and Nikolai Lenin, the prime minister from 1917 to 1924, followed a different strategy with respect to Ševčenko, but they both had the same goal: to preserve the unity of the empire. Stolypin barred the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Ševčenko's death in 1911 in Kiev, and Lenin rejoiced that this would help him in his fight for power. He wrote:

> The prohibition of homage to Ševčenko was such a marvelous and uniquely favorable situation to be used in a campaign against the government that one could hardly hope for a better one. I do not think that all of our finest socialist anti-government campaigners could accomplish such astounding results in so little time as did this single event.[154]

Lenin wrote a special speech for the defense of Ševčenko, for a member of the Bolshevik faction in the State Duma, Hryhorij Petrovs'kyj, a representative from Katerynoslav, which Petrovs'kyj delivered in the Duma June 2, 1913.[155] Just how much Lenin was interested in Ševčenko can be seen from his jubilant rejoicing at the government decree, as well as from a leaflet of his party, purportedly about Ševčenko, published in 1914 in Kiev, which speaks only of socialism, and ends in praises to Lenin's Russian party, with none at all for Ševčenko.[156]

The advice of some wiser monarchist that Ševčenko be established as an "all-Russian writer" and an obedient "Little Russian," advice which Stolypin had rejected, became the official policy of the Kremlin.

[153] P. Kuliš, "Istoryčne opovidannja", *Tvory*, vol. 6 (Lviv, 1910), p. 409.
[154] V. I. Lenin, "K voprosu o nacional'noj politike" (1914), *Sočinenija*, vol. 20 (Moscow, 1948), p. 199.
[155] V. I. Lenin, *Stat'i i reči ob Ukraine* (Kiev, 1936), pp. 213–20.
[156] For text see I. D. Nazarenko, *Svitohljad T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1957), pp. 20–22.

# ŠEVČENKO IN SOVIET LITERARY CRITICISM

PETRO ODARČENKO

Taras Ševčenko is not only the central figure in the history of Ukrainian literature; he is also a symbol of the Ukrainian revival in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Therefore interpretation of his works has often been dictated by political views, a fact which has hindered understanding of him as a poet.

Ševčenko's influence began in 1840, when his first collection of poems, entitled *Kobzar*, appeared in print. According to Pantelejmon Kuliš, his contemporary, Ševčenko's poetry was received by the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the 1840's as "the sound of the resurrecting trumpet of an archangel", and he himself was acclaimed as a "national prophet".[1] Half a century later Borys Hrinčenko wrote in his *Lysty z Naddniprjans'koji Ukrajiny*: "Many more figures will appear in Ukrainian literature whose talent will equal that of Ševčenko, but none of them will be on a par with him in the cause of our national regeneration. There will be great writers, but there will be no more prophets."[2]

The immense popularity of Ševčenko in the Ukraine may be seen long before the revolution of 1917. In 1914 the tsarist ban on celebration of the 100th anniversary of the poet's birth gave rise to stormy demonstrations in Kiev, in which thousands of students and workers took part. A strike was declared in protest against the ban. During the first years of the revolution, the cult of Ševčenko grew in intensity. The anniversary of his birth and death became a national holiday, and the song composed to his poem *Zapovit* (Testament) was sung as a national anthem.

The foreign minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Andrij Nikovs'kyj, who was at the same time an outstanding literary critic, had this to say on the homage paid to Ševčenko during the Ukrainian revolution:

> Over all the banners, orchestras, machine-guns, guns, processions, hetmans, politicians, parties, leaders and parliaments there ruled supreme, alone – the

[1] P. Kuliš, *Tvory*, VI (Lviv, 1910), p. 377.
[2] M. Plevako, "Ševčenko i krytyka", *Červonyj Šljax*, 3 (1924), p. 118.

Ukrainian Poet. Monarchist Russia, the ideologists of centralism, and the local pedants were forced to bow their heads before him, the great and invincible master of the rusty pen. The victory lies with you, Poet! The victorious Ukrainian revolution was accomplished not by a general, a hero, a tsar, a diplomat, or a German school-teacher, but by a poet.[3]

The well-known Ukrainian writer and political leader, Vynnyčenko, records that during the Soviet occupation of the Ukraine in 1918, "the press was banned, Ukrainian printing shops were confiscated, bookstores and libraries shut down, schools closed, and people were seized on the streets for speaking Ukrainian, and if not condemned to be executed, were suspected of counter-revolution".[4] Frequently, he recalls, pictures of Ševčenko were torn down and trampled on, while many village schoolteachers were persecuted and shot solely because they were Ukrainian patriots.[5]

In 1920 the Bolsheviks drastically revised their nationality policy in the Ukraine. The Eighth Conference of the Russian Communist Party, held from December 2–4, 1919, decided to "assist in removing all barriers to the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. Since, on the soil of a century-old oppression nationalist tendencies can be observed among a backward section of the Ukrainian masses, they must be treated with the greatest tolerance and caution."[6] Ševčenko was reinstated as a great poet.

Several periods may be discerned in the Soviet interpretation of Ševčenko: 1. the period of militant communism and the N.E.P. (1920–29); 2. the period of collectivization and national oppression (1930–33); 3. the period of greatest terror and national persecution (1934–37); 4. the period of intensified Russification (1938–41); 5. the period of Soviet Russian nationalism (1947–55); and 6. the most recent "thaw" (1956–59). Although this division into periods is only general, it corresponds to the main developments of Soviet history.

## I. ŠEVČENKO STUDIES: 1920–29

With the establishment of the Soviet regime in the Ukraine in 1920, a new cult of "Ševčenko, the revolutionary" was born. It culminated in the

[3] A. Nikovs'kyj, *Vita Nova. Krytyčni narysy* (Kiev, Drukar', 1918), p. 8.
[4] V. Vynnyčenko, *Vidrodžennja naciji*, II (Kiev-Vienna, 1920), p. 271.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[6] S. Nykolyšyn, *Kul'turna polityka bil'šovykiv i ukrajins'kyj kul'turnyj proces* (Munich, 1947), p. 10.



resolution of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R., issued in 1920, which ruled that the anniversary of Ševčenko's death be observed as a public holiday. The text of the resolution reads as follows:

The Council of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R. decrees that the day of March 11th, the anniversary of the death of the proletarian poet Taras Ševčenko be proclaimed a public holiday. On that day, which will be always free from work, concerts, lectures and public meetings should be conducted at which the great importance of Ševčenko as the defender of farm-laborers and peasant interests and his struggle for the social liberation of the working masses should be explained.[7]

The decree was signed by the Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, Rakovs'kyj, on February 27, 1920. On March 11 great celebrations in honor of Ševčenko were held throughout the country, with military parades in Kiev and Kharkiv. Yet the decree was in force only one year. In 1921, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee issued a new resolution which specified that only the 60th anniversary of the poet's death should be regarded as a national holiday.[8]

Beginning with 1921, Ševčenko's anniversary was an ordinary working day. In 1921, even the Sunday, March 13th, which was declared "Ševčenko Day" was not a holiday. On that day a country-wide campaign of cleaning and repairing of railways was organized; the work was "free," without compensation.

The Soviet cult of Ševčenko during the era of "militant communism" unfolded under the slogan "Ševčenko – the prophet of social revolution". M. Ljubčenko in an article "Červonyj Xrystos" described Ševčenko as "a Christ of socialism".[9] The critic Volodymyr Korjak became the Party spokesman on Ševčenko. In his articles he attempted to prove that Ševčenko was "one of the first poet-prophets of the proletariat and of the great social revolution of the future".[10] Later on Korjak regarded Ševčenko as a peasant poet and a spokesman for the poor peasantry.[11] His articles on Ševčenko, published in 1919–25, were tendentious and written in the style of journalism. They were openly directed against any attempts

[7] Cf. *Tovaryš imigranta, Kalendar Ukrajins'koho Robitnyčoho Sojuzu na rik 1923* (Scranton, 1922), p. 99; the text of the governmental decree proclaiming the Ševčenko Day celebration was also cited in I. Lakyza's book, *Taras Hryhorovyč Ševčenko. Krytyko-biohrafičnyj narys* (Xarkiv, 1931).
[8] *T. H. Ševčenko v dokumentax i materijalax* (Kiev, 1950).
[9] M. Ljubčenko, "Červonyj Xrystos", *Pam'jati Ševčenka* (1920).
[10] V. Korjak, *Borot'ba za Ševčenka* (Xarkiv, 1925), p. 46.
[11] V. Korjak, *Ukrajins'ka literatura. Konspekt* (Xarkiv, 1928), p. 92.

at scholarly objectivity and pleaded for a "class approach to the study of Ševčenko".[12]

Ševčenko was studied from a sociological and Marxist point of view by Andrij Ričyc'kyj. His book, *Taras Ševčenko v svitli epoxy*, which appeared in several editions, reflected the official interpretation of Ševčenko advanced at that time. Ričyc'kyj's premise was that Ševčenko was a representative of the peasants; yet at the same time he regarded him as a bard of the "pre-proletarian" era.[13] Ričyc'kyj emphasized what he termed as Ševčenko's "national narrowmindedness" and his "peasant" philosophy. The poet's revolutionary ideas appeared to him te be an evangelical brand of Christianity represented by T. Münzer.

Korjak hailed Ričyc'kyj's book as a "timely appearance" and a "beginning of scholarly research on Ševčenko according to the Marxian analytical method".[14]

Serious study of Ševčenko developed during the N.E.P. period, outside the framework of the official interpretation. In 1922 an Ukrainian scholar wrote: "If Shakespeare and Dante studies exist in the West and if in Russia Puškin studies are now talked about, is it not time for us in the Ukraine to pose the question of 'Ševčenko studies' and create the foundation for systematic research on this great writer?"[15]

Several valuable Ševčenko studies appeared in the following year. I. Ajzenštok published very important biographical material about the poet,[16] in particular about Ševčenko's private library. The fourth volume of the Annals of the Historical and Philological Section of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences *(Zapysky Istoryčno-Filolohičnoho Viddilu Vseukrajins'koji Akademiji Nauk)* in 1923 also contained some important contributions on Ševčenko, of which the most outstanding were by Pavlo Fylypovyč on Ševčenko's romanticism,[17] and by M. Markovs'kyj which convincingly supported the view that Ševčenko's ideas formed the core of the programme of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius – the Book of Genesis of the Ukrainian People *(Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu)*.[18]

[12] V. Korjak, *Borot'ba za Ševčenka* (Xarkiv, 1925), p. 46.
[13] Berlin, Ukrainian-American Association "Kosmos", 1923, p. 195.
[14] V. Korjak, *Borot'ba za Ševčenka*, p. 96.
[15] I. Ajzenštok, *Ševčenkoznavstvo – sučasna problema* (Xarkiv, 1922).
[16] I. Ajzenštok, "Zamitky j materijaly pro Ševčenka", *Červonyj Šljax*, 8 (1923), pp. 227–40.
[17] "Ševčenko i romantyzm", *Zapysky Istoryčno-Fil. Vid. Ukr. Akad. Nauk*, 4 (1923), pp. 3–16.
[18] M. Markovs'kyj, "Ševčenko v Kyrylo-Metodijivs'komu Bratstvi", *Ibid.*, pp. 49–57.



Ukrainian scholars through their new researches exposed the falsity of the Soviet cult of the poet based on the formula "Ševčenko – the prophet of social revolution". O. Hermajze pointed out that in the sea of articles on Ševčenko only rarely "can one find something more than the usual ranting".[19] Mykola Zerov, rejecting the journalistic approach to Ševčenko, pleaded for a detailed and painstaking study of everything relating to Ševčenko.[20]

An important contribution to the knowledge of Ševčenko was the *Ševčenkivs'kyj Zbirnyk*, edited by Fylypovyč in 1924. It contained, among others, an article by Serhij Jefremov on the treatment of Ševčenko by the tsarist government. ("Na nerivnyx pozvax"), Fylypovyč's study "Ševčenko i dekabrysty", and a valuable article by M. Novyc'kyj "Arešt Ševčenka v 1859 r." based on unpublished materials. Ševčenko's poetics, a subject which so far had attracted the least attention, was treated in the compendium in the contributions by B. Jakubs'kyj, D. Dudar, and D. Zahul. In 1924 several articles on Ševčenko were printed in the Kharkiv *Naukovyj Zbirnyk* and in the periodical *Červonyj Šljax*. The one which deserves to be singled out is M. Plevako's "Ševčenko i krytyka"[21] giving an excellent survey of the changes in the interpretation of Ševčenko's works from 1840 to 1923.

The year 1925 brought new studies of Ševčenko. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published a symposium *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, the journal *Ukrajina* (Nos. 1–2) was almost entirely dedicated to Ševčenko. The latter contained an important article by M. Novyc'kyj on "Ševčenko v procesi 1847 r."[22] and several contributions on relations between Ševčenko and his contemporaries.[23]

Academician Dmytro Bahalij published his study *T. H. Ševčenko i kyrylo-metodijivci* in book form.[24] Of great interest was M. Voznjak's study *Ševčenko i knjažna Repnina*,[25] which contained a translation of letters which Princess Repnina wrote in French to Charles Einar, as well as Repnina's novel in which she revealed her innermost feelings towards the poet. Fylypovyč in his article "Do studijuvannja Ševčenka ta joho

[19] O. Hermajze, "Novi neporozuminnja z Ševčenkom", *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925), p. 170.
[20] M. Zerov, Review of *Ševčenkivs'kyj Zbirnyk* in *Ukrajina*, 3 (1924), p. 173.
[21] *Červonyj Šljax*, 3 (1924), pp. 97–120; 4–5, pp. 108–142.
[22] *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925), pp. 51–99.
[23] P. Fylypovyč, "Ševčenko i Hrebinka", *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925), pp. 24–36; V. Petrov, "Kuliš i Ševčenko", *Ševčenko ta joho doba* (1925); V. Petrov, "Ševčenko, Kuliš, V. Bilozers'kyj, jix perši striči", *Ukrajina*, 1–2, pp. 42–50; P. Rulin, "T. Ševčenko i K. Piunova", *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925), pp. 160–1.
[24] Xarkiv, 1925, pp. 96.
[25] Lviv, 1925, pp. 118.

doby"[26] gave an exhaustive critical analysis of Ričyc'kyj's book *Ševčenko v svitli epoxy*, exposing its tendentiousness. Fylypovyč accused Ričyc'kyj of simplification and schematism in dealing with the "living Ševčenko" and showed that Ričyc'kyj was ignorant of new discoveries and therefore offered false conclusions. As Fylypovyč contended, in scholarly research "it is most important to explore carefully the actual facts... If the facts contradict this or that theory then the theory and on no account the facts must be rejected."

An even sharper criticism of Ričyc'kyj's book was contained in an article "Novi neporozuminnja z Ševčenkom"[27] by the historian O. Hermajze, who charged that Ričyc'kyj failed to utilize all the available historical sources and instead of facts and names filled his work with general statements. Hermajze refuted Ričyc'kyj's interpretation of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. He pointed out the latter's neglect of Ševčenko's relation to Polish revolutionaries, the Decembrists, and the Slavophiles, and also his failure to acknowledge the influence which *Istorija Rusov* had on the poet. In conclusion Hermajze declared that Ričyc'kyj's work offered nothing new, but was a compilation, containing many factual mistakes and irrelevancies.

A Ševčenko Research Institute *(Naukovo-Doslidčyj Instytut Tarasa Ševčenka)* was established in 1926. Although nearly all the research on Ševčenko before that time had entered around the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences the Ševčenko Research Institute was created as an independent institution with its main office in Kharkiv and a branch in Kiev. It was headed by the Academician Bahalij, while Professor Doroškevyč was in charge of the Kiev branch. The scholarly publications of this institute did not differ substantially from those of the Academy of Sciences. The range of research was very wide and included some valuable studies, such as Fylypovyč's "Ševčenko i dekabrysty",[28] several contributions on Ševčenko and the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the article by V. Mijakovs'kyj on M. Hulak,[29] and the articles by V. Petrov,[30] D. Bahalij,[31] O. Doroškevyč,[32] S. Jefremov,[33] M. Mohyljans'kyj,[34] as well as such bio-

[26] *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, a symposium (Ukr. Akad. Nauk, 1925), pp. 7–37.
[27] *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925), pp. 170–78.
[28] *Ševčenkivs'kyj Zbirnyk* (Kiev, 1924); later Fylypovyč's work was published separately: P. Fylypovyč, *Ševčenko i dekabrysty* (Kiev, 1926).
[29] "Mykola Hulak", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (1926); "Novi materijaly do biohrafiji Hulaka", *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, Xarkiv, 1928).
[30] "Kuliš i Ševčenko", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 1 (1925).
[31] *Ševčenko i Kyrylo-Metodijivci* (1925).
[32] "Ševčenko v pryvatnomu lystuvanni", *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. Ukr. Akad. Nauk*, 7–8 (1928).



graphical studies as Doroškevyč's "Ševčenko i petraševci"[35] and "Do pytannja pro vplyv O. Hercena na Ševčenka",[36] P. Rulin's "Ševčenko i Ščepkin",[37] I. Ajzenštok's "Turgenev i Ševčenko",[38] V. Lazurs'kyj "Ševčenko i L. Tolstoj"[39] and K. Lazarevs'ka's "Ševčenko i braty Lazarevs'ki".[40] New materials relating to Ševčenko's correspondence were published by Doroškevyč.[41] Ševčenko's participation in the Aral Sea expedition was analyzed by I. Žytec'kyj.[42]

Several studies were devoted to the problems of Ševčenko's style and poetics. B. Navroc'kyj is the author of an article on Ševčenko's poetics [43] and on the composition of Ševčenko's poem *Hajdamaky*.[44] S. Rodzevyč analyzed the themes and style of Ševčenko's early poems.[45] B. Varneke's study of Ševčenko's play *Nazar Stodolja* [46] tracing the influence of Shakespeare on Ševčenko is of considerable interest. Several articles were dedicated to such aspects of Ševčenko's style as epithets,[47] prosody,[48] and language.[49] The problem of translating Ševčenko into foreign languages (Polish,[50] Bulgarian,[51] Russian,[52] and English [53]) were also being inves-

[33] "Epiloh do Kyrylo-Metodijivs'koji spravy", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (1926).
[34] "Kuliš i Ševčenko", *Kulišivs'kyj Zbirnyk* (Kiev, 1926).
[35] O. Doroškevyč, "Ševčenko i petraševci v 40 rr.", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (1926).
[36] *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, 1928).
[37] *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (1926).
[38] *Červonyj Šljax*, 2 (1926), pp. 139–148.
[39] *Zapysky Odes'koho pry UAN Tovarystva*, 2 (1929).
[40] *Ukrajina*, 4 (1928), pp. 46–51.
[41] O. Doroškevyč, "Ševčenko v pryvatnomu lystuvanni", *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. UAN*, 7–8 (1926), pp. 369–85.
[42] I. Žytec'kyj, "'Opisnaja ėkspedicija' Aral's'koho morja i Ševčenko", *Ukrajina*, 3 (1928), pp. 58–61.
[43] "Problemy Ševčenkovoji poetyky", *Červonyj Šljax*, 2 (1926).
[44] "Dejaki kompozycijni osoblyvosti 'Hajdamak'", *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, Xarkiv, 1928), and separately, "*Haydamaky*" *T. Ševčenka* (Xarkiv-Kiev, 1928).
[45] "Sjužet i styl' u rannix poemax Ševčenka", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (1926).
[46] "Kompozycija 'Nazara Stodoli' Ševčenka", *Ukrajina*, 10–11 (1929), pp. 54–64.
[47] B. Jakubs'kyj, "Do sociolohiji Ševčenkovyx epitetiv", *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, 1928).
[48] B. Jakubs'kyj, "Do problemy rytmu Ševčenkovoji poezijj", *Ševčenko ta joho doba*, 2 (1926).
[49] O. Synjavs'kyj, "Deščo pro Ševčenkovu movu", *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925).
[50] Ljubov Arasymovyč, "T. H. Ševčenko v pol's'kyx perekladax", *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. UAN*, XII (1927), pp. 78–102.
[51] D. Šelud'ko, "Vplyvy Ševčenka na Ljubena Karavelova", *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. UAN*, XVIII (1928), pp. 129–48.
[52] P. Fylypovyč, "Peršyj pereklad z Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju", *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, 1928).
[53] I. Kulyk, "Vybrani tvory Ševčenka v anhlijs'komu perekladi", *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, 1928); H. Majfet, "Ševčenko v anhlijs'komu perekladi", *Ibid.*

tigated. Among the important studies of Ševčenko's prose were those by A. Loboda,[54] M. Zerov,[55] M. Markovs'kyj,[56] S. Jefremov,[57] B. Navroc'-kyj,[58] I. Ajzenštok,[59] and V. Deržavyn.[60]

One of the main difficulties faced by Ševčenko scholarship was the establishment of the definitive text of Ševčenko's poems. Two scholars, I. Ajzenštok and M. Novyc'kyj, made a signal contribution to this end and provided the basis for a definitive scholarly edition of Ševčenko's poetry.[61] "These publications" wrote Doroškevyč "bring us closer to the future scholarly edition of Ševčenko's works, which is being planned by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. They destroyed the hallowed texts of Domanyc'kyj's edition of Ševčenko and laid the foundation for the forthcoming mass editions of his works while at the same time providing the researcher with new and more accurate material. However, only a final establishment of a textual canon and publication of all drafts and variants may form the basis for a scholarly investigation of Ševčenko's ideology and his poetic style."[62]

The main achievement of Ševčenko scholars in the 1920's was the publication of two volumes of the new Academy edition of Ševčenko's works. Volume IV (The Diary) was the first to appear; it was followed by volume III (Letters).[63] The seventh volume of this edition was printed in 1929 but was immediately banned. This volume, richly illustrated with Ševčenko's paintings and drawings, was edited by Academician O. Novyc'kyj. All three volumes had invaluable detailed commentaries and notes amounting to 553 pages in vol. IV and 606 in vol. III.

It would be an exaggeration to regard the period of the nineteen twenties as the "golden age" of Ševčenko studies. But it was a time when

[54] "Miž dvox styxij", *Ševčenkivs'kyj Zbirnyk* (1924).
[55] The review of *Ševčenkivs'kyj Zbirnyk* (1924) in *Ukrajina*, 3 (1924), p. 175.
[56] "Rosijs'ki i ukrajins'ki tvory Ševčenka", *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1918).
[57] "Spadščyna Kobzarja Darmohraja", *Ukrajina*, 1–2 (1925), pp. 11–25.
[58] "Ševčenko jak prozajik", *Červonyj Šljax*, 10 (1925), pp. 163–180.
[59] An introductory article to Ševčenko's *Dnevnik* (Xarkiv, 1925), pp. V–XXXI.
[60] "Liryka i humor u Ševčenkovomu 'Žurnali", *Ševčenko*, Yearbook I (Instytut Ševčenka, 1928).
[61] T. Ševčenko, *Poeziji, Kobzar*, edited and footnotes by I. Ajzenštok and M. Plevako; T. H. Ševčenko, *Poezija*, I–II, edited by S. Jefremov and M. Novyc'kyj (1927).
[62] Ol. Doroškevyč, *Etjudy z ševčenkoznavstva*, collection of articles (Xarkiv, 1930), p. 28.
[63] Taras Ševčenko, Collected works edited by S. Jefremov, IV, *Ščodenni Zapysky* (Journal. Text. Initial variants. Commentary. Edited and introduction by S. Jefremov.) (Kiev, State Publishing House of the Ukraine, 1927), pp. XL + 786 + (4) + 6 inserted leaves; III, *Lystuvannja* (Text. Commentary. Edited and introduction by S. Jefremov.) (Kiev, State Publishing House of the Ukraine, 1928), pp. XXXVI + 1002 + (2) + 6 inserted leaves.



scores of first-rate scholars devoted their energies to a scientific appraisal of Ševčenko. The result was significant. Many aspects of Ševčenko's art were thoroughly investigated by experts in literary history, folklore, ethnography, linguistics, and art. The synthesis was still lacking, but there began to emerge a clearer picture of the poet seen against the background of his age. All this work developed apart and independently of the official Party interpretation of Ševčenko.

## 2. DESTRUCTION OF ŠEVČENKO SCHOLARSHIP: 1930–33

The abandonment of N.E.P., the trial of the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (Spilka vyzvolennja Ukrajiny) and mass arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia brought about drastic changes in Ševčenko studies. The brunt of the first attacks was directed against Jefremov, Hermajze, and Nikovs'-kyj. A violent campaign of abuse and vituperation was launched against Jefremov, who was accused of belittling the revolutionary ideas of Ševčenko, of ignoring the poet's "class ideology".[64]

Some of the studies of Ševčenko which appeared in print in 1930 did not yet bear the stamp of the new Party line. Most of them were written before the change of Soviet tactics in the Ukraine and were the fruits of scholarly research. The Ševčenko Institute published a second compendium,[65] comprising twenty-four articles. Eight of them were devoted to Ševčenko's biography, six to his works, four to his relation to music, three to his achievement as a painter, two to translations of Ševčenko's works, and one was of general nature. Doroškevyč's *Etjudy z ševčenkoznavstva*[66] contained a series of articles dealing with various problems connected with the study of Ševčenko. One of them, "Sučasnyj stan ševčenkoznavstva", offered a good survey of the work done on Ševčenko in the preceding years. His other articles were: "Petersburz'ke otočennja molodoho Ševčenka", "Ševčenko i furjerysty v 40-yx rr.", "Do pytannja pro Herceniv vplyv na Ševčenka", "Pryroda v Ševčenkovij poeziji", "Trahedija samotn'oho čuttja". In 1932 Doroškevyč managed to publish

[64] V. Bojko, "U sociolohičnyj nastup na buržuazne literaturoznavstvo", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 1–2 (1930), pp. 3–8; Je. Šabl'ovs'kyj, "Bil'šovyc'kyj vohon' proty reštok kontrrevoljucijnoji jefremovščyny", *Žyttja j Revoljucija*, 11–12 (1931); O. Doroškevyč, "Metodolohična koncepcija 'Istoriji ukrajins'koho pys'menstva' S. Jefremova", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 4–5 (1931), pp. 26–78; L. Černec', "Radjans'ka literatura v osvitlenni S. Jefremova", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 1–2 (1930), pp. 16–33.
[65] *Ševčenko*, Yearbook II (Instytut Ševčenka, 1930).
[66] O. Doroškevyč, *Etjudy z ševčenkoznavstva*, pp. 218.

scholarly textual study, although in the introduction he paid homage to the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin as a "necessary foundation for the edition of Ševčenko's works".[67]

Other scholarly Ševčenko studies published in 1930 which deserve to be mentioned were by P. Fylypovyč,[68] P. Lušpyns'kyj,[69] M. Močul's'kyj [70] and O. Synjavs'kyj.[71]

In 1930–33 the central position in the Marxist school of Ševčenko scholarship was still occupied by Andrij Ričyc'kyj. The latter's position was strenghtened by the fact that his bitter critic, Hermajze, was sentenced during the trial of the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine. Ričyc'kyj's article "Do problemy naciji u Ševčenka"[72] occupies a special place in the Ševčenko literature of the time. Ševčenko's view of the national problem could, in Ričyc'kyj's opinion, be best described as "an ideology of revolutionary national liberation".[73] Ševčenko, Ričyc'kyj maintained, hated tsar Peter I and tsarina Catherine II as well as the Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, who "betrayed the revolution and went to Perejaslav to swear allegiance to Moscow".[74] Ševčenko led the fight against the foreign domination of his land and hated Peter I for defeating Mazepa at Poltava. "Ševčenko" wrote Ričyc'kyj "posed the problem of a united national front and the revolutionary struggle of the bourgeoisie for a national state – the problem of a national, bourgeois and democratic revolution."[75] Finally, Ričyc'kyj held that Ševčenko sought a modern form for his ideas of nationality and the national state of the future when he wrote

> When shall we get our Washington
> With a new and just law?
> One day we shall.

Says Ričyc'kyj:

Here the author has in mind nothing less than his people's struggle for their liberation from a foreign yoke and the creation of a Ukrainian state, namely a republic. Here in the image of Washington with a new and just law, in the image of the national and military leader of the American bourgeoisie in its war of liberation against England, and in the image of the first president of the North American republic Ševčenko expressed his program for a revolutionary war for the indepencence of the Ukraine as a republic.[76]

[67] O. Doroškevyč, "Pryncypy orhanizaciji tekstu Ševčenkovoji poeziji", *Žyttja j Revoljucija*, 6–7 (1932), pp. 186–206; the quotation from p. 186.
[68] "Zabuti recenziji sorokovyx rokiv", *Ukrajina*, 3–4 (1930), pp. 78–80.
[69] "Ševčenkiv 'Xolodnyj jar' ", *Ukrajina*, 3–4 (1930), pp. 89–105.
[70] "Kul't dereva i sokyry v Ševčenkovij poemi", *Ukrajina*, 3–4 (1930), pp. 80–88.
[71] O. Synjavs'kyj, "Elementy Ševčenkovoji movy, jix poxodžennja j značennja", *Kul'tura ukrajins'koho slova*, collection (Kiev, 1931).
[72] *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 1–2 (1930), pp. 8–24.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 22.



In 1931 the communist critics began attacking Doroškevyč who was the head of the Kiev branch of the Ševčenko Institute. At first there appeared some negative reviews of Doroškevyč's works, in particular his collection *Etjudy z ševčenkoznavstva* (1930). The critics I. Lakyza,[77] P. Kostenko,[78] and L. Černec'[79] accused Doroškevyč of being a "bourgeois nationalist", of "hiding his bourgeois idealist views behind a mask" and of attributing too much attention to the gathering of facts about Ševčenko's life. Doroškevyč was forced to confess his errors. His self-condemnation was published in 1931.[80] It is a telling document which reveals the humiliation to which Ukrainian scholars were being reduced. Ričyc'kyj, in reply to Doroškevyč's self-criticism, called the latter a "class enemy who under the pressure of the struggle is forced to re-evaluate his values and to move away from the bourgeoisie".[81]

The year 1932 was the year of "confessions of erors" on the part of many scholars, non-Party (Zerov, A. Šamraj) and Party (V. Bojko, Kostenko) alike. Professor O. Bahrij was subjected to especially violent attacks for his interpretation of Ševčenko's poem *Velykyj L'ox* (The Great Cave). The following excerpt from this interpretation was cited by Bahrij's critic, Je. Kyryljuk: "Sevčenko believes that this grave, that is the Perejaslav treaty, will fall apart, and that from amid the ruins there will rise an independent Ukraine, which will dispel darkness and slavery, light up the beacon of truth and offer a chance to her children to pray in freedom. This is the *leitmotiv* for the understanding of the mystical work of the poet."[82] The excerpt was sufficient for Kyryljuk to maintain that "in the national motifs of Ševčenko's poetry, Bahrij did not notice class conditioning".[83]

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[77] "'Perexodovyj marksyzm' Ol. Doroškevyča", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 1–2 (1931), pp. 38–50.
[78] "'Perexodova' doba prof. O. Doroškevyča", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 1–2 (1931).
[79] "Buržuazna sut' pid 'marksysts'kymy' frazamy. Metodolohične oblyčča prof. O. Doroškevyča", *Krytyka*, 5 (1931).
[80] "Avtoreferat prof. O. K. Doroškevyča z pryvodu joho knyhy 'Etjudy z ševčenkoznavstva", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 4–5 (1931), pp. 173–187.
[81] "Obhovorennja avtoreferatu O. K. Doroškevyča na temu pro 'Etjudy z ševčenkoznavstva", *Literaturnyj Arxiv*, 6 (1931), pp. 133–140; cf. pp. 134–35.
[82] O. Bahrij, *T. H. Ševčenko, I. Otočennja, motyvy tvorčosty, styl'* (Xarkiv, 1930), p. 80.
[83] Je. Kyryljuk, "Do problemy kljasovosty Ševčenka", *Žyttja j Revoljucija*, 3–4 (1931), p. 104.

Insistence on the "class consciousness" of Ševčenko became an obsession. In the end the solution to this problem was found by V. Bojko, who apparently convinced his opponents that Lenin's theory of 'two ways of capitalist development' had a direct relevance to Ševčenko. Lenin wrote that there were two paths of capitalist development in Russia, which he named "Prussian" and "American" respectively. Bojko's conclusion was simple: had Ševčenko been born a landowner, he would have followed the "Prussian" type of development, but because he was against large estates his work reflected the "American" type of development.[84] Following Bojko, other Soviet critics proclaimed that Ševčenko's works are "an objective expression of the struggle for the American path of development of capitalism in Russia".[85] At the same time as such "class" concepts of Ševčenko were being formulated, the poet's works were falsified in mass editions, in which the word "God" was replaced by other words.

In 1933 the terror directed against Ševčenko scholarship was intensified. Thousands of Ukrainian scholars, writers, journalists, teachers, and professional men and women were deported or physically destroyed. Ričyc'kyj, the Marxist interpreter of Ševčenko, was executed. Russification of the Ukraine became more and more obvious. Stalin declared "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" as the chief danger to the Soviet regime in the Ukraine.[86] Ričyc'kyj's works in particular were savagely attacked and Kyryljuk, who had admired them, now called them "national-fascist".[87]

A new authority on Ševčenko suddenly appeared on the scene. He was Je. Šabl'ovs'kyj, who emerged as a violent critic of "bourgeois nationalist" scholarship. His first book on Ševčenko [88] published in 1933 is devoid of any scholarly value. It was written in a highly emotional style. At the beginning and at the end of the book Šabl'ovs'kyj praises Lenin and Stalin and includes lengthy quotations from their works. In the middle of the book the author vehemently attacks tsarist Russia. Šabl'ovs'kyj's pictures of the injustices were so vivid that the reader involuntarily must have seen in them a masked criticism of Stalin's despotism. This is true

[84] V. Bojko, "Borot'ba za literaturnu spadščynu i naši zavdannja", *Za marksolenins'ku krytyku*, 2 (1932), pp. 35–52.
[85] Je. Kyryljuk, "Lenins'ke včennja pro dva šljaxy kapitalistyčnoho rozvytku v zastosuvanni do istoriji ukrajins'koji literatury", *Žyttja j Revoljucija*, 10 (1933), p. 83.
[86] I. V. Stalin, "Otčetnyj doklad XVII s"ezdu VKP (b). 1934", *Voprosy leninizma* (OGIZ, 1947), p. 474.
[87] Je. Kyryljuk, "Lenins'ke včennja...", *Žyttja j Revolucija*, 10 (1933), p. 83.
[88] Je. S. Šabl'ovs'kyj, *Ševčenko ta joho istoryčne značennja* (Xarkiv, 1933).



of phrases like "here it is – Russian monarchism, using the whip, prisons, lies, deceit, bribery and flattery in the struggle against the people... here it buries, covers with earth and flattens the grave of Ukrainian nationality, stamping with its feet to the tune 'there was no such thing as a Ukrainian language, there is not now and there never will be'". In the second edition of this book Šabl'ovs'kyj left out many of these passages.

### 3. ŠEVČENKO SCHOLARSHIP UNDER PARTY CONTROL: 1934–38

In 1934 the Communist Party decided to take Ševčenko under its wing. It published an official interpretation of Ševčenko in the "Theses of the Section of Culture and Propaganda of Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine on the Occasion of the 120th Anniversary of the Birthday of T. H. Ševčenko". Paraphrasing Lenin's pronouncement on Leo Tolstoj, the Central Committee declared that "Ševčenko embodied in his works... the strength and weakness, the power and the limitations of the peasant movement.[90] The "Theses" stressed Ševčenko's "political inexperience" and his "limitations". The earlier view of Ševčenko as a representative of "socialist ideology" was sharply rejected and the poet became a "bourgeois democrat".

In accordance with the new Party directives Šabl'ovs'kyj was compelled to rewrite his book on Ševčenko. In the new edition of this book, which appeared under a new title, *T. H. Ševčenko, joho zyttja i tvorčist'*,[91] Ševčenko is described as "the bourgeois representative of the revolutionary bourgeois peasant democracy" expressing "the American path of bourgeois development".[92]

In 1935 Šabl'ovs'kyj's third book was published.[93] It contained sharp attacks against "bourgeois nationalists" as well as those Ukrainian communists (Skrypnyk, Ričyc'kyj) who were liquidated or driven to suicide. The main theme of the book is the contention that "it was the Russian revolutionary democrats who came to the defence of Ukrainian independence and fought for the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people".[94] In his reappraisal of Ševčenko Šabl'ovs'kyj bases his arguments on the

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[90] "Tezy Viddilu Kul'tury i Propagandy CK KP(b)U do 120-riččja z dnja narodžennja Ševčenka", *Červonyj Šljax*, 2–3 (1934), p. 8.
[91] Kiev, Vseukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk, 1934, pp. 268.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 263.
[93] Je. Šabl'ovs'kyj, *Ševčenko i rosijs'ka revoljucijna demokratija* (Kiev, 1935), p. 148.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

pronouncement of the communist M. Popov, who wrote: "Ševčenko was not a Marxist. He was a bourgeois democrat... In Ševčenko's works, notwithstanding all his democratic tendencies, there were some elements of nationalism."[95]

A collection of Ševčenko's poetical works was published in 1934.[96] It contained long commentaries by A. Xvylja and Šabl'ovs'kyj on the historical background of individual poems. According to these commentaries, the Ukrainian hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj was "an oppressor of the Ukrainian working masses".[97] The Perejaslav treaty of 1654 was represented as a selling out of the Ukraine to the Muscovite tsar, brought about by Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Cossack elders *(staršyna)* in order to confirm their privileged right of continuing exploitation of the peasants.[98] The reign of tsar Peter the First, whom Ševčenko called "the executioner of the Ukraine", was described as most cruel. Xvylja in his introduction to the volume observed that Ševčenko was a "bourgeois democrat" and dreamt about a Washington, or, in other words, dreamt about a bourgeois revolution and the downfall of tsarist Russia.[99] As far as Belinskij's attitude to Ševčenko was concerned Xvulja noticed that it reflected "in fact [Bjelinskij's] support on Nicholas' oligarchy".[100]

Soon after its appearance the above edition of Ševčenko's poetry was banned and withdrawn from circulation and its editors were arrested. Xvylja was executed and Šabl'ovs'kyj, who was deported, did not reappear until the 1950's.

A valuable Russian edition of Ševčenko was published in 1934, containing Ševčenko's poems in Russian translation by F. Sologub, with an introduction by A. Starčakov and an article by the well-known Ukrainian scholar M. Novyc'kyj, who was also responsible for general editorial work and excellent commentaries.[101] Ševčenko's poems appeared there not, as they often were in later Russian editions, distorted.

The falsification of the facts about Ševčenko's life, outlook, and his relations to his own contemporaries began in earnest in 1935. It was started by the reputable Ukrainian scholar Ajzenštok who in an article "Sud'ba literaturnogo nasledstva Ševčenko", published in the Russian

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[96] *Poezija T. H. Ševčenka*, edited by A. A. Xvylja and Je. S. Šabl'ovs'kyj, introduction by A. A. Xvylja (Xarkiv, LIM, 1934), pp. 432.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 183.
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[101] T. G. Ševčenko, *Kobzar'*, selected poems translated by F. Sologub (Leningrad, OGIZ–GIXL, 1934), pp. 392.



serial *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, attempted to "rehabilitate" Belinskij, a famous Russian critic known for his attacks on Ševčenko. Ajzenštok dismisses these well-known facts as a "nationalistic legend" and, by quoting Belinskij's opinion of Ševčenko as "a privileged Little Russian poet" out of context, tries to prove by these words that Belinskij had a high opinion of the Ukrainian poet. In their full context these words have an obviously ironic ring.[102] Ajzenštok, who in 1922 proclaimed the watchword "Not a cult – but Ševčenko scholarship", was now obliged to support a new concept advanced by the Party which would "serve to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship".[103]

The years 1936–38 were completely barren in Ševčenko studies, both scholarly and popular alike. The Bolshevik terror reached its peak during that period known as the "Ježov era". There was no opportunity, nor were there any serious scholars left. At the end of 1938, after the purges that swept away not only most Ukrainian scholars but also Postyšev and Kosior, the Soviet rulers of the Ukraine, a relative quiet was restored. In preparation for the celebration of the 125th anniversary of Ševčenko's birth some articles began to appear.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the following were the most characteristic features of the period when the Soviet nationality policy underwent a drastic change: 1. the establishment by the Party of a standard concept of Ševčenko as a "bourgeois democrat"; 2. rejection of Ričyc'kyj as interpreter of Ševčenko; 3. application of rather peculiar methods in evaluating Ševčenko such as the mechanical transference of Lenin's views on Russian economics and literature to Ševčenko; 4. beginning (1935) of falsification of the facts relating to Ševčenko's life and works.

## 4. ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II

In the summer of 1938 Nikita Xruščev became the first secretary of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine. This signalled an intensive Russification of the whole country. The newly proclaimed slogan of "Soviet patriotism" called for the devotion of all Soviet citizens to Russia. The Russian tsars were hurriedly restored to greatness and their imperialist policy was no longer criticised.

[102] V. G. Belinskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, edited by S. Vengerov, VII (S. Petersburg, 1904), pp. 214–5.
[103] I. Ajzenštok, "Sud'ba literaturnogo nasledstva Ševčenko", *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, 19–21 (1935), p. 464.

It was in such an atmosphere that celebrations were held in the Ukraine in honor of the 125th anniversary of Ševčenko's birth. The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. published Ševčenko's works in five volumes, a public monument to Ševčenko was unveiled in Kiev, a large public manifestation took place on Ševčenko's grave, and the Kiev University assumed the title of "T. H. Ševčenko University". Many books and pamphlets on Ševčenko were published in all parts of the U.S.S.R. *Pravda*, the daily mouthpiece of the Central Committee, printed an article "A Great Son of the Ukrainian People", in which a new official interpretation of Ševčenko was set forth.

Ševčenko's name was used to propagandize the idea of the political and cultural union between Russia and the Ukraine. *Pravda's* article stressed the contacts Ševčenko maintained with Russian literature and Russian "revolutionary democrats" and claimed that "Ševčenko's poetry reflected the ideals of the Russian revolutionary democrats of the sixties".[104]

The article rejected the earlier official interpretation of Ševčenko stated in the 1934 *Theses*. It also dismissed the earlier concepts of Ševčenko's peasant "limitations", his "bourgeois democracy", and restored the old cult of "Ševčenko – the people's poet". Special emphasis was now placed on Ševčenko's "friendship with Russian revolutionary democrats" and a new explanation was offered of his historical poems.

Numerous articles on Ševčenko which appeared following this official pronouncement were devoted to the various aspects of the new blueprint for Ševčenko scholarship (Ševčenko and Russian literature; Ševčenko and the Russian revolutionary democrats; Ševčenko's works in Russian; historical works of Ševčenko in a new light). Some new articles, however, dealt with Ševčenko and Ukrainian folklore and Ševčenko the painter.

All Ševčenko studies published between 1938–40 (and especially those in 1939) may be divided into two categories: 1. falsifications of Ševčenko's life and works; 2. contributions which, in spite of a certain bias, has some scholarly value.

The best example of the first type was Bel'čikov's *Taras Ševčenko*.[105] In order to satisfy the Party's demand for a demonstration of the "friendship" between Ševčenko and the Russians Bel'čikov distorted Bjelinskij's attitude to Ševčenko. He wrote:

Belinskij, for instance, unfailingly saw in *Son* criticism of the tsar and tsarina,

[104] *Pravda*, March 6, 1939.
[105] N. F. Bel'čikov, *Taras Ševčenko*, a critical-biographical essay (Moscow, 1939), pp. 240.



and wrote about it [in a letter] to Annenkov at the beginning of December 1847... The radically minded student V. P. Maslij, in a letter to Ševčenko dated September 10, 1859, evaluated this poem like Bjelinskij: "The last work I acquired is *Son*. It is a brilliant satire, reflecting so pointedly the vices of the St. Petersburg magnates, punishing our tormentors terribly, revealing the wounds of our Ukraine."[106]

Bel'čikov identifies the views of Maslij with those of Belinskij. Why did he choose to quote Maslij rather than Belinskij? For the very good reason that the opinions of Belinskij and Maslij on the poem *Son* were not identical, but were diametrically opposed to each other. Here is what Belinskij really wrote about Ševčenko's poem:

When the sovereign read the second lampoon [*Son*] he flew into a terrible temper. I have not read these lampoons, and none of my friends have read them... but I am sure that the second lampoon [*Son*] must be shockingly disgusting.[107]

Another of Bel'čikov's contentions which was quite unfounded was that "Ševčenko understood the progressive activity of Peter I". This reflected the Bolshevik conception of Peter the Great but ignored Ševčenko's opinion of that tsar as the "executioner of the Ukraine".

I. Stebun was also guilty of distortion of facts when he wrote that "revolutionary slogans proclaimed by Černyševskij provided the content of Ševčenko's poetry".[108]

Ševčenko's early works on historical themes which were earlier viewed by the Soviet critics as showing "nationalistic narrowmindedness" came to be regarded as patriotic since they were directed against the Polish landowners. The list of such anti-Polish works was extended by M. Berher in his article "Ševčenko – istoryk"[109] to include even "Čyhyryn", "Rozryta mohyla", "Velykyj l'ox", "Stojit' v seli Subotovi", in which Ševčenko protested against the treaty of Perejaslav, against Xmel'nyc'kyj and Russian domination of the Ukraine. The historian M. Petrovs'kyj ignored well-known facts when he wrote that Ševčenko's poem *Tarasova nič*, which relates to the events of 1630, "portrays the struggle for the union of the Ukraine and Russia".[110] The poem has no relation to the

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[107] *P. V. Annenkov i ego druz'ja. Literaturnye vospominanija i perepiska 1835–1885 gg.*, I (S. Petersburg, published by A. S. Suvorin, 1892), pp. 604–5.
[108] I. Stebun, *T. H. Ševčenko* (Kiev, 1939), p. 68.
[109] See K. H. Huslystyj, "Kolijivščyna v tvorax Ševčenka", *Zbirnyk Akad. Nauk URSR Pamjati Ševčenka* (1939), pp. 121–158.
[110] M. N. Petrovs'kyj, "Povstannja ukrajins'koho narodu proty hnitu šljaxets'koji Pol'šči v 1630 r. v tvorax Tarasa Ševčenka", *Zbirnyk Akad. Nauk URSR Pamjati Ševčenka* (1939), pp. 107–120; cf. p. 120.

events of 1654, and in all his other works dealing with the treaty of Perejaslav Ševčenko condemned the Union of the Ukraine and Russia in no uncertain terms.

Apart from many other attempts at distortion or outright falsification of Ševčenko there were some studies published in 1939–41, which adhered to the principles of scholarly objectivity. The Russian literary historian V. Evgen'ev-Maksimov had the courage to admit that Belinskij disliked Ševčenko. The same scholar gave several true reasons why Ševčenko chose to write some of his works in Russian.[111] In his article "Ševčenko i Nekrasov" Evgen'ev-Maksimov, contrary to the accepted official view, maintained that Ševčenko had a low opinion of the poetry of Nekrasov.[112]

The Ukrainian scholar S. Šaxovs'kyj in his article "Ševčenko i rosijs'ka literatura"[113] does not follow the Party line in attributing little importance to the influence of Russian literature on Ševčenko. According to Šaxovs'kyj, the greatest influence on Ševčenko was extended by Ukrainian folk poetry, by earlier Ukrainian literature, and, thirdly, by foreign literature. Šaxovs'kyj emphasizes the originality of Ševčenko's works, supporting his views with similar opinions expressed earlier by Pypin and Lunačarskij.

Two articles on the subject "Ševčenko i svitova literatura" by S. Savčenko[114] and O. Bilec'kyj[115] are also of scholarly value. Savčenko scrutinized carefully Byron's influence on Ševčenko and the influence of English literature in general. Bilec'kyj explored Ševčenko's relation to the Romantics.

Among the studies of Ševčenko's language the one by H. Levčenko "Misce Ševčenka v istoriji ukrajins'koji movy"[116] deserves special attention. An attempt at a definitive study of one aspect of Ševčenko's work was undertaken by M. O. Hrinčenko, the author of *Ševčenko i muzyka*.[117] The monograph on Ševčenko as an artist by S. Rajevs'kyj[118] is also important.

The year 1939 commemorating Ševčenko's birth also saw the appearance of a new five-volume edition of the poet's works, edited by O. Kornijčuk, P. Tyčyna, M. Ryl's'kyj, and others.[119] Texts of Ševčenko's poems were edited by Professors Maslov and Popov and their senior assistants M. Heppener and D. Kopycja. Ševčenko's prose works and plays were edited by O. Bilec'kyj, O. Nazarevs'kyj and O. Paradys'kyj. The editors considered all the existing versions of Ševčenko's works and arrived at the variant which best represented the poet's intention. The tendentious introduction and commentaries considerably detract from this valuable edition.

A separate place in Ševčenko studies of that period must be granted to Marietta Šaginjan's *Taras Ševčenko*. The first edition of this work came out in 1941[120] and a second one in 1946.[121] Several chapters are based on new material and a new approach is visible in the entire work. In this the author was influenced by the prominent emigré scholar Pavlo Zajcev, whose work on Ševčenko was printed in Lviv in 1939, but because of the war was never published. Šaginjan read the book as she openly acknowledges in the footnotes to the first edition. Viktor Petrov has shown[122] that many of Zajcev's ideas have been incorporated into Šaginjan's book, especially in the sixth, but also in the second and third chapters.

Šaginjan's *Taras Ševčenko* is not a monograph on the poet's life and work, but rather a series of separate studies, each occupying a chapter in her book, devoted to the following problems: 1. the poetics of the *Kobzar*; 2. plays, painting and music; 3. prose; 4. aesthetics; 5. love; 6. the Aral expedition; 7. Ševčenko and the weekly *Iskra*; 8. Ševčenko and Černyševskij. The first chapter contains a general appraisal of Ševčenko's art. Šaginjan rejected the view that all Ševčenko's poetic works were simply folk poetry. "Ševčenko's poetry" she wrote "cannot be traced back to folklore alone or to pure craftsmanship; it is a product of the ceaseless creative widening of the people's speech, received with his mother's milk like the primary gift of speech, expanding it by enriching its content, transmitting through it the finest nuances of thought and mood, as well as of passionate political and philosophical generalizations."[123]

In discussing the metric form of Ševčenko's poems Šaginjan stressed his originality and denied that Puškin's influence was as strong on the Ukrainian poet as some critics claimed it was. Šaginjan maintained that

[111] V. Evgen'ev-Maksimov, "T. G. Ševčenko. Žizn' i tvorčestvo", in the book by M. Kalaušin, *T. G. Ševčenko v portretax i illjustracijax* (Leningrad, 1940).
[112] V. Evgen'ev-Maksimov, "Ševčenko i Nekrasov", *Zvezda*, 3 (1939), pp. 151–163.
[113] *Zbirnyk Akad. Nauk URSR Pam"jati Ševčenka* (1939), pp. 261–296.
[114] S. Savčenko, "Ševčenko i svitova literatura", *Naukovi Zapysky KDU, Pamjati Ševčenka* (1939), pp. 105–139.
[115] O. Bilec'kyj, "Ševčenko i svitova literatura", *Zbirnyk Akad. Nauk URSR Pam"jati Ševčenka* (1939), pp. 207–226.
[116] *Naukovi Zapysky KDU, Pamjati Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1939), pp. 363–389.
[117] Xarkiv, 1941, p. 112.
[118] S. Je. Rajevs'kyj, *Žyttja i tvorčist' xudožnyka T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1939).
[119] T. H. Ševčenko, *Povna zbirka tvoriv v pjaty tomax* (Kiev, 1939).
[120] M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (Moscow, Xudožestvennaja Literatura, 1941), 272 pp.
[121] M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1946), 360 pp.
[122] Viktor Petrov, *Providni etapy rozvytku sučasnoho ševčenkoznavstva*, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Series, "Ševčenko ta joho doba" (Augsburg, 1946), 38 pp.
[123] M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (1946), pp. 14–15.

Ševčenko's poem "Kavkaz" not only in content but in style and meter demonstrated complete independence from Puškin. "Here" she wrote "there is a passionate dramatic quality, characteristic of Ševčenko, alien to Puškin's classical iambics. Ševčenko, it seems, has overstepped a century and foreshadowed Blok's 'Retribution'."[124]

In the second chapter Šaginjan discussed the versatility of Ševčenko's genius – his play-writing, acting, reviewing, painting, scultping, and his interest in music and architecture. This most stimulating discussion ends with the following comparison between the artists of the Renaissance and Ševčenko:

> There is one little-known or less popular self-portrait from the period of the Aral expedition, in which the exiled Ševčenko, still young, with a huge beard, a hollow-cheeked face, and an inquisitive look does not at all resemble the usual, beloved father Taras, the "Kobzar". However, this portrait has one astonishing feature: in the eyes, in the beard, in the position of the head there is something which recalls the typical portrait of a Renaissance man – a scholar, astronomer, thinker, and martyr. The resemblance is not so much in the facial features as in historical styles. Decades will pass, the enormous heritage of Ševčenko will be explored, and his profound ideas about art, politics, science and nature will be dug up, read and disseminated. Then the resemblance of, as Ševčenko jokingly called it, this "portratit of a convict", to the gallery of men who were fighters on the threshold of their age, looking across into the future, will no longer seem a strained interpretation or an oddity.[125]

In analyzing Ševčenko's prose writings, Šaginjan declared that his novels were written in an antiquated style of the 1840's, yet his diary was "one of greatest and most monumental books in world literature because of its deep, true and pure humanity".[126]

The fifth chapter was of special interest since there Šaginjan analyzed Ševčenko's loves, especially his relationship with Hanna Zakrevs'ka. Citing new documentary evidence and following step by step the course of this relationship, Šaginjan revealed a hitherto unknown page of Ševčenko's biography. The result was a major discovery of the person and the story hidden behind the initials H. Z., to whom Ševčenko dedicated "the most lyrical of his poems, so deeply intimate that it seems as if he whispered not with his lips but with his heart".[127]

The little explored episode of Ševčenko's life, his part in the Aral expedition, received new treatment in Šaginjan's book. Earlier investigators tended to regard this period as very gloomy, when the exiled Ševčenko's talent was "gradually being extinguished".[128] Pavlo Zajcev attacked this interpretation and demonstrated its falsity. Šaginjan further supported Zajcev's contention with new evidence. "In no single winter," she wrote, "before or after [the Aral expedition] did Ševčenko write as many poems as in Kos-Aral. While talking of the nostalgia which he experienced there and the dreadful wintry solitarium of the desolate Kos-Aral one must not exaggerate it and forget that it was here that he was able to resume writing and painting and that this winter was filled by him with exceptional creativity."[129] Šaginjan brilliantly described the conditions and milieu in which Ševčenko then lived. On the basis of his literary works and drawings from this period, she concluded that "there are many instances which prove that the rare character of the masters of the Renaissance age, the ability of Goethe and Lomonosov to think and to discover nature with the help of art was also inherent in Ševčenko".[130] Šaginjan looked at Ševčenko's drawings with the eyes of a geologist, metereologist, botanist, and zoologist. Until then Ševčenko was known as a poet and painter. The researches of Zajcev and Šaginjan revealed him also to be a scientific observer. Both works established beyond doubt that Ševčenko's participation in the Aral expedition was for him a period of active engagement in the geographic, topographic, geological, botanical, and zoological research of the expedition.

"Ševčenko and Černyševskij" was the title of the last chapter of Šaginjan's book. She must be given full credit for a courageous protest against the Soviet legend of Černyševskij's influence on the Ukrainian poet. On the basis of facts and documents, some of them new, Šaginjan proved that it was not Černyševskij who influenced Ševčenko, but Ševčenko who had had an influence on the Russian thinker.

The second edition of Šaginjan's book (1946) bears the marks of intensified Soviet censorship. The author was obliged to alter some passages in her book to make it more palatable to the authorities. The acknowledgement to Zajcev is missing. Under the influence of the Party critics Šaginjan was forced to reconsider her appraisal of Ševčenko's prose works, as well as of the poems written in Russian. In the first edition of the book she quite rightly pointed out the linguistic and stylistic shortcomings of the poems written in Russian. In the second edition this passage was

[124] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[126] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[127] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[128] S. Jefremov, "Ševčenko za gratamy", in Jefremov's collection, *Taras Ševčenko* (1914), p. 263.
[129] M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (1946), p. 263.
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

omitted. Šaginjan was also obliged to delete from the second edition the footnote censuring Belinskij for his unjust criticism of Ševčenko. The first edition described the Russian army of Arakčeev as "stupid, unfortunate and drilled to death... which could march like puppets on parade, but which tumbled down like a bunch of straw at the Crimean war".[131] The second edition only blamed the "stupid and drilled to death sergeant major", not the entire Arakčeev army.[132] The alterations in the second editions reveal the intensified Party controls over literature in the post-war period and the growth of Russian nationalism.

The changes in the official interpretation of Ševčenko in 1939–41 amounted, therefore, to: 1. rejection of the earlier concept of Ševčenko's alleged "peasant narrowmindedness"; 2. promotion of Ševčenko's patriotic poems directed against Poland; 3. ignoring those of Ševčenko's works critical of Russia; 4. exaggeration of Russian influence on Ševčenko; 5. exploitation of Ševčenko's works for promoting "Soviet patriotism" and Russian nationalism. It is noteworthy, however, that in spite of these unfavorable conditions, some works of scholarly value were published.

## 5. THE WAR PERIOD: 1943–46

During the Second World War and immediately following it the Soviet government relaxed a little its firm grip on cultural life in the Ukraine. Soviet war propaganda directed against Germany also used Ukrainian patriotic and national slogans. The epithet "great", heretofore reserved only for the Russian people, has now come to be used also before "Ukrainian people". The communist battle cries also included "fight for Ukraine's freedom" and "for Taras' soil". Soviet propagandists used as their ideological weapon Ševčenko's own brand of Panslavism as expressed in his poem "Ivan Hus".

In 1942, a special session of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. devoted to Ševčenko was held in Ufa. Apart from Pavlo Tyčyna's paper on the "Wrath of Ševčenko" (Hniv Tarasa Ševčenka) other papers were those by K. Troxymenko on Ševčenko as a painter, and by the composer P. Kozyc'kyj on Ševčenko and Ukrainian music. Leonid Bulaxovs'kyj gave a scholarly lecture on some aspects of Ševčenko's poetic devices.

If in 1942 the Bolsheviks chose to select from Ševčenko's poetry only

[131] M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (1941), p. 75.
[132] M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (1946), p. 89.



the "elements of wrath" in order to hurl them against the Germans, in 1943 they were obliged to search for other values in his works. In March, 1943, another session commemorating Ševčenko was held in Ufa by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The speech of the President of Academy, O. Bohomolec', was markedly different from the one he made the previous year. At the prompting of the Party Bohomolec' daringly struck the chord of Ševčenko's struggle for a national and political rebirth of the Ukrainian people. "It would be difficult" he declared "to name among the poets and writers of the world a man who accomplished more for the realization of the national unity of his people than did Ševčenko for the Ukrainian people".[133] In another addres Tyčyna laid stress on the national and patriotic motifs of Ševčenko's poetry. The speech of Ryl's'kyj was even more nationalistic, since it described Ševčenko as the embodiment of the Ukrainian national movement.[134]

Among the more serious papers read at this session of the Academy were "Vplyv Ševčenka na kul'turno-hromads'ke žyttja Zaxidn'oji Ukrajiny" by I. Pil'huk, "Porivnjannja u Ševčenka" by V. Il'jin, "Poezija Ševčenka v jevrejs'kyx perekladax" by M. Majdans'kyj, and "Rukopysna spadščyna Ševčenka" by F. Koval'. The most interesting and scholarly paper was delivered by Academician Bulaxovs'kyj on the "Rosijs'ki poemy Ševčenka ta jix misce v systemi poetyčnoji movy peršoji polovyny XIX st.".[135] Bulaxovs'kyj pointed out the linguistic and poetic shortcomings of these poems and concluded that only in his native Ukrainian could Ševčenko reach complete felicity of expression. Ševčenko's feeling for the Russian language was never as perfect as it was for Ukrainian, and only those of his Russian poems which use Biblical themes and are full of Church Slavonicisms may be regarded as successful. Bulaxovs'kyj wrote: "When Ševčenko is writing Russian verses he is, stylistically, on foreign ground. In his poem "Slepaja" he is, in fact, translating himself, weakening the stylistic devices, which come so naturally to him in Ukrainian".[136]

In 1944 the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. published a book *Tvorčist' Tarasa Ševčenka i rosijs'ka revoljucijno-demokratyčna lite-*

[133] Academician O. Bohomolec', The introductory address at the general meeting of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, devoted to the memory of T. H. Ševčenko, March 10, 1943; in the book, *Pamjati Ševčenka*, collection of papers (Moscow, 1944), p. 3.
[134] Academician M. Ryl's'kyj, "Ševčenkivs'ki dni jak velyka tradycija", *Pamjati Ševčenka* (1944), pp. 9–13.
[135] *Pamjati Ševčenka* (1944), pp. 63–81.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

*ratura* by D. Tamarčenko.[137] Taking for granted that Ševčenko was a revolutionary, democratic poet, Tamarčenko claimed that Ševčenko occupied the first place among all revolutionary poets because of his "poetic expression of democratic and revolutionary attitude to the passive peasants".[138] Moreover, Ševčenko was the first poet to blend elegy and satire. "This unity" wrote Tamarčenko "was achieved in Ukrainian literature earlier than in Russian. It was expressed for the first time in Ševčenko's poetry".[139] Noting that the main object of the satire of the Russian writer Saltykov-Ščedrin was "the unmasking of the true character of the social and political system of tsarist autocracy",[140] Tamarčenko pointed out that Ševčenko had been the first to accomplish this, ahead of the Russian satirist.[141]

Tamarčenko was also the author of an article published in 1944 in which he reiterated his earlier views. In 1946 Tamarčenko wrote another article along similar lines.[142]

In an outline of the history of Ukrainian literature, published by the Ukrainian Academy in 1945, the chapter on Ševčenko was written by Je. Kyryljuk, who claimed that Ševčenko was the first revolutionary democrat in the Ukraine and Russia, and that "he went further than his contemporaries, the democrats Belinskij and Herzen".[143] Kyryljuk's chapter on Ševčenko was otherwise written from the point of view of strict adherence to the Party line. He paid attention only to those poems by Ševčenko which were directed against the Poles and entirely omitted to mention the anti-Russian poems ("Velykyj L'ox", "Subotiv", "Slipyj"). Ševčenko was also depicted by Kyryljuk as being under the influence of Puškin.

Among the contributions to Soviet Ukrainian periodicals, the most outstanding was the study "Ševčenko v žytti" by Hlib Lazarevs'kyj,[144] which is based on the accounts of Ševčenko's friends and other documentary evidence. The first part of Lazarevs'kyj's study, which is 40 pages long,

[137] Kiev, 1944, 148 pp.
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[142] "Satyra v prozi i rosijs'ka revoljucijno-demokratyčna literatura", *Juvilejnyj Zbirnyk* Akad. Nauk Ukr. R.S.R., II (1944), pp. 63–84; "Poezija Ševčenka i rosijs'ka revoljucijno-demokratyčna literatura", *Naukovi Zapysky*, Instutyt Movy i Literatury Akad. Nauk Ukr. R.S.R., II (1946), pp. 76–100.
[143] Je. P. Kyryljuk, "Taras Ševčenko–tvorec' novoji ukrajins'koji literatury", in the book, *Narys istorij ukrajins'koji literatury* (Akad. Nauk Ukr. R.S.R., 1945), pp. 135–151.
[144] *Vitčyzna*, 3 (1946), pp. 119–159.



comprises a documentary account of Ševčenko's life up to 1831. It is highly regrettable that after 1946 Lazarevs'kyj's study was discontinued. It bore the earmarks of a truly scholarly work.

Professor Doroškevyč, who was pardoned during the war, was the author of a biographical study of Ševčenko.[145] Marking the occasion of the centenary of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius there appeared an article by I. Pil'huk.[146] The author demonstrated the close ties between Ševčenko's works and the activity of the Brotherhood and illustrated the influence which Ševčenko's poetry had on the program of that society. The aim of the Brotherhood was the creation of a Slav federation, compared by Kostomarov to the ancient Greek republics or to the United States of North America.[147] Pil'huk showed that the motto of Ševčenko's poem "Ivan Hus" ("The stone which the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone", *Psalms* 117, 22) was included in article 104 of the *Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu*, where the allegorical meaning of this epigraph was revealed – it was the Ukraine which would become the cornerstone of Slavic unity.[148] Pil'huk's article met with censure from the official critics.

A special place must be alloted in the Ševčenko studies to the investigations of the poet's language and poetics. In 1942, Maksym Ryl's'kyj published "Poetyka Ševčenka".[149] Like Šaginjan, Ryl's'kyj rejected the view that Ševčenko's poetry evolved from folksong, and demonstrated that it equals in its poetic qualities the works of Byron and Paul Verlaine. Of great value are the studies of Ševčenko's language by Leonid Bulaxovs'kyj, whose preoccupation was primarily with what he called "intimatization". In 1942 Bulaxovs'kyj published a study of "intimatizing" pronouns,[150] and in 1946 of "intimatizing" expressions in Ševčenko's language.[151]

Alexander Bilec'kyj's lecture "Mižnarodne značennja ukrajins'koji literatury" was the swan-song of Ukrainian scholarship before the so-called "Era of Ždanov" brought about a tightening of controls. A brief résumé

[145] Ol. Doroškevyč, "Dejaki novi fakty do perebuvannja T. H. Ševčenka na Aral's'komu mori", *Vitčyzna*, 3 (1946), pp. 166–173.
[146] Ivan Pil'huk, "Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke Bratstvo i literaturnyj proces 40 rr.", *Vitčyzna*, 1 (1946), pp. 189–200.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[148] *Naše Mynule* (Kiev, 1918), p. 21.
[149] *Naukovi Zapysky*, Akad. Nauk Ukr. R.S.R., Instytut Movy i Literatury, II (1946), pp. 21–29.
[150] L. Bulaxovs'kyj, "Z robit v diljanci slov"jans'koho movoznavstra v URSR", *Juvilejnyj Zbirnyk*, Akad. Nauk Ukr. R.S.R., I (Kujbyšev, 1944), pp. 9–16.
[151] L. Bulaxovs'kyj, "Movni zasoby intymizaciji v poeziji Tarasa Ševčenka", *Naukovi Zapysky*, Akad. Nauk Ukr. R.S.R., II (1946), pp. 30–53.

of this lecture was printed in *Literaturna hazeta* on March 28, 1946.[152] This is what Bilec'kyj wrote of the uniqueness of Ševčenko:

> Ševčenko has no equivalent among foreign poets. The boldness and persistence of this man were really exceptional... All his poetry, from beginning to end, is an insistent demand for justice – not a dream but a demand, with which he addresses the people, God, and his countrymen. Truth itself, he reminds us, must come or else the sun will stand still and will burn the desecrated earth.

Bilec'kyj also claimed that Ševčenko's portrayal of a suffering mother is unequalled in world literature.

A few months after Bilec'kyj's lecture, his main contentions were severely attacked by the spokesmen for the new oracle in literature – Andrej Ždanov.

The war period and the first post-war year may be regarded as a brief revival of scholarly and objective study of Ševčenko. The loss of the Ukraine to the Germans dictated a change in Soviet nationality policy towards the Ukrainians. They were offered temporary concessions and were allowed to indulge in national sentiment. Ševčenko's poetry was exploited by the Party to encourage the Ukrainians to resist the Germans. Soviet Ukrainian scholars received greater liberty in treating Ševčenko's works. For a time the tradition of academic and objective research was revived. As a result several scholars pointed out Ševčenko's independence from alleged Russian influences, stressed his influence on Černyševskij and were allowed to use and interpret new materials on the poet in the way they themselves thought fit, even, at times, with a touch of national romanticism.

## 6. THE POST-WAR ERA: 1947–55

The turning point of Soviet domestic policy was indicated by Stalin's victory toast to the Red Army, in May, 1945. "I drink" he said "first of all the health of the Russian people, because it is the most prominent of all nations which compose the Soviet Union. I raise my glass for a toast to the health of the Russian people because it earned general recognition in the war as the guiding force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country."[153] In the autumn of 1945, Xruščev repeated Stalin's eulogy of the Russians.[154]

[152] O. I. Bilec'kyj, "Mižnarodne značennja ukrajins'koji literatury", *Literaturna Hazeta*, March 28, 1946.

[153] I. Stalin, "Vystuplenije Stalina na prieme v Kremle v čest' komandujuščix vojskami Krasnoj Armii, 25 maja 1945 g." *Bol'sevik*, 10 (1945), pp. 1–2.

[154] M. S. Xruščov, "Pidsumky peršoho roku vidbudovnyx robit na Ukrajini i naši čerhovi zavdannja. Dopovid' 13 žovtnja 1945 roku", *Ukrajins'ka Literatura*, 10–11 (1945), pp. 17–42.



The decisive switch in the direction of Russian chauvinism came a year later, after the well-known pronouncement of Ždanov on the literary magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*.[155] It was followed by the resolution of the Central Committee of the Party on these magazines and a series of other directives designed to whip up a violent campaign against "kowtowing to the West" and against "bourgeois nationalism". The cult of Russian nationalism and the feeling of national pride reached a new zenith.

The campaign against Ukrainian scholarship began when the outline of the history of Ukrainian literature, published under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, was singled out for particularly sharp attack. Ten days after Ždanov's famous pronouncement, there appeared the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, dated August 24, 1946, On Perversions and Errors in the Interpretation of the History of Ukrainian Literature in the 'Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature', published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.".[156] The Central Committee charged that the authors of the outline did not show "the great and beneficent influence of Russian culture and literature on the development of Ukrainian literature", and that they "exaggerated the influence of Western European literature". In the smear campaign that followed, the first prominent participant was I. Stebun. In his long article [157] directed against the authors of the outline he attacked Kyryljuk, the author of the chapter on Ševčenko. Stebun pointed out as errors Kyryljuk's description of Ševčenko as "the first revolutionary democrat in the Ukraine and in Russia" and his contention that "Ševčenko, in his revolutionary strivings, went further than his democratic contemporaries – Belinskij and Herzen". Stebun, in taking Kyryljuk to task, declared, without producing any evidence, that the latter's views were tendentious and distorted by nationalist ideology. "It is well known" wrote Stebun "...that it was precisely Belinskij who was the first Russian revolutionary democrat".[158]

[155] A. Ždanov, "Doklad o žurnalax 'Zvezda' i 'Leningrad", *Bol'sevik*, 17–18 (1946), pp. 4–19.

[156] See "Z postanovy CK KP (b) U vid 24. VIII. 1946", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 7–8 (1947), pp. 3–5.

[157] "Proty vorožyx teorij v ukrajins'komu literaturoznavstvi (Krytyka buržuaznonacionalistyčnoji koncepciji Hruševs'koho i joho 'školy' v pytannjax istoriji ukrajins'koji literatury)", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 7–8 (1947), pp. 7–34.

[158] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

In accordance with the new directives of the Party there began a new wave of distortion of Ševčenko. Kornijčuk's article in the 1947 edition of the *Kobzar* may serve as an example of this. The author claimed that Ševčenko loved Russian writers to whom he owed a great deal. On the other hand the poet was said to have hated all Ukrainian nationalists. The theme of "Russian aid" for Ševčenko was repeated *ad nauseam*.

The new policy was proclaimed in the organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.(B.)U., *Radjans'ka Ukrajina* (April 24, 1949). The tone of this article was very different from a similar proclamation in 1939. In order to illustrate the variations in the Soviet interpretation of Ševčenko we may take these two articles, one from 1939 and the other from 1949. Both articles were printed in the organs of the Central Committee and reflect, therefore, official points of view.

Here are some excerpts from the article in *Kommunist* in 1939:

> Ševčenko supremely loved his country, his own Ukraine... He loved his people with their heroic past and glorious future... The courageous call of the poet was addressed to all the peoples, oppressed by the masters' yoke, subjugated by the autocratic power of the tsarist life-guards... To his voice the prominent leaders of the Russian revolutionary democracy – Černyševskij and Dobroljubov also listened... The inspired poetry of Ševčenko was near and dear to all the subjugated peoples of autocratic Russia.

In 1949 the poet's importance was described in these terms:

> Ševčenko's love for the Russian people was deep and ardent. From the vital sources of Russian culture he eagerly absorbed all the best created by the Russian genius... Ševčenko deeply esteemed and was a disciple of Herzen, Dobroljubov, Černyševskij... Ševčenko hated those who bowed before the dead, idealistic art of the West... Ševčenko passionately demonstrated that nowhere in the world are there such great works of genius, which the Russian people contributed to the treasury of world culture.

This comparison needs no commentaries.

The book most characteristic of the new Soviet interpretation was by Kyryljuk, published in 1951.[159] In this work the author had the task of "correcting his errors" committed in an earlier article on Ševčenko. In glorifying Belinskij, Kyryljuk surpassed his earlier critic, Stebun. Belinskij's name is mentioned in Kyryljuk's book nearly on every page. In order to show Belinskij's "positive" attitude to Ševčenko, Kyryljuk did not hesitate to falsify historical facts. He did this by ascribing to Belinskij articles published anonymously in the 1840's, while at the same time

[159] Je. P. Kyryljuk, *Taras Hryhorovyč Ševčenko*, A critical-biographical essay (Kiev, 1951), 100 pp.



failing to mention those articles which Belinskij had written. Similarly, nearly all Ševčenko's poems directed against Russia were passed over in silence. However, Kyryljuk mentioned one of them ("Velykyj L'ox") which earlier Soviet propagandists usually omitted. Kyryljuk took it upon himself to re-interpret this poem.

In this poem Ševčenko chose three tragic episodes from Ukrainian history to illustrate his view of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Allegorically, three sinful souls of Ukrainians, who unwittingly helped the Russian rulers of the Ukraine, are portrayed as being barred from paradise. The first one, that of a teenage girl, relates how she accidentally crossed Xmel'nyc'kyj's path with pails full of water when the hetman was on his way to swear allegiance to Moscow. The act, although involuntary, of wishing the Ukrainian Cossack leader well on his way to Perejaslav (this is the meaning of pails filled with water in Ukrainian folk customs) has tragic consequences. The second soul is that of a girl who offered water to the horse of Peter I when he rode from Poltava to Moscow. The third soul's sin is that as a baby she smiled at Catherine II when the tsarina sat in a gilded boat on the Dnieper. It is obvious that Ševčenko, in this poem, wished to condemn the treaty of Perejaslav between Russia and the Ukraine, the victory of Peter the Great over the Swedes and Mazepa at Poltava, and the reign of Catherine II in the Ukraine, especially her destruction of the Zaporožian Sič.

Kyryljuk comments on these passages as follows: "In the past histories of three souls Ševčenko represented the Ukrainian people and their attitude to the events of history: their wholehearted support for Xmel'nyc'kyj in his efforts to unite the Ukraine with Russia, full support for the struggle against foreign invaders and...hopes for reforms promised by Catherine II." This perversion of truth is Kyryljuk's contribution to the Soviet interpretation of Ševčenko. He even does not mention what was Ševčenko's attitude to the sins of three souls.

A second Soviet work which presents an entirely distorted view of Ševčenko's work is Ja. Dmyterko's *Obščestvenno-političeskie i filosofskie vzgljady T.G. Ševčenka*.[160] It is saturated with quotations from Lenin (total 36), Stalin, Molotov, Xruščev, the History of the CPSU(B), Marx, Engels, Belinskij, Černyševskij, Dobroljubov, Herzen, Gor'kij, and others. Dmyterko's book is permeated by a desire to demonstrate the leading role played by Russian culture and the "assistance" which it allegedly gave Ukrainian writers and thinkers. "Ševčenko" writes Dmyterko "was the foster-child of the advanced Russian culture" (p. 30); "a beneficent

[160] Moscow, published by the Moscow University (1951), 196 pp.

influence on the formation of Ševčenko's world outlook was also exercized by the advanced Russian natural sciences" (p. 30); "the poet was organically tied to the Russian people with their advanced Russian culture" (p. 117); "Ševčenko was helped and supported by the foremost leaders of the Russian people" (p. 174); and "he loved and fought for the union with the Russian people" (p. 117).

In analyzing Herzen's attitude to Ševčenko and the Ukraine, Dmyterko abridges the well-known quotation from Herzen in which the Russian thinker declared himself in favor of a "free and independent Ukraine". Dmyterko simply omits the word "independent"; he quotes Herzen as follows:

> It is necessary to recognize the Ukraine free... Untie their hands, untie their tongue; let their speech be completely free; let them say their word and step over to us...

The full quotation reads thus:

> It is necessary to recognize a free and independent Ukraine. In Little Russia live people, people oppressed by serfdom, who, however, are not broken by the government and landowners to the extent that they have lost all feeling of ethnic identity. Quite the contrary, their feeling of kinship is very well developed. What sort of step towards liberation will it be when, freed from the Muscovite chains, they will be told that they should belong to Poland? Untie their hands, untie their tongue; let their speech be completely free and let them say their word, let them step over the whip to us, over the Pope to you, or, if they are wise, they will stretch their hands to both of us for a brotherly union and for independence from both of us.[161]

In 1951, the journal of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. *Voprosy istorii* printed the article on the historical views of Ševčenko by L. Kovalenko.[162] Although the article was printed in the organ of the Academy of Sciences, it cannot be described as scholarly. On the contrary, it is full of distortions and fabrications. Once more the reader will find the clichés about Ševčenko being under the beneficent influence of Belinskij; Ševčenko "the enemy of cosmopolitanism"; his "hatred of Mazepa" and "love of Xmel'nyc'kyj", and his joy at the union of the Ukraine and Russia. It adds, however, that in the "*Kavkaz*" Ševčenko called on the Caucasian mountaineers to unite with the Russian people. Kovalenko attributes to Ševčenko the views against which the latter fought all his life.

[161] A. Hercen, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij i pisem*, edited by M. Lemke, VI, p. 303.
[162] "Istoričeskie vzgljady revoljucionera-demokrata T. G. Ševčenko", *Voprosy istorii*, 7 (1951), pp. 26–44.



Similar in tone is the article by Kopycja, introducing a collection of documents on Ševčenko, *T. H. Ševčenko v dokumentax i materialax*. The book of "documents" hardly deserves that title, since their selection is tendentious and the documents themselves either exaggerate or conceal certain facts of Ševčenko's life and literary activity. Kopycja's book is directed primarily against the study by Tamarčenko, although the latter is not mentioned by name. "In attempting to glorify the poet" writes Kopycja "and to make him the founder of the so-called revolutionary-democratic realism and to give him the palm of priority, some theorists separate and oppose Ševčenko to the Russian revolutionary democrats."[163] The third section of the collection omits several documents connected with Skrypnyk and other Ukrainian communists who were later declared to be the "enemies of the people". It does not contain the resolution of the Council of the People's Commissars, signed by Rakovs'kyj, proclaiming Ševčenko's anniversary a public holiday, nor the account of the opening of the Ševčenko Institute (signed by Skrypnyk).

The choice of material is designed to serve the purpose of Soviet propaganda; some documentary evidence is tendentiously distorted by incomplete quotations. Count Orlov's report to Nicholas I on the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius is cited by the editors of the volume as follows:

> Among his friends Ševčenko won the reputation of an excellent Little Russian writer and that is why his verses are doubly harmfull and dangerous... [164]

The rest of the quotation, which was left out, is this:

> With the popular verses there could also have been implanted in Little Russia ideas of the alleged good times of the Hetman era, of the possibility of bringing back these good times and of the possibility that the Ukraine might exist as a separate state.[165]

The latter quotation was also omitted in the studies of Ševčenko by the following authors: D. Kosaryk,[166] V. Anisov and Je. Sereda,[167] L.

[163] D. Kopycja, Introduction to the book, *T. H. Ševčenko v dokumentax i materialax* (Kiev, 1950), p. 12.
[164] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[165] Je. Šabl'ovs'kyj, *Ševčenko ta joho istoryčne značennja* (1933), p. 116.
[166] Dmytro Kosaryk, *Žyttja i dijal'nist' T. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1955), p. 88.
[167] V. Anisov and Je. Sereda, *Litopys žyttja i tvorčosty T. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1959), p. 107.

Xinkulov,[168] as well as in the biographical novel by O. Ivanenko [169] and the monograph by Je. Kyryljuk (1959).[170] Only in the textbook for teachers *Xrestomatija z istoriji Ukrajins'koji RSR* has the quotation been preserved.[171]

Soviet interpreters of Ševčenko in 1952–54 strive more ardently than ever to make the poet a follower of Russian poets. When I. Pil'huk in his study *Prozova tvorčist' T. H. Ševčenka*, written in accordance with the Party line, remarked that Ševčenko's "prose bore the earmarks of innovation",[172] a Party organ printed a review by Mazurkevyč who explained that "it is well known that Ševčenko owed all the greatest achievements of his prose to the great Russian literature, by whose example he was constantly nourished". "Ševčenko's novels" Mazurkevyč continued "are not simply phenomenon paralleled in Russian literature, they are the result of the decisive and beneficent influence of the foremost literature and the entire culture of the great Russian people on the development of progressive Ukrainian literature".[173]

In March 1953 Mazurkevyč read a paper to the Ševčenko conference in the Academy of Sciences, entitled "Tvorča spadščyna Ševčenka – mohutnja zbroja v borot'bi proty ukrajins'koho buržuaznoho nacionalizmu". During the same conference Kyryljuk repeated the old clichés about the "influence of Russian literature on Ševčenko". A. F. Pryjma again maintained that Belinskij was Ševčenko's admirer.[174]

O. Kravec', in his article "Ševčenko jak etnohraf" employs the favorite device of Soviet interpreters of Ševčenko by quoting the poet out of context to prove his point. In this particular case Kravec' lashes out against the "bourgeois nationalist" ethnographers. He writes: "Ševčenko condemned the scribbling of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists – the

[168] Leonid Xinkulov, *Taras Grigor'evič Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1957), p. 143.
[169] Oksana Ivanenko, *Tarasovi šljaxy* (Kiev, Publishing House of the CK LKSMU "Molod'", 1954), p. 504.
[170] Je. P. Kyryljuk, *T. H. Ševčenko. Žyttja i tvorčist'* (Kiev, 1959), p. 251.
[171] *Xrestomatija z istoriji Ukrajins'koji RSR*, I, *Z najdavnišyx časiv do kincja 50-x rr. XIX st.*, a handbook for teachers, compiled by A. O. Bevzo, M. M. Lysenko, D. I. Myško, and H. I. Pidluc'kyj, edited by corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the URSR, I. O. Huržij (Kiev, 1959), 673 pp.
[172] Kiev, 1951, pp. 20–21.
[173] O Mazurkevyč, "Za hlybše vyvčennja prozovoji tvorčosty T. H. Ševčenka", *Radjans'ka Ukrajina*, 19, IV (1952); quoted from M. Hlobenko, "Ševčenko v sovjets'komu literaturoznavstvi", *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, Vol. 161, *Zbirnyk Filolohičnoji Sekciji*, Vol. 24 (New York–Paris, 1953), p. 196.
[174] "Druha Ševčenkivs'ka Konferencija", *Visnyk Akad. Nauk URSR*, 5 (1953), pp. 68–71; quoted from P. O., "Z sovjets'koji Ševčenkijany za 1953 r.", *Ševčenko*, Annual 3 (New York, The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1954), p. 42.



falsifiers of the people's customs and folkways. Unmasking the harmful role of such ethnographers Ševčenko angrily wrote: 'Such copyists are unscrupulous, harmful, and mean'." This quotation from Ševčenko, allegedly directed against the "bourgeois nationalist ethnographers", came, according to Kravec', from the complete edition of Ševčenko's works, published in 1949 (vol. 3, p. 128).[175] However, on looking up the page indicated, we find the following passsage:

> I cannot see why Nebol'sin, this statistical humorist, and, above all, liar, goes into raptures about the Uralians. I do not know anyone dirtier and coarser than these inveterate dissenters. Their neighbors, the steppe savages, the Kirghiz, are a thousand times more civilized than these direct descendents of Sten'ka Razin. Yet the above-mentioned liar is enraptured by their home life and hospitality. Very likely, someone like Železnov dictated to that drunkard in a dirty wineshop an article entitled "The Ural Cossacks", and he gaily took it all down and even dedicated it to V.I. Dal'. Such copyists are, after all, unscrupulous, harmful and mean.

Restored to its context, the quotation shows that Ševčenko was angry, not with "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists", but with Russian ethnographers.

In the flood of pernicious Soviet literature there are only occasional works which, in spite of their overtly "anti-nationalist" sermonizing, do not distort the message and the importance of Ševčenko's works. Sometimes, shrewdly disguised, they also reveal the absurdities of the Party interpreters of Ševčenko.

The studies of Ševčenko by Ryl's'kyj and Bilec'kyj belong to this category. In his article "Pro poeziju Ševčenka",[176] published in 1951 in a compendium of articles, Ryl's'kyj repeats some of his earlier conclusions reached in a study printed in *Naukovi zapysky* of the Academy of Sciences (1946). Ryl's'kyj contradicts the opinion of those Soviet critics who gave Ševčenko's poetry and prose the same value. "Taras Ševčenko" writes Ryl's'kyj "entered into the history of Ukrainian and world literature as a poet, and as a poet he became immortal."[177] Contrary to Ždanovite view that Ševčenko ardently loved the Russian people, Ryl's'kyj speaks of the poet's love for his native Ukraine. "Ševčenko calls his country – Ukraine, his mother to whom he devotes his lines, of whom he dreams constantly and to whom he writes in his sorrowful exile as a soldier. He

[175] O. M. Kravec', "Ševčenko jak etnohraf", *Visnyk Akad. Nauk URSR*, 8 (1953), p. 42.
[176] Maksym Ryl's'kyj, *Družba narodiv*, articles (Kiev, 1951), pp. 39–47.
[177] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

speaks of her moving words, claiming that he is indifferent to his own fate, but not to the fate of his native land:

> It makes great difference to me
> That evil folk lull now to sleep
> Our mother Ukraine, and will rouse
> Her, when she's plundered, in the flames.
> That makes great difference to me."[178]

Ryl's'kyj also destroys the myth of Černyševskij's influence on Ševčenko's ideas. Contrary to the claims of some Party critics that Černyševskij's slogans inspired Ševčenko, Ryl's'kyj demonstrates the absurdity of this contention by pointing to the chronology of the works concerned (Ševčenko's revolutionary calls were sounded in 1845, Černyševskij's in 1859).

Unlike those Soviet critics who attempted to show Puškin's influence on Ševčenko and to class both poets as revolutionaries, Ryl's'kyj in his "Puškin i Ševčenko"[179] wrote that Puškin was not a revolutionary, since in the "Derevnja" he hoped to see a change of heart on the tsar's part.

In an article written in 1949 on Ševčenko's novels, [180] Bilec'kyj paid tribute to the regime and in order to exculpate himself sang the praises of Russian culture. However, after this introduction, sustained in the real Ždanov spirit, Bilec'kyj resumed his usual scholarly tone. After a scrutiny of Ševčenko's novels, the author concluded that all such novels, written in Russian, came from the "murky days of his enforced military life". Comparing Ševčenko's Ukrainian poetry with his Russian novels, Bilec'kyj rated his poems much higher than his prose, despite the tendency of Soviet critics to place them on the same level.

Bilec'kyj performed also a great service in revealing the ironic meaning of Ševčenko's pronouncement on communism. Bolshevik journalists were fond of quoting Ševčenko's dictum out of context in an attempt to show that the poet was favorably inclined towards communism. However, the word "communism" in Ševčenko's short novel "Progulka" was used in an ironic and derogatory sense.

Stalin died in 1953, and L. Mel'nikov, the first secretary of the Communist Party in the Ukraine, was removed from his post. However, these

[178] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 48–60.
[180] A. Beleckij, "Russkie povesti T. G. Ševčenko", in the book *Taras Ševčenko, Sobranie sočinenij v 5 tt.*, edited by M. Ryl'skyj and N. Ušakov, Vol. 5 (1949), pp. 5–25.



political events had little influence on Ševčenko studies. A year later, in 1954, the 300th anniversary of the Perejaslav treaty was celebrated with much fanfare throughout the Soviet Union. The "Theses" published on that occasion by the Central Committee of the Communist Party came to be applied to Ševčenko scholarship. Ševčenko was once more declared to be a friend of the Russians under whose tutelage all his works were created; he was represented as admiring the union of the Ukrainians and all other Slavs under Russian leadership, and as "a bitter fighter against Ukrainian nationalism".

This last quotation from the "Theses" became the motto of a book on Ševčenko by I. Pil'huk.[181] In it the author repeats endlessly the clichés about Ševčenko's alleged love of Russia and the Russians. Pil'huk's work achieves the nadir of servility and surpasses many others in obedience to the Party dictates. He completely distorts Ševčenko's ideas in "Velykyj l'ox" and "Kavkaz", where the poet's call to the subjugated peoples to rise against Russia is represented as a call to unity with Russia. Frequently Pil'huk uses a favorite device of Soviet scholars – that of mechanically applying a quotation or reference from Lenin to an unrelated subject. "With Lenin's words evaluating the work of Nekrasov and Saltykov-Ščedrin one can characterize the meaning of Ševčenko's poem ("Kateryna")."[182]

A history of Ukrainian literature published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in 1954 [183] contains a chapter on Ševčenko written by Z. Moroz. The interpretation of Ševčenko's life and work given in this chapter adhered strictly to the official view of the poet. The influence of Russian literature on Ševčenko was grossly exaggerated, while the influence of Ukrainian literature was hardly mentioned. Belinskij's opinion of Ševčenko's poem "Son" was omitted and many of Ševčenko's historical poems were supplied with false commentaries. The meaning of the poem "Velykyj l'ox" appeared quite distorted and attempts were made to attribute to Ševčenko ideas of Soviet policy. Thus it was claimed that Ševčenko's heritage was a "mighty weapon in the fight against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and rootless cosmopolitanism". Ševčenko's role in the Ukrainian national revival was passed over in silence and his works were characterized with the help of quotations from Stalin

[181] I. I. Pil'huk, *T. H. Ševčenko–osnovopoložnyk novoji ukrajins'koji literatury* (Kiev, 1953), p. 364.
[182] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[183] *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, I, *Dožovtneva literatura* (Kiev, Akad. Nauk URSR, 1954), 732 pp.

(e.g., Ševčenko's language was described by reference to what Stalin said about Puškin).

The "academic" conference devoted to Ševčenko in 1954 was also conducted in the spirit of conformity to these Party demands. The reports delivered at that session were published in a separate volume.[184] Most of them are devoid of any scholarly value. Their topics alone suggest their tendentiousness: "Ševčenko and Nekrasov", "Russian uncensored literature and the anti-monarchist satire of Ševčenko", "Ševčenko in the works of leading Soviet paedagogists", "Image of Ševčenko in Soviet Russian Poetry". Several authors use the device developed by Pil'huk of characterizing Ševčenko's work by reference to a quotation from one Russian critic's opinion on another Russian writer. Thus, Krutikova quotes Dobroljubov on Gončarov and applies this to Ševčenko's prose. Čalyj, too, quotes Čukovskij's work on Nekrasov *(Masterstvo Nekrasova*, 1952*)*: "Nekrasov has for ever established in Russian lyrical poetry that the idealization of woman is possible not only in the sphere of love but above all on the basis of the enormous and unparalleled work which women brought and are bringing to the world." Čalyj then adds: "This is one of the leading themes in Ševčenko's works." In the same manner, P. Volyns'kyj quotes Belinskij on Gogol to describe Ševčenko's views on aesthetics.

The reports of the Fourth Scholarly Conference devoted to Ševčenko, held in 1955, were published in a collection in 1956.[185] The same old clichés about the debt of Ševčenko to the Russian thinkers and his friendship for Russia are the main themes of these contributions. Thirteen out of seventeen articles are devoted to the "Russian" aspects of Ševčenko.

However, during the 1955 conference on Ševčenko the first timid protest was heard against the falsification of Ševčenko. M. Novikov, in his report on Ševčenko's philosophic outlook, criticized Dmyterko's book *Obščestvenno-političeskie i filosofskie vzgljady T. G. Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1951) and I. Holovaxa's *T. H. Ševčenko i rosijs'ki revoljucijni demokraty* (Kiev, 1953). Novikov pointed out that these two books do not reveal anything about Ševčenko's views; they are full of empty declarations and fabrications. Furthermore, Novikov charges that both authors pass in silence what they do not like about Ševčenko. Holovaxa, in Novikov's opinion, tries to bring Ševčenko's philosophy in line with

[184] *Zbirnyk prac' Tret'oji Ševčenkivs'koji Konferenciji*, Akad. Nauk URSR (Kiev, 1955), 170 pp.
[185] *Zbirnyk prac' Četvertoji Naukovoji Ševčenkivs'koji Konferenciji*, Akad. Nauk URSR, Instytut Literatury im. T. H. Ševčenka (Kiev, 1956), 328 pp.



dialectical materialism and unjustly attributes to Ševčenko the views of the Russian revolutionary democrats. However, Novikov himself failed to say anything original on Ševčenko's philosophy, remaining a prisoner of Soviet dogma. His attempts to make Ševčenko an atheist are crude. The report on the folklore sources of Ševčenko's poetics, "Folkl'orni džerela poetyky Ševčenka" by T. I. Komarynec', is the most scholarly of all.

The book *Žyttja i dijal'nist' T. Ševčenka* by D. Kosaryk [186] is a good example of Soviet misrepresentation of Ševčenko. A detailed review of this work was written by Volodymyr Dorošenko.[187]

Kosaryk's book is replete with material which has no relation to Ševčenko. Thus, while citing many important dates and events from Russian history (the war of 1812, the entry of the Russian armies into Paris in 1814, the construction of the first Russian railway in 1831) Kosaryk fails to mention important events which occurred in the Ukraine (e.g. the founding of the "Ukrainian Society" or of the "Society of the United Slavs" in Volhynia in 1823). While emphasizing Ševčenko's contacts with Russian writers, Kosaryk forgets about the poet's relations with Ukrainian writers, especially with Kostomarov and Kuliš. Kosaryk quotes Belinskij's articles which do not mention Ševčenko but omits to quote those in which Belinskij attacked the Ukrainian poet. In describing Ševčenko's funeral Kosaryk lists all the Russian writers in the cortège, but omits many Ukrainian friends who were also there (M. Kostomarov, P. Kuliš, M. Lazarevs'kyj, P. Čubyns'kyj, and many others). Kosaryk notes that several Russian writers and one Pole made speeches at Ševčenko's graveside, but forgets to mention that the main funeral orations were delivered by the Ukrainians: Kuliš, Bilozers'kyj, Kostomarov, Afanas'ev-Čužbyns'kyj, and Čubynsk'yj. In mentioning earlier editions of Ševčenko's works Kosaryk omitted the best edition of Ševčenko's letters and diary, published in 1927 and 1929 by the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Dorošenko justly concludes, therefore, that Kosaryk's book is "lacking in objectivity, is one-sided in the selection of information, omits a wealth of unusually valuable material, while being overloaded with details which are not worth mentioning".[188]

During the years 1947–55 the Soviet misrepresentation of Ševčenko

[186] Kiev, publishing house Radjans'kyj Pys'mennyk, 1956, 389 pp.
[187] Volodymyr Dorošenko, "Ševčenko v kryvomu dzerkali", *Ševčenko* Annual 6 (New York, The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1957), pp. 42–52.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

reached its highest point. The Ukrainian poet was portrayed as a product of Russian influences, a defender of Russian imperialist policies, and an enemy of Western Europe and the so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". In the fabrication of this distorted image of Ševčenko much authentic documentary material was ignored and views were attributed to the poet which he not only never shared but in fact most vehemently opposed.

### 7. THE LATEST PERIOD: 1956–60

Beginning with 1956 there appeared, apart from standard Soviet interpretations of Ševčenko, some studies which are scholarly in their approach and which often refute the works from earlier periods. There is no doubt that such new studies were influenced by the "cultural thaw" in the most recent Soviet history.

The old tendency to falsify Ševčenko is still visible in the works of D. Čalyj and I. Nazarenko. In his study *Stanovlennja realizmu v ukrajins'kij literaturi* [189] Čalyj devotes a separate chapter to Ševčenko (pp. 158–295). The discussion of Ševčenko's realism is limited almost entirely to comparisons between Ševčenko and Russian writers and philosophers. Ševčenko's well known condemnation of Russia where "from the Moldavian to the Finn – everyone, in all languages, is silent" is compared to Nekrasov's expression "No, in Russia, as you know, no one is forbidden to keep quiet and to bow down". Ševčenko's sentiment expressed in 1845 stresses the national oppression in tsarist Russia, while Nekrasov, who wrote his poem *Komu na Rusi žit' xorošo* in 1877, criticized the relation of Russian landowners to Russian peasants.

Nazarenko's book *Svitohljad T. H. Ševčenka* [190] reiterates the old theme of the "beneficent influence" of Russian culture on Ševčenko and the "happy results of the union of the Ukraine and Russia". Sometimes the arguments used to support this thesis are contradictory. He maintains that, after the union with Russia, the Ukraine experienced an economic and cultural revival. A little later he quotes the "Theses" of the Central Committee according to which "tsarism had hindered the development of Ukrainian language and literature". In commenting on a quotation from Ševčenko's preface to *Hajdamaky*, Nazarenko perverts its true meaning. In the well known passage "This fur-coat is warm, only it does not fit me; your wise words are lined with lies" Ševčenko rebuked those

[189] Kiev, 1956.
[190] Kiev, 1957, 244 pp.



who urged him to write in Russian; in Nazarenko's interpretation, the attack was directed against Ukrainian historians.

*Tvorčist' T. H. Ševčenka pislja zaslannja* (1956) [191] by Je. O. Nenadkevyč, although full of official propaganda, contains some objective observations in the chapter on Ševčenko's poetry written during his exile.

A new approach to the study of Ševčenko became apparent in the reports read at the Fifth Scholarly Conference held in March, 1956, in Kiev. The reports were published in book form.[192] Kyryljuk, who himself took part in the misrepresentation of Ševčenko, now called for a re-examination of old clichés. He criticised the works of Dmyterko, Novikov, Holovaxa, and others for "many fabrications, unfounded assumptions, factual errors... and the simplified treatment of many complex problems of Ševčenko's outlook". Kyryljuk even dared to question the official version of Belinskij's reaction to Ševčenko and called for an "explanation of the reasons for [Belinskij's] review of *Hajdamaky* and [Belinskij's] well known letter to Annenkov". Kyryljuk also attacks some earlier works on Ševčenko and Černyševskij and points out that it was not young Černyševskij who influenced old Ševčenko but vice versa.

The veteran Ševčenko scholar Ajzenštok in his contribution "Iz rozšukiv pro Ševčenka" demands a drastic review of some theories blocking approach to an objective study of the poet. Among such "subjectivist rubbish" he lists the legend of Ševčenko's friendship with the Russian revolutionary democrats, which, "in some instances, is bordering on phantasy" (p. 121). Ajzenštok singles out for condemnation earlier studies by Holovaxa and Dmyterko. Many contributions to the Fifth Conference are on a serious scholarly level dealing with various subjects: Ševčenko's poetic form (T. I. Komarynec', L. F. Stecenko, Ju. O. Ivakin); Ševčenko's biography (Z. M. Kuz'mina, O. H. Levenfiš); Ševčenko's influence on the Ukrainian writers Hrabovs'kyj, Kocjubyns'kyj, and Čeremšyna (K. V. Korčačenko, T. K. Čorna, O. Je. Zasenko); J. Pryžov's attitude to Ševčenko (F. Ja. Pryjma, O. R. Mazurkevyč).

The scholarly study by D. Iofanov [193] contributes much new documentary material on Ševčenko, especially in printing the first version of Ševčenko's preface to the second edition of *Kobzar*, the reminiscenses and letters of F. Lazarevs'kyj, the complete text of Storoženko's article on Ševčenko, the letters from Kuliš, the interesting memoirs of V. S. Hny-

[191] Kiev, 1956, 106 pp.
[192] *Zbirnyk prac' Pjatoji Naukovoji Ševčenkivs'koji Konferenciji*, Akad. Nauk URSR, Instytut Literatury im. T. H. Ševčenka (Kiev, 1957), 302 pp.
[193] D. Iofanov, *Materijaly pro žyttja i tvorčist' Tarasa Ševčenka* (Kiev, DVXL, 1947), 236 pp.

losyrov, and several other documents which prove Ševčenko's great popularity in the Ukraine before the revolution.

In the reports of the Sixth Ševčenko Conference, in 1957, published subsequently,[194] one can see the same serious and scholarly approach in several contributions. Apart from the doubtful article by S. Dmuxovs'kyj, the contributions by D. Krasyc'kyj, Je. Nenadkevyč (biography), M. Kocjubyns'ka, V. Olijnyk (poetics), P. Petrova and M. Bojko (language) deserve serious attention. Kyryljuk offers a new interpretation of Ševčenko's relation with Kuliš, in which, keeping away from "undue vulgarization" of the problem, he gives a detailed analysis of Kuliš' article "Čoho stojit' Ševčenko, jako poet narodnij".

The reports of the Seventh Ševčenko Conference[195] were mostly devoted to the problems of Ševčenko's language, poetics, and his influence on Ukrainian literature.

In 1958 the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. published a valuable collection of articles, *Pytannja ševčenkoznavstva*.[196] It contains articles on Ševčenko's biography (Kostenko, Palamarčuk, Kosjan), language (K. Dorošenko), paintings (Kyryljuk), and bibliography (F. Saran). Of special interest is the contribution by the prominent scholar M. Novyc'kyj, who had been deported for a long time. In it Novyc'kyj criticizes the book by I. Pil'huk, *Ševčenko – osnovopoložnyk novoji ukrajins'koji literatury* (1954), one of the worst products of official Soviet scholarship. Novyc'kyj states: "Since this book is a text for universities, there is no place here for controversies or discussions, as it is written according to a certain program." Yet in spite of its "program" Novyc'kyj goes on to expose many factual errors and concludes with the advice not to use second hand information but rather to consult the original sources.

Two recent publications of source material are of considerable value: *Spohady pro Ševčenka*[197] and *Biohrafija T. H. Ševčenka za spohadamy sučasnykiv*.[198] The journal *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo* contained in 1958–60 many interesting articles on Ševčenko, of which S. Šaxovs'kyj's "Majsternist' i styl' liryky Ševčenka"[199] is the most outstanding. Šaxovs'-

[194] *Zbirnyk prac' Šostoji Naukovoji Ševčenkivs'koji Konferenciji*, Akad. Nauk URSR, Instytut Literatury im. T. H. Ševčenka (Kiev, 1958), 379 pp.
[195] S. D. Popel', "S'oma Naukova Ševčenkivs'ka Konferencija", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 3 (1958), pp. 153–155.
[196] *Pytannja Ševčenkoznavstva*. Akad. Nauk URSR, Deržavnyj Muzej T. H. Ševčenka (Kiev, 1958), 175 pp.
[197] Kiev, 1958, 658 pp.
[198] Akad. Nauk URSR, Deržavnyj Muzej T. H. Ševčenka (Kiev, 1958), 438 pp.
[199] *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 2 (1958), pp. 55–70.



kyj recognizes the great influence of folkolre on Ševčenko but maintains that the poet was able to transform this heritage into most original lyrical poetry. Ševčenko's poetic devices and the structure of his lyric and descriptive poems are well illustrated. S. X. Aleksandrovyč's "T. H. Ševčenko i Janka Kupala"[200] also shows merit.

In 1958 the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. published two studies of Ševčenko: *Ševčenko i rosijs'ka revoljucijna demokratija* by Je. Šabl'ovs'kyj, and *Poema T. H. Ševčenka 'Son'* by P. Pryxod'ko. Šabl'ovs'kyj's book relates accurately the opinions which Herzen, Černyševskij, Ogarev, and other Russian writers expressed about Ševčenko. However, when he attempts to reconstruct personal relations between the Ukrainian poet and various Russian revolutionary democrats he is constantly faced with lack of evidence and bases his speculations on such premises as "one must assume", "quite possibly", or "one can imagine". This method was criticized in an article by A. Kostenko,[201] who accused Šabl'ovs'kyj of many errors and of using such an unreliable book as the one by D. Kosaryk *(Žyttja i dijal'nist' T. H. Ševčenka*, 1956) as source material.[202] Pryxod'ko's book is without any scholarly value. What is important, however, is that both these books, published by the Academy of Sciences, were strongly criticized.

Of the Ševčenko studies published in 1959 the largest in point of size was by Kyryljuk.[203] His study of Ševčenko which appeared in 1951 was 100 pages long; the expanded edition of 1959 had 675 pages. In its approach the book is somewhat different from the 1951 version. Kyryljuk repeats some of his earlier distortions and fabrications. He attributes to Belinskij the anonymous review of *Kobzar* as a proof of the Russian critic's favorable attitude to Ukrainian literature. At the same time he ignores Belinskij's signed review of *Lastivka*, full of a totally negative evaluation of Ukrainian literature. Similarly, Kyryljuk passes over in silence Ševčenko's open defiance of Belinskij, expressed in the preface to *Hajdamaky*. While Kyryljuk admits that Belinskij unjustly criticized *Hajdamaky*, he fails to quote the Russian critic's condemnation.

In discussing the poem "Son" Kyryljuk mentions that "tsarist gendarmes" and "Ukrainian reactionaries" censured the work, but forgets to add that the most severe censure came from Belinskij in his letter to

[200] *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 5 (1958), pp. 53–70.
[201] A. I. Kostenko, "Knyha pro Ševčenka i rosijs'ku revoljucijnu demokratiju", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 5 (1958), pp. 135–138.
[202] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[203] *T. H. Ševčenko. Žyttja i tvorčist'* (Kiev, 1959).

Annenkov. The meaning of Ševčenko's poems critical of the Perejaslav treaty is distorted by Kyryljuk by drawing the reader's attention to secondary matters. In his analysis of the poem "Velykyj l'ox" Kyryljuk observes that Ševčenko "expressed his annoyance and anger because of the exploitation by tsarism, the Cossack elders and gentry of the union of the Ukraine and Russia and the victory over the Swedes in order to intensify their oppression of the people" (p. 195). However, a little further on Kyryljuk admits that Ševčenko failed to "recognize the progressive significance of the battle of Poltava" and that he did not "appreciate fully the progressive activity of Xmel'nyc'kyj" whom he blamed for his treaty with the tsar. Kyryljuk omits to mention many contacts between Ševčenko and the Ukrainians, especially during the poet's trip across the Ukraine before his arrest.

The meaning of Ševčenko's poem "Iržavec'" is quite distorted. In this poem Ševčenko clearly expressed his belief that the forces of Peter I would have been beaten at Poltava were it not for the division between Mazepa and colonel Palij, who refused to aid Mazepa. Kyryljuk limits himself to the comment that the Cossacks' lot was harder under the Tatar Khan than under the Muscovite rule.

An unquestionably positive step towards an objective appreciation of Ševčenko was made by O. Bilec'kyj and O. Dejč in their books addressed to the general reader. They were published in 1958 in Ukrainian and in 1959 in Russian.[204]

The authors of these books, which are very similar in content, quote the anonymous review of *Kobzar* from the *Otečestvennye Zapiski*, but refrain from attributing it to Belinskij, although such surmises are common (p. 45). They also mention Belinskij's negative criticism of *Hajdamaky*, in which the Russian critic "with open irritation speaks about Ukrainian literature and Ševčenko's poem" (p. 46). However, they omit to mention Belinskij's letter to Annenkov in which Belinskij expressed his dislike of Ševčenko and wrote that he was not sorry to see Ševčenko being exiled.

Bilec'kyj and Dejč evaluate Ševčenko's "Velykyj l'ox" differently from Kyruljuk. While paying lip service to the Perejaslav treaty, they comment that after this historic event "Ukrainians, like other peoples of Russia, came under the rule of Russian autocracy, which practiced a policy of cruel national oppression of the non-Russian peoples". Hence they conclude that "Ševčenko would not have been a genuine poet of the people if, in 1845, he had praised the union of the Ukraine with autocratic Russia (p. 63). The authors also remark on Ševčenko's hatred of Peter I and comment that the poet "could not be sympathetic to the barbaric methods of Peter's reforms" (p. 64).

[204] O. Bilec'kyj and O. Dejč, *Taras Hryhorovyč Ševčenko, Literaturnyj portret* (Kiev, 1958), 206 pp.; A. I. Beleckij and A. I. Dejč, T. G. Ševčenko. *Vvedenie v izučenie poéta* (Moscow, 1959), 152 pp.



Contrary to the accepted Soviet cliché of "Ševčenko – the atheist", Bilec'kyj and Dejč maintain that although Ševčenko criticized the Russian Orthodox clergy, he "did not go so far as to deny the existence of God". The Russian novels of Ševčenko are put in their proper place as valuable autobiographical sources, but not to be compared to the Ukrainian works of the poet.

Many important pronouncements by Ševčenko, especially those in favor of America, continue to be ignored by those two authors. The entry from Ševčenko's diary in which he praises Fulton and Watt for their discoveries was omitted, as it was in a recent Soviet film on Ševčenko, where Fulton and Watt were replaced by "inventors". Ševčenko's dream of a Ukrainian Washington (poem "Jurodyvyj") has also been forgotten.

Among recent important works in the field of Ševčenko scholarship is Ju. O. Ivakin's *Satyra Ševčenka.*[205] The author expresses some new ideas on the subject of satire which refute earlier Soviet contentions. He admits Ševčenko's negative attitude to Peter I, whom the poet condemned "from a Ukrainian national point of view" (p. 88). While discussing Ševčenko's "Jurodyvyj" Ivakin cites the well-known passage on Washington, although he describes the first president of the United States as "the leader of the revolutionary farmers' armies" (p. 279). The fighter for American independence from England is forgotten.

*Litopys žyttja i tvorčosty T. H. Ševčenka*, edited by V. Anisov and Je. Sereda,[206] was published in 1959. This book is more extensive than the earlier works on the same subject (Kosaryk). Its shortcomings were criticized by the Soviet critic P. Dovhaljuk,[207] who blamed the compilers for many omissions (no account of the Ševčenko heritage from 1861 to 1917, no separate chapter on the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, no account of Ševčenko's sojourn in Čyhyryn in 1843, and of his plans to go abroad).

Some important contributions on Ševčenko have appeared in *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo* in 1959 and 1960 (problems of Ševčenko's texts,[208]

[205] Kiev, Akad. Nauk URSR, Instytut Literatury im. T. H. Ševčenka, 1959, 336 pp.
[206] Kiev, DVXL, 1959, 460 pp.
[207] "Nova knyha pro Ševčenka", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 2 (1960), pp. 135–139.
[208] V. S. Borodin, "Tekstolohičnyj analiz poemy T. H. Ševčenka 'Najmyčka'", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 6 (1959), pp. 86–101.

biography,[209] influence of Ševčenko on Ukrainian literature [210]). The journal publishes materials which are of greater value than those published in the compendia of the Ševčenko Scholarly Conferences. Among latest studies the one by P. O. Petrova on Ševčenko's use of pronouns [211] has considerable linguistic value.

The brief review of recent studies of Ševčenko proves that significant changes have occurred in the Soviet approach to the poet. There is a definite tendency towards objective study and new interest in the poet's language and style. Yet even some of the scholarly works which have appeared of late fail in their task. While being as objective as they can be within the strictures of censorship, they cannot provide a total evaluation of Ševčenko. Today the concepts of Ševčenko as the "people's poet" or the "revolutionary poet" still prevent Soviet scholars from approaching Ševčenko as a man and a poet, not a political thinker. A synthesis of Ševčenko's life and art was not provided even during the liberal period of the 1920's. It remains, therefore, a task for future generations of scholars.

[209] P. O. Bilec'kyj, "Materijaly do biohrafiji T. H. Ševčenka", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 2 (1959), pp. 115–118.
[210] I. I. Pil'huk, Ševčenkivs'ki tradyciji v satyri Jurija Fed'kovyča", *Radjans'ke Literaturoznavstvo*, 4 (1959), pp. 39–48.
[211] P. O. Petrova, *Ševčenkove slovo ta poetyčnyj kontekst. Vykorystannja zajmennykiv u poezijax T. H. Ševčenka* (Xarkiv, Derž. Universitet, 1960), 157 pp.

17. MILADA SOUČKOVA: The Czech Romantics. 1958. 168 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 15.—
18. PAVLE IVIĆ: Die serbokroatischen Dialekte, ihre Struktur und Entwicklung. I: Allgemeines und die štokavische Dialektgruppe. 1958. 325 pp., 27 figs., map. Cloth. Dglds. 38.—
19. GEORGETTE DONCHIN: The Influence of French Symbolism on Russian Poetry. 1958. 242 pp., 7 ills. Cloth. Dglds. 24.—
20. Dutch Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavicists, Moscow, September 1958. 1958. 249 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 24.—
21. American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavicists, Moscow, September 1958. 1958. 427 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 40.—
22. NIKOLAI DURNOVO: Očerk istorii russkogo jazyka. Photomechanic reprint. Second printing. 1962. 384 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 24.—

13. PETER K. CHRISTOFF: An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Russian Slavophilism. Volume I: A. S. Xomjakov. 1961. 301 pp., 2 plates. Cloth. Dglds. 33.—
24. JOVAN BRKIĆ: Moral Concepts in Traditional Serbian Epic Poetry. 1961. 177 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 24.—
25. JOSIP VRANA: L'Evangéliaire de Miroslav. Contribution à l'étude de son origine. 1961. 211 pp., 10 plates. Cloth. Dglds. 48.—

27. Studies in Russian and Polish Literature. In Honor of Wacław Lednicki. Edited by Z. Folejewski, † M. Karpovich, F. J. Whitfield, A. Kaspin. 1962. 250 pp., portrait. Cloth. Dglds. 36.—
28. WACLAW LEDNICKI: Henryk Sienkiewicz. A Retrospective Synthesis. 1960. 81 pp., 7 plates. Dglds. 15.—
29. A. M. VAN DER ENG-LIEDMEIER: Soviet Literary Characters. An Investigation into the Portrayal of Soviet Men in Russian Prose, 1917–1953. 1959. 176 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 16.—
30. HENRY KUČERA: The Phonology of Czech. 1961. 112 pp. Cloth. Dglds. 15.—