

Institut für Slavische Philologie der LMU München

# Ukraine und ukrainische Identität in Europa

Beiträge zur Standortbestimmung  
aus/durch Sprache, Literatur, Kultur

Open Publishing LMU

Ukraine und ukrainische Identität in Europa:  
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aus/durch Sprache, Literatur und Kultur

**Institut für Slavische Philologie  
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München**

Herausgegeben von  
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**UKRAINISCH >>>  
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## VORWORT

### **Buchprojekt ‘Ukraine und ukrainische Identität in Europa: Beiträge zur Standortbestimmung aus / durch Sprache, Literatur und Kultur’**

Nicht zuletzt aufgrund der politischen und militärischen Ereignisse in der jüngsten Vergangenheit ist ‘Identität’ in der Ukraine und für die Ukrainer von einem – wie dies auch international der Fall ist – lediglich viel strapazierten Modewort zu einem zentralen nationalen Begriff und Wert geworden. Die meisten wissenschaftlichen Beiträge zur nationalen ukrainischen Identität bzw. zu den sie konstituierenden Identitätskomponenten stammen allerdings bisher aus der Politikwissenschaft oder aus der historischen Forschung.

Vor diesem Hintergrund zeichnet sich der vorliegende Sammelband durch einige Besonderheiten aus: Er will zum einen den aktuellen Stand der Diskussion um drei zentrale Aspekte erweitern, die bisher nicht gebührend einbezogen wurden, jedoch im Kontext von Diskursen über Identität eine Schlüsselrolle spielen – Sprache, Literatur und Kultur. Zwar wird auch in vielen öffentlichen Beiträgen insbesondere ‘Sprache’ als Identitätsmerkmal nahezu schematisch benannt, es fehlt jedoch eine über die bloße Erwähnung hinausgehende Zugangsweise nicht nur zur Rolle von ‘Sprache’ an sich, sondern erst recht zu ihrem Wirken in und mit Literatur und Kultur. Der in diesem Sammelband in den Vordergrund gestellte philologische Zugriff will somit nicht nur vorhandene Positionen aus anderen Disziplinen ergänzen und mit ihnen in einen Dialog treten, sondern eine Fülle von neuen Daten, Beobachtungen und Anregungen vorlegen. Sie sollen den spezifischen Beitrag von Sprache, Literatur und Kultur unterstreichen und dem aktuellen Diskurs über die ukrainische Identität in all ihren Facetten neue Impulse vermitteln.

Eine weitere Besonderheit dieses Sammelbandes liegt in der Art der Gewinnung und Auswahl der über 30 Textbeiträge von Wissenschaftlern aus der Ukraine, Deutschland, Polen und Kanada, die sich aus ganz unterschiedlichen Perspektiven Fragen der ukrainischen nationalen Identität widmen. Das Institut für Slavische Philologie der LMU München konnte hier an seine Internationale Virtuelle Internetkonferenz ‘Dialog der Sprachen – Dialog der Kulturen’ anknüpfen, die es seit 2010 jährlich mit stetig wachsendem Erfolg und steigenden Teilnehmerzahlen veranstaltet. Von Anfang an war es ein wichtiges Anliegen, damit insbesondere jüngeren Fachleuten aus der Ukraine ein zeitgemäßes Forum zu bieten, um sich ungehindert über die vielfältigen und aktuellen Themen der ukrainischen Sprache, Literatur, Kultur und Bildung international wissenschaftlich auszutauschen. So konnte ein maßgeblicher und aktiver Beitrag zur weiteren Stärkung der Ukrainistik im gesamten europäischen

Wissenschaftsraum geleistet werden, wie dies auch die jährlich publizierten Konferenzbände anschaulich belegen. In vielen Konferenzbeiträgen auch bereits vor Einführung der Kategorie 'Grundlagen der ukrainischen nationalen Identität' im Jahr 2014 war dabei deutlich geworden, welche zentrale Rolle Fragen der ukrainischen Identität spielen. Die Grundlage des vorliegenden Sammelbandes bilden deshalb ausgewählte Texte aus den bisher durchgeführten acht Internetkonferenzen, die neue Ansätze, Sichtweisen und Schlußfolgerungen von Repräsentanten gerade der jüngeren Generation von Wissenschaftlern in der Ukraine reflektieren. Ergänzt wurde dieser Kern durch einige weitere Textbeiträge, um insgesamt zu dokumentieren, daß das Interesse an der Ukraine und insbesondere am Diskurs über ihre nationale Identität nicht nur auf die Forschung beschränkt ist, sondern daß diese Identität auch Gegenstand des öffentlichen Interesses in Bayern, in Deutschland und in ganz Europa ist.

Wir freuen uns, daß dieser Band im deutsch-ukrainischen Sprachenjahr 2017/2018 erscheinen kann, das zum 25. Jahrestag der Aufnahme der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und der Ukraine und mit dem Ziel des weiteren Ausbaus der Zusammenarbeit in den Bereichen Bildung und Kultur von den Außenministern beider Länder beschlossen worden war. Als Besonderheit darf sicher auch gelten, daß neben Vertretern des Instituts für Slavische Philologie der LMU München auch Prof. Dr. Oleksandr Pronkevych, Leiter des Instituts für Philologie der Nationalen Schwarzmeer-Petro Mohyla-Universität Mykolajiv sowie der international renommierte Ukrainist und Germanist Prof. Dr. Leonid Rudnyc'kyj, langjähriger Rektor der Ukrainischen Freien Universität München, als Mitherausgeber gewonnen werden konnten.

Um den Sammelband einem breiten Publikum zugänglich zu machen, wurden die Texte erforderlichenfalls ins Englische oder ins Deutsche übersetzt. Für die Textauswahl und die Gesamtorganisation des Sammelbandes gebührt Dr. Olena Novikova unser großer Dank. Für die akribische Korrektur der englischen Fassungen danken wir sehr herzlich Edward Schoffield, für technische Unterstützung Olena Bader. Unser Dank gilt des Weiteren dem *Verlag readbox uni-press* sowie dem *Referat Elektronisches Publizieren der Universitätsbibliothek*. Die Drucklegung wäre ohne die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung durch die *Münchener Universitätsgesellschaft* nicht möglich gewesen. Dafür sowie für weitere finanzielle Unterstützung durch das Institut für Slavische Philologie (Prof. Dr. Riccardo Nicolosi) sind wir besonders dankbar.

Ulrich Schweier

## I. DIE LITERARHISTORISCHE DIMENSION DER NARRATIVE DER UKRAINISCHEN NATIONALEN IDENTITÄT

### THE UKRAINIANS IN UKRAINE AND ABROAD: MARKED BY 'BEZGRUNTIV"JA'

*Svitlana Antonovyč*

(Ukraine)

*The paper is dedicated to the problem of losing touch with the native land and the paternal home ('bezgruntiv"ja'), typical for Ukrainians because of the need to migrate in the 20th and 21st centuries. It deals with the phenomenon of 'bezgruntiv"ja' which has received aesthetic realization in the dramatic works of Ukrainian emigrant writers of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ju. Kosač, I. Čolhan, L. Kovalenko, A. Jurynjak, I. Bahrjanyj). It concludes that the Ukrainian variant of the phenomenon of losing touch with one's native land and paternal home has an additional feature: it is weighed down by the pointlessness of human existence and it is perception of the human condition in the context of the universe as a whole.*

*Key words: losing touch with early the native land and paternal home ('bezgruntiv"ja'), displaced person, emigrant, dramatic art, a play.*

### УКРАЇНЦІ В УКРАЇНІ ТА ПОЗА ЇЇ МЕЖАМИ: ПІД ЗНАКОМ БЕЗҐРУНТІВ'Я

*Світлана Антонович*

*Статтю присвячено проблемі втрати зв'язку з рідною землею та батьківським домом (безґрунтів'я), типовій для українського народу через необхідність мігрувати в XX столітті й на початку XXI століття. У роботі розглядається феномен безґрунтів'я, який отримав естетичну реалізацію в драматургії українських письменників-емігрантів середини XX століття (Ю. Косач, І. Чолган, Л. Коваленко, А. Юриняк, І. Баґрянний). Робиться висновок, що український варіант явища безґрунтів'я має особливість: він обтяжений екзистенціалістською проблемою безглуздості людського існування й пов'язаний зі сприйняттям людиною свого місця у світі й Універсуму в цілому.*

*Ключові слова: втрата зв'язку з рідною землею та батьківським домом (безґрунтів'я), переміщена особа, емігрант, драматургія, п'єса.*

Losing touch with the native land and paternal home ('bezgruntiv"ja') is a symbolic problem for the Ukrainian nation, which has acquired a special mean-

ing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is typical for the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is a historical fact, that Ukrainians had to migrate either within a country (the Soviet Union or independent Ukraine), or to Germany, Poland, Canada, the USA, Latin America etc.

Migration has been a necessary step for countless Ukrainian people, first of all for cultural or political personalities, due to social, economic, political and religious factors to save themselves from physical or moral destruction. "Agrarian overpopulation", persecution of 'enemies' and other realities of the Soviet epoch are the reasons why many Ukrainians left their homes. The life of the citizens of modern Ukraine is substantially changed after the annexation of Crimea and the war in the Lugansk and Donetsk regions. Thus, since the beginning of the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine in April 2014 over 1.7 million people have had to leave their homes. And this is not the final figure.

The feeling of 'bezgruntiv"ja' is one of the main characteristics of being either Ukrainian emigrants of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, or of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) of modern Ukraine. This feeling manifests itself as fear, loneliness, and chaos. The phenomenon of 'bezgruntiv"ja' expresses a problem of the national spiritual, cultural and historical unity of the Ukrainian people. Old, rarely expressed traditions from the homeland suddenly become more important in a foreign country. This situation is an illusory way of filling in the historical and cultural emptiness, which is a result of people's migration.

For Ukrainians, losing connection with their native land, the place where they were born, even within the territory of Ukraine, is an existential disaster. It is due to the psychological attachment which Ukrainians have to the earth as the Mother-Guardian. The sacred importance of the ground in the mental portrait of the Ukrainian nation corresponds to their traditional agricultural crops. L. Kozubenko aptly noted that Ukrainians imagined the ground as a mother that had a protective maternal function (Kozubenko 2012, 170). So called 'Antejizm' was the source of their ideological pattern, the basis of ethnic thinking. The ability to provide protection as a mother is its main characteristic. It symbolizes the aspiration of the Ukrainians to find their roots and life basis in general.

Ukrainian emigré playwrights of the mid-twentieth century are a notable phenomenon in the history of the Ukrainian culture. Its specific character is a special type of reflection caused by the DP situation. Recently, scholars studying the cultural, artistic, political and other processes of Ukrainian society of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century note an existential feeling of loss and melancholy (T. Hundorova, M. Lipovec'ky, A. Etkind etc.). In particular, melancholy is a condition inherent to DPs. It is deeply endured by a person for a long time or forever defines emigrants' being in a new space, causing a state of resentment and distrust (Hundorova 2012, 219). As written by T. Hundorova, melancholy is a consciousness, generated by a feeling of loss, including the loss of oneself, as a perfect, adult, socialized person (Hundorova 2012, 175). This condition can also be interpreted as a consequence of the raw, traumatic memory of the Soviet past (Hundorova 2012, 161).

The hard ‘boundary’ situation is caused by loss of the native land and appears in the Ukrainians as panic and fear either for themselves or their place in life, in cultural and historical processes. V. Aheeva clearly declared: such an altered state of the world and human consciousness requires the ability to reconcile with relativity, multiplicity, particularity of the truth, with the right of everybody to construct their own hierarchy of values. It gives more freedom, but also imposes much greater burdens of individual responsibility (Aheeva 2006, 176-177). Sanctification of the homeland distinguishes the feeling of ‘bezgruntiv"ja’ and emphasizes its destructive force for Ukrainians as representatives of their nation.

Ukrainian artists tried to understand the phenomenon ‘bezgruntiv"ja’ in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Let us remember *Kaminnyj chrest* (1899) by V. Stefanyk, *Na kameni* (1902) by M. Kocjubyns’kyj, *Bez gruntu* (1928) by G. Epic and others. In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Ukrainian diasporic literature there is increased attention to the artistic study of ‘bezgruntiv"ja’. In particular, at this time there are such famous works as *Enej i žyttja inšych* (1946) by Ju. Kosač, *Bez gruntu* (1948) by V. Domontovyč.

Of course, ‘bezgruntiv"ja’ is an organic part of the Ukrainian emigration context of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Understanding of it can be found directly in the works of the diaspora’s cultural figures, including Ju. Lavrinenko and Ju. Šerech. It should be mentioned a series of articles *Zustriči z Zachodom /Meetings with the West/ (Vid Kocjubyns’koho do Rosselini, vid Rosselini do Kocjubyns’koho /From Kocjubyns’kyj to Rossellini, from Rossellini to Kocjubyns’kyj/* (1950), *Don Kichoty promiž nas (“Narodnyj Malachij” Žana Žirodu) /Don Quixotes among us (“National Malachij” by Jean Giraudoux)/* (1948), *Zachid je Zachid, a Schid je Schid /The West is the West and the East is the East/* (1952)), written by Ju. Šerech. The author considers the problem as the most representative of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: all the historical processes of that time are specially intended to deprive a person of the ground (Šerech 1998, 390). Ju. Šerech, taking into account the socio-political situation of the epoch, emphasizes Ukrainians’ feeling of fear: the modern concept of fear consists of an important and typical component for the 20<sup>th</sup> century that is the fear of losing ground, the fear to be blown away or to start all from the beginning (Šerech 1998, 390).

Ju. Lavrinenko is also interested in the problem. The researcher describes this phenomenon as “fatally gone” (Lavrinenko 1971, 139). For the Ukrainian diaspora, including, above all, the political situation of the epoch, such a mood is completely well founded. Ju. Lavrinenko names the reason by which a person is consciously forced to live without their ground as “terrible epoch idiocy” (Lavrinenko 1971, 139).

The phenomenon of ‘bezgruntiv"ja’ has received aesthetic realization particularly in the dramatic works of Ukrainian emigré writers of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, because in the drama ideological positions and the mental state of the hero emerge brightly and emotionally expressively. The personality crossing cultures

with a “destroyed” biography, the personality who loses the ground under their feet is the main topic of the diaspora’s literature of that time. For the most artists of this period such a situation arose from personal experience. Ukrainian playwrights who had psychological trauma due to loss of the motherland, tried to understand the emotional state of the DPs, deprived of their homes and detached from native roots. The forced emigés’ existence was marked by nonsense. In the plays of such emigré writers as Ju. Kosač (*Dijstvo pro Jurija-Peremožca /The Performance of George Victorious/*), I. Čolhan (*Dity Dažboha /Dazhboh’s Children/, Zahublenyj skarb/The Lost Treasure/*), Son ukrajins ‘koji noči, abo Mandrivka čumaka Mamaja dovkola svitu /The Dream during a Ukrainian Night, or Čumak Mamaj’s Journey around the World/, Choždenije Mamaja po druhomu sviti /Mamaj’s Going to the second world/, Mamaj nevmyruščyj /Immortal Mamaj/, Duma pro Mamaja /The Ballad about Mamaj/), L. Kovalenko (*Pryjchaly do Ameryky /Came to America/*), A. Juryňjak (*Na dalekych šljachach /On the Long Journey/*), I. Bahrjanyj (*Rozhrom /The Defeat/*) and others is described the hard ambiguity emigrants’ situation which indicates a special type of DPs’ existence. Losing touch with the native land and paternal home becomes an impulse that raises people’s awareness of their value, their destiny and their affirmation. The question of national identity acquires ontological meaning. It is associated with the desire of the Ukrainian people to declare themselves as a force in the world, historical and cultural space.

Emigrant fury of the first half or the middle of the twentieth century is not the root cause of the problem of “bezgruntiv”ja’ in Ukraine. For O. Černenko the Ukrainian roots departure from the most leading Ukrainian elite was a negative consequence of autocratic and imperial policy which operated in two modes under Tsarist and Communist Russia. It stopped the development of Ukrainian identity and intellectual education of Ukrainian intellectuals, often causing an inferiority complex (Černenko 1994, 107). Such policies often become the cause of ‘inner emigration’. This is a situation when people that remained in Ukraine, but mentally did not accept the Bolshevik system had to become isolated from the world around them (Lavrinenko 1964, 7). And then almost everyone remained a stranger in this new reality, and an eternal dreamer to turn to the native land of his heart, his recollections and thoughts (Lavrinenko 1964, 8). However, the concept of ‘inner emigration’ is not a subject of interest for our work. It is appropriate to refer to the works of those playwrights who had to leave their own homes and homeland.

The problem of psychological adaptation of those who had recently emigrated interested Ukrainian diaspora writers. The mental state of DPs is characterized by the fear of the fugitive and the fear of the unknown. For instance, fear is a peculiar feature of life in exile for Žurbenko’s family in a play *Pryjchaly do Ameryky /We Came to America/* by L. Kovalenko. The wife of the main character Ivas’ very often speaks about the fear. Olena Žurbenko sees her natural calling in creating psychological comfort and a sheltered spot for the family. How-



ever, her life is full of the foreboding of danger. Fear turns to standby evil. “My wife is a cowed creature” (Kovalenko 1956, 128), – Ivas’ said.

In society fear determines person’s place in the world. It is the factor of self-improvement of a personality, culture and civilization. The philosophical understanding of fear provides the latest cultural and historical opportunities to revive the human capacity for new growth itself on the principles of humanism and individualism (Turenko 2006, 9). According to L. Kovalenko’s conception for emigrants the fear can be defined as a “social and psychological human disaster” (Andrusenko 1991, 131). This condition is a result of significant disagreement between different meaning benchmarks.

The Žurbenkos are forced to adapt to the new rules of life. Loss of personal documents and the unnecessary registration the moment they come to America causes indignation. Now the possibility of being sent to Russia becomes less pronounced, the main thing is the preservation of their own names. And for someone suffering from ‘bezgruntiv”ja’ the most important thing was not to lose their identity and, maybe even their national identity. On this occasion it is remarkable moments that raise the question of belonging to a certain nationality. In the play *Pryjichaly do Ameryky* L. Kovalenko repeatedly follows the actions in which one of the main characters, Ivas’, defends his origin: “I am not Russian, I am Ukrainian” (Kovalenko 1956, 106). The author seeks to distinguish Ukrainian people and Ukrainian culture against the background of Russia. L. Kovalenko describes the Ukrainians compared with the Russians and partly the Americans as proud and moral people. However, in the case of ‘bezgruntiv”ja’ this feeling becomes topical, emphasizing emigrants’ fear to find themselves in a situation of ‘identification shift’.

A. Jurynjak also describes the feeling of fear in the play *Na dalekych šljachach /On the Long Journey/*. The author pays attention to “the repatriation fury” (Jurynjak 1955, 4). In the preface to the work the playwright explains his conception: “... it was a wild and incomprehensible horror: how is it that the Bolsheviks can with impunity seize and kill people whose only ‘crime’ is that they want to live in freedom! [...] This is not just about the actual victims of Soviet repression. It is about the strength of millions of people living under the Soviets, living in the grim knowledge that there was nowhere to flee to” (Jurynjak 1955, 4). Therefore there are logically words of a character of the play “On the Long Journey”: let it be the devil, but not the Bolsheviks (Jurynjak 1955, 28).

The total fear of the emigrants creates a new state of chaos. DPs are once again forced to adapt to new conditions, because rational and traditional order is always destroyed. This position is a symptom that clearly indicates the imperfection of the universe and demonstrates the vulnerability of people in new life realities.

A. Jurynjak focuses on the concept of fear as an attribute of emigrants’ lives. In the play a sense of horror is dominated because of repatriation. The author traditionally accentuates the Soviet Union as a center of physical and spiritual destruction of people and compares it with a source of evil. The playwright em-

phasizes characters' uncertainty in the future by the mood of anxiety, frustration, confusion which are typical for them. Their internal state contrasts with the hopes of a "new" life in exile (Jurynjak 1955, 51). The position to go "a long way away together" (Jurynjak 1955, 54), to maintain their contacts is typical for emigrants. Their cohesion is evidence of a national, cultural and spiritual connection between DPs. The linkage between emigrants is interpreted as the last thread that connects them with the native land. Perhaps the greatest tragedy for a person, the playwright says, is the situation when these people are "going to die" on their long travels (Jurynjak 1955, 44).

The human existence beyond the homeland, isolated from the cultural and historical traditions, is absolute nonsense. The lack of ground as a support, as a way to balance life is filled in by characters' constant talks about Ukraine in the play *Na dalekych šljachach* by A. Jurynjak. The characters have created an illusory model of the homeland which symbolizes their spiritual comfort. Interpreting the problem of 'bezgruntiv"ja' the author uses dreams as a literary method because this technique allows A. Jurynjak to discuss the problem by showing the action in another dimension. According to the play, Rostyslav, one of the characters, had a dream, in which he and defenders of Ukraine had to leave their native land. A. Jurynjak tries to recreate the emotional state of people who have to emigrate. Psychologically dominant here is a spiritual connection with the homeland, memory and sense of unity with the native land. The soldiers proudly talk about their roots (Jurynjak 1955, 34). The replicas show the love of their land. "I wither in a foreign land, – one of the soldiers says. – Melancholy and the shadow will be with me without the Ukrainian sun" (Jurynjak 1955, 34). Another character declares: "For the freedom of the motherland I preferred to put my head here. Too little consolation I managed to incur from the fields, forests and meadows..." (Jurynjak 1955, 35). Certainly, A. Jurynjak, describing the beauty of the Ukrainian land, emphasizes its life-giving force.

In the play *Na dalekych šljachach* by A. Jurynjak the dream reveals emigrants' homesickness. It also motivates the ideological position of DPs in the diaspora. In the drama A. Jurynjak emphasizes: "I believe you proclaim the truth of Ukraine in the world. Strike the wall of lies that have been put around us by Moscow..." (Jurynjak 1955, 35).

The plays by I. Čolhan are diverse and interesting in the context of a phenomenon of 'bezgruntiv"ja', in particular, *Dity Dažboha /Dazhboh's Children/* and *Zahublenyj skarb /The Lost Treasure/*, devoted to DPs life. In the play *Dity Dažboha* I. Čolhan describes life in exile in a special place (camp), so-called "fortress" (Čolhan 1990, 293) or "Zelenyj horbočok" /"Green Hill"/ with "torn by wind and rain flag which is a symbol of emigrants' destiny" (Čolhan 1990, 294). It is symbolically to compare DPs' camp with the ground, because it demonstrates the loss of the defenses a home of one's own gives a person.

According to the play *Zahublenyj skarb* I. Čolhan focuses on preserving the spiritual connection with the homeland: "This is a treasure for all of us, a part of our souls and hearts, this is a symbiotic link, a thread that connects us with the

native land” (Čolhan 1990, 393). The heading of the play has a conceptual importance, it leads to the problem of finding spiritual ground, because such “treasures” assert person’s belonging to a nation.

In the play *Zahublenyj skarb* by I. Čolhan it seems meaningful that the name of the DPs’ camp is “Sadok vyšnevyj” /“Cherry Garden”. It raises a number of associations, including the gardens of the native land with famous T. Ševčenko’s cherry garden etc. The displaced persons’ camp gives the impression of idyll. In the exile emigrants feel anxiety and loneliness, that is why they turn the camp into the search for defense themselves. The camp once again becomes a sacred place, signs of the own home, the native land. The characters of the play emphasize in their song: “It is a national ground, /It is Ukraine in a foreign land...” (Čolhan 1990, 356). It is illusory protection and the result of a psychological trauma of a fugitive. Therefore attributes of Ukrainian culture as a symbol of angst often appear in the play: steppe, river, poplar, a black horse, bandura etc. The reaction to ‘bezgruntiv”ja’ is the removal and preservation of Ukrainian museum treasures by one of the characters, that symbolize the spiritual connection with the homeland (“our historical relics” (Čolhan 1990, 392)). In the interpretation of the diaspora it is indestructible cultural tradition.

The next point that deserves attention in the context of the phenomenon of ‘bezgruntiv”ja’ concerns Ukrainian traditions, folklore, mythology, customs, rituals. Such elements are widely used by diaspora playwrights, including L. Kovalenko, Ju. Kosač, I. Čolhan and others. Things that have always been in Ukrainian houses, folklore, keeping the traditions in a foreign land, psychologically “compensate” for the lost homeland. All of them create the illusion of a full human being, preserving the national identity.

For example, in the play *Pryjichaly do Ameryky* by L. Kovalenko accentuates mentioned aspects, especially the author writes about Ukrainian customs. The song, which sounds repeatedly during the drama, has the conceptual importance for it. It not only creates a state of sadness, depression, loneliness, but also spiritually complements one center of Ukrainians, formed in the bar by Stepanjak – one of the characters in the play.

The play *Dijstvo pro Jurija-Peremožcja* /*The Performance of George Victorious*/ by Kosač has a special meaning: the playwright refers to the idea of asserting national roots, searching for them in the past. The author describes the events of the seventeenth century, particularly the government of Yurii Chmel’nyts’kyj. The playwright saturates his work with historical and cultural concepts which are typical for that time. For example, Kosač writes about a story “Alexandria”, popular among Cossack intellectuals. He refers to works dedicated to historical, political, cultural, religious and other issues. The specific language of the play demonstrates the spirit of the age. The author includes an interlude which introduces the activities of so-called itinerant philosophers. The play aims to emphasize the “continuity” of Ukrainian customs and traditions. It strengthens the originality of the Ukrainian people with their unique spiritual heritage in the global, cultural and historical space.

This approach is typical for Čolhan's dramatic art, particularly when the writer refers to Ukrainian mythology. In the plays *Dity Dažboha* and *Zahublenyj skarb* the playwright introduces an image of Dažboh, who is the Slavic god of the light and the sun. According to a national tradition, Dažboh is popular for good deeds, is a guardian of human destiny and prosperity, gives 'white day', happiness and love (Vojtovyč 2005, 124). For I. Čolhan Dažboh's "children" are emigrants, "expelled overboard alive without a homeland and relatives..." (Čolhan 1990, 342). The image of the Slavic god is a symbol of national connection for DPs.

I. Čolhan uses the image of Mamaj, typical for his dramatic art (*Son ukrajins' koji noči, abo Mandrivka čumaka Mamaja dovkola svitu /The Dream during a Ukrainian Night, or Čumak Mamaj's Journey around the World/, Choždenije Mamaja po druhomu sviti /Mamaj's Going to the second world/, Mamaj nevmyruščyj /Immortal Mamaj/, Duma pro Mamaja /The Ballad about Mamaj/*). In the Ukrainian tradition Cossack Mamaj is a legendary hero. He is the embodiment of Ukrainian character, the image of freedom and immortality of the nation (Vojtovyč 2005, 233). There are many stories that extol his glory.

The playwright describes Mamaj's image in the context of the ancient Ukrainian tradition of čumakuvannja. I. Čolhan introduces the character into the artistic cosmos for nationalistic reasons. The čumak's image is a hidden attempt to revive national identity, ideology and values. For example, in the play *Son ukrajins' koji noči, abo Mandrivka čumaka Mamaja dovkola svitu* there are the words about a world that breaks into atoms (Čolhan 1990, 116), a comedy political system (Čolhan 1990, 121), satire on the political and social order, discussing the national identity. In the play the author writes about the shooting of a Hollywood film on a Ukrainian material, singing Ukrainian folk songs, an exhibition of Ukrainian embroidery etc. This kind of spiritual "compensation" gives the characters an opportunity to experience a feeling similar to harmonious existence in the motherland.

In the final part of the čumak's journey, entitled *Duma pro Mamaja* I. Čolhan portrays Ukrainian people's life in America over the past forty years. The play is a kind of summary of all I. Čolhan's works. Mamaj's image combines different time intervals from the past to the future Ukraine, stressing the historical 'continuity' of the country and state of the Ukrainian people. At the end of the play Mamaj flies by rocket to his native village Paškvka to awaken the national spirit. The character of the čumak represents generations, they belong to the Ukrainian national space. The imaging of Ukraine by I. Čolhan in diachronic terms of time is accompanied by a feeling as if hard ground disappears or is slipped out from under somebody's feet all the time. Then each plot is intended in some way to remind a person about the social, spiritual and national roots.

In diaspora literature one can find an interesting interpretation of the problem of 'bezgruntiv"ja' in dramas that depict events from the Ukrainian past and discuss the national idea. From the psychological point of view such emigrants'

position testifies about the hope to compensate the lack by referring to historical events and important figures.

One of the emigré writers, I. Bahrjanyj, proposes his own pictures of national myths in the play *Rozhrom /The Defeat/*, devoted to the years of the German occupation of the Ukrainian territory. Olha Urban's family represents an ideal of the Ukrainian nation, and the image of the main character Olha is characterized by the understanding of the national problems. The author focuses on her figure as a new type of conscious Ukrainian personality. In the play the Ukrainians are described as a highly educated and moral people. Olha Urban's family is distinguished by features of internal unrest and the feeling of national unity. The spiritual connection between people is important and necessary for Ukraine in trial situations. Overcoming crisis has to serve as a basis for the self-affirmation of the Ukrainian nation. "It is not important, what the enemies think about us. It is more important what we think about ourselves, it is more important to realize who we really are. It is difficult, my dear, to find ourselves, to understand our historical mission" (Bahrjanyj 1948, 96), – the main character of the play says. Olha, referring to other characters, puts ideologically important questions: "Who are we, that others want to deny us or do not admit our existence?!" (Bahrjanyj 1948, 96).

The question of national identity goes into the existential dimension. The recognition of the Ukrainian nation as one with equal rights and the equal power of making history forms the consciousness of its representatives. I. Bahrjanyj interprets the desire to eradicate the inferiority complex, typical for an oppressed country, turning into the idea of spiritual and intellectual "superiority" of the Ukrainians. Portraits of T. Ševčenko, M. Chvylja, H. Kosynka, B. Antonenko-Davydovyč, M. Johansen, M. Kuliš etc., hanging on the walls in Urban's apartment, form the cultural aura of the family (society). In the play the author repeatedly refers to Olha's library with books in the original by prominent figures of the German culture: A. Schopenhauer, H. Hegel, F. Nietzsche, J.-W. Goethe, K. Marx and others. The playwright compares one of the characters, the artist Hryts', with Rafael. Such moments in the text are designed to expand the cultural space, depicting the Ukrainian nation equal in their spiritual heritage and historical potential to other nations. This recognition contributes to self-realization in society. For example, Hryts' as a talented artist is very popular among the Germans. The occupants are delighted by Olha's erudition and Herr Mathis acknowledges her timely views on the emergency situation in the world. The heroine says reassuring words: "No, we are developing as a separate historical force, undeniable and real, not understandable and alien for others" (Bahrjanyj 1948, 97). Olha is a symbol of the absolute faith in the revival of the nation in the future. Tomorrow is a great day for the Ukrainian nation (Bahrjanyj 1948, 97).

I. Bahrjanyj seeks to embody features of a new generation in Olha's image, emphasizing the exclusivity of the Ukrainian nation. Absolute belief in the superiority of her own people becomes a reliance for her and other characters of the

play *Rozhrom*. They declare the idea of a promising historical moment, when you have the chance to create a new Ukraine. Considerations on the problem of human existence and self-affirmation especially excite Olha. The characters of the play talk about the willingness to die for their beliefs, because they are afraid of slavery and dishonor. The idea of the revival of a free Ukraine and free Ukrainians is declared with pathos in I. Bahrjanyj's work.

It should be noted that the feeling of 'bezgruntiv"ja' is a part of the world outlook and self-perception. The need to adapt to the new conditions, a system of values, sometimes foreign culture causes the emergence of migrant trauma.

Of course, today it is difficult to talk about the aesthetic realization, particularly in dramatic art, of the political problems of the modern Ukraine and especially the problem of 'bezgruntiv"ja'. However, as we know, refugees from the combat zones of the Lugansk and Donetsk regions try to arrange a new house as "at home" or put a thing "in the same place", thus creating the illusion of welfare, stability, security, peace, and fullness of life. The problem of finding one's place in another space (in a new organization or school) borders on the fear of being heard by no one in this environment. The state of fear and chaos leads to unity, cohesion of the migrants, indicating the national, cultural, spiritual connection between them and the state-potential of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian emigré playwrights define the isolation from the homeland, cultural and historical traditions as determined by the arbitrariness of the universe. In accordance with this, the Ukrainian phenomenon of 'bezgruntiv"ja' features something extra: it is weighed down by the pointlessness of human existence and it is perception of the human condition in the context of the universe as a whole.

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## UKRAINIAN LITERATURE ABOUT THE JEVROMAJDAN AND THE REVOLUTION OF DIGNITY

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*The paper provides a typological study of publications about the Jevromajdan and the Revolution of Dignity. The author focuses on subject matter of the literary and artistic works, devoted to the event, analyzes their genre, and stylistic features. The research concentrates on explaining a number of ideological and artistic phenomena in the Jevromajdan literature. Among them are historicism, non-fiction, and fictional elements of writing about 'history'; genres of 'chronicle', 'annals', 'notes', and 'diary'; mixed structure and hypertext composition, intermediality; use of visual arts components; socio-political engagement of the Jevromajdan literature.*

*Keywords: Ukrainian literature in 2013–2015, Jevromajdan and Revolution of Dignity, typology of publications, generics, historicism.*

## УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ЛІТЕРАТУРА ПРО ЄВРОМАЙДАН І РЕВОЛЮЦІЮ ГІДНОСТІ

*Галина Білик*

*Стаття пропонує типологічну класифікацію видань про Євромайдан і Революцію Гідності. Основну увагу спрямовано на літературно-художні твори цієї тематики, встановлено такі їхні жанрово-стильові домінанти, як історизм, нефікційність, розробка 'історії', 'хроніки', 'літопису', 'записок', 'щоденника', мікстова структура й гіпертекстова композиція, інтермедіальність, вагомий ілюстративний компонент, виразне соціально-політичне ангажування тощо.*

*Ключові слова: українська література 2013–2015 років, тема Євромайдану і Революції Гідності, типологія видань, генерика, історизм.*

In the late autumn of 2013, Ukrainian literature clearly delineated a new thematic niche associated with the Jevromajdan and the Revolution of Dignity. Nowadays, it is a vast multi-genre list of literary products numbering several dozens of books (see: list of books about the Jevromajdan, 2016 Ukrainian revolution, Jevromajdan) and hundreds of publications in periodicals, collective books and the internet. Journalists and writers of fiction, public and political activists and religious leaders try to comprehend this extremely important historical event of our time, to create its image, which will express thoughts, emotions, characters, motivations and aspirations of the people at the barricades, their her-



oism and tragedy, moral messianism and civic engagement. And, of course, to record the details of the Majdan events in their multiple interpretations, with all their conflicts, twists and turns, role incarnations, pathos, tendencies, the language of the newest Ukrainian revival and assertion of the national state. It is essential that the writers in their creative search always feel the attention of the public, especially the young people who became the symbol and the driving force of the Jevromajdan.

It makes sense to remind that the motive of the ‘Majdan struggle’ in the Ukrainian literature (like in the whole model of our national exercising) has its history. It appeared in Tyčyna’s verses “*Revolution goes / on the square near church. / – Let the sheepman be a chieftain, / – all exclaimed*”, created in 1918; in the texts about the Revolution on the Granite of 1990 and the Orange Revolution of 2004, etc. In the meantime, the literary production about the Jevromajdan surpasses in its amount and its artistic quality everything which has been written about the phenomena before. It is really a powerful trend in the Ukrainian contemporary literature.

The publications about the Jevromajdan released between 2013 and 2015 one can find in Wikipedia. It currently includes 84 titles. Among them are ‘memoirs’ (15), ‘poetry’ (21), ‘prose’ (15), ‘collections of articles’ (9), ‘monographs’ (6), ‘photo albums’ (10), ‘miscellaneous’ (9) written in English (7), Italian (1), German (5), Polish (3), Russian (5), Ukrainian (55), French (1), sometimes bi- (6) and trilingual (1). Scholars are only beginning to study this literary corpus. At the same time, there are many critical essays and reviews related to it. In particular, Ja. Poliščuk was one of the first to suggest theoretical principles of considering the issue. He defined the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity a significant event in both local and global dimensions, which marked the beginning of a new calendar for both Ukraine and Europe and the world. The powerful information flow, produced by the event, is dominant in the contemporary literature. According to Ja. Poliščuk, it has restarted readers’ trust in the printed word and significantly modified it by socializing, subjectivising, accentuating works of verbal art, both emotionally and tententiously, and by enriching them from the formal viewpoint. “A kind of post-majdan fiction will grow”, concludes the researcher (Poliščuk 2015, 16). In another book *Reactivity of Literature* Ja. Poliščuk suggests looking upon the Jevromajdan as a breakthrough towards a qualitative renewal of the national literature (Poliščuk 2016).

The interest in these texts is high, because they pinpoint the eternal values of the Ukrainian people, show the nation at a time of exceptional unity, provide a powerful expression of the best mental features, and strength of mind of every honest citizen multiplied by a clear commitment to the society. The Jevromajdan pathos and experience have cathartic, therapeutic, and forming functions. This is also a kind of memorial, which will forever remind how and why the wheel of history turned so dramatically. Therefore, scholars should actively collect the research material in order to be ready for the inevitable increase of social demand for studies of the Jevromajdan phenomenon in the nearest future.

The corpus of the Jevromajdan literature consists of *works/collections*, *written by particular authors*, and *of collective books of texts created by various writers* (in this case they have the name of their compiler or maker). They can be writings of socio-political and literary (artistic, documentary and artistic) purpose. Besides printed texts, the corpus contains products of visual arts. In many cases the pictorial component (photographs and drawings) becomes dominant. According to the social function, the corpus includes *journalist production* (articles, sketches, essays, talks, interviews, notes), *artistic works* (poems, songs, fairy tales, short stories, novellas, essays, narratives, novels), *memoir* (remiscences, diaries, memos, letters, chronicles), *pieces of mass information* (reports, lists), *other types of literary products* and art publications. We summarize them somewhat arbitrarily (because many books, for example, contain illustrative components, and some of them were meant to be genealogically mixed) in five genre groups, namely:

– *Majdan lyrics*: I. Bojčuk. The power of words. Chmel'nyč'kyj, 2014; A. Bondar. Songs of Song. Collection of low poetry and primitive lyrics. Černivci, 2014; Fight and you will overcome! Poetics of the revolution / O. Uliščenko. Charkiv, 2014; S. Vesna. Slaves are kept out of paradise. Kyjiv, 2014; Majdan is speaking. Collection of revolutionary poetry. Kyjiv, 2014; O. Danyljuk. Semiconductor. Praetorians: after and before the revolution. Kyjiv, 2014; N. Dyčka. Milestone light of Majdan. Kyjiv, 2014; To the barricades. Anthology of Kirovohrad Revolutionary Poetry. Kirovohrad, 2014; Jevromajdan. Lyric chronicle / V. Karpjuk. Brusturiv, 2014; O. Irvaneč'. Songs of War. Poems of the recent years. Kyjiv, 2014; Maternal prayer. Female Ukrainians – to heroes of Majdan: Poetry. Kyjiv, 2014; Heavenly Hundred. Anthology of Majdan poems / L. Voronjuk. Černivci, 2014; D. Pavlyčko. Poems from Majdan. Kyjiv, 2014; Ju. Ruf. Time of Revolution. L'viv, 2014, etc;

– *Majdan epic*: V. Amelina. November Syndrome, or Homo Compatici. Brusturiv, 2014; V. Baziv. Armageddon on Majdan. Kyjiv, 2014; Jevromajdan: Chronicle of sensations / V. Karpjuk. Brusturiv, 2014; Jevromajdan. Chronicle in novellas / V. Karpjuk. Brusturiv, 2014; V. Ivčenko. 2014. Kyjiv, 2015; A. Kokotjuča. Fire winter. Charkiv, 2015; Ch. Lukasčuk. Fairytale about Majdan. L'viv, 2014; V. Medvid'. Indestructible. Luc'k, 2014; S. Procejuk. Under the Wings of the Great Mother. Mental Majdan. Brusturiv, 2015; I. Rozdobud'ko. Button-2. Ten years later. Kyjiv, 2015; M. Rudnevyč. I'm from the Heavenly Hundred. Kyjiv, 2014; I. Semesjuk. Diary of a Ukrainophobe. Kyjiv, 2014, etc;

– *Majdan chronicle, including albums*: K. Berdyns'kych. There are people. Warm stories from Majdan. Kyjiv, 2014; K. Haluško. Majdan semester. Revolutionary Chronicles of a Kyjiv Lecturer. Černivci, 2015 (in Russian); N. Huk. Jevromajdan (usual heroes). Kyjiv, 2015; 94 days. Jevromajdan as seen by TSN / A. Čeč. Kyjiv, 2014; M. Dymyd, K. Dymyd. Stones of Majdan. L'viv, 2014; Jevromajdan diary. Revolution as seen by journalists from "Reporter". Book 1. November-December 2013 (in Russian) / O. Strel'nykov. Kyjiv, 2014; Chroni-

cle of eyewitnesses: nine months of Ukrainian resistance / T. Teren. Kyjiv, 2014; Majdan people. Chronicle. Photo album / L. Ivšyna. Kyjiv, 2014; N. Musijenko. Arts of Majdan. Kyjiv, 2015; Ju. Orlova. 111 days of Majdan. Notes of female Kievan. Kyjiv, 2014 (in Russian); Insurgent alphabet. Kyjiv, 2014; S. Ševčenko. Majdan of Dignity. Kyjiv, 2014, etc;

– *memorial books*: “Heavenly Hundred” requiem book / T. Šachivs’ka. Kyjiv, 2014; Majdan of Dignity! (in memory of “Heavenly Hundred”) / S. Kozak. Kyjiv, 2014; Heavenly Hundred / O. Trybušyna, I. Solomko. Kyjiv, 2014, etc;

– *opinion journalism*: I. Zahrebel’nyj. Majdan. Chronicles of underevolution. Dnipropetrovs’k, 2014; S. Koškina. Majdan. Untold story. Kyjiv, 2015; A. Muchars’kyj. Majdan. (R)evolution of spirit. Kyjiv, 2014; M. Slabošpyc’kyj. Gambit of hope. Kyjiv, 2014 etc.

The literature about the Jevromajdan and the Revolution of Dignity should be qualified as *historic*, although it records the history of today. These works are genetically linked to the conspicuous fact often based on real events. They are addressed to a particular time and space, localized mainly in the three-month existential period – the people’s protest on Independence Square in central Kyjiv. *Non-fiction* component of the texts is accentuated by the true names of streets, squares, parks, buildings, institutions (Hruševs’kyj Street, Instituc’ka Street, European Square, Ukrainian House, Marijins’kyj Park, October Palace, Trade Unions Building, Kyjiv City State Administration, etc.) and by situationally actualized circumstances and realia (pavement, barricade, molotov cocktail, shield, helmet, ‘berkut’, snipers, ‘sotnja’, ‘samooborona’, volunteers, etc.), names of politicians, public figures, journalists and ordinary protesters, heroes of the Heavenly Hundred (like Serhij Nihojan, Michail Žyznevs’kyj, Jurij Verbyc’kyj and others). The writers reflect more or less the same experience and comprehend the episodes of the Revolution as the common plot. They try to model more or less complete image of the event. They speak of historical figures or use them as prototypes, creating rather recognizable characters. They talk about the lessons of the revolution and express hope for its positive effects. Thus, the Second Majdan becomes the bridge between the past to the future of Ukraine, and serves for updating the national project by thinking over the events, by working on the mistakes, and by depicting the prospects, which have to change the future existence of Ukraine.

The historical format of texts about the Jevromajdan and the Revolution of Dignity predetermine their peculiarities on the level of geneology and poetics. As far as prosaic texts are concerned, they can be divided into the following groups.

1) Documentary-artistic essay stories, notes, sketches, interviews about active participants of the protest (local Majdan defense, volunteers – people of all ages, incomes, professions) and random comers on the Square, who often especially arrived in Kyjiv not only from all over Ukraine, but also from other states to join the exciting human sea, to share its power (“There are people. Warm Stories from Majdan” by K. Berdys’kyj, “Jevromajdan. Ordinary Heroes” by

N. Huk); self-reflection stories of authorship – about their perception of the Majdan (“My Jevromajdan” by Ju. Šeljaženko, “My Revolution” by A. Jurkevych, “Majdan ... Who, if not me?” by V. Rozumenko); the memorial stories recorded in the books of the Heavenly Hundred.

2) Fictional stories (tales) are represented by:

a) the traditional fairy-tale narrative (“Fairy Tale about Majdan” by Ch. Lukaščuk),

b) the novella-like narrative (“Jevromajdan: Chronicle in Short Stories”), the short novel (“I am from the Heavenly Hundred” by M. Rudnevych),

c) the novelistic narrative (“November Syndrome or Homo Compatiens” by V. Amelina, “Armageddon on Majdan” by V. Baziv, “Fire Winter” by A. Kotjucha) – the Majdan events (often with names of real civil, social, and political figures) told as a work fiction (use of fictional plot structure).

3) Artistic journalist alternative stories. They are kitsch-satires and futurologic provocations representing the Revolution of Dignity and post-majdan events through controversies, achievements of laughter culture and authors’ visions of Ukraine’s future (“Majdan. (R)Evolution of Spirit” by A. Muchars’kyj (in its artistic part), *Diary of a Ukrainophobe* by I. Semesjuk, *Revolution Pendulum* and “Kyjiv Junta City” by D. Savčenko).

The historical text format usually tends to time linearity and chronotopos continuity, so *chronicles*, *annals* and – as their variants – *notes*, *diaries* are quite common among the works of the Jevromajdan. We can cite as examples *Brusturiv Majdan trilogy* (*Jevromajdan. Lyrical Chronicle*, *Jevromajdan: Chronicle of Sensations*, *Jevromajdan: Chronicle in Novellas*), *Majdan Semester. Revolution Chronicles of a Kyjiv Lecturer* by K. Haluško, *Eyewitnesses’ Annals: Nine Months of Ukrainian Resistance* by S. Alexievich, *111 Days of Majdan: Notes of a Woman from Kyiv* by Ju. Orlova; *Jevromajdan Diary. The Revolution As Viewed by Journalists from “Reporter”. Book 1. November-December 2013, Private Diary. Majdan. War* by M. Matios).

The authors of historical texts about the Revolution of Dignity take information from different sources. As a result, their publications use of *hypertext* – fragments of posts in social networks, blogs, columns, streams, online fictional works, articles, and documents created in real time by authorized or anonymous contributors – history ‘witnesses’. The authors and compilers pick these segment statements, encrusting with them into the architecture of the whole body of a text. This corresponds to the existential purpose of publications: they are aimed at creating the most truthful, detailed, vociferous image of the Jevromajdan that, after its tragic coloring, outgrew the dimension of a static fact and got fluctuating as the process in which each member of the Maidan community has a role and responsibility. “*It was written for friends, it was written for myself and was not going to become history, but it did*, – S. Alexevič, Nobel laureate, comments on the realities of transforming a personal view of a speaker from one style field into another, in the preface to *Eyewitnesses’ Annals* – <...> normally it’s missed history, it disappears without a trace – history of human emotions. <...> And a

modern man, deceived by TV and books a thousand times, has even stronger a desire to learn: how was it then in reality? How it was in the war, in Černobyl' ... on the Majdan ... To learn not from a writer, but from the same person as oneself. One takes that person's word with the last faith" (*Eyewitnesses' Annals: Nine Months of Ukrainian Resistance* 2014, 3). The hypertext combinations are used by A. Muchars'kyj in the kaleidoscope book (artistic and cultural project) "Majdan. (R)Evolution of Spirit", by A. Savyc'ka and A. Myrhorod-s'kyj in the book "Фантомная боль #maidan" and so on.

The publications contain a significant *illustrative* base (up to 80% of the size in albums), which reproduces details, accentuates expressions, increases the depth and magnitude of reception, and highlights the historical plan of Majdan creativity. Pictures document of the Revolution of Dignity stop the moments that can be thought over for years without losing its profound impact on the spectators. Drawings (in particular, texts for young readers), diagrams and other supporting means of expression help authors to form the picture of Majdan more concisely and to represent it in their works more brightly. They focus attention on the facts of time – typographic and fine art solutions or some technical points of an author's narrative.

Another important sign of the analyzed texts is their undisguised *socio-political engagement*. In particular, we observe in them the fullness of implementation of civil pathos – patriotic, political, social, told unobtrusively, not biased, in a burst of intellectual and sensory rise. Of course, it is typical of the Majdan poetry first of all – thousands of verses of descriptive, confessional, meditative, satirical and other nature, which primarily focus on the analytical position of a persona. The persona strives to understand the unexpected "disintegration" situation and seeks to correct it by self-determination, by correlating his/her own position to the governmental one and the people's one. The poems become voices of the people who publicly proclaims their own views, peacefully oppose the wrong course of statesmen, join a nationwide mobilization to fight against the authorities' force and aggression against the protesters, compete with self-denial on the verge of life and death not only for the Jevromajdan ideals, but also for human dignity that the new-found criminal dictatorship is trying to crush. The annotation to the *Jevromajdan. Lyrical Chronicle* collection stresses that bloodshed on the Majdan – this innocent holy sacrifice – became a point of no return for the Ukrainian people, the beginning of a new life: "*When people have experienced the shock from the first bloody events, anger of revenge and cold bloodedness of the defense – global structural reflection of the new reality began. Poetry is the first attempt to understand what has happened*" (*Jevromajdan. Lyrical Chronicle* 2014, 2). In fact, this is the climax of the shooting at the Majdan. The book, containing 32 skillful poetical works, starts with this tragic episode. Each verse in the collection refers to the religious "New Testament" topos of the Messiah, sacrifice, the suffering mother, enlightenment, resurrection – whether weeping for the dead, condolences for grief of the people who have lost relatives, imagined monologues of the brave heroes from the

Heavenly Hundred, recitations of living fighters for the renewal of the country, word to the “worried Europe”, foreshadowing even more terrible darkness for Ukraine and others. Thus, the poems assert the idea that a living soul marked by the moral law is able to restore order in their “Promised Land”.

The poetess N. Dyčka in her book *Milestone Light of Majdan* treats Jevromajdan as the “*High spirit of PURPOSE. / And sword of Good. / And cry of Hope*”, “*HEARTS’ highest HEIGHT*” (Dyčka 2014, 7–8). The real Jevromajdan chronicle – from beating the students (“Christmas tree”) to the ascension of the heroes (“Heavenly Hundred”) – is created by D. Pavlyčko in one of the poetic cycles (22 poems) that gave its name to his whole book – *Poems of Majdan. Either go to Europe, or die!* (Pavlyčko 2014, 22). In it the poet records the initial goal of the popular protest, when there were no ‘tituški’ and snipers. One of the largest collections of poetry about the Revolution of Dignity is the Černivci edition *Heavenly Hundred. Anthology of Majdan poems* that presents works by more than 250 authors (in Ukrainian, Russian, Belarusian, Polish, French and other languages). It is truly patriotic, anxious lyrics, peppery and sometimes quite keen satire. It uses a broad spectrum religious, folklore, culturological and philosophical imagery. “Revolutionary Poetry”, particularly with bitterly satirical content (by Ju. Vynnyčuk, O. Ljuty, A. Poležaka) constitutes a separate series of *Majdan. (R)Evolution of Spirit* book by A. Muchars’kyj. ‘Low’ Majdan lyrics addressed toward its socio-political background and other problematic realities is offered to readers by A. Bondar – *Songs of Song* collection and so on.

One of the most exquisite examples of the Ukrainian Majdan poetry (and literature in general) is the oratorio “Heavenly Hundred” by B. Bojčuk (2015), patriarch of the emigration track in our literature, one of the founders of the New York Group. The work was written during February and March 2014 in Kyjiv – the time when the “Duck is Floating...” song continually sounded on the capital’s Majdan and Ukraine paid last respects to its martyrs of newest times – to the people killed by criminal bullets because they wanted to defend their European choice. The phrase “The Heavenly Hundredhanks” was coined by Tetjana Domašenko in her poem “Heavenly Hundred of Majdan Warriors” on February 21, 2014 (Domašenko 2014, 34–35). The oratorio by B. Bojčuk is a kind of psalm trenos, though the author adds drama, mob-scenes, elements of liturgy and monumentalism to it. The piece of music presents the Revolution of Dignity in the context of the continuing tragedy of Ukrainian national life, treating it as one episode of the everlasting people’s struggle for the Promised Land. Another oratorio “God with us” directed by S. Proskurnja, dedicated to the heroes of the Heavenly Hundred and the ATO soldiers was performed for the first time in 2014 on the occasion of the 23<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine on the Sofia Square in Kyjiv.

The *epic of the Revolution for Dignity* of the Second Majdan is interpreted as a kind of the “New Testament” of Ukraine (it makes recollect the poem “And you have ever struggled like Israel...” by Lesja Ukrajinka). So, Ch. Lukasčuk, telling its metaphorized plot to children in “Tale about Majdan”, concludes:

“And a new tree sprouted from the heroes’ blood midst the Majdan. It grows to half the world. New life matures in the shadow of its mighty crown. And at the top – in the blue blue sky, – God’s pigeons circle” (Lukasčuk 2014). In the cited fragment the writer unfolds a closed (elliptical) image of time that everything eventually returns to its original teleologicality. Majdan represents Ukraine in this narrative field, a tree (of life) is its future fate, newly consecrated with blood and happy for sure.

M. Rudnevych in his short novel “I am from the Heavenly Hundred” and A. Kokotjucha in his novel *Fire Winter*, in order to emphasize the pivotal role of the Revolution of Dignity in Ukrainian history, use the “inverse” time-space technique – countdown to the beginning of the “Majdan” period in the life of the central character of the text: a completely new story happened, for which the character had been born. A tragic format of the Jevromajdan developments is consistently highlighted in these works of prose, and the protagonist of the novel perishes. The writer V. Ivčenko introduces *the technique of odyvnennja* (making wonder) into his two-volume epic of Jevromajdan (Book 1) and ATO (Book 2). One of its characters (an accountant) is actually a “cyborg” (endowed with a special gift from cosmic people of the future: “I have a superpower finger. <...> I’ve destroyed a tank with it” (Ivčenko 2015, 429)). He brings an extraordinary liberation to himself and his friends imprisoned in the enemy’s basement. The introduction of such a science fiction element into a realistic and very tragic text, in our opinion, emphasizes its ‘artificiality’. However, it can be a result of the desire of both the author and reader to see the favorite characters as almighty and immortal.

The prologue (introduction) and the epilogue, which frame the plot, intensify the epic pathos in the above-cited works and some other novels about the Jevromajdan. They contribute to creating a synergetic effect, used to present the Jevromajdan people as superheroes. They seek to form order from the chaos of life, and if they do not manage to do it (for example, to achieve law and justice for everybody), they strictly follow their own individual moral codes. It proves the situation of choice, in which they are involved. However, *the socio-political engagement* mentioned above as one of the characteristics of the works about the Revolution of Dignity does not impoverish their artistic quality at all. High ethics, the generosity and intellectualism of the heroes of the Second Majdan turn them into the inheritors of ‘spiritual aristocraticism’ of the Executed Renaissance and the 1960s Generation movement.

The pathbreaking nature of literature about the Jevromajdan and the Revolution of Dignity has a special meaning not only for ideological renovation but also for developing artistic experiments in the Ukrainian literature and arts. The texts, included in the corpus, impress by their ‘vocalic harmony’. It is a result of openness and heteroglotic character of poetics, which combine elements of mass literature and intellectualism, meta-genre, intermediality and kitsch. Those features are not new in the Ukrainian culture, but it is for the first time when they were used as a coordinated effort aimed at changing the Ukrainian national con-

sciousness as a whole. The works about Jevromajdan and the Revolution of Dignity will bring generous fruit and will influence the readers' minds and hearts. They will help to make the Ukrainians successful people, which are able to implement into practice the image of the future, about they are dreaming.

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## AXIOLOGY OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE MEDIA TEXTS BY OLES' BUZYNA<sup>1</sup>

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*The author studies discursive strategies of creating negative and reductive images of the Ukrainian identity in the media texts, created by Oles' Buzyna. The paper highlights the complicated structure of O. Buzyna's identity and his controversial attitudes towards the Other.*

*Keywords: assessment proposition, media text, Ukrainian national identity, O. Buzyna.*

## АКСІОЛОГІЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ В ПУБЛІЦИСТИЦІ ОЛЕСЯ БУЗИНИ

*Ганна Черненко*

*В статті досліджуються дискурсивні стратегії, які використовує у своїх публіцистичних текстах О. Бузина, щоби представити українську ідентичність як негативну та редуковану. Здійснений аналіз висвітлив складну структуру ідентичності самого автора і його ставлення до різних національних тожсамостей.*

*Ключові слова: оцінні пропозиції, публіцистичний текст, українська національна ідентичність, О. Бузина.*

The objective of the paper is to analyze discursive strategies, used by Oles' Buzyna (1969-2015), the notorious journalist and writer, to create the negative images of the Ukrainian national identity. Those strategies have specific features in comparison to the methods of constructing representations by others, studied by Teun A. van Dijk (van Dijk 2003). In particular, their aim is not only axiological negation, i.e. the negation of a nation's values, or negative evaluation of the Ukrainian historical heroes, prominent figures etc. They also lead towards existential negation and represent an attempt to deny the uniqueness the Ukrainian nation as such. Thus, in some cases, the author refuses to recognize that Ukrainian nation does exist.

To understand the roots of O. Buzyna's ideology, it makes sense to take into account the identity of the author. As it will be demonstrated in the final part of the article, one can get some interesting data when considering an author's identical collisions and his/her discursive behavior in general.

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<sup>1</sup> Oles' Buzyna: Oles' Buzyna.

Oles' Buzyna's essays are fruitful material for research concerning national identity for two reasons. First, most of his texts are concentrated on the concepts which are essential for the Ukrainian identity. They are the Ukrainian language in relation to Russian, well known historical and political persons, famous writers and artists of Ukraine. Publications by Oles' Buzyna on these subjects have generated a wide resonance and have been labeled as Ukrainophobic. Thus, in 2000, his book *Taras Ševčenko – vurdalak (Taras Ševčenko – vampire)* was published. In it he consistently dishonours this iconic Ukrainian writer. Then, after the National Association of Ukrainian Writers accused him of being anti-Ukrainian, it was recognized that Oles' Buzyna really ignited hatred towards the Ukrainian nation in his works and that he defamed the national poet. However, he managed to avoid criminal punishment. He was amnestied as the only working parent in the family with a minor child. It was also declared that his actions did not represent a great social danger (Buzyna: Buzina. Biohrafija žurnalista).

In the context of the social and political events in Ukraine in 2014–2017, we can conclude Buzyna's Ukrainophobic propaganda was really dangerous. Feeting-twenty years before the situation was different. In that time a writer and journalist in Ukraine had an opportunity to openly make the statement in an interview for the newspaper "Day" (1999) that his ideal was the reconstruction of the Russian Empire (Desjateryk 1999). On October 16, 2016 Oles' Buzyna was shot dead in front of his own house. There were different speculations about what had happened. Among them was the suggestion the murder was a terrorist attack of the Ukrainian nationalists against him. However, it is doubtful because of the lack of evidence. In particular, it was impossible to prove that it was a act of revenge and the assassination was a threatening signal for the victim's supporters. Another suspicion fell on pro-Russian political forces in Ukraine, as Buzyna cooperated with them and could have come into a conflict with them.

We cannot ignore Oles' Buzyna's works and send them to propagandistic spam with disgust. It could be fruitful material for the Empire discourse studies if he weren't a Ukrainian. That is why the situation is more complicated, and the texts of this author gain the researchers' attention. They can be included in the now fashionable discussion about the Ukrainian identity which is not yet formed (Hnatjuk 2005; Korostelina 2005), about the ways of identity construction in general and with help of language means particularly (De Cillia, Reisigl, Wodak 1999; Ribeiro 2009). But to do it, we have to arrange the author's rhetorical effects on shelves and to try to catch the reference 'identification' point in the textual structure, i.e. the point of view that can be identified with a certain national identity, from which Oles' Buzyna departs when he is engaged in dialogue concerning the identities of the Ukrainian Other.

It is impossible for the author not to take in account the Other. Texts with the attempt to construct or deconstruct a national identity almost always contain positive or negative attitudes towards the Other. I admit that it is possible to create a portrait of a national character, history, culture in a purely objective mode, which is a result of systematizing a number of relevant denotates. However,

such a task probably involves the ability of situational annihilation of an author's national self-consciousness. It is hardly possible from the psychological perspective. Thus, the essays by Oles' Buzyna may be regarded as an axiological structure, a special hyper proposition<sup>2</sup> where the predicate contains approval/disapproval of the Other and the object is national identity.

The author distinguishes between Ukrainian and Western Ukrainian, Galician identity (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukraĭina ne Halyčyna). He calls Galicians "*another ethnic mutant – a little charming folk that adore, like legendary hobbits, to hide into hiding places caches. They fancifully connected in their mentality the features of both Russians and Poles*" ("очередным этническим мутантом – маленьким очаровательным народцем, обожжающим при первых же признаках опасности прятаться, подобно легендарным хоббитам, в схронах, и причудливо соединившим в своей психике черты как русских, так и поляков" (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukraĭina ne Halyčyna). By declaring the propositions "Ukraĭina ne Halyčchyna" and "Galicians are not Ukrainians", the author denies Ukrainians features which are significant for their identity. These features, including the the West Ukrainian substratum of the Ukrainian vocabulary, are important fragments of cultural and historical memory; for example, Buzynthe participation of Sič Riflemen as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire troops in the battle with the Russian Imperial army on the Makivka Hill<sup>3</sup> during the First World War, the guerilla warfare of the Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army (UPA) etc. The features rejected by the author as not Ukrainian (because they are Galician) are those which distinguish Ukrainians of other nationalities. Their annihilation leads to reduction, simplification of structure of the Ukrainian identity.

To undermine Ukrainian identity and to delete its important positive cultural and historical characteristics, Buzyna also uses such communicative strategies of accusing Ukrainian historians of manipulating information about the past: "*Nobody cares about its <brilliant family tree> credibility*", "*Describing our ancestors as good-natured guys <...> our historians violate the truth*" ("*О ее <блестящей родословной > достоверности никто не заботится*", „*Рисуя наших пращуров безобидными добрячками <...> отечественные историки крепко грешат против истины*") (Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija); „...*it is a brutal falsification that has nothing to do with reality*" ("*...это грубая подтасовка, не имеющая ничего общего с реальностью*" (here Buzina means the special part of Galicia in the development of the Ukrainian independence idea (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukraĭina ne Halyčyna).

For the same purpose – to reduce and cast doubt on the reality of the identity – Buzyna tries to dissociate the ethnonym 'Ukrainians' from the phenomena

<sup>2</sup> If there exists a hypertext, a hyper proposition also can exist. It is a judgment verbalized by an author in various ways, and even by several authors in many texts.

<sup>3</sup> The Austro-Hungarian Empire troops included a special Ukrainian military unit named Sič Riflemen. Sič Riflemen distinguished itself in the battle with the Russian army for the Makivka Hill (Carpathian) in 1915.

denoted with it (“...Ukrainians from villages, who did not yet know that they were ‘Ukrainians’ and called themselves simply ‘rusyns’ (“...українці из села, еще не знавшие, что они ‘українці’ и называвшие себя просто русинами”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukrajina ne Halyčyna) and narrowing the meaning of the toponym Ukraine (“Neither the Kyjivan, nor the Černihiv principality, nor even Volyn belonged to it <Ukraine> in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was just a narrow string of land at the border with the Wild Field” (“Ни Киевское, ни Черниговское княжества, ни даже Волынь к ней <Украине> в XVI столетии не относились. Это была просто узенькая полоска земли на рубеже с Диким Полем”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukrajina ne Halyčyna).

When it is impossible to reject the existence of a positive characteristic or phenomenon, Buzyna resorts to the following strategies:

- enantiosemy transformation of value from positive into negative one, shifting the focus of attention to the negative characteristics of phenomena and persons that are commonly recognized to play a positive role in creating Ukrainian identity: “So, was he [Roman Halyc’kyj] ‘the founder’ of the Halyc’ko-Volyn’ state”? No, and once more no! He was a troublemaker, brave soldier and bloody usurper, who captured Halyč only with foreign support.” (“Так был ли он «создателем Галицко-Волынской державы»? Нет и еще раз нет! Он был баламутом, бравым воякой и кровавым узурпатором, захватившим Галич только благодаря иностранной поддержке”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija); “...Ivan Franko. It is he who wrote “The Stonemason” and “Boryslav is Laughing” with which teachers used to torture us in our childhood”(“Иван Франко. Это он написал «Каменяр» и «Борислав сміється», которми нас травили в дитствє”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukrajina ne Halyčyna); “At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, unable to accommodate and feed a new Cossack elite, voracious and impudent, Zaporizhžia exploded into a series of insurrections (“В конце XVI века, не в силах вместить и прокормить новую казачью элиту, прожорливую и наглую, Запорожье взорвалось серией восстаний”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija);

- reduction of of positive appraisal, downplaying the significance of a phenomenon: “...the library, where there were hardly more than several dozens of volumes” (about Jaroslav Mudryj’s library; Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija), “...it was big, sprawling, but nonetheless a village, even a mega-village, if you like, but never a city” (“...был он просто большим, разросшимся, но все-таки селом. Даже мегаселом, если хотите, но никак не городом”) (about the Majdanec’ke settlement, named a proto-urban one; Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija).

In the latter case, Buzyna uses an axiological anachronism – a shift of the chronological reference point while appraising an object: several dozens of volumes are not an enormous number for modernity, but they were a real library for Jaroslav Mudryj’s epoch; two thousand houses in the Maydanec’ke settlement could form a little town even today, not to mention the times when it was built.

He uses anachronisms when he speaks about historical persons with the help of axiologically makered lexemes which are typical of the contemporary vocabulary: *“If these defenders of the Russian lands had been able to write, in the column column ‘occupation’ they would have written ,with a clear conscience ‘racket, trade of stolen goods’”* (“Умей эти защитники Земли Русской писать, то в графе ‘род занятий’ они могли бы с чистой совестью вывести: ‘рэкет, торговля награбленным’”) (about the soldiers of prince Svjatoslav); *“heavenly patron of hired killers”* (about Jaroslav Mudryj; Buzyna. Tajnaja istorija). This technique contributes to desacralizing the princes of the Ancient Rus’, who are canonic for the Ukrainian history.

Thus, Buzyna tries to present as negative not only persons and events related to the history of defending and establishing Ukrainian independence. He writes about the Kyjivan Rus’ period. As a result, not only the Ukrainian identity, but also the East Slavs are depicted in a negative way: *“... the ancient Slavs did not even invent their own pot, and only imitated slavishly its provincial Romanian variant”* (“древние славяне даже горшка своего не изобрели, а только по-обезьяньи ‘слямзили’ его римский провинциальный вариант”) (about the pots from Černihiv settlements); *“Everything would have been fine, if the Slavic princes had not been so fond of fighting against each other”* (“Все бы хорошо, не обожай славянские князьки драться еще и между собой”) (Buzyna: Buzyna. Tajnaja istorija).

Oles’ Buzyna speaks about the East Slavic identity positively or neutrally only when it is connected with the concept ‘unity’, i.e. when he writes about the East Slavic harmonic unity: *“Before the Mongol invasion all East Slavs were friends, all of them professed Orthodoxy with strong remnants of paganism. All of them sang the same epic songs of the Kyjiv cycle about Ilja Muromec and Dobrynja Nikitič”* (“До монгольского нашествия все восточные славяне были друг для друга ‘своими’ <...> Все исповедовали православие с сильными пережитками язычества. Все пели одни и те же былины киевского цикла об Илье Муромце и Добрыне Никитиче”) (Buzyna: Buzyna. Tajnaja istorija). In the same way, when speaking about Ukrainians of the Russian (Soviet) Empire epoch, Buzyna positively characterizes not those Ukrainians who succeeded, but the benefits of international unity, which, in the author’s, opinion, prevailed in the Russian Empire and provided opportunities for self-realization to all ethnic groups: *“Success in Petersburg distracted us from the problem of local government for a long time. Field marshal Paskevič from Poltava takes Warsaw at the head of the Russian army and is on friendly terms with Nicholas I”* (“Успехи в Петербурге долгое время отвлекали нас от проблем местного самоуправления. Полтавчанин фельдмаршал Паскевич берет во главе русской армии Варшаву и дружит с Николаем I”) (Buzyna: Buzyna. Tajnaja istorija); *“The Life under the Romanovs’ scepter was so comfortable <...>; that boredom and idling made it possible to generate any*

*idea – even dreams about flying into of space , which maloross-revolutionary<sup>4</sup> Kibalčič tried to justify*” (“Жизнь под скипетром Романовых была так комфортна <...> что от скуки и безделья можно было породить любую идею – даже полетов в космос, которую обосновал <...> малоросс-революционер Кибальчич” (Buzyna. Ukrajina ne Halučyna). At the same time, Buzyna uses the default figure: he deletes the concept “Russification” from the statement. He says that “a Ukrainian in the Russian Empire is successful”. As a result a modifier of place and time (the Russian Empire) is stressed and turns into a modifier of reason: “Life under Romanovs’ scepter was so comfortable”, “Success in Petersburg”.

When Buzyna describes Ukrainians who were not prominent servants of the metropolis, or modern Ukraine and Ukrainians, he always evaluates them negatively: “Ukraine is a provincial country with pauper oligarchs” (“Украина – провинциальная страна с нищими олигархами” (Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija); “The country itself was neither beautiful, nor rich, just another simple old maid among many other old maids from large families of Malorossija of that time” (“Сама же она <...> не отличалась ни красотой, ни богатством – обычная, засидевшаяся в девках барышня, каких полно было в многодетных семьях тогдашней Малороссии” (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukrajina ne Halučyna).

He does not take into account probable subjectivity or prejudice of the authors whose works he cites and takes truth in the highest instance: “They say, these people <...> attack all neighboring tribes, – as Leo the Deacon wrote in his “History”. And continued: “Divine Ezekiel also speaks about it in such a way: “Here I direct Gog and Magog at you, the prince Ros<sup>5</sup>”. Be proud, compatriots! Our ancestors were described as a God’s penalty!” (“О том, что этот народ <...> совершает нападения на все соседние племена, утверждают многие, – писал в своей «Истории» Лев Диакон. И продолжал: «Говорит об этом и божественный Иезекииль такими словами: «Вот я навожу на тебя Гога и Магога, князя Рос». Гордитесь, соотечественники! Наших предков описывали как Божью кару!” (Buzyna. The Secret History); “Pastor Daniel Krman from Slovakia, who came to Ukraine with the army of Charles XII in 1709, characterizes picturesquely the local clergy: “Some priests can not read even in their own language. I observed that all Rusyn priests are rude, uncouth, and stupid as donkeys” (“Пастор из Словакии Даниэль Крман, оказавшийся на Украине с армией Карла XII в 1709 году, дал такую наглядную характеристику местным служителям культа: «Некоторые священники не умеют читать даже по-своему. У всех русинских попов я наблюдал грубую неотесанность и ослиную глупость»” (Buzyna: Buzina. Mrak prosvěšćenija).

<sup>4</sup> Maloross – humiliating label for Ukrainians in the Russian Empire – from Malorossija (Ukraine).

<sup>5</sup> Buzyna evidently assumes that the name Prince Ros is used here for denoting a governor of the ancient tribes of Rus’.

Thus, Ukrainian identity in Buzyna's texts is demonized. Equally, the east Slavic ethnos is also defamed. The identity of other non-Slavic ethnoses is used only as a background for evaluating Ukraine negatively in the context of conflicts with Russia. Buzyna cites only "those experts" whose opinion about Ukraine coincide with his own outraged attitudes towards Ukraine.

However, in the essays of Buzyna one can find two types of contexts, in which Ukraine has positive image. First, it happens when he speaks about central and eastern Ukraine juxtaposed to Halyčyna ("...this word <na razi> is borrowed from the Polish language. It symbolizes deviation of the Ukrainian language in Halyčyna under the Polish oppression. The Great Ukraine, the inheritor of the Cossack spirit, did not know it. And it does not want to know it" ("...слово это <на разі> польское — символизирующее искажение украинского языка на Галичине под польским гнетом. Великая Украина, проникнутая казацким духом, его не знала. И знать не хочет" (Buzyna: Buzina. Virus of "na razi").

Second, the other case of looking upon in a 'positive way' is Buzyna's prophesies of Ukraine's 'happy future': "Yes, the number of people is decreasing. At the same time, people's quality is increasing. And when it reaches an optimum state, the population will begin to breed again. But then those people will be really 'new' Ukrainians" ("Да, количество народа падает. Зато растет качество. И когда оно достигнет оптимального состояния, популяция снова начнет размножаться. Но уже действительно «новыми» украинцами") (Buzyna: Buzina. Problema nomer odyn); "We are descendants of the Kyjivan Rus' and the Great Victory<sup>6</sup> <...> I am sure, that some great future awaits Ukraine" „...мы – потомки Киевской Русы и Великой Победы <... > уверен, что Украину ждет блестящее будущее" (Buzyna: Buzina. Dvadcat' let nezavisimosti).

The author praises the Russian imperial identity as political but not as ethnic one (rossijskaja, not russkaja). If the Russian identity is self-sufficient and ready to separate from Ukraine it deserves condemnation: "These envious microbes do not have an ideology <...> They can only repeat the old-fashioned slogans about "little cozy European Russia" ("У этих завистливых микробов нет идеологии <...> Все, что они могут – это повторять заезженные лозунги о «маленькой уютной европейской России" (Buzyna: Buzina. Proval antiputinskogo marša).

Russian-speaking Ukrainians, whose identity Buzyna defines as 'a Russian intelligent', are always described as positive persons. He identifies himself with this type. On his behalf he speaks: "...a letter has been sent from the Kyjiv intelligentsia to the head of the Kyjiv city administration Alexandr Popov<sup>7</sup> <...> I have also signed it" ("...главе киевской Горадминистрации Александру

<sup>6</sup> The Victory in the II World War and the role of the Soviet Army in it is meant.

<sup>7</sup> Alexandr Popov – Head of Kyjiv City State Administration in 2010–2013, member of the Party of Regions (Viktor Janukovyč, President in 2010–2014, was the head of it). He was dismissed in January 25, 2014.

Попову было направлено письмо от киевской интеллигенции <...> Подписался под ним и я”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Neobchodimo otbrosit’ vsjakuju politiku).

It is important to stress that Buzyna distanced himself from Ukrainian identity and identified himself with the Russian (imperial) intelligentsia. He proclaims it openly: “...I accept his <the Galician’s> love to his ancestors and I am ready to respect it. But only if he understands and accepts my love to my grandparents in Russian uniform and if he understands and accepts my love to myself wearing this uniform in my youth and not being ready to deny myself” (“...я принимаю его <галичанина> любовь к его предкам и готов уважать ее. Но только в том случае, если он поймет и примет мою любовь к моим дедам в русской форме. И ко мне самому, в молодости эту форму носившему и отречься от себя не собирающемуся”) (Buzyna. Ukraĭina ne Halyčyna). These words prove Oksana Zabužko’s statements about those colonized Ukrainians who did not want to feel themselves independent and whose only escape was serving metropolis (Zabužko 2001).

Without going into details about the phenomenon of self-denial and hostility towards those country-fellows who have avoided it, it is interesting to trace whether Buzyna is consistent in cultivating his non-Ukrainian identity. It is sufficient to consider which ethnonyms the author uses in phrases which contain pronouns *we*, *I*, *our* and in phrases which contain the ethnonym *Ukrainian* and its derivatives. As a result, Buzyna uses the following models:

‘I = Russian and it is good’ – non-acceptance of Ukrainian identity + positive self-esteem:

“...if he understands and accepts my love to my grandparents in Russian uniform and if he understands and accepts my love to myself wearing this uniform in my youth and not being going to deny myself” (“...если он поймет и примет мою любовь к моим дедам в русской форме. И ко мне самому, в молодости эту форму носившему и отречься от себя не собирающемуся”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukraĭina ne Halyčyna).

‘I am not Ukrainian’ <implicitly: and it is good ← Ukrainians are bad> – non-acceptance of Ukrainian identity + positive self-esteem:

“Ukrainians complained that great nations prevented them from building their own house for such a long time that the Almighty had given them <not us – H.Č.> such an opportunity. But the result still is not a new Versailles but a wattle and daub hut” (“Українці так долго жаловались на то, что великие народы мешают им <не нам – Г.Ч.> строить собственную хату, что Всевышний сжалился и предоставил им такую возможность. Но в результате все равно получился не новый Версаль, а мазанка”) (Buzyna: Buzina. Oborotni v vyšyvankach).

‘I am Ukrainian and it is bad’ – acceptance of Ukrainian identity – negative self-esteem:



*"I still think how unpretentious our ancestors were! They called beautiful even a typical Polovcian maiden<sup>8</sup> who defecated just near her cart"* ("Мне же думается – как все-таки неприхотливы были наши предки! Даже типичная половецкая девка, гадящая прямо не отходя от воза, казалась им «красной»"); (Buzyna: Buzina. Tajnaja istorija); "...most of our people appreciate not education but a document about it" ("...наши люди в массе своей ценят не образование, а бумажку") (Buzyna: Buzina. Mrak prosvešćenija).

*'I am Ukrainian (without connotation)'* – acceptance of Ukrainian identity + neutral self-esteem:

– acceptance of Ukrainian identity + neutral self-esteem:

*"I do not exclude even the fact that one of my ancestors could be a Galician far back in the past. Reading the documents from L'viv State Historical Archive published in the book "Social fighting in L'viv city in XVI-XVIII centuries" (Edition of L'viv University, 1961), to my surprise, I came across the case of a certain Simon Budzyna – the printer, which had a conflict with a Lviv bishop in 1604. Next time the name of Buzyna appeared in the Cossacks' Zborovsk register"* ("Я не исключаю даже того, что кто-то из моих предков в далеком прошлом мог быть галичанином. Перечитывая документы из Львовского государственного исторического архива, опубликованные в книге «Соціальна боротьба в місті Львові в XVI-XVIII ст.» (Видавництво Львівського університету, 1961), я, к своему изумлению, наткнулся на 117-й странице на дело некоего Симона Будзины – типографа, имевшего в далеком 1604 году конфликт с львовским епископом. В следующий раз фамилия Бузина всплыла в истории в казачьем Зборовском реестре" (Buzyna: Buzina. Ukraïna ne Halyčyna).

*'I am not a West Ukrainian and it is good'* – acceptance of reduced Ukrainian identity + positive self-esteem:

*"The state (it means us all together, because I am sure we do not separate ourselves from the state as long as we have not gone away and stayed here) has to find itself again <...> But we are descendants of the Kyjivan Rus' and The Great Victory. We are not made in hiding places and we are not going to hide ourselves in woods" <implicit proposition – "we are not Galicians">. I am sure that an excellent future awaits Ukraine"* ("Стране (а значит, и всем нам, ибо мы, уверен, от нее себя не отделяем, раз не уехали, а остались) снова нужно искать себя <...> Но мы — потомки Киевской Руси и Великой Победы. Нас не в «схроне» делали и мы не собираемся по лесам прятаться. Я уверен, что Украину ждет блестящее будущее <...>") (Buzyna: Buzina. Dvadcatyj god nezavisimosti).

The diversity of the models indicates the instability of author's self-identification. Though sometimes he tends to accept his Ukrainian identity and looks upon it in a positive way, he never agrees to include the West Ukrainian substratum and excludes the components which have not been authorized by the Russian Empire.

<sup>8</sup> Polovcy – steppe tribes that lived in the neighborhood of the Kyjivan Rus' (11.-13. c.).

Unbalanced national identity and lack of coordination among its various components provokes... nausea (according to the author, in a literal sense of the word). He describes a case when an officer from the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) called him on the phone and asked why Buzyna did not love Ukraine. O. Buzyna confesses that *"I simply and politely asked him go back to his place. I claimed that I was not going to dispute my love to Ukraine with a former officer of the KGB ('Komitet gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti' – Committee for State Security in the USSR). It was the first time in my life when I was going to vomit. I am ready to respect a KGB officer if he really was a KGB officer. I am also ready to respect an officer of the Security Service of Ukraine if he does not just pretend to be an officer. But I cannot talk to a semi-KGB/semi-SBU mutant"* (*"...просто и вежливо отправил звонившего туда, откуда он появился, заметив, что не собираюсь разговаривать с бывшим кагэбэшником о любви к Украине. Впервые в жизни меня действительно тошнило. Я готов уважать офицера КГБ, если он был настоящим офицером. Я готов также уважать офицера СБУ, а не притворяющегося таковым. Но не могу даже беседовать с мутантом – полукагебешником-полуэсбэушником"*) (Buzyna: Buzina. *Oborotni v vyšyvankach*). The discursive axiological analysis of Buzyna's the above-cited text proves, that Buzyna's identity is as bifurcated as the identity of the officer who had called him. The concept "nausea" emerges in this context not by chance. There are a number of fragments in Ukrainian fictional texts with the motif of vomiting as a symbol of cleaning from a colonized victim's fears and insults (Černenko 2008). Buzyna's nausea can be interpreted as a symbol of self-non-congruent feeling (are Ukrainians *us* or *them*?) caused by the call from the Committee for State Security. However, the purification of the mind did not take place. The reflection was stopped and the feeling of nausea was re-directed towards the officer who was calling.

The analysis of the axiological structure of O. Buzyna's mass media texts reveals some important nuances. He does not only present the Ukrainian identity as something negative by using manipulative strategies, but it is also reduced from the spatial and temporal perspectives. Not only Ukrainians but also Eastern Slavs and even Russians become ugly when they are not identified with the Russian Empire. Ukrainian identity is presented positively only in 'futuorological' coordinates and in the context of opposition between Central-Eastern Ukraine and Halyčyna. The images of *other* identities are used for proving that the Ukrainian and Russian identities are inseparable.

Linguistic study of mass media texts written by Oles' Buzyna demonstrates the complicated unbalanced nature of national identity typical of many Ukrainians. In order to better understand how deep the Ukrainian identification crisis is, scholars need to analyze texts created by other Ukrainians, who love their country or are just learning to how do it and do not hate and despise it as Oles' Buzyna did.

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**THE PROBLEM OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION  
IN THE STORY “WITHOUT ROOTS. BIOGRAPHY  
OF A CONTEMPORARY” BY NATALENA KOROLEVA**

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*The paper studies the story “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” by Natalena Koroleva through the point of view of an autobiography. The autor of the paper pays much attention the novelists’ self-reflection and self-analysis in the context of the European and Ukrainian social, political and cultural tendencies of the epoch.*

*Key words: autobiography, identity, story, self-analysis, self-reflection*

**ПРОБЛЕМА ОСОБИСТІСНОГО САМОВИЗНАЧЕННЯ  
У ПОВІСТІ “БЕЗ КОРИННЯ. ЖИТТЄПИС СУЧАСНИЦІ”  
НАТАЛЕНИ КОРОЛЕВОЇ**

*Ольга Фірман*

*У статті досліджується повість Наталени Королевої “Без коріння. Життєпис сучасниці” крізь призму автобіографізму, зокрема знача увага приділяється саморефлексії та самозаглибленню письменниці в контексті загальноєвропейських та українських суспільно-політичних і культурних тенденцій епохи.*

*Ключові слова: автобіографія, ідентичність, повість, самозаглиблення, саморефлексія.*

Natalena Adrianivna Dunin-Borkovs’ka’s works are an original and distinctive page in the Ukrainian literature. She started her writing career in the French language. That was a hard period when the philosophical principles of the European culture and literature were being transformed with the aim of moral and spiritual growth and harmonization of human relationships, especially for re-evaluating historical experience, modification of aesthetic principles, reflection on the axiomatic paradigms of idealistic, and irrational philosophical thoughts. In the Ukrainian literature the modernism discourse produced deepening aesthetics, psychology, intellectualism and historical philosophy which led to the domination of neo-Romanticism, symbolism, psychological realism in a stylistic aspect. The idealistic, cultural, social and political background determined Natalena Koroleva’s development as a writer of high quality. In 1919 she “started writing in the Ukrainian language taking the advice of Vasyl’ Koroliv-Staryj” (Mišanič 1991, 637). The writer’s works were influenced by historical events in

Western Ukraine, Bukovina, Transcarpathia, Czechoslovakia and were published in the journals “Dzvony” (“Bells”), “Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk” (“The Literary and Scientific Bulletin”), “The Young Ukraine”, “Meta” (“Goal”), “Nova hata” (“The New House”), “Novyi čas” (“The New Time”). Natalena Koroleva signed them in a different way: Natalia Kovalivs’ka-Koroleva, Natalia Koroleva, Ljačerda. Consequently, her prose works “Ancestor”, “Shadow Dream”, “They are in days”, “Another World”, “1313”, “Autobiography”, “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” brought her popularity in the mid-1930s.

The story “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” (1936) was Natalena Koroleva’s first serious attempt to render literarily and historically true one remarkable and defining episode of her own life – one year of studies in Kyjiv at the school for noble ladies. The author skillfully builds the story. It tells about her self-reflections which we consider to be the important means of self-identification and self-awareness. Self-reflection is an artistic means based on the complex process of self-awareness and self-analysis of the narrator, the reflection on one’s own thoughts and feelings. In the text it is realized with the help of psychologisation, in particular with the psychological parallelism of the characters’ language, flexible time and space, self-communication etc. Self-reflection in the novel “Without Roots. Bio-graphy of a Contemporary” by Natalena Koroleva is shown through the revelation of the narrator’s world concentrating on internal collisions and emotions.

It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Kyjiv, being a seventeen-year-old girl, she took music lessons from Oleksandr Myšuha and Mykola Lysenko. The latter dedicated to her a miniature musical piece “A Star with The Moon”. At that time Natalena Koroleva knew Spanish, French, Latin, Italian, and Arab. While living in Kyjiv with her father, she began learning four Slavic languages: Polish (to talk to her father), Czech (to talk to her step-mother who hated everything related to Spain), Russian (as the state language of the empire) and Ukrainian (to talk to servants and people in the Kyjiv streets). In the narrative of “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” she deliberately embeds her father’s speech concerning the Muscovite (Russian) language: “You know that our nation is not the last one. It was and is strange for this land. Even more, it is exotic, and a lot of ‘ours’ is unclear for ‘them’. A year at the school may serve you for good because you will see how different ‘we’ are from ‘them’ (Muscovites – Russians – O.F.) ... But what is more important you will learn what you shouldn’t do. It doesn’t matter that you don’t know the language well, at first what you know will be enough. Don’t forget that speaking ‘their’ language fluently won’t suit you. Be careful when speaking ‘their’ language, make sure everyone listening to you will be able to recognize that the language is strange for you” (Koroleva 2007, 62). These statements affected Natalena Koroleva’s self-development as a Ukrainian writer. Without any doubt, her creative mentality was ambivalent, which caused painful divarication caused by the feeling that Ukraine seemed unpleasant and thus strange for her: “We

were sledging by the same yellowish grayish mass which was in the yard and occasionally metal was screeching and sparks were flying. Both sides of the street were lined by indefinite endless colourless fences or waste ground was spreading which Noel looked at with surprise and worry ... She was comforted by her father's calm voice who himself looked more like Verdi than her true father" (Koroleva 2007, 48). The writer creates a depressing landscape using the psychological parallelism where negatively coloured vocabulary determines readers' reception.

In the *Reference Book of Literary Studies* edited by Roman Hromjak self-reflection is explained as the emotional analysis of the author of his/her experience, thoughts about changes of his/her mental state shown in the fictional work. This kind of psychological self-analysis is mostly used in lyrical poems and other similar genres (poems in prose, lyrical drama) which reveal the spiritual world of a person" (Hromjak 2007, 578).

In the chronotope of her world the dream as a means of self-expression and self-comprehension plays a significant role. These are night dreams which prove that the heroine is extremely sincere and vulnerable: "The girl was dreaming that various instruments were being tuned for a large orchestra. Then very disharmonious music began, despite the fact that the orchestra was directed by her favorite Giuseppe Verdi with great "brio". She didn't wake up even when the colourful figure of Marusja turned up near her bed ... The touch of cold dukač woke Noel up. Smiling at a "sleepy ghost" she hugged Marusja's neck and then woke up and realized it was reality. She wanted to inquire and talk, remembering her childhood which began to emerge more clearly than at the monastery, but they both were silent: they knew no language for each other" (Koroleva 2007, 60).

The means of self-analysis which have already been mentioned are important in interpreting the multiple identities of the author's biographical texts. Literary critics have provided different classifications of the biographic prose. In diachronic aspect the autobiography is divided into the ancient, medieval, Old Rus', Renaissance, Romantic, Modern and Postmodern.

Autobiography is defined as description of the author's life. The researchers emphasize a self-reflective nature of autobiographical writing. Wilhelm Dilthey states that "autobiography is a meditation of a person about his/her life presented in a literary form of expression" (Dilthey 1927, 142). Jean Starobinski argues that autobiography is self-interpretation, which is built on the identity of the narrator and the hero of the narrative (Starobinski 1970, 83). The autobiography is usually characterized by the attribute 'subjective'. Taking into account the theoretical foundations cited above we can state that the novel "Without Roots" is an artistic declaration of the author's life, as it is based on the real events from Natalena Koroleva's life which is artistically described with the help of a plot, events, and extended descriptions. This novel was influenced by the contemporary emigration memoirs (which is quite justified). As a result, the autobiographical text is full of descriptive elements of travel, impressions of meetings with famous people, deep psychologisation of characters, the use of self-reflection as

a means of understanding national identity. These features were not typical of classical autobiography. As a rule, autobiographical works with similar features were usually created in the periods of important events in society marked by conflicts.

“Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” is intimated due to the attention of the author to her life space. The text appeals to the category of God, the reflective descriptions of the environment which at the beginning of the novel causes fear, which Noel feels to the places where she will have to live for a long period of time. The word ‘biography’ suggests that the text is going to tell about the narrator’s life but really it tells about a brief period, which is described in details. There are not many events in the novel “Without Roots” but it is characterized by the abundance of life stories insignificant at first sight and descriptions which, due to self-reflection, become the source of understanding the personality of the author.

Natalena Koroleva’s autobiographical novel is viewed as a multi vector reconstruction of her life in the recreation house. However, the main attention we focus on the author’s self-reflection. Analyzing the relationship between the author and the character (Noel) we can see the constant opposition Self/Other. Such a dichotomy is explained by the perception of the self in the context of other people’s words. That is why the emotional tone of self-description and reflections is often set by other people. Thus, her father’s opinion, who she perceives as an apologist of the chivalry, first of all the moral one, is always important to her. The theory about the unconscious influence of the environment on the self-reflection process of the author was substantiated by Michail Bachtin, who stated that any text contains the information which the author absorbs, rethinks and then presents it in a transformed form. On this stage the autobiography and biography are synthesized to the utmost.

Autobiographies are often divided into extroverted and introverted types (Ju. Kovaliv, M. Čermins’ka, E. Ametova). Objective or extroverted autobiographies are externally oriented. Besides, the introverted are focused on the spiritual, psychological and physical life of the author. We would like to cite a statement by Marija Čermins’ka who argues that the European tradition of autobiographical writing has two ways of storytelling: the evidence (where the author is the witness of the events), and the confession (where the author “reaches the depths of the soul” (Čermins’ka 2008, 403).

In her autobiographical prose Natalena Koroleva focuses on her own self. Thus, the self-reflection as a means of understanding herself plays the main role in the novel. Despite this, Ukraine and Spain were always described with much pathos. For example, the writer’s father, Dunin-Borkovs’kyj, speaks about his family that is of Spanish origin but deeply rooted in the Ukrainian nobility. This explains his Ukrainian-centered viewpoint: “I am happy to observe in you some traces of our nation. I believe you are ‘ours’ and you will remain ‘ours’. So, remember the descendant of knights should be brave and independent. Do what you think is just, honest, moral” (Koroleva 2007, 63). Thus, the narrator depicts



a highly spiritual image of Noel's father as a spiritual aristocrat. By means of self-reflection, the writer admires his noble, strong character and his strong patriotic position. This detail helps to understand why the story "Without Roots" was published thirty two years after Natalena Koroleva's studies in Kyjiv. Her social and political opinions and values had been developing during this period and had formed a solid Ukrainian nation-directed system. In our opinion, key things in the writer's self-identification were Dunin-Borkovs'kyj's thoughts, which can be interpreted as the author's self-reflection: "A family that counts the centuries of its existence can voluntarily or under pressure change their domicile, country or nation. It is a law of eternal movement, constant changes without which there will not be life itself. But two things remain unchangeable: first, duty to the nation in which you live. Especially when this nation is aggrieved and hurt, you are not allowed to treat it unfairly or arrogantly or disloyally. Because a knight's duty and oath is to defend the hurt and to fight for the weak. The second thing is this. Changing battle into battle is not a treasure. But the treasure and eternal disgrace is to repudiate your family and your coat of arms. To break honesty, motto and promises" (Koroleva 2007, 64). This extensive monologue points out that the novel "Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary" genetically, semantically and aesthetically substantiates the presence of the protagonist in the Ukrainian environment and in the spiritual being of the nation.

It is important to mention that in the national aspect the works of Natalena Koroleva have not been the object of study yet. According to Jurij Kovaliv, 'national' in literature "is the organic feature of writing which distinguishes it from another, it is caused by ethnic and genetic memory, customs, traditions, language and type of world perception" (Kovaliv 2007, 108). The Ukrainian mentality is characterized by harmony, cordocentrism, lyricism, romanticism. These features are reflected in texts of different genres. For example, the poets of the Prague School opposed the so called "philosophy of rank" to the "philosophy of the heart". Natalena Koroleva synthesized these two concepts by combining euro-centricity and the Ukrainian cordocentrism, which enable her to renovate literature on the semantic level.

It is worth mentioning that the existence of literature beyond the national is impossible. Although it is a universal category, it reflects account cultural and historical realities which influence its origin and development. A Spanish philosopher, Miguel de Unamuno, stated that universality is characteristic of each person as he/she is first of all the offspring of a nation, religion and culture. Therefore, every writer, no matter what his/her ethnicity is, "may have some meaning, which he/she can and is able to tell the whole of educated humanity. It concerns the great matters which stir his/her soul, and he/she says this word in a form which would match his/her national temper" (Franko 1981, 33).

In the novel "Without Roots" by Natalena Korolevska the national character of a Ukrainian is portrayed through the perspective of her "philosophy of the heart" and of the European, Spanish viewpoint, which is expressed in the predisposition for rationality and solid moral rules. "Each prominent contemporary

writer – whether his is a Slav or a German, French or Scandinavian – is like a tree which roots deeply and strongly into his national ground, and tries to absorb and digest its vital juice and its stub and crown immerse into the international atmosphere of ideological interests, scientific, aesthetic and moral contest” (Franko 1981, 35). It was Natalena Koroleva who transformed the artistic comprehension of ethnical reality into the unity of ‘own’ and ‘alien’ and surpassed the binary oppositions. As far as the Ukrainian modernism is concerned, it is worth mentioning the fact of the combination of universal and national tendencies. In the novel by Natalena Koroleva the Ukrainian national character (with its lyricism) and the European Renaissance form a unity.

Visible varieties of characters who are vivid representatives of their nations prove that Natalena Koroleva clearly understood that “the land is like a beloved woman: when you love sincerely, your love is only for one. When there are two beloved women, it is called, sorry for the expression, profligacy or a game” (Koroleva 1991, 623). The core of the story “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” is a seventeen-year-old girl’s self-reflection and description of one study year which has been very hard for her because she feels like “a plant without roots”. The curriculum was not hard: learning good manners, good behaviour, ability to act in society. However, the Russian Imperial history was too complicated for Noel, and besides, the rules and values of the Northern neighbour were also strange to her (forcing, obedience, false principles and keeping to them mindlessly). They provided a contrast with her mentality and worldview. From the first days of her studies Noel observes harsh dissonance between her own life philosophy and the behaviour patterns imposed by teachers: “Yes, yes ... Life! And undesirable thoughts interweave into words from the obligatory lecture. Life seems to be full of future joys ... Without boring lectures, without obtrusive talkative “class dames”, without obligatory Thursday liver pate, without black sorrel Friday kissel ... Life is like a real paradise without shadows, sadness, sorrow, mere joy, joy and clarity” (Koroleva 2007, 66). Sometimes the students walked around the city but the heroine did not like the excursions because they walked along the same streets near general Drahomyrov’s residence, which was supposed to be a prestigious place. The historical reminiscences, thoughts, personages confessions relevant to the author’s ideas specify her national world image and choice of main spiritual values.

The formula ‘writing-reading’, suggested by Jean-Paul Sartre contains an approach towards understanding the problem of the national identity in literature, in a literary work and of its author: “projected by the author” is the ‘antithesis’ to “the one realized by the reader” (Sartre 1968, 138). Sartre emphasized the importance of the role of the author which presents “the consciousness of the active participants of literary communication”. At the same time, he pays attention to the ‘passive reader’. He mentions that text as a work of fiction is made by a reader relying on where the reader’s consciousness is directed by the author. The latter is always the identifier of his national identity and the national direction of a literary work.

They are defined by language, geographical, ideological, and religious factors of historical memory. We only can talk about the self-identification of the author when his national identity is identified by the national identity of his texts. For example, Samuel Beckett, who wrote his plays in English and French remained Irish (as A. Lieber, the translator and producer of S. Beckett's works, claimed). As far as the spirit and the energy of the texts are concerned, the recipient identified the playwright as a representative of the Irish literature. In a similar way, we can also talk about the autobiographical writings of Natalena Koroleva as marginal. During her life the author felt her difference. The emigré writers among whom she lived with her husband often reproached her that she wrote in the Ukrainian language which was foreign to her. In our opinion, her interest in the Ukrainian language and culture was one of the ways of telling people about her creative destiny on the margins and of distinguishing main aspects that united her with an ethnically alien culture. As a result, the novel "Without Roots. The Biography of a Contemporary" broadens the frames of traditional memoir from the narrative perspective: the omnipotence of the depicted, is more objective, it is a third person narrative, but not the first person narrative which is characteristic of the genres of memoirs literature. The author does not identify herself with the main character: her name is Noel-Maria-Stalle de Liacherda, but not Carmen-Alfonsa-Fernanda-Maria de Liacherda. The facts of the novel are not absolutely true. The researchers of Koroleva's work should forget the notes of O. Moch in which he says that by the request of Vasyly' Korolev-Senior some biographical information about Natalena Koroleva was concealed or changed: for example, the fact about her birth in Luc'k and about the origin of her step-mother Ljudmyla Los, who was of Czech but not Galician origin.

Moreover, in the first edition of the novel the surnames of her fellow students were changed, too. Some years later the writer confessed that Ol'ha Bohdanova is Ol'ha Bohdanovyč, Ol'ha Vasylevs'ka is Ol'ha Bazylevs'ka, Marija Rožnykova is Marija Riznykova, etc. In our opinion, the transformation of the family names is one of the literary devices, which the author uses to create the effect of objectification and to produce the generalized typical characteristic of a certain epoch. Havriil Kostelnyk stated that Natalena Koroleva in her biographical literature did not tell about her life but wrote the "lyrical epos of the Ukrainian sentiment, which was smoldering at the bottom and finally drove off from any alien splendor and gave roots of life even to such alien souls as Noel" (Kostelnyk 1937, 48).

A work of art expresses the national identity of the author no matter whether this expression is conscious or unconscious. The Hungarian comparatist Tibor Klanichay argues: "Linguistic, geographical and political data are really very important ... But neither the first nor the second are sufficient for defining the national identity ... National character is a system of national differences of literature, a set of phenomena that distinguish the art of one nation from the other ... The national literature is a literature which satisfies the needs of the devel-

oped national society. It reflects life and affairs of a certain society no matter whether they are an autonomous state or not” (Janaček-Ivaničkova 1989, 88).

The author, personification of the Ukrainian national codes, fills the national world image of the story with folk elements, which repeatedly stress the Ukrainian identity. Describing the schoolgirls’ routine, she depicts the Ukrainian carnival traditions – Masljana (masljanycja). According to O. Myšanyč, Natalena Koroleva’s style mostly in its outer formal aspects shows a synthesis of two cultures – the Western European and the Ukrainian. She brought a new European stream and authenticity into Ukrainian culture which is traced not only on the level of the topic but also on the level of spirit, high intellectualism, even European writing style (Myšanyč 1991, 639). The personal and the writer’s identities overlap each other. Natalena Koroleva’s reception of the Ukrainian traditions is caused by lots of reasons. In her “Autobiography” and in the novel she mentions some Ukrainian books which she read when she was spending four years in Volhynia with her grandmother Teofila. There she sang Ukrainian songs and had a Ukrainian friend Marusja about whom she later wrote in her novel “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary”.

The main problem of the story is the self-identification of Noel, the protagonist of the work. The thing is that ethnically she was not Ukrainian, but she felt an attraction to the land where she was born. She keeps the warmest memories about her grandmother Severyna. Noel’s friend Tajonia perceived this woman as an archetypical symbol of Ukraine, which accepts any enslavement by other masters and becomes a submissive servant of all of them. However, in any situation she preserves herself, her traditions in the songs, beliefs, traditions, and customs. Dunin-Borkovs’kyj encourages Noel to spend time with Marusja who represents the romanticism and folklore of Ukraine. Noel always recollected her with affection warmth because she taught her to sing Ukrainian songs, to speak the language and how to feel gratitude to the land which provided her with shelter.

Natalena Koroleva realistically depicted the development of the national consciousness among the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mykola Lysenko is depicted in the novel as a patriot of his native land. After graduating from the university, Tajonia becomes a nurse and helps peasants in the village. Noel also admired the Ukrainian culture. Love of the Ukrainian language was somewhere in her genetic memory. Having knight’s genes she has always strived for justice. That is why the author stresses her character’s negative attitude to everything Russian. But it is not the rejection of the Russian culture, because Natalena Koroleva admired the works of Puškin and Lermontov. It is the Russophilism, supported by the state, that caused a protest. Noel has always imagined the Russian words ‘požalujsta’, ‘vzaimootnošenie’, ‘udovletvorenje’ as some bizarre plants and animals. Hence we understand that the problem of a student was not that she was unwilling/was not able to study Russian but in misunderstanding the basis of the mentality. Noel juxtaposes the world around her to her native Spain. It is shown in the text through description of the scenery

which is psychologized and creates sad, dark and somewhat Gothic images of life. Noel perceived the world through the dichotomy of 'own' and 'alien'. The anaphors 'here' and 'there' only intensify her perception of life on the margin. 'Here' is the country which cannot be explained by logic (the Russian Empire) where people scholastically obey orders. Meanwhile, 'there' is the warm South, Spain, sincere people and real belief in God.

The autobiographical novel "Without Roots" is a synthesis of national traditions and European innovations. The author skillfully uses the device of retrospective for deepening self-reflection and stressing psychological contrast: real life in Kyjiv is interwoven with vivid recollections from the past life "with roots" "in her own reality". The recollections are intensified by phantasmagoric pictures of the vulnerable girl's imagination, scenes from early childhood, from the legendary past of her family: "They are not here, my dear, dear people ... Only reminiscences have remained. And this one ..., that you want to throw away with petals from the far far away like a little sacrifice on the Teacher's grave. Let them flow to the Bajkova mountain in Kyjiv, as they flew from the ancient Hellenes' hands to their dear shadows in Elysium, as they flew from our ancestors to the Brahmins to the powerful Indian waters" (Koroleva 2007, 166). The writer depicts her character's special way, the one with trials by one year of her life "Without Roots". Noel clearly understood that her sense of being a foreigner is not of national but of philosophical nature: "Yes, she is a stranger ... Let it be so. But she is a stranger at home, too because her stepmother runs all things there. In the whole world where she has happened to live she is a stranger. Probably, she will be a stranger in the life that they are preparing her for. Let it be, without 'her' people, without those who are close to her ... but there is a place where she feels at home ... in every Catholic church she can hear the same familiar and of pleasant words" (Koroleva 2007, 131).

The religious motifs in the work visualize the image of the national world of Natalena Koroleva. The problem of the coexistence of Catholicism and Orthodoxy is unexpectedly but quite reasonably treated in the novel. The long struggle between the churches had both historical and social reasons. The Poles which colonized the Ukrainian lands repressed the Ukrainians. In turn, it caused a revolt in order to preserve the traditional religion. For the Ukrainians religious dogmas were even less important than national self-identification because the Orthodox religion was in the consciousness of the Ukrainians a symbol of freedom, while Catholicism symbolized enslavement.

Religious discourse heightens Natalena Koroleva's national image. The Catholic school has determined the way of her inner development, the essence of her outlook which starts to make sense in the story: Noel is a deeply religious person, who lives in the midst of the general background of spiritual decline. The girl is going to be expelled from school because of her religiousness, as it is taken as fanaticism. The author uses religious and philosophical contexts in order to say that, according to the Apocrypha, each person has the chance to choose a means of self-perfection and self-sacrifice for the sake of salvation and

love as the highest gift from God. Noel chooses the pious path through practicing self-reflection. In hard moments she recollects “her” monastery mothermentor’s words: “At moments of loneliness and despair (because everyone once has such “Gethsemane moments”) you will find all of us in your prayers at the foot of the altar. And then your burden will become lighter as you will share it with all of us. And your loneliness will not be so hard” (Koroleva 2007, 133).

In the novel “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” the transformation and evolution of the author’s social and political views can be clearly traced diachronically. In our opinion, the Ukrainian national idea in Natalena Koroleva’s interpretation is framed by a romantic nationalist’s (narodnyks’) conception represented by Noel who possesses a lively and rebellious nature and a revolutionary mind. The Russian empress’s arrival to the school only emphasized the stagnation of the empire. Noel was the only one to dare to greet her according to the well-known French traditions in spite of the fact that she was punished for disobedience.

As an autobiography, “Without Roots. Biography of a Contemporary” reflects the features of the original style of Natalena Koroleva who innovatively inscribed her family history and her own life into the national Ukrainian paradigm. In this way she expressed her national identity in a European literary form. The problem of national self-identification was solved by means of the original synthesis of the Catholic religiousness and conservative outlook, on one hand, and by the struggle for a personal patriotic position and noble personality, on the other hand. In this context Natalena Koroleva demonstrated a new level of understanding of the problem of national identity, spiritual freedom, and national self-analysis.

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## THE SUGGESTIBLE CHARACTER OF THE DIGNITY REVOLUTION POETRY

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*The paper studies peculiarities of patriotic poetry which appeared due to Majdan as a historical sociocultural and spiritual phenomenon of the contemporary Ukraine. The poetry is considered through a cultural and artistic paradigm, which draws attention to the Ukrainian literary critics. The paper proves that the poetic texts of the Dignity revolution are created by the emotional shock of the whole nation. It is conscious and subconscious perception of the catastrophic events that model the inner psychological state of the lyrical hero with the existential outlook. The distinguishing feature of psychoemotional expressions of Majdan poetry is suggestibility. It influences the reader by means of associative view, visualisation (contrast, landscape), sound expressions, narrative, exclamations, background accompaniment, etc. The author of the paper focuses her attention to the intermediate aspect of the suggestibility in Majdan poetry.*

*Key words: intermediate aspect, the Dignity Revolution poetry, poetics, suggestible poetry, poetic worldview.*

## СУГЕСТИВНИЙ ХАРАКТЕР ПОЕЗІЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ ГІДНОСТІ

*Галина Горішна*

*У статті розкрито особливості поетики громадянської поезії, появу якої зумовив Майдан – історичний, соціокультурний, духовний орієнтир сучасної України як культурно-художньої традиції, що викликає зацікавлення в українських літературознавців; визначено, що поетичні тексти Революції Гідності, породжені емоційними потрясіннями нації, свідомим й підсвідомим сприйняттям катастрофічних подій, моделюють внутрішні психологічні стани ліричного персонажа з світовідчуттям свободи. Психоемоційне вираження, зокрема сугестивність, – визначальний фактор в поезії Майдану, де засоби навіювального впливу на читача реалізуються через асоціативне бачення, візуалізацію (контраст, пейзаж), звукове навантаження: мовне багатоголосся, вигуки, фоновий супровід тощо.*

*Ключові слова: поезія Революції Гідності, поетика, сугестивна лірика, художній світ, художня єдність.*

Poetry as an art form is characterized by its suggestible nature. Poetry of the revolutionary events is typically based on socio- and psychoemotional upheavals, and Majdan poetry is not an exception. The Dignity Revolution as a remarkable event in Ukrainian history, which caused the tragic deaths of more than one hundred people, evokes existential spirit. The authors' psychological state after having experienced revolutionary events is vividly expressed in Majdan poetry which is closely connected with the Dignity Revolution by the time of its appearance and by its ideology and contents. That is why poetry dedicated to the Revolution is extremely emotional and appeals to readers' spiritual worldview.

An analysis of the influence of literature on the recipients is done in Ivan Franko's works. In particular, his fundamental work "On the Secret of Poetry Writing" begins with a reflection on the suggestible influence of poetic work: *"In order to produce an effect of suggestion, poets must awake their entire spiritual personalities, awake their feelings, stir their imagination, in other words, they must experience themselves not only in reality but then reproductively, in their souls, all that they wish to embody in their poetic works, experience all that to the full extent so that they could express all they felt and experienced in words relevant to real experience"* (Franko 1981, 45-46). I. Franko emphasized a strong poetry influence on the recipient: *"suggestion must awaken the reader's whole inner personality by instilling new life experience, new feelings"* (Franko 1981, 46).

The relevance of this article is determined by the evident necessity to systemize and analyze in details the psychoemotional influence of Majdan poetry on the recipient. The emotive factor is crucial for understanding this kind of poetry influenced by existential psychoemotional outbreaks. The phenomenon of suggestion which is vividly expressed in the poetry is usually caused by the state of poets' minds which are often changed in a descriptive way. The aim of this research is to examine and systemize the means of suggestible influence of Majdan poetry on the readers and to analyze the psychoemotional influence of poetic texts on the recipients.

Contemporary scholars distinguish the phenomena 'suggestion' and 'suggestible poetry'. Thus, Ju. Kovaliv states: *"suggestion is peculiar for literature as a genre. It is based on nuance tones, additional senses of hints, premonition. Referring to the emotional sphere, to the subconsciousness, it evokes the author's thoughts and feelings in readers' minds"* (Literaturoznávča enciklopedija 2007, 443). The researcher defines the origin and evolution of the term basing on the works of V. Johns, Ch. Wilson, B. Lavrin, L. Jagustina, I. Črepanova and others. He pays special attention to the meaning of suggestion in psychology as *"influence on human spiritual sphere"*. According to the literary dictionary, suggestible poetry is aimed at *"producing such states of soul that are imperceptible for the rational structures. The main things here are various associational connections, bright metaphors, the synthesis of expressive means expressed in polysemantic romantic plot, activation of rhythm and melody"* (Literaturoznávčyj slovnyk-dovidnyk 2007, 648). A. Makarov defines suggestible poetry as



an inheritor of “ancient verbal magic”. He underlines vivid expressiveness as a substitute of intellectuality and analyticity (Makarov 1990, 236). The monograph *Poetry of Multimeaningful Subcontexts* by A. Hryzun is dedicated to the analysis of the evolution of the suggestion from folklore to modern poetry. The researcher considers “suggestible poetry” as an example of “the multimeaningful subcontext combined with evoking effects that influence firstly recipients’ subconsciousness” (Hryzun 2011, 21). Suggestible poetry is analyzed in Ju. Džuhastrijans’ka’s dissertation that pays attention to “*the poet’s sacred role in different cultures*”. The scholar distinguishes suggestion as “*a phenomenon of unconscious interrelation between the author and reader which takes place by means of fictional (or poetic – in our case) texts*”, and suggestibility as “*the ability of work of literature to influence the readers in a special way, to make them feel certain emotions*” and suggestible poetry as “*overgenre categories of texts which are characterized by the ability to influence the recipients and to evoke emotions, impressions, feelings, making the recipients reflect on something*” (Džuhastrijans’ka 2009, 6-7).

Imminent influence on recipients is considered to be a core of the sense layer of Majdan poetry. Turning to the essential human need ‘to live’, readers learn about such appalling facts as the mass shooting of peacefully protesting citizens, torture, witnessing the colleagues’ deaths, complete neglect of moral principles, mothers’ crying for their children, also impressions from the events in impressionistic aspect which can definitely influence readers’ minds. Under the influence of current existential impulses, the authors do not only express their feelings but intensify them with the help of expressive means. Thus, we deal with a powerfully energetic effect on readers’ worldview, consciousness, psychology. Although the analysis of poetry is hardly possible without taking into account the context, we will try to distinguish the most significant elements of the suggestible influence on the readers.

The attempt to comprehend reality through poetry results in the projection where the reality is perceived by means of sacralization. Characters in poetry quite often appeal directly to God or the Virgin Mary, or some other saint or angel.

Preparing the recipient for the spiritual perception, sacred images create the impression of inconsolable grief and sorrow which can be also evoked by the saints in despair. The Virgin Mary cries over the dead as if over Her own sons: “*Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of the world burst into tears/ the sharp horrible sword was pricked into Her wound*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 25), “*because Virgin Mary Oran ta / was weaving a thread to each body* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 33); or the rhetoric exclamation addressed to God: “*Will the time of penitence come?*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 35). Concentrating on tragic feelings of God, one can feel the intensiveness of the grief and the sense of loss which make suggestive influence on readers more powerful. This function is also performed by prayers as one of the most important rituals in Christianity. So, protesters’ prayers who rely on God’s will as on the highest justice show the highest degree

of the display of psychologically tense situations. Authors view the prayers as the last chance for survival: *“Oh, Lord, give us strength and belief in victory / Give us, Lord, staunchness and great love”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 56), *“Oh, Lord, listen to my begging / To my prayer and sorrowful singing”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 56), they sometimes interweave ‘revolutionary’ meaning into canonical prayers: *“Our Father, True and Saint, Who art in Heaven, / Thy Kingdom come, - the song flows over the crowd, - / Oh, Lord, listen to us! Save and protect us!”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 193), *“In the name of the Father and of the Son - / deliver us from evil, - / - Petro will ride the white horse - / his forehead cut / and the blood spilled will be cursed!”* (Jevromajdan 2014, 45). The picture of the very process of praying is described especially emotionally: *“In the tears - / -A prayer to God is flowing”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 19), *“Tearing hair from grief, - / Pouring hot / heated wax into soul. <...> - Howling as a wolf in the field, - / She prayed to Jesus sincerely”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 215).

In Majdan poetry the reality is sacralized through metaphorical depiction of angels’ presence after life on earth: *“The grey-haired archangels will lie - / - on your bloody bed”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 87), through catharsis prayers and worship of God: *“Bend your head low only to God.- / - ask Heaven why it is sad. - / And pray long”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 329). In the poem “The Dwelling From God” by I. Mandyč, the author describes the vision of the Lord’s justice where *“A grey-haired God with sad eyes”* prepares a house for the “Heavenly Hundred” himself without anybody’s help proving that the heroes deserve it since they sacrificed their lives for their country and were treacherously killed. The effect of the recipient’s presence in the text chronotope was created by means of dialogical narrative. The talk with God is being conducted personally by M. Savka. The poetess creates an almost real God’s presence at the Majdan as the highest power that accompanies and supports the protesters, as ‘their’ mentor who is always nearby. A similar picture of God’s presence is described in the poem “To the Barricades, Ukraine!” by Ju. Kosivčuk: *“To the barricades, Ukraine! God is coming to you in train ...! / You are welcoming God from train / You are welcoming the saints without helmets / They are echelons! Echelons!”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 154). The author shows the chaos and absurdity of the revolutionary events by means of repetition of such words as ‘hysteria’, ‘echelons’, the lexical meaning of which intensifies the feelings of anxiety, fear, despair.

The important element of suggestible influence is reactualization of historical facts and figures relevant to the Majdan. In particular, the image of Luk”jan Kobylycja who initially tried to improve peasant lives legally but failed and then took radical action is presented to show the parallel with the Majdan: *“From Luk”jan Kobylycja / I am gathering old thoughts / And I will weave them into plaits / As Majdan thoughts”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 43), and other killed national heroes and chiefs are mentioned: *“We are called by Taras! Konovalec’ and Petljura’s voices are heard, Bandera calls, summons everybody - / so that we don’t fall asleep!”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 86). The above mentioned historical

figures represent the intellectuals who stood for the dignity and independence of the Ukrainians. In the same context Majdan poets refer to heroic ancient times: *“Heavenly Hundred’s archangel’s wings / from Volyn’ to the Sič everywhere are graves, graves...”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 52), *“The winds are cooling down / Ukraine – from Sjan to Don, / The waves are beating/ Kyjiv by Dniepr... / Maybe, the ancestors / ring the bells”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 73), *“The past of the youth is sweetly breathing / Instytuts’ka is filling with freezing .../ Colder and colder so that soul is chilling”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 143). Such historical excursions prove the innocence of protesters’ intentions and also inspire the recipients to struggle for a better future of the country. The events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are also revitalized, which allows us to look at nowadays Ukrainian reality diachronically: *“In the centre of the capital – Kruty”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 101), *“Holodomor, Čornobyl, the abyss of disasters. / And these Golgothas are endless”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 108). High emotionality and tragic world perception (such as *“Dovženko’s phrase has grown real today/ Ukraine is in Fire”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 36)), symbolic images of active strugglers for justice such as T. Ševčenko, I. Franko, Lesja Ukrajinka, the Sixtiers have become powerful motivators to affirmative actions in the Dignity Revolution: *“... We have forgotten that Lina and Symonenko / Would hardly ever have needed those helmets”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 184). Ukrainian classics’ citation proves intertextuality to be a means of suggestion in Majdan poetry. Such associations determine deeper comprehension of the revolutionary events, reveal their new aspects, create suggestion in combination with compared phenomena, since recipients add impressions from revitalized elements to modern observation.

Rebels’ psychoemotional state is created at the background of nature, which helps to understand the injustice of the real position of things, the disharmony of social reality. They personify the image of night evoking sadness due to its traditional perception as a dark time: *“The night scares, unpleasant thing”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 13), *“and every dawn thanks the night for surviving ”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 47), contrasting different seasons where the clear sky as a symbol of peace opposes to night which can mean changes for the better: *“The sky in Ukraine has cleared up <...> Night is painted in daytime”* (Materyns’ka molytva 2014, 29). Existential motives are strengthened by colouristic symbolism: *“I see a bloody ray of long-expected freedom through black clouds”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 45), intensified by vocabulary of negative connotation in order to accumulate negative energy of the events and to leave the hope for better future, as the dirt will burn and the black clouds will disappear: *“The sky is black from despair, / Will burn to the grounds!”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 164). The black sky is a specific projection of the revolutionary events as burning tyres filled the air with black smoke which adds dark colours to the sky. Consequently, a clear, cloudless sky means victory of the Dignity Revolution. In poetry the means of contrast and comparison dominate, authors personificate nature with the help of bright metaphors and making landscapes and the state of characters psychological. The figurative symbol of thunder evokes admiration for the strong will of

the protesters: *“What lips couldn’t say/ was roared by a thunder”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 164), *“And the sky burst / thunder broke the blue”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 183). Suggestible influence of the water archetype conveyed through Christian tradition evokes a range of emotions such as belief in the better, in the purification of the world from the inner and outer dirt: *“God will bless with rain, and the world will blissfully drink to the end. / And red snow will melt / thaw in the Earth bowl. / We edge the shield for the iron heart by the steel of kindness, / and will sharpen the memory of hundreds of graves by prayers”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 170), *“snow falls ... / souls purify”* (Materyns’ka molytva 2014, 32). Majdan poets deliberately avoid pastel colours, preferring red, black, white, sometimes grey, which provides the recipients with a clear vision of the events, not allowing half tones. The rain’s cry is suggestibly intense, the weather’s sorrow allows to touch the slightest strings of human souls, makes the effect of fullness and entirety, and on the other hand, it creates the effect of tragedy, grief, sadness: *“The wind quietly bends old branches from side to side/ And the rain has been crying for three days / for the sons. Scream!”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 275). The chronotope of the city is an active participant of the events. It experiences everything together with the characters. Its description in dark colours is built on the contrast before and after: *“There my favourite city is burning, / And black smoke holds the breath, / The crowd of the extremists, the biggest in the world, / falls down dead for their own freedom”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 256), *“My city smells with fire and blood. / Once the land of chestnut’s blossom and Dniepr waters...”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 274). The authors pile on negative influence factors, increasing the degree of fear, despair and anxiety to the extreme, for instance: *“Oh, black pain! Bloody and bitter // The arrow of sorrow fills souls... / The land is in grief... Motionless”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 288), *“The winter has burnt in flames of fighting, / In stained spots of blood on flags, / when frost poisoned black smoke/ and courage burst into veins”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 338).

Majdan poetry uses suggestible means such as contrast, comparison and hyperbole. They clearly specify the dissonance of the good and evil in Majdan and also colourfully characterize the event or the participants. In this context, the authors’ vision of everyday things such as weather conditions: *“autumn boots remind us of fall”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 66) and pictures of victims depress and scare: *“to climb up the stairs / up the corpses”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 178). The tragedy of the situation is revealed, for example, through the comparison of cobbles with bones. Dramatic contrasts impress the recipient: *“These are not cobbles, they are mere bones, / Mere knees, elbows and joints”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 171). It is strengthened by the comparison of the wedding wreath with the black kerchief which symbolizes the girl’s sorrow for the dead bridegroom: *“And the bride is coming to the church / But not in a wreath – in black kerchief”* (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 205). The paradox of the events is found in the following lines: *“The day when children saw their first dead body”* (Jevromajdan 2014, 14), *“fire of peony blooms in the barrels at night, / and listens to extremists*

*playing Chopin*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 41), and also in the image of a son-defender for whom a mother was carrying a gift: "*She was going, Snow sparkling on the grounds. / Frost was bitten into cheeks. Wind was howling./ She was carrying a gift to an "extremist": / Hot tea and half a kilo of halva*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 313). An important means of contrasting is oxymoron: "*Here defending they aim at your head <...> pour you with water in snow*". These means are used in poems "You see, I am in such a trip" by T. Vlasova and "The poem written in Majdan" by O. Hadžij and others.

An essential suggestible quality of the Dignity Revolution poetry is its lexical contents. Thus, the lethal limit – the most impulsive for the authors – causes the appearance of common lexemes in different poems such as: 'blood' as antitheses of the embodiment of life and death where the last one usually dominates, which creates an existential feeling: "*pouring with blood / the sun in the sky*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 178). The affective perception of the disastrous reality in poetry is intensified by phantasmagorical visions: "*on the bank covered with sorrow / wild fury shouts from blood*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 312).

The strongest suggestible means is sound accompaniment which intensifies the depressive mood of the poems. Authors mostly appeal to hearing and tactile senses. The means which is able to depict them is metaphor which personifies the images and conveys a general psychological state with the help of acoustic backgrounding: "*Majdan went deaf from grenades*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 8), "*Fighting alarm is beating inside - / Ahead! Fight for your views*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 291) or "*And the sky burst / thunder broke the blue*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 183). Acoustic images can be intensified by additional background accompaniment. Thus, the images such as siren, scream, church chime are already acoustic and the authors strengthen them with noise effects of cry, roar, howl: "*And the siren was wailing so loudly - / Was weeping for pain and despair*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 18), "*barricade knocking was roaring*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 142), "*The churches bell all over the country today...*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 96), "*can you hear that shriek / that pierces the sky*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 98). Sound accumulation is a widespread phenomenon that can be accompanied with repetition: "*Bells toll! /Bells toll in a painfully furious alarm. <...> Bells were ringing and ringing on a white belfry. / A sexton was getting deaf ringing as loudly as he could. <...> The bells were begging like by spells. <...> The bells were ringing getting crazy with scream*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 193), "*you are my revolution / drum in my ears / convulsion <...> can you hear a melody everywhere? / piano, shooting, bells and people...*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 273), "*Stones. Shots. Grenades. / And sons all in blood*" (Materyns'ka molytva 2014, 35).

The emotional perception of the chaotic and confusing revolutionary reality is expressed by use of synesthesia: "*The soul is wailing so bitterly*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 93), "*snow rustling*", "*the words are shivering in a throat*". Combining silence and noise, the author builds a sacral metaphor of the moment of death: "*I wish for the silence to hear souls fly*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 249).

Negative emotions are created by the comparison of the bell to the sound of weeping: “Can you hear St. Michael’s bells? / It’s weep of your children” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 331). The punishment by bell chime provides the contrast of the greatness of the sacral sound and the petty soul of a torturer. This metaphor awakens the feeling of justice and pride or the fear of justice: “*May this bell chime full of sorrow / from churches that have become the last shelter/ strike the torturer’s petty soul!*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 274). Personification of the images of inanimate objects which cry or feel sorrow produce the excitement in a moral reader: “*Did you hear granite crying in Majdan - / bitterly and long?*” (Materyns’ka molytva 2014, 38).

Rhythmomelody, which is an inseparable part of poetry, often suggestibly influences the recipients. In Majdan poetry it is built by means of synonymic repetition or other types of repetition, word games (puns), punctuation (exclamation sign, ellipses). In *Poetics of the Open Work* U. Eco states: “the search for “suggestibility” is a deliberate attempt to “open the text” for the recipients’ free interpretation. Fiction that “makes think” is also a text which can be done by an interpreter due to his/her emotions and imagination. Reading poetry, each time we try to adapt our world to the emotional world of the text” (Eco 2004, 89). The author adds that the writer tries to awaken the recipient with the help of poetic devices so that “a deeper answer rises on the surface”. This answer is able to express deeply the main idea of the text. In Majdan poems this function is performed by different types of open forms such as blank verses, free verses where authors convey an emotionally chaotic perception of the apocalyptic events of 2014. Abrupt lines and dialogues, simple sentences, misuse of punctuation allows the readers to perceive the poems in one acoustic stream and put their own accents defining rhythm and melody of the poem. Noise effects are demonstrated by the acoustic block of poetry. Thus, lines about storm are full of noise effects, the sound of knock is intensified by ‘r’, church bells are imitated by the sound ‘dz’ and others. The beauty of Majdan poetry is in its musical sounding, that is why a number of verses were made songs (“Don’t Cry, Mother” by O. Maksymyšyn-Korabel, “Mother, I am an extremist” by N. Krisman). Lyrics are also present in the anthology of Majdan poetry “Heavenly Hundred” among which are “A dark cloud is coming” by S. Lirnyk, “I will not allow!”, “Go Ahead!” by M. Tymofijčuk, “A slight sound of string” by M. Fedorjuk, “Wooden Shields” by O. Jarmola (“Hajdamaky”), a singing poem “We will never be brothers” by A. Dmytruk that has over 7 million views.

A. Hryzun considers word repetition to be “*a main component of suggestion*”. Repetitions disturb readers and activate their perception. As a rule, exclamation repetitions form the general background for further text perception, for example: “*The sky is falling! Falling! Falling! Shout loudly, Ustym!*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 87). The author desperately attracts attention to a young protester’s death, reinforcing his sorrow by means of rhetorical questions: “*what a deadly pilgrimage?*”. Suffering from the revolutionary scenes can be heard in these lines: “*Burn, burn, burn... / BURN! BURN! / Heart hurts...*” (Nebesna

sotnja 2014, 92). The similar function is performed by a word game (pun), evoking minor thoughts in the recipient: “*pale snow / pale snow / pain ... / on the frozen ground - / there are traces of bloody faces*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 158). Almost each line of the poem “On The Days of Grief” by T. Belimova devised by means of an anaphora. It begins with the word “cried” which awakes tragic perception of revolutionary events.

Rhetorical questions in Majdan poetry make readers think over vital revolution aspects such as unarmedness of protesters who consciously went to death: “*Young boy / behind a grey shot shield / what arms have you got / except for God belief?*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 82), “*And again devil’s attack/ how could we survive and win?*” (Materyns’ka molytva 2014, 41); or such as innocent sacrificial deaths: “*What, my brother, was your guilt?*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 12); or the pain and depth of defenders’ deaths “*Is it easier to cry when the sky is crying with you?*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 110), “*Sorrow stiffens on night’s gate / When will we forget? When will we forgive?*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 339). In this way, author-existentialist (V. Paharenko’s term) moulds a range of psychoemotional states for deeper understanding of the protesters’ motivation, in addition, brilliant use of metaphors helps to embed them in readers’ minds. As a result, we can observe the suggestible fusion of the author’s and reader’s personalities. Majdan poetry often uses first person plural narration which calls to stand for one’s personal position actively: “*Without hesitation and decoration / somebody is dying for us*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 17), persistently: “*We are unable to move back*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 30), according to moral and spiritual values: “*Except for arms we possess dreams in souls / A man consists of not only body*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 187).

The recipient is influenced suggestibly when the poems are referring to a specific person using, mostly, first person singular narration. The author creates the effect of talking with readers, incorporates them in the poem’s chronotope. This creates the impression of appealing directly to them: “*My ordinary Ukrainian*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 14), “*My friend, I am waiting! When will you come? <...> we are in frozen, why aren’t you with us?*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 32), “*Hey, kozak <...> Join the ranks <...> Let’s build, my friends, glorious Ukraine*” (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 42), “*Listen, brother? Majdan is calling you!*” (Materyns’ka molytva 2014, 29). The cases of referring to “friend” and “brother” are popular; the poet uses image-symbols that indicate a knight-like personage’s character, spiritual kinship and common convictions of the author and recipients, trustful attitude to the readers. Another device of psychoemotional influence is the appeal of the dead to the living, mostly to mothers, referring to the instinct of gender preservation. Suggestible influence is reinforced by cradle songs as a genre of mother’s poetry. The image of the mother which is one of the brightest in Majdan poetry becomes monumental when a dead son asks his mother to sing him a cradle song on the deadly bed and not to cry over his death. He awakens a range of emotions: “*Kiss me, mum, and hug, /Sing me a lullaby <...> A white Angel spreads the wings / And listening to him, my mum/ I will fly*

to paradise! (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 84). An emotionally powerful device is the appeal of the alive son's mother to a dead son's mother in inconsolable grief. This can be understood only by another woman-mother and Earth-mother: "*Hello, lonely lady, with eyes / cried out <...> Cry and I'll cry with you. And let the sky cry with thunderstorm! / Let the Earth splits into halves from the pain of the lost!*" (Jevromajdan 2014, 28); and appealing to God as God-father and God-creator or to angels: "*Oh, my angel, they need you, beg you angel protect them / an ancient coffin maker wakes up early and hews a coffin for somebody / Lord, tell me how You got over it*" (Jevromajdan 2014, 29), "*My Lord, having swallowed bitter smoke ./ In the dark and fire and of course without helmet / you are standing behind your favourite sons – invisible- / in order to hold your hands if they are destined to fall down*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 279). The poet draws attention to the power of feelings when God suffers, which definitely influences readers' minds.

"*Great inclination to aphoristic language because of various circumstances was embedded in Ukrainian poetic tradition*", - says E. Solovej (Solovej 1991, 251). Aphoristic poetic is a typical feature of Majdan poetry. We observe that the main call of the Majdan became word codes to understand the aim of the revolution and that are embodied in poetry, such as democratic position: "*A people is not a word, but the highest degree / a healthy body and soul – alive*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 329). Respect and dignity lie on the basis of moral values for the protester and their national identification is reflected according to norms of Christianity: "*...For Jesus who rose to Heavens, / A bloody nail wasn't an obstacle*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 184). E. Solovej also states that some samples of aphoristic language were determined by the social and political situation, so they were "aphoristic only for their time" (Solovej 1991, 248). These samples masterfully embodied in metaphors are often found in Majdan poetry: "*blood doesn't freeze on snow / the truth is evident in frost*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 175), "*hot blood will heat nobody*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 159), "*Slavery in genes can be treated by a rebellion*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 162). Known aphorisms, proverbs, and sayings (such as "*Human blood is not water, no one may spill it*") help to perceive the poetry: "*Slaves are not allowed into Paradise*" or "*And freedom is not a gift, / not given: it must be fought / In fire, in fighting/ in blood. Only blood is not water!*" (Materyns'ka molytva 2014, 52).

In Majdan poetry self-suggestion creates meaning as this poetry aimed at self-analysis and emotional stabilization and has become a kind of poetry-therapy. Introspection and profound analysis of revolutionary events performed on an impressionistic level evoke existential feelings, among which are self-reflection and self-analysis, for example, or the affectionate state during disastrous events: "*Revolution takes away your mind when you go ahead during fight*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 10). In the poem "Angel" by O. Bilohlazova the protagonist expresses his feelings after a soldier's death in a talk with his heart: "*Burst, my heart, into bitter tears, / Because you'll never see him among the livingalve*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 31). Such self-reflection vividly shows the au-



thor's jerks of the soul. The protagonist of the poem "000 290" by Ch. Venhrynjuk talks with himself: "I am walking through bullets like a child in an orphan house" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 47). In the next poem "000 291" the author analyzes the events and retranslates them in the following way: "*And on those barricades... / angels were regularly sitting on shoulders*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 48). Introspection of the characters is massively embodied in Majdan poetry: "*The soul is weeping, each word is getting pale, / silence is growing quieter from pain*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 56), or "*So loudly grief slammed the door - / That echo spread over whole world!*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 264). M. Savka renders her tragic recollections in a poem "The Coffins are Floating on The Sea" identifying the Majdan world with the sea: "*The coffins are floating on the sea like boats - / on the sea of hands, of tears and fury. / And in the boats torn sons are sailing / on the waves of prayers and songs*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 278). Her psychophysical state is conveyed at the emotional top event – Majdan was parting with its heroes: "*As if blood was freezing in veins, / and then blood voice is beating in head / for those who lived but passed on / the bells were tolling as for Heroes*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 278). The attempt to clarify their roles in historical events, their tasks and their personal feelings through recollections and thoughts can be found in the poems "I am an extremist girl" by K. Bohutska, "Forgive me and I'll forgive you all" by V. Vynohradnyk, "Majdan" by V. Huk, "I am the smoke of a burning tyre" by Kovaliova, "Mother, I am an extremist" by N. Krisman, "Mother, you know, how I'd like to live on" by O. Maslyhan-Javorenko, "She was tearing hair from sorrow" by O. Maklašćuk, "I sleep like a log" by M. Padalko, "I am an extremist" by O. Perechrest, "Spirit awakening" by T. Jarovycyna, "I am a boy" by Je. Bilćenko and others. In these poems, authors' existential feelings are conveyed through dialogues, monologues which refer to others or to the self. In a poem "To tituškas-janissaries" by M. Tymćak the personage appealing to the opponents tells them about his feelings, thoughts and impressions from the experience: "*Oh, no, you don't know how broken bells howl, / how angels cry from the sky*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 308). The protagonist claims that only the supporter of the Revolution of Dignity could proudly and bravely experience this pain and grief: "*and to move the stone from the tomb of aroused freedom*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 308). The poem "A man said" by A. Ljubka is built as rendering the dialogue with a dead hero: "*A man said: 'I am not to see the sun, / And I will meet my children only at my grave. / My body is full of lead and strontium, / But death couldn't stop me*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 187). The character explains his own ideals motivating recipients to stand for their own political position: "*The fire is licking corpses and wounds, / Ukraine is beginning from me*" (Nebesna sotnja 2014, 187). What is important is that most Majdan poems contain elements of self-suggestion.

The poetry written under the influence of deep psychological stress is always expressive. Mass shooting and torture of peaceful protesters who defend their right for a dignified life and universal human values lie on the basis of the Dig-

nity Revolution poetry. That is why it has become a kind of poem-therapy that reveals affects and helps to get over the depressive state. It is intensively suggestible as it renders historical reality and it is impressionistically coloured. We consider that in Majdan poetry each element makes it suggestible: contents, vocabulary, punctuation, narrative, image-symbols and others. The basic antinomy of life/death which is always present in it prepares recipients to sacral projections (the fact that religious characters experience apocalypse together with the whole Majdan points out the greatness of the tragedy) determines existential feelings of grief, pain, suffering. Prayers and appeal to God possess sacral suggestible power. Christian plot and images proclaim that human beings are mortal and that the higher justice gives belief in victory of the good and punishment of the evil. The important element of suggestion is re-actualization of historic facts and persons who died for national ideas, and also artists whose life was connected with proclaiming moral values or their works which received new meaning in modern conditions. The methods of confronting and comparing them, using citation provides strong emotional influence on the recipient. This function is also performed by archetypical image-symbols of earth, fire, water, purifying power of which provides hope, though nature is often described as something full of anxiety by means of depicting thunderstorm, thunder, rough night which intensifies the visions of apocalypse when the Earth splits, causing worry in the protagonist's soul. In general, the main devices of expressing suggestion are contrast, comparison, dialogization, word game (pun), hyperbole, gradation, stylistic tautology, synesthesia, personification, anaphor, allegory, oxymoron and others. Thus, a bright author's metaphor is an aesthetic and suggestible means. The suggestible factor of Majdan poetry's perception is also rhythmomelody, rhetorical questions, exclamations, abrupt sentences, punctuation absence which conveys inner anxiety, destructive and affective perception of historical events. The author often appeals to a certain recipient putting him/her into text chronotope. Another factor of similar importance is self-suggestion expressed by self-analysis and reflection over Majdan events. Majdan poets clearly state their patriotic position and their pro-European views which are demonstrated by means of their personal presence at Majdan or by their support for the revolutionary ideas. The powerful national element in this poetry makes readers repeatedly experience the tragic events of the early 2014 and form their own national position and patriotic beliefs. Therefore, we consider suggestible aspect to be the one that specifies readers' national identification. Thus, the Dignity Revolution poetry accumulates the variety of the revolutionary's feelings and masterfully re-translates them into suggestible poetry filled by existential feelings of suffering, sadness, sorrow, pain from dead heroes but always with pride of their brave and heroic nation.

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**UKRAINISCHE IDENTITÄT, NACH AUSSEN VERMITTELT:  
ZUM UKRAINE-BILD IN DEUTSCHEN  
LITERATURÜBERSETZUNGEN  
UND IN DER LITERATURWISSENSCHAFT**

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*In dem Artikel werden zwei frühe Tendenzen in der Präsentation der Ukraine, ihrer Kultur und Identität im deutschsprachigen Raum von der Mitte des 19. Jh.s bis in die 30-er Jahre des 20. Jh.s analysiert. Zum einem werden Übersetzungen und literaturwissenschaftliche Werke erfasst, die die Ukraine im Rahmen ihrer politischen Zugehörigkeit beschreiben und zur russischen Kulturwelt zählen, zum anderen geht es um Werke, die das ukrainische Volk als selbständige Subjektgröße mit einer langen Geschichte und einer spezifischen Kultur interpretieren. Es werden Attribute der Identität aufgezeigt, die in der damaligen Präsentation der Ukraine dominieren.*

*Schlüsselwörter: Ukraine(r), Stereotyp, Übersetzung, Literatur, Kultur, Identität.*

**УКРАЇНСЬКА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ, СПРОЕКТОВАНА НАЗОВНІ:  
ОБРАЗ УКРАЇНИ У ЛІТЕРАТУРНИХ ПЕРЕКЛАДАХ  
ТА ЛІТЕРАТУРОЗНАВЧИХ РОЗВІДКАХ**

*Марія Іваницька*

*У статті йдеться про дві ранні тенденції представлення України, її культури та ідентичності у німецькомовних країнах від середини XIX ст. до 30-их років XX ст. Проаналізовані переклади та літературознавчі розвідки, які описують українську культуру у вимірах політичної приналежності та розглядають її у межах російської культурної сфери. З іншого боку, розглянуті праці, що тлумачать український народ як самостійну суб'єктну величину з власною історією та своєрідною культурою. Визначено атрибути ідентичності, що домінують у її тогочасній промоції.*

*Ключові слова: українці, стереотип, переклад, література, культура, ідентичність.*

Was sind die Quellen, aus denen deutsche Leser ihre Vorstellungen über die Ukraine, ihr Volk und ihre Kultur sowie über die ukrainische Identität schöpfen? Sicher gehören zu den wichtigen Quellen Reise- und Medienberichte, wissenschaftliche Publikationen und Literaturwerke. Da ukrainische Literaturwerke

dem deutschen Lesepublikum eher in Form von Übersetzungen zugänglich sind, tragen auch Übersetzungen sowie ihre Para- und Metatexte zur Herausbildung des Ukraine-Bildes bei.

Die Polyfunktionalität von Übersetzungen im Vergleich zu Texten der Originalliteratur lässt sich nicht bestreiten: Sie machen die Leser eines Landes nicht nur mit Werken und Autoren einer anderen Literatur bekannt, sondern sind im Stande, bestimmte Stereotypen über eine fremde Kultur zu bilden oder existierende Vorurteile zu entkräften und zu politischer bzw. kultureller Rezeption eines fremden Landes zu verhelfen. Jede Übersetzung, wie auch literaturwissenschaftliche oder literaturkritische Texte über eine fremde Ausgangsliteratur, tragen zur Anerkennung dieser Literatur durch die Vertreter der Zielkultur bei und verleihen ihr zusätzliches symbolisches Kapital (in der Terminologie von P. Bourdieu 1986). Besonders wichtig ist das für die kleinen Literaturen, die sich früher im Schatten einer großen Literatur befanden (Bachleitner 2010, 9).

Übersetzungen samt Para- und Metatexten tragen zur Herausbildung des Imagotyps eines Landes bei, der zur Reduktion vieler Eindrücke zu einem einfacheren Bild dient, das eine bestimmte Möglichkeit der Identifizierung bietet (Bausinger 1988, 13-19). Dabei stößt aber die literarische Erschließung eines fremden Landes auf epistemologische Regeln, nach denen unser Erwartungshorizont so die Rezeption beeinflusst, dass eine bestimmte Realitätsblindheit beim Rezipienten entsteht. M. Beller weist darauf hin, dass dabei die Rede nicht von der Entstehung objektiv richtiger oder falscher stereotyper Bilder ist, sondern davon, dass im Prozess der Inventarisierung das Bild eines fremden Landes von der Perspektive und Deutung des Mittlers abhängig ist (Beller 2006, 180). Somit wird klar, dass ein Mittler, sei es ein Übersetzer oder ein Verlagslektor, ein Literaturkritiker oder Rezensent, einen unmittelbaren Einfluss auf die Rezeption der übersetzten Literatur ausüben kann und entsprechend – auf die Rezeption eines fremden Landes und seines Volkes, also auf den Rezeptionskanon. So gibt es z.B. in der deutschen Literatur(kritik) einen bestimmten Kanon der Rezeption der russischen oder französischen Literatur, man spricht über den ‘deutschen Diskurs’ der englischen oder spanischen Literatur, über das deutsche Italien- oder Amerika-Bild (Hahn 1987, 28).

Da aber die Ukraine in Deutschland nicht durch eine sehr große Zahl von Übersetzungen vertreten war und ist, kann man behaupten, dass ein Rezeptionskanon, wie ihn die Deutschen etwa hinsichtlich der russischen oder spanischen Literatur haben, noch bei weitem nicht herausgebildet ist. Der Rezeptionskanon der Ukraine besteht vielmehr aus verschiedenen oft widersprüchlichen Bruchteilen, was seine Gründe in der kultur-politischen Situation der Ukraine und in der Geschichte ihrer Präsentation nach außen hat.

Die Geschichte der literarischen Präsentation ukrainischer Kultur und ukrainischer Identität in Deutschland hat ihre Wurzeln im 19. Jh., als mehrere Übersetzungen aus dem Ukrainischen sowie literaturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten publiziert wurden, die die deutsche Rezeption der Ukraine bis in die zweite Hälfte des 20. Jh.s beeinflusst haben.

Eine der ersten bedeutenden Quellen, die Deutschen die Ukraine vorstellte, war die 1845 in Stuttgart herausgegebene Sammlung ukrainischer (im Original – “kleinrussischer”) Lieder “Die poetische Ukraine”, die von dem deutschen Philologen und Dichter Friedrich Bodenstedt übertragen und mit Erklärungen und Kommentaren versehen wurde. Das Buch wurde zum ersten deutschen Wiederhall der ukrainischen Volksdichtung in der Epoche der Romantik und deutete in einer expressiv geschriebenen Einleitung Herkunft und Eigenschaften des ukrainischen Volkes.

Bodenstedt (1819–1892), der in Göttingen Philosophie und Philologie studierte, lebte eine gewisse Zeit in Russland, war Lehrer bei dem Fürsten Michail Golicyn, übersetzte Puškin, Lermontov und Shakespeare und machte sich einen Namen mit dem Buch “Lieder des Mirza Schaffy”. Während seiner Reisen durch das russische Zarenreich lernte er ukrainische Schriftsteller kennen, die ihn auf die reiche ukrainische Folklore aufmerksam machten und ihm bei der Übersetzung ukrainischer Lieder halfen.

Die von Bodenstedt verfasste Sammlung enthält Übertragungen von 33 ukrainischen Volksliedern, zehn Dumen<sup>9</sup> und von Auszügen aus dem heroischen Epos “Igorlied”<sup>10</sup>; im Vorwort und in der Einleitung setzt sich Bodenstedt mit der Geschichte der Ukraine und insbesondere des Kosakentums<sup>11</sup> auseinander. Da dieses Buch einen wesentlichen Beitrag zum Informationstransfer über die Ukraine nach Deutschland leistete, darf man nicht unterschätzen, welches Fundament es für das deutsche Ukraine-Bild schuf: Es war das romantische Bild eines großen Volkes von tapferen Kriegern mit “einem eigentümlichen Gepräge” und “ergreifenden” Volksliedern, die Bodenstedt sehr hoch einschätzt: “In keinem Land hat der Baum der Volkspoesie so herrliche Früchte getragen, ... wie bei den Kleinrussen” (Bodenstedt 1845, 16).

Die geschichtlichen Darlegungen Bodenstedts in Paratexten und seine Deutungen der Entwicklung des ukrainischen Volkes rufen jedoch mehrere Fragen hervor. Seine Erläuterungen stützten sich auf Kenntnisse, die Bodenstedt in Russland gesammelt hatte, auf damalige historische Arbeiten, darunter die des polnischen Schriftstellers und Historikers Michał Grabowski und des russischen Schriftstellers und Historikers Nikolaj Polevoj. Man muss annehmen, dass die Lektüre dieser Quellen einen widersprüchlichen Einfluss auf Bodenstedts Wahrnehmungen hatte, da seine Einleitung über die Wurzeln der Ukrainer recht verwirrend ist.

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<sup>9</sup> Eine Duma ist eine Gattung der ukrainischen Folklore: Ein lyrisch-epischer Gesang rezitativer Art, der meistens die Heldentaten von Kosaken im Kampf gegen Türken und Tataren verherrlicht und begleitet von Volksinstrumenten wie Kobza oder Bandura vorgeführt wird.

<sup>10</sup> In der Kyjiver Rus’ entstandenes Epos über den Feldzug des Fürsten Igor’ gegen die Polovczer (12. Jh.).

<sup>11</sup> Die ukrainischen Kosaken waren Gemeinschaften freier Reiterverbände, die am Dnipro Siedlungen gründeten und die ukrainischen Territorien vor Feinden schützten.

Aus seinen Erörterungen über die Zeiten des ‚alten Russlands‘, die ‚Russen‘ und die „russischen Fürstentümer“<sup>12</sup> geht hervor, dass er im zeitgenössischen Russland den alleinigen Nachfolgerstaat der mittelalterlichen Kyjiver Rus’ sieht und entsprechend der russischen Historiographietradition das damalige Ethnonym ‚Russisch‘ retrospektiv auch auf die Kyjiver Rus’ projiziert, so dass das ganze Territorium ab dem 10. Jh. als russisch erscheint.

Außer der romantischen Begeisterung für den „Reichtum von Farben“ in der Geschichte der tollkühnen Kosaken und für die ukrainische Volkspoesie bietet Bodenstedt dem Leser nur wenige geographische oder kulturologische Angaben über die Ukraine selbst, wobei für den Leser das schon bekannte Ethnonym ‚Russe‘ durch die neuen, untergeordneten Ethnonyme ‚Kleinrussen‘ und ‚Ukrainer‘ erweitert wird. Da Bodenstedt die Bewohner Kyjiver Rus’ und auch ihre Nachfolger ‚Russen‘<sup>13</sup> nennt, wird die Geschichte der russischen Nation von Kyjiv abgeleitet, Ukrainer bzw. Kleinrussen werden nur als spätere Kinder (bzw. adoptierte Kinder) dieser Nation vorgestellt.

Die Ukrainer leitet Bodenstedt von den Kosaken ab, die er mal als ein buntes nationales Gemisch, mal als einen Stand, mal als ein Volk bezeichnet, das im harten Kampf gegen seine Unterdrücker entstand. Bodenstedt beschreibt einige Zweige der Kosaken, wie etwa die Don-Kosaken und die Dnepr-Kosaken, und legt fest, dass die Dnepr-Kosaken den „Keim des Volkes der Kleinrussen oder der Ukrainer“ bildeten (ebd., 11): „der Stand der Kosaken nahm seinen Ursprung in den südlichen Provinzen, wo die russischen Fürsten mit ihren Bojaren umgekommen waren, wo die geistliche Macht gesunken war ... als die südlichen Fürstentümer Rußlands unter der Überschwemmung der Tartaren und später der Litthauer verschwanden, die russische Nation zwei Jahrhunderte hindurch in einer politischen Erstarrung lag“ (ebd., 5 u. 9).

Es wird deutlich, dass Bodenstedt überwiegend auf dem Standpunkt der (damaligen) russischen Historiker steht, die das Zentrum der ostslawischen Geschichte in Russland (‚russische Nation‘) sahen; in seiner Beschreibung benutzt er auch typisch russische Historismen (‚Bojaren‘), die eher mit Bezug auf das Fürstentum Moskau benutzt werden. Der Übersetzer ließ sich auch durch die Meinung Nikolaj Polevojs beeinflussen, der darauf bestand, dass die Ukraine nicht zum großrussischen Erbe gehöre, sondern von Russen erobert worden sei. Das Zitat Polevojs über die Ukrainer: „In diesem Volk sehen wir nur zwei wichtige Elemente der alten Rus’: den Glauben und die Sprache, aber auch die haben sich mit der Zeit verändert. Alles andere ist nicht unseres: Physiognomie, Gemüt, Gebäude, Alltag, Poesie, Kleidung“ (zit. nach Nazarenko 2009, 164; Übersetzung von mir, M.I.) sehen wir fast wortwörtlich bei Bodenstedt wiederholt: „Zwei Elemente des alten Rußlands: Sprache und Religion, verwebten sich mit seinem Organismus und sind bis jetzt die einzigen Zeichen der Ähnlichkeit zwi-

<sup>12</sup> Darunter wird die Zeit des mittelalterlichen Großreichs Kyjiver Rus’ verstanden, das verschiedene Stämme um Kyjiv vereinigte.

<sup>13</sup> Im Ukrainischen gibt es unterschiedliche Benennungen dafür: Die Bewohner der Kyjiver Rus’ werden u.a. als ‚rusyčī‘ bezeichnet, keinesfalls aber als ‚Russen‘.

schen Kosaken und Russen geblieben. Es leuchtet ein, dass bei dem seltsamen Gemisch, aus welchem das Volk (der Ukrainer, M.I.) entstanden war, sich alles Uebrige, wie seine Lebensweise, seine Physiognomie, seine Sitten, seine Verfassung, seine Geschichte und Poesie auf eine ganz eigen-tümliche und neue Weise entfalten mußte" (Bodenstedt 1845, 9). Auch diese Sichtweise schreibt den Ukrainern eine spätere Entstehungszeit und eine gewisse unklare Herkunft zu, wobei die Russen als Subjekt nachhaltiger historischer Entwicklung fungieren. Nach Bodenstedt nahmen die ukrainischen Kosaken "die russische Sprache und griechisch-katholische Religion an" (ebd., 7), was der Realität widerspricht. In der Zeit, die Bodenstedt thematisiert, bedienten sich die ukrainischen Kosaken der ukrainischen Sprache, wovon die Dumen zeugen, und ihr Glaubensbekenntnis war christlich-orthodox: Gerade gegen die katholische und die griechisch-katholische Kirche kämpften die ukrainischen Kosaken hartnäckig.

Einige Bemerkungen Bodenstedts betreffen die ukrainische Sprache und die Charakterzüge der Ukrainer. Ukrainisch wird von dem Philologen als "die Tochter der polnischen und russischen" Sprache und als der "wohlklingendste aller slavischen Dialekte" gedeutet (ebd., X). Bodenstedts Beschreibungen der kriegerische Geschichte der Kosaken lassen ihn "das Ritterliche im Charakter der Aristokratie Kleinrußlands und das Wilde im Charakter des Volkes" (ebd., 15) sehen.

Ein derartiges Ukraine-Bild hat der deutschsprachige Leser also Mitte des 19. Jh.s erhalten, das durch weitere Präsentationen der ukrainischen Literatur vertieft wurde.

Einige Jahre später, im Jahre 1862, hat die meistgelesene deutsche Zeitschrift "Die Gartenlaube" (Leipzig) einen Aufsatz über den ukrainischen Dichter Taras Ševčenko veröffentlicht, der als Nachruf konzipiert war. Der Artikel hatte den Titel "Ein russisches Dichterleben", begann mit den Worten "Die Ukraine, jene Gegend Rußlands, die der Dnepr durchflutet ..." und deutete Ševčenko als einen kleinrussischen Dichter, der "in den letzten Jahrzehnten nicht bloß in seiner Heimat, der Ukraine, sondern im ganzen großen Rußland vielfache Anerkennung gefunden" hat, die "ebenso durch seine Bedeutung als volkstümlicher Dichter, Künstler und Mensch, wie durch seine Erlebnisse hervorgerufen wurde". Die hohe Wertschätzung des volkstümlichen Dichters wird mehrmals zum Ausdruck gebracht, denn "den Volkston der Ukraine verstand niemand besser anzuschlagen als er" (ebd.).

Dieser Artikel in dem populären und beliebten Massenmedium, dessen Auflagenhöhen ca. 10.000 Exemplare erreichten, spielte für das Verständnis der ukrainischen Identität in Deutschland zweifellos eine zwiespältige Rolle. Zum einen trug er dazu bei, dass deutsche Leser mit Taras Ševčenos Leben und Werk bekannt gemacht wurden, zum anderen aber wurde diese Bekanntmachung ausdrücklich mit Russland verbunden, wobei die Begriffe 'russisch', 'kleinrussisch' und 'ukrainisch' auch hier gleichgestellt wurden. Obwohl Ševčenko als ukrainischer Autor beschrieben wird, der sich der ukrainischen Sprache bediente, ordnet der Titel den Poeten der großen russischen Kultur unter.



Der Autor des Artikels, Dr. Hermann Leopold Zunk, der nach dem Studium an der Leipziger Universität in Russland lebte und angeblich mit russischen Intellektuellen bekannt war (Zymomrja 1999, 19), hat noch konsequenter als Bodenstedt den Standpunkt der offiziellen russischen Geschichts- und Kulturschreibung repräsentiert, demzufolge alle im Reich lebenden Künstler zu der russischen Kulturwelt gehörten. Somit wurde eine Tendenz eingeleitet, die der ukrainischen Literatur noch bis vor kurzem zum Verhängnis wurde: Sie sei nämlich ein Teil der russischen Kultur, da die Ukraine ein Teil des russischen Zarenreiches war. So war auch der nächste Baustein zum Image der Ukraine in Europa entstanden, und die Einordnung in den russischen Kulturraum wurde im weiteren von den deutschen Lesern als selbstverständlich angenommen.

Einige weitere Publikationen bekräftigten diesen Imagotyp. 1864 publiziert die "Zeitschrift für slavische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft" einen Artikel "Ueber die kleinrussische Sprache und Literatur", der Überlegungen zur Ukraine (Kleinrussland), zu ihrer Sprache und Literatur thematisierte. Indem der Autor die Entwicklung der ukrainischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jh.s skizziert und die ukrainische Poesie sehr hoch einschätzt, gelangt er zu dem Schluss, dass die kleinrussische Mundart sehr gut zum Gebrauch im Alltag und in der Volksliteratur geeignet sei, dass aber für offizielle Zwecke, für den Unterricht und die Unterhaltung von gebildeten Leuten nur die großrussische Sprache verwendet werden solle (Chanenko 1864, 212).

Die im ukrainischen Milieu aufgewachsenen oder dort lebenden Deutschen hatten allerdings andere Ansichten über das ukrainische / kleinrussische Volk. Besonders ausdrücklich kommen sie im Schaffen von Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904) zum Ausdruck, der in einer jüdischen Familie in Galizien geboren war, eine ukrainische Amme hatte und im multikulturellen Czernowitz arbeitete. Zu seinen Kulturbildern gehören u.a. die literaturkritischen Skizzen "Die Kleinrussen und ihr Sänger" (1878), "Die Literatur der Kleinrussen" (1889) und "Das Volkslied der Kleinrussen" (1890), in denen der Schriftsteller detailliert über die Eigenart der ukrainischen Kultur, Literatur und Sprache berichtet und sie der russischen Kultur und Sprache gegenüberstellt, indem er über zwei verschiedene Völker spricht. Franzos skizziert die Geschichte des ukrainischen Volkes, wobei er die Kleinrussen als ein Kernelement der Kyjiver Rus' interpretiert. Auch er gebraucht das Ethnonym "Russland", aber in Klammern – neben "Rus", ansonsten bedient er sich des damals üblichen Ethnonyms "Kleinrussen". Bereits die Zeiten der Kyjiver Rus' schildert Franzos als eine Periode, in der sich das kleinrussische Volk unabhängig fühlte, und Kyjiv bezeichnet er als die wichtigste Stadt des damaligen Russlands. Er berichtet empört über die Zeiten "der russischen Unterdrückung und Assimilierung als Politik größter Rücksichtslosigkeit" (Franzos 1912, 269), als Versuche unternommen wurden, das kleinrussische Volk zu entnationalisieren. Franzos protestiert gegen die von der russischen Regierung "festgehaltene Fiktion, dass der Süden gleichfalls von Russen bewohnt sei, deren Sprache nur eben im Lauf der Jahrhunderte durch einzelne Polonismen entstellt worden wäre" (ebd., 271). Er hält das kleinrussische Volk für selbst-

ständig, geistig aktiv und stark, aber eher naiv, und er bedauert dessen historisches Schicksal, unterdrückt zu werden, “im zähen Kampfe um Sprache, Glauben und Eigenart” (ebd., 241). Letztendlich aber schildert er das Bild eines Volkes, das die eigene Kultur über Jahrhunderte doch bewahrt hat und nicht aufgibt (ebd., 334).

Im letzten Viertel des 19. Jh.s wuchs das nationale Bewusstsein der Ukrainer, die danach strebten, ihre nationalen Rechte geltend zu machen, von der Weltgemeinschaft als Volk anerkannt zu werden und den anderen selbst die eigene Kultur zu präsentieren. Diese Aufgaben stellten sich deutschsprachige Ukrainer, die im österreichischen Galizien und in der Bukowina lebten und rege Kontakte mit der deutschsprachigen Welt pflegten. Die von ihnen angefertigten Übersetzungen erschienen in den deutschen und österreichischen Literaturzeitschriften “Die Gesellschaft” (Leipzig), “Die Zeit”, “Das literarische Echo” (Berlin), “Vorwärts”, “Das Magazin für die Literatur” (Berlin-Leipzig), “Aus fremden Zungen” (Stuttgart-Leipzig), “Slawisches Tageblatt” und “Neue Revue” (Wien). Mit den Redaktionen dieser Zeitschriften haben die ukrainischen Schriftsteller und Übersetzer Ivan Franko und Ol’ha Kobyljans’ka, die in beiden Sprachen schrieben, sehr aktiv zusammengearbeitet. Gebürtige Ukrainer gründeten in Wien die deutschsprachigen Halbmonats- und Monatshefte “Ruthenische Revue” (1903–1905) und “Ukrainische Rundschau” (1905–1915), um deutschsprachigen Politikern, Diplomaten, der Presse und Kulturszene Informationen über die Ukraine, ihre Geschichte und Gegenwart, Kultur und insbesondere Literatur zu liefern. Dies stellte eine breite Selbstdarstellung der Ukrainer dar und war Zeichen davon, dass die Ukraine ihre Identität in Kontakt mit anderen europäischen Kulturen zu etablieren suchte.

Im Laufe von zwei Jahren hat die “Ruthenische Revue” 59 Werke von ukrainischen Autoren in deutscher Übersetzung sowie 24 literaturkritische Artikel publiziert, die der ukrainischen Literatur gewidmet waren (vgl. Symomrja 1984, 172). Nach Angaben von Woldan (2001, 612) wurden in der Zeitschrift ca. 30 ukrainische Schriftsteller vorgestellt und 20 Übersetzer beschäftigt. Die Zeitschrift hatte eigene Korrespondenten in Kyjiv, Lemberg, Czernowitz, Berlin, München, Hamburg und pflegte rege Kontakte mit vielen deutschen Zeitschriften, die Materialien aus der “Ruthenischen Revue” nachdruckten.

Nach zwei Jahren Tätigkeit wurde der Name “Ruthenische<sup>14</sup> Revue” durch “Ukrainische Rundschau” ersetzt (1905). Diese Namensveränderung zeugt von der Vertiefung des Prozesses der Selbstidentifizierung der Ukrainer und davon, dass sie sich nach außen als Vertreter eines Volkes präsentieren wollten, das zwar in verschiedenen Staatsgebilden lebt, aber eine Sprache und eine Kultur hat. Außerdem verdeutlichte diese Namensänderung den Willen der in den östlichen Kronländern der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie und in der sogenann-

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<sup>14</sup> Die Ukrainer wurden in Österreich als Ruthenen bezeichnet, im Russischen Zarenreich als Kleinrussen.

ten “Großukraine”<sup>15</sup> lebenden Ukrainer zur Vereinigung in einem eigenen Staat. Aus diesem Grund ermunterte der Redakteur der “Ukrainischen Rundschau” W. Kuschnir auch Wissenschaftler und Schriftsteller aus beiden Teilen der Ukraine zur Zusammenarbeit – viel mehr, als dies sein Vorgänger Roman Sembratovyč getan hatte.

Diese Medienpublikationen trugen dazu bei, dass allmählich auch in den deutschsprachigen Ländern ein anderes Ukraine-Bild entstand, und dass das Verständnis wuchs, dass die Ukraine nicht identisch mit Russland war, sondern eine eigene alte und reiche Kultur aufwies. Dieser Gedanke wird sehr deutlich in einer literarischen Studie des Slavisten Alfred Jensen, die 1916 in Wien gedruckt wurde. Sie trug den Titel “Taras Schewtschenko. Ein ukrainisches Dichterleben” und deutete den Werdegang der Ukraine ganz anders als z.B. F. Bodenstedt, und auch breiter als K. E. Franzos: “Bereits im 5. Jahrhundert war die Ukraine größtenteils slawisiert und Kyjiv wurde nach der warjägischen Ansiedelung am Dnipro im 9. Jahrhundert bekanntlich die Hauptstadt und der Kulturherd des ersten ukrainischen Reiches” (Jensen 1916, IX). Für die Bezeichnung der Kyjiver Rus’ gebraucht Jensen nicht mehr das Ethnonym “Russland”, wie viele andere europäische Wissenschaftler, sondern “Ruthenenland” und unterstreicht somit den ukrainischen Anspruch auf die Geschichte und Kultur der Kyjiver Rus’: “Als das alte Kyjiv auf der Höhe seiner Macht stand und Beziehungen mit dem Abendlande anknüpfte, war das kulturelle Niveau in dem damaligen Ruthenenlande ungleich höher als 500 Jahre später, da Iwan Grosnyj das moskowitzische Einheitswerk vollendete” (ebd., XIII). Bei der Beschreibung späterer Zeitperioden benutzt Jensen für die Russen das Ethnonym “Moskowiter” und unterscheidet so zwischen Russen und Ukrainern. Die Deutung der Beziehungen zwischen Russen und Ukrainern lassen sich in Äußerungen wie folgenden ablesen: “In der östlichen Ukraine machten es sich die Moskowiter bequem” (ebd.), oder: “Das Vernichtungswerk der russischen Regierung wurde 1783 mit der endgültigen Aufhebung der kosakischen Heeresorganisation gekrönt” (ebd., XII).

Jensen äußert sich auch zum Thema der ukrainischen und der russischen Sprache, indem er ausdrücklich von einem “wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den beiden” spricht: “Mögen die Gelehrten auch noch so heftig über den sprachlichen Charakter des berühmten Igorliedes streiten – es steht fest, daß diese eigenartig frische und lebensfrohe Poesie niemals aus moskowitzischem Boden hervorsprießen konnte” (ebd., XIII). Die Kosaken schildert Jensen nicht mehr als wildes Gemisch, sondern als einen “wichtigen politischen Faktor in Osteuropa und als Vorkämpfer für die nationalen Forderungen der Ukrainer” (ebd., X).

Ein derartiges Bild der Ukraine schuf Jensen zweifellos unter dem Einfluss ukrainischer Kulturschaffender wie Ivan Franko sowie dank den zahlreichen Publikationen in den oben erwähnten Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, deren Zahl vor und während des ersten Weltkrieges wesentlich zunahm. Insbesondere stie-

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<sup>15</sup> Unter Großukraine versteht man die ukrainischen ethnischen Territorien, die zum Russischen Zarenreich gehörten.

gen die Publikationsaktivitäten mit der Gründung des “Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraine”, der versuchte, die Idee einer unabhängigen Ukraine in Europa zu popularisieren<sup>16</sup>. Die vom Bund herausgegebenen “Ukrainische Nachrichten” (1914–1917), die Wochenzeitung des Ukrainischen Hauptrates “Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt” (1914–1916) / “Ukrainische Korrespondenz” (1916–1918), die Zeitschrift “Ukrainische Blätter. Zeitschrift für die politischen und kulturellen Bestrebungen des ukrainischen Volkes” (Wien) stellten dem europäischen Leser ein breites Bild der ukrainischen Geschichte, Gegenwart und Kultur vor und wiesen auf die eigenständige Kultur der Ukrainer und auf das Recht hin, in ihrem eigenen Staat zu leben. Es sei auch die Rolle der deutsch-ukrainischen Gesellschaft (1918–1926) erwähnt, die von dem Politiker und Publizisten Paul Rohrbach (1869–1956) gegründet wurde und in ihrer Zeitschrift “Die Ukraine” sowie in anderen Publikationen<sup>17</sup> die Deutschen aufgerufen hat, die Bestrebungen der Ukraine nach einem selbständigen Staat zu unterstützen<sup>18</sup>. An dieser Idee arbeiteten viele ukrainische Emigranten, die sich in Berlin niederließen und danach strebten, die deutsche Öffentlichkeit für die ukrainischen Freiheitskämpfe zu sensibilisieren.

Eine dieser AnhängerInnen der ukrainischen Freiheit war die deutsche Schriftstellerin und Übersetzerin Anna Charlotte Wutzky (1890–1952),<sup>19</sup> die sich der ukrainischen Thematik unter dem Einfluss der ukrainischen Emigranten zuwandte. 1918 publizierte sie das Büchlein “Ad astra!: 3 Märchen von der geistigen Ukraina”, das drei in Berlin lebenden ukrainischen Kulturschaffenden und Politikern gewidmet war: “Eugen Turula,<sup>20</sup> Alexander Skoropyss von Joltuchowsky<sup>21</sup> und W. Kozlowsky<sup>22</sup>”. Die drei Märchen thematisieren in allegorischer

<sup>16</sup> Der Bund hat 50 Bücher und 30 Broschüren herausgegeben, u.a. auf Deutsch “Ukraine und ihre internationale politische Bedeutung” (Wien 1915) und “Ukraina. Land und Volk” (Wien 1916).

<sup>17</sup> Dazu gehören u.a. folgende Arbeiten: Der Aufsatz von P. Krämer “Die Ukraine”, der ukrainischen historischen Liedern gewidmet war, die Skizze von Je. Levyc’kyj “Die wiedererwachte Ukraine”, die die ukrainische nationale Wiedergeburt thematisierte, die Broschüre “Die Ukrainer” von Prof. R. Günter, der die Selbständigkeit der ukrainischen Sprache nachweist, die ukrainische Literatur charakterisiert und die ukrainische Hymne in Übersetzung anführt.

<sup>18</sup> Die politische Tätigkeit von Paul Rohrbach wird von den meisten deutsch- und englischsprachigen Autoren negativ bewertet: Er sei ein “Rassenchauvinist, der nicht zuvorderst das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker, sondern die Hegemonie Deutschlands in Osteuropa im Sinn gehabt habe” (Bieber, H. [1972]. *Paul Rohrbach – ein konservativer Publizist und Kritiker der Weimarer Republik*. Berlin, S. 249).

<sup>19</sup> A. Ch. Wutzky schrieb Bücher über F. Grillparzer, J. Strauß und F. Schubert und gilt als bekannte Romanistin.

<sup>20</sup> Prof. Eugen (Jevhen) Turula (1882–1951) war Komponist und Dirigent aus Galizien, der zum “Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine” gehörte und Chöre in Kriegsgefangenenlagern organisierte. Möglich wäre, dass Wutzky gerade von ihm ukrainische Volkslieder gehört hat sowie Gedichte von Ševčenko. Man kann annehmen, dass die Beschäftigung mit der Musik der Grund für die nähere Bekanntschaft war.

<sup>21</sup> Alexandr Skoropys-Joltuchovs’kyj (1880–1950) war Politiker und Publizist, eines der aktivsten Mitglieder des “Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraine” und einer der Gründer des Ukrai-

Form die Ukraine, ihre Lieder und ihr Schicksal. Schon der erste Satz des Geleites belegt, dass sich die Dichterin in der Geschichte und derzeitigen Situation der Ukraine auskennt: "Voll Schwere ist dein Joch... Ich flehe, dass nur ein's der Himmel dir vergönne / Dass sie nicht von dir fliehen, die Besten deiner Söhne" (Wutzky 1918, 3). Die Autorin benutzt Zeilen aus dem Gedicht "Reflexion" des ukrainischen Dichter Ivan Franko, dessen Gedichte sie hoch schätzte und ins Deutsche übersetzte<sup>23</sup>. Das Schicksal der ukrainischen Emigranten ließ die Schriftstellerin nicht gleichgültig, und sie wurde durch deren Kampf für die Unabhängigkeit der Heimat inspiriert. In ihren drei Märchen dominieren für die ukrainische Literatur und Folklore typische Bilder: Leiden des Volkes, Kampf für die Freiheit, Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft. So lesen wir im Märchen "Ikaria" über die "leuchtende Ruhmesfackel eines großen Landes" und die Königin Ikaria, die "den Geist ihres Volkes aufwärts in lichte Höhen" lenkte (ebd., 25), außerdem über den Kampf des Volkes gegen neidische Feinde, der allerdings erfolglos war, obwohl "edelster Heldenmut im Volke emporflamte" (ebd.). Einen Erlöser sieht die Autorin in der Figur des Dichters: "Wenn ein solcher Prophet deinem Volke erwächst, darf es darin ein Zeichen erblicken, dass es nicht für ewige Zeiten zur Finsternis und Knechtschaft verdammt ist. Denn nie ward einem Volke Geistesgut verliehen, auf dass dies Gut verkümmere" (ebd., 28). Auf diese Weise chiffriert die Autorin die wichtige Rolle des poetischen Wortes für das ukrainische Dasein sowie die Rolle des Poeten für die ukrainische Wiedergeburt.

Das wiederkehrende Motiv des poetischen Wortes als geistliches Epizentrum der ukrainischen Kultur und der ukrainischen Identität kommt bei vielen Übersetzern der ukrainischen Literatur vor: Für die Ševčenko-Übersetzerin Julia Virginia (1878–1936) war der Dichter Symbol des ganzen ukrainischen Volkes, der Schriftsteller und Literaturwissenschaftler Gustav Specht (1885–1956) hielt Ševčenkos Leben für eine Widerspiegelung des geistigen Schicksals des Volkes.

Die enge Freundschaft Wutzkys mit ukrainischen Schriftstellern, insbesondere mit Bohdan Lepkyj, hat ohne Zweifel ihre Wahrnehmung der magischen Kraft der ukrainischen Dichtung verstärkt. So schreibt A. Wutzky in dem Artikel "Bohdan Lepkyj in der deutschen Literatur", der in der ukrainischsprachigen Zeitung "Svoboda" in den USA herausgegeben wurde, dass das Werk Bohdan Lepkyjs eine allgemeinmenschliche geistige Atmosphäre vermittele, die "uns zum Verständnis von weiten und fremden nationalen Gefühlen führt. Eine solche Atmosphäre ist nur einem echten Kunstwerk eigen. ... Wenn man in Deutschland das ukrainische Land kennt, seine Menschen (menschliche Menschen) und seine Natur versteht, so geschieht es dank den Novellen Lepkyjs.

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nischen Wissenschaftliches Institutes in Berlin sowie der Gesellschaft "Freie Ukraine"; er war auch Autor des Aufsatzes "Die Bedeutung der selbständigen Ukraine für ein europäisches Gleichgewicht" (1913).

<sup>22</sup> Vsevolod Koslovs'kyj (1877–1933?) war Sekretär des "Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraine" und 1918 Sekretär der ukrainischen Botschaft in Berlin.

<sup>23</sup> Wutzky, A. (1921). *Aus dem Ährenlande. Ukrainische Lyrik in deutscher Nachdichtung*. Berlin.

Und wenn Deutsche die politische Tragödie des ukrainischen Volkes verstehen, so geschieht es dank seinen Gedichten, insbesondere «Nocturno» (Wutzky 1922, 2).

1920 hat Wutzky die Sammlung “Bandura-Klänge: Zwölf Ukrainische Volkslieder und die Nationalhymne «herausgegeben, die von ihr übertragene Volkslieder samt Originalen und Noten enthielt: Historische und scherzhafte Lieder, ein Weihnachtslied und ein Tanzlied «Kolomyjka» sowie das Gedicht «Ne pora» von Ivan Franko («Ukraina, du herrliches Land, das dem Grabe der Knechtschaft entstieg»)", das von der Übersetzerin als Nationalhymne bezeichnet wird<sup>24</sup>. Mit dieser Wahl präsentierte die Übersetzerin den Reichtum der ukrainischen Folklore und deren Vielfalt, aber auch die Idee des selbstaufopfernden Kampfes der Ukrainer für die Freiheit.

1921 publizierte Wutzky die Sammlung “Aus dem Ährenlande: ukrainische Lyrik in deutscher Nachdichtung” mit 16 Gedichten von Ivan Franko und fünf von Lesja Ukrajinka. Diese Übertragungen sind von hoher Qualität und großem Wohlklang und zeugen davon, dass ihr die ukrainische Kultur und Mentalität sehr nah waren.

Noch Ende der 30-er Jahre wurden Übertragungen Wutzkys von der Gesellschaft der Freunde des Ukrainischen wissenschaftlichen Institutes herausgegeben.

Dieses Institut wurde allerdings in vielen deutschen und auch sowjetischen Quellen als nationalistisch und ‘profaschistisch’ (Pohrebennyk 1988, 243-244) gebrandmarkt, da es von ukrainischen Emigranten gegründet und von deutscher Seite finanziell unterstützt wurde, insbesondere aber, weil in Publikationen des Institutes die sowjetische Kulturpolitik als diktatorisch und imperial kritisiert wurde. Dass das Ukrainische wissenschaftliche Institut in Berlin das Ziel hatte, Kenntnisse über die Ukraine im deutschsprachigen Raum zu verbreiten, die Beziehungen der Ukraine mit Westeuropa zu untersuchen und ukrainische Wissenschaftler und Studierende zu fördern, wurde häufig negativ interpretiert; dabei wurde nicht berücksichtigt, dass viele Werke der ukrainischen Literatur und wissenschaftliche Forschungen über die Ukraine im Rahmen der Tätigkeit dieses Institut veröffentlicht wurden. So erschien z.B. 1930 das Buch “Das geistige Leben der Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart”, das die ukrainische Sichtweise auf die Geschichte Osteuropas präsentierte und reiches Material über ein breites Spektrum der ukrainischen Kultur enthielt. Es war einer der wichtigen Schritte bei den Bemühungen der ukrainischen Diaspora, an deutsche Leser der Weimarer Republik zu appellieren und auf ihrer mentalen Landkarte Europa das ukrainische Volk präsent zu machen.

Einen lesenswerten Artikel, der die Besonderheiten der ukrainischen Mentalität und Kultur thematisiert, finden wir 1939 in der Zeitschrift “Slavische Rundschau. Berichtende und kritische Zeitschrift für das geistige Leben der slawischen Völker”. Der Autor, Prof. M. Rudnyc’kyj, schrieb in diesem Artikel über

<sup>24</sup> Das Gedicht wurde angeblich unter dem Titel “Nationalhymne” schon 1897 in Leipzig publiziert: <https://uk.wikipedia.org/>

die ukrainische Romantik und ihren Unterschied im Vergleich zur europäischen Romantik, womit er offensichtlich das in der Literaturwissenschaft häufig behandelte Thema "ukrainischer Dichter und das ukrainische Volk" aufgreift. Europäische Romantiker, so Rudnyc'kyj, schöpften aus der Volkspoese Inspiration, wobei sie vergaßen, dass sie ihr dies schuldig sind. Ukrainische Romantiker dagegen schöpften aus den Quellen der Volkspoese, um sofort das dort Geborgte zurückzuzahlen. Die ganze ukrainische romantische Literatur sei romantisch, weil sie sich auf den Altar der Heimat opfere – sowohl die eigenen Werke als auch die eigenen Talente. Ohne die ukrainische Romantik sei die ukrainische Nationalbewegung undenkbar (Rudnyc'kyj 1939, 191-192).

Ungeachtet zahlreicher Versuche, die Aufmerksamkeit der deutschen Öffentlichkeit auf die ukrainische Identität und die Spezifik der ukrainischen Kultur zu lenken, fanden diese Stimmen zu wenig Gehör; die staatslosen Ukrainer hatte keine politische Lobby, so dass sich im Kollektivbewusstsein Deutschlands kaum Kenntnisse über die Ukraine als ein Subjekt der europäischen Geschichte herausbildeten. Vereinzelt Plädoyers wurden durch immer lautere Politparolen über die sowjetische Identität schnell gedämpft.

Dies zeigt sich auch, wenn man sich an Versuche sowjetischer ukrainischer Schriftsteller erinnert, mit deutschen Schriftstellern der Weimarer Republik Kontakte zu knüpfen, um die ukrainische Literatur zu popularisieren.

Eine solche Mission unternahm der Sekretär des Allukrainischen Verbandes der proletarischen Schriftsteller Ivan Mykytenko, der mit einer Delegation ukrainischer Autoren nach Deutschland fuhr. In seinem Reisebericht, der in Form eines Buches publiziert wurde, erzählt Mykytenko über das Gespräch mit dem Verleger W. Herzfelde, dem ein Brief des ukrainischen Verlags "Ukrajins'kyj robotnyk" überbracht wurde. Da dieses Gespräch die vorherrschenden Vorstellungen veranschaulicht, möchte ich hier daraus zitieren:

– Sie sind wohl nicht sehr gut über die ukrainische Literatur informiert, frage ich.

– Alle Werke der russischen Literatur, die in deutschen Übersetzungen erschienen sind, kenne ich gut. Alle.

– ... Aber ich frage nach der ukrainischen Literatur. Nicht nach der russische, sondern nach der ukrainischen ...

– Wie? – fragte er endlich. – Selbständige ukrainische Literatur?

– Völlig selbständige.

Da zuckte er mit den Achseln.

– Ich weiß nicht, ich habe nichts davon gehört, kann nichts sagen ... Und eine selbständige Sprache?

Da war ich und nach mir auch Peter Kosch ratlos.

– Ja klar! – rief Peter unzufrieden.

– In der Tat. Absolut selbständig. – fügte ich hinzu.

Herzfelde schaute uns überrascht an.

– Vielleicht ein Dialekt?

– Kein Dialekt! – rief Peter. – Eine selbständige Sprache, die alte ukrainische Sprache, eine sehr reiche Sprache von vierzig Millionen Menschen. Zeig ihm das Album mit den Porträts eurer Schriftsteller! (Mykytenko 1965, 99).

Wieland Herzfelde, Publizist und Begründer des “Malik-Verlags”, der sich auf kommunistische Literatur spezialisierte, war Mitglied der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands, hatte Kontakte zu russischen Schriftstellern und Herausgebern und unterstützte in seiner Tätigkeit die Sowjetunion. In den 20-er Jahren publizierte er in großen Auflagen Übersetzungen russischer Autoren. Aber auch nach den Erklärungen Mykytenkos hatte sich an seiner Wahrnehmung der ukrainischen Literatur als eines Teils der russischen nichts geändert. Davon zeugt z.B. die Sammlung “Dreissig neue Erzähler des neuen Russlands. Junge russische Prosa”, in die u.a. die Erzählung “Much Makar” des ukrainischen Autors Petro Panč aufgenommen wurde. In der biographischen Notiz, der kürzesten von allen, wird angegeben, dass Panč Ukrainer sei und zu der jungen Generation der Schriftsteller gehöre, die dank der nationalen Selbständigkeit der Ukraine ins Leben gerufen worden sei (Dreissig 1931, 614).

Aus diesem kurzen Überblick lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass die Zugehörigkeit eines großen Teils der Ukraine zur russischen Monarchie nichts daran geändert hat, dass die deutsche Rezeption diesen ganzen multiethnischen Raumes als einheitlich russischen Kulturraum aufgefasst hat; eine eigene ukrainische Identität wurde allenfalls innerhalb dieses russischen Gesamtrahmens wahrgenommen. Die aus den ehemaligen österreichischen Gebieten stammenden Kulturschaffenden waren sensibler gegenüber nationalen Kulturen, vermochten aber dieses Stereotyp kaum zu zerstören. In beiden Fällen wird in den Darstellungen die ukrainische Identität mit dem schweren Schicksal und dem Freiheitskampf des Volkes verbunden; die am häufigsten erwähnten, für sie charakteristischen Phänomene sind Sprache, Kosakentum und Dichtung.

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## THE PROCESS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE QUESTIONS ABOUT VALUES. THE CASE OF MAJDAN LITERATURE

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*In this paper the author analyses accounts of the events of the dignity revolution focusing on the value system and its impact on the identity of the participants of the Majdan. The goal of the study is to expose the way in which the narrative and the self-narrative is constructed as a means to raise awareness, to evaluate and interpret events. At the same time, it is investigated how, according to the authors of the analysed texts, the identity changes evoked by the revolution affect the society as a whole and how they should shape its future.*

*Key words: Majdan literature, narrative, value system, identity*

## ПРОЦЕС ТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ ТА ПИТАННЯ ЦІННОСТЕЙ. ЛІТЕРАТУРА МАЙДАНУ

*Катажина Якубовська-Кравчик*

*У статті проаналізовано свідчення авторів про події Революції Гідності з огляду на систему цінностей, яка її творила, а також її вплив на тотожність учасників подій на Майдані. Метою дослідження є представлення способів побудови наративу й одночасно - автонаративу як одних зі способів формування свідомості, оцінки й інтерпретації подій. Проаналізовано як, на думку авторів, зміна тотожності, викликана Революцією, впливає на ціле суспільство та який це матиме вплив на його майбутнє.*

*Ключові слова: література Майдану, наратив, система цінностей, тотожність.*

Revolutions and wars are always a testing time for the people involved. Extremely difficult experiences require constant decision-making: whether one should get involved, where the boundary should be set between the private and social life, to what extent one should give up personal interest for the common good. As Katarzyna Rosner writes: “The understanding of a human being [...] exposes reflexivity, thinking [...]. A thought, understanding is guided firstly by the individual, his or her development and changing life situation.” (Rosner 2003, 6). During the hard months of 2013–2014 all of those questions that were faced by the Ukrainians not only allowed them to determine their position on the

Majdan events, but mainly changed themselves. Especially that, as the philosopher further notes, “(self-understanding) becomes the main factor constituting the consciousness of the individual. It can be said that their identity is not something given here, but inflicted, calling for definition, whilst the term (self-definition) develops in time, similarly as the very existence of the individual and – as long as it lasts – it is never final. [...] the identity constructed by reflection (self-understanding) accompanying its existence.” (Rosner 2003, 6).

During the Kyjiv Majdan, the values and identity were subjected to particular trials. It is no accident that these events were named the revolution of dignity. It is very well illustrated in the fragment of text “Majdan vid peršoji osoby”, in which the authors demonstrate how strongly, in their opinion, the need to fight for dignity was present in the Ukrainians – an inseparable element of the everyday life of every human. Therefore, the attitude of those ruling Ukraine, who have shown that they do not respect their citizens, treat them instrumentally and deprive them of subjectivity, sparked the protests of millions of Ukrainians (Kovtunovyč, Pryvalko 2015, 29). As Katja Petrovs’ka writes: “In the West it was said that they were in favour of democracy, but they only demanded their own dignity, quite ordinary things, which are so hard to define, to not look at each other with embarrassment, with an almost physiological need to simply remain a human being and defend one’s right to be a human.” (Andruchowycz 2014, 52). Cardinal Lubomyr Husar emphasises that the Majdan is a community of people of different ages and with varied education, who believe in similar values (Kovtunovyč, Pryvalko 2015, 314). In the collective journal of the revolution “Ohien’ Majdanu” the same was highlighted by Oleksij Polehkyj, who stressed that this was not so much about the geopolitical, linguistic or historical conflict, but about values. It’s a problem of identity. A change of consciousness is taking place, verification of the way of thinking about decisions and motivations (Gluza et al. 2015, 63).

This reflection is very well mirrored in literature, as the narrative is one of the ways to build awareness. In the self-narration a human organises their world, assigns values to things and events, places them in appropriate categories. What is more, they create themselves, interpret the past and project the future. All this then leads to the creation of one’s own system of values, which on the one hand is made by the identity, and on the other hand – co-created by oneself.

For the analysis of the category of values in the context of the revolution of dignity, the elements of E. Bielicki’s definitions are useful. The researcher believes that “values co-create the qualities of awareness, and thus they are elements modifying the recognition of important situational factors.” (Bielicki 1983, 48–49). The revolution of dignity could not have had such power, if there had not been for profound changes in the consciousness of not only individuals, but also entire groups. Violation of principles followed by the society led to enormous fatigue of citizens, and in consequence – to opposition: “I stand on the Majdan, because I’ve had enough – lies, bribes, tax scams, rudeness” – writes Viktor Teren (Gluza et al. 2015, 60). Ordinary people in a very tangible way ex-

perienced in their lives that humanist values organise the every-day reality in a way that serves the community well. And only thanks to such a position they were willing to commit to far-reaching austerity and sacrifices. These kind of awareness processes, however, occur at a particular point in time; taking into account its volatility “a good concept must be woven into [...] understanding of own life as an unrolling story. We must perceive our life as a narrative.” (Rosner 2003, 35). Moreover, building such a concept, we consider it in various perspectives: past, present and future. Thus, in the literature we analyse, the authors refer to the Ukrainian history, especially the latest. They invoke the events preceding the protest, the present times of Majdan, and the projected future, i.e. that what may happen after the revolution. As noted by the researcher of human identity, Charles Taylor: “That who I am must be understood as that who I have become. In order to make a proper assessment, we must look both behind, and forward. The point is, that as a creature that develops and becomes, I can know myself only through my history of maturation and regression, history of victories and failures. My self-understanding has, out of necessity, the time dimension and is based on the narrative.” (Taylor 1995, 94). Thanks to this we can consider the human life, but also the life of nations, as a constant existence – continuance, subjected to various processes and tests.

The first time perspective I would like to concentrate on are the pictures of the past, presented by the authors. In many texts the authors, looking back at their life, and the life of Ukrainian society, in a certain way examine their own conscience. They wonder how it is possible that so many illnesses affect their country. Many of the Majdan texts are an attempt to settle the past, critically look not only at the authorities, but also at themselves. A good example is a reflection of Olena Den’ha: “Janukovyč lives in each one of us. [...] Through our actions (or inaction) we caused this gang to be in power. It is not about the president’s chair, place in the parliament or deputy status – this system crawled everywhere, from minor to major officials. Who, if not us, spoiled them with bribes? I will not believe that there are people who did not hand even the smallest compensation to the official – because they wanted to circumvent the law or make it work. [...] Seemingly, we don’t support it globally, but sometimes one wishes to solve something faster, easier... [...]” (Gluzza et al. 2015, 54).

The authors raise the problem of not only the authorities, but also mechanisms that led to them; they are trying to demonstrate the need for change in every single citizen. While analysing the selected texts, K. Żygulski’s division may prove helpful, into three types of hierarchy of values, namely: declared, recognised and practical (Żygulski 1975, 49). Those declared in the past were often dominant, as in the case of the above quotation, in which the fact of the universality of functioning of bribes in the face of numerous declarations of their disapproval is exposed. The recognised values remained attractive most often only in the intellectual sphere. The fact is that the struggle for dignity was an important component of the worldview of many Ukrainian citizens, but until the revolution only a small percentage was involved in it actively. As noted in the

“Zwrotnik Ukraina” Katja Petrovs’ka, the majority only moved within well-known, safe routes: family, friends, professional, etc. (Andruchowycz 2014, 52).

Those two above-mentioned categories of values and the way of their perception by the Ukrainian society significantly affected the third type, namely the practical values, so those organising the every-day life, allowing efficient navigation in the surrounding world. There was also an inverse correlation. In order to deal with every-day matters, one had to modify the system of values.

The discrepancy between the values deemed as important and the possibility to implement them led to mass protests, as on the one hand, they are a vital element of the human psyche; on the other hand, they are connected to the human emotions. These two factors, combined with the processes of processing information, acted so strongly that the Ukrainians decided to go out on the streets en masse. Especially that the moral assessment of the authorities’ deeds remained completely contradictory to the system of values deeply-rooted in Ukrainian culture. “Ukraine will not forgive the assassination of its children” – writes Marija Matios in her diary (Matios 2015, 18). It is the moment when, according to the narrators, there is no longer any choice. These cases support the theory of political anthropology of Critchley, who identifies anger as a key ingredient of political experience and calls it “the first political emotion”, the “emotion that produces motion, the mood that moves the subject.” (Critchley 2008). It triggers resistance, and without it most democratic processes would take a very different course. According to the authors, it is necessary to protest against the current state of affairs and lead not only to political changes, but also social ones, starting with one self. “To stand on the Majdan is not everything. Help to become different” – writes Marija Matios (Matios 2015, 21).

At the time of describing these events, in the narratives the identification of values with action takes place. Referring to the definition of A. Adler, the belief is pushed to the foreground that “the evaluation of single individuals or the collective may be explored only using their actions. This way the action is the only empirically known aspect of values.” (Misztal 1975, 28). Hence, for the authors the basis for assessing people taking part in the protests are precisely their actions.

The analysed texts, the picture of the Majdan is a patchwork of several categories of values. Firstly, there are social values, measured with involvement in the common good, co-creation of structures, involvement in social activity, as well as the assessment of phenomena in terms of the good of the nation. This kind of values in analysed texts attracts most attention. Self-sacrifice, selflessness and devotion of people coming to the Majdan is emphasised. Anna Wolochowa states: “it turned out quickly that there were more people bringing food than ones in need.” (Gluza et al. 2015, 30). The rector of the Greek-Catholic seminary, Petro Žuk, notes that everyone performs tasks assigned to them. There is no consensus on violence, and one must not be silent when the evil happens. He emphasises a very strong need to unite, and internal solidarity

in the struggle for the good of Ukraine. The examples of such activities are found in all readings devoted to the revolution of dignity.

In the analysed texts an important position is taken also by the allocentric values. Interpersonal relations were one of the most important issues discussed. Help to others and building a strong community were one of the basic rules shaping the Majdan. As noted by the Polish journalist, Pawel Boblowicz, cited by T. Kovtunovyč and T. Privalko, he for the first time got to know a Ukraine deprived of the legacy of the Soviet Union at the Majdan, a Ukraine filled with kindness, a cultural Ukraine, in which the good of the other human being was important. The journalist concludes: "It was simply the system of organising the country that did not allow their values to be values in force." (Kovtunovyč, Privalko 2015, 30). Oksana Zabužko, on the other hand, emphasises the surprising openness and readiness to help of the people encountered both the simple, and those holding prestigious positions, e.g. a notaries: "Come if help is needed, I have friends ..." (Kovtunovyč, Privalko 2015, 302).

According to the authors, creating a strong community during the revolution was an incredibly important experience for the Ukrainian society, turning away from the intensifying processes of individualisation and closing into one's own world, favouring the good of a group over an individual's, as well as readiness to sacrifice not only one's own wealth and position, but also one's life – for others.

The examples I have analysed fit well into the classification of citizens' identities (Westheimer, Kahne 2004) and their typical activities. All of them were observed during the dignity revolution. The first involves individuals taking responsibility for the events, in our case: financing medicines, food, clothing etc. The second one – the participative one, requires greater involvement; providing food and segregating and distributing medicines are but a few examples. As noted by Karolina Starego, these models are "based on responsibility, skills, individual values, disposition and attitudes. They are apolitical, because they replace the political with the social or the individual. They are functional, because the civic activism they promote is mostly directed towards achieving social cohesion (Biesta 2011)" (Starego 2015, 50). Finally, Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne identify the third type, "oriented towards social justice", which is aimed at answering the questions about the antecedents of the current situation (the outbreak of the rallies, the crippled law enforcement in Ukraine etc.). Those who followed this model would engage in the Majdan upon reflection on various aspects of this action. This approach involves a broader perspective, based on the critique of the current system and calling for long-lasting systemic change (Westheimer, Kahne 2004).

Revolution was also a kind of reactivation of the social capital, which, according to F. Fukuyama, "has its source in such 'irrational' phenomena as religion or traditional ethical forms, and its generating and maintaining is necessary for correct functioning of 'tangible', modern economical, political and also so-

cial institutions.” (Adamczyk 2015, 128). For their development and strengthening, it is necessary to reach out to culturally rooted values.

According to the authors, an important role in maintaining the embers of revolution was played by emotional values. As the researchers claim, a human being has a tendency to attach more weight to strong experiences, regardless of whether they assess them as positive or negative. The power of experience counts above all. And there was no shortage of those with great emotional charge in Kyjiv, at the turn of the year 2013/14. Especially in the cases of violating human freedom, autonomy, and even respect for life the basis for modern European morality and culture (Taylor 2001, 25). The described emotions were associated with severe disappointment and disapproval of the current situation. As explored by Critchley, this is the starting point for the construction of “normative principles that might enable us to face and face down the present political situation” (Critchley 2008, 10), because according to the author “philosophy, modern post-Kantian philosophy, begins not in an experience of wonder at what is, but from an experience of failure and lack.” (Critchley 2008, 45). Such an experience helps verify the evaluation of the situation and realize the necessity of creating new social and political ethics based on universal moral judgment.

The face of revolution were also aesthetic values. Contrary to many others, the Ukrainian revolution of dignity paid much attention to the role of beauty and art in building a new social order. Standing on the Majdan artists tried to intensify the protests referring also to the aesthetic experiences: “And at the Majdan creativity blossomed. They sang, created, painted posters, there was the “artistic barbian”, where at night time the poems were read. We had positive intentions, we were driven by an internal need [...]” – writes Mila Ivanova (Gluzka et al. 2015, 52). At the same time, the interaction with the beauty not only had a civilising effect, but also brought people together. Antuanetta Miščenko confesses: “When I play here, those around act as if they have known me for a long time. I feel they are very close to me. They come closer, talk, listen, sing. I have a sense of community; I connect to my audience. They even caught my tone.” (Gluzka et al. 2015, 52). In the authors’ opinion, this unification around the common values closely brought strangers together and meant they could construct a strong wall against the enemy forces.

The centre of description of the world introduced in literature becomes the tendency of sharp division between good and evil. On the one side, the messengers of the forces of good stand, on the other – those of the impure. In “Ohien’ Majdanu” a fragment of the “Proclamation of the civil sector of EuroMajdan” was quoted in which we read: “Tomorrow, on 30<sup>th</sup> December, we will surround the kingdom of darkness. Come at 12:00 to the Hruševs’kyj Street. [...] We will stand before the cordon of militia with mirrors and make them look into their own eyes.” (Gluzka et al. 2015, 59). In the analysed texts a clear opposition appears between that what is ours and represents right reasons, and the alien, identifying evil, or even more: that which is cursed. This is a kind of demarcation between the sacrum and anti-sacrum, chaos. Sometimes presented in a very viv-

id and poetic way in order to highlight their significance, the “Black Helmets of ‘Berkut’ and Internal Military brought the associations with the force of evil, which drifted from all directions toward the bright circle of the Majdan. The bell of the Mychajlivs’kyj Orthodox Church intensified this impression. Everyone had one thought: to stand until morning, to endure” – confesses Sonja Koškina (Gluzá et al. 2015, 43). Petro Žuk operates with similar poetics, evoking a very symbolic image of priests, who, in order to prevent the bloodshed, stood between the Berkut and the protesters. In many texts the division into good and evil is so clear that, in turn, he writes also about the priests blessing those marching to the frontline with the Molotov cocktails (Kovtunovyč, Privalko 2015, 122). Despite many tragic accounts, in most narrations the most important seems to be the conviction that good remains, and evil that was defeated goes into oblivion (Kovtunovyč, Privalko 2015, 312).

As Ostap Kryvdyk writes, at the Majdan a new country emerged: “The Majdan is a territory free from the rule of Ham – the fortress of freedom. The place of legal, medical, public protection of citizens. [...] It is a place of remembrance. The place where we are to be witnesses [...]” (Gluzá et al. 2015, 61). The author calls it the university of freedom, in which those were tutored, who in the future are to build a strong, free Ukraine. Oksana Zabužko adds that in her opinion, it is there the Ukrainian nation finally formed, a civil society, the sense of causative individuals (Kovtunovyč, Privalko 2015, 302). Many highlight the educational values. First of all, recalling Freire’s research, one should mention the strong Majdan model of social education “is > should be”, guided by a normative perspective. Individuals should learn competence and skills that are supposed to achieve the expected outcome; the expected reality is the reference point. They should identify as “good citizens”. As Karolina Starego notes, “the outcome is the taming of the identity in the form of specific attributes and, inevitably, the dissolution of its political dimension (Biesta 2011, 142). But what is more important, is the normative pre-assumption of “bad” identity hidden in the figure of the good citizen, which becomes stigmatized in the light of the criteria of good citizenship” (Starego 2012, 176). Yet several authors note that these changes represent a long and difficult process. Taras Prohas’ko, in turn, warns against giving up and disappointment, instead of undertaking a difficult and persistent work. The protests, in the view of the writer, will not change the face of the country, only the consciousness of the people, will awaken in them the sense of a civic duty to seek modifications in the system (Kovtunovyč, Privalko 2015, 201–203).

The values that until the Majdan in many cases remained only in the sphere of ideas, took on real shapes with practical consequences. During the revolution of dignity, the conviction was strongly heard that they are an important element of identity, and, what follows, also social life. The analysed texts resonate well with Skorowski’s comments, who notes that “It is necessary [...] to look at the democracy towards which we are heading, not only at the political system as one of many, i.e. not only in terms of political and social planes, but also, and maybe



primarily, in terms of the ethical plane. For the requirements of democracy exceed the purely political frameworks and on their own adapt the ethical dimension. Without this perspective, many a generation have already turned democracy in its caricature". The authors of the analysed texts postulate the building of new social life with particular attention to the moral responsibility of individuals manifesting itself also in the active civic life.

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## THE ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL NATURE OF UKRAINIAN LITERARY PROSE AS A GENRE IN THE PERIOD OF ITS FORMATION IN INTERACTION WITH THE FOLK NARRATIVE

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*The period of the formation and development of new Ukrainian literature and authored prose in particular (the 1830s – 1860s) coincides in time with the presence of Romanticism in Ukrainian culture, which foregrounded the most profound appeal to folklore and folk traditions in general. It became one of the sources of national uniqueness in literature by the authors of that period. Therefore, the emergence of prose literature occurs in close connection with the folk narrative, which is adopted in it on the worldview, aesthetic, poetic and other levels, including the genre one.*

*Keywords: genre, short story, novelette, novella, novel, folk narrative, adopting relations.*

### ДО ПИТАННЯ ПРО НАЦІОНАЛЬНУ ПРИРОДУ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЛІТЕРАТУРНОЇ ПРОЗИ ЯК ЖАНРУ В ПЕРІОД СТАНОВЛЕННЯ: У СПІВДІІ З НАРОДНИМ НАРАТИВОМ

*Жанна Янковська*

*Період становлення та розвитку нової української літератури та авторської прози зокрема (30 – 60-ті роки XIX століття) збігається в часі із побутуванням у нашій культурі романтизму, який заактуалізував найбільш глибоке звернення до фольклору, народної традиції загалом, що й стало одним із джерел національної самобутності творчості письменників того часу. Тому постання літературної прози відбувається у тісному зв'язку з фольклорним нарративом, до якого вона рецептує на світоглядному, естетичному, поетикальному та інших рівнях, у тому числі й жанровому.*

*Ключові слова: жанр, оповідання, новела, повість, роман, народний нарратив, рецептивні зв'язки.*

The formation of the genre system is directly related to the folklore genre. In Ukraine, this process experienced the most active phase in the late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. As Uediat Dalhat claims, the way of interaction between the folklore and literary genres “has its own peculiarity of stages, developing from a simple (mono-genre) dependence to a more complicated one (poly-genre syncretism)” (Dalhat 1981, 22). Similarly to many writers who begin their writing ca-

reers with short genres (in prose, with a short story) literary epic in general started its development with small forms. In the manual *“Literary Art of the Writer”* (*Literaturna maisternist’ pys ’mennyka*) by Hryhorij Semenjuk, Anatolij Huljak, and Natalija Naumenko, the authors rightly claim that “the analysis of a genre form helps to elucidate the peculiarity of the artistic implementation of a topic, to perceive and comprehend the content of a particular literary work” (Semenjuk 2012, 61).

The theory of the development of genres is fairly well-represented in Ukrainian literary and folklore studies. However, new research methods for literary works analysis require revisiting of and amendments to understanding the peculiarities of genre studies and inter-genre relations, and explanation of how these peculiarities and relations with mental composition and the aesthetic outlook of Ukrainian people are conditioned in general. Therefore, in the context of this paper, it is worthwhile to clarify the meaning that the scholars attribute to the concept of ‘development of genres’ since modern genre studies utilize such new terms as ‘poly-genre work’, ‘synthesis of genres’, ‘genre matrix’ etc. In this respect, the most complete definition appears to be the one by Ivan Denysjuk, who claims that this concept includes “its genesis and the stages of evolution, reflected in its certain modifications that get an expression in structural kinds of works, generated by the diffusion and transformation of genres of intra-system and extra-system nature” (Denysjuk 1986, 18). According to the scholar’s views, at the early stages, “the elements of a certain genre vegetate in bodies of other genres until they are recognized in genre studies as independent ones among critics and readers” (Denysjuk 1986, 18). A deeper insight into the process of the development of genres comes together with new methods of their studies which appear at every stage of evolution of arts and humanities as well as interdisciplinarity. It is important to add, that if a literary genre stems from an interaction with a folklore one, this separation happens gradually, and at every stage of literature development, such works contain a different share of inherited folk and poetic substrata, which proceeds from different ways of reception of folk literature and, consequently, defines different forms and levels of adaptation of folklore in a literary work. This, as well, frequently influences the definition of “content essence of a genre” (Denysjuk 1986).

By contrast, Viktor Kyčyhin characterizes a genre as closed (“it always has a definite structure”), due to which “one can refer a work not only to a certain literary genre..., but also to a certain topic...” (Kyčyhin 1986, 52) and in the meantime as an open form (“to the past”), the development of which “occurs through the overcoming of its completeness, closure and moves in two directions. From the inside, the accumulation of a new content occurs, which requires changes to the inner structure and, eventually, its transformation into a new quality. From the outside, there is a combination of one genre structure with another content structure” (Kyčyhin 1986, 52). Considering the process of the development (‘movement’) of a genre in the process of an author’s interaction with folklore by the example of Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko’s works, the

scholar notes that the writer “immerses himself into the deep waters of folk memory, the artistic thinking of the people, rises to the level of this thinking, grasps its features at one of the most interesting moments in the history of literature development, enters the process of crystallizing a literature genre per se” (Kyčyhin 1986, 53). On the basis of the dialectic of such relations and mutual influences of ‘national memory’, ‘folk’s artistic thinking’, the author’s creative identity and their personal attitude towards the ethnic culture and various forms of its transformation into authored texts, one can figure out the national character and the extent of the adaptation of folklore in their works. This process is particularly notable in the period of the formation of Ukrainian national prose (the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) as the time of its closest interaction with the folk culture tradition in general.

The term and the phenomenon of a literature genre are quite complicated to define and explain, as they encompass various characteristics and features of a literary text. In addition, within a certain main genre of literature, there is no clear demarcation among its categories, as the individual author’s style disrupts formal ‘frameworks’ of their definability, as well as the process of creativity, which conforms not only to the rational laws of making of a genre, but mainly to the creative idea in the implementation of which an interaction of genres, the emergence of genre syncretism and genre modifications are more frequently observed. Therefore, the ideal genre canon is rarely adhered to. A characteristic feature of the genre space in literature in the 1830s and 1860s was the simultaneous and, apparently, most complicated interaction between the genres of two systems of literature – those composed by authors and traditional, folk ones. The functional elements of the genre structure, according to Ivan Denysjuk, include the plot and the composition of the work, genre forming elements of the style, and subordination of all these elements to the agenda and the content (Denysjuk 1986, 7).

Researchers define a folklore genre as “united by a common poetic system collection of works for everyday life purposes, of everyday performance and music forms” or as “a type of literary form (often a musical one as well), established in people’s everyday life and connected with the repetition of certain elements of content” (Leksykon zahal’noho ta porivnjal’noho literaturoznavstva 2001, 598).

Transferring this definition of a genre to literature, we must rigorously consider the semantics of the term, as ‘genre’ translated from the French meaning ‘genus’ or ‘type’. However, a literature ‘genus’ or classic form (the same for folklore) as “the top-level category” (epos, lyrics and drama) in Ukrainian literature studies is determined separately and means the most general classification of works by common features of content and form, which, accordingly, affects the way of performance (reading) as well. Literary ‘genera’ or classic forms in their turn are subdivided into genres of ‘the middle-ranking categories’, which, respectively, are epic, lyric, and dramatic. Thus, a literary genre is often referred to as “a type of literary work, one of the main elements of classification of liter-

ary material”, which “classifies literary works by the types of their poetic structure” (*Literaturoznavečyj slovnyk-dovidnyk* 2007, 406), or as “a themed, technically established type of a literary work, specific to each kind of art, which is determined by the originality of the image” (Semenjuk 2012, 66). However, “genre syncretism is inherent in some works, which is the existence of elements of several genre forms in one work that are of an indiscrete, undeveloped nature” (Bilous, Levčenko 2012, 88).

With regard to genre as a category that combines the attributes of content and form of a work, it should be noted that this is not a mechanical blending but a closely interacting and diffusing unity, integrated and correlated with its components. Therefore, a literary work of a particular genre is the aesthetic and semantic field where the content is taking place in its traditional or original form, which is caused by the peculiarities of the content.

Speaking about the correlation of folklore and literature genres in general, it is worth emphasizing, that folklore genres and works that represent them in the form of a creative ‘product’ emerge as a demand, a need of the collective in a verbal and aesthetic expression of a certain sphere of being. By contrast, literary genres and the works respectively are the ‘product’ of the individual thinking of an author as a creative personality, and in conjunction with folklore genres they act as a plan and means of his or her fulfilment, as a manifestation of national uniqueness and the author's creative identity, his or her artistic and aesthetic thinking in general.

The process of adopting folklore in the genre sphere at the initial stage of literary development cannot be considered as a simple and unilateral one, but rather it should be regarded as an interaction between two systems of literature. On the one hand, writers do take their cue from the aesthetics of folklore genres, to some extent emulating and imitating them. However, by doing so, some authors refer to one of the genres of folk literature (as a rule, clearly congruent), and some authors appeal refer to several at once. Sometimes a folklore motif, borrowed from one folklore genre, can be revived in a variant of work written by another author of a completely different genre, for instance, a ballad plot in a literature narrative. The most complicated genre correlations occur in big epic works like novels, epopees, dramatic poems etc. when an author loses the dependence on folklore genres, but in their components, one can notice certain reflections on them. At this stage, the creative personality of the author becomes the most expressive.

Prose fiction (short stories, novelettes, novellas, novels, and several short forms like fables etc.) relates to epos. It is worth noting that epic prose is more subdivided by genre categories in folklore since it encompasses fairy tales, legends, tales, stories, parables, jokes, riddles etc., whose main feature is their narrative nature. This feature is best adopted in short prose literature forms – short stories and partially novelettes and novellas, which sometimes contain “small” narrative forms (like jokes). This is the reason why in the abovementioned period of formation and orientation towards folk works, folklore and authored narra-

tive are distinguished. Researchers determine significant differences between the short story and the novelette as a later developed genre with the domination of the authored component over the folklore one. In particular, Ivan Denysjuk's work cited above, *The Development of Genres in Ukrainian Literature in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries / Rozvytok žanriv v ukrajins'kij literaturi kincja XII – počatku XX stolittja* / is devoted to this issue (Denysjuk 1986).

The novel is mostly the figment of an author's imagination that covers an extensive time span, has a large-scale composition, multiple storylines, a broad system of events and images, so only certain transformed elements of a narrative nature (which may be found in bigger or smaller numbers) can be traced, although, the degree of adaptation of folklore at the expense of other means and modifications of folklore and literature connections can be quite high. Analysing the novel *The Black Council* (Čorna rada) by Pantelejmon Kuliš, Anatolij Huljak, apart from the common constant features of this epic genre, singles out certain specific ones which, probably, are not attributed to the genre as normative, but they give the opportunity to identify it among other epic genres in the system. First of all, they are “the presence of the triad *author – narrator – hero*” and “the expanded chronotope with prevailing time and space cuts, angles, which provides the diversity of narration, reproduces the human in their specific historical relations with the world” (Huljak 1997, 219).

Sometimes in literary criticism, the concepts of ‘short story’ and ‘novelette’ (‘news’ in Italian) are used as identical, which is based on their length and single storyline. Considering these features, such an approach can be justified. However, concerning short prose in the formative period of modern Ukrainian literature, which was developing in very close association with folk narratives, it is better to use the term ‘short story’ for its differentiation as it did not involve such features of a novelette like ‘an unexpected ending’ (as a rule, similar to folklore works, it was predictable), ‘condensed and vivid action’, ‘laconicism’, ‘accurate and established structure’, “the presence of accurate and compact composition with a vividly expressed composition centre” etc. (Literaturoznavčyj slovnyk-dovidnyk 2007, 497).

Ivan Denysjuk defines three stages of development of Ukrainian prose literature in the Pre-Soviet period (before the October Revolution in 1917) that can be relevant to other literatures as well: “1) the stage of adding literature features to folklore genres; 2) the stage of social and psychological short prose; 3) the stage of novelettes, based on the psychologism of the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries” (Denysjuk 1986, 20). At each of these stages, the creativity of the author has its own ethnically identifying (marked) poetics and means of expression.

The correlation between genres of folklore and authored narrative depends on many factors, including the historical stage of literary development, the dominating trend, and, therefore, the originality of the national perception of the world, its understanding, expression and affirmation, literature-ideological and aesthetic orientation. At the early stage of formation of Ukrainian prose literature, the traditions of folk narration as the ‘memory of genre’ are still clearly

identified in it. In fact, for the first time in romantic literature, there appears a person and people who are already aware of their history, culture, moral and aesthetic principles and the whole set of features that define the notion of ‘mentality’, i.e. these works are not devoid of ethnicity and historicism. The resource and ideological materials for its implementation by the romantic writer were mainly folklore works. Along with this, the character-hero, acting as a “national person”, a representative of Ukrainian culture, is very different (i.e. we can speak about a rightly depicted controversial Ukrainian character): from the calm, sensible, lyrical, peaceful grain farmer like Naum Drot (“Marusja” by Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko), or Hryc’ko Šuhaj (“Homebody” (Domontar)) by Hanna Barvinok to emotional, even unruly like Kyrlyo Tur (*The Black Council* (Čorna Rada) by Pantelejmon Kuliš). Comparing the hero of Ukrainian prose in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a similar character in the previous period (first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), Tamara Hundorova wrote about the latter that “in the descriptive epic structure of a work the author characterized the hero through their generalized image or type or through biographical history, describing quite fully the cycle of life relations that nurtured and formed the hero, defined his or her actions, psychology, and eventually the evolution of character” (Hundorova 1986, 123). This emphasizes very close connections between literature and, in particular, prose, of this period, with the folklore environment, while the literature of the later period rather ‘conjectured’ these connections and relations.

As mentioned above, the development of prose genres in Ukrainian literature is inextricably linked to the epoch of sentimentalism and romanticism. It is well known that these trends significantly foregrounded the inner, reconsidered addressing to folklore, including the narrative genre. Denying the rationalism of Enlightenment, on the ground of historicism, the romantic writers paid great attention to the elevation and education of a person that is spiritual, resting on traditions, religion, folk literature and deep emotions. In this respect, Teofil Komarynec’ noted that “in romantic art, a socially determined person, in whom the first elements of good and justice are encoded, acted primarily as nature’s creation and only then as a product of social and economic conditions” (Komarynec’ 1983, 8). In view of this approach, the importance was given not only to the process of cognition of the world and the human, since the personality was perceived as a micro-world. And this primarily relates to the personality’s spiritual structure, the substance of ‘spirit’ and ‘soul’, as the emotions (*emotio*) in the works of romantic writers play a role that almost equals that of the images which they belong. The great achievement of romanticism was the attachment of art to the life of a certain average person with his or her problems, worries, inner world, and that is the essence of its value and ideological aspect. Moreover, the depiction of the national person, national reality and space (a feeling of homeland) and the traditional way of life distinguished Ukrainian romanticism, which emerged on the basis of patriotism, from the Western-European one. In addition, the above mentioned researcher considered as one of the achievements of the aesthetics of romanticism, “the reasoning about the concept of the national liter-

ature as distinctive and traditional in its basis, the calling of which is to unveil specific features of human character and behaviour caused by geographical and historical environment” (Komarynec’ 1983, 12).

Comprehending the folklore phenomena and their own works in the context of historicism and defining the typological affinity between these two literature systems, romantic writers have repeatedly proclaimed the statement that their works are the direct continuation of folk literature.

In the literature of romanticism, Mykola Jacenko distinguished four “main trends based on themes and style: a folklore one, a folklore-historical one, a civil one, and a psychological-personal one”. According to the scholar, within their frameworks, “different ideological positions of writers are manifested”; their development is not always “of linear and non-contemporaneous” nature. They can occur even simultaneously in works of the same writer as if going through “the way of development of an artistic consciousness – from the very initial and impersonal forms (often mythological) to the establishment of the individual and psychological uniqueness of the hero” (Jacenko 1987, 14). In the quoted artistic process, folk literature is a determinant to romantic writers for the entire duration of this literary trend, and the continuity of the varying intensity is such that its adoption can be traced in the following periods of Ukrainian literature.

Considering all the above-mentioned, the short prose of the analysed period can be divided into the following types according to its genre and theme peculiarities: 1) works based on historical themes, within which short stories with real as well as with fantastic and legendary plot are produced; 2) works of ethnographic and social-domestic nature; 3) works of humorous nature. However, some of the short stories do not “fit into” this classification under certain features, such as, for instance, idylls or works with a parabolic-didactical content, which have a certain moral or a lesson as their conclusion (like “*Treasure*” (Skarb) by Oleksa Storozhenko). On the basis of such plot and theme characteristics, researchers divide short prose into genre ‘subcategories’ such as *folklorized*, *ethnographic-domestic*, *idyllic*, *social-problematic*, *social-domestic*, *psychological-domestic*, *industrial*, or *political* short stories (Semenjuk 2012, 146).

In particular, talking about sentimentalism as a trend in Ukrainian literature in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is worth noting, that even though initially it takes its European model as an example, Ukrainian sentimentalism rapidly gains its specific traits, and is distinguished by its connection to the folkloristic emotional appeal. The formation of this trend was characterized quite aptly by Ivan Franko in his article “*Ukrainian-Ruthenian (Little-Russian) literature*” (*Ukrajins’ko-rus’ka (malorus’ka) literatura*), where he noted that the new literature “first, took European spirit, filtered through the Great-Russian sieve, but soon, though, just after the Napoleonic wars, it imposed direct and active contacts with Western Europe and became modern, European literature by its form, language, and content...”, which, in view of the existing society demands, “from its own soil, native folk life is trying to give them an original form and find a solution for them” (Franko 1984, 83). This suggests that, while being



within the imperial supranational state, Ukrainian culture (including literature) claimed and strengthened its status more and more steadily as a national one (although provincial in those conditions), oriented towards the native word, its own ethnic reality, and its own folk creativity, because, as Pantelejmon Kuliš noted “there is great power in a simple people’s word and in a simple folk song, and the secret of that power is in people’s hearts but not in people’s minds” (Kuliš 1914, Book 38, 25).

The ethnographic localization of Ukrainian romantic sentimental prose, its folk worldview specificity, made this trend in our literature a ‘domestic’ one, albeit, as it has been mentioned above, with the pretension of modernity. This is supported by the judgement of Michail Bachtin, that “there are certain aspects of human life, which can be comprehended and justified only in a sentimental light”, that according to the scholar, “cannot be universal or cosmic” and “narrows the world, makes it small and isolated” (Bachtin 1979, 365). In his article “*The Problem of Sentimentalism*” (*Problema sentimentalizma*) he laid stress on the fact that in the basis of sentimentalism there “lies a special, deep, essential approach to the human being and the world”, “which allows seeing and comprehending... such aspects of reality, which had not existed before other trends”, and whose characteristic feature is “re-evaluation of the scope, magnifying the small, weak, approximated, re-evaluation of age and life status (a child, a woman, an oddball, a beggar)” as well as “re-evaluation of a life detail, trivium, particular” (Bachtin 1997, 305). Thus, against the background of this trend, not only the display of the heroes’ inner states in interpersonal relations became foregrounded, but the growth and representation of the sense of homeland (often a small one – a village, a region), the native land, the kindred, and the family. Such feelings often even contradict public opinion (like in the short story “*Homebody*” (*Domontar*) by Hanna Barvinok), but they establish and glorify cardiocentric moral and ethical principles of the supranational being, that is based on sentimentalism as a mental trait of Ukrainian character. As Oleksandr Borzenko noted, “a new national consciousness started to be formed by idealizing provinciality and, what is important, common people” (Borzenko 2006, 18-19).

The emergence of Ukrainian folkloristics as a study, recording and publishing folk works (first, song compilations), the formation and development of narrative genres that take a folk narrative as an example – all that united advanced Ukrainian writers and scholars in their aspiration to understand and represent the real life of people in all the variety of forms and cultural expressions. Analysing the compilation of songs, published by Mychajlo Maksymovyč in 1927, Mykola Jacenko wrote: “He is trying to encompass all aspects of folk life, specify the concept of the people from within through its psychology, the nature of spiritual and domestic life” (Jacenko 1987, 221).

Writers were trying to do the same but in their own works on the level of adopting, transforming and reflecting different forms of national consciousness. Therefore, in this regard, it is possible to speak about the concept of ‘literary

space', which by its semantics adopts the concept of 'folklore space'. As for the first notion, the researcher Petro Bilous noted that "literary space includes everything that a human perceives, knows and feels. (...) Literary space models a person's inner world and soul" (Bilous 2012, 7). With the course of time and changes in society, which means changes in the conditions of existence, 'folklore space' as well as 'literary space' is subjected to 'permanent updating' (Ivan Denysjuk), which causes not only the transformation of existing forms and genres but the emergence of new ones. However, these two 'spaces' have a common 'field of existence', which is a possibility to be embodied in a word, a literary form. Thus, the term 'literature' as a generic feature is used for both kinds of writings with the need to specify the features of each kind, in the first case, it is oral, folk literature, in the second case it is the authored, written kind.

The short prose in this period is especially close to folk literature by both external and internal features. Experiments with folklore directly influenced the literary interests of the writers of the mentioned period, the plots, language, imagery means and their works. Using folk material, they created such a thoroughly original, harmonious integrity, that their short stories prove to be highly artistic works of this genre. The main criteria in these works are traits of romanticism and realism and characteristics of the people focus on reality. This is also supported by the use of folk poetic motives, artistic principles, means of genre and style. By means of adding literary features to folklore narrative genres, writers developed their own type of short story that is allegedly situated on the border of folklore and literature. The artistic nature of these short stories is often defined by the genre features of folk works, which are used as a basis by the writers; however, some short stories are purely authored even though they keep the folk poetic structure of the narration. For instance, analyzing "*A Soldier's Portrait*" (*Saldats'kyj partret*) by Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, Viktor Kyčyhin wrote about the combination of two forms of artistic thinking, folk poetic (oral) and literary (written). The researcher believes that "through their correlation, the author makes an attempt to create a new poetic system, a new kind of the artistic whole, in whose basis there lies a personal experience of reality" (Kyčyhin 1986, 55). Therefore, with regards to the genre of the abovementioned short story, which is situated on the edges of the folk and the authored narrative, the researcher emphasized the fact that it is "difficult to define because this is not a genre, but its prototype" (Kyčyhin 1986, 55). Hence, there is the ambiguity and patchiness that is manifested at all levels.

The prose of this period is largely focused on the tradition of the culture of laughter (especially on its narrative forms), which is naturally inherent in the Ukrainian ethnos. Regarding this, Oleksandr Bilec'kyj claimed that "the national peculiarity of Ukrainian narrative literature should be considered as an extensive development of satirical and comical fairy tales, novelettes and anecdotes in it", and, in connection with that, the scholar noted "echoes of anonymous creations of folk humour" (Bilec'kyj 1965, 148). Tracing the continuity of the establishment of a new Ukrainian literature from its 'germ' in the 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries to

the early decades of the 19th century, the researcher emphasized that that period of time was very difficult and uncertain for the authored literature, “which was created either in separation, isolated in time and space, units or in random, non-durable societies, and which had neither a permanent press nor certain readership” and thus he calls this period “the ‘pre-history’ of new Ukrainian literature” (Bilec’kyj 1965, 152).

Therefore, the development of Ukrainian prose as a genre (this applies to the formation of the genre system of the new literature in general) is greatly influenced by the folklore aesthetics and folk narrative literature on the whole, the “flowing” of which into authored literature is not discredited, but becomes alienated, continuing its ‘free’ life in the folk environment and becoming fixed at a certain stage of its existence in a literary work. In the meantime, it is performing another mission of establishing the national uniqueness of written works. The ‘genre matrix’ of authored romantic prose in the analysed period as “a genetically conditioned complex of the most established features” (Semenjuk 2012, 136) is characterised by a special sensitivity to folk narrative and comes into direct adopting relations with it on different levels, thus indicating its openness to “types and genres diffusion” (“genre synthesis”), which is characterised by the diffusion of elements.

A specific feature of the genre formation in the era of Romanticism is, according to Ol’ha Jeremenko, “the divergence of genre structures” (Jeremenko 2007, 260). However, it needs to be noted that the prose of the period was deeply individualised. There is no difficulty in recognizing the individual style of writing of each author, including their own specific forms of interaction with folklore. Some works are characterised by being on the border of trends (mostly of romanticism and realism with perceptible elements of sentimentalism) and sometimes on the border of genres and genre-receptive relations. Therefore, analyzing the works by Pantelejmon Kuliš, the abovementioned researcher noted “the lack of a clear genre matrix, in fact, its amorphism, ambiguity, orientation to creative experiments” (Jeremenko 2007, 260). This feature is more or less intrinsic to all the writers of this period.

Having outlined the peculiarities of the development of narrative genres in Ukrainian literature in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in terms of the utilised adoption of folk narrative, it is worth noting that a certain ‘open’ scheme has been created, the mechanism for analyzing either a separate work of a certain period or a prose work by a certain writer, or even a literary narrative in general, has been defined. This “scheme” can be filled with particular examples, comparisons, parallels and even exceptions, as they also exist. We can definitely say that having a folktale, a legend, a short story, a fairy tale, as well as a ballad, a song (mostly as a motive) as an example, the mentioned writers showed the world highly artistic harmonious samples of prose writings, which by means of their different features gravitate towards folk narrative.

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## DIE MODERNE 'OKRAJINA' DER JAHRHUNDERTWENDE: LESJA UKRAJINKA

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*Lesja Ukrajinka (1871–1913) ist die wichtigste Vertreterin der Frühmoderne in der ukrainischen Literatur. Sie hat ungemein zur Entwicklung des ornamentalen Impressionismus in der ukrainisch-russischen Kultur der Jahrhundertwende beigetragen.*

*Der Aufsatz befasst sich hauptsächlich mit der Dramaturgie Ukrajinkas, in der die meisten ihrer Innovationen bestehen. Dabei werden Sequenzen herausgearbeitet, die als tragende Merkmale einer neoromantischen Ästhetik sowohl in der Problematik (Eros und Thanatos) als auch in der Poetik (Artificialität, ornamentale Stilistik) gesehen werden.*

*Aufgrund aufschlussreicher Vergleiche mit der impressionistischen Kunst wird schließlich die entscheidende Rolle der Künstlerin aus der Peripherie für die Etablierung des Fin de Siècle nicht nur im einheimischen, sondern auch im gesamten slavischen Raum erkennbar.*

*Schlüsselbegriffe: Fin de Siècle, ornamentaler Impressionismus, neoromantisches Drama, kulturelle Peripherie und Zentrum.*

## СУЧАСНА 'ОКРАЇНА' НА РУБЕЖІ СТОЛІТЬ: ЛЕСЯ УКРАЇНКА

*Світлана Казакова*

*Леся Українка (1871–1913) є найвидатнішою представницею раннього модернізму в українській літературі. На рубежі століть вона зробила значний внесок у розвиток орнаментального імпресіонізму в українсько-російську культуру. Ця розвідка присвячена першочергово дослідженню драматургії Л. Українки, в якій наявні більшість новачій письменниці. При цьому розробляється системність, яку можна розглядати як основні ознаки неоромантичної естетики не тільки у загальній проблематиці (Ерос і Танатос), але й також в поезиці (штучність, орнаментальна стилістика). На основі різноманітних порівнянь з мистецтвом імпресіонізму зрештою визнається вирішальна роль письменниці з провінції у створенні та розвитку 'Fin de Siècle' не лише у вітчизняному, але й загальнослов'янському контексті.*

*Ключові слова: Fin de Siècle, орнаментальний імпресіонізм, неоромантична драма, культурна провінція і центр.*

## 1. Europäische Moderne (*Impressionismus und Fin de Siècle*)

Die Etablierung der Frühmoderne wird in der Regel mit der Entstehung oder gar Aktualisierung geistiger Bewegungen in Verbindung gebracht, bekannt als Stilformen aus der Zeit der Spätgotik und der Romantik. Da ihre ästhetische Doktrin von den Errungenschaften des Symbolismus des 19. Jahrhunderts Gebrauch machte, sollte man die ersten Ansätze der Moderne auch im Kontext der idealistisch-irrationalen Tendenzen damaliger Kunstvorstellungen betrachten. Der vom Naturalismus bekannte Rationalismus erfasste primär die Wesenheiten des Daseins, das Phänomenale, und schloss a priori die Metaphysik des Jenseits aus. Er lehnte alles, was einer empirischen Deutung entglitt, als von vorn herein nicht existent ab. Gerade die Gefahr, dass einem großen Bereich der Phantasie 'das Recht auf Existenz' verwehrt werden könnte, rief den ganzen Widerstand des 19. Jahrhunderts gegen die bis dato beherrschenden aufklärerischen und rationalistischen Ideen hervor.

Der neue, durch die *décadence* entstandene Antirationalismus suchte zwecks seiner Demonstrationen die Ausdrucksformen der christlichen Tradition. Interessant wurden vor allem die unterdrückten und kaschierten Elemente der Kirchenmalerei als Ausdruck der dunklen, 'nächtlichen' Seite der Existenz. Die bekannte symbolistische Einfühlung sollte nun den modernen 'künstlerischen' Menschen charakterisieren, umgekehrt suchten die bizarrsten Kunstformen nach einem subjektiven Bezug zum Leben der Seele. In seinen "Blättern der Kunst" schrieb Melchior Lechters: "Die Sehnsucht schwülte aus jedem Winkel, jeder Falte der Seele; nach erstem Anfang, nach letztem Ende, nach Auflösung in Gott" (Sternberger 1977, 24). In diesem Sinne befruchtete gerade die flamboyante Phantasie der spätmittelalterlichen Kunst die Entwicklung einer neuen Ornamentik in der europäischen Frühmoderne. Vor allem die englischen Präraffaeliten D. G. Rossetti und E. Burne-Jones erkannten, inwiefern der Stil der Spätgotik für die moderne Kunst der Jahrhundertwende fruchtbar gemacht werden konnte (Hardy 1990, 19-20).

Parallel zur Entfaltung dieser Kunst, die vor allem an die "Erlösung durch Schönheit" glaubte (Sternberger 1977, 18), verlief auch die Untersuchung neu entstehender Phänomene. In den Fokus gelangte neben den stilistischen Innovationen alles, was die menschliche Existenz per se betrifft. Physiologische und medizinische Studien über die Symbolik menschlicher Verhaltensweisen oder des Gesichts (C.G. Carus, E. Kretschmer) führten zur allgemeinen These, dass die menschliche Seele ein symbolisches Adäquat in Mimik, Gestik oder Handschrift fände (Hofstätter 1963, 7). Mit der Einführung der Psychoanalyse S. Freuds erlangte das Unbewusste eine beachtliche Stellung nicht nur in der Psychologie, sondern auch auf allen Gebieten des kulturellen Lebens. Bei den markierten Tendenzen des Jahrhunderts erwarb die gelüftete 'nächtliche' Hälfte der menschlichen Natur den Sinn von neu entdeckten und zugleich anerkannten Aspekten der Wirklichkeit. Freuds Beobachtungen über die unbewussten Triebe, die sich im Leben der Phantasie offenbaren, begründete er größtenteils mit den

ethnologischen Untersuchungen von J.G. Frazer. Popularität genoss ebenso das psychologische Intervenieren in die Mythologie und die Folklore, die in der Archetypenlehre von C.G. Jung als vertikale Kontexte der menschlichen Seele interpretiert und zur Entschlüsselung von Grundsituationen im geistigen Leben aktiviert wurden.

Das wesentliche Merkmal des Fin de Siècle im Vergleich zur restlichen Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts besteht in der Tatsache, dass sich diese Richtung mit einem einzigen Kunststil nicht identifizieren lässt. Vielmehr beweist sein Praktizieren als impressionistische Ästhetik, dass er grundsätzlich zu einem neuen Lebensstil heranwachsen wollte. Dieser übte seine Wirkungskraft im geistigen Raum, geformt vom Naturalismus und dem eng mit ihm verbundenen Historismus aus. Indem man letzteren als unerschöpfliches Erbe der Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart verstand, ließ sich der aus dem Naturalismus entstandene Impressionismus als natürliches Kontinuum der neuen Stilbewegungen wie Jugendstil und Art Niveau verstehen. Er hat sie, nach K. Bauch, doch "in seiner eigenen Entwicklung mit vorbereitet" (Bauch 1989, 286).

Zu diesem ästhetischen Ausgangspunkt muss bemerkt werden, dass im 19. Jahrhundert die großen ethnologischen Schulen in Europa diejenigen waren, die das Interesse für die Mythologie und Folklore mitsamt der Kunst primitiver Völker kultivierten. Dadurch wurde ein neuer Blick auf die natürliche Ordnung der Dinge potenziert, existenzielle Taten paarten sich mit artifiziellen Regungen und bedienten impulsiv das gesamte Lebensensemble. Diese naturphilosophische Quintessenz generierte das Prinzip der gänzlichen und allgemeinen Betrachtung der Dinge – primären (existentiellen) und sekundären (textuellen) Charakters. Der Schaffende und sein Werk mussten daher in ein gesamtes Kontinuum gestellt werden, anders als deren stereotype Isolation im Positivismus.

In Anbetracht vielfältiger Gattungsunterschiede vermutet eine Definition des Fin de Siècle (variiert durch den Ästhetismus) ein breites Register von Merkmalen. Obwohl diese Kunst teilweise als symbolistisch charakterisiert wird, zählt dazu auch der dekorative Impressionismus, mitsamt Jugendstil bzw. Sezession, aufgrund ihrer starken neoromantischen Komponente. R. Schmutzler nannte die moderne Kunst der Jahrhundertwende überhaupt "biologische Romantik", und den neuen Historismus - einen "biologischen Historismus" (Schmutzler 1989, 304). Fakt ist dabei eine durchaus dekadente Überfeinerung der Gestaltung, wobei archaische Inhalte und Formen bewahrt werden, die ihrerseits zu Allegorie und Stilisierung führen. Die allgemeine Tendenz hieß derweil Aufbau eines vollkommen artistischen Stils.

## *2. Der Impressionismus in Russland*

Der russische Impressionismus demonstriert Besonderheiten, die Ähnlichkeit mit dem europäischen Diskurs aufweisen. Dazu zählen z.B. der ästhetische Absolutismus von Autoren wie Konstantin Bal'mont, Valerij Brjusov, Ivan Konevskoj sowie die klar ausgewiesenen ornamentalen Tendenzen der Sezessi-

onsästhetik im Werk von Nikolaj Gumilev oder der Künstlergruppe ‚Die Welt der Kunst‘ (*Mir iskusstva*). Dabei handelt es sich um Autoren in Russland, die den Einfluss des französischen Parnassismus und Symbolismus mit der typischen Artistik und Exotik der Sezession vereinten. Sie legten großen Wert auf die vergangenen kulturellen Epochen wie auch auf das Naturerleben. All das sollte nun zu einer dekorativen Erfahrung stilisiert werden.

Ein betonter Subjektivismus zeichnete die temperamentvolle Ästhetik des qualitativ neuen Romantismus der Künstler aus der Petersburger Gruppe ‚Die Welt der Kunst‘, bekannt als Retrospektivisten, aus. Es handelt sich um Maler wie Aleksandr Benua, Leon Bakst, Konstantin Somov, Mstislav Dobužinskij und Evgenij Lansere, die als Symbolisten bekannt wurden, jedoch alle Charakteristika des ornamentalen Impressionismus in ihren Werken zeigten. Die Mitglieder der Gruppe verabschiedeten sich von den akademischen Tendenzen in der Malerei und wandten sich unter der Anführung des Theoretikers A. Benua den Präraffaeliten W. Morris, A. Beardsley, den europäischen Symbolisten P. de Chavannes, G. Moreau und den Vertretern des Münchner Jugendstils zu. Ähnlich ihren westeuropäischen Mitstreitern, erhoben die Mitglieder des Vereins ‚Der Welt der Kunst‘ den Ästhetizismus zur führenden Doktrin. „Die Schönheit in der Kunst ist Temperament, das sich in Bildern ausdrückt“, schrieb der Gründer der Zeitschrift ‚Die Welt der Kunst‘ Sergej Džagilev (Rusakova 1995, 115). Aber auch die Musikalität, welche die moderne Lyrik der Russen besonders auszeichnet, wurde zum Kult. Die Begeisterung für Wagners Musik mit ihrem Neomythologismus und formalen Neuerungen sowie für Debussy und Strawinsky, inspirierte manche der Gruppe nahestehenden Maler wie Viktor Borisov-Musatov oder Mikalojus Čiurlionis zu ungläublichen ‚musikalischen‘ Landschaften.

Mit ihrem verfeinerten künstlerischen Geschmack bezogen die Petersburger Künstler die größten modernen Maler der Jahrhundertwende wie Michail Vrubel, Konstantin Korovin und Filipp Maljavin zur gemeinsamen Wirkung bei Veranstaltungen und Ausstellungen mit ein. Letztere wurden durch ihre impressionistische Suche nach einem Lebensimpuls bekannt und stellten damit die russische Variante der Sezessionskunst dar. Der Vergleich mit H. Bergsons *élan vital* liegt nahe, da auch hier die Suche nach einer ewigen Lebenskraft mitschwang (Schmutzler 1989, 305). Zusammen mit ihren Mitstreitern aus ‚Der Welt der Kunst‘ ernteten sie große Erfolge auf der europäischen Bühne, nicht zuletzt durch ihre Teilnahme an der ‚neurussischen‘ Sektion bei der Ausstellung der Münchner Sezession im Jahre 1896. Als Leiter der literarischen Abteilung der Zeitschrift fungierte der Poet Dmitrij Filisov, der auch einer der Organisatoren des Vereins war. Er kümmerte sich darum, dass bekannte Philosophen wie Vasilij Rozanov und Lev Šestov sowie symbolistische Dichter wie Dmitrij Merežkovskij und Nikita Minskij für die Arbeit in der Redaktion engagiert wurden. Fachliche und freundschaftliche Verhältnisse verbanden die ‚Weltkünstler‘ außerdem mit den bekanntesten Jungsymbolisten wie Aleksandr Blok und



Andrej Belyj, aber auch mit den Poeten impressionistischen Charakters wie V. Brjusov und K. Bal'mont (Sarab'janov 1993, 64-65).

Die Tatsache, dass andererseits Bakst, Dobužinskij und Somov den wohl damals bekanntesten Treffpunkt der Jungsymbolisten, den 'Turm' (*Bašnja*) von Vjačeslav Ivanov besuchten, bestätigt die gemeinsamen ästhetischen Ziele und Absichten der Künstler – nämlich die Umwandlung des Lebens durch die Kunst (*žiznetvorčestvo*). Der schöpferische Genius eines der eigenartigsten Vertreter der Gruppe, Michail Vrubel, löste die Verwirklichung dieses Programms durch seinen symbolischen Monumentalismus. Ähnlich wie Benua und Bakst trug auch Vrubel zur Pragmatisierung der Kunst in der europäischen Sezession bei. Er schuf einerseits Panorama-Bilder, andererseits aber auch Kirchenmalerei und Schmuck, stellte innere Ausstattungen sowie Bühnenbilder her, machte Skizzen, Architekturprojekte, illustrierte und entwarf Möbel. Auf dem Weg zur beliebten impressionistischen 'inneren Natur' der Dinge, entdeckte der Künstler eine neue Art, die Struktur des Gegenstandes zu begreifen, und zwar durch schillernde kristallartige Symbolik (Rusakova 1995, 91).

### *3. Der Beitrag von Lesja Ukrajinka zur russischen Moderne*

#### *3.1. Die Affinitäten der Künstlerin*

Das allgemeine geistige und kulturelle Klima in Europa um die Jahrhundertwende, welches die Welle der Moderne auslöste, hatte in der Künstlerfigur von Lesja Ukrajinka (1871–1913) eine würdige Vertreterin des Fin de Siècle in der Ukraine gehabt. Ihr richtiger Name war eigentlich Larysa Petrivna Kosač; das Pseudonym wurde von ihrer Mutter ausgedacht (Udolph 2007, 270). Bereits zu Beginn der 1890-er Jahre gründete die damals 18-jährige Lesja Ukrajinka zusammen mit gleichgesinnten gebildeten jungen Ukrainern die Gruppe 'Plejade', die das Programm aufstellte, die breiteren Leserkreise in ihrer Heimat mit herausragenden Werken europäischer Autoren bekannt zu machen. Der Dichterin schwebte dabei die Idee vor, durch Übersetzungs- und Schaffenstätigkeit im Sinne eines modernen 'Westlertums' zu erreichen, dass aus "unserer Literatur jener misstratene Dilettantismus verschwindet, der in ihr so dominiert" (Wedel 1994, 67). Selbst ihre übersetzerische Leistung aus sechs Literaturen der Neuzeit (der englischen, deutschen, französischen, italienischen, polnischen und russischen) sowie die Bearbeitung einschlägiger Motive mit internationalen Bezügen sollte zur Europäisierung der eigenen Literatur musterhaft beitragen. Die Ambitionen der Künstlerin nach größtmöglicher Entfaltung ihrer schöpferischen Individualität bezeugt ihre sarkastische Rhetorik: "Bin ich denn wirklich schlechter als Andrej Belyj?" (Wedel 1994, 82). In einem Brief vom Oktober 1893 teilt Ukrajinka ihrem Onkel und geistigen Mentor Mychajlo Drahomanov, der in dieser Zeit als Universitätsprofessor in Sofija tätig war, mit, dass sie in Kyjiv mit Hilfe der 'Plejade' einen 'Parnass' gründen wolle und hoffe, dort einige Reformen durchzuführen (Ibid, 64).

Die Tatsache, dass unter den zur Übertragung empfohlenen Dichtern Flaubert, Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, Hugo und Zola standen, bestätigt das Interesse Ukrajinkas für den aktuellen damaligen Naturalismus und die aus ihm herauswachsenden artifiziiellen Flügel der Moderne: Parnassismus, Neoromantik und Sezession, die der gemeinsame Begriff des *Fin de Siècle* am besten vereint. Der Hang Ukrajinkas zu verschiedenen Strömungen der Moderne zeigte sich in ihrer Vorstellung von der Dekadenz: Für sie war die dekadente Kunst keine Mode, vielmehr würden die Dichter sie aus innerer Überzeugung schaffen. Dazu zählten der kalte kosmische Pessimismus des Leconte de Lisle und des José Maria de Hérédia, der Satanismus von Charles Baudelaire, die übermenschliche Verachtung von Friedrich Nietzsche, die Trauer der Übersättigung und die Frömmigkeit des Entsetzens bei Paul Verlaine, der moralische Nihilismus des Arthur Rimbaud, der ewig leidende Ästhetizismus des Gabriele D'Annunzio und der verrückte Lunatismus von Sâr Péladan (Bojko-Bloch 1994, 23).

### 3.2. *Eros und Thanatos*

Als Träger einer *Fin de Siècle*-Stimmung vereinigte die Sezession ihre ästhetische Begründung mit derjenigen der Neoromantik und dadurch mit der ursprünglichen Natur der Phänomene. Der ganze Kosmos mythologischer Helden und märchenhafter Schemata entsprach der Idee einer Kunst, die in Bildern, Skulpturen und literarischen Texten die urexistente Natur poetisiert. Somit aktualisierte sich die archetypische Perspektive des Weiblichen; die Dekadenz stilisierte überhaupt die Frau zum stärkeren Geschlecht. Dies motivierte ihre Semiotisierung als Urpotenz, die in Union mit den entsprechenden Accessoires die Rolle einer dominierenden Kraft erwarb (Hansen-Löve 1989, 383). Der Künstler war nun bemüht, in Berührung mit der Ursprünglichkeit der Natur zu kommen: Er versuchte, hinter den Schleier der Maja, hinter das Rätsel der Sphinx, in das Geheimnis des Seins einzudringen. Dieses Geheimnis führte seinerseits zu Bildstrukturen der gebärenden (strickenden, webenden) Mutter Natur, der sogenannten Magna Mater. Der Künstler kehrte zu diesem Bild zurück, um das Vergängliche, Momentane zu überwinden, das die Magna Mater auch symbolisiert: das Ewige im Prozess seiner Verwirklichung und Konstituierung.

Schon in den früheren lyrischen Texten der Dichterin stellt man die Wichtigkeit solcher Motive fest, so die Rolle der Sphinx – als Sinnbild des Rätselhaften und Geheimnisvollen, das für die erotische Weiblichkeit in der Kunst des *Fin de Siècle* steht. Wie auffällig die Gestalt von Shakespeares Ophelia bei der ukrainischen Lyrikerin ist, wurde bereits vermerkt (Wedel 1994, 97). Dabei handelt es sich hier um eines der markantesten Motive der Sezessionsästhetik, das sogenannte Ophelia-Motiv. Kennzeichnend für diese Perspektive in der Modernität von Ukrajinka erweist sich aber auch das romantische Ambiente mit mittelalterlichen Szenerien vor Burgen, Rittern, Turnieren, Damen und Pagen, die eine legendäre Atmosphäre vermitteln. Ebenso metaliterarisch wirken die

Musengestalten, die letztlich die Idee der künstlerischen Inspiration versinnbildlichen sollen.

Die Liebesemotion bei Lesja Ukrajinka ist obsessiv. Die Autorin erläutert ihre unterschiedlichen Aspekte, sie bleibt aber immer schmerzhaft und doch lebensbejahend. Das dramaturgische Debüt von Ukrajinka ‘Die blaue Rose’ (*Blakytina trojanda*, 1896) zeigt eine radikale Abkehr von dem damals auf den ukrainischen Bühnen herrschenden Ethnographismus und die Zuwendung zur naturalistisch gekleideten Psychologie der Gefühle. Durch den innovativen Liebeskonflikt erhebt die Dichterin ihre weibliche Heldin Ljubov, die eine talentierte Replik zu dem von der Tradition losgelösten Frauenbild von Ibsen und Hauptmann darstellt: Sie begeht Selbstmord, weil sie das Leben von Orest wegen ihrer Schizophrenie nicht verderben möchte. “Ljuba handelt also selbstlos, altruistisch, und nicht aus Furcht vor dem Im-Stich-gelassen-Werden oder aus Verzweiflung” (Kipa 1994, 154). Ljubov tradiert das Motiv des Liebeswahns, so dass man sagen kann, dass ihre Gestalt das bereits erwähnte Ophelia-Paradigma bedingt.

Zum Inbegriff kompromissloser Frauenliebe, die (nach romantischem Muster) dem Tod gleicht, wird die Mirijam<sup>25</sup> aus dem Dramastück Ukrajinkas ‘Die Besessene’ (*Oderžyma*, 1901). Das Leben der Heldin ist vollkommen dem Messias gewidmet, jedoch schmerzt sie die Ungerechtigkeit, dass er für die Anderen sein Blut vergießt, selbst aber nichts verlangt, weswegen “keiner von euch seiner würdig ist” (Ukrajinka 1994, 243). Der Konflikt entsteht aus der Unvereinbarkeit zweier Liebesvorstellungen: Mirijam ist bereit, für die Liebe zu Gott umzukommen, kann allerdings seine Lehre einer allgemeinmenschlichen Liebe nicht akzeptieren (“Doch diese Liebe, die ich von Dir will,/ muss so sein, wie die Sonne – allen scheinen”; Ibid, 237). Der Messias kann ihr demnach nur Frieden schenken. Mirijam lehnt sich gegen die passive Erwartung des Wunders derjenigen auf, die ihr Glück vom Lehrer bekommen. Ihrer Meinung nach muss jeder dafür selbst kämpfen. Markant im Text erscheint die Metapher der Natter, durch die der Hass von Mirijam auf die Feinde des Messias versinnbildlicht wird. Die Protagonistin ist von den beiden starken Gefühlen – Liebe und Hass – besessen, deren Offenbarung ihr den Hass der Anderen bzw. die Strafe durch Steinigung einbringt (“Messias! Ich gebe jetzt für dich mein Leben.../ Und nicht für Glück...das Himmelreich.../ nein...aus Liebe!”; Ukrajinka 1994, 246). Die Idee des Glücklich-Werdens, indem man gibt, und nicht indem man nimmt, erklingt auch in den Gedichten der Künstlerin wie in ‘Abschied’ (*Proščannja*), ‘Opfer’ (*Žertva*) u.a. Mit dieser Art von unermesslich starker Liebe versieht Ukrajinka auch die Figuren von Cassandra, Priscilla, Mavka, die alle Hingabe und Selbstaufopferung ausdrücken.

Äußerst innovativ scheint außerdem das dramatische Gedicht Ukrajinkas ‘Auf dem Blutacker’ (*Na poli krovi*, 1909) zu sein. Für J. Hahn stellt der Text ein neues, originelles und sogar geniales Judasdrama nach Inhalt und Idee dar

<sup>25</sup> Die Namen werden nach der deutschen Übersetzung, in diesem Falle von J. Hahn, angeführt.

(Hahn 1994, 212). Das Poem verinnerlicht und überspitzt das Drama des Verräters, indem es die charakteristische Problematik zur elitären neoromantischen Dramatik werden lässt. Zentrierend im Dramastück wirkt der Verrat durch einen Kuss, als übliche Begrüßung im Orient. Der verzweifelte Verräter hat an seinen Lehrer geglaubt und alles für ihn getan, doch: "Nein, er hat niemals mich/ geküsst...niemals..." (Ukrajinka 1994, 229). Gemäß der Predigt von Jesus gibt Juda<sup>26</sup> sein ganzes Hab und Gut den Armen, doch das Reich Gottes bleibt ihm fern ("Sein Drang war groß, sein Stolz!/ Er konnte aber nie etwas vollbringen./ Sein ganzes Tun versickerte in Worte"; Ibid, 224). Die Ambivalenz des Hauptcharakters (Huzar 1973, 98) verstärkt die Dichterin durch die Ambivalenz des Wortes. Juda mag den Messias, allerdings muss er ihn verkaufen, um vom ergatterten Acker selbst leben zu können. Wieder einmal setzt die Dichterin das Symbol der Schlange ein, mit dem der Pilger im Text als Kontrahent von Juda diesen anprangert. Nach dem Geständnis des Juda war sein Kuss kalt, da er dadurch nur ein Zeichen setzte. "Erst dieses Sakrileg, der Missbrauch zärtlicher Gefühle im Okzident für einen Schurkenstreich bringt den Pilger außer Fassung", beteuert Hahn (1994, 207). Empört vergleicht er Juda mit einer Schlange, die todbringend, also als Allegorie des Satanischen fungiert:

Pilger (vor Empörung zitternd):  
Kein Wort mehr! Schweig! Ob warm die Schlange ist  
Vom Liegen in der Sonne oder kalt,  
sie bleibt doch giftig!

(Ukrajinka 1994, 230)

Das akzentuierte Frauenimage im Kontext des *Fin de Siècle* verlagert die Aktualität auf die Rolle der Sphinx, die ein Zwitterwesen aus Frau und Katze (Löwe, Tiger oder Leopard) mit den Flügeln eines Vogels ist. Die Gestaltung von Frauen als Raubkatzen ist typisch für die Poesie der russischen Impressionisten K. Bal'mont, N. Gumilev, V. Brjusov. Sie verkörpern in der Regel das Dämonische (in) der Frau, indem sie das Paradigma der sogenannten *Femme fatale* aus der Romantik neu aufwerten. Hierher gehören auch gefährliche mythologische Gestalten wie die Gorgo-Medusa sowie gewaltsame Frauenfiguren wie Circe und Judith/Salome aus der Zeit der Romantik, die von der Moderne übernommen wurden. Das Weibliche bekam einen neuen Klang, und zwar den eines "schillernden und glitzernden Naturwesens, eines prähistorischen Tiers, der Schlange oder Katze nahe und verwandt" (Sternberger 1977, 57-58). Die Figur der Sphinx agiert als Hüterin des Naturgeheimnisses, und zwar jenes der Menschwerdung. Sie vereinigt in sich Leben und Tod, und es liegt in ihrer Macht, das Geheimnis des Menschen – geboren von der Frau – zu beherrschen. Daher birgt das Symbol die ganze Tragik des menschlichen Daseins, wie die Dramen Hugo von Hofmannsthals es belegen.

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<sup>26</sup> Auch hier ist die Übersetzung von J. Hahn maßgeblich bei der Anführung der Namen.

In der Tragödie ‘Kassandra’ (1907) erschafft Ukrajinka ihre Variante der starken dämonischen Frau: In das Bild der stets unheilverkündenden Kassandra setzt sie die Idee des Lebens, das sich nur im Wirklichen, im Konkreten zeigt und sich somit im Tod verflüchtigt. Die Priesterin prophezeit zwar das Ende Trojas, doch als es stattfindet, sieht sie das vergossene Blut und die Ruinen als Hochzeitsfeier und als Leben. “Dass Leben eigentlich Tod, Tod aber Lebensrausch, eine Art Befreiung ist, scheint ein Grundgedanke der damals modernen Dekadenz zu sein”, schließt H. Rothe (1994, 125). Zur Stilisierung der Kassandra als Femme fatale trägt auch hier das Schlangemotiv bei, dessen Tragweite von der schlangenhaften Klugheit der Prophetin über den schreckeinja-genden Medusa-Blick bis zum schlangenartigen Schmuck auf ihrem Arm reicht. Dabei ist die Gorgo-Medusa-Problematik auch doppelseitig interpretiert. Einerseits steht Kassandra selbst wie versteinert vor der Schicksalsgöttin Moira, da sie nur eine Betrachterin der furchtbaren Geschehnisse ist (“so als ob Medusa ihren Blick auf dich geworfen hätte”; Ukrajinka 2007, 133), und zugleich flößt sie durch die Wahrsagung den Menschen nur Entsetzen ein.

Durch das Bild von Kassandra stellt Ukrajinka außerdem das Problem der Wahrheit und der Lüge dar und sorgt damit für eine interessante philosophische Sequenz im Dramastück. Die Heldin erklärt ihre Wahrsagung so: “ich fühle und ich sehe stets das Unheil, / doch ich bin nicht imstande, es zu zeigen” (Ukrajinka 2007, 43) außerdem: “denn ich sehe, wovon ich spreche. Ich sehe Trojas Ende” (Ibid, 45). Es handelt sich hierbei nicht um eine Theodizee, sondern vielmehr um die Rolle der Sprache, die für die moderne Literatur der Jahrhundertwende von großer Relevanz war. Im Gespräch mit Kassandra äußert ihr Bruder Helenos (auch Priester) den Gedanken, dass Moira richtet, doch sie gibt auch der Hoffnung eine Daseinsberechtigung, wie der Wahrheit und gleichermaßen der Lüge. Auf diese Weise verlagert sich das Verhältnis zwischen Wahrheit und Lüge auf die Ebene der Sprachontologie. Folglich wird dadurch die Doppeldeutigkeit des Hellschens von Kassandra und schließlich die Hauptsuggestion des Werkes erreicht:

“Glaubst Du, die Wahrheit zeugt die Sprache?  
 Ich meine, dass die Sprache Wahrheit zeugt.  
 Wie könnte man das Wahrheit nennen,  
 was eine Lüge zeugte? Hast Du nie  
 eine Zeugung von dieser Art gesehen?  
 Ich sah’s unendlich oft. Fruchtbare Wort  
 bringt mehr hervor, als die Urmutter Erde”

(Ukrajinka 2007, 137)

### 3.3. Neoromantische Artifizialität

Dank den Impulsen, die aus dem damals österreichischen Lemberg strömten, entwickelte die Dichterin in ihrem Werk Merkmale, die für M. Nevrlý auf den Nenner der Neoromantik gebracht werden können. Der Autor entdeckte daher die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen H. von Hofmannsthal, als “Schöpfer des poetischen Dramas der Moderne aus den Wurzeln der klassischen und romantischen Traditionen”, und Ukrajinka, die, neben Čechov, “den Höhepunkt des modernen Dramas in den slavischen Literaturen” repräsentiert (Nevrlý 1994, 106). Beiden gemeinsam waren die Bezeichnungen ihrer Stücke als dramatische Gedichte, dramatische Poeme oder Etüden, manche davon waren Versdramen, und es gab schließlich auch viele Einakter. Ukrajinka führte überhaupt das neoromantische Drama mit seinen typischen Charakterzügen in ihre Nationalliteratur ein. Dabei stehen im Mittelpunkt der Handlung mancher Texte nicht die historischen Ereignisse oder schwierige Fragen der menschlichen Existenz, sondern deren Essenz, nämlich die kunstvolle “ideelle Beleuchtung” der Fakten (Nevrlý 1994, 109).

Da in dem modernen Drama der Jahrhundertwende die Konflikte von Ideen, Wahrnehmungen und Weltanschauungen getragen werden, qualifiziert man die dramaturgische Kunst Ukrajinkas als Ideendrama; sie war die erste Vertreterin dieser neuen Gattung in der ukrainischen Literatur. Die Autorin distanzierte sich vom nationalen Provinzialismus und war überzeugt, dass “die neoromantische Strömung am meisten dem Zeitgeist entspricht” (Medvedovska 2005, 94). Sogar kürzere dramatische Gedichte, wie ‘Wenn ich nur wüsste’ (ohne Titel, 1898) und ‘Auf den Ruinen’ (*Na rujinach*, 1904) belegen die rebellische Position der Dichterin. Vor den urhistorischen Kulissen erscheint alles in diesen ‘babylonischen’ Texten allegorisch, jedoch präsentiert sich die Autorin ziemlich authentisch. Im Agon mit einem imaginären Opponenten (X) stellt sie z.B. in ‘Wenn ich nur wüsste’ ihre nietzscheanisch geprägten Gedanken so dar:

L. – “Wer Gott nicht fürchtet, der ist auserwählt,  
Denn Gleicher geht zum Bunde nur mit Gleichem”  
(Ukrajinka 2005, 21)

Schon das erste Dramastück der Künstlerin ‘Die blaue Rose’ verrät den großen Einfluss des deutschen Naturalisten Gerhart Hauptmann, dessen Drama ‘Vor Sonnenaufgang’ sie zu ihrem Erstling inspirierte. Der Titel rekurriert auf das bekannte Motiv der blauen Blume aus der Zeit der deutschen Romantik, bekannt von Novalis und Eichendorff. Die Hauptfigur Orest tritt in dem sehnsüchtigen Image eines mittelalterlichen Liebesritters auf, und durch sein Schicksal wird die romantische Tradition der edlen höfischen Minne mit dem Märchen der Moderne verbunden. Nach H. Rothe schuf Ukrajinka dies “lange bevor Ähnliches im russischen Symbolismus bezeugt ist” (Rothe 1994, 113), z.B. Bloks ‘Rose und Kreuz’ (*Roza i krest*, 1910). Vieles im Text spricht dafür, dass es sich

um reine Salonliteratur handelt, wie allein die Kollision zwischen Vernunft und Herz in einem intelligenten Milieu dies verrät. Sowohl Orest als auch seine Geliebte Ljubov sind Intellektuelle, ebenso sind die beiden krank. "Man spürt Ibsens Psychologismus, Zolas Auffassung vom Gesetz der biologischen Vererbung, die Schicksalsgöttin Moira schließt ihre Opfer in die Arme, doch die romantische Attitude schlägt auch durch" (Rothe 1994, 20). Bekanntlich steht die blaue Blume für das gute Glück und Zufriedenheit, sie wird aber auch als Symbol eines Zustandes höchster synästhetischer Wahrnehmung artikuliert, bei dem alle Sinne ineinander verschmelzen. Wenn man bedenkt, dass der Symbolismus auf Korrespondenzen beruht, und der Impressionismus die synästhetischen momentanen Reize lobpreist, kann man das Dramastück ‚Die blaue Rose‘ nicht so sehr als Vorbild bzw. Beginn des psychologischen Dramas in der russischen Literatur sehen, sondern eher als ein impressionistisches "Stimmungsdrama" (Chropko 1973, 85).

Zu ihrem Meisterwerk ‚Das Waldlied‘ (*Lisova pisnja*, 1911) wurde Ukrajinka, wie sie selbst bekanntgab, durch Hauptmanns Märchendrama ‚Die versunkene Glocke‘ angeregt. Ähnlich wie Hauptmanns Bezeichnung der ‚Versunkenen Glocke‘ als Märchendrama nannte die Künstlerin ihr Drama ‚Feenspiel‘ und später ‚Feerie‘. Auf Hauptmanns Gebrauch germanischer (regional schlesischer) Mythen antwortete sie mit ukrainisch / wolhynischen Mythologemen in ihrem Dramastück (Bojko-Bloch 1994, 18). Der Hauptkonflikt wird aufgrund des Zusammenpralls zwischen märchenhafter Naturwelt und prosaischem Alltagsleben konzipiert, um wieder einmal die selbstlose, reine Liebe siegen zu lassen. Sie zeigt sich im Bild der Waldfee Mavka, die zum Symbol der unsterblichen edlen Schönheit aufsteigt, da "alles, was den Menschen veredelt und erhöht – nicht zerstörbar ist" (Kipa 1994, 162). Auch der Mensch in der Gestalt von Lukaš, der durch die Musik die Liebe von Mavka erweckt, kommt zur Entfaltung seines Wesens und erlebt eine Steigerung in seiner Natur und seiner Kunst.

A. Kipa vermerkt die Rolle des psychologischen Parallelismus im Dramastück als strukturbildendes Prinzip. Auf dieser Basis qualifiziert er die Darstellungsart des Textes sogar als naturalistischen Impressionismus. Es handelt sich in ‚Feerie‘ in der Tat um eindeutige impressionistische Ansätze, die an die mystischen Codierungen bei Maeterlinck (‚Der blaue Vogel‘) erinnern. Die Künstlerin baut die Vorstellung eines "verlorenen Paradieses" auf, welches die Sehnsucht des Menschen nach Harmonie mit den mystischen Kräften der Natur ausdrückt (Sulym 2006, 13). Dabei lässt sich die idyllische Atmosphäre des magischen Polissien funktional in einen bereits existenten Kontext in der russischen Prosa der Jahrhundertwende einbetten. Allein die Betitelung der bekanntesten Novelle von A. Kuprin, ‚Olesja‘, aber auch die Poetisierung der ukrainischen Natur darin führt zurück zu Polissien und seiner Naturmagie. Auch hier wird die Geschichte einer Waldhexe erzählt, die in Opposition zu dem städtischen Intellektuellen steht, doch seine Liebe gewinnt. Das Werk hatte anscheinend die gleiche poetische Aufgabe wie die ‚Feerie‘ von Ukrajinka, zu erfüllen: die Natur auf eine numinose Art zur Enklave gesunder Emotionen und Schönheitssuges-

tionen zu stilisieren. Auch hier spielt der Parallelismus eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Entwicklung des Sujets und bei der Gestaltung der Landschaftskulisse. Gleichsam erlebt man die Selbstaufopferung der Heldin, was die Erzählung von der rätselhaften Olesja in ein dekoratives Märchen über die Stärke und die Schönheit des Volkscharakters und dessen Unsterblichkeit verwandelt. Großartige Poetisierungen der provinziellen Natur trifft man ebenso in den impressionistischen Kurzgeschichten von Boris Zajcev (Kaluga als russische Urheimat) sowie in der Naturdichtung des jungen Ivan Bunin (aus Poltava) an, die die Vorbilder einer neuen Stilistik zur Jahrhundertwende lieferten.

### *3.4. Dekoration und Ornament*

In der Feerie ‘Das Waldlied’ stellt Ukrajinka ihre Fähigkeit, die Waldbühne in ein märchenhaftes Dekor zu verwandeln, unter Beweis. Zum einen wird die romantisierte Handlung von einer folkloristischen Entourage vorangetrieben, die der ukrainischen Dämonologie angehört: Feldnymphe, Wassernymphe, Waldschrat, Wassermann, Flattergeist, Berggeist, Gnom etc. Zum anderen spielt der Akt des Ausschmückens bei der ‘Kostümierung’ der Akteure eine große Rolle. Die Szenen wechseln sich im Einklang mit den unterschiedlichen Jahreszeiten ab; entsprechend sehen die Blumenkränze und das ganze Naturgewand der Hauptheldin – der Waldnymphe Mavka – aus. Die Dichterin schrieb ihre ‘Feerie’ innerhalb weniger Tage in Kutaisi 1911 und gestand dabei: “Eine Übermacht von Bildern raubt mir den Schlaf in der Nacht und quält mich mehr als die Krankheit, dann überfällt mich ein Dämon, noch schrecklicher als die Krankheit, und zwingt mich zu schreiben ... In solchem Zustand habe ich «Das Waldlied» verfasst” (Sulym 2006, 11).

Nach dem typischen Muster des ornamentalen Impressionismus ästhetisiert die Autorin die Naturphänomene, indem sie Edelmetalle sowie natürliche Chromatik funktionalisiert: “dort verhüllt die Sonne ihr Purpurgewand,/ um in Meerestiefen ihr Gold zu versenken./ Wir besuchen Sterne, die Silbergarn schenken,/ und weben daraus einen Schatten aus Samt” (Ukrajinka 2006, 69). Durch das geschickte Spiel mit Licht, Schatten und Farbnuancen schafft sie es sogar, die so seltenen impressionistischen Girlanden als aufleuchtende und verlöschende Blitzerscheinungen herzustellen. Dabei arbeitet die Künstlerin gezielt mit der pulsierenden Wiederholung dieser Effekte, die letztendlich in einem Tanzgebilde ihre Form finden (Sternberger 1977, 65). In vielen Szenen des Dramas kommt man zum wirbelnden Verein von Geistern und Naturelementen, deren rhythmische Bewegung schlangentypisch vorkommt: “Er wirbelt mit ihr in schnellem Tanz. Der Silberschleier auf Mavkas Kopf fliegt in die Höhe, wie eine glänzende Schlange, die schwarzen Haare sind aufgelöst und mischen sich mit den feuerroten Locken des Flattergeistes” (Ukrajinka 2006, 159).

Die geschwungene S-Linie des Jugendstils (Michalski 1989, 11) wurde frühzeitig als kompositionelles Element des neuen Stils bestimmt. In ihrer individuellen Arbeit suchten die meisten Vertreter des Jugendstils eine ursprüngliche



Stütze in der Organik und der Bewegungskraft der Natur. Diese eindeutig vom Impressionismus übernommene Tendenz erschien abstrahiert durch die Stilisierung, die ohne Übertreibung in ein elegantes Muster übergeht. Die neue Kunstrichtung zeigte großes Interesse für die japanische Kunst und Kultur, vor allem für die klare Fläche von Wasser- und Luftlinien in den japanischen Radierungen (z.B. bei K. Hokusai). Letztere erwiesen sich als artistisch den Blumen- und Tierdominanten untergeordnet, die so wichtig für die Gestaltung der Oberfläche waren. „Die gekrümmte, fließende «japanische» Linie wurde der Natur abgesehen, durch ein hochentwickeltes Gespür für Formen gefiltert und in hoch abstrakte Formen und Muster überführt“ (Hardy 1990, 23). Einen Teil der ‘Feerie’ Ukrajinkas macht in der Tat die spiralartige Bewegung im Text aus, wie dies der Flattergeist beschreibt: “Schau wie das Spinnennetz dort fliegt,/ wirbelt umher, dreht sich, kreist in der Luft ...”, um dann zu schließen: “schön ist nur das, was sich ewig bewegt!” (Ukrajinka 2006, 159).

Mavka agiert als Märchengestalt, und nach ihrem Liebestod erfährt sie eine phantastische Auferstehung. Sie verwandelt sich in eine Birke, aus deren Zweig eine Pfeife geschnitzt wird. Das Motiv des Frühlings und der Wiedergeburt entspricht der natürlichen Zyklichkeit einer Mythopoetik, so dass am Ende des Stückes die ewige Wiederkehr triumphiert. Beachtlich ist dabei doch die Akzentuierung der seelischen Komponente, die eindeutig für die neue Kunst der Jahrhundertwende spricht. Dank ihrer Liebe zu Lukaš erwarb die Waldnymphe eine Seele, und das ist ihr Wert, trotz des verlorenen früheren Lebens: “Geliebter/, du gabst mir die Seele, wie ein scharfes Messer/ einem stummen Weidenzweig Stimme verleiht” (Ukrajinka 2006, 207). Dann bekommt die Idee der Wiederkehr erst richtig ihre Bestätigung: “mein Ende hat hier seinen Anfang erreicht” (Ibid, 209) - rekapituliert Mavka.

#### *4. Die Rolle der Peripherie für die Etablierung der Moderne*

Man muss unterstreichen, dass sich gerade am Beispiel des Künstlerkreises ‘Die Welt der Kunst’ ein charakteristisches Merkmal der modernen Kunst Russlands bemerkbar machte. Konzentriert in Petersburg brachten die Maler des aufgehenden Impressionismus die europäischste Strömung auch in Russland zum Blühen, doch diese wurde von der russischen Provinz vorbereitet. Die meisten Künstler der vorhergehenden Generation stammten ohnehin aus der Peripherie und haben durch ihren Provinzialismus die Besonderheiten russischer Kunst aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bestimmt. Auch die ‘Weltkünstler’ vertraten um die Jahrhundertwende diese Tendenz: Der Organisator der Gruppe S. Djagilev kam aus Perm’ in die Metropole; L. Bakst war Sohn eines Händlers und verbrachte seine Kindheit in Grodno; Dobužinskij wurde in Novgorod geboren und hatte mit seiner Familie als Jugendlicher in verschiedenen Provinzstädten gelebt. Das kulturelle Verhältnis zwischen Kulturzentrum und Peripherie hat sich also an der Jahrhundertwende geändert. Es ist z.B. kein Zufall, dass das provinzielle Saratov eine beeindruckende Malerschule hervorbrachte, an deren

Spitze V. Borisov-Musatov stand. Im Programm von ‘Die Welt der Kunst’ wurden vor allem die künstlerische Individualität, die Autonomie der Kunst und die Schönheit als Hauptthema des Kunstschaffens verkündet (Sarab’janov 1993, 66-67).

Die ‘Wolgaer’ Schule, deren Lehrer V. Borisov-Musatov war, repräsentierte die zweite Phase des russischen Impressionismus und situierte sich in Moskau. Der Name dieser neuen Malerkonstellation war kein anderer als ‘Die blaue Rose’ (*Golubaja rosa*). Borisov-Musatov war fasziniert von der durch die Zivilisation nicht berührten Natur in den Bildern von Gauguin, und im gleichen Maß vom Vater des malerischen Symbolismus de Chavannes mit seinem Hang zur monumental-dekorativen Malerei. Auf der Suche nach Harmonie verwandelt er die Landschaft in einen wirkenden emotionalen Faktor, der die Bildidee manifestiert. In seinen Bildern ‘Harmonie’ (*Garmonija*) und ‘Ein Herbstmärchen’ (*Vesennjaja skazka*) erkennt man den romantischen Lyrismus des Künstlers, ähnlich den Etüden russischer Impressionisten und älterer Symbolisten. Borisov-Musatov war auf der Suche nach wohlthuender Schönheit, die aus seinen poetisierten Frauenbildern rührt, sie verkörpern seine Sehnsucht nach Harmonie. Offensichtlich beeinflusste ihn dabei die Idee D. Merežkovskijs über die Liebe als höchste Naturkraft – jenseits von Gut und Böse – als oberste Freiheit und Welterkenntnis durch die Schönheit (Rusakova 1995, 205).

Die jungen Mitglieder der ‘Blauen Rose’ Pavel Kuznecov, Sergej Sudejkin und Nikolaj Sapunov fanden Begeisterung an den Dramen von Hauptmann, Ibsen und besonders Maeterlinck und standen der melodiosen, ‘vielfarbigen’ Poesie von Bal’mont, wie auch der grellen Bildhaftigkeit Brjusovs, d.h. den literarischen Impressionisten, nah. Andererseits galten sie als Mystiker, dank des auffallenden Einflusses der Jungsymbolisten A. Blok und A. Belyj auf ihre Kunst; sie druckten ihre Arbeiten in der symbolistischen Zeitschrift ‘Das goldene Vlies’ (*Zolotoe runo*) und trafen sich dort mit ihren literarischen Kollegen. Der Name der Ausstellung 1907 in Moskau – ‘Die blaue Rose’ – wurde von Belyj oder Brjusov vorgeschlagen und sollte ein Symbol für mystische Liebe, assoziierbar mit der Unendlichkeit, sein (Rusakova 1995, 342).

Der Impressionismus in Russland, welcher der eigenen Peripherie (*Okraina*) viel zu verdanken hat, bildet den natürlichen Kontext für die Literatur der großen ukrainischen Dichterin Lesja Ukrajinka. “Lesja Ukrajinka gehört zweifellos zu den bedeutendsten Dichterinnen der europäischen Moderne”, so formuliert es L. Udolph (2007, 274). In ihrer zweiten Schaffensperiode (1896–1913) überwogen die dramatischen Werke, die einen weitumspannenden Themenbereich umfassen – das alte Ägypten, Babylon, Hellas, das römische Imperium aus der Zeit des frühen Christentums, die Gegenwart etc. und ihr die größte Popularität brachten. Damit führte sie ein neues Genre in die osteuropäische Literatur ein, nämlich das dramatische Poem, dem sie eine ungewöhnliche Bildsymbolik und einen unerwarteten Ausgang verlieh (Sulym 2006, 11). Mit ihrer innovativen Poetik trug sie zur Etablierung der Kunst des Fin de Siècle nicht nur im ukrainisch-russischen, sondern auch im gesamten slavischen Raum bei. Durch die

europäischste Strömung, die sie talentiert vertrat, nimmt sie schließlich eine zentrale Stelle in der Entwicklung der slavischen Literaturen ein.

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**THE WORKS BY THE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN SCIENCE  
FICTION AND FANTASY AUTHORS MARYNA AND SERHIJ  
DJAČENKO, HENRY LION OLDIE AND ANDRIJ VALENTYNOV  
IN THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION**

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(Ukraine)

*The article is an attempt of reviewing the creative achievements of Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie (pen name of the co-authors Dmytro Hromov and Oleh Ladyžens'kyj) and Andrij Valentynov, the European Science Fiction Society's Best Writers of Europe competition winners in 2005, 2006 and 2013 respectively, in terms of the place of these authors in the contemporary literary process and the traditions of Russian-language fantastic fiction created by residents or natives of Ukraine, in particular. It is noted that the concept of modern Ukrainian national identity is complex because it goes beyond the Ukrainian language and tends to hybridity, characteristic of postcolonial cultures and multicultural societies, combining Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish and Polish roots. Provided that more high-quality translations appear, this hybridity, writing skill and deep interest in the moral, philosophical, aesthetic and psychological problems of all humanity may promote the recognition of books by M. and S. Djačenko, H.L. Oldie and Andrij Valentynov by European readers and raise the perception of the Ukrainians in Europe to a new level, creating better conditions for cultural integration.*

*Key words: science fiction, fantasy, genre, national identity, hybridity, hybrid identity, noosphere.*

**ТВОРЧІСТЬ СУЧАСНИХ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ФАНТАСТІВ МАРИНИ  
І СЕРГІЯ ДЯЧЕНКІВ, ГЕНРІ ЛАЙОНА ОЛДІ ТА  
АНДРІЯ ВАЛЕНТИНОВА В ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОМУ ВИМІРІ**

*Наталія Криницька*

*У статті здійснено спробу огляду творчих здобутків Марини і Сергія Дяченків, Генрі Лайона Олді (псевдонім співавторів Дмитра Громова та Олега Ладизженського) й Андрія Валентинова, визнаних крацями фантастами Європи у 2005, 2006 та 2013 роках відповідно, із точки зору місця цих авторів у сучасному літературному процесі та традиції російськомовної фантастичної літератури, створеної жителями або вихідцями з України, зокрема. Наголошується на складності поняття сучасної української національної ідентичності, яка виходить за межі української мови й тяжіє до гібридності, характерної для*

*постколоніальних культур та мультикультурного суспільства, поєднуючи українське, російське, єврейське та польське коріння. Саме ця гібридність, письменницька майстерність та глибокий інтерес до моральних, філософських, естетичних та психологічних проблем усього людства, за наявності більшої кількості якісних перекладів, можуть сприяти визнанню книг М. та С. Дяченків, Г.Л. Олді та А. Валентинова європейськими читачами та виводять сприйняття українців у Європі на новий рівень, створюючи кращі умови для культурної інтеграції.*

*Ключові слова: наукова фантастика, фентезі, жанр, національна ідентичність, гібридність, гібридна ідентичність, ноосфера.*

The problem of national identity became very painful and urgent for most of Ukraine's citizens in 2014 when the hybrid war for independence broke out, changing the lives of millions of people, their survival sometimes dependent on the correct and swift distinction between friend and foe. Language (Ukrainian or Russian) has become a rather effective identifier, but thousands of true Ukrainian patriots who fight and die for Ukraine are Russian-speaking, and this fact along with many other issues shows the multiplicity of the contemporary Ukrainian identity and the complexity of the personal choice of belonging to a certain state and/or nation.

The spouses Maryna and Serhij Djačenko from Kyjiv, the two co-authors Dmytro Hromov and Oleh Ladyžens'kyj (aka Henry Lion Oldie) and Andrij Valentynov from Charkiv, honoured as the European Science Fiction Society's Best Writers of Europe in 2005, 2006 and 2013 respectively, are primarily russophone authors, but, according to sincere long-term readers' feedback and many awards, they have made a great contribution to the high poetic, philosophical and psychological level of modern literature written in Ukraine. My family and friends are among their loyal readers who wait for the publication of their new books and whose inner worlds have been influenced by these writers since the 1990s. Hence, the aim of this article is to show that the authors mentioned above deserve high literary status and recognition at an international level, and that Western readers ought not to be deprived of the aesthetic and intellectual pleasure of reading these writers' fiction, as it expands the horizons of the contemporary Ukrainian identity in the globalised world.

In psychological terms, national identity is viewed as "an awareness of difference", a "feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they'" (Lee 2012, 29). The writer's identity is also connected with the awareness of difference that is shaped by the ethnicity, language, trend, generation, genre, style and other borders and determines the author's niche in the literary process. The above-mentioned russophone writers of Ukrainian, Russian and Jewish origin are born in Ukraine and are united by the same "feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they' because they have had to pave their hard way in contemporary literature, helping each other like true warriors.

Maryna (born 1968) and Serhij Djačenko (born 1945) tend to be primarily fantasy authors; they denote their trend as ‘M-realism’ never explaining the meaning of the term (‘M’ may stand for magic, mythological, marvellous, meta, Maryna’s, etc.). Most of their fantasy worlds resemble Eastern Europe of the 10<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Another important genre for this writing duet is soft or social SF with modern Europe as its background again. Maryna, as a former actress and Serhij, as a former biologist and psychiatrist successfully complement each other, combining romanticism and analytical thought (Andreeva 2013, 215-250, 257-261). Their fiction has something in common with the best works of Ursula Le Guin, Nikolaj Gogol’, Evgenij Švarc, the Strugatskij brothers, Michail Bulgakov, Stanislaw Lem and Andrzej Sapkowski, but the spouses Djačenko definitely have their unique writing style. Serhij is also a professional screenwriter; his script to the movie “Famine-33” (1991) based on the novel “The Yellow Prince” by Vasyl Barka about the tragedy of the Ukrainian people became a very important and heroic step towards revealing the historical truth (Andreeva 2013, 271-276).

Sir Henry Lion Oldie (or H.L. Oldie) is skilled at different genres: Dmytroj Hromov and Oleh Ladyžens’kij (both were born in 1963) are good at heroic, epic, mythological or urban fantasy, magic realism, soft SF, space opera, steam punk, etc. In 1991 they defined their main genre as ‘philosophical thriller’, and the critics suggested using the term of ‘mythological realism of the postmodern period’ (Andreeva 2013, 73). Dmytro Hromov, a fan of rock music, worked as a chemistry engineer, and Oleh Ladyžens’kyj used to be a theatre director. They both are seriously engaged in karate and support beginning writers by giving workshops and organizing conventions and festivals (Andreeva 2013, 23-51). The setting of their fiction covers many parts of the earth and imaginary planets. The readers of Roger Zalezny, Michael Moorcock, Jorge Luis Borges, Michail Bulgakov, Nikolaj Gogol’, Nikolaj Gumil’ov, the Strugatskij brothers, David Gemmell, Andrzej Sapkowski, Isaac Asimov, Peter Brett, Neal Stephenson, Gordon Dahlquist or Megan Whalen Turner should appreciate Henry Lion Oldie’s beautifully written fiction.

Andrij Valentynovič Šmalkó, aka Andrij Valentynov (born 1958), a friend of Dmytro Hromov’s and Oleh Ladyžens’kyj’s, is a historian and archaeologist, associate professor at Charkiv National University (Andreeva 2013, 143-157). Valentynov’s genre is often defined as ‘cryptohistory’ or alternate (secret) history (Hromov, Ladyžens’kyj: Gromov, Ladyženskij 2000). Profound knowledge of European history from the ancient times to the present makes his exiting worlds thoroughly planned and detailed. He also works successfully in all the genres in which Henry Lion Oldie writes, except space opera. An experienced reader will find the parallels between Valentynov’s books and the fiction by Michail Bulgakov, Umberto Eco, Nikolaj Gogol’, Henry Rider Haggard, Bram Stoker, Aleksej Tolstoj, Michail Šolochov, Ivan Bunin, the Strugatskij brothers, Victor Hugo, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, George R.R. Martin, Terry Pratchett, Edith Pargeter and many others.

These Ukrainian writers even collaborate, producing books together: Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov are the co-authors of four novels: “We Are to Live Here” (1998), “Shooter” (2006), “Alumen” (2011) and “Fortress of My Soul” (2013), and all the five talented persons united their efforts for a kind of Nikolaj Gogol’ tribute in “The Boundary” (novel, 1998) and “The Pentacle” (a novel-cycle of 30 short stories, 2004–2010). Both books are deeply rooted in Ukrainian folklore and mysticism.

It is very symbolic that Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov cooperated on the basis of Gogol’s motifs. Nikolaj Gogol’ (1809–1852), a native of the Poltava region, is a famous Russian writer of Ukrainian and Polish ethnicity who lived in Europe for many years. During the epoch of Romanticism he reflected in his fiction the beautiful, mysterious atmosphere of Ukraine and created a new myth of his homeland, based on its history and folklore (Valentynov, Hromov, Ladyžens’kyj: Valjentinov, Gromov, Ladyženskij 2004, 381).

Moreover, all these authors to some degree have been influenced by Michail Bulgakov (1891–1940), a native of Kyjiv, another brilliant Russian writer best known for his novel “The Master and Margarita”, which has been called one of the masterpieces of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

And, finally, the brothers Arkadij (1925–1991) and Boris Strugatskij (1933–2012), great Soviet-Russian science fiction authors of Jewish and Russian origin, whose parents came from Ukraine. The Strugatskij brothers became like a tuning fork for the consciousness of many intelligent people of the Soviet and the post-Soviet era and had a significant influence on Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov.

Hence, these contemporary authors continue a strong fantastic tradition based on a Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish and Polish ethnic background that was developed in Russian by Gogol’, Bulgakov and the Strugatskij brothers. In my humble opinion, this writing tradition of ethnic diversity, unique romanticism, true heroism and self-sacrificing, deep lyricism, critical thinking, soft humour and sharp satire is the soul of Ukraine and it reflects the national identity better than many books written in Ukrainian.

Here the term of national identity needs some clarification from the perspective of postcolonial criticism, because Ukraine is definitely a postcolonial country and, to some degree, our current war is anticolonial too. In the early 1990s works responding to multicultural awareness emerged written by the principal theorists of postcolonial criticism Homi Bhabha, Néstor García Canclini, Stuart Hall, Gayatri Spivak and Paul Gilroy. Homi Bhabha introduces the terms of cultural ‘hybridity’ and ‘hybrid identity’ meaning ‘mixture’ that derived from a biological discourse: “These ‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself...” (Bhabha 1994, 2). H. Bhabha also refers to this phenomenon as the ‘third space’ – a space where there is a new position that



is not only the sum of two parts, but something more. Since then, “hybridity has become a master trope across many spheres of cultural research, theory and criticism, and one of the most widely used and criticized concepts in postcolonial theory.” (Kraidy 2002, 316).

So, the hybrid identity allows for the perpetuation of the local, in the context of the global. It means that Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov give a brilliant example of forming the hybrid variants: national, gender, genre, etc. Two duets (the spouses Djačenko and H.L. Oldie) make the ‘third space’ when 1+1 is more than 2; the trio (2+1: Dmytro Hromov, Oleh Ladyžens’kyj and Andrij Valentynov) is more than 3; the quintet of all of them (2+2+1) is more than 5... They are the masters of ambivalence, of combining local and global, and their works and lives can be a very interesting object of further cultural studies from the contemporary perspective.

But, unfortunately, as Andrij Valentynov argues, these authors exist in a kind of literary ghetto, since they, like other modern science fiction / fantasy writers, “...are together because of circumstances not so much creative but historical and partly accidental... The current fantastic community has been formed because everything extraordinary, not fitting into the old framework, has been pushed to this community.” (Valentynov 2004, 411).

Thus, the main factors that determined some alienation of Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov from the ‘canonical’ contemporary Ukrainian writers are the Russian language and the genre of SF and fantasy. It should be mentioned that in the post-Soviet countries the academic prejudice against speculative fiction is stronger than in the Western world because the totalitarian authorities did not need people with a developed imagination and critical thinking, and only ‘realistic’ works or science fiction about the happy communist future were published after thorough censorship. The years have passed, but we still live within this post-Soviet system of views, and the professors, editors and publishers in many cases are the same or do not think any different.

In the 1990s Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov had to fight for the recognition of fantastic or speculative fiction as an equal genre that could be considered as ‘serious’ literature deserving critical attention and publication. Moreover, even when the books of many Western masters of SF or fantasy were translated into Russian or Ukrainian and were mostly recognised by the readers, critics and publishers in the post-Soviet part of the world, the local authors were still ignored. This is one of the reasons why Dmytro Hromov and Oleh Ladyžens’kyj – who, by the way, have together translated English-language SF and fantasy - took the English-sounding pen name ‘Henry Lion Oldie’ using a merger of their names, Oleh and Dmytryj, respectively, and deriving the initials from their family names in Cyrillic (Громов and Ладигенський) (Čornyj 2001, 302-303).

To survive in the new market conditions, the local SF and fantasy writers had to achieve the sophistication of the foreign authors and even surpass them,

and about twenty years of their successful and diverse writings prove that Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov have accomplished this task.

Generally speaking, any attempt to make science / fantasy fiction better, to cross the genre borders and to approach the artistic level of 'highbrow' literature is connected with the following aspects:

1. The concepts and ideas of the book and/or their realisation should be original and fresh;
2. The plots are exiting and unexpected, grasping the readers' attention and letting the authors express old themes with a new twist, while making their message to the readers not banal;
3. The authors try to create and describe in detail the alternative worlds that have much in common with the reality in which we live (for example, the people's psychology), but with some fantastic elements, making the readers wonder, feel, think and admire;
4. The characters are primarily humans, and their psychology is very believable; it is shown with skill and arouses the readers' sympathy and understanding;
5. The language is rich and poetic, its style matches the worlds which are described.

Of course, it is very difficult to fulfil all the aforementioned aspects in every book, but the literary standards of Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov are very high, as can be proven by their aims and background.

First, these authors are very intelligent, educated and read a lot of fiction of high quality in different genres. They know the tracks of world literature and philosophy very well and can find the new paths or passages in the huge forest of human culture.

Second, Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov are skilled plot makers, absorbing the readers' attention from the first page. They experiment with the traditional quest structure and hero's journey, making the parallel plot lines, engaging multiple of points of view, deceneration, fragmentation, polyphony, collage, open ending and the 'iceberg method'. Henry Lion Oldie often mixes prose and poetry and applies to the musical forms. Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, who are also screenwriters, use some cinematographic technique in their works.

Third, their imagination, education and background help them to create very believable fantastic worlds where rationality is mixed with irrationality and science – with poetry. Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov are great demiurges, but the former tends to be more science fictional and universal, with the huge bulk of worlds including the outer space, while the latter is more concentrated on the past, on the esoteric mysteries of the human history.

Fourth, they all are the masters of psychological prose; moreover, Maryna and Serhij Djačenko are even more focused on the depth of human psyche than

on the plot structure or on the well-planned creation of a fictional world. This often brings them closer to mainstream literature than to science / fantasy fiction.

Fifth, Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov are good stylists; their language is rich and poetic. Oleh Lacyžens'kyj and Andrij Valentynov are gifted poets, and their metaphorical thinking makes their imaginary worlds unforgettable.

All these qualities allow the Djačenos, H.L. Oldie and A. Valentynov to be level with the best contemporary authors, to be read and loved in Europe and America. For this they need some luck, good translators and enthusiastic publishers. At Eurocon (The European Science Fiction Society's convention) in Kyjiv in 2013 I found out that most Western fans of SF and fantasy knew only the Ukrainian author Andrej Kurkov (born 1961), who writes in Russian and is rather popular in Europe. I dare say that as for the talent and philosophical depth Kurkov is not a whit better than Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov, but he has more opportunities to better promote his stuff in other countries because his wife is English.

Unfortunately, European readers are mostly ignorant of the wonderful worlds created by Andrij Valentynov, a very modest and honourable man, who has no translations of his books except "The Boundary", a novel written in collaboration with the Djačenos and H.L. Oldie and translated into Polish in 2004.

According to the information that was kindly given to me by Oleh Lacyžens'kyj, the works by H.L. Oldie have been published in Ukrainian (eight novels), Lithuanian (two novels and one story), Polish (six novels), French (three novels and two stories), Czech (one novel) and Spanish (1 story), but it is a very small part of their work.

As the official site of Maryna and Serhij Djačenko asserts (<http://www.rusf.ru/marser/books/bibl.htm>), they have published sixteen novels in Ukrainian and got recognition from the Polish translators who adapted fifteen of their novels and novellas. Four novels have been translated into English, one novel – into German, one novella – into Estonian and Hungarian, and two stories – into French. Like H.L. Oldie and A. Valentynov, these writers are still waiting for thousands of potential readers in the European countries.

These readers might be interested in a mysterious and heroic Ancient Greece shown in the Mycenaean series of novels by Andrij Valentynov ("Grey Kite", 1997, and "Diomedes, the Son of Tydeus", 2000–2001) and the Achaean cycle by H.L. Oldie ("A Hero Must Be Alone", 1995; "Odysseus, the Son of Laertes", 2000; "The Grandson of Perseus", 2011).

The history of Rome in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and especially the famous slave uprising are analysed from the alternative perspective in A. Valentynov's novels "Spartacus" (2002) and "The Angel of Spartacus" (2006). The fans of imperial style will recognise the Roman culture in the Pompilians described by H.L. Oldie in the SF Oikoumene series (2006–2015).

The Eastern European history of the migration period is the basis for A. Valentynov's mythological fantasy in the Oriya cycle (1997–2000).

Medieval France is described in detail by A. Valentynov in the novel "Auvérigne Cleric" (1997); the times of the French Revolution are presented by him in the novel "Deserter" (1997) and the WW II period is shown in his novel "Noir" (2013).

The ancient legend about the Tower of Babel is re-interpreted by H.L. Oldie in the novel "The Almshouse" (2001) on a fantasy background resembling Medieval Germany. "The Almshouse" belongs to the Hening series based on European culture. The German legend about the Rat-Catcher of Hamelin is the core of the novella "Burned Tower" (1998) and novel "Aliona and Aspirin" (2006) by Maryna and Serhij Djačenko.

The Spaniards might enjoy the Djačenkos' variation on Cervantes' classic, novel "The Last Don Quixote" (2000), A. Valentynov's exiting interpretation of quixotic motifs in his novel "Hola" (2001) and the splendid description of the Spanish-like culture in H.L. Oldie's novel in three books "Escape to the Breakthrough" (2014–2015) from the Oikoumene series.

Italy and Ukraine of the middle of the 17th century are presented in A. Valentynov's dynamic novel "The Heavens Are Rejoicing" (2000). In H.L. Oldie's Oikoumene series the planet Borgo has many features of Italian culture.

France, Denmark, England, Germany, Russia, Poland and the other lands of the first half of the 19th century are the setting of "Alumen" (2011), a trilogy by H.L. Oldie and A. Valentynov about the metaphysical struggle between the rational scientific and irrational occult forces.

The criminal and magic history of the Russian Empire is interpreted by H.L. Oldie in the novel in two books "The Magus in Law" (1999). Russia is presented rather ironically as the planet Sechen in H.L. Oldie's Oikoumene series and is described rather tragically in A. Valentynov's moving cycle "The Eye of Power" (1996–1997, 2010–2011) based on the Russian and Soviet history of the 20th century. A. Valentynov often comes back to the period of the Civil War in Russia (1917–1922), in which Ukraine was involved as its part; his great pain for the destroyed culture and loss of the best people is felt in the other novels about those times "The Phlegethon" (2000) and "Captain Philibert" (2007).

The technologically and ethically developed planet Largetas, the main setting for the novel "Urbi et Orbi or To the City and To the World" (2010–2011) from H.L. Oldie's Oikoumene series, stylistically looks like Holland, Austria-Hungary or Germany of the 19th or early 20th centuries.

Poland or Western Ukraine provides the atmosphere of many books by the writers including Maryna and Serhij Djačenko's novels "Age of Witches" (1997) and "The Execution" (1999), and H.L. Oldie's novel "Stepchildren of the Eighth Commandment" (1996).

Ukraine of the late 20<sup>th</sup> or early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries is presented in H.L. Oldie's "Noperapon, or the Image and Likeness" (1998), in the dilogy "We Are to Live Here" (1999) and the novels "Shooter" (2006) and "Fortress of My Soul" (2013)

by H.L. Oldie and A. Valentynov, in A. Valentynov's novels "Canis Major Constellation" (2002), "Dimon" (2006), etc.

The above-mentioned books, which are directly based on European culture and/or background, form at least one third of the fiction by Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov. However, since these authors are primarily focused on universal values, most their works like Henry Lion Oldie's series "The Abyss of Hungry Eyes" (1991–2001), Andrij Valentynov's "Noosphere" cycle (2003–2013), Maryna and Serhij Djačenko's novels "The Cave" (1998), "Armaged-dom" (1999), "Pandem" (2003), "Metamorphoses" cycle (2007–2010) and many others can be accepted with big interest in many countries.

The deepest themes of reality, history, humanity, good, evil, life, death, choice, responsibility, love, hatred, forgiveness, revenge, violence, atonement, power, role of literature and art, evolution, revolution, memory, hope, faith and many other eternal issues are often studied by these writers from a new perspective, changing the reader's perception of them.

As Serhij Djačenko says, "Novels, novellas and short stories in which the theme of love is the main or one of the main factors of the plot, and where this love is studied from a perspective that is impossible and paradoxical for the 'ordinary' literature, is the most interesting niche in fiction for me. This is where fantasy can say something new, can open interesting horizons for our mind and heart. Here colossal reserves of creativity, psychology, sociology and prognostics are hidden. This is what prepares a new human..."

But it is also the most difficult field, like a minefield. If you stumble on implausibility, on triviality, everything will be in vain..." (Djačenko 2003).

What helps Maryna, Serhij, Oleh, Dmytryj and Andrej to survive on the minefield of modern literature, to continue writing and believing that they will make this world a little better, to hit their targets almost every time? As a H.L. Oldie fan, I often remember the words from "Odysseus, the Son of Laertes", said by Telemachus (another name of Eros, god of love): "You should just really love this bow... love this arrow very much... You should love your homeland, this island on the outskirts forgotten by gods... You should really, really love your wife... your son..." (H.L. Oldie 2001, 8). I am sure that these writers really love their books like their children. They share their thoughts and feelings with us, waiting for our feedback. Of course, they will be very glad to get this feedback from European readers too.

"Since the book cannot be locked only into one country," Serhij Djačenko asserts, "because any writer is a being belonging to the noosphere, to the intellectual covering of our planet... Another thing is that the writer won't be interesting if he or she does not have the sense of homeland. Ukraine is a wonderful country with its unique history, nature and mentality, and it can be interesting to the world if the writer conveys it through his or her memory of childhood, through the emotions of the youth. It does not matter in what language it is done, let it be Chinese if this is about a Chinese who has grown up in Ukraine"

(Djačenko, 2005, 466). Serhij Djačenko reminds us that the term ‘noosphere’ was suggested by Vladimir Vernadskij (1863–1945), the descendant of the Zaporožian Cossacks and the founder of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Besides, as it has been said above, Andrij Valentynov devoted a whole cycle to the phenomenon of noosphere.

To sum up, I would like to say that the lives and creative writing of Maryna and Serhij Djačenko, Henry Lion Oldie and Andrij Valentynov prove that a true contemporary Ukrainian identity in the globalised world includes high intelligence, national hybridity, keeping the balance between Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish and Polish ethnic features, respect of the other cultures, sincere patriotism, romanticism, self-sacrifice, diligence, critical thinking, humour, originality, independence, ability to cooperate and help others. They are looking for readers who are educated, generous, emotional, ironical and ready to fight for love, friendship, justice, freedom and dignity. These writers are able to connect to the magnificent noosphere created by the great minds of the whole world during many centuries and to bring to this noosphere their ideas and inspiration. Maybe, it is the best way for Ukraine’s integration into the European community because our people should not only ask for help, sympathy and understanding, telling about our tragic past and present. Ukraine has many talented people who can give a lot to Europe, who can be equal partners, at least in the sphere of culture.

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## **DRAMATIC EXISTENCE IN THE POETIC ART OF UKRAINIAN OSTARBEITERS (THE FOLKLORIC CONCEPT OF ‘CAPTIVITY’)**

*Oksana Kuz'menko*

(Ukraine)

*The paper provides an analysis of poetic peculiarities in folkloric works of World War II created by labour slaves. The author focuses on the semantic field of the concept of ‘captivity’, which is one of the most productive concepts in the language of folklore of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This concept has close ties with the ontological notions of freedom, loneliness, sadness, hope, and memory. The conclusions call attention to the peculiarities of the national identity of Ukrainians, deeply rooted in the memories about home, which is a metaphoric antiworld for captivity.*

*Key words: folklore, concept, captivity, motif, formula.*

## **ДОСВІД ДРАМАТИЧНОГО БУТТЯ В ПОЕТИЧНІЙ ТВОРЧОСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ОСТАРБАЙТЕРІВ (ФОЛЬКЛОРНИЙ КОНЦЕПТ ‘НЕВОЛЯ’)**

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*У статті розглядаються поетичні особливості фольклору трудових невільників Другої світової війни. Досліджено семантичне поле концепту ‘неволя’ одного з найбільш продуктивних у фольклорно-мовній картині ХХ ст., який вступає у зв’язки із онтологічними поняттями самотність, сум, віра, пам’ять. Наголошено на рисах тожсамості українців, закорінених у материзну незабутнього дому, який є образним антисвітом неволі.*

*Ключові слова: фольклор, концепт, неволя, мотив, формула.*

The Ukrainian people, according to P. Kuliš, is among the ethnicities which have both their own heroic history and the sense of epopeia. An important part of it is its folkloric lyrical epos which brought forth new works of art in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where the topics of battle and bravery, captivity and famine, wounds and death were the main content components. Ukrainian oral poetic creative works of labour slaves of the Third Reich (‘Ostarbeiters’) are undisputedly a part of the bloody history of the people which had to bear the burden of two world wars and undergo unfathomed sufferings and hardships in a foreign land. Within the wide spectrum of war-related folklore topics and ideas ‘captivity’ is among the main ones. The need for the conceptual analysis of this word-image on the basis of the insufficiently studied layer of folkloric creativity determines topicality of the study.

Over the last decades the fate of forced labourers, their spiritual and physical existence in Germany in the war period have permanently been in the focus of Ukrainian historians' attention (S. Hal'čenko, H. Hrynčenko, V. Konstantinova, M. Ševčenko, T. Pastušenko, A. Trembyc'kyj and others). Quite a large corpus of sources, known as 'memory texts' using folkloric material to highlight different aspects of the daily life of the Ukrainina Ostarbeiters has been collected (Azarč 2010, 56), along with samples of ways of transferring, preserving and (re)creating historical memory in the context of the general national memorial space (Hrynčenko 2012, 108-109). A great contribution to such studies has been made by the folklorists who recorded the texts and the contexts of new songs which appeared in the war times (P. Batjuk, O. Voropaj, M. Hajdaj, M. Rodina, O. Stebljanko, M. Stel'mach, A. Šmyhovs'kyj and others). Later on, they launched a wider analysis of the poetics of new works within the general topic of World War II folklore. Substantial conclusions made by K. Čystova, O. Bricyna, R. Kyrčiv, T. Nikol'čenko, N. Šumada lead to a description of the typical features of their folkloric nature, the resources of people's poetic lexis and poetic characteristics of old lyrical epos, in particular, *social class songs* which belong to a separate genre group as *strokars'ko-najmyc'kyj* (about the life of hired employees in the traditional village). Those songs were popular in Eastern Podillja, the Poltava region, the Kyjiv region, the Slobožanščyna region, Zaporizžja back in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was there that the most recent records of songs about forced labour in Germany were made (Kuz'menko 2001; Mormil' 2007; Dmytrenko, Efremova 2014). The variants recorded in the late 20<sup>th</sup> – early 21<sup>st</sup> century belong to the paradigm of popular texts which once became the basis for a substantial collection called *Jasyr* (captivity) (London 1966). In the preface the compiler O. Veresaj stressed the significance of those materials that “are not just important documents confirming the sufferings of our people in German captivity, but a proof of our national character as well; a testimony of high morale, a great feeling of human dignity and deep national patriotism” (Voropaj 1966, 4).

Analyzing the materials of the songs, folklorists have pointed to the dominants of traditional content and style of works, the usage of typical elements of lamentation, contrasting techniques, Slavonic antithesis, diminutive words in appellations used by lyrical heroes, etc. But no special papers are available that would suggest a comprehensive approach to a complicated and disquieting psycho-emotional world of the main character – a Ukrainian slave with a tragic fate as encoded in the folkloric texts. That has determined the goal of our research: its objective is to study the sense components of the folklore concept of 'captivity' using structural and typological, semiotic and conceptual methods. We consider it to be our task to analyze ways and forms of old traditional and modern sense layering in the description of the Ostarbeiter's marginal condition, which is a key to understanding the changes in the meaning of the word 'captivity' and an informative field for reading captivity songs as important signs of Ukrainian ethnic culture. Interpreting the main term, we take Charles S. Peirce's statement



claiming that human opinion is manifested through mental signs of a mixed nature, the symbolic part of which is called concept, as the basis.

Our research was based on texts of different genres (poems-epistles, poetic letters, lyrical songs, couplets, individual verses-poems of patriotic and religious content, sayings) composed in the Ukrainian language mainly in the period of 1942–1945. Most texts come from archival collections access to which is highly limited, as well as from field records representing regional traditions.

The semantic field of the word ‘captivity’ (‘miserable captivity’) as a conceptual image was shaped under the influence of Ukrainian folkloric tradition. The language of the Ukrainian story-teller’s introductions, sayings contains hidden rudiments of the anthropomorphic vision of ‘hard captivity’, which ‘would find’, ‘interrogate me’, ‘cries’ and ‘jumps’. Many typical paroemias are based on the opposition *freedom – captivity* (‘Give somebody free rein, and you will be taken captive yourself’), which is also closely associated with the personified image of *destiny* captivity does not have (cf. in the rebel’s song: “It is hard to live *in captivity*, *captivity has misfortune*, / O, how bad the heart feels, *there is already no happiness-destiny*”). Such examples of people’s philosophy and other examples like that have enabled those who research ethnic cultural concepts to shape a clear interpretation of the notion of ‘captivity’ as “absence of freedom, liberty, somebody’s complete dependence on somebody, something; also, captivity, enslavement, slavery” (Žajvoronok 2006, 391).

In people’s poetic conscience the above-mentioned pair *freedom – captivity* encodes older generalized formulae of correspondences, viz.: *life – death*, of which the mythological divergence *space – chaos* is the genesis. Those archaic sense components are active in various genres of folklore. For instance, in the works of the family cycle about Fate dominates the motif of the unhappy life of a young woman who, on going to the world of another family, ‘... *got into captivity*’, or her husband suffers ‘... *in captivity*, in irons, in locks’; or in social and daily military lyrical epos describing the inhuman conditions of a conscript’s (soldier’s) existence, slaving, his isolation from the family, sufferings and despair in a foreign land as the subject of dependence. Another source of presenting the structural model of the opposition ‘free – slave’ are historical and heroic dumas<sup>27</sup>, in particular those which are included into the captivity cycle. This genre of Ukrainian epos comes from the specific environment of old ‘družynna poetry’ (Hruševs’kyj 1993, 244)<sup>28</sup> related to war, which reflects the motifs of missing one’s native land, fearing new captivity which is worse than death (M.

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<sup>27</sup> Dumas are original lyrico-epic works of folk origin about events in the Cossack period of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. “The dumas differ from other lyrico-epic and historical poetry by their form and by the way in which they were performed. They did not have a set strophic structure, but consisted of uneven periods that were governed by the unfolding of the story. ... The dumas were not sung, but were performed in recitative to the accompaniment of a bandura, kobza, or lira” (according to Petro Odarčenko, in Encyclopedia of Ukraine (1984), edit. by D. Husar-Struk. Toronto. Vol. 1).

<sup>28</sup> Družynna poetry, which described knjažo-družynnyj everyday life (e.g. heroic stories and songs such as ‘Slovo o polku Igorevim’), was created in the period of the Kievan state (from the end of 9<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century).

Pazjak, N. Pazjak, 1998, 18). It is also important to take into account in our analysis the opinion that the system of heroic epos reflects the unity of the 'male' (military) and 'female' (family and daily life) antonymy as well as certain universal concepts typical of the military environments of all times (Jarmolenko 2010, 506).

The semantic field of an abstract and emotional concept of 'captivity' is one of the richest in the Ukrainian folkloric linguistic picture. That is caused by well-known political events of the 20th century and the phenomena of criminal activities of political authorities and totalitarian regimes in Ukraine that led to staggering numbers of murdered people from all social strata and ages, who were victims of dehumanization process. Over the first half of the 20th century almost a million Ukrainian civilians had a traumatic experience of imprisonment of various types and designations (Kostyk 1993, 454), and some 2.2 million people were taken to Germany on a compulsory basis for hard physical labour at farms with 'bauers'<sup>29</sup>, at military plants and factories. That fact has influenced the general political picture of dependent existence in Europe and enabled us to create stable historical metaphors of captivity as the 'death *camp*' in relation to the Hitler-fascist period and the '*prison of peoples*' – in relation to the Stalin and Communist epoch.

The folkloric concept of 'captivity' in the modern Ukrainian works of art about labour slaves reveals itself on the background of opposition to the notion of *freedom*. The concept is peculiar in the sense that it was shaped following traditional text-making canons and it has some established ways of verbalization. One of the active ways of describing the life of slaves is use of archaic symbolic images. Many new pieces (in particular, 're-texts') were based on (or followed the sample of) old 'dumas', social and daily life songs where captivity is primarily associated with unhappy *fate*, serious *sorrow* and *impossibility of getting back* home. It is important to stress that re-writing and re-interpretations of famous texts is not only the imminent feature of the modern folk song tradition, which, through re-composition and contamination, shows collective creative development of the inherited legacy (Šumada 1981, 116), but it is also a feature of the context of their creation and existence, when 'singing of re-interpretations of famous motives was one of the safest ways for the slave held captive to express his/her ideas' (Čystov 1998, 25). Even in conditions which were very far from being favorable for free creative work, the artistic and aesthetic component dominates in the Ukrainian captivity songs. Here the common Slavonic images are involved – those of *sorrow*, *tears*, *a messenger bird* (sparrow, nightingale), *wind*, *grass*, *foreign land*, *fate*. The above images usually function within the structure of traditional metaphoric formulae, psychological parallelisms symbolizing the feeling of dismay and longing: '*Winds are blowing, tempestuous winds are blowing, making trees bow down, / So we are long-*

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<sup>29</sup> Using the term 'bauers' I mean the historical semantic word, which is borrowed from the German language as 'Bauer, m – peasant, plowmen'. A lot of Ukrainian young women and men were exported to the Third Reich to work on private agriculture farms.

ing for our homes that our hearts are throbbing' (Čystov 1998, 135); 'There's a load pressing our minds, / since it's so *hard to live* in Germany' (Institute of Art Studies, Folkloristic and Ethnology by M. Ryl's'kyj (IMFE), coll. unit 12, sheet 21).

The most typical feature is the associative pair of captivity = *sorrow*, the symbolic sense of which is verbalized in the folklore phraseology ('*had sorrow*', '*sorrowful* life'), typical of folk lyrics and the lamentations from the Podillja region. For example, in our recording of a lamentation over a grandson from the Chmel'nyc'kyj region an appellative formula 'tell your sorrow' plays an important role: 'Rise, rise, my child, rise, / *Tell*, tell your *pain* / *Tell* your *sorrow*' (Kuz'menko 2001, 69). Sometimes analogies with taste properties are used: 'bitter' ('*bitter* life', 'to cry *bitter* tears', 'cried *bitterly*'). It comes from the Russian tradition (the 'bitter sorrow' formula), which, due to ostarbeiters' bilingualism, affected the colouring of Ukrainian samples. The modern works generally describe sorrow that acquires new hyperbolized non-measurable features ('O, mother, here is *sorrow* – I cannot describe it / I cannot tell you my *sorrow*' (Mormil' 2007, 15). This phenomenon appears in the structures containing a semantic fusion of the two notions: 'suffered *sorrow and captivity* / in the damned Germany' (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine (CDAHOU), 74). Another popular artistic stereotype in the captivity reflection is the image of an orphan crying 'small tears'. It generates the analogy of captivity = *orphanhood*: 'I have come to Germany – and here I live as an orphan, / Not once, and not two times have I cried my tears in the barrack' (CDAHOU, 76). The image of plenty of tears is included in the expressions derived from the tradition of heart-rending romance ('I would come from work late / and cry my tears on my bed' (Čystov 1998, 130), where evident sentimentalism constitutes a genre form which is used to manifest the features of traditional peasant philosophy of humbleness bordering on fatalism: 'Don't wait for me, my dear, and you, my dear mother, / I *am staying* in Germany *for ever to live*' (Altuchova, Sloboodian 1995, 17).

The German fascist captivity, as the limit the sorrowful heroine cannot physically overcome, make the female speaker compare herself to a *bird-girl*, like in the old popular Slavonic ballad about the daughter who, waiting for her mother to visit her, complains of bad fate. It is well known that on the Ukrainian ground the ballad was transformed into the family daily life lyrical song with the image of the daughter-*cuckoo*. It is this ornithomorphic symbol, combining semantics of sorrow, crying, bad fate and even death in the family. The image of the cuckoo is used in the works by Ostarbeiters, for instance, in the songs-contemplations: 'I would fly to the garden / and sit on a cherry-tree, / I *would cuckoo*, / For you, Mummy, to go out // and to ask me, Mummy, / how I lived with Germans, / from beginning to end / how my life went on' (IMFE, coll. unit 21, 81); as well as in letters, those original types of 'memory metaphors' that were represented either directly in the epistolary form, or as a motif, or a separate image of a poetic text:

Good morning, Mummy,  
 Here is your Varja *writing to you*,  
 Varja is writing and asking,  
 How her Mummy lives,  
 O, you, *grey birds*,  
 So many of you are flying here,  
*Take to Ukraine*  
 This *letter* to my mother (Čystov 1998, 53).

Another way of manifestating the concept consists in the actualization of the traditional formulae which enable us to show their latent potential of expressing multiple additional meanings. It happens with the formula *captivity* = ‘foreign land’, which includes two-componentss and which is borrowed from the duma epics and social and daily life lyrics, in particular, when it concerns the hired employees and immigrant cycles. In them one can come across by the expression ‘a *distant* land’, for example: ‘And I am staying in Germany, in the *distant* land’. The use of the adjective “distant” instead of “foreign” establishes parallels and associative images of the world of ‘distant land’ to those of bad fate, lonely life, the place of death, oblivion. Together with the formula ‘distant foreign land’, ‘foreign land’ appear new collocations with a permanent epithet *foreign*: ‘*foreign state*’, ‘*foreign country*’, ‘the land of *aliens*’, ‘*foreign distant* land’: ‘I have to move to a *foreign* country, / to build roads for those damned Germans’ (IMFE, coll. unit 21, 22).

Due to the attributive constituent modeled through the mythological opposition ‘mine (ours) / foreign’, the concept of *captivity* places further emphasis on the established semantic pair where *captivity* is a synonym of ‘foreign’, while *freedom* is respectively used to speak about my (our) world. The pleonastic accumulation (‘I am *far* from my Mummy – / a *distant foreign* land’ (IMFE, coll. unit 12, 3)) caused by the interference of various folkloristic traditions in the conditions of co-existence of the Ukrainian slaves with the representatives of other nationalities of the occupied Soviet territory enables us to interpret the epithet ‘*distant*’ (more characteristic of the Belarusian and Russian tradition) as a contextual synonym of the adjective ‘foreign’. Thus, *distant* is fixed in the semantic field of the folkloristic concept of *captivity*, a fact that is well-seen in songs where this attribute is combined with a nuclear word: ‘They have made me get lost, mummy, / in the *distant captivity*’ (IMFE, coll. unit 21, sheet 19) or it is used descriptively in contrast with freedom:

No matter where I go, no matter where I look,  
 Everywhere there are woods and a guard,  
 And we *won't be let free*  
 In the *distant foreign* land (Čystov 1998, 130).

The conceptual sense of ‘captivity’ is manifested in a whole range of motifs connected with dominant position of female characters (daughters, mothers, sisters). The semantic, structural and contrastive analysis of the variants of songs recorded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (compiled by hired employees) allows to outline the complex of traditional motives used in modern works to depict the full biography of a captive in German ‘captivity’. These are motifs of *separation, repudiation from my (our) family, bad fate, redemption from captivity, letter, death in a foreign land, a lonely tomb*. The structural limits of the motifs are expanded due to placing the matrix of a traditional female song onto the ‘male’ text: ‘A guy is wandering about Berlin / *cursing his fate bitterly*’ (IMFE, coll. unit 34, sheet 2). The motives containing pejorative emotional components are more active: a girl *is longing* for her mother and her house; a girl *suffers* violence, hard labour and contempt on the part of enemies; a mother *curses* the enemy (Germans); a girl *is crying, being afraid, staying in poverty*; a slave, while saying good-bye, *envisages* eternal separation from Ukraine and her death: “Maybe, I will not see Ukraine any more” (Čystov 1998, 129).

The analysis of the texts has shown that captivity gets objectivated mainly via reflections which the daughter-*ostarbeiter* shares with her mother. This character identifies obvious parallels with a girl who is a servant, who is given away, who, in appellative motifs, says good-bye to her relatives. Along with the traditional folklore place of parting – the threshold of her native house (‘on Sunday I will stand early in the morning *on the threshold*’), appears the railway as a new limit of the sign space of a liminal person. Modern images of the technical world (*car, train*) become part of the vocabulary of folkloric tradition thanks to the modern works about World War II: ‘O how I got on the *train*, looked into the window, / My dad and Mummy were left far away in Ukraine’ (Altuchova, Slobodjan 1995, 67).

Another important element in the poetry of labour slaves is the motif of ‘a daughter writing a *letter* from Germany’: ‘I will write a page and place it on water, / Maybe, it will flow to my family’ (Mormil 2007, 15). In the lyrical epistles from captivity to Ukraine that were written down on small postcards (Altuchova, Slobodjan 1995, 7, 12, 13) or re-written in notebooks, one can find motifs-*requests* to relatives (mainly the mother) not to cry over their children and to remember them (‘Remember me, Mummy, / At dinner // And I will recall you / in the German province’ (IMFE, coll. unit 12, sheet 14); and motifs-*complaints* of uncertainty (‘There are no *letters* from Ukraine’). The sharp feeling of separation from Ukraine shapes the artistic image in a special sense. It intimidizes the country as something ‘native’, ‘dear’, ‘motherly’. As a result, the associative and symbolic pairs of *Germany* – ‘captivity’, *Ukraine* – ‘freedom’ are produced. They show not the sense of the local, but of the national priority in the modern folklore conscience and the intellectual parameter of history reflection.

The information vacuum caused the fear of existential expectations (‘I don’t know ... what is going to happen with us here’). Letters and songs quite often contain complaints about excessive labour (‘Sorrow it was to live / *hard* it was

to work'), which leads to chronic fatigue, that 'ontological parting' (J.-P. Richard), according to which healthy slaves gradually lost their physical energy and the will to live. In despair a young, quite often – a very young person condemns her mother for giving him / her life which brings him / her into *nasty* captivity: 'You have placed me, / where *the world is* bad for me' (Dmytrenko, Efremova 2014, 590).

The folkloristic works on wars and social suffering contain the motif of *prayer* (Kuz'menko 2015) included into a wider conceptual field of *faith*. The slaves appeal to God for care ('save me, O Lord, from falling ill'), ask their relatives to pray for them, beg them to come to their graves ('Come, come, o mother, have a look where *my lonely grave is*' (IMFE, coll. unit 12, sheet 14)). These are leitmotifs of the monologues of the old mother who strives to meet her daughter for the last time before death. Thus, a wide range of lyrical situations shows the main essential feature of captivity as a dramatic challenge to the existence of heroes. In the works they *suffer, are tortured, long, bear, die* ('gets lost'), *don't have any quiet* and, the main thing, are deprived of physical and spiritual *freedom*. A strong emotional component of those conditions is expressed in paremias (sayings, curses): 'we are walking as chained dogs' (Čystov 1998, 174). The wish to get freedom, even at an extraordinary price, is declared in those scarce texts that contain the motif of *escape*. Another motif out of the most conspicuous content innovations is *loneliness*: 'And I thus live as a stub in the open field, and in such captivity' (Čystov 1998, 173), 'I am *alone* here in Germany, / my Mummy is so far' (Voropaj 1966, 41).

We would also like to mention the motif of *sufferings*. These are the leading categories of social human existence which, starting with the 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, have become particularly topical, personalized. As a result, captivity, imposed from the outer world, is perceived through the individual perspective, which causes the domination of the pronoun forms in the first person singular ('I', 'me'). The motif of *sufferings* deserves a more detailed consideration. It is often used in the context of glorification of the image of a hero-*sufferer* (a rifleman ('sičovij strilec'), a rebel, mother). This semantic nuance is new and quite active in the military texts starting in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The confirmation of the statement is the anonymous chronicle of the World War I entitled 'The Song of the Prince of Captivity', published in the newspaper *Ukrajins'ke Slovo* (L'viv 1915, No. 22). The text contains the following lines: 'There in captivity a noble heart *is suffering*', which reflects the collective view of the feelings of Metropolitan Andrij Šeptyc'kyj who was taken by the tsarist Russia. Used here, as well as in many *Ostarbeiters'* works, the predicate 'to suffer' becomes a folkloristic stereotype which constitutes a testimony of certain semantic changes in the folk aesthetics and philosophy. Sufferings and sorrow are inseparable from the true moral force and the idea of morality (I. Kant).

The motif of a 'suffering girl-slave' is embodied via words in various grammatical forms: personal verbs ('I *will* go to Germany and *will be suffering there*'; 'I need to invent something / *not to go* to Germany / and not to *suffer*

there); abstract nouns ('O, if my Mummy knew of all these *sufferings*'), which generalizes the slave's existence with all of its manifestations. Suffering is also encoded in the expression of sympathy for the slave. Such a captivity model can be found in post-war samples of poetry, such as a soldier's ballad from the Podillja area: 'I thought, my son, I would have a daughter-in-law, / And you, my little boy, went to the army *to suffer*' (Myšanyč 1976, 268). Through understanding the sufferings of many world war slaves and appreciating their sacrifice, the prisoner of the concentration camps Dachau and Auschwitz, the Austrian psychiatrist Victor Frankl comes to establishing semantic ties between the coherent notions of fate = captivity = suffering = ordeal. That is why the tragic motifs of trial are conveyed in folklore through the constant ('*awful* ordeal') and a permanent epithet 'German' captivity. From the point of view of the contents, they are related to conscripts' motifs of persecution, beating, becoming a cripple.

An important place in the structure of folkloristic pieces relating to war, in particular, the ones that constitute the object of our research, is given to the motif of *starvation*: 'They have caught and tied / all the girls in Ukraine, / and *taken* them to Germany / *To die of starvation*' (IMFE, coll. unit 12, sheet. 16 s). In the narrative texts the references to starvation also constitute essential characteristics of the experience of doing compulsory labour (Hrynčenko 2012, 164). In poetic works, in particular those of the chronicle type, starvation is detailed with the list of names of dishes that are hardly possible to eat for humans (*balanda*), or with the generalized formula 'bread and water'.

Folkloristic pieces on World War II include reinterpreted artistic and content elements, let us say, the motif of *silence* in the song formula '*nobody to tell, nobody to talk to*'. It originates from the foreign-language environment, as well as life circumstances in a totalitarian state, in which one word too much could endanger everybody. Hard, often unbearable labour conditions for human survival led to slow and exhausting *dying* and *death* in captivity. In poetic pieces these moments reflect the highest degree of the emotional and psychological condition of a lyrical hero driven to despair. Thus, on the basis of the old folklore motif of *envisaging death in a foreign land* semantically uniform conceptual images penetrate each other: enemy – foreign land – death:

Our damned enemy has separated us,  
Taken us to a foreign land,  
Somewhere in Ukraine are my father and mother,  
And in a foreign land I will *most probably die*  
(IMFE, coll. unit 12, sheet 31).

Death is also manifested in sayings ('we live just to be approaching death') and, in song monologues, via metaphoric circumlocution ('to lie in the grave').

The concept of *captivity* is also structured via time and space images which, the same in heroic Ukrainian folklore epics, are important categories reflecting

motion trajectory and the marginal existence of a hero. Temporality constitutes a determining feature of works of art relating to captivity since almost in every text the initial point of motion is related and is manifested through the inner time represented in the text. Not only the events of the plot are projected through it, but it also becomes a means of reproducing the dramatic condition of the ‘marginal existence’. The existential time of captivity has different semantic boundaries, according to which ‘a small unit of time, a day, is full of hours of torture and fatigue, seems to be limitless. A longer time interval, ... a week, seems to pass very quickly’ (Frankl 2016, 85). Correspondingly, in the texts about captivity the time is extended (‘the machine is buzzing *from morning till the very night*’), it is dense to the maximum extent possible, indiscreet (‘Since in the large factory *all the time passes*’), or absent (‘*There is no time* to write a letter’).

Spatial images in folk songs about the German captivity are manifested through communicatively marked words, performing the role of symbolically saturated landscape and life space facilities. Here, a hero, like in old social works, may simultaneously stay at the semantic crossroads of several dimensions manifested as mythological binary oppositions (*here – there, yours – foreign*) and socially subjectivized: *freedom* (‘outdoors’, ‘in the garden’, ‘forest’) – *captivity* (‘lager’, ‘plant’, ‘factory’, ‘barracks’). The space of captivity is rendered via mythological and metaphoric images (‘sitting *at the window...*’, ‘the fascists have taken my daughter *behind the German mountains*’; ‘hard hell’ – the Auschwitz camp), metonymy (‘*And there are bars and wires / no way to flee*’). Toponyms reflect both poles: that of my, positive, native space (*Poltava, Ukraine*) and foreign, negative (*Essen, Germany*); it can model the direction of the hero’s movement by the names of the German cities (*Berlin*).

A special place in the captivity poetics belongs to the spatial image of the road producing the semantic pair of ‘captivity = road’: ‘A black raven has flown / and sat on the cowshed; / He has forecasted for the girl / a road to *captivity*’ (Rodina, Stel’mach 1953, 77). This folkloric image constitutes a nuclear word of the ethnic cultural concept of ‘movement’ and symbolizes the hero’s shifting from one social state (‘free’) into the other one (‘slave’), and the process of moving from the closed space (family, home) into an open social role locus: ‘From Charkiv to Berlin / *the roads are taking*, / And by *this road* Marusja / is being taken to *captivity*’ (Rodina, Stel’mach 1953, 84). Similarly to old Cossacks’, čumaks’, conscripts’ songs, the captivity texts of World War II actualize the image of the road as the main element of the plot situation, forming a new formula ‘*three roads are seen*’, which constitutes a semantic and structural basis for all the variants of the well-known song ‘I am sitting in a foreign land and looking into the window’ (Voropaj 1966, 41, 42; Kuz’menko 2001, 24). In my opinion, the formula of the song typologically corresponds to the character’s route scheme in Ukrainian fairy tales, where he crosses the line from his (home) to foreign space. The character’s journey to the foreign (other) land often starts with the three roads of the fairytale road bifurcation (crossroads), which is semantically identical to the choice of fate, through which the mythologem of life



is represented. Just one of the roads gives a good fate, which has a set pair *fate = happiness* in Ukrainian folkloric consciousness (*'has happiness-fate'*).

Ukrainian folkloric texts about German captivity with the image of *road* demonstrate the new understanding of the role of fate as the road is the place of co-penetration of mythological and symbolic meaning as well as rational and logical modes of thinking, according to which the road is a way to flee (Kuz'menko 2016, 127). The song motif 'the heroine is sitting and thinking about fleeing Germany' produces a new formula of an active way of the subject's influence on one's own life. In such a way the old submissive understanding of fate (as found in sayings, such as *'A bad fate befell him'*, *'There is no escape from fate'*) is deconstructed and as a result the fate of evil captivity is negated. It is exactly this social aspect of fate, which is the basis for the concept of 'national fate' (Kryms'kyj 2008, 55), that the life story of Anastasija Hulej, a young Ukrainian girl from the Poltava region, is concerned with. She managed to escape from compulsory work at the railway she was sent at the concentration camps Auschwitz II and Bergen-Belsen. Today, as a public activist of the anti-fascist movement, she says, 'I survived whereas Hitler and Hess didn't. This is my personal victory' (Bilaš 2015). Her words reflect the people's historical experience, which defines the pattern of national behaviour.

The symbolic image of the road is opposed by the image of *home (hut)* which can be manifested via the antithesis of the notions *here/there*. Home as a microcosm encodes the semantics of protected space and is the second most typical permanent locus. In spite of the fact that home may lose its specific physical dimension (*'the hut was burnt* by the Germans), it preserves a strong emotional and sense connection with national orientation: in the adverbial form (*at home, home*) it points to the image of Ukraine as a symbolic place of saying farewell, recollecting and waiting (*'And at home, in Ukraine all the family is waiting'*).

*Conclusions.* The folkloric concept of *captivity* in the modern works about World War II presents a broad spectrum of meanings in which the dominating component is the emotional component of *tragic violence* over a person, embodied in the image of a girl-slave. The nuclear word 'captivity' (in rare cases – 'miserable captivity') in the texts of songs, rhymed letters, poems and sayings is related to the attributes which are permanent epithets of the folklore vocabulary: *foreign, distant, hard, German, damned*. The lyrical hero in the text structure is within an open-space and unidirectional movement dimension since on a forced basis he is 'taken', 'brought', 'moved' to captivity. Implicitly, the semantics of captivity as 'foreign' is rendered through an old formula ('foreign land') and new two-part compounds: *'foreign distant land'*, 'German camps'. Captivity is verbalized through the images of different structural levels: 1) mythological: *fates, sorrow, messenger birds*; 2) metaphorical: *tempestuous wind, withered grass, cried tears*; and 3) spatial a) negatively charged semantic field (*forest, behind the mount, at the window*), b) a locus that can be limited (the image of *barbed wire*), and mainly via the c) ambivalent image of the *road*, which is a

way to captivity, and liberation from it. An important role in the reproduction of the semantics of captivity is played by *temporal images* pointing to its extra-temporal dimension.

The conceptualization of the notion of captivity is related to the prevalence of the psychological motives of a person's *crying, feeling sad, feeling pain, starving, recollecting* ('from memories the heart aches'), *feeling sorrow* ('lost in the world'), *keeping silent* and as the highest degree – *suffering*, where the sense of correct moral power and the idea of morality are conveyed. The ethno-cultural concept of 'captivity' is closely associated with such leading ontological notions as *freedom-liberty, loneliness, sadness, faith, memory* shaping their own independent conceptual fields.

The most important fact is that the folkloristic concept of *captivity* encodes the peculiarities of the national identity of the Ukrainians rooted in the nativity of 'their' world and the memories of the unforgettable 'merry hut'. Home acts as a sacral object, the antithesis of *captivity*. At the same time, *family, home* and *Ukraine* are centres of preserving human dignity of a slave, his/her inner freedom which is passed on to new generations via verbal resources of the folkloristic tradition as the principal cultural values. This layer of folklore constitutes a sample of the part, which folklore plays in preparing the evolution of the Ukrainian national conscience (Grelka 2005).

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## THE PROBLEM OF SAVING NATIONAL IDENTITY IN ANTI-TOTALITARIAN DISCOURSE IN THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION SHORT STORY

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*The article tells about the creative achievements of the Diaspora's Ukrainian writers Petro Volynjak, Olena Zvyčajna, Zosym Dončuk and Vasyl' Čaplenko who were unfairly forgotten. Special attention is paid to the art of representing the national identity in their short stories. The authors created a powerful anti-totalitarian discourse, wrote about the problem of keeping the Ukrainian language and reactualized elements of the Ukrainian folklore.*

*Key words: short story, emigrant literature, anti-totalitarian discourse, national identity.*

## ПРОБЛЕМА ЗБЕРЕЖЕННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ В АНТИТОТАЛІТАРНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЕМІГРАЦІЙНОЇ НОВЕЛІСТИКИ

*Світлана Ленська*

*У статті йдеться про творчі здобутки несправедливо забутих українських письменників у діаспорі Петра Волиняка, Олени Звичайної, Зосима Дончука та Василя Чапленка. Особливу увагу автор звертає на художню реалізацію проблеми національної ідентичності в їхніх оповіданнях. Ця проблема презентована шляхом створення потужного антитоталітарного дискурсу, а також через порушення проблеми збереження української мови та актуалізації елементів українського фольклору.*

*Ключові слова: мала проза, еміграційна література, анти-тоталітарний дискурс, національна ідентичність.*

The problem of understanding the phenomenon of national identity in terms of culture and civilization has acquired a particular actualization since Ukraine gained its independence. Now the problem of the ethnic mentality and national identity is the subject of vivid debates and reflections in the Humanities and Social Sciences (such as philosophy, history, psychology, folklore, literature, linguistics, sociology and cultural studies). In particular, a great contribution to the development of this issue is made by the Ukrainian and international scholars Viktor Andruščenko, Jurij Barabaš, Leonid Hubers'kyj, Lev Gumilev, Dmytro Nalyvajko, Mark Pavlyšyn, Myroslav Popovyc and many others.

Markers of national identity are typically language, culture, history, and statehood. It is the national culture that creates a special semantic field where, in the words by Karl Jaspers, the “close spiritual connection between people on the basis of a ‘substantial meaning in life’, which is called communication” can happen (Skrynnyk 2008, 14).

The problem of national identity became particularly important in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which was marked by numerous local and two World Wars, revolutionary upheavals and social disasters. The history of Ukraine is an integral part of the world historical development. One of the most significant factors and a sign of national identity is the formation of the nation state, which remained a dream and goal for the Ukrainian people up to 1991.

During the twentieth century, there were several waves of emigration from Ukraine, which in different historical periods was part of various empires – the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Soviet ones. The first (labour) wave of emigration took place before and during the First World War. Unlike the second (political) wave associated with the national liberation movement of 1917–1921, the third post-war wave of emigration united fugitives from the “Bolshevik paradise”. It was formed by people from different social groups and with different political beliefs. In the “D.P.” /Displaced Persons/ camps there were peasants who had fled from forced collectivization, those whose relatives were killed by the famine of 1932–1933, and intellectuals, representatives of scientific and creative artistic circles, who suffered during the Stalinist repressions in the 1930s.

Hence, the Ukrainian cultural environment in exile in the second half of the 1940s was formed by the representatives of literary and artistic circles who survived reprisals and persecution by the Stalinist totalitarian regime. So, in 1945 the Ukrainian artistic movement “MUR” was established, as Hryhorij Kostjuk describes in detail in his memoirs (Kostjuk 2008, 227-244). Among the members of MUR, headed by U. Samčuk, the most remarkable representatives were I. Bahrjanyj, V. Petrov (Domontovyč), Ju. Kosač, E. Kostec’kyj, I. Majstrenko, Ju. Šerech (Ševelov), D. Humenna, H. Kostjuk and others.

Germany (Munich, Neu Ulm and Augsburg) became a shelter for immigrants, but soon (from 1948 to the 1950s) they went to search for destiny on other continents: North and South America or Australia, or sought shelter in various Western European countries. In New York, in 1954, the literary association “The Word” /‘Slovo’/ was established. It united such leading representatives of the Diaspora as V. Barka, I. Bahrjanyj, B. Bojčuk, S. Hordyns’kyj, I. Koščelivec, T. Os’mačka, U. Samčuk, A. Tarnavs’kyj, Ju. Ševelov, and other well-known writers and critics. Organizational documents were made and constituent assemblies were held on the initiative of H. Kostjuk, D. Humenna and Ju. Lavrinenko.

Thousands of Ukrainian emigrants scattered in different countries and continents faced the problem of adaptation in an alien world. “In terms of stress,” S. Pavlyčko noted, “all the MUR members, some more, some less, tried to understand both their personal and the collective historical past and to answer the

question: what will happen next? What will happen to me? What will happen to Ukraine? To literature? And moreover, for whom and how to write?" (Pavlyčko 1999, 284).

However, integrating into an international social and cultural environment, in order to preserve their own national culture, traditions and language, the Ukrainians established dozens of periodicals, founded charitable funds and awards, which supported artistic force in the Diaspora; The Ukrainian Free University in Munich, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute worked successfully as well.

The desire to preserve national identity was reflected in art, too. In fiction preserving national identity has become a particularly important subject. Over the years, this theme was considered by Ju. Šerech (Ševelov), O. Astaf'ev, M. Il'nyč'kyj, N. Kolesničenko-Bratun', V. Macko, V. Prosalova, A. Fasolja and many other scholars, but they paid attention primarily to the development of the lyric genre forms. So, the purpose of this article is to analyze the semantic aspects of implementing national identity in short stories and novellas by writers in the Diaspora, such as Petro Volynjak, Olena Zvyčajna, Zosym Dončuk and Vasyľ Čaplenko, whose works are representative in this sense.

Cultural identification involves the person's understanding of his or her belonging to a particular ethnic group. In the literature of the Ukrainian Diaspora the national self-consciousness is represented in two ways. The first way was used by a number of Ukrainian writers (for example, Dokia Humenna, Vasyľ Čaplenko, Olena Zvyčajna, Zosym Dončuk, Petro Volynjak, etc.) who showed terrifying pictures of repression and exploitation in the post-revolutionary days (the activities of the Cheka /All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage/, forced collectivization, persecution after the Ukrainization was stopped, the Holodomor 1932–1933 /Great Famine/) in order to turn their countrymen against the government representatives who brought ideas of Russian chauvinism. And the other way of the artistic modeling is using the symbols and folk sources as ethnic cultural codes and approaching the ancient foundations of the national outlook as presented in "Grandfather Jacob" by F. Dudko, "On the Watermelon Plantation" by Z. Dončuk, etc.

One of the most talented writers in exile was Petro Volynjak (his real family name is Čečet; 1907–1969). In 1933 he was arrested and forced to work on the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Channel for three years. That is why it is not surprising that in 1945 the writer emigrated to Austria, opened the publishing house "The New Days", which issued his collections of short stories "The Land Is Calling" (1946) and "Near Kyzhurt" (1947), and an essay based on the observations during his stay in Kuban in 1932 "Kuban Is the Land of Ukrainians, of the Cossacks" (1948). In 1948 Petro Volynjak moved to Canada where for many years he worked successfully as a teacher and compiled five collections of books for children's reading. His collection of short stories and articles "Let's Talk Frankly" (1975) was published posthumously.

Volynjak's essay "Kuban Is the Land of Ukrainians, of the Cossacks" was written on the basis of the author's experiences in 1932 when he, in order to flee from persecution for his Ukrainian national position, was forced to leave Ukraine for Kuban where he worked as a teacher in the seven-year school in the village of Novo-Malorossijskaja.

P. Volynjak begins his "reportage", as he defined the genre of his work, with an overview of the historical development of this territory: "But I hoped in vain to hear about the resettlement of the Cossacks to the Kuban. <...> I heard how in the days of Queen Catherine the Second Moscow had to settle the Kuban steppes not in order to protect itself from the Caucasus, but in order to win it. So, the army came to the Poltava Region, surrounded the village, took away all the residents, young and old, and under guard drove them to the Kuban. <...> It took them a long time to get there on foot. <...> Many people died on the way, and when they came to the place, they camped in the wild steppes and started digging dugouts and building huts in order to protect their children and old people from the bad weather" (Volynjak 1948, 5–6).

The essay describes life and economy in the Kuban region: villages and fields are overgrown with weeds, "wormwood and orach are so thick and high that you have never seen" (Volynjak 1948, 13). "The Kuban steppes had a really strange look. Instead of golden wheat, sweet clover and orach grew as tall as a human; instead of millet, bristle-grass as sawdust in the desert moves like a wave; instead of corn, barilla and tumbleweed grow" (Volynjak 1948, 22). "The population of the village is almost entirely Ukrainian; except for a few strangers ... <...> The language in the village is Ukrainian as well, with the clear characteristics of the Poltava dialect. Quite clear are surnames that fully reveal the origin of their owners: Kirjačok, Tarasenko, Demidenko, Velyčko, Šapoval, Poltavec', Handžula and others" (Volynjak 1948, 14–15).

In the essay P. Volynjak describes the work of the Kuban collective farm, truthfully depicts the hate of ordinary farmers to their authorities. The pages, which describe how during one night 500 families were arrested, how the children lost their parents and were forced to gather wheat spikelets in the weediest fields, are terrible. The total seizure of the food from the population, the organized and deliberate extermination of the people by hunger form the main part of the work. Violence against the Ukrainians ended in massive forced displacement of the population; even portraits of Ukrainian writers at school could be a cause for arrest. The images of "Comrade Šor", Komsomolec Judin, who found more than 300 caches of bread, and Chvostikov reveal the inhumane nature of the authorities. The author puts the rhetorical question: "Where are they, those brave and vigorous, uncompromising characters of Kosynka who 'will protect the steppe with pitchforks'? They went away... They disappeared together with the steppe whose soul was depersonalized by Moscow and whose body was crippled by the commune like iron rust. There is nothing to defend, and no heroes are alive" (Volynjak 1948, 59).

The physical destruction of the Ukrainians in the Kuban as a result of the deliberately organized famine of 1932–1933 led to moral destruction as well: Poltava village was renamed to Krasnoarmejskaja, all the people were taken away by force, and their huts were occupied by families from Russian Novgorod and Pskov (Volynjak 1948, 66).

One of the main features of the Ukrainian short stories written in the Diaspora is the creation of a powerful anti-totalitarian discourse and presenting the people's resistance against the Stalinist totalitarian regime.

The short story "Near Kyzhurt" (1947) by P. Volynjak tells us about the rivalry between two young men who have fallen in love with the same girl. However, the rivalry between Pavlo Najda and Vladimir Korol'kov for the love of the beautiful girl Oksana goes beyond the personal relationship and demonstrates the two opposing outlooks – Ukrainian and Russian.

Oksana is a daughter of immigrants from Ukraine, she was born in the steppes of Kazakhstan and has never seen her native land, but as she says, "some inexplicable and unfathomable force binds me to my people and my land" (Volynjak 1947, 43). Her former childhood friend and current fiancé Vladimir was born in the Vologda region, he is a representative of the titular nation of the Soviet Union. In their dialogues she repeatedly tries to explain logically to him and to herself why the Ukrainian songs fascinate her and why she wants to see her native steppes.

Pavlo's work in the steppes of Kazakhstan, his communication with representatives of different nations shows the deep social crisis in the relations between the peoples of the USSR: most of his colleagues were convinced that "Ukraine – it is only the outskirts of Russia" (Volynjak 1947, 14). But the young man feels the national identity of his compatriots, internally resistant to Russification, "...he was more inclined towards indigenous inhabitants – to the Kazakhs and Uzbeks" (Volynjak 1947, 15), and tried to learn their customs and way of life.

The climax of the work is the dialogue between Oksana and Korol'kov during a demonstration on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May. The festive crowd of people shows the greatness and unity of the Soviet people, as mentioned in all official media: "Here the Uzbeks are going in striped dressing gowns and skullcaps, and from the second street the Russians are coming out to meet them, and from the third street the Kazakhs and Kirghiz are marching" (Volynjak 1947, 44).

However, Oksana subconsciously feels the falsehood of this action, and she declares it to Korol'kov with passion: "All that is artificial, false and temporary. Look here, they all seem to be equal, the same, but it is only now and here, in the square. And what about tomorrow? Tomorrow you will be a representative of 'the highest cultural and brotherly nation', you are the subject, and all these 'free and equals' are only the objects of your impact and experience ... This is false, Volodja" (Volynjak 1947, 45). The illegality of these words is infused with mortal danger. So Korol'kov's reaction is predictable: he turns pale and hisses angrily at his bride. The gap between them becomes obvious. So, at first it



is the awareness of Ukrainian national identity on the sensory level, and then on the level of individual consciousness that pushes Oksana away from Korol'kov and makes her happy with Pavlo.

P. Volynjak's short story "In the Taiga" (1946) depicts the homesickness of the protagonist Hnat for his native Ukraine. Being in a Stalinist concentration camp in freezing Karelia, he recollects how he has been illegally arrested and jailed in the Luk"janiv's'ka prison in Kyjiv, and then taken away to a foreign northern land. Hnat is a staunch Ukrainian, and that is why he decides to escape from the concentration camp. Being alone in a wild forest, breaking his way through the deep snows, in his dreams and delusions he sees his native Kyjiv, the gold-domed churches of St. Sofija and the Lavra. Christmas symbols permeate the artistic structure of the story that at the end makes the miracle possible when the almost frozen Hnat is found and saved from death by fugitives like him (Volynjak 1947, 56).

Another talented writer in the Diaspora is Olena Zvyčajna (her real family name is Džul; 1902–1985). Her literary works have an open anti-totalitarian direction. The writer grew up in an intellectual family; her husband was a member of the national liberation struggle and therefore was repressed. As wife of an 'enemy of the people' Olena Zvyčajna suffered many hardships. As a result, her works are based on real facts. The creative heritage of the writer consists of the collection of short stories *Having Looked Back ...* (1954), the essay "The Myrhorods'kyj Fair" (1953), several novels, among which the novel *The Fear* (1958) can be distinguished.

In Olena Zvyčajna's short story "With Guns against Sparrows", included in the collection *Having Looked Back ...*, a factory workers' meeting is described, where the complaint of Beba Cackina is considered. She accuses the working girl Oryssja Sosnovyk of anti-Semitism. Actually, Bruch, chairman of the local committee, provokes the Jewish girl's complaint to the authorities because he is trying to fire the poor orphan Oryssja. The essence of Beba Cackina's complaint is that Oryssja Sosnovyk refuses to cut off her dense braids as she has been advised by Beba. But a trifling reason provokes serious consequences: Bruch insists on firing Oryssja, but some people began defending the girl. The case would have been settled if the discussion had not touched upon the question why Oryssja's parents had died. It is found out that it happened in the spring of 1933. But officially it is forbidden to speak about the famine. So, the true story about the death of Oryssja's parents is classified as anti-Soviet propaganda. For this truth the 18-year-old girl in a patched blouse, worn and torn shoes is judged and fired. Bruch delivers a speech about "anti-Semitism, which runs in tandem with Ukrainian chauvinism, about the remnants of Petljurism" (Zvyčajna 1954, 89).

Clear anti-totalitarian orientation is characteristic of the works of Zosym Dončuk (1903–1974). Before World War II and emigration he had not participated in the literary process and he avoided repressions. The artistic talent of the writer awoke in the post-war period when in Canada and in the United States the

collections of his short stories *The Black Days* (1952), *Over the River* (1958), *The Tenth* (1968), four stories and eight novels were published.

Zosym Dončuk's collection *The Black Days* contains the short story "When Will Ukraine Be?". The protagonist of this story is a young engineer from Ukraine, with whom the narrator speaks in Germany. He says, "I thought about the blossom of our nation, about our gold, spiritually crippled young generation that had grown and had been brought up in the era of Russian-chauvinist dictatorship, absorbed the Bolshevik poison, with dead feelings for struggle for freedom of their native Ukraine; I thought that youth deceived by untruthful slogans gave to the USSR their patriotic fervour, and considered bandit Stalin as their father, and my deep grief increased twofold." (Dončuk 1952, 46).

Admiring the beautiful ceramic products in Mežyhirja near Kyjiv during the German occupation, the narrator meets an old master. The destruction of the foundations of national existence in the times of Stalinism was conscious and purposeful because "for 'comrades' the beauty meant bourgeois prejudices, for them the main purpose was to provide all with plenty of things, and as for beauty, 'they' did not worry about it, the most important for them was fulfilling and surpassing the plan; besides, those workers who understood the beauty disappeared because either were sent to Siberia, or died from starvation, and some of the survivors fled to the city to find jobs on factories" (Dončuk 1952, 49). Striving for beauty as an immanent feature of the Ukrainian mentality is expressed in the words of the old master.

The main political question, about which we can read in the stories by the Ukrainian writers in the Diaspora, is expressed in the question of an 11-year-old rural boy in Dončuk's story: "But tell me: it used to be Russian Ukraine, now (during the German occupation. – S.L.) it is German Ukraine, but when will it be our Ukraine?" (Dončuk 1952, 53). The conclusion of this talk is: "This unforgettable meeting with the population of Eastern Ukraine changed my mind and strengthened my faith that Ukraine was not dead, would not die and would never perish, moreover, that the manifestation of this consciousness I saw not in the scientific world, or even among the Ukrainian intellectuals, but among the thereof forgotten peasantry" (Dončuk 1952, 54).

Very important elements of national identity are the language and folklore of each nation. For example, in P. Volynjak's short story "In the Taiga" (1946) the symbolic code is the prayer "God Great One" that is sung by the kneeling convicts in the Luk"janivs'ka prison as their final farewell to Ukraine. And in Z. Dončuk's short story "When Will Ukraine Be?" "a strong and loud, clear like a crystal, wide, spreading like a sea, full breast Ukrainian song" (Dončuk 1952, 50) brings not only aesthetic pleasure to the listener, but also symbolizes indestructibility of the Ukrainian soul. "The song sounded, flew under the heavens and seemed as if it really reached the Moon" (Dončuk 1952, 51).

Among the substantial structures in the national world one of the top places is given to the people's awareness of the deep connection with their native land, with their ancestors. An example of the embodiment of this motif is

P. Volynjak's short story "The Land Is Calling" (1946), which became the title of the whole collection. The protagonist of the text Demyd, an old peasant, physically feels the approach of his death. Actually, the plot of the story is the last day of his life. The meaning of his existence is working on the land. So, when the Soviets took away his land, he sowed a small plot all the same. And that embodied the eternal peasant's need for feeling the connection with the earth and the universe. "Demyd's soul began to play the ancient and eternal sorrow and joy again. <...> Music of the soul is merging into one chord with the music of existence. And these life-giving mighty chords create the immortal symphony of the eternal field" (Volynjak 1946, 24-25). The death of the man does not mean the end of his earthly existence, but it becomes his merging with the universe: "He fell and did not move anymore. So he lay near the boundary. Only the immortal symphony of being powerfully sounded over fields" (Volynjak 1946, 25).

The problem of realizing national identity through the unity with nature is reflected in Z. Dončuk's short story "The Homesickness", included in the collection *Over the River* (1953). The smell of lilac, brought by a spring wind, evokes the narrator's memories of his native Ukraine. "The smell of the cherry petals gives me a deep homesickness. And then I hear in the boundless ocean of the universe the melancholy gamma of the girls' songs: about her darling who died in the war, about her father who is in the stone quarries in Siberia, about her mother who died from starvation, about her brother in prison and sister in the orphanage. And nostalgia, like an octopus, squeezes my heart. But I love the night very much. It takes me in dreams to the afflicted homeland and then my thoughts are with all those who still live there. I feel the cruel anguish together with them." (Dončuk 1952, 17-18).

Vasyl' Čaplenko (his real name is Čapla; 1900–1990) began his writer's career in the 1920s: he received a philological education, graduated from a post-graduate course, was a member of the literary organization "The Plough", actively worked for numerous journals and published his collection of short stories *The Badly Educated Man* (1927). At the end of the 1920s he was arrested on the charge of membership in the ULU ('Union of Liberation of Ukraine'), yet miraculously remained alive. Thus, it is not surprising that in 1943 he emigrated to the West. While living in Germany, and, since 1949, in the USA, Čaplenko did his best to preserve the memory of thousands of innocents who were killed by the Stalinist system, and as a full member of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) he made great efforts to preserve the heritage of V. Vynnyčenko.

The writer published several collections of short stories: *Love* (1946), *The Muse* (1946), *The Holler* (1957), eight novels, a historical novel *Čornomorci* (*Residents of the Black Sea Coast*) (1948–1957), several dramas, research works on literature and linguistics (*History of the Modern Ukrainian Literary Language* (1955; 1970).

One of the most important factors of national identity is the national language. In this sense, Vasyľ Čaplenko's short story "Something More for the Bread" (1946) is of special interest. The main hero of the text is a student of the University with the Cossack surname Džura. In the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries it was the name of an armour-bearer or a young Cossack. 'Džura' means "friend" in the Turkic language. Presenting a situation in which the young student finds himself, the author describes the psychological types of his countrymen during the hungry year of 1932 and raises serious issues of national life: "Not everyone can believe that during the terrible famine throughout the country <...> such a 19-year-old young man thought not about something that can be baked or eaten, but about some kind of Ukraine" (Čaplenko 1946, 18).

In the hungry hallucinations the young man imagines meeting with God. And God's appearance is that of an old Cossack, and when the boy wonders why, God explains that each nation has its own God. After talking with God, Džura identifies the priority of his activities: "But first and foremost, in his opinion, the matter was a struggle with the constant danger in the cities of Ukraine – using Russian in everyday life" (Čaplenko 1946, 19). Standing in a long queue for bread, he is despised by neighbours because of his pure Ukrainian literary language: "But only that 'chochol', or, as it is decreed to say now, 'Ukrainian' language is so unpleasant that causes disgust. 'Honestly', a grandfather swore, 'a dog barks better than the chochols talk'" (Čaplenko 1946, 20). Džura is full of deep resentment: "Having interrupted the old man, he starts proving that the Ukrainian language comes second only to Italian for beauty and is spoken not only by farmers, but also by educated people ... He says that he is a student ..." (Čaplenko 1946, 21).

However, further events are even more dramatic: very little bread has been brought, and the crowd goes mad. People almost trample the young man, drop his hat off his head and tear buttons from his clothing. But he manages to grab a life-saving loaf. Going back to the hostel, the student meets a beautifully dressed, but long-unshaven man who asks for bread in the refined Ukrainian language. The unknown man tells him that his children are dying from starvation. The language of the stranger impresses Džura: "A man is threatened with death, but he, knowing that his request in the Russian language would be responded to more quickly (because the majority in the city speaks Russian), addresses in Ukrainian anyway" (Čaplenko 1946, 25). Neighbours in the hostel do not understand the action of the young man and laughed at Džura, but he does not regret giving the whole loaf to the stranger, and then Džura sees God again, who praises his actions and blesses him. So, the native language becomes a unifying link between the souls of two strangers and preserves humanity in their hearts.

Thus, the problem of national identity occupies an important place in the space of Ukrainian literature in the Diaspora. It is deepened by the situation of crisis and threats which the Ukrainians faced after the Second World War. According to one of the creators of the theory of nationalism, the British researcher

Anthony D. Smith, among the most important factors of national identity are the following factors: common area of residence, presence of historical memory, a common economy and culture.

Thus, the Ukrainian writers who were far outside their country because of social and historical circumstances, in fact, were deprived of a common territory, and, moreover, they were scattered in different countries and continents. But they were united with the sense of belonging to a large ethnic community which had a grand and dramatic history with outstanding heroes who gave their lives for national freedom and statehood. The Ukrainian writers in the Diaspora made great efforts to preserve their native language by organizing schools, public libraries and conducting various activities to promote language and culture. All this helped to keep the continuity of traditions, the inextricable link between generations and created a unique branch of Ukrainian culture.

In conclusion I would like to say that the perspective of my work is to study other works by Ukrainian exile writers, such as Ivanna Čornobryvec', Oleksij Sačjuk, Anatol' Halan, Anatol' Hak and others. The question of national identity again sharply arose before the Ukrainians after the beginning of Russia's aggression in the east. We strive for peace and the preservation of our national sovereignty in the political and spiritual spheres. Therefore, the study of the artistic space that our predecessors have created is necessary and important.

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**ART AND SPACIAL DOMINANTS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY  
IN “HANNUSJA” BY H. F. KVITKA-OSNOV”JANENKO  
AND “THE POPPY CAKE SELLER FROM LAFERTOVO”  
BY A. POHOREL’S’KYJ**

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*The article dwells on different forms of art space organization of H.F. Kvitka-Osnov’janenko’s story “Hannusja” and “The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo” written by A. Pohorel’s’kyj. Anthropological aspects of the problem, which interested the writers, are emphasized. The author analyses art entourage of the stories. It becomes inseparable part of the authors’ worlds, text space, and mostly denotes thesaurus of the historic and literature period. Space codes and anthropological types are studied as a projection of creative dialogue between cultures and Ukrainian and Russian literature relations in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Key words: anthropological, space, thesaurus, text, Ukrainian and Russian space canon.*

**“ГАННУСЯ” Г. Ф. КВІТКИ-ОСНОВ’ЯНЕНКА  
І “ЛАФЕРТІВСЬКА МАКІВНИЦЯ” А. ПОГОРЕЛЬСЬКОГО:  
ХУДОЖНЬО-ПРОСТОРОВІ ДОМІНАНТИ  
НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ**

*Артур Малиновський*

*У статті йдеться про різні форми організації художнього простору повістей Г. Ф. Квітки-Оснoв’яненка “Ганнуся” і А. Погорельського “Лафертівська маківниця”. Акцентовано увагу на антропологічних аспектах проблеми, що хвилювала письменників. Проаналізовано художній антураж творів, який постає невід’ємною складовою авторських світів, текстового простору і значною мірою визначає тезаурус історико-літературної епохи. Просторові коди, антропологічні типи розглядаються у проекції побудування культурного діалогу та українсько-російських літературних взаємин у першій половині ХІХ століття.*

*Ключові слова: антропологічний, простір, тезаурус, текст, українсько-російський просторовий канон.*

H. Kvitka-Osnov’janenko and A. Pohorel’s’kyj are writers who were at the origins of the formation of national prose of their countries. Literature changes its nature radically by applying new literary devices and approaches to the de-

picture of reality in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Prose, with its most specific analytical component, plays a major role here. Obviously, both Kvitka and Pohorel's'kyj felt the urgent need for updating national literatures through the development of a new type of prose. The stories "Hannusja" and "The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo" are significant achievements among their creative works.

H. Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's story "Hannusja" is a powerful step forward in building a broad system of new Ukrainian prose which is based on the national language, common life and sphere of feelings. Although this story was designed as a "nice lady's little book" (Kvitka-Osnov'janenko 1981, 210) in a small format, that is, it was intended primarily for aristocratic readers, but the author's appeal to the popular subjects marked a completely different story. "Hannusja" is a significant stage in approaching *Marusja*, which is almost an iconic Ukrainian novel with universally popular characters. Kvitka realized his mission as the first writer of the new Ukrainian literature through it: "While writing *Marusja* I learned that I can write in this way" (Kvitka-Osnov'janenko 1981, 217). Thus, the path to the Ukrainian story lay just through "Hannusja", in which the folk language was used and the characters of common people were depicted.

O. Pohor'jel's'kyj solved similar tasks for the aestheticisation of everyday national life. Referring to "universal and eternal content in ordinary life of ordinary people" (Pohorel's'kyj: Pogorel'skij 1990, 9), the author outstrips the laws of prose, which were laid down somewhat later by the main representatives of Russian literature. Therefore, the role of "The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo" as one of the first prose experiences of the beginning of the nineteenth century can not be overestimated.

Kvitka and Pohorel's'kyj's appeal to customary, established, everyday things correlate with the common search for the fundamental foundations of a national component in modern life. The artistic space which serves as an illustration of the spiritual way of the characters becomes a great part of the ethnic and mental picture of the world. As is pointed out in the collective study of the phenomenon of historical memory, "semantic space" is a representative of the "social and cultural and spiritual space of national memory" and it "claims to be an autonomous image in the model of national memory" (Nacional'na pam'jat' 2012, 46). Therefore, it is quite clear why the artistic and spatial ideas of the works, which mark the new prose of the first decades of the nineteenth century, are in the center of attention of Kvitka and Pohorel's'kyj.

The typology of artistic space is a significant factor for the comparative horizons of Ukrainian and Russian literature works both at the level of external composition and considerable attention to things (description of dishes, food, national clothes, realities of family life), and at the artistic peculiarities of both works, based on unconscious spiritual intimacy in the field of blazing text-anthropological spectra (daily rituals, traditional habits, etc.).

The space with all its structural and sense creating characteristics and parameters becomes the joining chain of the anthropological reading of both

“Hannusja” and “The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo”. The typologization of space relations is based on the identification of the semantic boundaries of the text, the type of deployment (point, linear, cyclical) and the localization in the principle of connection and disconnection and further essentially filling these categories with non-spatial attribution and connotations. This is about the national and cultural, religious, ethnic, mental, social markers of artistic space within which a constant self-identification of the characters with their environment is carrying out.

According to Ju. Lotman, “the artistic space appears as a model of the author; this model is expressed by means of a language of spatial ideas ... this language is less individual and belongs to this period of time, era, social and artistic groups in a greater degree than his individual model of the world” (Lotman 2000, 622). A remarkable place in the characters’ endless search of their individual life and their spiritual shelter holds the problem of national identity which was urgent for the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the works mentioned above it is solved through a prism of artistic space.

A. Pohorel’s’kyj and H. Kvitka-Osnov’janenko’s models of artistic space are aimed at demonstrating the emergence of a new anthropological type and codes of cultural orientation in the world which are polemical to traditions. It becomes especially noticeable on the background of awareness of national originality and necessity of national consciousness awakening for the further development of culture and civilization. The German philosopher J. G. Herder’s concept relates to the interpretation of the phenomenon of the national. In his opinion, the national ground becomes a premise for mature literature which grows out of mythology and folklore. By the way, the philosopher considered Ukraine to have a significant role. He thought Ukraine “will become the new Greece one day: the beautiful sky of this nation, easy-going character, musical skill, fertile land etc. will once awaken: thus the new cultural nation will extend like many wild nations which Greeks also were, and its borders will reach the Black Sea, and from there the whole world” (Herder 1969, 135).

Without a doubt the problem of the patriarchal foundations of the world order raised by H. Kvitka-Osnov’janenko and A. Pohorel’s’kyj is up-to-date. Moreover, both Ukrainian and Russian writers were at the beginnings of a new type of literature and did not forget about their inclination to liberate it from the old standard frames and to direct the “emancipated” segment by creating a new aesthetic system and the net of human lives within it, the crossing of their lives ways, and an extraordinary overcoming of semantic borders in the characters’ movement to the boundary points of existence. Thus, both writers also solved more general questions of literature by means of structuring the space of their works carefully, defining separated semantic poles, connecting the visible and invisible characters’ routes and gathering all the places and points of their movement, and then pulling them into the line of fragments of human lives and ways.



Even a cursory interpretation of “Hannusja” and “The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo” connects depicted events into the net of a holistic impression. The characters of these stories always move in space, looking for a way out of the current situation and going from disorder and instability to a comfortable and happy life and arranged and reclaimed implications to everyday structures and cultural strata which were unattainable before.

A gastronomic aspect is equally striking in the narrative fabric. In both cases it is tightly connected with the texture and takes on a dominant and connecting role. It is tightly linked to the texture and assumes a leading combining role in both cases. In addition, it becomes a marker of national identity. All events begin with eating. It becomes clear from Pohorel’s’kyj’s story that the character is directly related to the gastronomic sector, because she is a poppy cake seller: “... her work was to sell honey poppy cakes, which she was able to bake with a special art” (Pohorel’s’kyj: Pogorel’s’kij 1990, 49). Obviously, the emphasis of the occupation here is so important that it is put in the title, thus the part of food increases much. It is important that the regularity and cyclicity of the seller’s actions are emphasized. A grandmother performs the same ceremony every day and in any weather: she goes with a basket of poppy cakes to the Broken Bail in the morning, where she dearly spreads and silently sells her goods. In the evening, she slowly returns home, treating soldiers with trolls. However, the actions which are thus cyclic and similar to some kind of whim contain something mysterious and incomprehensible.

The gastronomic surrounding of the story accumulates potential which further contributes to discovering the story plot and to the gradual disclosure of the secret. It turns out that the baking of poppy cakes was only a cover of the grandmother’s completely different activities: she is in contact with the devil.

From this point the story switches to the demonic dimension which, however, is interpreted in constant correlation with a real and even ideal dimension. Of course, the Lafertovo’s segment which in the urban folk tradition has the status of the unknown, hostile, and dangerous place becomes the main semantic space here. The fact that its sharp insularity and opposition to everything structurally not marked as the Moscow space, is apparently important for the writer. T. Cyv’jan stresses: “Lafertovo is the locus of the alien in Moscow, especially because it is surrounded with strange things” (Cyv’jan: Cyv’jan 1997, 606).

This topographic status of space with bad reputation and some scary legends is caused by Lafertovo’s direct connection with the German culture. Pohorel’s’kyj introduces Lafertovo as a locus where the devilry houses are located and where the werewolves turn up and the contacts with another (underground) world take place to not only among the simple folk but also in literary circles (Cyv’jan: Cyv’jan 1997, 607). The author expresses this idea in various layers of the text structure starting from the genetic code of the place and ending with the appropriate spatial etymology.

All the paths and trails seem to come together in this space segment in “The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo”. Moreover, the layering of an ideal and safe

space on the infernal and demonic basis is observed at a certain level. First, the pious Onufryč tries to save his aunt from her witch craft, but this attempt to interfere in the witch's affairs turns into the curse for the nephew. Later on, his wife Ivanovna, who dreams of a happy and ideal marriage for her daughter Maša, makes an attempt to restore the broken family ties. Ivanovna seems to connect the two worlds by her action after visiting "her Majesty". It is, on one hand, the everyday life of a postman who is the "little man" and, on the other hand, the antisocial world with the bright features of a half-human and a half-animal existence.

The contact between the two worlds determines the range of space changes, dynamic shifts and forms a continuous weaving of pieces and points of the ideal and horrible worlds and demonic coordinate system. The narrative fabric of the work which is set in fairy-tale and mythological atmosphere contributes to reading "the topographic code in it, when the character's path (time + place) encrypts the events and actions" (Cyv'jan: Cyv'jan 1997, 607). Maša appears to be a bearer of all spatial pressure and a recurring character of all movements and transitions. This young girl is aimed at overcoming the boundary of her own and the alien, of a peaceful life in her father's house and the hostile world of her grandmother.

Pohorel's'kyj sounds quite natural in the field of spatial solutions of the Russian prose contemporary to him. He exploits the models which have been already produced and chooses a way of "traditional differentiation of the world by means of common spatial categories, as well as specifying the representation of the space itself through the designation of the territorial confinement, direction, way, landscape ... and he takes into account such large-scale orientations in space as the opposition between his own or the alien, borders or lack of them, and so on. This space is characterized by increased semiotics and an inclination to symbolism" (Belousov, Zeljans'ka: Belousov, Zeljanskaja 2011, 76).

A new initiative position of Maša, who dreams not about the "house full with gold" and "carriage" with "four horses" but about her personal happiness built on pure love is born from the patriarchal idyll with the addition of her parents' palpable authority. The idea of a traditional hierarchical image of a family changes gradually in her outlook. Though she is not ready to get out of the parent's guardianship and intends to "sacrifice her love with Uljan ... let father be happy with my obedience". But this position appears because she was feeling guilty towards her father, "I am guilty towards him for keeping in touch with grandmother against his will" (Pohorel's'kyj: Pogorel'skij 1990, 70). Maša secludes herself and strongly resists her parent's desire to marry her not to the man she is always dreaming about. She undergoes real psychological conflicts while being alone with her thoughts in a small chamber, however not daring to make a decision herself. Instead, the very power of life makes the character happy. This decision of the author was typical of other works of literature of the first half of the nineteenth century, where "the traditional patriarchal family with established organization during the centuries passes away, as well as the usual scale and de-

gree of emotions and feelings. That is why the family subject matter and emotional states become boundary elements of a semiotic system. The inclusion of these issues in the space of the work contributes to removing the final limitations and leads to a big qualitative step by means of the artistic destruction of semiotic components or to the lack of necessity of work which were created by means of old canons” (Belousov, Zeljans’ka: Belousov, Zeljanskaja 2011, 80-81).

Anyway, all the text of Pohorel’s’kyj’s story is built on negation and denial of traditional patriarchal marriages and canonical ideas about the future bridegroom. The matter is not in contradiction to the authority of adults, but in the character’s revolt against the socially oppressed condition of the respectable middle class which is hidden in the narrative tectonics. “The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo” is a story about “little people”, and the powerful magical substrate in it serves to show the items which are written out more clearly from the ethnographic perspective.

Thus, the image of the titular counsellor Aristarch Falelejovyč Murlykin, which is generated in the fantastic field, look quite naturally in the everyday life of the postman’s and his family’s reality. It is a kind of projection of a certain anthropological type, which is defined in various forms and is extensively presented in Russian literature of the first half of the nineteenth century. As a kind of “little man”, the titular counsellor possesses the consciousness of an oppressed and humiliated person. The connotation of the bounds on the verge of real and unreal worlds, true and fictitious, is combining and cross-cutting in the paradigmatic and literary codification of giving a rank of the character. The owner of a titular rank exists and does not exist at the same time, semantic boundaries between the spaces of his being and not being are illusory and, finally, completely blurred. This is the tradition of the derogatory attitude to this kind of bureaucratically ranked (that is existent only on paper) type of character which represents insignificant creatures, insects and napkins.

Of course, such an intriguing and “interesting” type or “semiotic continuum which strikes the eye and which is associated with the titular counsellor” (Savinkov, Faustov 2010, 134) could not help being in the thesaurus of Russian literature of that time. Moreover, this type is a product of a long trail of the Romanticism which cultivated the intersections and the meeting of different worlds and which is important in the story by Pohorel’s’kyj. “The Titular Counsellor ... seemed to ask himself to be mythologized as a “boundary” creature which exists and does not exist, is present and absent at the same time” (Savinkov, Faustov 2010, 134).

Pohorel’s’kyj in his own way prepares the ground for further existence of the images of titular counselors in Gogol’s and Dostoevskij’s works. The grotesque image of Murlykin is presented in Lafertovo in his bestial and demonic world and, at the same time, in the official strictly regulated sphere. The character is at the same time an animal and a man, a person from another world and a representative of the officialdom. He exists in the two spaces: he is a leading

character of the grandmother's nightly demonic ritual and at the same time feels quite natural and comfortable in the world of the everyday life of the retired postman. In addition, this image is differentiated and divided in two parts even within the same space. During the grandmother's magical scene "a black cat with sparkling eyes and lifted up tail treaded smoothly ... But after taking a look at the cat she saw that it had a green military coat on; and in the place of the cat's head was a man's face, which looked right at her with surprised eyes ..." (Pohorel's'kyj: Pogorel'skij 1990, 57). And at Onufryč's place the matchmaking of the "bridegroom" is presented in underlined bestial colour. Maria recognized her grandmother's cat in the titular counselor Aristarch Falelejoyč who "in a strange way turned his head and looked at her amiably, almost winking his eyes". The resemblance of the counselor with the cat finally materialized in detailing of characteristic signs of appearance: "This is the grandmother's black cat! Order him to take off his gloves and you will see that he has clutches" (Pohorel's'kyj: Pogorel'skij 1990, 67).

The fact that the daughter identifies the titular counsellor with the cat, and her father is convinced that a representative of the venerable rank can be an animal ("although I know that the titular counsellor can be a cat or a cat can be a titular counselor"), is considered to be not a traditional conflict of the old and the young generations, of parents and children, but it is a manifestation of the humiliating and even respectful attitude of the most recent ranking in the hierarchical ladder to higher ranks and positions. Especially when it concerns a synthetic type of a titular counsellor. The story depicts the type of communication based on the slavish worship of one "little man" by another. As I.A. Gončarov wrote, "the abyss grew up between the titular counsellor and the collegiate assessor" (Gončarov 1987, 110). Similarly the same rank which in the story is represented by Murlykin implies the same slavish dependence on the highest ranks and classes. After all, it represents "the highest place in the lowest class of the bureaucratic hierarchy" and it is very difficult (almost impossible) for a titular counsellor to reach to the next stage that gives significant benefits. This explains his ambiguous state: he is "half-and-half, he is not here and not there".

However, in the author's point of view, the other variant of the fate of this typical representative of the "little people" type is outlined. The text contains hints about the mysterious character in the "green uniform" who, however, never received the beautiful Maša. This girl is fatally unreachable, as well as unreachable higher ranks for him and other members of the wide community of "little people".

Maša from "The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo" rejects an animal option of marriage and chooses another one which is unsuitable to her, but obeys her father's will. However, the patriarchal environment turns out wrong, while the possibility of individual and personal expression which is associated with romantic love replaces it. The character overcomes breaks the artificial borders preserved by the society and does not accept the socially stratified adult life and

in this way he strives for open existence, not regulated by authorities and the standard idea of family life.

The character's open space is romanticized and paradoxically separated from the main plot by a peculiar nominal frame. This distinction affects not only the length of the text, but also the artistic space of other characters involved in it. While reflecting on the ways of recoding and changing of perfectives in the text, Ju. Lotman observes: "Such a construction ... attaches importance to a moment of game in the text: the text acquires the features of higher conventionality from the position of another method of encoding and emphasizes its game character – ironic, parodic, theatrical and other meanings. At the same time, the significance of both the external and internal limits of the text which separates different parts of coding is emphasized. The relevance of the limits is emphasized by their mobility and by the fact that the structure of the limits changes, too, while changing the settings of a particular code" (Lotman 2000, 66). In Pohorel's 'kyj's work the semantics of the window promotes the game of text and recoding. We emphasise that this boundary image appears in several passages and serves as a nominal structural borderland in the text's stream because it is part of the artificial world of its objective and micro-imaginative system.

A window separates a space into the external (the world) and internal ones (home). The window opens the world of love to Maša, because she sees an elegantly dressed and polite young man looking out of it. The character feels her heart beating anxiously when watching the stranger from the window of her house. The descriptions of those meetings, or, more precisely, "dating" through the window are followed by easily recognizable sentimental and romantic topics which reflect folklore influence. It is clear that in this case the reader deals with the mytho-poetic paradigm because, as V.N. Toporov points out, "a window is the constant attribute of mythological plots which involves dating. The girl sees her lover for the first time through it. The window is a secret entrance to the house of a darling girl, the last limit that prevents the lovers from uniting" (Toporov 1983, 172). Such tonality is embodied in gestures, thoughts, behaviour and in organization of a verbal part of the description of the heroine's emotions. "*One morning Masha was sitting at the window and thought*" or "*It seemed strange to her, and after dinner she sat at the window again only in order to find out if her heart would beat when the young man passed by ...*" or "*... she moved away from the window and was sad and thoughtful the whole evening*" or "*Her eyes concentrated on that place from where the stranger had come the day before*" or "*tears were shining in her eyes*". Later on, Maša would change her "angle" of watching and suddenly she would see her future bridegroom Ulijan when he was looking at the window from the street: "*Maša looked up accidentally and saw Ulijan standing at the open window with a tilted head. Profound sadness was depicted in all his features. Maša turned away in the opposite direction as if she did not notice him, but bitter tears rolled down her pale face*" (Pohorel's 'kyj: Pogorel'skij 1990, 61-64). The next episode of Maša and Ulijan's courtship also refers to this recognizable literary convention: "*Maša looked shy-*

ly. *Ulijan stood beside her! She cried out and fell into his arms...*" (Pohorel's'kyj: Pogorel'skij 1990, 71).

Of course, we can continue this list of citations, which establish parallels and association with 'common places' of the literature of Pohorel'sky's times, but here we have said enough to conclude that all of them have connection with the main problem of space. Thus, we can see that the window in "The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo" is not just a symbol or a leading image but a special indicator that shows the character's desire to escape from the narrow and closed patriarchal space to a wide world of personal happiness, love and family.

It is important to stress that the locus of the window is organically included into the development of the action in Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's story, although this work belongs to realism and omits numerous fantastic elements which are used in the story about the poppy cake seller. The typological comparison lies in another dimension here. It concerns not the facilities or writers' poetic strategies, but primarily the paths leading to freedom, the ways of releasing the characters from the captivity of patriarchal and conservative psychology and of updating their outlook, of getting independence and thinking freely. Therefore, the semantics of the window is not related to mythology, but to the analytical and research function. It is directed at the world of things. The narrator in Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's story "Hannusja" is watching a "young lady" or "a nobleman" who sells cakes *through the window* of his unpretentious coach. However, this dialogue and communication imitate the act of contemplation and researching the environment. Therefore, the narrator's point of view provides "full visibility of what is going on within the outside space" (Toporov 1983, 168). The character being in his coach is always moving his view from one object to another. He studies the bright world of objects and dirty things, but after all he focuses his attention on Hannusja and her contrast to this environment.

The first beginning of Kvitka's story (with the title of the first section "Pies") is also involved in a gastronomic discourse: "Pies! Pies! Who wants hot pi-i-i-es?" (Kvitka-Osnov'janenko 1979, 330). And then the "pie" plot is developed in the whole story in contrast to the rather brief reference of the grandmother's modest craft of the Russian text. A very young pie seller, much in the same way as the poppy cake seller, comes to the trading rows every day. However, Hannusja does it against her own will. She works for her mistress not to starve to death.

The semantics of the 'all-seeing eye' is intensified in the text fragments which describe the process of watching through the window. This semantics focuses on the "interesting" object. The transition from the sentimental narrator's position ("he thought about the subject of his travel") to a playful scene of recognition occurs. After learning about some details of Hannusja's biography from her own words, the traveller goes for a trip to find out her secret. In contrast to the world of Pohorel's'kyj's work, which is covered with a fairy-tale, romantic mist, the text of "Hannusja" consists of episodes full of realistic string-like arrangements, descriptions, event-blocks and scenes. The plot of Po-

horel's'kyji's story develops rapidly promoted and contains unexpected turns which surprise the reader with almost a novelistic spirit. In Kvitka's work the reader deals with a more extensive and wide type of cumulative strategy of storytelling, which probably is relevant to the educational tasks of the writer.

Besides, the space organization in Kvitka's story does not provide contrast between the two artificial worlds, but is a continuous accumulation of spatial units which become elements of different and endlessly colourful worlds, 'pieces' of reality and 'places' and areas of being. Obviously, such an organization of spatial relations is caused by the writer's orientation towards a long tradition of adventure and fraudulent genre considering the usual tradition of writing novels. It is clear that Kvitka fills, condenses, specifies his traveller's movement in space by means of providing details of national, historical and domestic life. Some literary critics emphasize the strong ethnographic genre component of "Hannusja" and they believe that Kvitka performs picturesque excursions into everyday life of the Slobožanščina region.

Kvitka's decision to write the story in the Russian language is connected not only with his pragmatic text (i.e. for a wide audience of readers) but with a peculiar literary conventionality, secrecy and the desire to connect different spaces in the horizon of a marginal traveler's individuality. As genre priorities of the "novel of a long road" were fixed and legitimized in Old Ukrainian and Modern Ukrainian and Russian literature, the transfer and functioning of appropriate verbal behavior were possible on the territory of Ukrainian. As O. Feduta says: "In the nineteenth century during the period of the modern cultural nations there were two audiences in the mind of a bilingual author; and each of them differs not only the viewpoint of the language but also from the genre and thematic expectations" (Feduta 2016, 103). Kvitka's bilingualism demonstrates the methods of developing a literary tradition in his homeland. Of course, the linguistic behavior of the Ukrainian prose writer causes his own search for a spatial canon not only in life, but also in the main ways of creating his native literature.

Meanwhile, Kvitka as writer intersects with the narrator of "Hannusja". The narrator's journey takes the form of a spatial search, which artistically reproduces and twists models of the world, life of different population groups, colorfully detailed life, love, intrigue, betrayal, repentance, returning to home, etc. The educational desire to help the disadvantaged Hannusja, to find her "noble" mother, and then the girl herself is behind it. We agree with E. Nachlik who characterized Kvitka's style as "adventure and romantic prose, for which the depiction of affected passion is typical ... The love story with intriguing events ... subordinates to the enlightenment morality and Christian ethics ... It is important that the genre features of bildungsroman appear in the work precisely in the interpretation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau" (Nachlik 1988, 65).

In this study we are not going to consider aesthetic, style and genealogy peculiarities of Kvitka's short story, and we will focus on the author's space "manipulation", which are semantic boundaries and the same conditional gradational markers of story building. It is evident that the narrator's wanderings are ac-

accompanied by ups and downs, many deviations from the direct way which resembles a zigzag. At the beginning the character wanders delusive ways, looking for madam Čučukal'ka, the "auntie" of a mystery girl. Pijučka is proud of her craft and dislikes pies: "I haven't yet gone to the extreme of selling pies! I only sell buns and provide the whole city and the whole province with them; who doesn't know Pijučka's buns?" (Kvitka-Osnov'janenko 1979, 333). This passage does not serve only to develop the gastronomical discourse, which was presented before, but it is also a bright reflection of the hard, humiliating state in which the young lady Hannusja finds herself. The comparison of buns and pies hides a social and anthropological implication which appears not accidentally, but on purpose by the author, who puts the narrator to a wide way. After all the man has forgotten Čučukal'ka's surname and the cabman, being frightened, drives him to another place. Therefore, the motif traditional for the literature of that period, uncertainty and crossroads, arises: "Where does the Master want to drive to?". But in a short while, after a brief trial with "cyclic recurrence" ("at last after nonstop driving back and forth") the traveler gets to their point of destination.

The space of the story somehow points to another but similar literary tradition – Fielding's novel *Tom Jones*, which concentrates on the image of a foundling and is genetically and naturally connected with the Enlightenment movement. The space is complicated because one of its spheres is covered by the following one, which pushes the plot and leads to intensification in a completely different world, way of life and society. This sphere is fictional, it exists in the world of another character, the original frame, the previous text, that serves as a compositional setting, or a prologue of the main plot. Of course, it refers to Čučukal'ka and madam Reze's stories about the ups and downs of life that chase Hannusja.

Such a segmentation of the artistic space, joining of time-and-space circles and reeling of narrative outflows provoke a rapid motion of the plot and dynamics of events. In a clear linear sequence one event follows another; episodes overlap each other and grow one from another. Such an approach to text-building is easy to predict. After all Kvitka was influenced by enlightenment realism, sentimentalism, romanticism and realism. Thus, the story about little Hannusja, who has been left with a peasant woman, is inseparably linked and almost cemented into the story about a parcel. And the false system of the French upbringing of the future Hannusja's mother provokes the same false romantic adventure and, as a result, the escape and secret wedding to a "hussar major".

The readers recognize familiar motive structures, plot templates and stereotypes, which denote the thesaurus of the literature of that time. Kvitka uses them skillfully and naturally. His aim is not only to emphasize his belonging to the solid and steady tradition, but obviously to go through the same space canon, which would be organic and comfortable for his type of character and literature in general.



Nevertheless, the accumulation and quick change of events break off and pause from time to time. Here the reader comes across peculiar retardant text cavities. One of them includes the magical atmosphere but in comparison to Pohorel's'kyj's text it is profaned in a way and as much as possible close to ethnographic description. It does not contradict Kvitka's text, it organically assembles and adjusts it. In Pohorel's'kyj's story Lafertovo can be replaced by any Moscow outskirt, and its ethnographic accurateness of the descriptions are deprived of extra specific details. This feature is completely organic in a romantic story. At the same time, the typical plot and typical events are connected exactly with Lafertovo. Probably this happens because "a negative character is usually brighter than positive, the character of Lafertovo (even being depicted quite briefly) is extinguished by Pohorel's'kyj clearly enough" (Cyv'jan 1997, 605).

The Ukrainian writer Kvitka-Osnov'jyanenko also demonstrates Bezljudivka, where the whole set of features of the witches' space can be found. Though using a romantic literary pattern, Kvitka enriches the narration not with the description uninhabited realities, but with nationally marked, ethnographically concrete pictures, with bright local semantics. The costumes, landscapes, language and appearance become the markers which make them more concrete. Some details prove that readers observe exactly a witch from the Slobožanščina region. The focus on the witch Susurčyha's hair and eyes is not accidental either: "the clumps of grey hair jut out from her dirty linen kerchief; she looked at me quickly with her big, grey, piercing and now even cheating eyes" (Kvitka-Osnov'janenko 1979, 361). V. Myloradovič states in his research: "a black stripe of hair from the back of the head to the waist can be found only in folk stories about witches in the Charkiv province", and the 'evil eye' and deep black eyes come from the Lujbens'kyj district (Myloradovič 1993, 48). The realistic details, the narrator's ironical and distant look at representatives of the dark forces is a result of excluding the character from the demonic world and the dissolution of the image of this character in the reality. Ukrainian and Russian writers differ radically.

Having led the narrator and the subordinate characters through an adventurous chain of events, the Ukrainian author comes back to the beginning of the story, to the gastronomical sphere. He even marks it with the title of the chapter "Pies". However, the last chapter retells the contents of the first one only at the end. It contrasts with the principle of enlightenment's index of general harmony, prosperity and happiness. Reflection and projection of perfect values of the future is singled out in a good neighborhood, a close and intimate connection of the spiritual and physical.

Both "Hannusja" and "The poppy cake seller from Lafertovo" have a happy end. However, in both works, it is not a demonstration of the image of cloudless happiness and careless existence, but the right to live in a new way which is free, spiritually enriched and won back from the old patriarchal world. The models of artistic space which are reproduced in a dynamic adventure form and in a fabulously fantastic romantic narrative way provide the possibility to see

these changes and the transformation of the characters' beings in the national literature.

The Ukrainian and Russian writers are looking for space coordinates, paths and wide ways which were trampled by almost the whole world of characters of the literature of that time. Starting with the existent patterns, Kvitka and Pohorel's'kyj looked for new impulses for the liberation of their characters from narrow traditional patriarchal chains and the anthropologically limited ways of existence. Their artistic renovations are accompanied not only by the separation from the corporate consciousness, but also by awareness of the involvement in the nation's existence at the same time. Numerous national, cultural and mental markers of identification become the evidence of it in the texts. Both authors developed, deepened and looked at the prospects for the further use of the thesaurus of Ukrainian and Russian literature of the first half of the nineteenth century by means of building a common foundation for the search for self-initiating spatial segments.

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## OLD UKRAINIAN WAR SERMONS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: A DISCURSIVE DIMENSION

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*This paper considers a phenomenon of war preaching discourse of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, based on the Old Ukrainian sermons written by Antonij Radyvylos'kyj. The discursive peculiarities of the war sermons are described as a result of a complex analysis of such components of discourse as participants, chronotope, aims, values, strategies, material, types and genres, precedent texts, and discursive formulas.*

*Keywords: war preaching discourse, Old Ukrainian literary language, Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj, second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.*

## СТАРОУКРАЇНСЬКЕ ВОЄННЕ КАЗАННЯ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XVII СТОЛІТТЯ: ДИСКУРСИВНИЙ ВИМІР

*Юлія Олешко*

*У статті досліджено явище воєнного проповідницького дискурсу другої половини XVII століття на матеріалі староукраїнських казань Антонія Радивиловського. Дискурсивна специфіка воєнних проповідей визначається на основі аналізу таких компонентів дискурсу, як учасники, хронотоп, цілі, цінності, стратегії, матеріал, різновиди і жанри, прецедентні тексти і дискурсивні формули.*

*Ключові слова: воєнний проповідницький дискурс, староукраїнська літературна мова, Антоній Радивиловський, друга половина XVII століття.*

In modern linguistics, the Old Ukrainian oratorical sermons of the 17<sup>th</sup> century have been analyzed in terms of their structural and semantic peculiarities, lexical composition, the role of means of expression in the development of the literary language (Zelins'ka 2013), phraseological units (Suchovij 2002), expressive syntax (Taran [Majdanovyč] 1993); comprehensive studies focus on the language of sermons, in particular of such preachers as Ioanykij Haljatovs'kyj (Bida 1975, Čepiha 1983), Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj (Markovs'kyj 1984), and Leontij Karpovyč (Maslov 1908, Kupčyns'kyj 2003). Marzanna Kuczynska (2004) has traced the evolution of the genre of sermon, comparing the texts by Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj and Ioanykij Haljatovs'kyj. Natalija Toma (2010) has studied the functioning of abstract lexis in the sermons of Petro Mohyla.

Ljudmyla Muraško (1997) and Jaroslav Jaremko (1997) have studied the historical development of military lexis and the forming of church terminology in the Ukrainian language. In her monograph, Iryna Lytovčenko (2016) has highlighted the etymology of some groups of nominations. In the Old Ukrainian language of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Jaroslava Rybalka (1998) has outlined the structure of the thematic group “military lexis of the Cossaks”. Vasyľ Horobec’ (1979) has studied the lexical basis of diaries of the indicated period, among which are military lexis. Ol’ha Andrijanova (2016) has researched the history of naval vocabulary in the Ukrainian language.

As Vitalij Rusanivs’kyj notes, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there appears to be an intense replenishment of two thematic lexical groups – administrative and military – which has been fixed in business documents and chronicles (Rusanivs’kyj 2001, 94). Apparently, such changes in a language reflect the dynamics of processes of social and political life in the Ukrainian lands. The material of our research comprises the original texts of the preacher A. Radyvylovs’kyj written in Old Ukrainian, “Sermon calling upon prayer and fasting” (“Слово побіжаючєє до млтвы и постѣ, часѣ воєнного небєзпечєства”), included into the second volume of the manuscript collection “Garden of the Virgin Mary” (“Огородокъ Маріи Богородицѣ”) and the cognominal old-printed collection of the year 1676, as well as five sermons “of the wartime” (“часѣ войнѣ”), which have been retained in the manuscript collection “The Crown of Christ” (“Вѣнецъ Христовъ”) (1676–1683). The *kazannjas* (sermons) were composed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1676–1681, in which the Tsardom of Russia and the Ottoman Empire were fighting for the division of the Ukrainian lands. It is considered that “The first sermon calling the Christian warriors upon the fight against the Turks and Tatars” (“Слово первое часѣ войнѣ побіжаючєє воиновѣ хрстіанскихѣ до спотканя ся съ тѣрками і татарамы”) was declared in the summer of 1677 in front of the army of Ukrainians and Muscovites (approx. 52–57,000 soldiers), which was leaving for Čyhyryn, a strategic center that Ibrahim Pasha, who together with a 120,000 Turkish and Tatar army, planned to go to Kyjiv (Ukrajins’ka literatura 17 stolittja 1987, 534). Correspondingly, the sermon declared was aimed at influencing the moral and psychological state of the Orthodox soldiers and raising their morale.

Due to its strategic orientation, a war sermon should be considered as rhetorical discourse, in which the persuasive element (“*movere*”) dominates the educational (“*docere*”) and the aesthetic (“*delectare*”) ones; hence, the war sermon involves the impact on the mindset and behavior of the listener. Our discourse analysis is based on an understanding of discourse as “a specific linguistic phenomenon that concerns both linguistic and non-linguistic structures” (Burcev 2012). In this study, we define a religious discourse, which traditionally comprises sermons, as “regulated by certain historical and socio-cultural codes (traditions), meaning-formative activities aimed at shaping, transmitting, and changing a dogmatic way of thinking, sacred attitude, and mystical experience” (Kožemjakin 2011, 32). From the viewpoint of

sociolinguistics, there are two types of discourse: personal and institutional (Karasik 2002). The first type is personality-oriented, while in the second type, a speaker communicates not from himself but from the institute the representative of which he is. Institutional (theological) discourse implies communication within a range of status-role relationships.

Viktor Karasik distinguishes the following components of religious discourse: “1) participants, 2) chronotope, 3) aims, 4) values (including a key concept), 5) strategies, 6) material (topic), 7) types and genres, 8) precedent (cultur-ogenic) texts, 9) discursive formulas” (Karasik 2002, 221). We suggest analyzing the Old Ukrainian war *kazannias* in accordance with the components indicated.

As long as a communicative process presupposes the participation of two members, both of them should be described separately. An addressor in the preaching discourse is the preacher, whose presence explicates in the first part of a sermon, “*exordium*”, through the use of the first-person singular verbs. The believers make up a collective addressee, in particular, a part of the Orthodox society united by a common cause, the army. The addressee has been mentioned in the titles of the sermons, for instance, “Sermon of wartime to the warriors” (“Слово часѣ войнѣ до воиновѣ”). Correspondingly, in the discourse, the preacher uses the standardized appeal “Orthodox Christian warriors” (“православноѣ хрѣстіанскоѣ воинство”) (Vinec’ 1568). However, in rare cases, when the priest appeals to each person individually, he says: “Orthodox listener” (“слѣхачѣ православный”) (Vinec’ 1546). Nevertheless, the generalizing form “you” (plural) is dominant in the war sermons: “Pray to God” (“До Бѣа чинѣте мѣтѣ”) (Vinec’ 1542), “Be sure that even without sables and other weapons of *yours* the enemy will perish” (“бѣдѣте певны, же и бѣз шабель и иншого оружѣа вашѣго той непрѣтель погибне(т)”) (Vinec’ 1556).

Predominantly, in the final part of the sermon, one comes upon a deictic “we”, which is a specific characteristic of the prayer discourse: “Lord God will help *us* against our foes” (“Гдѣ Бѣъ поможе(т) намѣ противѣ непрѣтелей нашихѣ”) (Vinec’ 1583), “Let *us* consider which prayers God listens to” (“ѣважно ѣкихѣ Бѣъ выслѣхиваетѣ мѣтѣ”) (Vinec’ 1576).

The addressee of the *kazannias* – “honorable Christian warriors” (“презачноѣ хр(с)тіанскоѣ воинство”) – is opposed to a “cruel and terrible enemy” (“вкрѣстный и страшный непрѣтель”), and there are two reasons behind this. First, Tatars and Turks are “different” by confession. Second, they are invaders as they are striving to “devastate our dear homeland” (“в(т)чизнѣ нашѣ милѣю спѣстошити”) (Ohorodok ruk. 1534).

The peculiarity of the religious discourse is that there is an additional participant of communication, God, a super-agens involved in communication. Although a preacher retranslates the sacred meanings, before God, he is equal with the parishioners. A codified humiliation of the status of believers before the Absolute is manifested in self-identification of people as the ‘unworthy’: “Re-

lieve of their troubles your merciful servants” (“избави ѡ(т) бѣдъ рабы своѡ млѣтивѣ”) (Ohorodok 1082).

A traditional location of religious communication – the temple – has been changed in the war preaching discourse and, perhaps, has been moved to a castle, which is connected with the army’s quantity; however, the regulated localization of the participants of communication has been adhered to. A preacher always delivers a sermon while standing in front of the congregation. Such complexity of relations is also manifested in the physical location of the speaker and the audience: while pronouncing a sermon, a priest stands faced to the parishioners, on the ambo, which has both a symbolic and a pragmatic function. The cleric’s dress and accessories also emphasize his ‘otherness’. However, the fact that both he and the laity are in the same place at the same time (temporary-spacial unity) confirms oneness of their purpose and faith.

A preacher is an orator, but still he is the listener of his God. Therefore, his thoughts and words belong not only to him; they are subject to doctrine. As a result, the priest has no purpose to impose his views but to bring the recipient to God. Rhetorical discourse is embodied in suggestion, i.e., the recipient interprets the speaker’s words in the way profitable for the latter. In a global understanding, suggestion is an activity aimed at imposing on another person some ideas that may contradict his or her principles. As a result of the suggestive influence, a person treats the ideas received from outside as his or her own, which shows the difference between suggestion and persuasion. Linguists note “the ability of sacred texts to put people in altered states of consciousness under various circumstances” (Klymentova 2011, 439). In the religious rhetorical discourse, a wide palette of suggestive means of influence is used, though verbal ones occupy a special place among them. For instance, a combination of ritual actions and the recitation of sacred texts puts a person into a hypnotic state, in which defense mechanisms of the person fail to work.

The aim of each sermon is provided at the end of the introduction – the first part of the *kazannja*: “For you to incite to military reprisal with that cruel and terrible enemy, I would like to pronounce this sermon to your affection” (“Чтобы васъ до росправы военной з(ъ) тымъ ѡкрѣ(т)ны(м) и страшнымъ неприателемъ порѣшити могло, ѡ томъ до любви вашей сіе слово мѣти желаю”) (Vinec’ 1534).

For religious discourse, it is inherent to argue the traditional values. They are verbalized in the Christians’ sacred text – the Holy Bible. In general, religion is a conservative cultural institute; its values and norms retain their original shape for a long time. A dominant factor in religious discourse is faith, which prevails over reason. Thus, in the war sermons, the speaker emphasized that the enemy is “the foe of God’s cross” (“неприатель Крѣста Гнѡ”) (Vinec’ 1564), that “the sword belongs to pagans” (“мечъ пога(н)скій”) (Ohorodok 1077), and “God, that pagan is the enemy of yours and ours” (“Бжѣ той поганинъ врагъ твой и нашъ”) (Vinec’ 1542).

As a rule, among the concepts explicated in preaching discourse, one can find *God, sin, soul, salvation, miracle, etc.* Nevertheless, in the war sermons of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a new concept appears – *homeland*. A. Radyvylovs'kyj claims that “two things are the strongest to motivate you and ignite your heart for the courageous war reprisal with that cruel Muslim who is attacking us, a guiltless people. The first one is *God's honor*; the second one is *love for the homeland*” (“двѣ речи найбарзѣй васѣ порѣшити и срѣдца ваши запалити могѹтъ къ мѹжественной росправѣ военной з(ѣ) т(ы)м) вкрѹтнчымъ бисѹрманиномъ на насѣ невиннѣ настѹпѹющимъ. Першаа честь Бжѣаа, дрѹгаа любо(в) ш(т)чизнѣ”) (Vinec' 1534).

G. Savin states that “the communicative strategies of preachers are the cognitive targeted programs implemented in the texts of the sermon speech genre, as the complex verbal actions aimed at changing the pragmatic worldview / world model of the addressee, according to doctrinal concepts, which the Orthodox Church has elaborated throughout its history” (Savin 2009, 8). A preacher acts according to a reasonable scenario, adheres to a thoroughly prepared strategy of implementing his communicative plan.

In the war sermons, there dominates an inducement strategy, which refers to calling the recipient to take an action: “Send your ardent prayers to God's throne ... Believe that God will send his angel from Heaven to help you” (“Засу-лайтѣ до маѣстатѹ Бжго свои горлчѣ мѣтвѣ. Вѣрѣйтѣ, же Бгѣ с(ѣ) нбси послѣ(т) вамѣ вѣ помощѣ агтла своего”) (Vinec' 1569). One of the most relevant tactics of the inducement strategy is uniting both participants of the communicative process into the monolithic “us”: “Let *us* cry to him saying: God, *we* have sinned before the Heaven and You” (“вола(й)мо до него с(ѣ) плачѣм(ѣ) мовлчи: очѣ, согрѣшихом(ѣ) на нбо и прѣ(д) тобою”) (Ohorodok 1081).

An explanation strategy refers to comprehending and interpreting the tenets of faith: “Fear the sword, says Gods to us through his prophet Ezekiel... No punishment is as horrible as a sword. Because neither famine and plague nor fire and other punishments of God take so many people as a sword does.” (“Мѣча са бойтѣ. мови(т) Бгѣ до на(с) прѣ(з) пр(о)рка свое(г) [о] Іезекіила ... жаднаа плага не естѣ такѣ страшнаа пакѡ мѣчѣ. бо ани гладѣ, ани злоѣ повѣтрѣ, ани огонь, ани иншіи плаги Бжїи такѣ мно҃го габѣать людеѣ пакѡ мѣчѣ”) (Ohorodok 1075).

An affirmation strategy refers to persuading the believers in the “rightness” of their confession and avering the moral concepts in accordance with the faith: “Seeing you armed with a prayer, God will give you that one of you will cope with a thousand, and two will overcome dozens” (“Такѣ мѣтвю видлчи ва(с) Бгѣ ѹброеныхѣ, дастѣ вамѣ тоѣ, же единѣ з(ѣ) ва(с) поже(не)тѣ т(ы)сацѣ, а два двикнете тмѣ”) (Vinec' 1579).

As for the topic, the war sermons form a separate group; most of them may have not been printed due to their thematic difference and quantitative limitation. Regarding its genre, the war sermon is non-canonical, due to such factors



as intention, subject, recipient, and discourse localization. *Kazannia* is a secondary, in other words, interpretative, genre, which explains the Holy Scripture and is created based on the primary genres; namely, a prayer makes up a part of the sermon. In terms of genre, the social and political sermons of the Jesuit P. Skarga are close to those of A. Radyvylovs'kyj. They have been composed to honor the military victories of the Polish army under the command of king Sigismund III Vasa over the Romanians (1600), the Swedes (1605), and the Muscovites (1611). The scholars define such texts in a group of triumphal sermons (Kuran 2013, 211), as they praise the military successes.

In terms of intentionality, the poem “Awakening to the army, which goes to Olyka, May 1, 1649” (“Pobudka wychodzącemu wojsku pod Olykę pro 1 Maii anno 1649”) by Samuel Twardowski is similar to the Old Ukrainian war sermons. The poem has been pronounced in front of the soldiers who were going to march against the Cossacks. However, a difference in the discursive plan is that the audience of A. Radyvylovs'kyj is the Christian army. For these warriors, the defense of the homeland is a holy feat, as ‘emulating’ Christ is a moral duty of all segments of the population, including the military one (Spivak 2008, 3).

In essence, religious discourse is precedent as it is based on the Holy Scriptures. In the war sermons, precedent texts make up a necessary component, which is an authoritative source of information: “Every hetman who goes to fight his foe and counts not on his strength but hopes for the strength of God might promise himself a victory... this I prove with the following examples from the Holy Scriptures” (“кождый гетманъ который идѹчи на неприѣтла, не дѹфаетъ в(ъ) силѣ своей, але в(ъ) силѣ Бжѣй, певное себѣ обещати може(т) звѣтаство... .. цо такими з(ъ) писма с(т): довождъ прикладами”) (Vinec’ 1550). Nevertheless, the specific feature of the baroque preaching discourse is an expansion of intertextual connections beyond the culturogenic texts traditionally approved by the religious community. For instance, the war sermons refer to the Acts of the Apostles, the works of Doctors of the Church, the Old and New Testaments, but, at the same time, these sermons cite the Roman historian Suetonius, the poet Horace, the ancient Greek philosopher Plato and the historians Laërtius, Plutarch, Xenophon, as well as the outstanding humanist of the European Renaissance Erasmus of Rotterdam.

A. Radyvylovs'kyj recalls famous warriors whose example his listeners have to follow: “Remember Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Scipio the African, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Hannibal Barca, and other ancient hetmans of Rome; remember the ancient princes of Rus, remember the ancient hetmans of Zaporizh'zja and other heroes” (“Припомнѣте себѣ Алѣксандра великаго, Юліуша кесара, сципіона, Марцелла, Аннибала, и иншихъ стародавнихъ римскихъ гетмановъ, припомните себѣ стародавнихъ Руссѣйскихъ князей, припомнѣте стародавнихъ запорожскихъ гетмановъ и иншихъ молод(д)цовъ добрых(х)”) (Vinec’ 1563). Thus, the Orthodox fighters should correspond to the Christian precepts, which in the situation of a war are extend-

ed to caring about compatriots and struggling for the independence of the homeland.

The aforementioned examples prove A. Radyvylovs'kyj to be a passionate preacher, who is not only an intermediary between God and society but also a speaker of his time and people. Gilles Teulié and Laurence Lux-Sterritt notice, “whether favourable or hostile to the waging of war, preachers participated in edification of their parishioners’ opinion. The writing, delivering or reading of sermons shaped the mental process of people who sought their ministers’ moral and spiritual guidance in the times of crisis” (XI).

In conclusion, the war sermons of A. Radyvylovs'kyj belong to a religious discourse, which is a kind of institutional discourse, revealing the historically, socially, and culturally regulated meaning-formative activities, aimed at broadcasting the tenets of faith and attracting people to the system of religious beliefs. In addition, the war sermons of the second half of the seventeenth century were produced to integrate individuals, support their sense of belonging to the Orthodox Church, and contrast them to the “alien” group, which in this case is hostile to the core values of the speaker’s environment – *faith and homeland*. In the end, the war preaching discourse focuses not only on approving the traditional religious dogmas, but also on explaining the role of the faithful in church life, teaching them patriotic values and encouraging defend their souls as well as their land.

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**UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY  
IN THE NOVEL “THE CONSTELLATION OF A CYGNET”  
 (“SUZIR”JA LEBEDJA”) BY JURIJ KOSAČ**

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*The novel ‘The Constellation of Cygnet’ (“Suzir”ja lebedja”) by Jurij Kosač is investigated through discursive comprehension of the writer’s research as well as artistic and aesthetic factors of national identity, which became the driving force of Ukrainian philosophical thought and the formation of a national mentality. By determining the philosophical and ideological creative basis of Jurij Kosač and the aesthetic and artistic content of national ideas formulated by the artist, we define the author’s individual concept of national identity, forged on the basis of a romantic consciousness, and find a place of his novel in the philosophical and cultural context of the 20th century.*

*Key words: national identity, national culture, romanticism, national consciousness, national ideal.*

**УКРАЇНСЬКА НАЦІОНАЛЬНА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ  
У РОМАНІ “СУЗІР’Я ЛЕБЕДЯ” ЮРІЯ КОСАЧА**

*Ростислав Радішевський*

*Роман “Сузір’я лебедя” Юрія Косача досліджено крізь дискурсивне осягнення пошуків письменника та художньо-естетичних чинників національної ідентичності, що стали рушійною силою українського філософського мислення та формування національного менталітету. Визначення філософсько-світоглядних засад творчості Юрія Косача та естетико-мистецького змісту національних ідей, сформульованих митцем, дозволили виокремити індивідуально-авторську концепцію національної ідентичності, що постала на засадах романтичної свідомості, а також визначити місце роману у філософсько-культурному контексті ХХ століття.*

*Ключові слова: національна ідентичність, національна культура, романтизм, національна свідомість, національний ідеал.*

The current spiritual situation in Ukraine and the world is characterized by deep changes that are the manifestation at different levels of social life and consciousness. The revival of national culture, including its scientific and theoretical analysis and philosophical reflection plays one of the key roles in these changes. The main goal of Ukrainian philosophical research is to find the essen-

tial foundations of Ukrainian culture, its peculiarities and its place among other national cultures. One of its main objects is the work of Ukrainian artists, in which the specific features of the national outlook has a concrete expression and clear crystallization. According to the classic definition of national identity, its integral part is a common vision of the past (the idea of a common origin, a common mythology, cultural and spiritual values). In this context, the national idea around which the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation is progressing has great significance.

In Ukrainian culture, among the artists who most clearly and organically expressed the national image of the world, the main place belongs to Jurij Kosač, especially to his novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* (“Suzir”ja lebed’ja”) – a saga about the Ukrainian Cossack-gentry family Roslavec’ (Drahomanov-Kosač), in which the basic meanings, values, goals and objectives of the Ukrainian people, living in its past, present and future came alive by means of artistic symbolism. This novel is not only a treasure trove of collective memory, but has a programming nature: it defines and determines the way of perception of phenomena of historical, social, political, cultural, and moral life of the Ukrainian nation through collective national consciousness. Thus, the interpretation of key artistic symbols is one of the main objects of analysis for the reconstruction of cultural heritage as a part of the Ukrainian national identity.

Jurij Kosač, a prominent representative of the Drahomanov-Kosač family, showed great interest in his ancestry and the cultural traditions and national customs at the early stage of his spiritual and creative development. This allowed him to link closely the past with the present and to “find the moral basis, statute of foundation and strength in the past for defending his social and national ideals” (Dorošenko 1991, 11). There is a special philosophical paradigm in every historical context of national culture, the concepts of which are distinguished in the process of its formation.

Jurij Kosač’s historiosophical concept, based on the idea of aligning with Europe, was in unison with the needs of modernization of the national literary and aesthetic consciousness of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in response to the Soviet colonial policy of making Ukrainian literature a provincial one. The Ukrainian writer, standing guard over the interests of his country, worked unselfishly, trying to aestheticize and modernize the national ideal in the context of the European cultural tradition. As Ulas Samčuk noted, “great patriotism is the patriotism that speaks by means of great art” (Samčuk 1946, 45).

Mychajlo Drahomanov was one of the first artists to recognize the direct belonging of the Ukrainian people to the European civilization, stressing the cultural and religious unity of Ukraine and Europe in a historiosophical aspect: “Ukrainian literature will not stand solid on its own feet till Ukrainian writers don’t get global educational thoughts and feelings just from Western Europe, and not through Russian literature from St. Petersburg and Moscow ...” (Drahomanov 1991, 479).

The formation of the Ukrainian nation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century involved the formation of a new national identity, focused on a cultural awareness of their location. According to the definition of Hryhorij Kostjuk, a powerful spiritual stream, the strength of which is seen in national identity, creates a mechanism that serves as a unifying element of the literary processes of West and East (Kostjuk 2002, 2). The formation of the world of Jurij Kosač was influenced by historical and literary events of the period of the “Executed Renaissance” of the 1920s and 1930s. Program pamphlets such as “Quo Vadis?”, “Apologists of Clerkship”, “Ukraine or Malorossija?” by Mykola Chvyľovyj – the most brilliant ideologist of national revival – outlined the socio-political and cultural ways of development of the Ukrainian nation, which “fought, fights and will fight for its establishment in its own right” (Chvyľovyj 1946, 3).

Ukrainian national exponents of truth called for the overcoming of the “Slavophile theory of identity” within a supposed “all-Russian unity”. The writer’s ideological views in the survey of the exiled cultural and ideological space brought to awareness to the Ukrainians of their historical identity on their way to overcoming the universalist claims of the all-Russian doctrine. European orientation and fighting with parochialism helped M. Chvyľovyj to show the elitist type of personality of the creator, whose unlimited creativity is opposed to a mass human ignorance. The Ukrainian writer’s slogans: “Europe or education?”, “Away from Moscow!” – created the symbol of a “psychological Europe”, which he dreamed about and which he brought into focus in his pamphlets: “Europe is a certain type of cultural factor in the historical process, a certain revolutionary method” (Chvyľovyj 1990, 472). Chvyľovyj, whose name is associated with the revival of Ukrainian literature, represented a symbol of courage, honor and patriotism in the context of historic national cultural reflection.

Jurij Kosač, who had a highly penetrating intuition, considered the formation of the Ukrainian people as a modern nation to be the prior task. Inclusion of the idea of “national guards” in the context of general national revival became a powerful call for rebellion - affirming slogans of the new faith, a new truth – as a precondition for the creation of a new Ukrainian civilization.

The harsh and merciless truth of life, which is a disappointment, served for Kosač as a kind of mirror to reflect deep feelings, imbued with a painful sense of separation from the native land, his home, which increasingly faced him as memories of childhood and adolescent years. Blood ties with his family nest and Ukraine appear for Jurij Kosač as “an unshakable moral standard to follow the past which is always present in the author’s consciousness as inherited ancestral achievements given to the descendant from above. Those ideas are always present in the author’s mind. The fate of the Drahomanov-Kosač family in the context of a mental-value paradigm is embodied in the highly patriotic novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* (“Suzir”ja lebedja”) which organically entered into the European discourse of autobiographical prose based on Ukrainian sources. The figure of Jurij Kosač is rooted not in the past, but rather grows and becomes more modern with the passage of time. The permanent unity of time and genera-

tions through the inner world of the Ukrainian writer personified the power that defined the continuity of the existential duration of the gentry in the self-awareness of its representatives. Like every Ukrainian at home and abroad, the writer in his work first thinks of the reasons why such a great and talented nation as the Ukrainians could not have a free, independent state, and instead become a colony of the Soviet Union.

The family history of Jurij Kosač served to illustrate the fate of the intellectuals in terms of totalitarianism of the twentieth century. The will of Ukraine, human dignity, the protection of national treasures with consistency and urgency were consistent with the intentions of the author himself (“The clan of the Roslavec’ is the pride of the country. How many times have I found in the archives the noble name of Roslavec’ who had always stood first to defend their homeland, their honor”) (Kosač 1983, 29). Kosač truthfully depicted the life and coloring of the epoch when his ancestors lived (Fedir Zabridny-Roslavec’, Danylo Roslavec’, Petro Roslavec’, Jakym Roslavec’, Oleksandr F. Roslavec’ etc.) (Kosač 1983, 30). These memories and experiences determined the topic of searching for national and cultural identity in the modern world, especially abroad, where Jurij Kosač spent most of his life.

In a brief preface to the publication of the novel, Jurij Kosač noted that his work was only a poetic “vision by the author”, and we should not look to match the authenticity of the artistic images and realities of life. Only episodic characters are similar to real people. There are two major foundations confirming this point of view. The first one is elegiac, filled with the blood of his heart’s dedication: “In memory of my dear and unforgettable father Mykola Petrovič Kosač and Natalija Hryhorivna Kosač from the cossack clan of Drobyšy”. The second foundation is a direct statement of the author that the novel is “a piece of family saga from one Ukrainian Cossack-gentry kin”. If the genre structure of the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* can be defined as a saga, its philosophy reminds of existentialist prose. The genre of the saga outlines the atmosphere of the events taking place before the First World War. Tales with elements of heroic epos became very popular in the Middle Ages, but were updated in late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in European literature, as the following well-known novels testify – *Rougon-Macquart*. The natural and social history of a family in the era of the Second Empire (“Les Rougon-Macquart, histoire naturelle et sociale d’une famille sous le Second Empire”) by Émile Zola, *Chronique des Pasquier* (“Le Clan Pasquier”) by Georges Duhamel, *The Forsyte Saga* by John Galsworthy, *The Buddenbrooks* by Thomas Mann, *The Thibaults* (“Les Thibault”) by Roger Martin du Gard etc. Jurij Kosač, depicting, like his predecessors, the problem of procreation of the clan as the primary sacred factor of national culture, turned to the original characteristics of the saga – epic description of the famous Cossack family of the Roslavec’, who came from Montenegro, has grown and taken root in many regions – from Chernihiv up almost to the Black Sea.

There is no future without the past – this aphorism comes to mind when after realizing the spiritual values of Ukrainian culture, one identifies the motifs, symbolic images and various artistic ways of depicting which do not fade till now and fully reveal the ideological and aesthetic concept of the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* by Jurij Kosač.

The dominant concept in the novel is the Woman-Mother entrusted with the great mission of providing for the future of the human race. The character of Ol'ha Antonivna, Olel'ko's mother, is represented in a syncretical way: as the unity of her mind, feelings, nature and unconquered will, which create a powerful emotional charge for prosperity and viability of the family, providing the opportunity to feel the heartbeat of life itself in all its fullness.

In the preface to the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* Jurij Kosač wrote that he represented “the patriotic ideologically inspired stratum of the Ukrainian society of the past, which due to its own contradictions could not resist the far more powerful and more farsighted strength of history” (Kosač 1983, 2). This author's remark indicates that he is not a passive observer of the Roslavец' family's twists and turns of life, but has a clear personal position as a participant of the depicted events, as a judge of the old world, and as a fighter for a new life. Trying to portray the dynamic panorama of the time of ‘enraged thirst for possession’, ‘slave revolt’ and ‘despotism of rulers’, the author created an image of a new man who will be ‘predatory’, ‘boundless’, ‘amoral’ in his attempt to change the world. Vasyľ Mychajlovyč's predictions about a new philosophy, new ethics and law served Olel'ko as a kind of plea not go with the flow, to stay faithful to his principles and not to follow the benefits of adjustment (“Remember, that, by renouncing everything that can give you fame, power, striving for creativity, you will not be happy, instead you can be powerful. So, tell me, is not power the victory itself?” (Kosač 1983, 93). He imagined this way to be thorny for a true creator of hard times.

For the updating of the subject of moral principles' revaluation, the death of the old world that had to offer an eloquent parallel between the events of the novel and the literary tradition of the Victorian age, the main aim of Jurij Kosač first of all was to depict an emotional background of the Roslavец' life labyrinth, who were moving towards their moral and ethical destruction.

Intertextuality of the novel is primarily manifested in the form of direct quotation, rethinking of dialogues of the characters, their behavior patterns appropriate for existence in Victorian culture. Breaking the illusion of the existence of an almighty author, he offers his heroes to come back through their self-understanding to primary sources in the world where the very idea of historical, social and personal progress has been ruined (“The times are coming when things will go head over heels, the times of apocalypse. I was in the West and there the end of the complacent and resilient Victorian age is clearly visible. Everything will fall in ruins, tornados will devour everything that humanity has created. Only bare ground will remain. Yes, only the native land, and we should return to it ...”) (Kosač 1983, 96).



Jurij Kosač, as if laughing over the tragic page in the history of Ukrainian culture, vividly demonstrates the bitter irony of the novel characters concerning themselves in determination and the paradigm of the cultural values of the Victorian age. The Ukrainian writer managed to turn inside out the problems of society through a person's awareness of one's "slobbish nature in the scenery of deceit".

Given that, the irony and axiological rethinking are not aimed at classical figurative models, but the realities which motivate to change the value model of one's worldview at the paradigm level. The novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* contains also a stylistic intertextuality, namely parallels with the literature of romanticism. Actually, it logically comes out from an individual style of the writer comprising romantic mood and incentives.

The liberation from literary standards, the idea of nationality, rebellious individualism, learning about nature through imaginative and emotional contrasts, interest in old legends, folklore and appeal to national old traditions and culture became a dominant pillar of the romantic worldview. The lyrical spirit of romanticism denied its existence in the cramped frames of the rational Enlightenment aesthetics, because "a romantic artist needs air, space, the charms of the past, the charms of distant horizons, the magnificent scenery of history and nature" (Zerov 1990, 74).

The context typical for postmodern stylistic traditions reflects in one artistic range the allusions from remarkable Ukrainian texts, which are represented by the respective verbal models "beautiful spring", "do not bloom, my new blossoms", "the heart is not broken", "in the ravine between the rocks, there is a scowling Gonta's son". In the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* the heroes use excerpts from *Kobzar* by Taras Ševčenko – "the inspired poet who just flew off like eagles fly" (Kosač 1983, 83). This feeling of antecedence of classical literature actualized in the young student Olel'ko the fullest and deepest knowledge of the spiritual and artistic world of his "old friend and teacher" Taras Hryhorovyč. Referring to the poem *Varnak* ("The Lag") (1848) which has a plunder subject as a ground, Olel'ko approached it in the spirit of his time. The reason of adhering to a Christian motif – remorse of the offended hero who wanted revenge for himself and for the people – has given Olel'ko an opportunity to trace the fate of an individual as a kind of a model of the destiny of mankind with its faults, mistakes, failures and achievements on the way to search God lost in cold darkness of the outer world.

With a deep sense of perspective changes of epochs and worldviews Jurij Kosač depicts a neo-baroque image of the cathedral ("On the right side, among oaks and maples, the Cathedral like a white massive boulder grew in the sky with its seven domes") (Kosač 1983, 98) as a symbol of its era, a symbol of the torn Ukraine. Obviously, the author has set himself the task of illustrating the tragic, unnatural changes through the example of the Roslaveč' family. The family has cancelled out, decreased and lost its former important value in social and political life. Actually, the novel is about stunning transformations, fatal errors

and failures of this family, which led to the loss of its former strength and power. Exploring this exceptionally topical subject, the writer tried to retrace in an artistic way how an entire great and full of hope family of the Roslavec', and the entire Ukrainian community, got to disgraceful enslavement.

In the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* Jurij Kosač highlighted the events which took place during several months through building Olel'ko's specific state of mind, through whose conscience the reader perceives the story. The extraordinary personality and enigmatic appearance of the young man attract attention and do not leave anyone untouched, but, on the contrary, relatives subconsciously consider him to be their confessor, feeling the effects of contemporary historical changes and realizing their doom.

As a symbol of the new force, revealing the tragedy of the existence of the Roslavec' family and the whole Ukrainian community there arises the vagabond (in appearance) Triado – whom the legend presents as “Gonta's son” (“He walked dusty, barefoot, wearing a calotte, with a book tied for some reason with a rope around his neck and a crook: resembling either Hryhorij Skovoroda or Saint Seraphim ...”) (Kosač 1983, 163). His reflections about the world base on baroque contrasts (of good and evil, the sun and the dark, faith and sinfulness, fear and unyielding will, foolishness and wisdom), resemble the teaching of H. Skovoroda. To deepen the ideas of Triado as the fundamentals of morality in society Jurij Kosač embodies the philosophical statement “Cogito ergo sum” (“I think, therefore I am”) of R. Descartes, focusing on self-knowledge as the basis of learning about the World. The monologues of the hero about the main point of the struggle (“The world is one big pile of ashes which we must raze to the ground. This is what great and ultimate change we came into this world for”;) (Kosač 1983, 163) reveal his rich spiritual life like the one of Saint Jerome “burned with thirst”. Realizing the grounds of danger for the Roslavec' and the whole local gentry in future, Triado – as a prophet of the sinister tomorrow – calls to escape from the deceitful morality of the hopeless incurable world of “weak-spirited, repentant, lousy gentry, angelic decadents” for the sake of the morality of new dynamic energies, and a new creative world.

But according to the symbolic expression of uncle Saško, only in struggle a person is able to harden the soul in pursuance to another kind of life (“No, gentlemen, enough, it is time to come to senses. I have come to senses myself! I woke up in a night, when I saw the flame which was only a visible sign of anarchy. I want the great Ukraine, I want the Third Rome”; ) (Kosač 1983, 206).

Researching the history of the Orthodox Church, Jurij Kosač studied the ideological interpretation of the slogan “Moscow is the Third Rome”, formulated by Filofej, Elder of the Pskov Eleazar Monastery, in his Epistles to the tsar Vasilij III. The main aim of the message is a call to righteous life, because the tsardom of Moscow remained the only Christian state, unlike the previous ones which ceased to exist in particular for sins, immoral behavior and betrayal of faith. In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century after the fall of Constantinople, Moscovia cherished the idea of ecclesiastical superiority in the Orthodox world and

sought the role of successor of the Byzantine Empire. In contrast to the theory “Moscow is the Third Rome” the idea of Kyjiv as the “Second Jerusalem” and the “City blessed by God” appeared. Such a self-identity of Kyjiv is highlighted by Prince Oleh’s prophetic words (“Let it be the mother of Rus’ cities”) on the pages of the Primary Chronicle “The Tale of Bygone Years” dated by the year 882. Its powerful ideological statement is an allusion to the Heavenly Jerusalem, which in Hebrew meant a feminine proper name. The famous paraphrase “mother of cities” of the Ancient Kyjiv scribe from the Greek “Chronicles” by George Hamartolos is correlated with the apocryphal prophecy and equates with the biblical metaphor in medieval literature (“Jerusalem is the mother of all cities” (“Doves book”), “The first city and the mother of all cities is the glorious city Jerusalem” (“The story of Volot Volotovyč”).

In medieval social and religious understanding Jerusalem was perceived as the sacred center of Christianity, the holy Kingdom of Christ. The concept of the exceptional role and importance of Kyjiv as the spiritual capital of Rus’ belonged to the Ancient Kyjiv educators (Petro Mohyla, Meletij Smotryc’kyj, Lavrentij Zyzanyj, Jelisej Pletenec’kyj, etc.) who gradually developed the idea of their newly baptized state’s joining the “Promised Land” of the Eastern Slavic nations – the holy Christian universe, outlining an ontological similarity between Kyjiv and Jerusalem as sacred centers. Thus, Kyjiv in the understanding of believers gained all-Slavic importance in the context of the idea of Eastern Slavs as God’s favored people. That was strengthened by architectural reminiscence to Byzantine shrines which had as their prototypes Jerusalem shrines – the Temple of Sophia the Wisdom of God (Old Testament Jewish Temple in Jerusalem), the Golden Gate (Jerusalem Golden Gate, through which Jesus Christ entered the city).

Kyjiv – as a symbol of “The city favored by God” – appeared in a self-contained role of “The Second Jerusalem” that exuded holiness to the whole Rus’ land and gave hope and unshakable faith in the spiritual salvation of the Orthodox people.

Jurij Kosač made great efforts to commemorate the times of the Kyjivan Rus’, and in particular the rising of the cult of the “father of Ukrainian literature” Danylo Zatočnyk, who managed to awaken the Ukrainian national-state perception of nation by means of the art of declamation – a special world of pathos: dignity, beauty and wisdom.

The willingness to cherish and defend the acquired religious heritage is equated with the image of Prometheus – a symbol of revitalization of the historical memory of contemporaries and the formation of a national conscience in the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* by Jurij Kosač, whose potent stream of creativity lay in vitality and explosive energy of voluntarism. “The name of Prometheus – as P. Fylypovyč stated – became for educated people the symbol of everything progressive: bold ideas, kind heart, true grit and courage. And the name of Zeus became the sign of everything that held and holds people captive...” (Fylypovyč 1991, 114).

The way to freedom, according to Jurij Kosač, is depicted in the interpretation of an outstanding hero of the past, one “of the forgotten fighters for the ancestors’ faith” – the Perejaslav captain Danylo Roslavec’ in the context of the invincible Promethean spirit. The images of the Ukrainian Cossack Danylo Roslavec’ and his companions in the novel embody features inherent in Ukrainian freedom fighters (“All Cossacks are like Honta: the eyebrows are very black, forelock winds, a skeptical smile is on their lips”) (Kosač 1983, 144), representing the Nietzschean ideal of an Overhuman “with his categorical orientation, with confidence in his mission, with strong-willed nature ... disdainful crowds and dangers ... and what nobody could accomplish before ...” (Kosač 1983, 146).

The Cossack-centric historical conscience was natural for Jurij Kosač. He embodied in the character of Lara, Olel’ko’s aunt, the feeling of inseparable connection between generations and the persistence of the spiritual energy of distant bellicose ancestors – the Scythians – as the embodiment of strength and power. Illustrated by the example of the courage and heroism of the nomadic tribes of the Scythians in the lands of Great Eurasian Steppe (7<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) the Ukrainian writer showed the importance of discussing urgent national problems, all the bitterness of non-availability of happiness in the future (“The future is only squares and diamonds of landscape and a weak line that delineates the contours”) (Kosač 1983, 29) and the way of gaining that courage by a man who is going to change the spinelessness and lack of principles of the bizarre world (“To throw off a cliff into an abyss all this moaning, snuffling company dishonoring a person...”) (Kosač 1983, 29).

The novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* as “a piece of a family saga” recreated the model constructed by Jurij Kosač of the life of the Ukrainian Cossack aristocratic family of the Roslavec’. What led to the loss of their former strength and power in social and political life? Comprehensive education or fatal errors and failures? Readers faced a variation on the following themes: man and time, personality and history. Lack of goals (“The aim does not matter to me ... an action itself is important, the romance of a struggle ...”) (Kosač 1983, 187) and inner duality (“We, or rather our ancestors, did what they could. Maybe this was necessary at that time – serfdom, serving the kings, serving the tsars, the blessed conservatism, scoundrels, all these disgusting things of the gentry age ... It is correct from a dialectical point of view. Sometimes a new form has to mature in such a way that the old forms envelop it like a shell, even though dead and unnecessary...”) (Kosač 1983, 244), which prevented the “open-hearted romantics” of the Roslavec’ from keeping to their beliefs, forming the basis of their spiritual conflict.

The self-knowledge philosophy of Hryhorij Skovoroda saturates the novel *The Constellation of a Cygnet* by Jurij Kosač like a powerful stream determining the opportunity to know his own soul inside, to identify “himself” and “others”. The artist clearly shows the attitude of the head of the family, Vasyl’ Mychajlovyč Roslavec’ – “a genteel windmill” – to his “constantly lazy, stupid people”

(“Go, bring first of all the light of education to them, teach them basic norms of human life, look for spiritual treasures ... the occupation is worthy of stupid gentry repenting their old sins, or our regional educators crying over the glorious past”) (Kosač 1983, 117). Through Vasyl’ Roslavec’s words the writer explains the isolation of the genteel class from ordinary people, – which became one of the reasons for the loss of national and cultural identity in the process of the development of Ukrainian statehood. Taking into account the historical and philosophical concept of the inherent value of the nation, it was unacceptable for Jurij Kosač to judge his people by some a priori approaches, with its own nature not being appreciated. The loss of national identity, which became a threat to existence of the national spirit and nation, determined the death of the Roslavec’ family, such as of those on the “Titanic” (“Tomorrow the whole pan-European feast will be converted to ashes ... The feasts are over – it has been already dawning, there is a crimson, scarlet glow over the world, illuminated halls are becoming empty – you remember how it was on the “Titanic”. There remain only those last players who have doomed themselves to death but want to play the last card...”) (Kosač 1983, 120).

The same doomed perception of objective reality as an indisputable fact is aligned with Malanjuk’s criticism of Hellenic passivity as a destructive factor due to which Ukraine (Steppe Hellas) became the prey of bellicose neighbors, unlike the German philosopher of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Johann Herder, who called Ukraine the new Hellas and predicted – on the basis of fertile land, gentle manners and the musical talent of its people – a great future. Over tranquility and sobriety, which were typical features of the Roslavec’ (“It seemed sober, liberated from the doom of the past. There was no thirst, no bursts”) (Kosač 1983, 21), began the tragic collapse of the gentry of Ukraine, and with it – the old Cossack family which was unable to take decisive actions and to struggle for the sake of the understanding of their own spirituality, their own tradition as a guarantee of conservation, restoration and future prospects of the future nation’s formation (“An intelligent, iron family, but it has no talent. They have great expectations in their youth, full of aspiration, but when they reach their mature years – they waste themselves, as if some devil enters them and ruins all their ideas”) (Kosač 1983, 22). Thus, at the end of the novel the image of a swan appears – a mighty, proud bird swimming in black water, creating in conscience the image of everything on earth perishing. But who will remain in the midst of the darkness in the destructive expanses of the desert? In the epilogue of the novel Jurij Kosač depicts the incredible picture of the starry sky with the same symbol of a swan which is an artful model of Olel’ko Roslavec’s inner world, the world which was created by the writer and which became a reflection of his subconscious through mythological combinations, motives and images. Jurij Kosač modified the idea of spiritual rebirth of the nation through the image of a young student who had not only gone his way, but as well atoned for the sins of his ancestors, revealing a new world in its variegated colors through a “blazing flame”.

The writer, exposing the spiritual and moral values of the epoch of Olel'ko Roslavac's ancestors, with a great artistic power makes readers think about an existential problem of the Roslavac' family which did not withstand the difficult trials of time, and died, leaving only a symbol of their generosity – the emblem of a swan – a painful echo of something native, but irretrievably lost.

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## DIE GATTUNG DES TRAVELOGUE IN DER GEGENWÄRTIGEN UKRAINISCHEN UND DEUTSCHEN LITERATUR

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*Die Arbeit ist den literaturhistorischen und theoretischen Modellen des Reiseberichts in der modernen ukrainischen und deutschen Literatur gewidmet. Als Objekte wurden die Werke "Lexikon intimer Städte", "Desorientierung im Gelände" von Jurij Andruchovyč, "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" von Christoph Ransmayr und "Faserland" von Christian Kracht unter vergleichenden und hermeneutischen Aspekten analysiert.*

*Schlüsselwörter: Travelogue, Andruchovyč, Kracht, Ransmayr, typologischer Vergleich, dokumentarische und künstlerische Prinzipien als Faktoren der Gattungsbestimmung.*

## ЖАНР ТРАВЕЛОГУ В СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ТА НІМЕЦЬКІЙ ЛІТЕРАТУРАХ

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*Праця присвячена історико-літературним і теоретичним граням жанрової моделі трaвелогу в сучасній українській та німецькій літературах. Об'єктом дослідження є такі твори, як "Лексикон інтимних міст", "Дезорієнтація на місцевості" Ю. Андруховича та "Зізнання туриста. Питьальник" К. Рансмайра, "Фазерланд" К. Крахта, розглянуті в порівняльному і герменевтичному аспектах.*

*Ключові слова: трaвелог, Ю. Андрухович, К. Крахт, К. Рансмайр, типологічне зіставлення, документальне і художньо-документальне начала як чинники жанрової моделі.*

Bevor der Begriff "Travelogue" in der Literaturwelt eingeführt wurde, wechselten sich lange andere Bezeichnungen ab – von "Reisebericht", "Reisereportage", "Reisebeschreibungen" bis "Abenteuerroman" und "Heldenreise". Aber Travelogue verbreitete sich nicht nur in verschiedenen Literaturen, sondern erwarb auch neue Eigenschaften. Dazu gehören: 1) eine besondere Art des literarischen Werkes – die Geschichte einer fiktiven oder imaginären Wanderung; 2) eine Kombination aus Konstruktionsprinzipien eines Dokumentarwerkes, in dem ein ideologisches und künstlerisches Element dominiert; 3) eine komplexe Handlung der dokumentarischen Kunst- und Folklore-Form, die mit der Figur

des Erzählers oder des Reisenden verbunden ist. Die Kernposition eines solchen Erzählertypus ist es, das fremde Land zu beobachten, hier wird der Gegensatz zwischen dem 'Eigenen' und dem 'Fremden' (Raum, Welt) hervorgehoben. Zur Bewertung des fremden Landes nimmt man sein eigenes Land und seine Heimat als Maßstab. Auf diese Weise verändert sich der Erzählertypus (im Vergleich zu einem rein literarischen Charakter) im Laufe der Geschichte nicht. In der fremden Welt wirkt er als Träger seiner nationalen und kulturellen Tradition, die er an die Peripherie seines Bewusstseins und seiner Psychologie rückt. Auffällig ist auch, dass in der Reiseliteratur eine fiktive Überformung entsteht – als parodistische Umdeutung des Motivs für eine wirkliche Reise (Bulanin 2011, 839-843).

Aufgrund dieser Schlussfolgerungen, die das Genre des Travelogues betreffen, ist wichtig, dass diese Form auf die Behauptung der eigenen nationalen und kulturellen Identität in einer Vielzahl von Reiseberichten durch den Vergleich zwischen dem 'Eigenen' und dem 'Fremden' zielt, und zwar durch den Ausdruck des ausländischen Exotismus in den Dimensionen gleicher Zeit und verschiedenen Raumes und in der Behauptung der nationalen Idee, wenn sie sich vorgeplamt zurückzieht.

Durch diese Beschaffenheit erklärt sich die Aktualisierung des Genres "Travelogue" in der modernen ukrainischen und deutschen Literatur als 'Ichheit' ('in sich sein') des funktionalen Inhalts der nationalen Idee in Übergangszeiten von Kultur- und Stilepochen und des gezielten Ausdrucks von bedeutenden Bestandteilen der nationalen und kulturellen Identität.

Es ist zu betonen, dass es eine typologische Affinität zwischen den modernen ukrainischen und deutschen Road-Novellen gibt, die zur Abgrenzung des geistigen Informationsaustausches zwischen der Ukraine und Deutschlands dienen und so zu Globalisierung führen. Das Streben der Ukraine nach moralischen und geistigen Werten ist durch ihren Wunsch zum Beitritt zur europäischen Kultur gekennzeichnet. Die ukrainische und die deutsche geografische Lage ist ähnlich, insbesondere als attraktive Zentren für die slawischen bzw. nichtslawischen Welten.

Deshalb sollte die nationale und kulturelle Identität beider Länder im Genre "Travelogue" erfolgsversprechend analysiert werden. Hierfür werden die Werke von Christoph Ransmayr "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör", Christian Krachts "Faserland" und "Lexikon intimer Städte" sowie "Desorientierung im Gelände" von Jurij Andruchovyč verglichen. Letzterer kennt Deutschland als ein Land, in dem er viel Zeit verbrachte und seine Werke schuf, gut. Er wurde mit mehreren deutschen Literaturpreisen ausgezeichnet.

Es ist einerseits sinnvoll, Gemeinsames und Unterschiedliches im Genre-Modell des Travelogue ukrainischer und deutscher Herkunft zu entdecken, und andererseits auch die individuelle Vorgehensweise der Autoren bei der Auslegung der nationalen und kulturellen Identität zu klären. Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Formen des Genre-Modells haben eine lange, stabile Tradition, sowohl in der ukrainischen als auch in der deutschen Literatur. Man darf hier nur die kultur-stilistische Epoche der Moderne erwähnen, als mehrere experi-



mentelle Texte erschienen, in denen sich das künstlerisch impressionistische Grundprinzip mit dem dokumentarischen verband. Demzufolge erschienen Werk-Symbiosen, in denen sich Elemente verschiedener Genre-Modelle ansammelten. Als Beispiel nehmen wir das Werk von Majk Johannsen "Die Reise des Gelehrten Doktor Leonardo und seiner zukünftigen Geliebten, der schönen Alkeste, durch die Sobožansker Schweiz", in dem die Reise-Fabel nicht nur im Titel allein angegeben wird, sondern den gesamten Textinhalt diminiert: "Dadurch lief Majk Johannsen nicht Gefahr, auf ein Thema fixiert zu sein oder kleine Kapitel eines Themas zu erarbeiten, weil sich alles aus allem ergab und alles ineinander übergang, sich ständig transformierte, sich alles durch die lebende Materie des Textes inszenierte, sodass er sich wie von selbst bewegte - mit seinem eigenen Namen (dem eigenartigen, norwegischen Namen unter der ukrainischen Anthroponymie), mit seinen Gedichten, mit seinem eigenen Charakter des virtuosen Mystikers und Erfinders, schließlich mit seinen Leidenschaften - Sport, Angeln und Jagen, Interesse an Reisen in verschiedene Welten - der Wissenschaft und Kultur, der Psychologie und Dämonologie, Ethnologie und Ethnographie, des Gewohnheitsrechtes und des Theaters ..." (Sajenko 2016, 103). Es ist nicht ohne Grund, dass der Prolog zu dem Reise-Roman M. Johannsens aus 16 Mikrokapiteln besteht, wobei an erster Stelle das in fünf Sprachen aufgeführte Fragment "Подорож! Путешествие! Wanderung! Travel! Viaje!" steht - der Autor war polyglott und Universitätsprofessor, der vergleichende Phonetik der Weltssprachen lehrte.

Wenn man das Beispiel des klassischen Travelogue aus dem Jahre 1920 von Majk Johannsen mit Werken von Jurij Andruchovyč wie "Desorientierung im Gelände" und "Lexikon intimer Städte" vergleicht, ist der Unterschied spürbar. Bei letzterem wird die Fiktion an den Rand gerückt, während die Dokumentarbeschreibung voll eigener Reflexionen bevorzugt wird. Es lohnt sich, die Merkmale ausführlicher analysieren, durch die das Reise-Brevier Jurij Andruchovyčs gekennzeichnet ist.

Es ist bekannt, dass der berühmte Bu-Ba-Bu Patriarch<sup>30</sup>, Schriftsteller, Essayist, Übersetzer, aktiver Teilnehmer am Prozess der postmodernen Literatur Jurij Andruchovyč sein Werk "Lexikon intimer Städte" nach sieben Jahren Arbeit veröffentlichte. Ausgehend vom Titel und der Gattungsbestimmung durch den Autor als "Autonomes Lehrbuch der Geopoetik und Kosmopolitik", ist dieser Band Andruchovyčs ein guter Ausgangspunkt für die wissenschaftliche Interpretation der Besonderheiten dieses Buches, vor allem seiner Genre-Besonderheit und thematischer Aspekte des ideologischen Inhalts.

Bereits eine oberflächliche Analyse lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf die inhaltliche Struktur des Buches, die aus einem "Vorwort nach Art einer Bedienungsanleitung", einem "Zusatz: Städte, die nicht vorkommen (was zu bedauern ist)" und schließlich aus 111 Städteporträts (ausgewählt vom Autor) besteht.

<sup>30</sup>Abkürzung für Burlesk-Balahan-Buffonada, also Burleske-Farce-Posse: Am 17. April 1985 gründeten die Schriftsteller Viktor Neborak, Oleksandr Irvanec' und Jurij Andruchovyč in L'viv die Autorengruppe "Bu-Ba-Bu".

Schon auf den ersten Seiten dieses sogenannten Reise-Breviers und besonders in der eigentümlichen Bedienungsanleitung überlegt der Autor, in welcher Reihenfolge die Städteporträts zu präsentieren sind, und wie die Textart zu bestimmen ist: “Dieses Buch sollte eine Enzyklopädie werden. Natürlich eine persönliche, des Autors, so wie sie nur eine einzige Person schreiben kann. Also eher eine “Enzyklopädie” in Anführungszeichen” (Andruchovyč 2011, 7). Es ist interessant, daß Jurij Andruchovyč für den Namen seines Buches speziell den sprachwissenschaftlichen Begriff “Lexikon” auswählte und deswegen die Städte in alphabetischer Reihenfolge aufreihete – Städte, die er entweder besucht hatte, oder die er wegen der kontrastreichen Gegenüberstellung und des Aufbaus seiner Sicht seiner ganzheitlichen Weltkarte hinzugefügt hatte. Der Autor erklärt die Relevanz des Titels so: “Die meisten Quellen definieren Lexikon ähnlich wie Wörterbuch. Nur die Deutschen bezeichnen es als “Wörterbuch im weiteren Sinne”, als “Nachschlagewerk” in einem speziellen Bereich” (Andruchovyč 2011, 9).

So funktioniert der Titel “Lexikon” in einem engeren und einem weiteren Sinn. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, die Segmente nach dem kyrillischen ukrainischen Alphabet anzuordnen, nicht jedoch nach einem chronologischen oder irgendeinem anderen Kriterium. Nach dieser Logik also sind Hamburg, (das der Autor im Jahre 2004 besichtigt hatte) und Gdansk (Besuch im Jahr 1991) Nachbarn, die nach der alphabetischen Reihenfolge zusammengedrückt werden, aber durch die Dauer von 13 Jahren getrennt sind, ebenso Chernowitz und Chicago. Die durch und durch intime Stadt ist aber – dieser Gedanke findet sich in fast allen Teilen des Textes – die geliebte Heimatstadt Lemberg, ukrainisch und gleichzeitig europäisch.

Der Autor liefert den Schlüssel zum emotionalen Verstehen des Buches, indem er betont, dass man in freier Reihenfolge lesen kann und auf diese Weise ein eigenes Reise-Brevier nicht nur zur Benutzung schafft: man kann im Verständnis als Reisebericht, als Abenteuer-Roman, als Werk der Freiheit selbst herausfinden, was das Hauptmotiv ist, wofür der Autor “alles schrieb, was sich für euch auf diesen Seiten ereignet” (Andruchovyč 2011, 13). Auffallend ist auch, dass im “Lexikon” das Haupt-Motiv der Freiheit vorausbestimmt ist wie auch die Textart. Durchaus berechtigt kann man dieses Werk Jurij Andruchovyčs dem Genre “Travelogue” zuschreiben.

In diesem Kontext ist interessant, wie die Kategorie “Zentraleuropa” im Werk von Jurij Andruchovyč, aber etwa auch bei Milan Kundera und Andrzej Stasiuk interpretiert wird; der polnische Forscher Adam Kola wies hier zu Recht darauf hin: “Russland wird bei Jurij Andruchovyč als das Böse dargestellt, das durch seine Kraft, besonders durch den ‘Bolschewismus’ und die ‘Rote Armee’, jedwede Einzigartigkeit, die sich auf ihrem Weg ereignet, vernichtet” (Kola 2002, 46).

Die ‘Glokalisierung’ als narratives Prinzip des Schreibens erscheint als Zeichen in Gestalt des autobiographischen Protagonisten, bei dem die geheime (versteckte) und die offene Einstellung des Autors von “Lexikon intimer Städte”

zu Tage tritt. So zeigt sich in der Stadt-Präsentation “VENEDIG, 1992, 2001” an der Oberfläche der Topos der Handlung, eng verbunden mit dem Schicksal des Protagonisten des postmodernen Werkes “Perversion” von Jurij Andruchovyč. Gerade dieser kleine Teil, der aus 13 mit Sternchen gekennzeichneten Unterteilungen besteht, beginnt mit der Geschichte von Stanislaus Perfeckyj: “Indem ich mein “Vorwort” des Herausgebers zum Buch Perversion beende, erinnere ich mich mit Dankbarkeit an die Herren Francesco Apolloni und Rossano Rossi, von denen jeder, ohne es zu wissen, die Mission meines Geheimagenten in Venedig glänzend erfüllt hat. Mit dieser Erinnerung habe ich den Text des Vorwortes nicht anders als im Sommer des Jahres 1995, als ich den ganzen Roman in die endgültige Fassung überschrieb, hinzugefügt, während ich ihn schrittweise zur Publikation vorbereitete. Es gab noch kein Vorwort in der ursprünglichen Fassung im Dezember vergangenen Jahres.

Was für eine geheime Mission ist das, und wer sind ihre beiden hervorragenden Vollstrecker, die Herren Francesco Apolloni und Rossano Rossi?

Zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen stellen wir zu Beginn eine andere Frage: Warum Venedig? Warum hat mein Protagonist Stanislaus Perfeckyj unter tausend magischen Orten des Okzidents ausgerechnet diese Stadt gewählt?” (Andruchovyč 2011, 73).

In seinem originellen, selbstverfassten Kommentar zum Roman über Stanislaus Perfeckyj stellt der Schriftsteller nicht nur die Geschichte der Vorbereitung des Textes zur Veröffentlichung dar, sondern benutzt auch das eigene Alluvium (die ‘Jetztzeit’) und die Reminiszenzen, um so zu den charakteristischen Besonderheiten Venedigs als einer der einzigartigen Städte nicht nur Italiens, sondern auch Westeuropas zu führen: “Der Einzigartigsten deshalb, weil in ihr etwas zu viel Kultur auf allen Ebenen und Dimensionen steckt. Etwas zu viel Vergangenheit, wobei du auf keine Weise den tückischen Eindruck loswirst, dass sogar sie hier alles befiehlt, das heißt nur die Vergangenheit ist hier in der Gegenwart, und eine Gegenwart gibt es nicht. Etwas zu viele Zahlen als Hausnummern ... Etwas zu viele Orte, die man unbedingt besichtigen muss, sonst hörst du später pflichtgemäß: Du warst gar nicht da!” (Andruchovyč 2011, 73).

In Bezug auf die Autorität des Protagonisten aus “Perversion” wählt der Autor von “Lexikon” das Hauptmerkmal von Venedig: “Venedig ist: wenn es einfach zu viel ist”. In seinem Notizbuch schreibt Perfeckyj mit enorm großen, einem Pferd gleichen und gottserbärmlichen Buchstaben: “ZU VIEL VENEDIG! Was meint er damit?” (Andruchovyč 2011, 73).

Interessant ist auch, dass Jurij Andruchovyč gerade Venedig als Ort für die Handlung, Verhalten, Leben und Tod von Stanislaus Perfeckyj wählte, das heißt, er übertrug seinen Protagonisten aus der ukrainischen in die europäische Lebenslage; somit erschien nicht nur in diesem Segment die wichtigste, problematische Linie von “Lexikon intimer Städte”, die sich am Einstieg der Ukraine in den europäischen Kontext orientierte. Dafür sorgte der postmoderne Schriftsteller in seinem wichtigsten Werk “Perversion”, das im Buch von Jurij Šerech “Go-Gay-Go” authentisch und tief analysiert wurde.

Die Grundlage des Buches "Lexikon intimer Städte" beruht auf dem Prinzip des Dialogs, das auf verschiedenen Ebenen des Textes modelliert ist.

Eine der am häufigsten verwendeten, künstlerischen Methoden ist der Kontrast, der sowohl auf der Ebene der Struktur jedes Abschnittes als auch in Bezug auf die Narrativität erscheint. Führen wir ein Beispiel aus dem Stadtporträt "GDANS'K, 1991" an: "Unser weiteres Leben in Gdańsk-Sopot wurde zuhause durch die Antithesen Kultur und Kommerz bestimmt. Für die ersten bestandenen Abende und Nächte: Poetische Lesungen, Rock-Sessions ... Am Abend liest du deine allerliebsten Gedichte für das gerührte Publikum, posierst vor Kameras, gibst allen rundum Autogramme und schneidest Grimassen. Am Tage stehst du auf dem Markt neben dem ausgebreiteten Wachstuch, worauf vier Flaschen "Russischer" und zwei Regenschirme aufgestellt sind, die im Ivano-Frankivs'ker Werk "Geofizprylad" hergestellt und gestohlen wurden, daneben mit einigen anderen Vietnamesen... Und diese Zweiteilung war schwierig zu verarbeiten und dramatisch. Ich liebte sie aber, weil ich verstand, dass damals in der Tat eine Art Reinigung oder wenigstens das Ende des "Kalten Krieges stattfand" (Andruchovyč 2011, 103–104).

Die Dialogform des Buches "Lexikon" wird am besten in der ständigen Gegenüberstellung von Ost und West, der Ukraine und Europas, sehr expressiv verdeutlicht. Oft bekommen analoge Vergleiche die Form scharfer Kontraste, und dadurch wird die Einstellung des Autors klar, die nicht immer der Objektivität der Handlung entspricht, wie es im Stadtporträt "VROZLAV 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008" gezeigt wird: "Vielen meiner Bekannten wird es vom Wort "Europa" übel. Was für ein langweiliger, selbstgefälliger, geleckter und – wie wir es nennen – ein "satter" Auswuchs des eurasischen Kontinents! Was für ein schrecklicher, willenloser Wohlstand! Was für eine Überreglementierung! Was für eine liberale Fäulnis! Anderen meiner Bekannten (manchmal sind das aber dieselben Leute) wird es auch übel vom Wort "Ukraine"! Was gibt es nach dem dichten Reservat der postkommunistischen Einschränkung und der Hilflosigkeit! Welches hoffnungslos verwilderte Relikt aus der "postsowjetischen" Zeit, das sogar nicht einmal die Absicht hat, sich aus der Vergangenheit zu entfernen! Was für eine totale Niedergedrücktheit und der Wunsch alles umsonst zu bekommen. So rate ich sowohl den Ersten als auch den Zweiten (manchmal denselben), Breslau zu besichtigen. In diesem Ort läuft eine Diffusion ab, wobei der Westen östlich und der Osten westlich wird. Vrozlav - ist der ideale Ort, wo sich die Welten mischen. "Europa" fürchtet sich vor der "Ukraine". Die "Ukraine" hasst "Europa". Aber wenn sie sich irgendwo treffen werden, dann wird es Vrozlav sein" (Andruchovyč 2011, 90).

Wie man sehen kann, entsteht hier ein Dialog mit Elementen der Dialog-Parallele. Aber viele der Beispiele und der Polemik finden statt ohne Beteiligung des imaginären Gesprächspartners an der virtuellen Diskussion. Dadurch werden alle Funktionen der aufgelisteten Städteporträts vom Autor selbst übernommen, der gut orientiert ist in der Wahrnehmung des Empfängers, sowohl des Vertreters der einen Seite (aus dem Osten) wie auch der anderen (aus dem Westen).

Bei der Analyse des theoretischen Aspektes des Genres “Travelogue”, zu dem das Werk “Lexikon intimer Städte” Jurij Andruchovyčs zählt, sollte man ein Merkmal des Textes nicht außer Acht lassen, das von V. Šačkova als dominierender Zug in einem Reisebericht bezeichnet wird, nämlich das Prinzip der Genrefreiheit und der Mangel an literarischen Konventionen und Genre-Kanons (Šačkova 2008, 281).

Diese Charakteristik fällt mit der kulturhistorischen Übergangsperiode der Postmoderne zusammen, deren Merkmal Mosaikartigkeit, Fragmentierung und Vielfalt der Architektur ist. Die seit langem bekannte Tendenz, besondere Abschnitte in einen zusammenhängenden Text einzubinden – wie die Art des Weges und verschiedener Treffen der Helden dabei – ändert ihre Funktion im Postmodernismus: “Anstelle der Systematisierung der Ideen des Autors wird der Weg in der postmodernen Literatur eher das Mittel der Übertragung des Chaos und der Vorlage der Begriffe. Deshalb ist der Spielgedanke des Labyrinths eine der zentralen Erscheinungsformen im Postmodernismus” (Kalynjuško 2015, 166). Dieser Gedanke entspricht auch der Komposition des Werkes “Lexikon intimer Städte”, was durch eine statistische Analyse bestätigt wird. Durch die Selektion der Städte wird klar, dass die ukrainischen Städte am häufigsten erwähnt werden (was auch logisch ist!), danach die deutschen, in denen Jurij Andruchovyč viel Zeit verbringt und in denen man seine Werke schätzt und mit Preisen auszeichnet.

Das Leitmotiv in “Desorientierung im Gelände” ist eine imaginäre Reise durch die Ukraine und Europa, und das erste Reiseziel dabei ist Deutschland. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass für die Bewertung der anderen Welt seine eigene Welt / Heimat dient, die nicht positiv, sondern eher kritisch beurteilt wird. Durch den Vergleich vom “Eigenem” und “Fremdem” wird im Reisebericht die Ablehnung des kommunistischen Erbes offensichtlich, das in der Ukraine noch stark spürbar ist. Am Beispiel von Lemberg mit seiner reichen Geschichte und seinen verschiedenen, internationalen Einflüssen wird das Streben der Ukrainer nach ihrer eigenen Identität in Europa gezeigt, ebenso der Wunsch, nicht in eine neue Falle, “die erneuerte, slawische Föderation, die zweitbedeutende Bündnisrepublik”, zu geraten (Andruchovyč 1999).

Als Ausgangspunkt für den Autor des modernen ukrainischen Travelogues dienen die tragischen ukrainischen Ereignisse: Černobyl z.B., welches das älteste Landschaftsgebiet – Polissja – vernichtet hat. Dort sei nach einer der historischen Versionen “die Stätte der arisch reinen Wurzeln und uralter, klarer Quellen, mit ihrem bestimmenden, genetischen und kulturellen Code, mit der Volkspoesie, der Sagendichtung, den Mundarten, den Seen, den Torfmooren, den gotischen Kiefern. Polissja, das ist das nationale Substrat, die Wahl Černobyls der Ukraine, die Authentizität selbst, die grausame Wirklichkeit und Echtheit” (Andruchovyč 1999).

Im Travelogue Jurij Andruchovyčs nimmt die Idee der ukrainischen Kultur im europäischen Kontext den Hauptplatz ein. Am deutlichsten wird das am Beispiel der eigenen Heimat des Schriftstellers – Galizien – gezeigt. Deswegen

stellt er an die erste Stelle seiner Eindrücke vom “Eigenen” und “Fremden” berühmte Namen wie Liotar, Derrida oder Sajid, wobei nicht nur die eigene, sondern auch die Autorität seines polnischen Freundes, Schriftstellers und Herausgebers Krzysztof Czyżewski verweist, der “vor allem zu reisen liebt, Menschen einander vorzustellen, süßen und schmerzhaften Durchkreuzungen der Kulturen nachzuspüren, durch die Gassen dieser zerstörten Welt zwischen ‘Deutschland und Russland’ umherzuwandern, in den letzten Jahrzehnten ‘Zentral-, Osteuropa’” genannt (Andruchovyč 1999).

Aber am stärksten wiegt für den Autor des Buches “Desorientierung im Gelände” die Variante der ukrainischen Identität, die einen expressiven Index des Europäertums hat, die von der Geschichte Lembergs, der Besonderheit der Stadtentwicklung und den Spuren seiner kulturellen Wechselwirkung durchdrungen ist. Wenn man über die Mehrdeutigkeit Lembergs Atmosphäre nachdenkt, ist sie nicht nur von mediterranem Einfluss erfüllt und von den Ideen eines “Renaissance-Humanismus, des Epigontums des hohen quattrocento und des höfischen Manierismus inspiriert”, sondern auch von Germanen, Abkömmlingen der Sachsen und Goten: “Wer beeinflusste noch auf diesem Schiff? Die Deutschen, oder, wie sie hier genannt wurden, die ‘Schwaben’, hinterließen ihre Spur in den ‘abgeleiteten’ Namen von Lembergs Vororten. Wie man jetzt weiß, kommt Lychakiv von Luetzenhof, Zamarstyniv von Sommerstein, Klepariv von Klopfer, Majorivka von Majer, Kulparkiv von Goldberg usw. Es gab noch den Besitzer des Weinkellers in Zamarstyniv mit dem beeindruckenden Nachnamen Makalondra, und es gab noch Josepha Kuhn, Nonne des Benediktinerordens, Autorin der Poesie-Sammlung: “Lembergs schöne Umgebungen” (Andruchovyč 1999). Der Autor von “Desorientierung im Gelände” nennt als Gesinnungsfreund den österreichischen Schriftsteller Joseph Roth, der als Metapher des Schiffes “Arche Noah” gebrauchte, “wo man uns, wie immer im alten, eklektischen Lemberg, eingesammelt hat, um ein Paar von jeder Schöpfung zu retten.” Es gibt auch weitere Metaphern zu Schiffen, wie das trunkene Schiff, das Narrenschiff, das Schiff des Todes, und vielleicht, wie bei Roth, die Stadt der verwischten Grenzen, das schaufelnde Triest, das reisende Lwiw, Lwyw, Lwow, Lemberg, Leopoldis, Singapur” (Andruchovyč 1999).

Wie man sehen kann, unterstreicht Jurij Andruchovyč durch die Methode von Widerspruch und vergleichenden Spektren verschiedener Länder die ukrainische nationalkulturelle Identität. Es ist kennzeichnend, dass sich die Desorientierung von Andruchovyč in ukrainischen Realitäten in eine klare Orientierung in deutsche, also europäische Werte verkehrt.

Was die Gattungsbestimmung “Travelogue” in der deutschen und ebenso in der europäischen Literatur betrifft, hat sie eine lange Tradition: “Beschreibung der Reise nach Moskau und Persien – die Holsteinische Gesandtschaft beim Schah” von Adam Olearius, “Reisebilder” von Heinrich Heine oder “Italienische Reise” von Goethe. Wir, konzentrieren uns hier jedoch auf die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte von Ch. Ransmayr und Ch. Kracht.

Christian Kracht ist ein bekannter zeitgenössischer deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller und Journalist, der Forschungs Expeditionen in Indien, Thailand, Tansania und Nordkorea unternahm. Geboren wurde er 1966 im schweizerischen Gstaad (Kanton Bern). Seine Kindheit verbrachte er in den USA, in Kanada und Südfrankreich, momentan lebt er in Buenos Aires. Die Diskussionen um sein Werk bestehen immer noch fort. Das Werk, das als Wegbereiter der gegenwärtigen Popliteratur gilt, wurde der Kult-Debüt-Roman "Faserland". Weitere bekannte Werke von Christian Kracht sind "1979", "Metan", "Ich werde hier sein im Sonnenschein und im Schatten" und "Imperium", wofür er den Wilhelm-Raabe-Preis erhalten hat. Wichtig für uns ist, dass die Romane "Faserland" und "1979" in eindrucksvollem Maß die Besonderheit des Genre Travelogue darstellen.

Die Reise des Hauptprotagonisten und Ich-Erzählers durch verschiedene Orte bildet die Grundlage für die Romanhandlung "Faserland", die im norddeutschen List auf Sylt beginnt und im schweizerischen Zürich endet. Der Hauptprotagonist fährt von Nord nach Süd durch Deutschland und besucht 7 Städte: Sylt, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, München, Meersburg und Zürich. Dabei bemerkt er aber nur die Äußerlichkeiten der Wirklichkeit, ohne darüber nachzudenken, was er gesehen hat, wobei er eine recht naive Weltanschauung hat. Folgendermaßen klingt in seiner Sicht die Beschreibung deutscher Mädchen: "Von den Frankfurter Mädchen wird so eine Unbefangenheit geschenkt, die besser nirgendwo in Deutschland zu sehen ist. Hamburger Mädchen fallen durch das Grün der Barbourjacken auf, Berlinerinnen ziehen sich betont schlecht an, damit sie so aussehen wie Künstler, und Münchnerinnen haben durch den Alpenföhn irgendwie ein inneres Leuchten. Aber in Frankfurt, da sind die Mädchen einfach lässig. Ich meine jetzt nicht solche wie Varna, die habe ich ja vorhin schon beschrieben, die Mädchen tragen hier Kleider, halblanges, hellbraunes Haar und eine Stupsnase, sie sitzen im Kaffeehaus und lachen" (Kracht 1995, 87). In erster Linie achtet der Ich-Erzähler offensichtlich immer auf das Äußere.

Der Romanheld gleitet durch ein oberflächliches Leben, nur die Stadtansichten ändern sich – er will seine Individualität finden. Auch die Gestalt des postmodernen, enttäuschten und unsicheren Menschen zeichnet der Autor im Roman nach. So verfolgt der Protagonist obsessive Gedanken an Flucht im weiten Sinne dieses Wortes: Vor sich selbst, vor dem sozialen Milieu, vor der Gesellschaft mit ihren Vorurteilen, die die Psyche belasten, vor den Schwierigkeiten des Lebens auf der Suche nach Harmonie der äußeren und inneren Welt außerhalb seiner eigenen Heimat.

Wenn man die Besonderheit der Komposition des Romans von Christian Kracht genau betrachtet, sollte man den Titel des Werkes nicht außer Acht lassen. Denn der Titel ist das erste, künstlerische Bild, das Informationen über den ganzen Text gibt. Nicht zufällig hat der Autor ein ungewöhnliches Wort gewählt, das für die Dokumentation des Inhalts des Werkes wesentlich ist und zu seinem nicht ausgesprochenen Sinn und der Textdarstellung passt. Eine Deutung des Buchtitels wurde von der Übersetzerin des Romans, Tatjana Baskakova, im

Nachwort zur russischen Übersetzung des Romans vorgeschlagen. Sie hat sich auf die Entschlüsselung des Namens konzentriert und meinte dazu: "Das erste, was einem in den Sinn kommt, ist dieses Wort als 'Heimat' zu übersetzen, in der Annahme, dass der Erzähler den deutschen Terminus (Vaterland) nicht verwendet, sondern sein englisches Analog (Fatherland), phonetisch geschrieben (Faserland), wie die Deutschsprachigen es im Gehör wahrnehmen. Aber man kann jenes Wort auch anders deuten, nämlich wörtlich als 'Faserland', denn das Wort Faser verweist auf die exklusiven Fasern, z.B. der Textilien (die Faser wird vor allem in der Faseroptik verwendet, die z.B. in der Medizin für Röntgenaufnahmen der inneren Organe eingesetzt wird; in der Physik für das Einfangen von Nuklearteilchen; in der Computerbranche dienen Laser-Fasern als Speicherelemente, und auf vielen anderen Gebieten). Hat diese Interpretation etwas mit der literarischen Handlung zu tun?" (Baskakova 2001, 100).

Natürlich hat sie eine direkte Beziehung, nicht nur zur Handlung allein, sondern zum ganzen Stoff des Textes. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt die Implikation des Buchtitels, denn das Faserland ist nicht nur das visuelle Abbild der Spaltung der deutschen Gesellschaft, sondern stellt vor allem die Tragödie des Bruchs der Deutschen Nation ein westliches und ein östliches System und die jeweiligen Lebensweisen dar. Der metaphorische Titel erschließt das Wesen des gedanklichen Inhalts des Romans und seiner Struktur.

Durch die Darstellung der physiologischen Form des kontinuierlichen Gefühls des Erbrechens, der Ausübung von Kritik durch das Verhalten zu anderen, der Fluchtszene in Mykonos schildert der Autor den Wunsch des Protagonisten zu fliehen: "Ich habe natürlich außer einem kleinen Pappkoffer kein Gepäck dabei gehabt, und deswegen habe ich mich wie ein Flüchtling gefühlt, wie jemand, der einen Haufen Geld veruntreut hat und nun den nächsten Flug nimmt nach Montevideo, nach Dacca oder nach Port Moresby" (Kracht 1995, 154). Obwohl der Hauptprotagonist ständig nach Freiheit und Selbstverwirklichung strebt, beraubt er sich durch sein absurdes Verhalten all dieser wichtigen Werte. Zunehmend führt dies zu einer Persönlichkeitsspaltung und wird zum Sinnbild der ganzen verlorenen Generation am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts. Dennoch strebt er nach Kontakten und nach der Realisierung der Bedürfnisse und Wünsche seines "Ich's", ebenso bemüht er sich auch, vom geordneten Weltenbau zu verschwinden, aber er hat niemals Erfolg, denn er spürt ständig eine Disharmonie. Da er die Gesetze bricht, gegen Gebote und Sitten verstößt, will er sich aus der symbolischen Ordnung ausschließen, und er strebt im weiteren Kontext, aus diesem national verbundenen, postmodernen Raum der materiellen Begrenzungen auszubrechen: "By violating the laws of abjection, the protagonist thus wills his exclusion from the symbolic order, and in the larger context seeks an escape from that nationally bound, postmodern space which instigated the policing of corporeal limit" (Langstone 2006, 58).

Krachts Ich-Erzähler gehört zur neuen deutschen Generation, die die Folgen des Krieges und die Teilung des Landes nicht erlebt hat, dennoch ist diese Gene-



ration durch die posttotalitäre Lage belastet. Einige deutsche Literaturwissenschaftler glauben mit Recht, dass am Ende des Romans "Faserland" der Hauptprotagonist sich zum Freitod vorbereitet, was das logische Ende seiner Lebensgeschichte sein könnte.

Im offenen Finale kann man jedoch auch eine positive Stimmung bemerken, denn der Hauptprotagonist ist bereit für eine neue Phase des Lebens und fähig, die Grenze des eigenen Hangs zur Flucht vor der Wirklichkeit und den realen Anforderungen des Lebens zu überqueren. Es ist lohnend, die abschließenden Worte Christian Krachts zu erwähnen: "Ich steige ins Boot und setze mich auf die Holzplanke, und der Mann schiebt die Ruder durch irgendwelche Metallanker und rudert los. Bald sind wir in der Mitte des Sees. Schon bald" (Kracht 1995, 185). Der Ich-Erzähler des Romans "Faserland" ist eine asozialisierte Persönlichkeit, die ihren Platz im Leben niemals finden kann, weshalb sie sich chaotisch durch den literarischen Textraum bewegt. Was die Gattungsbestimmung angeht, ist sie eher konditionell in der Einhaltung der Form, weil sie die Wirklichkeitsflucht des Protagonisten, der durch die Labyrinth seiner Seele irrt, betont. Auf diese Weise betont der Schriftsteller den Charakter der modernen, rastlosen Persönlichkeit, die keinen Platz in der Gesellschaft finden kann und ständig auf der Suche nach sich selbst durch die Flucht vor sich selbst ist.

Im Unterschied zu dem Roman "Faserland" ist Christoph Ransmayrs "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" im Rahmen des klassischen Travelogues gehalten, dessen Besonderheit in der organischen Verbindung des dokumentarischen Anfangs und in den Beschreibungen der geographischen und räumlichen Koordinaten der Reisen des Ich-Erzählers liegt; dazu kommt das Verhalten des Autors gegenüber fremden Traditionen und Mentalitäten, speziell gegenüber Ländern wie Neuseeland, Tibet, Marokko, Deutschland, Österreich und Irland. Dies gab dem Schriftsteller die Möglichkeit, auf mythologischen Wegen nicht nur in einem wichtigen Text verschiedene Beobachtungen und Gefühle zu vereinen, sondern auch einen gewichtigen, unausgesprochenen Sinn zu entwickeln und die unnatürlichen Gegenüberstellungen des 'Eigenen' und dem 'Fremden' transparent zu machen – Besonderheiten des europäischen Kontinents und der ozeanischen, arabischen nahöstlichen und fernöstlichen Welt.

Indessen unterscheiden sich Ch. Ransmayrs "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" vom Roman "Faserland" nicht nur durch den Typ des Protagonisten, eines Menschen, der sich überflüssig fühlt, sondern auch durch die Einhaltung des Kanons des Travelogue. Der Autor ist nicht nur Journalist, Reporter, ein anerkannter Schriftsteller, wovon Auszeichnungen wie der Franz-Kafka-Preis (1995), der Bertolt-Brecht-Literaturpreis der Stadt Augsburg (2004) und der Große Österreichische Staatspreis für Literatur (2004) zeugen, sondern auch noch Weltreisender.

So nennt ihn Volker Weidermann ironisch "den Schlawiner in der modernen, deutschen Literatur" (Weidermann 2006, 185). Man kann dem Gedanken Frolovs nur zustimmen, der dem Autor nicht zufällig den Titel "Pilger" zuschreibt (Frolov 2012, 166). Er macht darauf aufmerksam, dass der Schriftsteller

in 62 Jahren seines Lebens in allen Kontinenten der Erdkugel zurecht gekommen ist, es ihm gelungen ist, viele Länder und exotische Plätze zu bereisen. Man erinnere sich nur an jene Expedition, durch deren Impuls der Roman "Die Schrecken des Eises und der Finsternis" (1984) entstand, der Autor charakterisiert es selbst so: "... als ich meinen Roman gelesen hatte, entschied Menser, dass ich ein Eiswanderer sei, sogar den Pol erreicht hätte, und lud mich zu einer Expedition zur Südwand des Lhontse ein" (Ransmayr 2004, 97).

Wie jeder Roman des österreichischen Schriftstellers erscheint "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" bei ihm als Werk-Symbiose, die in sich Elemente der Wanderung, der Anspielung auf Geschehnisse der Vergangenheit, der Textaufnahme in das System der künstlerischen Interpretation und des eigenen Spiels mit dem Leser verbindet. Es ist ein Werk mit autobiografischer Komponente, in dem außer den Beschreibungen exotischer Reisen und speziell des Lebens in Irland die Leidenschaft für das experimentelle Theater erscheint, verstärkt durch seine eigenen, analytischen Gedanken. Mit "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" ist nicht nur eine breite räumliche, sondern auch zeitliche Spanne bespielt. So enden die geographischen und mentalen Besonderheiten der Einwohner Neuseelands, die an den Anfang des Werkes gestellt sind, mit der eigenen Geschichte, mit den Erinnerungen an den Vater. Das ganze Buch ist eine Kombination aus historischen, geographischen und philosophischen Diskursen. G.A. Frolov legte in seinem Artikel "Dokumentarisch-künstlerische Doppelwelt in den «Reiseberichten» von Christoph Ransmayr" absolut berechtigt dar: "Daraus entsteht ein besonderer, literarischer Raum, in dem das Tatsächliche (was existiert) und das Mögliche, das Fantastische (was es in Romanen nicht gibt) verbunden ist" (Frolov 2012, 166).

Als Beispiel für die besondere Einbildungskraft mag folgendes Fragment aus dem Text dienen: "Ich erinnere mich gut an jenen schneereichen August auf der Südinsel Neuseelands, und an einen stundenlangen Weg über die Flanken des Mount Cook, wo Gletscherzungen bis in die Baumfarnwälder an der Küste hinabreichen. Eis! Riesenhafte, haushohe Eiswände inmitten dichtestem Grün" (Ransmayr 2004, 8). Der Eindruck entsteht, dass hier nicht das Bild der Natur eines ozeanischen Landes entworfen wird, sondern eine andere Welt. Der Schriftsteller erbaut durch eigene Eindrücke und Phantasien eine neue Realität. Dies ist allerdings nicht für den ganzen Text typisch, denn "Geständnisse eines Touristen" nimmt Zeichen einer Werk-Symbiose auf, in der sich Elemente des Irrealen mit Realem und Dokumentarischem abwechseln. Daher dominiert ein widersprüchliches Prinzip der Wiedergabe des Reisematerials. Führen wir als interessantes Beispiel die Bestattungs-Traditionen in Tibet an: "Dort werden die Toten auf den Plattformen von Türmen des Schweigens den Geiern zum Fraß vorgelegt, damit diese in brausend auffliegenden Schwärmen, als Engel sozusagen, die verbrauchte Hülle der Seelenwanderung in alle vier Himmelsrichtungen davontragen. Es ist dabei die Aufgabe von Turmwächtern – von Alkohol oder anderen Rauschmittel abgestumpften Mönchen –, den Leichnam unter den Augen der Verwandten fraßgerecht für die Geier zu zerkleinern" (Ransmayr 2004,

16). Gruselige Traditionen werden von Ch. Ransmayr als eine Art Dokumentarfilm dargestellt, der jedoch eine emotionale Färbung besitzt. Er ist gegenüber dem Neuen und Fremden offen. Das zeugt vom einem weiten Blick auf die Wirklichkeit sowie von einer philosophischen Herangehensweise an das Leben in all seinen Erscheinungsformen. Liebe und Wärme durchdringen die Episoden, die der neuen Heimat des Autors Irland gewidmet sind: "Ich bin in den vergangenen Jahren durch alle Grafschaften der Republik Irland und Nordirlands gereist, bin, wie auf allen Reisen, dabei viel zu Fuß gegangen und habe Geschichten aus Burma und Neuseeland, Australien und aus den Schlachthöfen von Chicago gehört, in denen eingewanderte Iren unter schlimmen Bedingungen arbeiten mussten als freie Sklaven. Ich habe diese Geschichten in den Counties Kerry und Cork gesammelt, in den Bergen der Bera-Halbinsel etwa und natürlich in den Macgillicuddys Reeks, wo man die höchsten Gipfel der Insel erreicht, der höchste kaum mehr als eintausend Meter, wenn auch nicht selten in den tiefen Wolken versteckt" (Ransmayr 2004, 72).

Eine andere interessante Episode ist die Beschreibung der Reise nach Marokko, in der die Anziehungskraft der Kultur des Nahen Ostens zu spüren ist. Der Autor weist darauf hin, dass er zum ersten Mal als LKW-Fahrer in diese Gegend kam, dann aber immer wieder als Tourist dorthin zurückkehrte. Somit ist die folgende Geschichte von einem Platz in einer der Städte interessant: "Ich saß während dieser Tage oft stundenlang bei Pfefferminztee und Gebäck auf einem Flachdach über dem Jemaa el Fna, dem Platz der Toten, auf dem einst die Schädel der Enthaupteten auf Pfähle gepflanzt zur Schau gestellt worden waren. Aber dieser weitläufige Platz inmitten der kleinsten der vier marokkanischen Königsstädte gehört schon lange wieder allein den Lebenden" (Ransmayr 2004, 28). Den Schriftsteller interessieren historische Traditionen, die wichtig für die Gattungsbestimmung des Travelogues sind. Durch historische Diskurse gelingt es dem Leser, die Andersartigkeit verschiedener Länder besser verstehen. Das systematische Modell des Universums und die Wiederholbarkeit der Ereignisse sind für den Schriftsteller als Philosophen, der an der Universität Wien studiert hat, wertvoll.

Ein weiteres besonderes Merkmal des Werks "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" stellen die erklärenden Monologe des Autors und die Gespräche mit den Lesern dar. Schon auf den ersten Seiten überdenkt Ch. Ransmayr seine Rolle, was seine leidenschaftliche Natur am besten beantwortet: "Ein Schriftsteller? Ein Dichter? Nein, ich neige nicht zu solchen Titeln. Ein Erzähler? Nennen Sie mich, wie Sie wollen" (Ransmayr 2004, 10). Am meisten imponierte ihm der Titel "Tourist", der die Einfachheit des Erzählens verbirgt: "Auf Formularen sind mir die Felder am liebsten, in die sich einfach Tourist setzen läßt, denn Ahnungslosigkeit, Sprachlosigkeit, leichtes Gepäck, Neugier oder zumindest die Bereitschaft, über die Welt nicht bloß zu urteilen, sondern sie zu erfahren, zu durchwandern, von mir aus zu umsegeln, erklettern, durchschwimmen, notfalls zu erleiden, gehören wohl mit zu den Voraussetzungen des Erzählens" (Ransmayr 2004, 10).

Letztere These ist entscheidend wichtig für das ganze Werk des Schriftstellers, der sich auf die Beseitigung von Grenzen und die Überwindung von Grenzlinien konzentriert, auf die Auffindung der Einheit in der Vielfalt.

Der Autor beschränkt sich jedoch nicht nur auf eigene Stichworte, sondern provoziert den Leser zur Mitbeteiligung. Der Text "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" ist in jedem der thematischen Teile von provokanten Fragen durchdrungen, hier sind einige von ihnen: "Wie ist es denn mit Ihnen? Müssen Sie alles am eigenen Leib erfahren? Wir machen doch gelegentlich, auch jetzt und hier, beide etwas Ähnliches: Wir stellen Fragen. Wer lange genug gefragt, lange genug zugehört hat, kann von Welten berichten, in denen er niemals war und niemals sein wird" (Ransmayr 2004, 101). Der schenkt jeden Augenblick seinen Lesern Aufmerksamkeit, man hat den Eindruck, dass er quasi direkt und lebendig präsent ist und zum Dialog provoziert. So kommentiert er zum Beispiel: "Und noch etwas: Wenn schon reden, wenn schon das Gespräch mit Zuhörern, Lesern oder Kritiken suchen, dann dürfte sich kein Erzähler bloß beklagen, sondern müßte sich ebenso öffentlich auch bedanken. Danke für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit. Danke für Ihre Geduld. Danke, dass Sie mir gefolgt sind" (Ransmayr 2004, 39-40).

Letztlich stellt sich auch die Frage, ob der Autor ununterbrochen reist? Und wohin führt diese Reise? Flüchtet er vor irgendetwas? Wahrscheinlich vor der steten Stabilität des satten Wohllebens? Eher wohl wird Seelenzustand eines dynamischen Menschen erkennbar, der nicht an einem Ort bleiben kann: "Ich laufe nicht selten davon. Aber das Auf und davon läßt ja nicht nur etwas zurück, sondern schafft auch neue Sichtweisen, Blickwinkel, manchmal neue Probleme, denn wohin immer einer geht oder flieht, wo er ankommt, als Durchreisender oder für immer, erwartet ihn ja kein Vakuum, nicht die Leere, sondern immer schon etwas" (Ransmayr 2004, 85).

Trotz der Begeisterung, mit der autobiografische Protagonist sein Leben und die Orte beschreibt, die er bereiste, bleibt das Gefühl eines ewigen Drangs nach Bewegung, sich selbst zu finden, wie dies in "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör", "Die Schrecken des Eises und der Finsternis" (1984), "Die letzte Welt" (1988) oder "Morbus Kitahar" (1995) deutlich wird.

Das durchgehende Thema ist dabei das Thema der Einsamkeit, und den Schlüssel dazu hat der Autor selbst gegeben: "Mein Thema ist der einzelne Mensch. Und worin immer seine Geschichte besteht – sie wird mir in etwas freieren Räumen, ja, auch in vermeintlichen Wüsten, deutlicher als auf überfüllten Plätzen" (Ransmayr 2004, 105).

Wie die Analyse unserer Beispiele für Reiseberichte in der modernen ukrainischen und deutschen Literatur zeigte – "Lexikon intimer Städte", "Die Desorientierung im Gelände" von Jurij Andruchovyč und "Geständnisse eines Touristen. Ein Verhör" von Ch. Ransmayr sowie "Faserland" von Ch. Kracht – dient diese Gattungs aktiv der Dokumentation der nationalen Idee und der kulturellen Identität. Dazu gehören auch die vorgestellten Schattierungen von Kenntnissen über die Geisteswelt der Völker der europäischen Länder. All dies trägt zur Ab-

schaffung der künstlichen Grenzen zwischen Nationen, der Voreingenommenheiten und Fake-Mythen bei, die harmonische internationale Beziehungen zerstören. Gleichzeitig zeigt sich der Travelogue immer als aktuelles und nachgefragtes Modell, in dem nicht nur die Leidenschaft des Menschen für das Wissen über andere Welten und Kontinente, Parallelen und Meridiane wohl am besten verwirklicht wird, sondern vor allem auch der Wunsch nach Freiheit, also nach einem ganz wichtigen geistigen Wert. Kein Wunder also, dass P. Zahrebel'nyj in seinem philosophischen Roman "Beschleunigung" ursprünglich die Idee des Travelogues, den Wunsch nach Freiheit, darstellte, die nicht nur in den schwierigsten Bedingungen hilft, zu überleben, sondern auch ein würdiges harmonisches Leben zu erreichen. Mit all diesen Verdiensten steht, wie es scheint, dieser Gattungsform eine lange künstlerische Zukunft bevor.

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## RITUAL CALENDAR PLAYING PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE PODILLJA INHABITANTS: THE PROBLEM OF CONFRON- TATION, SURVIVAL AND REBIRTH

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*Summarizing the experience of precursors regarding the studied problem, the author of the article researches in which conditions the ritual calendar playing practical experience of Ukrainians finds itself in a situation of confrontation of different forms of social ideologies.*

*Key words: calendar ritualism, playing practical experience, confrontation of ideologies.*

## КАЛЕНДАРНО-ОБРЯДОВА ІГРОВА ПРАКТИКА ПОДОЛЯН: ПРОБЛЕМА ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ, ВИЖИВАННЯ ТА ВІДРОДЖЕННЯ

*Валерій Щегельський*

*Автор статті, узагальнюючи попередній досвід вивчення проблемної теми, досліджує стан, у якому опинилася календарно-обрядова ігрова практика українців у результаті протистояння різноманітних форм суспільних ідеологій.*

*Ключові слова: календарна обрядовість, ігрова практика, боротьба ідеологій.*

Existing literary and archival sources make it possible to reconstruct the perception of the essence of the game-entertainment phenomena of Ukrainian life in time by various ideological systems. The following scholars tried to highlight this issue at one time or another: T. Haevs'ka, M. Hruševs'kyj, M. Dorochol's'kyj, S. Efremov, A. Kuročkin, A. Svydnyč'kyj, M. Simaškevič, J. Sicins'kyj, M. Sumcov, V. Široc'kyj, K. Široc'kyj, M. Javorovs'kyj and so on. The problem is based on the opposition of the major ideological systems: paganism, Christianity and (communistic) atheism.

The purpose of this study is to establish the contents of the ideological and philosophical aspects of life and past epochs' routines and to emphasize the domestic and holiday traditions of Ukrainians during their holidays, especially in the *večornyci* ('evening celebrations') etc.

Ilarion the metropolite (Ivan Ohienko) noted in his studies that the antagonistic relations of persistent paganism and 'young' Christianity between the Ukrainians have led to the emergence of varieties of truth, when for centuries

they opposed each other: "It is completely a natural thing, when two outlooks meet and people are struggling to bring them together" (Efremov 1995, 233).

New religious adherents opposed to the rooted tradition of the Ukrainians' life very actively, jealously and even with humiliation. Haljatovs'kyj says that "the clergy strives to eradicate these prejudices with the Word, but it is not heard; that is why it is necessary to make social authorities forbid them, too. There was too much energy spent on this everlasting struggle with the people's traditions and their prohibition. And there will probably not be any mistakes in fact that all authorities have never spent so much energy on something else before" (Efremov 1995, 234).

The basis of the holiday calendar was a 12-month year. It was associated with four solar phases: the winter and summer solstice, as well as the spring and autumn equinox. There were no clear distinctions between the winter, spring, summer and autumn seasons in the calendar of Podillja. Each of them logically proceeded to the next, creating a locked cycle of the eternal nature cycle as well, alternating work and rest periods. In the historical and religious monograph *The Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People* (in the Ancient folk holidays section), Ilarion the metropolite describes the ancient religious calendar of Ukrainians, calling it "special" because it was firmly connected with nature and grain production throughout the year, and "our ancient holidays are our farming rites, which we have always had, that is why they have created our annual Holy Calendar" (Ilarion 1965, 265). We should note that the game practice of the Ukrainians' calendar cycle is directly related to the ritual, where the game is not only its component, but also a way of expressing the aspirations of achieving the desired.

The most favorable for peasant leisure was the winter period, especially saturated with a variety of customs and rituals. This is the time when the harmony of nature and human labor contributed to its physical rehabilitation and spiritual fulfillment. Traditionally, weddings were also made in Ukraine at this time, which symbolized the end of pre-familial relations, born in game spring songs' motives (the motive for choosing a married couple – "Proso", "Žučok", "Carivna", "Vorotar", "Žel'man", "Bilodaňčyk", "Zajčyk", "Perepiločka", "Mak", "Podoljanočka") where the movement, the dance and the game were connected to the heterogeneous forms of group gatherings of young people. The so called 'večornyci' (evening parties) were considered to be "the main center of pre-marital communication, leisure and selection of married couples" (Ponomariov 1994, 168). The *večornyci* were a kind of Christmas and New Year holidays' rehearsal, which began in the autumn (Protection of the Most Holy Mother of God, 1<sup>st</sup> October), when the harvest was already in the barns, the general labor staff was weakened and a relative calm before the new agrarian season came. In Podillja these gatherings were called "večornyci", "dosvitky", "reduty", "vodenky", "hodenky", "on denky" etc. In the public village life, the traditional *večornyci* were a kind of institution for the education and communication of young people. Thanks to them the necessary process of socialization of the

younger generation was provided, it also created the most favorable opportunities for acquaintance and choice of marriage couples (Kuročkin 1994, 361). For the most part in Ukraine, “vulyci” (streets, places for people gathering) were the main form of youth entertainment, but fun and music also had an entertaining character. The festive, or great ‘večornyci’ differed from ordinary ones, because they were devoted to fun, games, music, ritual ceremonies and fun. Youth entertainment for such holidays as Saint Catherine’s day (24<sup>th</sup> of November / 7<sup>th</sup> of December) and Saint Andrew’s day (30<sup>th</sup> of December / 13<sup>th</sup> of December) were very prominent in this respect (Ponomar’ov 1994, 361).

Christianity came to Rus’ from Byzantium, having its own traditions and carefully crafted cult. By placing its liturgical events’ calendar of “sacred history”, the Christian church tried to eliminate so called “godless” traditions of pagan beliefs and rituals. This process of religious battles lasted for centuries and had not finished with the final victory of Orthodoxy. And now, in many events dedicated to church holidays, it is possible to recognize the remnants of ancient pagan traditions. In Podillja pagan ceremonies had deep and strong roots, and sacred places of worship that were preserved till this time both in Eastern and Western Podillja bear witness to it. Christianity brought us a new calendar with a distinct division into months and days. In ancient times New Year began on March 1<sup>st</sup>, when all nature awakened after the winter break; this was also accepted by the Church, because due to the Scripture “The creation of the world” took place on March 1st. But later, the church celebrated Greek New Year on September 1<sup>st</sup>, and since 1492, the public New Year was finally tied to the ancient natural time, March 1<sup>st</sup>. And only in 1721, Peter the Great settled New Year on January 1<sup>st</sup> in the East, as it was in most states in the West. But the church New Year has remained on September 1<sup>st</sup> to this day. The time of New Year is visible in our carols, which often does not describe only winter, but the beginning of spring as well; people sang carols in summer during plagues also, to drive them away (Ilarion 1965, 269-270).

The modern year of the Ukrainian Christian calendar cycle is a certain stage in Jesus Christ’s life, as well as the commemoration of the canonized saints who advocated and propagated the Christian faith, therefore, the Church always opposed various impurities to the Christian holy days, and this was mainly followed by two canons of the 4<sup>th</sup> Quinisext Council (*Council in Trullo*). These are Canon 61 and 62, which the entire Orthodox Church guarded firmly. Due to Canon 61, those who are given to enemies, or so-called chiefs (the wise men elders) or the other with the purpose to find out something should come under the Rule of Six-Year Penance according to the previous ordinances. The same penance is imposed on those who put bears or other livestock to the derision and detriment of ordinary people. It touches those also who unite deception with madness, who hex for happiness, fate, ancestry, etc. And those who have been rooted into this and do not leave this fatal and pernicious nonsense are to be completely expelled from the Church, as the Sacred Regulations impose. “What do light and darkness have in common?”, asked the Apostle. Or what is the unity



between the God's Church and idols? What do the faithful and infidel have in common? What is the consent between the God and devil? (6. 14-16). [...] There is the resolution: neither man wears woman's clothes, nor a woman wears masculine clothes. Do not wear comedy, satirical or tragic masquerade. And therefore, those who dare to commit anything from mentioned before are to be expelled from the Sacred Order in case they are clerics. In case they are parishioners they are to be excluded from the church community [...]. The canons of the Quinisext Councils had a great respect in the Orthodox Church, therefore, the Church constantly performed them. These two canons were of huge importance in eradication of pre-Christian beliefs throughout the Christian and therefore our world (Ilarion 1965, 306-308).

The Byzantine priests who came to the Ukrainian lands began to correct and adjust folk life to the ecclesiastical system, considering: "any fun and games, the whole internal sincere peace connected to the poetic and sweet antiquity, that found its expression in songs, games and dances, shortly any fun was pursued as the devil's obsession" (Sumcov 1885, 13-14). S. Efremov sees the interference of the Old Believers, who have taken away all literature samples from Byzantium and Christianity which were limited mostly to church, religious and moral interests as well. People who were literate and spiritual immediately recognized the sinful, shameful deeds and devilish features in the folk poetry samples, that is why they became hostile towards them. Old writers do not even find correct words to express their indignation against the folk customs and to revile so-called "games, dance and fun" or more simply "the devilish singing" that did their disobedient congregation. Being the protectors of the new faith, they saw here the survival of the pagan world view, faith and worship, where the struggle against it was considered to be a holy duty of one's entire life" (Efremov 1995, 233).

I. Batyreva studied the spiritual culture of Podillja of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which was described vividly on the pages of local and central journals: "Podillja eparchial reports", "Podilsky provincial information", "Orthodox Podillja", and "Kyjivan antiquity" during the period from 1862 to 1915. She notes that more than 70 publications were devoted to the calendar cycle of holidays such as Christmas, Easter, Rachmani Easter, Stritennia; winter holidays – Saint Catherine, Saint Andrew, Saint Nicholas; Ivan Kupal, Petrovs'kyj Fast and Rozgry, Makovey, Vlas, etc. From the characteristics of the publications in those journals, the researcher can find out that "while promoting the revival and preservation of ancient traditions, the church carefully selected from folk ceremonies and folklore what it needed or what could not be eradicated from the people, and the rest was strictly rejected, denied, clinging to the label of 'unholy' or 'pagan'. If folk rituals and folklore did not contain Christian content, did not contradict church canons and were, according to many researchers, no more than the 'fruit of native fancy people's fantasy', the clergy, unfortunately, paid little attention to the study of all these things" (Batyreva 2005, 178).

This situation can be explained by the fact that the historical and ethnological research in Podillja in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is closely connected with the Kam'janec'-Podil's'kyj seminary representatives. It was the ethnographic center of progressive youth – pupils and teachers of the seminary, whose activities were aimed at studying the Podil's'kyj village identity, folk life, customs, folklore and folk traditions, which were of decisive importance for the Ukrainian national rebirth. At the same time, collecting and recording the materials reflecting national identity and serving as Christian faith ministers, the priests purposely made omissions of obscene information, thus distorting the authenticity of documents.

“It is stipulated in many cities and villages that people keep playing scenes of pagan celebration and idolatry, create so-called roles, and on Easter Sunday, on the day of the apostles St. Peter and Paul, on the Trinity Sunday celebrate the demonic feast of the Bereza (birch), and arrange večornyci and horrible songs; on Ivan Kupal people do celebrate the idolatry scenes because of their own misunderstanding, and the priests, being pastors, do not forbid them to do it”, wrote Iosaf Horlenko, the Archbishop of Belgorod, in his instructions to the clergy, from November 10, 1750 (Sumcov 1885, 16-17).

Emphasizing the highly moral behavior of young people during evening parties or their calendar activities, A. Svidnic'kyj condemns the anti-popular actions of the worship ministers, which led to the fading of village traditions, explaining that this, obviously, does not depend on the people's character, but that “foreign intervention is the reason. The clergy is especially distinguished in this respect. Recently, such holidays as Ivan Kupal, St. Andrew's Day, Malanka has been pursued with particular hatred because of the jealousy about the faith. When it comes to večornyci, they pursued it to oppose the debauchery” (Svydnyc'kyj 1985, 465–466).

In addition to the ecclesiastical inquisition, a public court (elderly people, at least four judges elected by the whole community) was also involved in the punishment of ‘faith defectors’, who at a general assembly imposed the punishment ‘guilty’ in the form of cash fines for the church or work during the fast or they refused to let marry people who wanted to. Some landlords supported such actions. However, being a son of a clergyman, A. Svydnyc'kyj comments on such behavior: “The fact that I talked so much about prohibitions might seem to you inconsistent, by the way, having had the opportunity to study all the customs, I could not find the results of those persecutions. On this occasion I can say that not everything has been transferred: people are very stubborn in their attachment to anything. Moreover, I studied the people's habits in my father's parish, who himself was dissatisfied with the prohibitions and remained a Ukrainian. He looks so correctly at the folk games, he, of course, not only didn't forbid them for the people, but also allowed his children to take part in the celebrations of Ivan Kupal, and so on” (Svydnyc'kyj 1985, 467). But, as Ivan Franko wrote, “the regeneration of human views and beliefs with the help of administrative

orders turned out to be the same fiction as the assistance of the spiritual courts and the Inquisition” (Franko 2008, 53).

In the late Middle Ages, and in the last two or three centuries, there was a partial adaptation of some genres to the church calendar. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Podillja and in Galicia, Christmas carols on gospel themes were widespread. Their authors were highly educated monks of the Počajiv Lavra.

Ilarion the Metropolitan, being a minister of Christian faith, a teacher, professor and rector of the first Ukrainian University in Kam’janec’-Podil’s’kyj, thoroughly studied the question of the church’s struggle against the calendar rituals for the people and left the descendants a true history of the Ukrainians’ worldview, which was highlighted in the work *Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People* (Ilarion 1991).

S. Efremov noted in his *History of Ukrainian Writing* (1995) that “there is no more hopeless case than the struggle with a routine, there may be nothing more stable than settled forms of life, which change themselves slowly and under the influence of new circumstances, but never under the influence of prohibitions and orders. The unceasing war with the people was like a Sisyphus task, and people satisfied their aesthetic needs by their own resources, while rejecting bookish moralising, or by reworking it on their own way” (Efremov 1995, 235).

During the Soviet times, the church, as an ideological antithesis to the prevailing power system, came under repression and destruction. At the same time, the persecution of the Christian canons and the national calendar ritual of Ukrainians continued as they contradicted the program of creating the image of the “Soviet man” and “Soviet culture” in general. The Ukrainians’ rituals such as caroling, sowing the houses with seeds, ornamentation of lanterns by “diduch” etc. were almost completely destroyed. For a long time, local leaders forbade and persecuted carol singing groups, accusing them of being “religious” or even “nationalists” (Skuratovs’kyj 1994, 218). It should be noted that during the period of severe taboos and persecutions, the calendar game practice survived due to the older generations’ memory (the transmission experience) and due to childish curiosity and courage, while punishment for children ended with oral remarks and “instructive” conversations of party leaders with parents. However, due to the specific childish memory, they were not able to remember the entire scope of the rite, so for this reason, we have lost some of its fragments.

The atheist ideology, interfering in the sphere of life and the circle calendar custom, violated the order of transfer preservation and continuity of the established laws of the Ukrainian life. More than half a century of aggressive and brutal, totalitarian attitude to traditions, did not confirm the “correctness” of thoughts the atheist ideology tried to set. Having undergone a difficult and thorny path of survival, traditional feasts in independent Ukraine are gaining momentum in their rebirth and rooting into the cultural life of the people. However, the development and availability of Internet games has become a hindrance and a challenge to popular games. The demographic situation in Ukraine and the

breakdown of the village community due to urbanization has also played a negative role. For these reasons, we witness the revival of Ukrainian cultural traditions with the imitation of certain theatrical elements of the rite which were partially forgotten or brought from other areas, including festivities.

The current need for a understanding of the phenomenon of the festivity tradition in its ethno-regional location and nationwide dimension obliges researchers of festive reality to perform an analysis of the folk festivities' texts as national-identical folk forms. The festivity practice analysis of the ethno-region of Podillja shows a certain stability in the life of folk games and variety of poems of their local expression (the empirical material includes the handwritten fund of the educational and research laboratory of ethnology of the Kam'janec'-Podil's'kyj Ivan Ohienko National University (more than 800 folkloric samples) and material, collected by expeditions held during 1992–2015 on the territory of the ethno-region – Podillja). It was found that due to oral transmission new variant festivity forms were formed in the ethno-region, which are grouped and characterized by 1) the similarity of the festivity names, 2) by the conditions of organization and conduction, and 3) use of attributes.

Another peculiarity are the transformational changes, such as an adult game at funeral ceremonies (“Loubok”) and kid’s game called “Lupaka”, the funeral game “Mlyn” (‘Mill’) and a wedding game with the same name and rules “Mlyn” (held in Vinnyč’ja). In the work of V. Hnatjuk, “Funeral Rites and Ordinances” (Hnatjuk 1912, 131–424) one can read about games in the house with the dead person such as “Buy the hare”, “Perstenec” (‘Ring’), “Drag the Beech” (Carpathian region), which today form a separate group of children’s games. There is a significant array of game texts modified by Soviet ideologists. Pioneers damaged the rituals very much. They did not make changes in the rules, but they created samples of folk game culture in a new way. For example, such folk children’s games as “Broke the Chain”, “Koval” (‘Smith’), “Korol” (‘King’), “Vorota” (‘Gate’), “Dzvin” (‘Bell’) got the name “Leader, Leader, Give us the Pioneer”, only nomination system was modified – the rules of the game remained traditional. The same trend is observed in the games “Sonce” (‘Sun’), “Icyk”, “Hrydky”, “Šakuny”, “Mendal” with the changed name “Classics”. A number of catch-up games got new names: “Svitlofor” (‘Traffic light’), and the favorite children’s play “U kvača” (‘Dauber’), “Bring a flag”, etc. It is important to stress that the local addressing of the most popular game activities in the region of Podillja in the last five years remains unchanged. As noted by collectors of games of the family-ritual nature, mostly wedding rituals, namely: “Handzia” (Horodoččina), “Kaperuš” (Čortkiv, Zališčyc’ja district of the Ternopil’ region), “Holub and holubka” (village Kašpirovka, Zališčyc’kyj district), “Verbinka” (Vinnyč’ja region) confirm that fact. According to V. Barašuk, the wedding musician, the participants of the wedding event willingly play the game “Kaperuš” (Zbručans’ke village, Borščiv district, Ternopil’ region.), the game “Ity zbuja” (Kudrinec village, Borščiv district, Ternopil’ region), and also play the game “Holubka”, which is popular in all settlements of the Ternopil’, L’viv

and Ivano-Frankiv's regions. However, there is a tendency towards introduction of samples of modern mass culture game folklore to local sources and their assimilation to the rite. Respondents describe a number of games that are not traditional in a certain locality (Ščehel's'kyj 2015, 322–324, 326–329, 334, 336, 338–340). It is a result of relocation of the family ritual celebration to new untraditional spaces (celebrating family events in cafés or restaurants with a well-thought-out cultural program and the involvement of the toast master).

Calendar-ritual game folklore of the Podillja population, having been released from totalitarian postulates, continues its antique tradition. The largest centers of the “Christmas Nativity”, “Malanka” are the Ternopil' region (Ustja and Gorošova village). In the Kam'janec' region, the “Vertep” has been restored by the group “Renaissance” of the faculty of history students (headed by V. Jakubovs'kyj) and by students of the faculty of Ukrainian philology and journalism (leader-organizer V. Ščehel's'kyj) who take an active part in the annual “Vertep” competitions, greeting their colleagues, residents and guests of the city with “live Vertep”, as well as the public organization of the city of Kam'janec'-Podil's'kyj “Podil's'kyj Brotherhood”, headed by M. Mošak.

At the present stage, school pupils' organizations play a significant role in preserving and popularizing the children's game traditions of the Podil's'kyj region. Members of these organizations are looking for and recording folk games and rites from the first mouth and performing them in the children's team. For example, the district children's organization of pupils “Naddnistrjanočka” in the Zališčyc'kyj district of the Ternopil' region consists of three smaller groups: “Rosynočky” (1<sup>st</sup> grade), “Džerel'ce” (2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> grades) and “Strumočky” (4<sup>th</sup> grade). Their mission is to visit junior pupils during long breaks with the aim of teaching them folk games while providing leisure. From the stories of respondents - teachers who coordinate this work - games such as “Farby” (‘Colours’), “Kitty, Kitty, Sour Cream”, “Chovanky” (‘Hide-and-Seek’), “Lapanka”, “More chvyljujet'sja raz” (‘The Sea is waving’), “Husy, husy” (Geese, Geese), “Frogs” – are the most popular ones; the children also like the ritual games – “Podoljanočka”, “Proso” (‘Millet’), “Mak” (‘Poppy seeds’) and others. It should be noted that such games are easy to play and do not require the organization of a special playground, and, consequently, can be conducted both in school yards and in gyms. The activists working in the Chmel'nyc'kyj area, in the city of Kam'janec'-Podil's'kyj and district educational departments developed a course named “Ukrainian Studies” (the creative group “Regional studies” under the direction of the teacher of Verbec'kyj secondary school N. Jadvihun), the program “Popular game as a means of spiritual and physical education”, Podoljanočka (for elementary school), structural-functional models of collaboration of the school team with the family.

According to the principles of the Ukrainian Expedition of Student Youth “Ukraine is my Motherland” in the Chmel'nyc'kyj region, its participants conduct research work, collect empirical data, record games, statistical information. One of the directions of this expedition is “From the Parent's Well”, which in-

volves studying the traditional holidays, rites, household culture, folk crafts, in particular folk games and fun. Processing the respondents' answers (students of the Faculty of Ukrainian Philology and Journalism of Kam'janec'-Podil's'kyj, Ivan Ohienko National University) to the quiz "Folk Games and Fun" and the folkloristic quiz "Ukrainian Folk Games and Fun" (Ščehel's'kyj 2015, 529), developed by the educational ethnology laboratory staff, a generalized picture of the current existence of the most popular games in Podillja was set. Children play "Žmurky", "Chovanky", "Pidžmurky" (Hide-and-peek), "Farby", "Cepi, cepi, kovani" (Forged chains), "Father Panas", "Kvač", "Dohanjalky" (Catching up), "Kozaky rozbijnyky", "Fights", "Zipsovanyj telefon" (Spoiled phone), "Husy-lebedi" (Geese-Swans), "Nad zemleju" (Above the ground), "Platočok" (Handkerchief), "Zamorozky" (Freeze), "The third wheel", "Pekur", "Father killed a boar", "Lapanky" (Touchings), "The blind cat", "Kvočka" (Mother Hen), "The sea is waving", "Broken dance", "Mak", "Podoljanočka". Students of the Kyjiv Taras Ševčenko National University (V. course, speciality: folklore studies, Ukrainian language and literature, foreign language) conducted the degree of the game practice roots and reflected it in the names in order to compare the existence of popular games. They studied the games "Podoljanočka", "Kvač", "Hovanky", "Kvass" or "Catch us", "Curved mirror", "Kvočka", "Platočok", "Cat and Mouse", "Daughters-mothers", "Bytky" (on Easter), "Spoiled Phone", "Baba Kuca", "Strumočok", "We sow". The students discovered the tendency of giving similar names to the games and of following traditional rules. They also described variational modifications of the games which they recorded.

Thus, having undergone the periods of confrontation, survival and revival, the game practice of the Podillja region shows its resistance and ability for renovation. It maintains the unity of generations, although one can observe new elements in the game reality, which are explained by the process of increasing the mobility of population and use of the contemporary communication technologies.

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**UPROOTEDNESS AND ROOTEDNESS  
AS A CHALLENGE AND A FACTOR OF NATIONAL IDENTITY  
(THE CRITICAL METHOD OF JURIJ LAVRINENKO)**

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*Jurij Lavrinenko (1905–1987) is one of the most perceptive critics of modern Ukrainian literature. He was an emigré, but he believed that due to World War II a phenomenon much more complicated than emigration had emerged in the mid-twentieth century.*

*The aim of the article is to trace the sense of ‘uprootedness’ and ‘rootedness’ in his life story and the ability to apply these concepts for understanding of an intellectual’s critical method.*

*Keywords: rootedness, immigration, literary criticism.*

**ВИКОРІНЕННЯ І ВКОРІНЕННЯ ЯК ВИКЛИК  
І ЧИННИК НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ  
(КРИТИЧНИЙ МЕТОД ЮРІЯ ЛАВРІНЕНКА)**

*Тетяна Шестопалова*

*Юрій Лаврінєнко (1905–1987) є одним із найпроникливіших українських літературних критиків модерної доби. Будучи емігрантом, вважав, що в середині ХХ століття у зв’язку з ІІ Світовою війною народилося явище, значно складніше, ніж ‘еміграція’.*

*Метою статті є простежити сенси ‘викорінєння’ і ‘вкорінєння’ в його життєписі й можливість застосовувати ці поняття для пізнання критичного методу інтелектуала.*

*Ключові слова: укорінєння, еміграція, літературна критика.*

The concept of rootedness belongs to the current sociocultural and philosophical discourse. The topic of rootedness was outlined in the fundamental ontology of M. Heidegger. Simone Weil identified the problem of uprootedness, of a person’s displacement from their inherent environment, and developed the concept of rootedness as “the most important and the least recognized need of the human soul, one of those which are hardest to determine” (Weil 1998, 61). Community (family, ethnic and national community) provides ‘roots’ to a person, a person associates himself with this community and takes an active part in its functioning. In return a person partakes of the spiritual treasures of this community and has common expectations (prophecies) about the future. According to Simone Weil, ‘rootedness’ gives an opportunity “to a person to feel almost



full moral, intellectual and spiritual life through that particular environment and those circles, belonging to which is natural for a person” (Weil 1998, 61).

Weil’s metaphor of rootedness marked a series of stunning political processes of the modern era and reflected a conscious foresight of the necessity to restore the fundamental principles of human existence, which were destroyed during the Second World War<sup>31</sup>. Therefore, the crisis of the modern era of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by the concept of rootedness which was verbalized with the irrepressible intellectual temperament of the author of the eponymous work to deliver her civil and political position to the French society.

The loss of ‘roots’ is defined by Heidegger as the ‘unreal being’ of a person, who for fear of ‘doom for freedom’ locks himself in to a narrow ordinary object and social environments and rejects the ability to see anything beyond modernity (Heidegger 1997; 2002). Merab Mamardašvili also considers “ontological rootedness of a person in the world” as a key issue of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even though it was claimed by Descartes and Spinoza (Mamardašvili 1996). Persons without ‘roots’ resemble blind people, because they are unable to comprehend their particular existence in the wider context of the world and because they have no ontological connections with the world. Here is the philosopher’s sad observation, whose meanings became especially important in our modern time: “I confess that one of my strongest experiences at one time was the experience of the totally incomprehensible blindness of people facing what’s real. It is a striking phenomenon when people look at something and don’t see, don’t make any experience. Even if a lot of things depend on it” (Mamardašvili 1996).

The philosopher emphasizes that an intellectual has to ‘see’. He creates the tension of understanding at which “the ontological relationships” of human existence can ‘happen’: “Because the tension of understanding requires tools. A bow is not stretched only by hands; it is an invented tool which contains the whole world” (Mamardašvili 1996). Considering the above-said, rootedness occurs when a person overcomes the impression of randomness, physical limitations, everyday existence and positions him/herself and his/her own experience in the line of history and the culture of the wider community, ethnic or social and cultural. ‘Uprootedness’ is a rupture of continuity that forces an intellectual person to make efforts in order to restore the ‘ontological relationships’.

The knowledge of the modern Ukrainian culture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century provides the analysis of ‘uprootedness’ and ‘rootedness’ as external (empirical) processes, on the one hand, and, on the other, internal (intellectual and creative psychological) reactions, intended to restore the lost unity and completeness with the natural and native environment. The aim of the study is to point out the meanings of uprootedness and rootedness as decisive factors for the process and results of the critical thinking of Jurij Lavrinenko (1905–1987), who was one of the most astute and interesting modern Ukrainian literary critics of the day. Con-

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<sup>31</sup> T. S. Elliot in the foreword to “Rootedness” said that the book was written in the last year of Weil’s life “during the work in the French Military Forces headquarters in London, and comes”, in his opinion, “from official memorandum, prepared by Simone Weil about that kind of politics, which must be carried out in France after liberation” (Elliot 1997, 257).

sidering the recommended size of the study, to achieve the goal we will limit ourselves to two tasks: to portray the rustic, ethnic-national, educational attributes of the Ukrainian rootedness according to Jurij Lavrinenko, and to show the influence of forced uprootedness on the way of his literary thinking.

Jurij Lavrinenko belonged to the post-revolutionary literary generation that introduced the modern way of knowledge and interpretation of the national history and culture (literature in particular). He started in the 1920s and later on became an active spokesperson and articulated ideas that defined Ukrainian spiritual and intellectual space throughout the second and third decades of that century: ‘the romanticism of vitajizm’, art as a means of ordering the world and as its guardian, the synthesis of Europe and Asia in the modern condition of Ukraine.

His autobiographical and memoir writing contains the key concepts of critical thinking and the attitude to rootedness and uprootedness. His conviction that it is the biography of a person that can disclose the most questionable points of the life stand (both creative and active) confirms his statement about the phenomenon of Maksym Ryl’skyj. Jurij Lavrinenko considered “his detailed biography” as an explanation of Ryl’skyj’s “great patience and the duration of creative tension” (Lavrinenko 1964, 270).

In particular, Lavrinenko emphasizes the rustic tribal roots of his mature life. He considered his native village Čyžynci<sup>32</sup> as a part of Ukrainian “prehistory” as well as the modern history of Ukraine<sup>33</sup> and the ground for the history of his family. The great-grandfather on his father’s side was a Cossack in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Zaporizžjan Sič. After its destruction by the Russian authorities he returned to the village where he founded and headed the salt and roach transportation from the Crimea and the Sea of Azov (leader of ‘čumac’ka valka’). His son Anton (Jurij Lavrinenko’s grandfather) was also a salt carrier (‘čumak’). Jurij Lavrinenko’s father, after serving in the Russian imperial army and his inevitable Russian language assimilation, became a farmer in the native village of Čyžynci and gradually returned to the Ukrainian language (Lavrinenko 1977).

Jurij Lavrinenko called his relationship with his native land “the first reciprocal love”. Based on his stories, his daughter Larysa claimed that his childhood passed in a “microcosm of eternal beauty and patriarchal traditions” (Lavrinenko 2005, 27). In adulthood this “microcosm of childhood” was transformed into a matrix idea of beauty as a moral act in which a personality comes to be. A person finds beauty in the home environment and gives it an important moral value

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<sup>32</sup> In the past it belonged to Zvenihorod county in the Kyjiv region and now - to the Lysjanskyj district in the Čerkasy region.

<sup>33</sup> In the memoirs “My garden in the Arctic” (*Mij sad v Arktyci*) he considered the deep protective trench on the southern side of the village, the builders of which have long been forgotten, as the confirmation of Čyžynci’s “prehistory”. He also mentioned there the records about the village in the memoirs of the uprising of ‘Hajdamaky’, the great-power status of Bohdan Chmel’nyč’kyj (the Ukrainian Hetman, the head of Ukrainian Cossack Liberation War, also known as Cossack-Polish War or Chmelnyč’kyj Uprising which was in 1648–1657), “Kyjiv Cossacks land” of mid-nineteenth century (Lavrinenko 1975, 25–26).

and perceives it as well-being for himself. Socrates is known to have believed that goodness and reasonability are the inherent features of beauty. In this respect, the experience of full contact with nature gave Lavrinenko a model for the understanding of beauty in his adulthood.

The component of Ju. Lavrinenko's rustic family education transformed into the concept of mature intellectualism during his study. It became the basis on which the national consciousness began to form in the Medvyn city school (1917–1919). It is well known that at one time Medvyn actively resisted the Bolshevik government and fought against it. Ju. Lavrinenko considered the history of that village as an example to understand the historical Ukrainian drama of the modern period and as one of the priority factors in the formation of the self. He kept in his apartment the book "Medvyn on fire" by Ivan Dubynec (New York 1952) until his death. "I became ukrainified in the Medvyn School" (*Z Medvyns'koji školy ja vyjšov ukrajinizovany*) he noted in his memoirs "My garden in the Arctic" in the late 1970s (Lavrinenko 1975, 52).

The Uman' Agriculture school where Ju. Lavrinenko studied from 1920 through 1925 combined his inclination towards his rustic family roots and his desire to open up for himself the world of culture. Ju. Lavrinenko interprets his commitment to education as a symbolic event: "It belongs to the mystery of the Ukrainian revolution. Besides its agricultural issues as the driving force, besides intellectual-peasant movements to the Cossacks, the mass movement of young people and even children to education was the one of the most important aspects of this revolution" (Lavrinenko 1975, 49). Among the future agronomists were those who read a lot of artistic and philosophical works, and critically assimilated what they had read through discussion and debate. The Sophia Park ('Sofijivka'), a fundamental school library for forty thousand volumes of world literature and classics of sciences and the Humanities, meetings with contemporary writers (Volodymyr Sosjura, Mykola Bažan) bore the most attractive value to Ju. Lavrinenko, and these things crucially influenced the formation of his ethical standards (Lavrinenko 1975, 80). Besides, the Uman' years are notable for the transformation from rustic and ethnic beginnings to his political and national consciousness. Under the pressure of the revolutionary turmoil, which had clearly expressed a national liberation orientation, the agricultural school for the first time in its long history gave students an opportunity to learn the Ukrainian language and literature: "In fact, human national identity" (Lavrinenko 1975, 85). Thus, the Uman' students saw themselves as 'Soviet' people from a 'Ukrainian' perspective. At this time, "the Russian Soviet government" (hereafter underlined by Ju. Lavrinenko – T.Š.) stated itself in Sofijivka in the image of 'the Ukrainian government' to tolerate the attitude of the Ukrainians to Soviet power (this issue is highlighted in Šestopalova 2010, 64).

Moving to Charkiv in 1926 had a major practical reason: to escape from the excessive specialization of schools (Lavrinenko 1985, 7). But the substantive 'jump' from agronomy in Uman' to philology in Charkiv reveals how a rustic and natural bent of a person can give way to the literary beginnings. Yesterday's

farmer feels awe in front of the historical university (the first one on the ‘Left-Bank side’ of Ukraine!) where he will study now. As a matter of fact the Soviet government restructured it into the Charkiv Institute of People’s Education, where the Humanities and arts component was essentially withdrawn for the sake of the military and political one. But Ju. Lavrinenko felt reverence to the university as to the eternal Temple of Knowledge and Science, and this feeling was reflected in his life forever<sup>34</sup>.

Presumably, it partly explains the fact of Lavrinenko’s intense self education, the development of the ‘university’ only in the bosom of personal existence while the real university “nominally disappeared” (Lavrinenko 1985, 63), becoming a social and political institution rather than academic. In terms of the strict regulation of philological subjects the students who had a genuine desire to learn, studied the works of Oleksandr Bilec’kyj, Leonid Bulachovs’kyj, Ahapij Šamraj, Pavlo Ritter and Natalija Mirza-Avakjanc.

It was during the university presentations of Oleksandr Bilec’kyj that the concept of Neobaroque in the critical thinking of Ju. Lavrinenko was formed (Lavrinenko 1975, 134). Later this concept will play an important role in many of his research plots. As a student, he formulated an idea of artistic beauty: “In the course of “Literary Theory and Methodology” Oleksandr Bilec’kyj promoted a fundamental idea of ‘beauty’ as a sovereign value in itself ... and as the true philosophy of creativity and basic material for it”. Genuine literary achievements are not the product of borrowings or spontaneous emotional improvisations. They are the results of collaboration of sense and mind (underlined by Ju. Lavrinenko – T.Š.). It was interesting to hear at the time when famous poets followed Sosjura’s motives: “The waves have come down, sing, sing, because of being unable to keep what’s pouring over the edge” (*Vže naletily chyvli, spivaj, spivaj, bo vtrymaty ne v syli ščo lljet’sja čerez kraj*). But Bilec’kyj’s point reflected the call of Chvyl’ovyj<sup>35</sup> “to learn to think and feel. And now it seems to be the main thing, which Charkiv has taught me” (Lavrinenko 1975, 134). Very illustrative here is his intuitive grip of the phenomenological idea of the “boundless feelings of the mind” (M. Mamardašvili) by a literary critic, which formed the basis of Ju. Lavrinenko’s literary criticism.

In fact, within those few years in Charkiv Ju. Lavrinenko became an interesting and fairly-known literary critic and author of three books about the famous Ukrainian modern poets Vasyl Ellan-Blakytynj, Vasyl Čumak, Pavlo Tyčyna. Each book and article was an attempt to delve into the current problem of creativity, to explore the possibilities of revolutionary art, to warn writers against hypocrisy and emptiness of writing.

<sup>34</sup> Eloquent in this sense is Ju. Lavrinenko’s attitude to the founder of the Charkiv University V. Karazin. In the “brief documented research” “Vasyl Karazin – an architect of the Renaissance” (1975) he idealized this true servant of the Russian Empire as a builder of the whole modern Ukraine, creator of “the New Athens” of Ukraine, not as a builders of the local Charkiv or even Sloboda region (‘Slobožanščina’) (Lavrinenko 1985, 60-61).

<sup>35</sup> Mykola Chvyl’ovyj (1893–1933) was the leading writer of Ukrainian modernism.

Quite revealing in this regard is the fate of Ju. Lavrinenko's speech "The Problem of Style". He made this speech at the fifth congress of the Union of peasant writers "Pluh" (1930). This work supported the artistic concepts of Mykola Chvylovij ('romanticism of vitajism') and Mykola Zerov ('neoclassical') and contained distrust in the artistic possibilities of socialist realism<sup>36</sup> after the defeat of the literary discussion of 1925–1928.

It is important to emphasize that Chvylovij's slogan 'romanticism of vitajism' did not correspond stylistically and ideologically to the nature of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent policies<sup>37</sup>. That is why Lavrinenko's "Problem of Style" could not solve the conflict between Ukrainian national post-revolutionary literature and the Soviet political regime. "The Criticism" newspaper<sup>38</sup> saw grains of ideological sedition in Ju. Lavrinenko's text and responded with a murderous review. It determined for the author the fate of 'enemy of the people' in a concentration camp of the extreme Russian north.

Two arrests (1933, 1935), five-year's imprisonment on the Tajmyr Peninsula, three years of 'free settlement' – that is the price which Ju. Lavrinenko paid for his naive theoretical attempts to withdraw Chvylovij's and neoclassics' style search from the political sphere and return their aesthetic value. That is how the Soviet authorities started the 'uprootedness' of a man from his professional niche, social order, creative and intellectual realms.

Lavrinenko's agronomic training suggested the idea of trying to grow vegetables in the Arctic. This made possible a short Northern spring-summer season

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<sup>36</sup> Chvylovij sensed a kindred spirit in the young critic and invited him to the post of secretary at "The Literary Newspaper" publishing house. "Chvylovij wanted to return "The Literary Newspaper" to literature and raise it to the level of the best West European literary newspapers. He unfolded their samples in front of me exactly where we talked" (Lavrinenko 1975, 148, second version of the page). Among these samples were the issues of Paris, Berlin, Polish literary newspapers, which had to become the model for new Ukrainian literary periodicals. It is known that Chvylovij did not implement his plan, and Ju. Lavrinenko was increasingly feeling on himself the power of the Soviet tyranny, being in a dangerous situation.

<sup>37</sup> In his essay "The Literature of Vitajism" Ju. Lavrinenko will contrast "the spiritual ideal of Russian and Ukrainian nations in their high literature of the revolution period: "Congenial works of the Russian Revolution – Alexander Blok's "Twelve" and "Skyfs" – confronted congenial works of the Ukrainian revolution – Pavlo Tychyna's "The Clarinets of the Sun" (*Sonjačni klarinety*). The image of the revolution as a "terrible revenge" to the world was opposed by the image of revolution as a liberation and unification of the man with the universe" (Lavrinenko 2004, 941). The basis of both revolutions lies in the complex of revenge, but its results are different. Russian literature dwells on the evil revenge. The Ukrainian one overcomes the spirit of revenge and raises the idea of space, light and rhythm as a way to harmonize the world. Ju. Lavrinenko offers to the reader the opposition of the evil revenge / space light rhythm, strange / own, death / rebirth as mental structures that define the phenomenon of Ukrainian literature between 1917–1933.

<sup>38</sup> It was a literary critical issuance in Soviet Ukraine between 1928–1941. It was ideological control of how writers followed the Marxist-Leninist (in fact, Stalin's political line) point of view on literature. The name "Criticism" (1928–1931) was changed to "For Marxist-Leninist criticism" (1932–1935), and finally to "Literary criticism" (1936–1941).

to work on the land and to be relieved of the quarries, where most prisoners worked, and gave a chance to survive physically in inhuman conditions.

In fact, 'uprootedness' from the intellectual and cultural environment returned him to work on the land from his very first arrest in 1933. That imprisonment ended with a conditional discharge and a prohibition to leave Charkiv or do literary work. In order to earn money Lavrinenko got a job at "Charkiv garden and design nursery and floriculture". In this case he joked that literature and flowers both belong to the aesthetic sphere, but replacement of one with another is not equal. After the Tajmyr concentration camp he again went back to work on the land in exile in Kabardino-Balkaria.

Lavrinenko obtained an opportunity to return to the Humanities only after Soviet imprisonment and exile uprootedness from his profession. His experience in the DP-camps gave him a chance to get a 'Staying at Home University' as a way of intellectual rehabilitation. He carefully studied the previously inaccessible works of political scientists, historians and philosophers. Lectures for camp residents during 1945 under the title "Ukrainian intellectuals in the struggle for the spiritual self" contained the ideas of personalistic spiritual and intellectual history of modern Ukraine.

Participation in the Artistic Ukrainian Movement (*Mystec'kyj ukrajins'kyj ruch*), editing of the journals "Zveno" and "Litavry", the newspaper "Ukrajins'ki visti" was aimed at building an intellectual environment for the Ukrainians in DP-camps across the western border of the USSR. The task was to organize people for free self-realization in creative and intellectual ways, considering the lessons of the national history.

Deficiency of Ukrainian spiritual and cultural ground in exile is recognized by Lavrinenko as an existential problem reflected in all his intellectual and literary activities. In a letter to Jurij Šerech (Ševel'ov) he focuses on the idea of "true life" provided by the national space<sup>39</sup>: "You look askance at my eastern-Ukrainian amateurish articles (in the original letter *schidnjac'ki statejky – T.Š.*), and you even call that unborn journal<sup>40</sup> an eastern-Ukrainian advance payment (*avansom schidnjac'kym – T.Š.*)<sup>41</sup>. I'm not offended, because I believe that writing what you think you do it sincerely. But before several years of this exile pass

<sup>39</sup> The letter was written during the controversy with Ju. Šerech (Ševel'ov) about the possibility to issue a non-partisan Ukrainian journal. Ju. Lavrinenko linked this idea to the newspaper "Ukrainian News" ("Ukrajins'ki visti"), where he worked at the time and which was the podium of Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party that gathered around itself many former refugees from the Soviet (eastern) parts of Ukraine. Its leader Ivan Bahryanj saw the success of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in its proximity to the broadest Ukrainian public, clarity of its objectives and mode of action. There, not just in a narrow segment of the national elite, must be rooted a powerful political organization (program principles URDP 1997, 670-671). Some circles of the emigration sharply criticized URDP for these ideas and considered its ideological line (egalitarianism, democracy, increasing the role of people in history) as an attempt to drag Bolshevism (*schidnjactvo*) to the West.

<sup>40</sup> Lavrinenko was talking about the journal "The Contemporary" (*Sučasnyk*).

<sup>41</sup> A hint that *Sučasnyk* will finance political emigrants from the Soviet Eastern Ukraine.

you might think otherwise. It may seem to you then that this was a justified or unjustified attempt to stay at the roots of life – Ukrainian life, and thus all life. Not to give up to the wind to roll you like a dry and lifeless piece of garbage in a foreign land” (Lavrinenko 03.20.1948).

This letter indicates Ju. Lavrinenko’s rootedness in local Ukrainian space – his small home, through which a person identifies himself with the national community and the homeland – Ukraine. Here, we believe, we should look for answers to the questions about the lack of Ju. Lavrinenko’s realization (as the inability of successful social and cultural integration in the new environment and the inability to find his own place in the pragmatic relations of the environment) in exile, his full commitment to the Ukrainian cause in the United States. He failed to respond pragmatically to the New – literally and figuratively – World, he was too Ukrainian, too connected with the land where he was born. Therefore, all his activities of that and later times had always Ukrainian context.

After all, immigration is recognized by Ju. Lavrinenko as a disaster commensurate to totalitarianism. So, his activities in Europe and later in the USA absorb this aspect of existential anguish, which transforms into the motive of tragic despair in his private correspondence. But in his essays and other literary works that anguish correlates with the concept of tradition and hard work. This is evident in the study of Jaroslav Poliščuk (2008, 241). Ju. Lavrinenko sometime in the early 1948 wrote to Ju. Šerech: “You do not know that while I lived in Mittenwald, I was an editor in Ulm, a secretary, a technical editor and a head of the Ukrainian branch of the newspaper<sup>42</sup>, simultaneously edited “The Contemporary”, wrote articles, submitted to the press “In masks of the era”, “At the examination of the Great Revolution”, fought with Ulm’s quagmire at every step ... Physically, my family and I are falling to hell and “going generally crazy” and I have no physical possibility to write letters. This is penalty. Emigration is a much worse punishment than Tajmyr. But the man was created to “compete” – and keep moving, moving” (Lavrinenko 1948 [late March]).

Externally, this period of Ju. Lavrinenko’s literary activities hardly reveals his literary priorities. However, at that time the intellectual person, who had been taken away by the totalitarian system from the cultural and intellectual world for about eight years, forms his own recognizable academic style, the angle of thinking that integrates historical and philological research. This style contains the concepts of ‘root’ and ‘rebirth’ as the philosophemes of national existence.

Jurij Lavrinenko’s work in the USA was most efficient. There is a recognizable way of critical perception and representation of the researched subjects in his works. The main theme is Ukrainian modernism and its destruction by the Russian-Soviet authorities in the 1930s. He promotes the art of the 1920s as a model for young Ukrainian poets of the 1950s in America. His writings reflected the global ambitions of Ukrainian literature, such as the “Ukrainian Literary Newspaper”, PEN-club’s Ukrainian section, strong support of young Ukrainian

<sup>42</sup> This refers to the newspaper “Ukrainian News”.

artists in America, verbalisation of the problem of existence of Ukrainian artistic outlook in the USA. At the same time, each work had indelible rootedness in the national soil and was addressed to Ukraine.

As a matter of fact, the whole Ukrainian-culture-building work of Jurij Lavrinenko abroad was directed at the threat of disappearance in alien cultural conditions. In 1971 he remarks: "Man cannot overcome or endure fate. He cannot escape from it, because however good the myth of the universality of emigrationism could be it is still only a myth" (Lavrinenko 1971, 18).

For him, as a direct witness of the Ukrainian national disaster after the revolution, the witnessing of the 'executed renaissance', the defeat in which he also considered his own emigration, echoed in incurable pain. Thus, speaking of the "head over heels clipped failure" of Pavlo Tyčyna "from the highest peak of tragic tensions", the critic describes this failure as an instinctive reaction of self-preservation: "Otherwise for Tyčyna it would be the way to destruction, madness or ... into an exile" (Lavrinenko 2004, 950). What is it? Three different possibilities of choice or reference to the fatal accident of personality, manifested in various forms: physical death, psychological death, 'uprootedness' as spiritual death, imminent in isolation from viable sources of their own identity? Lavrinenko as many other intellectuals of that wave of immigration sharply felt the danger of this latest form of conversion into oblivion.

Is it proper to make a resolute statement that the concept of emigration corresponds exactly to the situation of existential irrevocable disappearance, irrevocable 'uprootedness'? Probably not, because thousands of former Soviet citizens 'wanted' and 'searched' western borders frightened to return to the Bolshevik regime, in other words, they looked for a chance to emigrate, as Jurij Šerech wrote (Šerech 1998, 23)? In emigration many Ukrainian intellectuals, such as Ivan Košelivec', Volodymyr Kubijovyč, Dmytro Čiževs'kyj, Oleksandr Ohloblin, Mychajlo Vetuhiv, Jurij Šerech, Ivan Lysjak-Rudnyc'kyj got an opportunity to stay alive and to continue their research of Ukrainian history, literature and arts. Emigration gave the hope of a 'genuine life', a new rootedness after the acute loss of communication with the native environment. And that is how it was rediscovered.

Ju. Lavrinenko, in a series of radio programs called "Literary World" said that young writers of the Ukrainian Diaspora were missing the specific ground to maintain their national identity; nevertheless, the new forms of national existence in exile were being created. It is characterised by the penetration of the Ukrainian ethos in the new spatial and cultural conditions. He said: "emigration deprives of the soil ... But, on the other hand, emigration enables creative freedom, provides acquaintance with the world, gives perspective, the distance from which we can see the tragedy of our native land, as well as the life of the world. Anyway, world literature in the large part is created by immigrants" (Lavrinenko 1961–1966, #1).

In his letter to Jurij Luc'kyj, Lavrinenko also defines the problem of the historical and cultural formation, into which emigration had gradually transformed:



“For I do not think that you have believed yourself and have forever quitted Ukrainian and Slavic studies. You may say that you are not an emigrant. Everyone can say so. Am I an emigrant? I am a citizen of the United States. I work at an American institution. This is something more complicated than ‘emigration’ – this phenomenon is peculiar for the middle of the 20th century” (Lavrinenko 05.24.1963).

Despite the brevity of the above mentioned considerations, they include at least two points that may affect the study of rootedness in exile issues. First, Ukrainian studies are interpreted as a conscious intellectual choice of those individuals who have passed the high social and cultural barrier between themselves and the new habitat, in other words, have some new roots in new soil already. Second, the concept of ‘emigration’ requires some intellectual understanding and spiritual effort to combine the memory of the native soil and new experiences on a new ground.

Edward Said in “Reflections on Exile” emphasized the substitute way to adapt to the new ground. “An exiled person is being proposed a new set of shackles and bonds; he swears to be loyal to the new idols. But at the same time he loses something, that is a critical view of things, wise restraint, moral courage” (Said 2003, 260). The loss specified here means a fundamental change in the individual consciousness that transforms and rebuilds the ways of perception and interpretation of the world. A person experiences this loss through the concepts embodied in images (verbal, written and otherwise) (Mamardašvili 1997, 01), that reflect his state of mind and consciousness.

This can be seen in Ju. Lavrinenko’s critical reflection, which clearly indicated the idea of soil, rootedness, roots, growing, growth. Lavrinenko paints a picture unique in strength of emotions, imagery and philosophy to convey to Jurij Tarnavskij his critical impressions on his book *Memoirs* (Munich 1964). A sensitive image here is a self-reflection of “purely human depth” (Bašljarić 2000, 18). There is an existential and intellectual key to critical thinking there: “Memory is an abyss, we can evoke in ourselves only millionths of it, and transfer to paper in the form of good works – even less. It is an infinitely delicate thing. In your “memoirs” it is often seen how microscopic threads of memory are tearing, and how they are being replaced with a word or an image, created by today’s you, Jurij of that exact moment, in which he wrote it or thought about it. I have a dog’s smell to such things, and I can somehow hear that – whether from the depths of my memory of the distant past or from the spiritual musings of today.

That’s why I felt it necessary to aid myself with the relative comparison of the human memory to the underground crown of tree roots. That crown is tremendous because of its branchings of microcosms. No one ever in the world could separate the crown from the ground and show it naked. For the tiny root hairs are ripping from your breath, to say nothing of the touch” (Lavrinenko 12.21.1964).

The image of abundant living roots in the soil is amplified by the image of ‘manual’ immersion in the texture of the matter, which also includes human memory: “As if the author draws root crown’s soul, like a tree, including millions of microscopic root hairs. It turns up underground soul’s crown (roots). This is an extremely sensitive mastery. You should make clay wet, release everything from mud pieces, and not rip a single hair. ... Haven’t you understood how that is achieved? By images, similes, metaphors, paintings, sculptures?” (Lavrinenko 11.21.1964).

The idea of uprootedness and rootedness is implicated in the essay collection called *Cuts and Sprouts* (1971). That book was dedicated to the senior (those who left Ukraine in adult age) and the younger writers (those who had grown up in exile). Among the younger ones there are poets of the New York Group. It is a well-known fact that Ju. Lavrinenko gave them the first positive evaluation. Its main reason is that the critic saw them as successors of the “fallen”, “shot”, “repressed” modern Ukrainian art<sup>43</sup>. Eloquent was the parallel that Jurij Lavrinenko conducted between NYG and the Ukrainian ‘sixties’ (*šistdesjatnyky*), one of the major achievements of which was returning a man ‘from the ground’ to literature: “I’m deeply in NYG, because that is after all the only thing that is still in our literature. The sixties are nearly strangled there” (Lavrinenko 03.05.1971).

Later Ju. Lavrinenko shows his role toward the poets of NYG in his letter to Borys Oleksandriv (Hrebins’kyj): “I invested a lot of work and energy and patience in the beginners group that later formed the New York Group. Very difficult material, painfully vulnerable ... The easiest thing was to remove them from Ukrainian literature. I tried to avoid this. Not everything satisfies me. But I know one thing that where they are now used to be an empty space, and it wouldn’t be better for Ukraine and its literature. Is this a discussion thing? Yes. We must allow them to settle, turbidity may settle, because it is life” (Lavrinenko 12.19.1970). The famous anthology *Executed Renaissance* (1959) also contains the idea of resisting uprootedness with the memory of the political catastrophe of modern Ukraine embodied in the fates and works of artists.

S. Weil wrote, people sustain themselves with a network of roots. They define the perception of someone’s moral, intellectual and spiritual life through the combination of an individual with its organic community environment. Interference of various circles is equally needed along with rootedness in the natural environment. “But a certain circle should perceive external influence not as a contribution, but as a stimulus intensifying one’s own life” (Weil 1998, 36). Ju. Lavrinenko senses emotionally and realizes deeply the fact of his uprootedness/ displacement by the Soviets from the Ukrainian social, political, cultural

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<sup>43</sup> The letter to Ženja Vasylykivska from 6.13.1958 confirms the above mentioned: “It aches madly, to despair, that such a wonderful brilliant start was terminated via barbarian’s hand. I am fascinated with your group, as with the hope, that the young [poetry – T.Š.] cut off once will grow back and flourish with genuinely renewed strength and form and character” (Lavrinenko 6.13.1958).

and philological environment. This fact makes him attempt to root into another ground constantly, at the slightest opportunity.

There was an active renovation of knowledge in literature, philosophy, sociology, in the DP-camps, there was an organization and fostering of the Ukrainian literary process in the USA, it was an intense creation of the root imagery of his own critical thinking to identify the meaning and aesthetic impact on the readers of Ukrainian artists in exile. Ju. Lavrinenko focused on the Ukrainian issue in the New World. It was an existentially grounded position of the intellectual, who due to his writing comes back to the point where, in his opinion, ‘real life’ is concentrated. He heard the call of what did not happen and where he did not come to be himself. His awe in the face of ‘real life’ and high culture, of feeling the loss of this real life determined the neoromantic pathos of Lavrinenko’s presentation of the Ukrainian literary history from 1920–1930.

Uprootedness (arrest, hard labor, exile, and emigration) launched in Jurij Lavrinenko a process of self-perception as an intellectual tragically robbed by the Soviet system, but not subdued. His life, certainly, bore the trauma of losing his roots in the native national environment, but also worked this trauma through: revolved among the people and events that gave hope of recovering lost relationships, opportunities, the inclusion of the huge potential of Ukrainian modernism in the 1920s in a new ethnic-mental and cultural-artistic reality in the United States, to make it finally and fully reveal. At the same time, the ‘ontological rootedness’ of a man of the Humanities in a new time and space does not occur. Ju. Lavrinenko maintains the memory of the national culture and its atmosphere caused by the ‘romanticism of vitajism’. From this perspective, he comes forward not as a critic of contemporary literary process, but a mediator of Ukrainian modernism of the 1920s, of its heroic myth and tragedy.

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## THE ESSAY GENRE AS A LABORATORY OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

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(Ukraine)

*The article analyses how national identity is presented in contemporary Ukrainian essays. The analysis is based on the collections of essays *Oдної і тої самої* (2013) by Taras Prochas'ko, *Tut pohovanyj Fantomas* (2015) by Jurij Andruchovyč, *Chroniky vid Fortinbrasa* (2009) by Oksana Zabužko and *Kuchnja ehoyista* (2007) by Svitlana Pyrkalo. National identity in these texts is examined through self-identification, ethnicity, religion and gender identification as well as through traditions, culture and art. In addition, the article explains that when the text moves from the sphere of journalism to literature the essay changes its genre features. In particular, such journalistic features as relevance, efficiency and direct impact on the reader become less important, while the reader is more interested in the autobiographical aspect, the author's emotions. The author becomes an example to follow and the collection of essays is perceived as a complete story.*

*Key words: national identity, essay genre, post-colonialism, postmodernism.*

## ЖАНР ЕСЕЮ ЯК ЛАБОРАТОРІЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ

*Катерина Сільман*

*У статті проаналізовано сучасну українську есеїстику з погляду відображення в ній української національної ідентичності. За основу аналізу взято збірки есеїв провідних сучасних публіцистів: Тараса Прохаська “Одної і тої самої” (2013), Юрія Андруховича “Тут похований Фантомас” (2015), Оксани Забушко “Хроніки від Фортінбраса” (2009) та Світлани Пиркало “Кухня егоїста” (2007), - тексти яких раніше були опубліковані в друкованих та електронних медіа ресурсах. Національна ідентичність в есеях цих авторів розглядається крізь призму самоідентифікації, етнічної, релігійної та гендерної приналежності, а також через традиції, культуру та мистецтво. Окрім того, пояснюється, що під час переходу із галузі журналістики в літературу змінюються і жанрові риси есею. Зокрема такі суто журналістські ознаки, як актуальність, ефективність, прямий вплив на читача, стають менш важливими, натомість читача все більше цікавить автобіографічний аспект текстів, емоційність автора, який стає*

*прикладом для наслідування, а сама збірка есеїв сприймається як єдина історія.*

*Ключові слова: національна ідентичність, есеїстика, публіцистика, постколоніалізм, постмодернізм.*

The concept of national identity is the subject of study of various disciplines and it is interpreted in different ways in psychology (Erik Erikson), sociology, political science, history (Benedict Anderson, Anthony D. Smith), philosophy (Paul Ricoeur), literature (Joep Leersen), culture, religion, and others. The term ‘identity’ was coined in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although into the Ukrainian literary studies it only penetrated after the 1990s there are many Ukrainian scholars who focus on this phenomenon both in the Ukrainian literature (Vira Aheeva, Tamara Hundorova, Oksana Zabužko, Dmytro Nalyvajko, Myroslav Pavlyšyn, and others) and in the world literature: Tamara Denysova, Tetjana Myched, Natalja Vysoc’ka, Marija Šymčyšyn (American literature), Natalja Žluktenko, Ol’ha Bandrovska, Tetjana Potniceva (British literature), Oleksandr Pronkevych (Spanish literature), Ihor Oržyst’kyj (Latin-American literature), Petro Ryhlo (Austrian literature) etc.

Such a profound interest in this topic can be explained by the great theoretical importance of an identity-forming discourse which “stands to the fore during the profound transformation when the community is looking for new targets and revising the previous position to cope with the challenges which it is facing” (Hnatjuk 2005, 84). After Ukraine, which used to be perceived as “a part of Russia”, achieved independence, the country had to solve the problem of identification. The Ukrainians had to prove that they are a nation with its own history, language, culture, and traditions. Furthermore, the 21<sup>st</sup> century sets a number of challenges to the Ukrainian people. First of all, it concerns national identity. The state cannot unite the nation around only one national idea. The Ukrainians are divided into ‘east’ and ‘west’ and, as a result, perceive each other as ‘it’ or as ‘stranger’. Moreover, the preservation of state integrity and civil society is still an open question. The Ukrainian columnist Mykola Rjabčuk believes that the responsibility for this division mostly lies in the media: “Newspaper articles and television programs often portray Ukraine as dichotomously divided into ‘nationalist west’ and ‘pro-Russian east’. They do not try to explain the meanings of the words ‘nationalist’ and ‘pro-Russian’ and the way in which adjectives from completely different semantic fields can be antonyms of a false binary opposition” (Rjabčuk 2015, 2).

Research defines the concept of ‘identity’ as the idea about oneself and the concept ‘national identity – as an idea about oneself as a member of some nation. Furthermore, national identity combines other identities, such as religious, ethnic etc. Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, and Martin Reisigl in their book *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* emphasize that the concept of national identity is used mostly by the political elite and the media. They also claim that today one cannot find only the one national identity: “We believe ra-

ther that different identities are discursively constructed according to audience, settings, topic and substantive content. National identities are therefore malleable, fragile and, frequently, ambivalent and diffuse” (Wodak et al. 2009, 4). The British historical sociologist Antony Smith characterizes a nation as “a historic territory, or homeland, common myths and historical memories, a common, mass public culture, common legal rights and duties for all members, a common economy with territorial mobility for members” (Smith 1991, 14).

The complex nature of the national identity predetermines the choice of the genre of the essay as a laboratory of nation-building. It has a flexible form which combines the poetics of philosophy, intertextuality, the author’s experience and metaphoric style. These characteristics of the essays allow their authors to consider this genre as an author’s way of self-representation. Since the narrator in the text is close to the author, he himself is the main subject of an essay’s intellectual plot. Moreover, in this case the author’s personal experience performs educational and prescriptive functions. It helps a reader to build his own experience on the author’s example. This confirms Ivan Fizer’s opinion on the reason why in Ukraine the idea of “death of the author” is rejected: the scholar believes that in Ukraine a writer has always performed and will perform an important role in society, because he “defends the national identity of the people” (Fizer 2003, 53).

The essay converts the “message about personal (individual) life” into the experience which is shared by the masses. Freud was the first to try to explain this phenomenon in his work *Group Psychology and the Analysis of Ego* (1921). He considered ‘identity’ and ‘identification’ as ‘selfsameness’ with some important person. So, the author of an essay uses this mechanism and becomes an example to follow. The reason of such selfsameness is fear of loss of love and fear of punishment. However, according to P. Ricker, now we live in the time of ‘post-identity’ which means that identity has become ‘narrative’. It can be read and transformed, and hence – anyone is able to change his/her previous experience (Ricker 2002).

In the Ukrainian cultural discourse, the essay is presented not only in literature, but in journalism, too. The essay as a journalistic genre is part of mass-media information. So, it is always topical, it has direct influence on public consciousness, however, in spite of the fact of being a journalistic product, the genre does not lose its literary features. It is popular among a large number of writers and poets. Jurij Vynnyčuk, Serhij Žadan, Jurij Andruchovyč, Oksana Zabužko, Oleksandr Irvanec’, Larysa Denysenko and many others periodically publish their essays in newspapers (“Hazeta po-ukrajinskyj”, “Den”, “Vysokyj zamok” etc.), on websites (TSN website, “Deutsche Welle”, “Zbruč”) and in blogs. Artists usually comment on the most important Ukrainians trends and events, from the condition of the culture to the war in Eastern Ukraine.

The Ukrainian national identity is often referred to in essays by Jurij Andruchovyč, Taras Prochas’ko, Oksana Zabužko, and Svitlana Pyrkalo. They reflect various aspects of Ukrainian national problems: ethnic, European, gender,



and cultural. The main feature common to the essays by the above-mentioned writers is their approach towards writing about the Ukrainian nation in terms of destroying the colonial (Soviet) experience using post-modern, post-colonial, and anti-colonial paradigms.

The illustrations of this approach can be found in the essays by Taras Prochas'ko who is a representative of what is known as the "Stanislav phenomenon". He publishes his texts on websites such as "Halyc'kyj korespondent", "Ukrajinskyj tyzden", "Forpost", "Zbruč", and others, his collection of essays *One and the Same /Odnaji i toji samoji/* which includes texts of the years 2008–2013 was published in 2013.

Prochas'ko's essays are quite introverted and directed at self-awareness and self-identification. He writes about art, religion, Ukrainian traditions, national heroes, etc., but mainly about himself and his family. The writer always identifies himself with the Western Ukraine, more specifically with the Ivano-Frankivs'k Region. In his essay about Ukraine as a whole he says that the country "reminds of a bag" where all things are kept together and all "smells are mixed", and "it is impossible to find what you need". To answer the question what Ukraine is, Prochas'ko suggests moving directly to the Ivano-Frankivs'k Region. He devotes almost all his writings to this region in particular and to the Western Ukraine.

For Prochas'ko the process of self-identification occurs through the comprehension and definition of the territory of his existence. The writer frankly confesses that "Ukraine is a country that does not exist". In other words, the time we are living in will belong neither to the past nor the future. "The past Ukraine has performed its great role". This "role" was to combine "native tribes" (Prochas'ko means the ethnic communities – K.S.) in a certain area. The existence of Ukraine within Russia caused a new goal – gaining independence. However, after achieving that goal it became clear that the country does not have a future: "We did not have any further plans. The past has overshadowed the future" (Prochas'ko 2013, 22).

The history of the native city for the writer is also divided into "before" and "after". The contemporary Ivano-Frankivs'k "is an expression of mediocrity. It is not better or worse than thousands of other cities and towns of Central Europe. However, Stanyslaviv (this was the name of the city until 1939), which was founded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, "was a perfect place". For Prochas'ko Ivano-Frankivs'k and Stanyslaviv are two absolutely different cities. Not just because architecture and borders have changed over time, but mainly because people have changed; after World War II Stanyslaviv simply had no indigenous inhabitants: "There were only cooled rooms left. And they were inhabited for long time" (Prochas'ko 2013, 45).

The important component of the writer's self-identity is an ethnicity. In the essay "Two Words Out of Many Possible Words" /Dva slova z bahat'och možlyvych/ Prochas'ko writes about the Bojky (a Ukrainian ethnic community which lives in the Carpathians) and describes them as "the most bizarre tribe

along and across the Carpathians” who call themselves “highlanders”, “Rusyns”, “Galicians” – the word ‘bojko’ is offensive for them”. The writer also examines relations between ethnic local communities, for example, the Huculy call the Bojky stupid and the Bojky call the Huculy sly. Prochas’ko ends the text with the confession: “I cannot offend anyone because I am a Bojko” (Prochas’ko 2013, 51).

It should be noted that the titles and the texts in the collection differ from the first edition on the websites, where the essays were published. Taras Prochas’ko explains it by the fact that the process of self-editing is complicated. Though, it might be assumed, that while collecting essays the author tried to fill previously published texts with new meanings, so they can still be relevant.

In comparison to the texts by Prochas’ko, the essays written by Jurij Andruchovyč are quite extroverted. The collection of essays *Fantomas is Buried Here /Tut pohovanyj Fantomas/* published in 2015 also has an autobiographical background, as the author appears to the reader but does not hide behind the lyrical hero. Each text is based on the writer’s personal experience: his travelings and meetings with different people, talking with strangers, participation in social and political events.

In general, in his collection of essays Andruchovyč puts the Ukrainians in European and global contexts. Herewith, the author also identifies himself with the Ukrainians: he uses the pronoun ‘we’ and does not focus on the territorial or ethnic component. According to Andruchovyč, the influence on the formation of Ukrainian identity is absolutely obvious: language, culture, traditions, and religion.

All this, in turn, affects the present and future history of Ukraine. For example, the author says that there is a direct dependence between listening to a certain type of music and the fate of the country: “It is so clear: what music the people are listening to, such a president they elect to their own harm. That is why in American towns they are listening to the brilliant lyrics of Johnny Cash, and we are listening not even to one of the Ukrainian guys [the author uses the dialect word ‘vujko’, K.S.] from the nearby village, but instead we are listening to the Great Russian outlaws, life experts and creators of the criminal code. Well, these are now not the criminal rules but official laws” (Andruchovyč 2015, 71-72). Thus, music for Andruchovyč is an expression of the Ukrainians’ tastes and outlook.

To this topic the author refers in another essay (“Benketni kanty zlych časiv”) where he compares Ukrainians feast songs of different ages, including even the Cossacks laudable solemn songs – *kanty*. According to Andruchovyč, although feasts are the same at all times, “people drink, eat delicious food, cheer up and strengthen their spirit not only with wine and honey, but also with banquet *kanty*”. However, the *kanty* are not the same anymore; they are “not Cossack songs one but bandit ones”, because the nation is like its leaders and leaders are like their songs” (Andruchovyč 2015, 16). This dependence is obvious for the author.

The collection of these essays is quite symbolical, since almost two hundred texts were written and published on the TSN website from 2010 to 2014, the author though did not edit texts. He only selected those ones which are still topical for the Ukrainian society (besides the writer periodically publishes texts on the websites “Zbruč” and “Deutsche Welle”).

He starts his collection with an essay entitled “About Brothers, Russians and Brothers Russians” (dated 12.12.2010), where Andruchovyč mentions his group mate Russian poet’s words: “Russians do not eat brothers!” and adds: “I still cannot help admiring enough this phrase. If I were him, I would write it in giant letters wherever I could. For example, on every Russian tank” (Andruchovyč 2015, 7). He ends the collection with reflections on the relationship of Europe and Russia in the context of the events in Ukraine. Obviously, the first essay, published in 2010, was a response to the events which were not related to Ukraine, but today’s reader sees these words in a completely different context. In fact, Andruchovyč presents his own history of Ukraine during this period and considers the consequences of various events concerning the current situation in the country.

Speaking about Ukrainian essays, one has to pay attention to the post-colonial discourse inherent in all post-Soviet countries. One of the brightest representatives of the postcolonial criticism in the Ukrainian literature is Oksana Zabužko. In her book *The Fortinbras Chronicles /Chroniky vid Fortinbrasa/* (1999), for the first time in Ukrainian literature, she combines post-colonial and gender methodologies when analyzing the colonial history of Ukraine. This book is more research than journalism or a literary collection of essays. The author unites some essays, speeches and lectures on various aspects of the contemporary global cultural crisis. The culture of the Ukrainian society is “on the verge” while the post-totalitarian and post-colonial approaches became the center of the author’s attention. According to Zabužko, this “verge” is also post-tragical because people have lost their ability to perceive the reality as tragedy.

In particular, the researcher found out that the totalitarian domination influenced the colonial people. They have a “fear of sex” which leads to loss of masculinity in men and femininity in women. Besides, staying for years in power, mainly totalitarian, a person becomes a new individual, which can be characterized by such features as infantilism, uncertainty, lack of confidence and serenity, dipping into his own inner world, indifferent attitude to life.

Analyzing the history of the cultural reception of male creativity in the totalitarian world, Zabužko believes that totalitarian regimes with their “cult of the leader” (“cult of leader does not leave any space for any other cults”) damaged women’s femininity. In turn, it destroyed the concept of sexuality, reducing it to “the level of naked muscular strength Muhin’s farmer”.

However, there was another, “more traditional” perception of women as sexual objects – according to the researcher, such as secretaries, women as things. Besides destroying the concept of women’s femininity, in the totalitarian society, men lost their masculinity (because any conquered nation does not have

an understanding of the concept 'sex'). Describing gender models in the contemporary postcolonial society Oksana Zabužko mentions that woman undergoes the 'double marginalization', and man gets more feminine features due to awareness of being part of a 'minor' enslaved people (Zabužko 2009). The metropolis or the imperial country represents the masculine essence. Its aim is to own and manage the conquered nations. Under the influence of society they gradually become more feminine. Thus, from the post-colonial perspective, the opposition 'men – women' can be correlated with the opposition 'colonizer – colonized' (empire – colony / center – margins). Furthermore, the colonizer is always correlated with the masculine and the colonized – with the feminine. Ukrainian society has undergone such 'feminization' being, firstly, a part of the Russian Empire and then of the Soviet Union. Mykola Rjabčuk supports Zabužko's ideas. He claims that Russian literature of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century depicted the Ukrainian lands as the imperial frontier, describing them as lands with the old, rural, cruel and primitive way of life (Rjabčuk 2000).

According to Zabužko, "the Soviet Ukrainian man is a special colonial subspecies of the Soviet man". Moreover, the complex of the castrated person of Ukrainian society has appeared due to the destruction of "mothers' myths". The conquered country which used to be associated with Women-Mothers began to be considered the Great Whore. In totalitarian society the image of the Great Mother has changed to the Mother-Motherland with a sword which "by the will of the Father was intended to castrate and to deprive their children of sex" (Zabužko 2009).

*The Fortinbras Chronicles* is not the only one of Zabužko's collections of essays. Ukrainian mentality and identity are also presented in other books, such as *Notre Dame d'Ukraine: Ukrajinka in the Conflict of Mythologies* (2007) /*Notre Dame d'Ukraine: Ukrajinka v konflikti mifolohiji*/, *Let my People Go: 15 Texts About the Ukrainian Revolution* (2005) /*Let my people go. 15 tekstiv pro ukrains'ku revoluciju*/, *The Map of Books and People* (2012) /*Z map knyh i ljudej*/.

Unlike Zabužko, the Ukrainian writer and journalist Svitlana Pyrkalo applies the postmodern approach to the Ukrainian identity in general and her own in particular (because Pyrkalo has been living and working in London for many years). Her collection of essays *The Egoist's Kitchen /Kuchnja ehohjista/* (2007) is a book version of her weekly column in the internet newspaper "Hlavred". She runs a column in the newspaper "Hazeta po-ukrajinskyj" as well. Besides, Pyrkalo has her own website where she publishes her essays and reviews.

Though all texts in the collection are dated, they are not arranged chronically but according to their content. It has the structure of a cookbook: "from equipment and snack – to the first course and the main course, and also drinks" (Pyrkalo 2007, 6). In the foreword to the book the writer uses irony to explain its main idea: the book was written to answer the question what was more important – sausage or freedom. The metaphor of this comparison is wider than the reference to food: sausage in the post-Soviet sphere is perceived as a symbol of

the Soviet times (because it was cheap). But for Pyrkalo the answer is obvious: these two things depend on each other, as hunger makes people slaves.

*The Egoist's Kitchen* presents the most widespread stereotypes about Ukrainians in connection with their dishes. The author tries not only to destroy these stereotypes but to create a new Ukrainian cuisine. She does this herself because she thinks that Ukrainians like oriental people do not like innovations. It concerns everything. Svitlana Pyrkalo starts with the most famous Ukrainian dish *boršč* because the most popular stereotype says that Ukrainians eat only *boršč*. To destroy this stereotype, she produces the stereotype about “full English breakfast”: eggs with bacon, mushrooms, baked beans and toast with jam. Nowadays only “tourists in expensive hotels” have such a big breakfast, but not Englishmen. In this way the author uses a taunt to say that to eat *boršč* for breakfast, lunch and dinner is the same nonsense as *salo in chocolate* in Ukraine and “big breakfast” in England. One can find plenty of similar taunts undermining stereotypes about Ukraine in many other Pyrkalo-essays.

The author writes about Ukrainian politics as about some awful dish, where all ingredients do not fit together. Like “olives with anchovies” or “chili pepper with lime”: “Everything that in Ukraine rotted and stank from immortal times we filtered, poured into bottles, and called it some beautiful words ...”. And that is Ukrainians’ choice: Asia with contrasts in food or Europe where if it’s steak then only with a glass of red wine” (Pyrkalo 2007, 40). Almost each text she ends with her own recipes of main courses, meat, fish etc.

Talking about Ukraine and explaining something Pyrkalo often uses the word “Ukrainians” as if she did not belong to the nation: “Ukrainians are an eastern nation ...”, “Ukrainians have a skeptical attitude to any leader ...”, “Ukrainians like to talk about the Ukrainian mentality ...” and others. The pronouns “we” or “our” (meaning Ukrainians) she hardly uses at all. It also should be mentioned that Pyrkalo, like the above-mentioned authors, writes about Ukraine in the European context. She compares some Ukrainian traditions and habits to the European ones. However, the writer mainly contrasts them to each other, presenting some personal stories of her own life.

Thus, the analysis of these collections of essays, written by four contemporary Ukrainian writers, shows that their authors use different approaches towards presenting the Ukrainian national identity. Sometimes they even do not use the term “identity”, but their depiction of different religious, cultural, ethnical and individual features of the Ukrainian life allows taking the process of the writers’ self-awareness as the determination of their national identity. Regardless of the difference in the approaches all Ukrainian writers define the concept “national identity” as recognition of the nation itself; as knowledge of the past and respect for history; national culture, territory, people’s awareness of their special features, community members’ understanding of their national interests, aspirations, goals, ideals and needs. It should be emphasized that they include in the concept of ‘national identity’ such basic elements as ‘national self-determination’, ‘national self-awareness’ and ‘traditional culture’.

To conclude, the essay as a genre has a number of literary and journalistic features, such as autobiographical elements, intertextuality, expressiveness, irony, use of literary devices, topicality, efficiency, a direct impact on public consciousness, 'national thinking' and other things. Due to its formal flexibility, the essay becomes a laboratory of national identity. The author's personal experience plays a leading role here. It helps the reader to understand or even to realize the reasons of some political events, cultural situations or conflicts. Besides, Ukrainian contemporary writers not only present national identity, but they also raise important questions in their texts: what to do with nation's past and history, how to unite the nation and finally what is the future of Ukraine and its people. Originally, all texts of these essays collections have been published in different media and they were perceived mostly as journalistic works. So, as a part of media discourse these texts have direct influence on society – readers are more interested in author's true outlook than in dry summary information, and the author with his thoughts and feelings becomes 'the information'. That is why the readers take the texts, which tell about writer's experiences, as examples to follow. Moreover, media texts depend on the society, they have to respond readers' informational needs. Thus, the essay has become an important factor of social transformation and nation-building in today's Ukraine.

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**THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL COLONIALISM IN “ŽAJIRA”,  
A DILOGY NOVEL BY OL’HA MAK, AND “A MESS”,  
A NATIVITY PLAY STORY BY IVAN BAHRJANYJ**

*Vadym Vasylenko*

(Ukraine)

*This article analyses the problem of cultural colonization in the diology “Žajira” by Ol’ha Mak and the Christmas play-story “A Mess” by Ivan Bahrjanyj. The key issues of the research include the interrelations of the categories gender, colonialism and totalitarianism. The paper also focuses on rhetorical strategies of colonial and totalitarian violence in the belles-lettres text.*

*Keywords: colonialism, totalitarianism, gender, Ukrainian emigration prose.*

**ПРОБЛЕМА КУЛЬТУРНОГО КОЛОНІАЛІЗМУ  
В РОМАНІ-ДИЛОГІЇ “ЖАЇРА” ОЛЬГИ МАК  
І ПОВІСТІ-ВЕРТЕПІ “РОЗГРОМ” ІВАНА БАГРЯНОГО**

*Вадим Василенко*

*У статті проаналізовано проблему культурної колонізації на матеріалі роману-дилогії “Жаїра” Ольги Мак і повісті-вертепі “Розгром” Івана Багряного. Визначальними тут стали питання взаємоперетину категорій гендеру, постколоніалізму і травми, риторичних стратегій колоніального, тоталітарного насильств у межах художнього тексту.*

*Ключові слова: травма, колоніалізм, тоталітаризм, гендер, українська еміграційна проза.*

The cultural crisis of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is inseparable from the (self)destruction or the shift of conventional order, as well as deformation and restructuring of the post-war world. Such a reevaluation actualizes tabooed or silenced issues in cultural consciousness, especially those ones which are related to the use of violence against a human being or a nation. These issues have great importance in the post-war, post-catastrophic period.

Researchers’ attention to the problem of colonial and totalitarian violence and their representations, rhetorical strategies in literature, culture, social and political reality was absorbed by gender studies as one of the leading directions of the contemporary Social and Humanities’ Studies. Verbalization of the traumatic experience of enslaved individuals which is related to the strategies of violence representation has become one of the reasons for gender studies’ development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it comes to the study of post-colonial, post-

totalitarian gender problems. Thus, the gender category integrates into post-colonial, post-totalitarian research aimed at studying the renewal, reconstruction and restructuring processes of 'subaltern' identities, of the oppressed voices that try to establish the dialogue with the socially, racially and nationally marked 'Other'. Correspondingly, both the rhetorical strategies of 'justification' in post-imperial cultures as well as cultural potentialities of violence victims' 'accusation' or 'rehabilitation', cognition of their world perception and the perception of themselves in it and in post-colonial cultures became the object of the gender analysts' attention.

The research of colonial and totalitarian history in terms of gender, in particular, reflected in the light of literature, is impossible without an appeal to the psychotherapeutic, cathartic narration about trauma, as well as the memory affected by traumatic accidents or stories about them. The range of problems focused on the cultural interrelation between trauma and gender notions is inseparable from the study of colonial and totalitarian violence, discriminations by various characteristics (nation, race, language, religion, gender, etc.). Certainly, such a research presupposes not the analysis of culture-reflected repressive forms of colonial and totalitarian regimes, but, according to Solomija Pavlyčko's survey "Violence as a Metaphor (Violence Discourse in Ukrainian Literature)" (1999), the research of "violence as a certain language, certain discourse that has been produced inside the culture itself and is being actively produced today" (Pavlyčko 2002, 589).

The use of trauma studies for the gender problems analysis in post-colonial, post-totalitarian contexts provides new opportunities for theoretical experiments. In this context, gender is not only a cultural background on which modern post-colonial and post-totalitarian strategies are tested, but also one of the trauma's loci.

Gender trauma investigation in the context of colonial and totalitarian violence traced in the Ukrainian emigration's post-war prose requires processing the materials related to trauma and gender issues. The topics, which are close to the ones which Ukrainian emigrant writers tried out in their works, we observe in the bulk of theoretical works of Western European and North American gender and post-colonialism researchers (in particular, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Chandra Mohanty, Frantz Fanon, Anne McClintock, Marta Bohachevs'ka-Chom'jak, and others). The subject of our attention is the matter of the interrelation of gender, trauma and colonialism categories within a particular belles-lettres text.

The literary strategies of Ukrainian emigré writers of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century establish the controversy of a marginalized individual or national ego both in the range of ideologically biased problems with significant national accent (the loss of national identity, home – both political and cultural, family, self-identity, etc.), and in wide common European and global contexts. Such conclusion is based on the demonstration of posttraumatic experience of colonial or totalitarian past turned to the declaration of violence topic (violence to hu-



man, generation, nation, culture) in Ukrainian emigration prose. In particular, it includes artistic reflections on the history of the anti-colonial rebellion of American Indians against the Portuguese colonization of South America in the didylo novel “Žajira” (Toronto 1957, 1958) by Ol’ha Mak, and figuring out the political strategies of German Nazism and Ukrainian nationalism during World War II in the nativity play “A Mess” (Neu Ulm 1948) by Ivan Bahrjanyj. The ranges of the thematic, narrative, descriptive searches of Ol’ha Mak and Ivan Bahrjanyj generally fit in the context of colonial and totalitarian reality comprehension, and the studying of psychological consequences of Colonialism and Nazism.

The research of submission strategies and submission rhetoric based on the gender principle, clarification of the common and different between them, identification of social and cultural statuses of a woman (imperial or colonial) in the works of both writers gains complex and controversial forms. When juxtaposing and comparing colonial (Ol’ha Mak) and totalitarian (Ivan Bahrjanyj) experiences articulated in the emigrant writers’ prose, we consider it reasonable to talk about similarity of colonial and totalitarian impacts on a person’s psychics, consciousness and memory. In general, it is hard not to notice that in Ol’ha Mak’s and Ivan Bahrjanyj’s texts the writing mechanisms are conscientiously directed to the rebellion against the colonial and totalitarian governance and unveiling it (besides, obviously, not only with the Ukrainian context, although, this one dominates in their works) and – by deconstruction of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ – to the re-assumption of the values and the renewal of a lost identity. Such an investigation is relevant also because neither Ol’ha Mak’s “Žajira”, nor Ivan Bahrjanyj’s “A Mess” have been republished in Ukraine. Also, these works have not been actually studied either by Ukrainian or by diasporic literary critics.

However before proceeding to the pragmatic aspects related to the verbalization of gender trauma in the prose of Ol’ha Mak and Ivan Bahrjanyj, it is necessary to conceptualize two determinant key ideas – the ‘double discrimination’ of a colonized object and the interrelation between the categories of gender and nationalism. This conceptualization helps to understand the inner structure of the texts, in which national and gender issues are not only crossed with each other, conditioning the interrelations of a colonial woman (wife, mother, sister, etc.) with a colonized nation (motherland, language, culture, history, etc.), but also are inseparable from each other.

By observing patriarchy and imperialism as similar forms of submission, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak comes to the conclusion that the experience of women in a traditional society and the experience of colonized subjects are more similar than different. The position of a colonial woman, who is listened to or who is spoken for, but who is not talked to, as she emphasizes in her book “In Other Worlds: Essays In Cultural Politics” (1987), becomes complicated owing to the fact that the national model, actualized with the colony’s gaining of political independence, not only has a masculine character but also appeals to the inequality system, more tough than the one that existed in the period of imperial pressure. In her research “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (1988), which has become

a classical both for post-colonial and gender theories, the researcher mentions that the symbolic placement of women in the middle of the national tradition created by men means nothing else but the deprivation of their own voice, public speech right and ambitions to political power (Spivak 1988, 284).

Chandra Mohanty develops the idea of “double discrimination” of women from the countries of the third world who bear the burden of double pressure, arising in a role of objectivized “The Other”, in her research “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses” (1986). Analysing colonial women representations in literature, art and philosophy of Western European and North American authors, she mentions that non-white women are almost exceptionally associated with the notions of ‘poverty’, ‘backwardness’, ‘hypersexuality’, social and religious victimizations, etc. The conceptions reflecting the stereotypes of an imperial woman as the Western world and culture representative gain universal meaning, and the author considers them as a “discursive colonization” of women in non-Western countries and cultures by Western researchers. By showing how the homogeneous object – “the third world women” – is constructed in Western consciousness, Chandra Mohanty states that gender dynamics always played the key role in maintaining and supporting imperial initiative. This object is either studied within the pre-determined methodologies of interpretation of “The Other”, or is completely ignored. By emphasizing the need of reading and re-reading the non-European, gender-marked “The Other” in this essay, and later in a monograph “Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures” (1991), the researcher tries to find arguments for the dialogue and solidarity of colonial women. She comes to the following conclusion: “It is the common context of political struggle against class, race, gender, and imperialism hierarchies that may constitute third world women as a strategic group at this historical juncture” (Mohanty 1991, 58).

The interrelation between national and gender identities, underlined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, is accentuated by the American researcher of Ukrainian origin Martha Bohachevs’ka-Chom’jak. Indian colonial and Ukrainian totalitarian experiences depicted by the researchers, in spite of some differences in judgments, contain a range of general conclusions allowing identification of these experiences. For example, when analysing the story “Breast-Giver” (1963) by the Indian writer Mahasweta Devi, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak leads the reader to the thought that under new historical conditions a woman, as well as a colonial country, cannot stay “the eternal wet nurse” for her own and other people’s children, because a new reality demands new roles, both for men and for women. That is why the researcher’s arguments can be applied not only to the Ukrainian but also to any other colonial history. A peremptory sentence Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak gives to colonial India, that is depicted in Mahasweta Devi’s story in a traditional female hypostasis – the image of an old wet nurse abandoned by the children who is dying of a terrible disease – cancer, with the same authenticity can be given to any nation, the history of which, according to

Malini Schueller, was a gathering of histories “with the endless mixture of imperial and colonial experiences and inborn resistances” (Schueller 2004, 171).

Without separation of the ‘woman’ problem from the ‘national’ one, Marta Boháčevs’ka-Chom’jak in her monograph “White and White: Women in Ukrainian Community Life” (1995) points at the impossibility of a woman’s self-realization without a nation’s independence. A colonial woman, she writes, is humiliated twice: because of her belonging to the female gender, on the one hand, and to a colonized nation, on the other hand. Speculating over a woman’s status in imperial and post-imperial societies, the researcher emphasises the ill-usiveness of the idea that the rise of national independence solves the problem of sexual equality. Appealing to the reality of Ukrainian history, Marta Boháčevs’ka-Chom’jak notes: if totalitarianism “defines a woman in terms of its ideology, which, having announced itself blind to any sexual or gender differences, was still written by men, and that is why it is oriented towards them” (Boháčevs’ka-Chom’jak 2004, 12-13), then post-totalitarianism is organized on the foundations meeting men’s thinking, but not women’s, and, accordingly, the protection of male, but not female interests.

Among the researchers who consider the questions of nationalism relevant to gender issues, it is important to mark out Anne McClintock. In her work “No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender and Race” (1994) she states that all nationalisms as phenomena are based on “public dialogues, which are often sharp and always gender-marked” (McClintock 1995, 352). This ‘pangenderism’, as she claims, consciously conceals the other types of inequality and asymmetry existing in the modern world, where the women from the centre participate in the exploitation of women from the suburbs not less than the men from the suburbs. Generally, Anne McClintock explains such discrimination by the fact that the ‘decency’ of a Western woman is determined not only by the social status of a Western native, but also by the status of a wife or daughter of a Western man (self-evidently, a Western woman therefore experiences all the forms of sexism in Western societies). Considering the symbolic woman’s implication in an abstract ‘body of a nation’, she comes to the conclusion that “women are typically constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, but are denied any direct relation to national agency, while the male role in the nationalist scenario is typically ‘metonymic’; that is, men are contiguous with each other and with the national whole” (McClintock 1995, 352-354). Anatomizing the problem of gender differentiation between a man and a woman, Anne McClintock points out that in nationalistic consciousness, a woman is represented as an “atavistic and authentic body of national tradition” (inert, backward-looking, and natural), embodying nationalism’s conservative principle of continuity”, and a man as “the progressive agent of national modernity (forward-thrusting, potent, and historic), embodying nationalism’s progressive, or revolutionary principle of discontinuity. Nationalism’s anomalous relation to time is thus managed as a natural relation to gender” (McClintock 1995, 359).

Emphasizing the lack of works which could highlight the cultural crossing of nationalism and gender issues, McClintock considers Frantz Fanon the leading theorist of nationalism who actualized gender matters. Fanon's nationalism concept was an organic part of his theoretical and practical anti-colonial stance. In his survey "Algeria Unveiled" (1965), Frantz Fanon gives a woman the role of a symbolic mediator between imperial and colonial men, analysing gender in colonized space. Raising the question of a woman's participation in anti-colonial resistance, he demonstrates not only the image of a victim traditionally attributed to a colonial woman, but also a revolutionary, who is an instrument of violence. Such a woman, Frantz Fanon continues, is not an independent figure, because she learns her mission unconsciously and instinctively. She hides men's pistols, bombs and guns under her skirt, penetrates a strange environment, performs blasting and terrorist actions, etc. Although, even resisting the colonizers, she remains mysterious and threatening for the colonized. Analysing Frantz Fanon's work, Anne McClintock mentions that he is consistent in his statement that in nationalism, a gender aspect "is restrained by a national one and is subordinate to it". Like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Frantz Fanon comes to the conclusion that nationalistic policy concerning a woman has a few differences from an imperialistic one: not least, it is caused by the fact that after liberation from colonial oppression, the country finds itself in a complicated and dangerous situation, which can threaten with neo-colonialism or even civil war in the future.

Typically for the anti-colonial narrative, metropolis opposition – the periphery in Ol'ha Mak's "Žajira" and Ivan Bahrjanyj's "A Mess" has a gender implication. The imperial country in both works is represented by male origin (the Portuguese conquistadors Simon de Sa and Don Sebastian, the German officer Matis), whose essence is to master, possess and rule the conquered (woman, country, nation, culture, etc.), which is, correspondingly, feminized (the American Indians Claudia de Sa and Žajira, the member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia Ol'ha Urban). The idea of inner (cultural, psychological) superiority of the occupied over the occupants, supported by the authors' strategies (anti-colonial and anti-totalitarian), is conceptual in the novel by Ol'ha Mak and the nativity play story by Ivan Bahrjanyj.

Naturally, in "Žajira" by Ol'ha Mak the traumas of the South American colonial past, which, one would think, were left in the distant past, are associatively connected with the cataclysms of Ukrainian totalitarian history, and the colonization of South America by the Portuguese with the references to the Indians' extermination – with the Ukrainian genocide in the USSR. On the one hand, Ol'ha Mak's prose about South America ascertains the writer's intentions to linguistically, geographically and culturally seize the space of the New World to which she emigrated in 1947. To prove this, we can read in Ol'ha Mak's autobiography that in South America she "studied the history and geography of Brazil, noted down the legends, traditional beliefs and superstitions and went deep into the history of Indian tribes" (Lysty Ol'hy Mak 2015, 77). On the other hand, the anti-colonial narrative of Ol'ha Mak about Brazil fits in with the Western Euro-

pean and North American prose developed and facilitated by the anti-colonial movements of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, aimed at the enslaved nations' retrieval of their own vision of the past, which is a necessary precondition for their identity consolidation. In this context, the problems of physical and spiritual enslavements, language and cultural identity liquidation, the levelling of American Indians' national values, raised in Ol'ha Mak's "Žajira", indicate the inhumanity of the Portuguese expansion and have significant anti-colonial and anti-imperial implications.

Emphasizing the symbolic connection between a subdued woman and a conquered country and nation, specifically, in the destinies of Indian females belonging to different classes, the wife of a Portuguese slaveholder Claudia de Sa and the slave Žajira, Ol'ha Mak reproduces the image of "The Other" consonant with Ukrainian cultural context. In such a way, she assures that totalitarian slavery and the colonial slavery are not mutually exclusive but typologically interrelated phenomena. Depicting her female characters in different cultural environments, Ol'ha Mak marks the loci of empires and colonies, making the crossing from the colonizers' world to the colonized one, which are opposed here within the traditional binary paradigm.

Appealing to the anti-colonial strategy, built on claiming woman's treachery or a mother's depravity, Ol'ha Mak agrees with Claude McKay, who tested such a strategy in her novel "Banana Bottom" (1933). A comparison of Ol'ha Mak's "Žajira" with Claude McKay's "Banana Bottom" is even more relevant because genre syncretism and multiple cultural layers of these works presuppose different levels of their interpretation, each requiring a separate analysis. One of the most remarkable problems in Ol'ha Mak and Claude McKay's prose is the interrelation of imperial (English and Portuguese) and colonial (Caribbean and Brazilian) cultural traditions. By raising the question of the world-view of a colonial subject, moreover, the one possessing the imperia's cultural capital, Ol'ha Mak still dissents with Claude McKay on the question if such a subject is capable of finding its place in a particular cultural community. According to Bill Ashcroft's observation, in "Banana Bottom" Claude McKay shows how "destructive cultural opposition turns to accepting differences on equal terms" (Ashcroft 2002, 350). On the contrary, in "Žajira", Ol'ha Mak demonstrates how a lever of cultural self-isolation switches on in the consciousness of the colonized, with a categorical division into 'Ours' and 'Theirs', cutting off both traitors and betrayers (like Žajira) and those who imitate the traditions, world-view, way of life, behaviour of colonizers, and assimilate with them (e.g. Claudia de Sa).

In Žajira and Claudia de Sa's destinies, Ol'ha Mak investigates a typical problem for anti-colonial literature – the process of mastering the colonizer's language as an evidence of the predominant culture acknowledgement by the colonized, refusal from their own culture as less valuable. Claudia de Sa, who has lost her name and the language of her tribe to marry a Portuguese bandeirante, in spite of her new, privileged status, remains, on the one hand, – colonized "The Other", mentally and culturally race marked (although, she doesn't

take notice of it herself for a long time), on the other hand – unaccepted by her kindred, whom she is separated from by the sense of guilt and a child born into marriage with a European aristocrat. Portuguese seigneurs, the subjects of imperial power, position themselves in relation to Claudia as representatives of a higher culture and race, not ready to perceive the exotic Other as equal, but different. In this respect, William Dubois already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century talked about the ‘double consciousness’ of dark-skinned slaves in America, and Frantz Fanon in his work “Black Skin, White Masks” (1925) described the double way of life of black people in France and French colonies, who behave and communicate with each other and with the whites in different ways. The split of consciousness is considered by both scientists as psychologically complex, which develops in a colonial subject with the colonizer’s coming: the latter constantly and in different ways persuades the aboriginal that their culture, norms of behaviour and life values need to be correlated with an imperial standard. This complex gets a negative cultural sense, as the colonized, aiming to achieve recognition from “The Other” and comparing themselves with them, stop being themselves.

After losing her Indian identity, Claudia de Sa finds herself in a situation of cultural disorientation: Portuguese *donnas* do not like to communicate with her, do not invite Claudia to their environment, therefore, being aware of her position, she lives a stranger’s life. Balancing in an ambivalent zone, between the empire and the colony, Indian and Portuguese cultures, leads to Claudia’s early death. Trying to get rid of the aboriginal wife who has prevented him from marrying his Portuguese cousin, the emotionally unstable Simon de Sa during a trip throws Claudia and the child over a precipice near the Itarare River. The guilt of Claudia de Sa, concealed in her marrying a colonizer, is a crime against the body which she pays for with her language and name loss, as well as her own life and the life of her child. Murdering his wife and child, conquistador de Sa destroys any hope for the reconciliation of the Portuguese and the Ares. On the contrary, Claudia’s death depicts the symbolic image of a reduced country and nation: reincarnated in different images and hypostases, she represents all captured Indian women who lose their own and national self by getting married to their conquerors. So, one of Claudia’s reincarnations, the fortune-teller Kvevezu, declares: “The legend beaded on a legend is my life <...>. I am all the women of our land who give their body to the children in whose veins the blood of the white streams <...>. And again, I am the conscience of those who changed the bond on hands to the ones put on hearts, the status of the captured to the status of the noble signoras, but as a result lost even what they had in a body in slavery” (Mak 1957, 204).

Even more expressively than in the destiny of Claudia de Sa, Ol’ha Mak emphasises the impossibility of combining the cultural traditions of the colonized and the colonizer in the destiny of an Indian woman, Žajira. A daughter of Indian slaves, brought up in a Portuguese environment as Donna Isabella’s own daughter, she identifies herself with those who enjoy the benefits of civilization

rather than with the representatives of her own tribe. Even after escaping the possibility of being sold to another slave keeper, Donna Isabella's sister, together with her parents, Žajira dreams of returning to her previous life. Colonial heritage appears to be an incurable disease Žajira is constantly carrying. Infected with imperial culture, she permanently opposes herself to the Other, who is associated for her with the provincial, the natural, the strange. Žajira's identity and wishes are directed beyond the boundaries of her province, to the centre, metropolis, as it should be for an imperial person. A love drama is added here, connected with Žajira's feelings for Don Sebastian. The marriage with him is impossible because the slave keeper Isabella does not want to set Žajira free. Žajira's deed – coming to the side of the Portuguese in a time of crisis for the Ares, and providing Don Sebastian with the sacred knowledge of her tribe – leads to a catastrophe, because of which the Ares, the Portuguese and Žajira herself die.

Having feminized the colonial image of Brazil and having symbolically identified it with the image of a dishonoured woman-slave and woman-traitor, Ol'ha Mak did not step aside from an anti-colonial symbolism of Ukraine observed in the Ukrainian emigration literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for example, an image of Steppe Hellas in Eugene Malanjuk's poetry. At the same time, the colonial trauma, which in Ol'ha Mak's novel acquires "a female face", relates "Žajira" to the bulk of Western European and North American prose, centred around the problem of interrelation between gender and victim categories, associating the role of a woman with the destiny of a colonized nation; first of all, to "Wide Sargasso Sea" (1966) by Jean Rhys, in which "a female face" of a colonial victim is embodied in the image of the creole of English origins Antoinette Cosway. Belonging neither to the fair-skinned Europeans, nor to the dark-skinned inhabitants of the Caribbean, after moving to England she loses her psychic balance and commits suicide. Ivan Bahrjanyj, for his part, articulates this impossibility by emphasizing the premature hopelessness of the relationship between the member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia Ol'ha Urban and the 20<sup>th</sup> century conquistador, the German Field Commandant Matis, in his nativity play story "A Mess".

The gender category, which in Ol'ha Mak's novel is associated with notions of motherland, nation and culture, is inseparable from the category of knowledge, the one that the colonized possesses and the one that the colonizer is deprived of. In this context, it is possible to interpret the Itarare Valley metaphors as the personification of Brazil, which in the consciousness of Europeans and Indians acquires dramatically different meanings. For the Portuguese colonizers, it is, by hearsay, a land of innumerable riches associated with El Dorado, and, at the same time, a scary place, the impregnability of which is depicted in uncountable stories, legends and narrations. The Indians, on the contrary, keep the memory of it as "the heart of Indian Mother-Land" (170), the sacred centre, and diligently protect the secret of its location from the conquerors. The Itarare Valley becomes a reliable sanctum for the Indians in the most dangerous situation: "Who reaches Itarare – will be safe" (170). However, it is so autono-

mous to the external world that, according to the narrations, after getting there once, it is impossible to go out from this closed space, because “Itarare is a gate that opens only one way: when it lets someone pass – it will not let him go away” (174). In Ol’ha Mak’s novel, the Itarare Valley is not an image of “the Land of Promise”, to which the Indians come to get rescued from the strangers’ pursuit, but is depicted as a special fortress, citadel, (predominantly) the spiritual one, besieged from all sides. Search for the way to Itarare through the impassibility of roads resembling the movement to nowhere, and the attacks, is provided here for the association with the colonized peoples’ search for their own identity. Despite the obvious hopelessness of their situation, led only by the sacred knowledge, which an old priest guide Araksho possesses, they find the way to Itarare Gate, and their persecutors, for whom such knowledge is inaccessible, fall into a trap and die. But knowledge, in spite of all of its advantages, is a danger for the colonized themselves – this danger soon leads to the death of the tribe. It means not only the gap in history, but also the erasure of historical memory. That is why, after the Ares are destroyed, the land they used to inhabit remains a waste land in the memories of other tribes, and the name Itarare, which in the Indian language means “A stone in which the water roars”, the Indian descendants interpret as “A cursed stone”.

Analysing the psychology of the colonized, Frantz Fanon indicates that an aboriginal, having faced the colonial order, “is in fact ready at a moment’s notice to exchange the role of the quarry for that of the hunter” (Fanon 2003, 23). Psychological tension and, as a result, an attempt “to disarm” the colonizer, first of all, culturally, is revealed by Ivan Bahrjanyj in the episodes of Ol’ha’s intellectual polemics with an ‘Ortskommandant’ about the non-historicity of the Ukrainian nation, and Ol’ha and Matis’ game of chess. These episodes work for argumentation of the idea about moral and intellectual dominance of the colonized nation over the colonizer. A revenge that Ol’ha makes as an answer to the visit of Nazi officers to the Urbans, after Rosi Braidotti, can be called “a rebellion of subordinate knowledge” (Braidotti 1994, 25). Realising that the only way to conquer the enemy is to win him culturally, Ol’ha states: “Anyway, I am going to be neither a translator, nor Marusja Bohuslavka, nor even that sultan Roxolana. <...> I cannot declare on them a war with any weapon now, but I am declaring a war that cannot be won by any cannon” (Bahrjanyj 1948, 60). The fact that Ol’ha possesses such an imperial cultural capital as the language places her intellectually higher than Matis, as she does not neglect the cultural and spiritual gains of her rival. Matis, on the contrary, keeps two translators – an Ukrainian and a Russian, and considers it unnecessary and humiliating to learn the language of the nation he conquers. Perceiving Ukraine as a former Russian colony, where the “nation un-finished by genocides” decays, he is sure that the colonized haven’t forgotten the language of their previous masters, and they will have to learn the language of the new ones, if not voluntarily, then by force: “The conquered must attain to the level of the conqueror in everything” (Bahrjanyj 1948, 76).



By declaring to the Nazi who intruded into her house the idea of cultural dominance of the colonized over the colonizer, Ol'ha explains it by the fact that the first one, in a paradox way, is "better equipped" than the other, as he possesses a wider amount of cultural codes. Unlike the Ortskommandant, who treats the noble people of the conquered nations if not with contempt, then with scepticism, reducing their role in all possible ways, Ol'ha objectively evaluates the 'advantages' and 'disadvantages' in her conquerors' mentality. Ol'ha's knowledge of the German culture did not lead to her estrangement from the Ukrainian. Indeed, it enriched her outlook and opened new visions of the Ukrainian culture. Opposing to the 'Ortskommandant' directives about her culture's low value, about the backwardness of her nation's representatives, Ol'ha tries to resolve inner conflicts by comparing Ukrainian and German experiences. The fact that she fluently speaks German not only surprises Matis. When he asks her how she knows his native language, Ol'ha replies that she has known it since her childhood. For Matis, "since childhood" does not mean since school – in a German school, no foreign language was studied on principle, so that means, from the mother or father. That is why he asks if Ol'ha's mother is German. Although Ol'ha does not forget that the infernal task of the colonizer – to erase her home (family, culture, nation) from the Earth – should be opposed in an imperial language, which is understandable, easy and common for him. In this context, Ol'ha's polemics with the 'Ortskommandant' about "unhistorical nations", from Georg Hegel's point of view, playing Mykola Lysenko's compositions on the piano, chess debates with Matis, constitute balancing on a well-known field, among recognizable signs and symbols.

Not denying Ol'ha's counterarguments in general, the Ortskommandant finds the "trump" against them, saying that the Ukrainians as an "unhistorical" nation are not able to rule themselves and build a sovereign country. Ol'ha disproves the Ortskommandant's words, answering that the place of Ukrainians in history has been determined by other nations' representatives for quite a long time, in particular, by those who did everything possible for Ukrainians to be left a nation with no state. She is sure that "historical" neighbours impose on the Ukrainians the idea of their "unhistoricality", for them not to try to rule their country themselves. Still, the Ukrainians will definitely gain access to their own rule, because the future is determined not by those satisfied with the current state of things, but those totally dissatisfied with it: "we are young and <...> that is why the future belongs to us" (Bahrjanyj 1948, 94). Ol'ha explains the Ukrainians' thirst for knowledge and their ability in the sciences by the surplus of creative energy – the feature of a young nation: "And all of us, who studied your language and history, did this not because they were getting ready for you to come. As well as not to conquer you militarily one day, no ... We are young, we are thirsty, we just march on to the historical arena ... The world is in front of us, and we thirstily get to know it" (Bahrjanyj 1948, 76).

Touched by Ol'ha's words, Matis wants revenge, which is why he starts to prove that he will win, playing three games of chess with her, because "the dig-

nity of Germany is at stake” (Bahrijanyj 1948, 78). Ol’ha says that “although nobody in the world talks about Ukraine’s dignity” (Bahrijanyj 1948, 78), she agrees to play with him even without a rook. The game of chess of the member of Ukrainian intelligentsia and the German officer, the chess player of high category, gains cultural and political sense. Having lost the first set, Matis takes his step with the chess figure back, and Ol’ha agrees with it, against all the rules, and having lost the second one – reminds Ol’ha that she promised to give him her rook. In other words, Matis considers himself weaker even before his defeat, and asks a woman for indulgence. This is consistent neither with male nor with the military dignity codes.

The fatality of Matis and Ol’ha’s relationship, incarnating the unrealized Ukrainian-German dialogue, is preconditioned by the colonial dependence of the latter: the unity in which Ol’ha is allotted the role of a concubine, but not a wife, and Matis – the role of an owner, but not a husband, cannot be sound. Ol’ha’s execution before the German troops withdrawal can be interpreted ambiguously: on the one hand, as a catastrophe that waits for the country after losing its political independence, and on the other hand, as a certain “indulgence” for a colonized nation, which tries to save its moral face paying with physical losses, having omitted national depravity and dishonour: “It is obvious that we will not break such two colossi militarily ... Neither both at the same time, nor one after another <...> But in this unjust fight, something different should be also clear to us – and this should be our power source <...> This war, as well as all the previous battles, we ... Yes, yes ... eventually, we will win! ... and against both rivals ... Not physically, no! We will win it in a historical aspect, morally and ethically, spiritually ... As the biblical Christ won it one day” (Bahrijanyj 1948, 63–64). And he continues: “Christ won it just because and only because he confirmed that he was right by his death ... Our truth is also immortal” (Bahrijanyj 1948, 64). Matis’ mutilation, who will spend the rest of his life immobilized, riveted to a wheelchair, is perceived as nothing else but the retribution for his lost “moral face.” The feelings of loss are added here – the loss of his lover and the native land, that make it the contra-punctual, but still not the determinant component of his trauma. The core of Matis’ traumatic pain is the answer to the question that lies in the middle of psychological and intellectual antagonisms of the member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the German officer. From this point of view, Ol’ha’s feelings, that evoke condemnation and warnings from her relatives, and, as a result, cost her her life, become a trap for her, and, at the same time, the price she pays for Matis to realize the incorrectness of imperial ideas. Although, only when coming back with the remains of the German army, which is streaming back to the West, through the town where he met Ol’ha, and seeing his lover in the middle of the square, executed by his brothers-in-arms, Matis acknowledges that Ol’ha was right. The political capitulation of Germany, which gets into dependence from the allies, is added here to the association with his personal tragedy. The life of a cripple, waiting for him after the defeat, is worse than death and the fear of it. Ol’ha, who represents the colony, sentences

herself to death. The degradation of post-war Germany is represented by a street prostitute, who does not feel any aversion towards the American black-skinned soldier. The transformation of the iron, heavily-armed, motorized country, with a militant diva as a symbol, into the country embodied in an ingratiating prostitute, underlines the crash of imperial ambitions, for which the Germans paid with millions of their own and other's lives. In general, the idea of an untimely doom of imperial centres – Berlin and Moscow, which chose the colonizers' roles in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is duplicated in Ivan Bahrjanyj's story with almost an obtrusive persistence.

To sum up, Ol'ha Mak and Ivan Bahrjanyj show how the colonial woman's destiny is identified with the destiny of the whole generation, and how the imperial past influences the destiny of the colonizers themselves – either the Portuguese seigneurs in Brazil in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century or the German occupants in Ukraine in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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## DIALECTICS OF FORMING A NATIONAL FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF MODERN UKRAINIAN ETHNOLOGY AND LITERARY STUDIES

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(Ukraine)

*The paper focuses on features of the interaction of different historical, social, ideological and artistic-esthetic indicators in the processes of forming a national fundamental basis of Ukrainian studies of folklore and written literature at the contemporary stage of its formation and development. The author stresses that the act of turning away from the principles of the so-called post-Soviet ethnology and literary studies, the return to national spiritual values and the achievements of domestic and foreign scholars of previous generations opens new prospects of an access to a higher level of development.*

*Key words: nation, ethnology, literary criticism, modern, basic grounds.*

## ДІАЛЕКТИКА ФОРМУВАННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ ОСНОВОПОЛОЖНИХ ПІДСТАВ СУЧАСНОГО УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАРОДОЗНАВСТВА ТА ЛІТЕРАТУРОЗНАВСТВА

*Олексій Вертій*

*Досліджуються особливості взаємодії різних історичних, соціальних, ідейних, художньо-естетичних чинників у процесах формування національних основоположних підстав української науки про народну творчість та писемну літературу на сучасному етапі її становлення та розвитку. Зазначається, що відхід від принципів підсоветського, так званого, народознавства та літературознавства і повернення до національних духовних цінностей, здобутків вітчизняних та зарубіжних учених попередніх поколінь відкриває перед ними нові перспективи виходу на якісно вищий рівень їх поступування.*

*Ключові слова: національний, народознавство, літературознавство, сучасний, основоположні підстави.*

One of the most discussed issues of the contemporary ethnology and literary studies is their national fundamental grounds. It is stipulated, first of all, by the fact that their forming and developing in post-Soviet Ukraine develops on an unnatural, or in other words, not on a national basis.

In the Soviet period such notions as ‘national honour’, ‘national dignity’, ‘national character’, ‘national consciousness’, ‘national duties’, ‘cult of national heroes’, ‘national spiritual values’ etc. were declared as remnants of the past. Moreover, they were considered odious, and those who tried to speak about them immediately and without hesitations were identified as ‘Ukrainian bour-

geois nationalists' (Dzjuba 1968, 75) with all corresponding consequences. Liberation from the pressure of communist ideology after Ukraine proclaimed its independence did not lead to creation of the authentic ethnology and literary studies based on their specifically national fundamental ground. It did not happen for several reasons.

First, the proper basis for research was and still remains unprepared. The interruption of the national tradition in lexicology is explained by the fact, that ideas suggested by national-minded scholars such as M. Kostomarov, I. Franko, I. Nečuj-Levyckij, O. Potebnja, P. Čubyns'kyj, V. Šuchevyč, V. Hnatjuk, P. Martynovyč, F. Kolessa, O. Voropaj, I. Ohienko, P. Zajcev, V. Petrov, L. Bilec'kyj, V. Šajan, L. Sylenko, J. Myroljubov, D. Čyževskyj, D. Doncov and many others were prohibited by censorship.

Second, after being liberated from the ideological pressure, many representatives of the post-Soviet ethnology and literary criticism, having lost their national grounds, tended to another extremity – a blind imitation and absolutization of the ideas and principles and views of their western colleagues. The example of such an approach is mythologization and christianization in explaining the phenomena of oral heritage, poetic creative work and written literature. Following D. Hrabovyč, O. Zabužko published the monograph *Shevchenko's Myth of Ukraine. Attempt of Philosophic Analysis* (1997). Another book to be mentioned is re has to be mentioned the collection of essays "Kitsch and Literature. Travesties" (2008), which got an ambiguous reception in the field of research in Ukraine. Thus, the transparent idea of the works of V. Ševčuk, P. Ivanyšyn, K. Moskalec', T. Salyha, M. Naenko, dedicated to the criticism of the fundamental motives of modern studies on Ukrainian literature, is not only about the incapability of such motives for impartial evaluation of literary phenomena, but its conscious purposefulness to distortion of the essence of these phenomena. Egregious discrepancy can be seen in the works of D. Hrabovyč and O. Zabužko. V. Ševčuk, for example, comments on the distorted explanation of Ševčenko's vision of the past, present and the future. Correspondingly, the essence is a complete clash between the images created by the poet, and reality. Ševčuk argues with D. Hrabovyč on the matter that Ševčenko allegedly used the term 'Ukrainian people', in other words created the myth about it, and thereby deceived it. "It seems, – emphasizes the scholar, – it should be D. Hrabovyč and his adherents, the ones who created this myth, but not Ševčenko" (Ševčuk 2001, 31). P. Ivanyšyn was even more convinced and decisive in evaluating the publications of D. Hrabovyč and O. Zabužko. Profoundly, thoroughly and persuasively he proved their scholarly incapability, indicating their 'neomythologism' as hidden and insidious ideology and modern cultural imperialism (Ivanyšyn 2001).

The artificial nature of such constructions, sometimes presented by the authors themselves, leads to deadlock. S. Pavlyčko, for example, writes about 'modernism', 'modernisms' and 'modernists' in Ukrainian literature. Besides she affirms that modernism at its different stages of formation very often

achieved quite the opposite meaning. That is why, in order to find determinant uniting beginning, the scholar offers “to work out the approach to modernism not as to the set of style, formal or genre principles, but as to the certain artistic philosophy, the model of literary development” (Pavlyčko 1999, 12). Such considerations, as we can see, are in conflict with each other. Their essence is based on vagueness of the used notions and of the criteria of one or another assessment themselves, because it refers to ‘modernism’ and ‘modernisms’ as to the phenomena sometimes absolutely opposite. Removal of the notions and random treating of facts in the works of T. Hundorova also leads the author to distortion of the nature of these phenomena.

For instance, when assessing the first of the books of Hundorova, K. Moskalec’ finds in it some dispersed thoughts, terminological inaccuracy, distorted understanding of the principles of one or the other scholar. He underlines his attitudes of ‘doubts’ relating to the ‘spiritual situation of modernity’ of K. Jaspers. Jaspers speaks about establishing a ‘spiritual situation of modernity’, the limit of which “isn’t the closed image of the distorted picture of being”. Hundorova, when citing the German philosopher, in her turn, tells about the ‘closed image of history’, as if she doesn’t understand the basic difference between the words ‘being’ and ‘history’. Besides, in Jasper’s this fragment deals with his philosophic strategy in the given, specified work (“Spiritual Situation of Modernity” 1931); but the researcher in haste and without any explanation of her intention (if we don’t consider as a grounding the light-minded ‘can’: “The Ukrainian aesthetic modern of the beginning of the 20th century can be examined historically, and can be examined existentially, in the categories of ‘spiritual situation of modernity’) uses exclusive Jasper’s term, as reflected (unfortunately, not by Hundorova) and established category; beyond this use we can see some pretentiousness and, substantially, naïve position (Moskalec’ 1988, 25), – as K. Moskalec’ summarizes his reflections. Hundorova’s works about I. Franko are also marked with the ambiguity of opinions, which was mentioned by the critics (Salyha 2007). But even thereafter T. Hundorova resorts to an analogous explanation of the literary phenomena and makes the same mistake and repeats others. In her literary essays “Kitsch and Literature. Travesty”, the “creative work” of Verka Serdjučka (A. Danylko) she explains why the cult of the mother is profoundly implanted into Ukrainian life. From her point of view Lina Kostenko’s novel “Marusja Čurai” is nothing but kitsch, in other words daub, slapdash, reflecting the status quo of a person sick of heroism and romanticism.

It is quite natural that such ‘innovatory’ ideas of contemporary modern and postmodern Ukrainian literary criticism caused refutation and objection. P. Ivanyšyn, for example, connects this basis of philosophy of life with the ideology of neoliberalism, which is directly linked with neomarxism, referring to a “dependence of cosmopolitan doctrines of ‘radical democracy’, globalism, multiculturalism, universalism and others, consisting of a remarkable imperial potential” (Ivanyšyn 2012, 278).

The christianization of Ukraine also leads to such and similar distortions of the national nature of Ukrainian literature. Mentioning the ‘impacts’ of the Bible on authors quite often causes distortion, devalues their creative personality and leads to absolutely wrong conclusions. For instance, D. Stepovyk called one of his books “Imitating Christ: Believing in God Ševčenko” (2013). It is not understandable why D. Stepovyk doesn’t pay attention to such works of Ševčenko himself as “Dream” (“Mountains my High”), “Monastic Anthem”, “To the Poles”, “Diary”, in which the idea of God and God’s justice is objected. Why doesn’t the author pay attention to the really scientific conclusions of I. Franko (“Ševčenko and Critics”), V. Vynnyčenko (“Philosophy and Ethics of Ševčenko”), P. Zajcev (“Taras Ševčenko’s Life”), I. Džuba (“Taras Ševčenko. Life and Creative Work”) and other scholars, who persuasively prove that Ševčenko was neither a spiritual man nor an atheist. To him God was just the symbol of higher justice. If he didn’t see justice in real life, he didn’t believe in the existence of a real God, very often cursing him.

It goes without saying that following such and similar instructions, leaving the “frames of nation”, a specialist on national culture, as I. Franko said, will never become a historian of the spirituality of his or her people. Though he saw one of the most important tasks in the study of the peculiarities of the history of national spirituality, emphasizing the necessity of clearing out of the fact “how Franconia echoed in literary temper of Goethe, Saxony in Gellert, Swabia in Schiller”, “what kind of Italy we can see in Brentano, what kind of France in Chamisso” (Franko 1984, 10-11). That is why the history of the written language should be the history of national spirituality, but not the product of personal likes, tastes or some cosmopolite pseudoscientific theories. In this regard it is necessary to study and to know profoundly our national spirituality and its history.

Therefore, not apprehending modern and postmodern ideas and principles, our ethnology and literary criticism chose the way of development of specific national customs of domestic humanitarian sciences.

Publications forbidden in Soviet times gave Ukrainian scholars the opportunity to work on the revival of the national customs of scientific work, built in the 19th and developed until the 20th century in Ukraine and in foreign countries with Ukrainian population. The ideas fundamentally refer to the research of such scientists as D. Čyževskyj, I. Ohienko, H. Bulašev, O. Voropaj, D. Doncov, V. Petrov, P. Zajcev, S. Efreimov, M. Hruševs’kyj, L. Rebet, K. Sosenko, J. Lypa, V. Janiv, I. Mirčuk, L. Bilec’kyj, Oleh Ol’žyč and others which have been revitalised by research within the scientific community. Owing to the fact that the ideological postulates of Marx and Lenin were rejected in independent Ukraine, the absolutely new rendering of the scientific heritage of M. Kostomarov, P. Čubyns’kyj, I. Franko, T. Zinkivs’kyj, O. Potebnja, P. Žytec’kyj, K. Hruševs’ka became possible. As a result the range of problems of research was significantly expanded. New spiritual, ideological, and artistic and aesthetic

national values, new principles and a new totality of views got into the focus of interest and attempts of explanation.

Ukrainian ethnographers and their publications can be mentioned as an example of scholars having been prohibited by the Soviet regime. The profound and innovatory research of D. Humenna "Past Floats into Present. A Story about Tripol'je" (1978), H. Lozko "Ukrainian Paganism" (1994), V. Holoborod'ko "Oh Wreath my Wreath... Features of a Girl's Wreath as the Base for its Metaphoric Transformation in Ukrainian Folk Tales" (1999), "Nightingale, Matchmaker, Matchmaker... Myth and Poetic Transformation of the Ukrainian Ritual of Matchmaking in Ukrainian Folk Tales" (2002), V. Mycyk "By Law of the World Order. Tripolie Civilization and the Sources of World Outlook of Ukrainian People" (2007), J. Myrolyubov "Rigveda and Paganism" (2009), J. Herasym "The National Identity of the Aesthetics of Ukrainian Song Folklore" (2010), S. Pylypčuk "Folklore Conception Sphere of Ivan Franko" (2014) can be mentioned as an example. We have full authority to affirm: They can be judged upon to directly continue with the fundamental reasons of ethnographic research by M. Kostomarov, I. Franko, O. Potebnja, H. Bulašev, Metropolitan Illarion (I. Ohienko) and other domestic scholars of the 19th/beginning of the 20th century and Ukrainians living abroad and to develop research at a corresponding level. When studying Ukrainian folk customs and rituals, D. Humenna, H. Lozko, V. Mycyk and V. Holoborod'ko regard themselves as scholars using their own observations of phenomena of spiritual and material culture of our people. According to their findings, numerous comparisons with phenomena in nature can be seen as well as national peculiarities in close interconnection with the phenomena of the philosophy of life, especially the psychological, mental or everyday life with its changes among our ancestors. This, in its turn, stipulates for the objectivity of revealing the content of these phenomena, forming the system of features and concepts, which developed from national nature, but not from the modern philosophy of life of the authors themselves, as it often happens. It leads to a distorted, deformed interpretation of a content and its nature. As a result we have to deal with the issue how scientific problems can be presented and solved. This has not been in the focus of scholars yet.

The specific character of the Ukrainian wedding party and the origin of symbols that impact the party was analysed by D. Humenna and V. Holoborod'ko. Among their findings we can mention: a philosophy of life determined by folklore, as sanctity in the attitude towards the surrounding world, its deification, glorification as something mysteriously-secret, or enthusiastically-great, represent in harmony with the surrounding world. Thus, D. Humenna explains the procedure of binding the participants with embroidered towels as a response to the fight of the matriarchal family with the patriarchal, as defence of the ancient mother's right. That is why matchmakers, she explains, were bound with strings in old times. "Nowadays", D. Humenna continues, "strings were changed for beautiful embroidered towels. The ancient symbol of enmity changed with the time to the symbol of friendship. But the fact itself remained. With the peo-



ple tied up they try to come to an agreement, but silently – only using gestures. They exchange bread. And thus, if they accept the bread then everything must be fine” (Humenna 1978, 150). The scholar continues to treat the wedding in this manner. She originally clears out the nature of symbols of Ukrainian wedding and its transformation into the Ukrainian folk tales of V. Holoborod’ko. Comparing wedding ritual and tale, one can find a lot of common phenomena, affirming that “the tale helps to explain many motives of wedding ritual, as the wedding ritual helps to decode the folk tale text” (Holoborod’ko 2000, 37). Consequently, and taking into account the content of the image of a frog-princess in the tale with the same name Holoborod’ko speaks of a combination of two features of a girl’s wedding wreath, namely – green periwinkle out of which the wreath is made, covered with gold. The combination of green and gold colours in this situation creates the image of a fairy (frog – is a metaphor of green periwinkle, in the wedding ritual – it is immaturity, gold – means the princess, in the wedding ritual – it is maturity, transition from ‘immaturity’ to ‘maturity’, from ‘green state’ to ‘ripe state’). Thus fundamental reasons of examining the phenomena of folklore field work and oral history and the spiritual culture of our people lead V. Holoborod’ko (see his publications in the Internet-library “Ukrainian Center”) to his unexpected conclusion, needing, however, special attention of modern ethnographers: “knowledge of the content will let us in the new way to have a look at the world mythology (tales of other cultures are only different variants of our tale), which appeared as a result of word for word understood our tale” (Holoborod’ko 2000, 37), because “in the form of myths in other cultures our tale has been existing for a long time” (Holoborod’ko 2000, 37). Consequently, without knowledge of the Ukrainian language, first of all the multiformity of our words, our paronyms, it is impossible to decode fully and correctly the majority of the traditional motifs of the peoples of the world, because they are created by our Ukrainian language. V. Mycyk tells about descriptions in the Old Indian epos “Mahabharata” where actions of five Aryan tribes can be found, having come from the Dnieper regions and having brought to the land of ancient India the glory of their motherland (Mycyk 2007, 92). The profoundly distinctive research of J. Myroljubov “Rigveda and Paganism” needs attention in this context due to the fact that the main ideas of these publications serve as a basis for a qualitative renewal of the fundamental grounds of contemporary studies in modern Ukrainian ethnography.

Exceptionally important for the creation of a national fundamental basis of modern domestic ethnology and literary criticism are the studies of the psychological and moral-aesthetic layers of a philosophy of life of Ukrainians in such natural features and notions as sensation, perception, conception and expression of the world as well as the consolidation of Ukrainians in the world in general. Thus, analyzing Ukrainian Christmas folk carols, V. Mycyk discovers “all measures of the world order”, namely “unity: God, the Lord, the Master; duality – sun and moon, husband and wife; the combination of three parts – husband, wife and their children, the moon, the sun, the stars, triple actions and deeds;

combination of four parts – temples in the form of the world and four sides or heavenly bodies; the combination of seven parts – in the form of bowls, bread, gifts”, as it is “in Christmas carols honouring the mistress, praised as forces and beauty of life” (Mycyk 2007, 55). Ukrainians combine a sunny, joyful philosophy of life, a refinement and nobleness of our inner world, its harmony with the outer world, sanctity in the attitude to the land, parents, family, national traditions, which determines peculiarities of national types of heroes and the types of their interrelations with this world, which should become the object of special attention of today’s Ukrainian ethnographers and literary critics. O. Ol’žyč (Ol’žyč 1994, 242-264), D. Doncov (Doncov 2005), V. Šajan (Šajan 1972), H. Lozko (Lozko 1994), K. Čerems’kyj (Čerems’kyj 2002, 27), M. Nabok (Nabok, 2014) and other scholars chose this heroic and state building beginning in the Ukrainian national conception of the world as a basis for research. The results can be judged upon as a powerful source for forming such a national fundamental basis of modern domestic ethnography and literary criticism. Among the issues involved we have to mention the cult of national, historic, spiritual and ideological values, the traditional (not only in everyday life, but also in psychological understanding as well as in folk philosophy) basis of artistic-aesthetic formations, the understanding of a nation and a state as a great family, the natural combination of goodness and beauty, fairness and heroism with the dramatic and tragic, with the prevailing power of optimistic origin, the natural synthesis of the ancient and new layers of a view of the world by folklore in the artistic-aesthetic mastering of reality as a source and basis of forming Ukrainian folk aesthetics. Having generalized ethnographic studies of one of the most prominent Ukrainian oral language scholars, S. Pylypčuk proved that the complex approach to the study of the phenomena of oral Ukrainian creative work and culture in general, offered by I. Franko, became the result of the profound analysis of the fundamental basis of European schools and their objective assessment (Pylypčuk 2014). Reasoning with this fact, we have to analyze from today’s point of view the role of a scholar in the context of world history, oral history and language studies.

I. Franko presented a convenient basis for research on the national fundamental grounds of modern domestic literary criticism. His studies on national literature need special attention. Particularly and with a view to the sources of national literature, Franko underlined the principle of working on a writer’s origin, his attitude towards religion, political relations, personal and social upbringing, social dispositions and the peculiarities of the historic development of the nation, heredity of spiritual traditions, formed by ages, types of national character and conceptions of the world, readers’ interests, influences of literature on these interests and society in general as well as the change of ideas and generations. Besides, I. Franko especially emphasized the need of identifying the historical conditions of origin, forming and settling of national literature. “We should, where the newer national literature begins to grow from the live source of folk traditions and from the observation of modern, surrounding reality, pay

special attention to this question” (Franko 1984, 16), – he wrote in “Tasks and method of the history of literature”.

According to I. Franko, any national literature, every national writer and critic, should be aware of the need to react towards harmful modern effects, to resist correspondently and to attack them by all means.

But I. Franko doesn't object to interrelations and interplays of different national literatures. He points out that historians working on national literature should, first of all, be the historians of national spirituality, he or she should “distinguish in it national from international, show how it absorbs foreign material, foreign forms and what of its own the literature brings into the general treasury of literary topics and forms; it should show what the literatures of neighboring nations mean for it and the national literature for them” (Franko 1983, 17).

D. Doncov, P. Zajcev, D. Čyževs'kyj and I. Dzjuba can be judged upon as representatives promoting this approach of traditions of national literary criticism, using profound knowledge of domestic history, philosophy, psychology and ethnology. They have been interested in developing a national fundamental basis of modern Ukrainian ethnology and literary criticism ignoring pseudoscientific ideas like Hrabovyč, Zabužko, Hundorova and others. On the contrary, D. Doncov, P. Zajcev, D. Čyževs'kyj and I. Dzjuba had in mind the specific Ukrainian grounds of peoples' everyday lives, profound historical methods of scientific thinking and truly innovatory results of research.

For example, we can mention the model of spiritual perfection of a Ukrainian and the types of interrelations with the world, the sources, content and components of which were profoundly and thoroughly revealed by D. Doncov in such works as “Where should a person look for our historical traditions”, “Spirit of our antiquity”, “Philosophy of the heart”. We should also mention P. Jurkevych and D. Čyževskyj, the range of problems, fundamental grounds of treating historical methods, psychologism and philosophy of artistic-aesthetic thinking of T. Ševčenko in the monographs “Taras Ševčenko's life” by P. Zajcev (1995), “Taras Ševčenko. His life and creative work” by I. Dzjuba (2008). D. Doncov identifies the subtlety and nobility of the spiritual world of the Ukrainian people, for instance, in their generosity, wisdom, courage, attitude to the country, in their way of life, thinking, in their dreams, ideas, goals and tasks, their cult of the motherland, ancestors, their glory, traditions and great mission (Doncov 2005). Emotions, exceptional attention to “determination of the great value of a person, determination of a person's right for the own, individual aesthetic way”, unity of the ideal of outer and inner harmony (Čyževskyj 1993, 167-188) – these elements should be the subject of special attention of modern Ukrainian literary criticism and the source of forming of its national fundamental bases.

Taking into account the reseach of their predecessors, S. Andrusiv, V. Morenec, N. Šumylo, L. Senyk, Ju. Martynenko and other modern Ukrainian specialists on literature also concentrate their attention on problems, being pro-

hibited or tabu in science during Soviet time. M. Ivanyšyn selects basic manifestations like neo-mythologism in its natural displays (S. Andrusiv), comparative literary criticism (V. Morenec), systemology (N. Šumylo), nation-centered problems (L. Senyk), consolidation of ethno-national identity of Ukrainian people (Ju. Martynenko), the basis of which is formed by treating social and literary-aesthetic phenomena in research studies on nation building. Thanks to this approach, one can conclude that Ukrainian experts on the history of literature could “clearly and reasonably divide into periods the development of Ukrainian literature from the 1870-s to the 1950-s; uncover nation-protecting functions in a number of literary genres, styles and directions; make more distinct immanent and borrowed literary features; trace the national essence of the processes of artistic innovations, literary dialogue, resistance to the empire regime, etc.; mark thematic and genre-style features; reveal specificity of the artistic-aesthetic mastering of the folk world outlook and others.” (Ivanyšyn 2009, 12).

Monographs reflecting the effectiveness of such an approach can be mentioned, like, for example “National-existence interpretation (basic theoretical and pragmatic aspects)” (2005) and “National way of understanding in the poetry of T. Ševčenko, E. Malanjuk, L. Kostenko” (2008), P. Ivanyšyn, V. Az’omov or R. Krochmal’nyj. P. Ivanyšyn’s publication focuses on the uniqueness of the national being as the object of research, its understanding and treatment in the context of an image of Ukraine, as a national person and the interpretation of the state as a political home, national sense of sorrow, joy, fate or other artistic-aesthetic manifestations. For R. Krochmal’nyj – the freedom and ancient beliefs of Ukrainians in eternity and the sanctity of glory as a self-sacrificial service to a great goal – the liberation of the Ukrainian people meant almost everything (Krochmal’nyj 2013, 646-662). Having profoundly understood the sources, the dialectics of forming of domestic oral folklore, creative work and written literature, V. Az’omov came to the conclusion that forming fundamental grounds of the studies should start with the research of the remote first manifestations of national sensation of the world, its perception, view, expression and consolidation by our people, as well as national, spiritual and historic values. Correspondingly, Az’omov established the original Spiritual Archetype System of the Ethno-national (SASE), as manifestation of the nature of our literature. Its essence consists of the matter of fact, that “in SASE literary creative work is determined as artistic concentration of national archetypical experience into the sphere of the artistically ethno-conscious” (Az’omov 2004). Its determining components are the following:

- 1) understanding the country and surrounding as an ulterior, eternal, life giving and spirit-creating beginning;
- 2) The mother tongue as a cosmically determined universe, which harmonizes the interaction of two worlds – the outer environmental and inner psycho-physical;

3) The axiom of moral laws of ethno- and family-centered spheres; their development in the system of a cultural civilization for all people in the hierarchy of their dialectic interaction (struggle and unity of oppositions);

4) The national understanding of the sense of life and happiness, the cult of national heroes;

5) The recognition, following and development of folk traditions, customs and rituals;

6) Provision for symmetry and equilibrium in the development of two connected archetypical worlds: the individual unconscious (person) and the collective unconscious (Az'omov 2015, 184-185).

Accordingly, this system should also become the subject of studies and discussions by scholars. It can be one of the sources of building the fundamental grounds of modern science in the field of folklore, creative work and literature. The idea of family is one of the ancient components of the Ukrainian national philosophy of life. Unfortunately, it was beyond the attention of our specialists in ethnography and literature (after Ukraine's independence it was partially studied in the above mentioned research of Ja. Herasym and M. Nabok), though V. Petrov (Petrov 1994, 244-249), Oleh Ol'žyč (Ol'žyč 1994, 242-264) many times strengthened the idea of family as the spiritual base of Ukrainian nationbuilding, of its traditions, rituals, of its Ukrainian national character and the way of life in general. Relating to this and working with the scientific heritage of Ju. Vassijan, M. Antonovyč wrote that understanding the nation as the family we "greatly differ from the state understanding of nation of the Western world (French and Anglo-Saxons) and the racial notion of Germans" (Antonovyč 1972, 31). Basically, modern scholars working on family centrism do not point out the role of the particular feature blood, but, first of all, the spiritual, energetic hereditary of generations (Luk"janenko 2008). The term and the idea of family in modern ethnology and literary studies can be characterized by a qualitatively new vision of the nature of psychology, peculiarities in the rise of artistic stories, literary work in general, problems and ideological-thematic directivity, of oral folklore and poetic creative work and written literature. We should put it into practice.

Overcoming the consequences of the colonial past of Ukraine, modern domestic ethnology and literary criticism present themselves in an exclusively national way related to its formation and development: The imperialist-communist ideology and the principles of Soviet pseudoscience should belong to the past. Attention should be paid to the Ukrainian national idea, which reveals new perspectives of forming features and notions, new fundamental grounds of research and treating the phenomena of folk spiritual culture and written literature, literary and spiritual development as specific national, specific Ukrainian ones. Their essence is to identify the sources and the nature, peculiarities of forming, development and role of national high-principled, aesthetic and artistic values, formed by the people during centuries in the spiritual and social-political progress of the nation.

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## II. SPRACHE ALS MERKMAL DER NATIONALEN (SELBST-)IDENTIFIKATION

### DIE UKRAINER IM KUBAN'-GEBIET: NATIONALE UND SPRACHLICHE IDENTIFIKATION

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(Ukraine)

*In diesem Artikel werden die Besonderheiten der Herausbildung der nationalen Struktur der Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes behandelt sowie die Probleme der nationalen und sprachlichen Identifikation der Nachkommen der ukrainischen Kosaken, die seit fast zweieinhalb Jahrhunderten im Kuban'-Gebiet leben. Es werden auch die entscheidenden Aspekte der National- und Sprachpolitik Russlands gegenüber den Ukrainern auf dem Territorium der Russischen Föderation und gegenüber der ukrainischen Sprache analysiert.*

*Stichworte: Kuban'-Gebiet, Ukraine, Russland, ukrainische Kosaken, Sprachpolitik.*

### УКРАЇНЦІ НА КУБАНІ: НАЦІОНАЛЬНА І МОВНА ІДЕНТИФІКАЦІЯ

*Лілія Москаленко*

*У статті розглянуто особливості формування національного складу населення Кубані, проблеми національної та мовної ідентифікації нащадків українських козаків, які майже два з половиною століття живуть на Кубані. Проаналізовано визначальні аспекти національної й мовної політики Росії щодо українців, які живуть на території Російської Федерації, та української мови.*

*Ключові слова: Кубань, Україна, Росія, українські козаки, мовна політика.*

Die Besiedelung des Kuban'-Gebiets begann bereits zur Zeit des Mittelpaläolitikums. Die ältesten Siedler im 1. Jh. des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. waren die Kimmerer. Im 7. Jh. v. Chr. wurden sie von den Skythen verdrängt. Seit jener Zeit lebten im Kuban'-Gebiet verwandte Stämme der Skythen, die Sinden und die Meoten. Diese Stämme betrieben Ackerbau und Fischfang und führten einen lebhaften Handel mit den Griechen, die Kolonien auf der Halbinsel Taman' gründeten. Seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. gingen die von Skythen, Sinden und Meoten bewohnten Gebiete in den Besitz des Bosporanischen Reichs über, das im 1. Jh.



n. Chr. unter die Macht Roms kam. Im 2. Jh. n. Chr. verdrängten die nomadischen Sauromaten die Skythen. Sie begannen sich später Sarmaten, dann Alanen zu nennen. Am Ende des 4. Jh. n. Chr. zerstörten die Hunnen das Bosporanische Reich, und die ehemalige Bevölkerung vermischte sich mit den Eroberern. Infolge dessen lebten in den Steppen die Nachfahren der Hunnen (später Bulgaren, Awaren u. a.), im Vorgebirge und den Bergen im Westen gingen aus Meoten und Sinden die Čerkessen hervor (Eigenname Adyge, in den ukrainischen Chroniken Kasogen genannt), im Zentral-Kaukasus aus Alanen die Osseten (in ukrainischen Chroniken Jasen genannt). Um das 5. Jh. erreichte ein Teil der Goten von der Krim aus die Taman'-Halbinsel. Sie brachten das Christentum in das Kuban'-Gebiet. Im 7. Jh. ging das gesamte Kuban'-Gebiet in den Besitz des Staates der Chazaren über. Vom 9. Jh. an erschienen im Kuban'-Gebiet die slavischen Stämme der Severjanen, die am Fluß Donec entlang bis zum Unterlauf des Don zogen, von da – am Ufer des Asovschen Meeres entlang – bis zur Halbinsel Taman' und am Fluß Kuban' aufwärts. Im 10. Jh. entstand nach der Niederlage der Chazaren, Tscherkessen (Kasogen) und Osseten (Jasen) gegen den Fürsten Svjatoslav im westlichen Teil des Kuban'-Gebiets das Fürstentum Tmutorokan, dessen Territorium (Taman'-Halbinsel) in den Besitz der Kyjiver Rus' überging. Zwei Jahrhunderte hindurch befand sich das Fürstentum Tmutorokan in der Hand der Fürsten von Černihiv. Im 12. Jh. schwächten Angriffe der Polovcer das Fürstentum, und die Fürsten der Rus' waren gezwungen Tmutorokan zu verlassen. Das Gebiet ging in den Besitz von Byzanz über. Jedoch wird die Bevölkerung der Rus' des Asovschen Küstengebiets, das von den Polovcern abhängig war, noch im 13. Jh. erwähnt. In der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jh.s wurde das Kuban'-Gebiet von den Mongolen erobert und verwüstet, aber in den Bergen hielten sich Čerkessen und Alanen. Nach der Schwächung der Mongolen im Kuban'-Gebiet begannen sich italienische (vor allem genuesische) Kolonien zu verbreiten, die Handels- und Kulturzentren bildeten. Nach dem Zerfall der Goldenen Horde am Ende des 15. Jh.s entstand in den Steppen des Kuban'-Gebiets die Nogajer-Horde, die in die Struktur des Krim-Chanats überging. Damals wurden die Festungen der Genueser von den Türken zerstört, und das Krim-Chanat wurde ihr Vasall. Aus diesem Grund war das nördliche Kuban'-Gebiet 300 Jahre hindurch vom Osmanischen Imperium abhängig, nur südlich des Flusses Kuban' blieben die Stämme der Čerkessen unabhängig.

Seit Mitte des 16. Jh.s begann im Kaukasus der Einfluss Moskaus, der sich seit Anfang des 18. Jh.s verstärkte. In dieser Zeit war der Grenzfluß Kuban' ein zwischen den nomadischen Tataren (Nogajern) und den ansässigen Čerkessen umkämpftes Gebiet. Während des Bestehens der Zaporozher Sič (erste Hälfte des 16. Jh.s bis 1775) suchten die Kosaken des Zaporozher Heeres das östliche Ufer des Asovschen Meeres auf und hatten Fischfanggründe auf Taman' (Miller 1994, 1210-1211). Seit dem 16. Jh. griffen die Tataren regelmäßig die slavischen Gebiete an, nahmen Gefangene und verkauften sie dann als Sklaven in der genuesischen Festung Taman', die zum Zentrum des Sklavenhandels wurde. Zur Befreiung der Sklaven begannen die Zaporozher Kosaken in die Tiefe des no-

gajschen Besitzes einzudringen und beherrschten dieses Land auch im 17. Jh. (hauptsächlich nahe des Jejs'ker Limans, des Mündungsgebietes). Die Kosaken betrachteten das Kuban'-Gebiet bis zu den Flüssen Jeja und Kuban' als Teil der Zaporožer Sič (Bilyj 1994, 4-5).

In den Kuban'-Gebieten ließen sich für kürzere Zeit auch Russen nieder. So siedelte zu Beginn des 18. Jh.s ein Teil der von Zar Peter I. am Don zerschlagenen Bulavin-Aufständischen unter Führung von Ataman Nekrasov für kürzere Zeit im Kuban'-Gebiet, doch nach dem Tod ihres Führers zogen sie ins Donau-Gebiet um (Bilyj 1994, 11). Während des Russisch-Türkischen Krieges 1768–1774 vernichteten die russischen Truppen unter Führung des Generals O. Suworov die Nogajer-Horde im Kuban'-Gebiet fast vollständig, wobei sie den nördlichen Teil des Kuban'-Gebietes in wildes Feld verwandelten. 1774 nach dem Friedensvertrag von Küçük Kaynarca verzichtete die Türkei auf das Krim-Chanat und damit auch auf das nördliche Kuban'-Gebiet, das 1783 Bestandteil des Russischen Reiches wurde (Miller 1994, 1211).

Der Fluss Kuban' wurde im West-Kaukasus als Grenze zwischen dem Russischen Reich und der Türkei anerkannt. Er wurde Bestandteil der Kaukasischen Linie, die befestigt wurde, als das russische Heer unter Führung von O. Suworov 1784 zehntausend tatarische Krieger vernichtete. Einen Teil der Nogajer, die am Leben blieben, wie auch andere Nomadenstämme siedelte man in die Steppengebiete am Ural, am Kaspischen Meer und der Krim um. Die Gebiete am Kuban' blieben praktisch ohne Bevölkerung (Bilyj 1994, 4-12; Čyžykova 1967, 17). Ostwärts des Flusses Kuban' blieben nur kleinere Stämme der Čerkessen erhalten (Miller 1994, 1211).

Durch die aktive Expansion in das Kuban'-Gebiet, das als Basis für den Angriff auf den Kaukasus dienen sollte, konnte Russland auch die freiheitsliebenden Zaporožer Kosaken nicht dulden, denn es drohte die Bildung einer unabhängigen Kosakenrepublik inmitten des Russischen Imperiums (Bilyj 1994, 4-12). 1775 wurde durch Erlass der Zarin Katharina II. die Zaporožer Sič aufgelöst: Am Morgen des 4. Juni 1775 umzingelten 68.000 Soldaten der regulären Russischen Armee die Festung, in der sich 10.000 Kosaken aufhielten. Der Anführer Ataman Petro Kanyševs'kyj und der Archimandrit der Sič Volodymyr Sokal's'kyj erlaubten den Zaporožern, den selbstmörderischen, ungleichen Kampf nicht aufzunehmen. Damit retteten sie die bereits in Gefangenschaft geratenen Kosakenfamilien und die Führungsschicht des Ukrainischen Kosakenstaates (Bilyj 1994, 12). Die Zaporožer Eliten, die das traurige Schicksal der nach Sibirien verbannten Anführer der Sič nicht teilten, sowie zehntausende Zaporožer, denen die Versklavung drohte, hatten die Hoffnung, das Zaporožer Heer wiederherzustellen. Ein Teil der Kosakentruppen (Zaporožer und Polen) siedelte in das Gebiet des Osmanischen Reiches über. An der Donaumündung gründeten sie die Zadunajs'ka Sič, die 53 Jahre bestand (1775–1828). Während der russisch-türkischen Kriege kämpften die Zadunajer an der Seite der Türkei, jedoch lief 1828 ein Teil der Kosaken mit dem Anführer J. Hladkyj an der Spitze zu den Russen über. Deshalb lösten die Türken die Zadunajs'ka Sič auf. Aus

den 1.500 Kosaken Hladkyjs bildete die russische Regierung zur Verteidigung der westlichen Küste des Asovschen Meeres das Asovsche Kosaken-Heer. In den Jahren 1828–1829 nahm es am russisch-türkischen Krieg als Donau-Kosaken-Regiment teil, und 1831 wurde es im Gouvernement Katerynoslav angesiedelt. In den Jahren 1862–1864 siedelte man einen Teil dieses Regiments in das Kuban'-Gebiet und in den Nordkaukasus um. Das Asovsche Kosaken-Heer wurde 1864 aufgelöst (Zadunajs'ka Sič 2003, 459; Asovsches Kosaken-Heer 2003, 25). Der zweite Teil des Zaporožer Kosaken-Heeres verblieb in der Ukraine. Sie gründeten das Heer der Treuen Kosaken und zogen in den Krieg gegen die Türkei (Čornomors'ke kozac'ke vijs'ko 2003, 459). Kosaken kämpften zwar an der Seite Russlands für seine aggressiven Interessen, nutzten aber die kritische Lage aus, die an den südlichen Grenzen des zaristischen Russlands entstand. Dieser Teil der Zaporožer stärkte seinen militärischen Ruhm und sicherte damit das Recht auf die Existenz der Kosakentruppen. Nach der Eroberung der Festung Beresan' im Jahr 1787 – dabei spielte die Kosakenflotte eine entscheidende Rolle – erhielt das Heer den Namen Schwarzmeer-Kosakenheer, bekam aber die von Russland annektierten Kosakengebiete nicht mehr zurück. Stattdessen erhielten die Kosaken als Siedlungsgebiet ein großes Stück Land hinter dem Fluss Bug, entlang der Flüsse Dnistr und Telihul sowie am Fluss Beresan' nahe der Očakiv-Mündung. Zur neugegründeten Sič am Bug zogen Kosaken aus der ganzen Ukraine. Doch die Kosakenführung, wohl wissend, dass die zaristische Regierung keine neue Sič in der Ukraine dulden würde, wandte sich an die zaristische Regierung mit der Bitte um eine Umsiedlung in das Gebiet am Fluss Kuban'. 1788 wurde dem Schwarzmeer-Kosakenheer im Auftrag von Katharina II. Land auf der Halbinsel Taman' und auf dem rechten Ufer des Kuban' von der Mündung bis zur Einmündung des Flusses Laba zugewiesen. Die Steppengebiete östlich des Flusses Laba (der sog. Alten Linie) waren den Kosaken des kaukasischen Linienheeres vorbehalten, die gewaltsam aus den Landkreisen von Ust'-Medvedync'k, Choper und dem Zweiten Don-Landkreis überführt wurden (Čyžykova 1967, 18-19). Durch Zarenerlass vom 30. Juni 1792 bekam das Schwarzmeer-Kosakenheer das gesamte Kuban'-Gebiet zur ewigen Nutzung (Bilyj 1994). Die zaristische Regierung begann damit die militärisch bedingte Besiedlung des praktisch unbesiedelten Landes am rechten Ufer des Kuban' mit ukrainischen und russischen Kosaken (Čyžykova 1967, 17; Bilyj 2005, 5-6).

Im Herbst 1792 begann das Schwarzmeer-Heer, aufgestellt aus ehemaligen Zaporožer Kosaken, das seine nationale Struktur bewahrt hatte, ins Kuban'-Gebiet umzusiedeln, wobei neben Ukrainern auch Russen, Moldawier, Bulgaren, Serben, Albaner und Polen dazukamen (Čyžykova 1967, 18; Bilyj 2005, 29-34). Die Schwarzmeer-Kosaken gründeten ihre Siedlungen im Kuban'-Gebiet (42 Abteilungen), die abgesehen von Berezans'kyj und Katerynivs'kyj die gleichen Namen trugen wie in Zaporizžja. Seit dieser Zeit begann die Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes rasch zu wachsen. Darüber gibt es dokumentierte Listen, sowohl in ukrainischen, als auch in russischen Quellen. Im Jahre 1794 lebten 12.645 Männer und 5.526 Frauen im Kuban'-Gebiet (Bilyj 1994, 25). Im Jahre

1795 wohnten am rechtsseitigen Ufer des Kuban'-Gebietes schon 25.000 Menschen, 30% (7.500) waren ehemalige Kosaken, 40% (10.000) freie Menschen, die zusammen mit den Schwarzmeer-Kosaken im russisch-türkischen Krieg dienten. 1802 wurden Kosaken der Katerynoslaver Truppen, die im Jahre 1788 aus Bewohnern des Gouvernements Katerynoslav und der Sloboda-Ukraine (später Charkiv) gebildet worden waren, an die Alte Linie verlegt. Sie ließen sich in den neuen Kosaken-Siedlungen nieder – in Temyzbeks'kij, Kazans'kij, Tiflis'kij, Ladoz'kij. 1804 wurde das Dorf Voronež gegründet, in das frühere Bewohner des Zmijvs'ker Gebietes des ukrainischen Sloboda-Gouvernements übersiedelten (Čyžykova 1967, 18–19). Insgesamt kamen an die Alte Linie: 1802 – 390 Kosaken aus der Sloboda-Ukraine; 1803 – 2.277 Personen aus dem Gouvernement Katerynoslav; 1804 – 378 Kosaken mit Familien aus dem Charkiver Gebiet; 1805 – 229 aus dem Gouvernement Katerynoslav (Bilyj 1994, 26). In den Jahren 1809–1849 fand die Umsiedelung von ukrainischen Kosaken, der 'landarmen' aus den Gouvernements Poltava, Černihiv und Charkiv, statt, ebenso die Umsiedelung von 'Geflüchteten' aus verschiedenen Gebieten des russischen Reiches, vor allem aus den Gouvernements Novorosijs'k und Voronež (Čyžykova 1967, 18; Bilyj 1994, 26). Insgesamt siedelten bis zum Jahr 1811 ins Kuban'-Gebiet 41.000 Ukrainer aus den Gouvernements Poltava und Černihiv um (Bilyj 1994, 27). 1825 siedelten am Oberlauf des Flusses Kuban' und an der Kuma die Choper-Kosaken – das Choper-Regiment war 1770 aus dreitausend ukrainischen Kosaken aufgestellt und später im Gouvernement Stavropol' angesiedelt worden, und Teile der Wolga-Kosaken. Sie gründeten die Kosaken-Dörfer Nevynnomys'ka, Bilomečets'ka, Batalpašync'ka, Bekešivs'ka, Suvorivs'ka, Borhustans'ka und Jesentuks'ka (Čyžykova 1967, 19). Während der Jahre 1821–1825 wurden am rechten Kuban'-Ufer 48.000 Mann aus den Gouvernements Poltava, Slobožanščyna, Kyjiv und Černihiv angesiedelt (Bilyj 1994, 27; 2005, 7–9).

1829 wurde das ganze Land jenseits des Flusses Kuban' bis zum Schwarzen Meer gemäß dem Friedensvertrag von Adrianopol in die Struktur des Russischen Reichs eingegliedert. Nahezu 500.000 Čerkessen waren gezwungen, in die Türkei zu emigrieren.

Die Kosaken begannen mit der Kolonisierung dieses Territoriums. Bald bewohnten sie das ganze Land an beiden Ufern des Flusses Kuban'. Die Kolonisierung des Kuban'-Gebietes dauerte an. 1832 siedelten sich 200 Familien ukrainischer Kosaken zwischen Anapa und Suchumi-Kale an, außerdem 2 ukrainische Regimenter am Fluss Terek in der Nähe von Vladykavkas. 1834 fand in der Ukraine die sogenannte 'Mädchen-Einberufung' statt. In den Nordkaukasus wurden 500 leibeigene Mädchen als zukünftige Frauen für ledige Kosaken gebracht. Im Jahr 1843 siedelten sich im Gebiet des Oberlaufs des Flusses Kuban' zwei Čuhujiver Kosaken-Regimenter aus dem Gouvernement Charkiv an; 1848–1849 etwa 14.000 Mann aus der Slobožanščyna, Poltavščyna, Katerynoslavščyna, Černihivščyna und Kyjivščyna. Allein nach 1850 siedelten laut offizieller Angaben 130.000 Personen aus der Ukraine in das Kuban'-Gebiet um. Jährlich

kamen in das Kuban'-Gebiet auch Tausende aus herrschaftlicher Unfreiheit Geflohene sowie Nachkommen der Zaporožer und der Zadunajs'ker Sič (etwa 500 Mann am Anfang des Jahrhunderts) und des Asovschen Kosakenheeres (Bilyj 1994, 27). Nach der Beendigung des Kaukasus-Krieges begaben sich wieder Hunderttausende neue, nicht kosakische Übersiedler in den Kaukasus, die man 'novhorodny' oder 'horodovyky' nannte (Huržij 2004, 172). Die Zuwanderer anderer Völker, die am Prozess der Ethnogenese des Schwarzmeer-Kosakentums im Kuban'-Gebiet im späten 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jh.s teilnahmen, wurden, obwohl bunt zusammengewürfelt, ohne Schwierigkeiten in die ukrainische Ethnie integriert (Čumačenko 2004, 195; Bilyj 2005, 7–9). Das linksseitige Ufer des Gebietes am Kuban'-Fluss blieb noch bis 1864 im Besitz der 'friedlichen' und der 'nicht-friedlichen' Tscherkessen-Stämme (Čyžykova 1967, 17). 1860 wurden Teile der Kosakentruppen, die im Stromgebiet des Kuban'-Flusses aufgestellt worden waren, in das Kuban'-Kosakenheer eingegliedert. Das ganze Land mit den Vorbergen des Kaukasus (Zakubannja), das vom Kuban'-Kosakenheer besetzt war, ging in die Struktur des neugegründeten Kuban'-Gebietes ein. Ein Teil der Adyge, Abasinen, Kabardiner und Nogajer siedelte in die Türkei um, die Adyge-Stämme wurden am linksseitigen Ufer des Kuban' und an den Einmündungen seiner Zuflüsse angesiedelt (Čyžykova 1967, 20).

Nach der Abschaffung der Leibeigenschaft in Russland 1861 begaben sich weitere Hunderttausende nicht-kosakische Immigranten ins Kuban'-Gebiet. Im Jahre 1864 begann die Besiedlung des Vorgebirges des westlichen Kaukasus. Das linke Ufer des Kuban' wurde von Freiwilligen und Bewohnern von Kosaken-Dörfern durch das Los besiedelt. Die Daten über die ethnische Zusammensetzung der ersten Siedler bezeugen das Anwachsen des Anteils der ukrainischen Bevölkerung von Ost nach West. Die Kosaken-Dörfer der westlichen Zakubannja bis zu dem Fluss Afips bestanden hauptsächlich aus Schwarzmeer- und Asovschen Kosaken (letztere bildeten sich aus ehemaligen Saporožer-Kosaken sowie aus Staatsbauern aus der Ukraine). Verständlich, dass hier die Ukrainer überwoogen. Die Kosakendörfer der östlichen Gebiete zwischen den Flüssen Kuban', Laba und Bila wurden hauptsächlich von Kosaken der Kuban'-Linie und von den Don-Kosaken besiedelt. Im zentralen Teil der Zakubannja wurden sowohl Linien-Kosaken als auch Schwarzmeer-Kosaken angesiedelt, wobei zwischen den Flüssen Afips und Psekups überwiegend Umsiedler aus den Schwarzmeer-Kosakendörfern lebten, während östlich des Psekups in den meisten Dörfern die Mehrheit der Bewohner aus Linien- und Don-Kosaken bestand (Čyžykova 1967, 21). Eine Studie historischer Daten, die mit der Besiedelung des Nordwestens des Kuban'-Gebietes während des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts verbunden ist, zeigt, dass dort Umsiedler aus den Gouvernements Katerynoslav, Černihiv, Poltava, Charkiv und Kyjiv die überwiegende Mehrheit bildeten (Čyžykova 1967, 18). 1896 wurde ein Teil des Schwarzmeer-Gebietes dem neugebildeten Gouvernement von Novorossijsk eingegliedert. Am Anfang des 20. Jh.s kehrten die Nachfahren der ehemals an der Bulavin-Rebellion beteiligten

Nekrasover Kosaken in das Kuban'-Gebiet zurück. Sie gründeten die Gutshöfe Novo-Nekrasov, Potemkin und Novo-Prokrov im Gebiet von Prymors'ko-Achtars'k (Čyžykova 1967, 25–26). Im späten 19. bis zum frühen 20. Jh. kam die überwiegende Mehrheit der Einwanderer in das Kuban'-Gebiet aus südrussischen Gouvernements und aus den östlichen Gouvernements der Ukraine – also aus den 'Livoberežžja' genannten Gebieten links des Dnipro (Čyžykova 1967, 22). Allerdings bleibt die quantitative Dominanz der Ukrainer in den westlichen Landkreisen sowie der Russen in den östlichen Gegenden weiter aufrechterhalten (Čyžykova 1967, 23).

Die Dokumente des späten 18. Jh.s (zu Beginn der Besiedlung des Kuban'-Gebietes mit ukrainischen Kosaken (Schwarzmeer-Zaporožer-Kosaken)) bis zur ersten Hälfte des 19. Jh.s machten und machen es wegen 'gefälschter Theorien' nicht möglich, die nationale Zusammensetzung der Neusiedler zu bestimmen (Čyžykova 2004, 195). Große Möglichkeiten zur Entstehung und Entwicklung solcher 'falscher Theorien' lieferten Ereignisse von der 2. Hälfte des 19. bis zum frühen 20. Jh. So führte die Vereinigung des Schwarzmeer-Heeres mit Teilen des Linien-Heeres zu einem einheitlichen Kuban'-Kosakenheer zur der Theorie, dass die ethnischen Integrationsprozesse am Ende des 19. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jh.s zur Entstehung eines neuen "Subethnos", der Kuban'-Kosakengemeinschaft, inmitten des russischen Volkes führten. Damit war die ukrainische Komponente beseitigt worden. Die politische Botschaft dieser Theorie liegt darin, zu zeigen, dass die Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes ihr ukrainisches Erbe in der vorrevolutionären Periode unwiderruflich verloren hatte (Čumačenko 2004, 195). Zur Widerlegung dieser Darstellung weist Volodymyr Čumačenko darauf hin, dass der Versuch zur gegenseitigen „Verständigung“ zweier ethnischer Gruppen im Moment der Revolution nicht nur weiterging, sondern sich sogar extrem verstärkte.

Folgende 4 Punkte bezeugen dies:

1. Die Nicht-Anerkennung des offiziellen Gründungsdatums des Kuban'-Kosakenheeres (das Jahr 1696, der Zeitpunkt in den offiziellen Akten, zu dem der Dienst des Choper-Regiments für den russischen Thron erwähnt ist, welches an der Belagerung der Festung von Azov unter der Führung des Zaren Peter I. beteiligt war) sowie der Feiern ihres 200-jährigen Jubiläums 1896 seitens der Kuban'-Kosaken. Das kann man damit erklären, dass der Begriff 'Kosak' für die Kuban'-Kosaken selbst von Anfang an nicht nur die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Militärstand, sondern vor allem die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten ethnischen, historischen und kulturellen Tradition bedeutete, die dahinterstand; diese Tradition reichte sehr viel tiefer in die Vergangenheit, als nur zum Jahr 1696.
2. Die Rapporte des Atamans des Kuban'-Kosakenheeres Generalleutnant Babyč (ehemaliger Schwarzmeerkosak, im Dienst des Kuban'-Heeres) an den Oberst Nakaznyj-Ataman der kaukasischen Kosakentruppen (die letzte Instanz wäre der russische Zar) vom 22. Dezember 1910 über die Übergabe aller Regalien (die in den Sammlungen der Eremitage, des Artillerie-Museums

und in der Verklärungskathedrale in St. Petersburg aufbewahrt wurden) an die Kuban'-Kosaken "als direkte, historische Nachkommen der Zaporozher Kosaken" sowie vom 12. Februar 1911 mit der Bitte um die Anerkennung des Gründungsjahres 1556 für das Kuban'-Kosakenheer, d.h. der Zeit der Gründung des Zaporozher Heeres Nyzov, wohin "die sehnlichsten Gedanken der Nachkommen der Zaporozher" streben. Auf beide Rapporte erhielt man negative Antworten, mit dem Hinweis, dass "das Jahr 1696 für die Kuban'-Kosaken wegen des Militärdienstes ihrer Vorfahren für Russland viel wertvoller sein sollte" als die Daten, die mit den Heldentaten der Zaporozher verbunden sind, die "noch viele Jahre .... keine Untertanen Russlands sein wollten und jede Gelegenheit nutzten, sich davon zu befreien".

3. Die auf nationaler Basis erfolgte Teilung der Rada von Kuban', also des lokalen Parlaments zu Zeiten des Bürgerkriegs in Russland 1918-1919, in 2 Fraktionen: die Čornomorci (Ukrainer), die eine föderale Beziehung mit der Ukraine befürworteten, und die Linier (Russen), die das Motto des „großen und unteilbaren“ Russlands unterstützten.
4. Die autonome Existenz von zwei ethnischen Diaspora-Gruppen des Kuban' im Exil: In Prag bildeten die Nachkommen der Čornomorci ukrainische und pro-ukrainische Organisationen (insbesondere die 'Gemeinde der Ukrainer vom Kuban'), integrierten sich teilweise in die ukrainische Diaspora, nahmen an der Veröffentlichung ukrainischer und ukrainisch-russischer Periodika teil, woraus ersichtlich wird, wie die Trennungs- oder Versöhnungsversuche der beiden ethnischen Gruppen des Kuban' unter Voraussetzung der Parität und des gegenseitigen Respektes erfolgten (Čumačenko 2004, 196–198).

Im 20. Jh. vollzog sich im Kuban'-Gebiet beharrlich ein Genozid an den Ukrainern. In den ersten Jahren nach der Revolution von 1917 hatte die ukrainische Bevölkerung dort erhebliche Verluste erlitten. Während des russischen Bürgerkriegs sowie in den 20-er bis 30-er Jahren wurde das Kuban'-Kosakenheer fast vollständig von den Bolschewiki vernichtet (während des Ersten Weltkrieges zählte das Kuban'-Kosakenheer etwa 100.000 Mann), die Überlebenden hatten keinen anderen Ausweg als zu emigrieren (R.M. 1994, 1214–1217). Die ukrainischen Intellektuellen des Kuban', die in der kurzen Zeit der „Ukrainisierung“ im Kuban'-Gebiet in Erscheinung traten (Bilyj 2005, 22–29), erlitten Repressalien und wurden in Stalins KZ-Lagern während der „Entukrainisierung“ vernichtet (R.M. 1994, 1217; Bilyj 2005, 35–37). 1929 begann die flächendeckende Kollektivierung mit dem Ziel der Versklavung der freiheitsliebenden und hart arbeitenden bäuerlichen Bevölkerung, die sowohl in der Ukraine, als auch im Kuban'-Gebiet Widerstand dagegen leistete. Hunderttausende von ukrainischen Familien, die durch ihre Arbeit aus dem Kuban'-Gebiet ein erstaunenswertes, blühendes Land gemacht hatten, wurden verhaftet und nach Sibirien verschleppt, wo viele durch Hunger und Kälte den Tod fanden. Der Rest fand sich in kollektiven Landgütern, sogenannten Kolchosen, wieder und wurde fast vollständig durch die künstlich organisierte Hungersnot (Holodomor) ausgerottet. Etwa 30 Bezirke des Kuban'-Gebietes, in denen die Ukrainer überwoogen, wur-

den in den Hungertod getrieben. Die Aufsässigen wurden erschossen oder nach Sibirien verbannt. Laut verschiedenen Quellen wurden aus dem Kuban'-Gebiet 50.000 bis 200.000 Menschen deportiert. Jene, die übrigblieben, befanden sich in dem Gebiet der Lebensmittelblockade. Dies waren die Kosaken-Dörfer Poltava, Medvedivka, Urups'ka, Uman, Nezamajkivs'ka, Temyrhojivs'ka, Ladoga, Novoroždestvens'ka, Novoderev'jankivs'ka, Staroderev'jankivs'ka, Starokorsuns'ka, Staroščerbynivs'ka, Platnyrivs'ka, Bokovs'ka und Meškovs'ka (Bilyj 1994, 98-99; 2005, 29-34). Nach offiziellen sowjetischen Angaben erfolgte in den Jahren 1932–1933 durch Enteignung und Verbannung der Großbauern in andere Landesteile der Sowjetunion eine bewusste (! – L.M.) Minderung des Anteils der ukrainischen Bevölkerung. Nachdem man die rebellierenden Bauern erschossen, sie Repressalien ausgesetzt oder in den Hungertod getrieben hatte, siedelte die Staatsverwaltung an ihrer Stelle neue Bewohner an, vor allem Russen. Um die neuen Kolchosen im Kuban'-Gebiet zu stärken und den Widerstand der Großbauern zu besiegen, wurde in den frühen 30-er Jahren eine Übersiedelung Freiwilliger (hauptsächlich demobilisierter Soldaten) oder sogar ganzer Kolchosen aus den Gebieten Stavropol und Rostov ins Kuban'-Gebiet organisiert (Čyžykova 1967, 26-27). Das waren aber andere Leute mit anderen Traditionen, anderer Erziehung und Weltanschauung, Menschen, die nichts gemeinsam hatten mit dem Kosakentum, sondern ihm sogar feindlich gesinnt waren (Čumačenko 2004, 199). In derart verstärkte Kolchosen des Kuban'-Gebietes wurden in der zweiten Hälfte der 30-er Jahre Auswanderer aus Rostov, Voronež, Orlov, Kurs'k und anderen südrussischen Staatsgebieten gemischt.

In der Nachkriegszeit wurde die Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes mit Einwanderern aus der Ukraine, aus Russland, dem Ural und Sibirien aufgefüllt.

Die uns bekannten statistische Daten der vor- und nachrevolutionären Zeit belegen das ständige Anwachsen der Gesamtbevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes (Čyžykova 1967, 17-34; Bilyj 1994, 28-29).

Gesamtzahl der Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes				
Volkszählung 1897	Volkszählung 1913	Laut Angaben des Zentralamtes für Statistik der UdSSR zum 1. Januar 1939	Laut Angaben des Zentralamtes für Statistik der UdSSR zum 1. Januar 1959	1965
1 911 133	3 050 391	3 171 605	3 762 499	4 218 000

Allerdings spiegeln die Daten über die ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes nicht nur die der jeweiligen Zeit entsprechenden, staatlich-politischen Realitäten einer historischen Periode wider, sondern unterliegen auch Interpretationen. So nivellierten in den 60-er Jahren des 20. Jh.s die russischen Forscher der Siedlungsgeschichte des Kuban'-Gebietes den



Unterschied zwischen Ukrainern und Russen, indem sie sie oft in einer Graphik als geographische oder politische Einheit zeigten (Čyžykova 1967, 22). Dies geschah ungeachtet dessen, dass das ganze Land auf der Halbinsel Taman' und am rechten Ufer des Flusses Kuban', von dessen Mündung bis zur Mündung des Flusses Laba, im Jahre 1788 unter der Regierung Katharinas II. dem Schwarzmeer-Kosakenheer zuerkannt worden war. Die Umsiedlung dieses Kosakenheers, das aus ehemaligen Zaporozher Kosakentruppen und Vertretern verschiedener sozialer Schichten meist ukrainischer Bevölkerung bestand, in das Kuban'-Gebiet begann im Herbst 1792 (Čyžykova 1967, 18). So zählen die Forscher nach der Volkszählung des Jahres 1897 nicht nur Auswanderer aus den Voronež-, Kursk- und Don-Gouvernements, die direkt an die ukrainischen Gebiete grenzen, zur Urbewölkerung des Europäischen Russlands; über die russische Herkunft dieser Bevölkerung kann man bereits stichhaltig diskutieren, weil ausgerechnet in diesen Gebieten noch bis heute autochthone ukrainische Siedlungen existieren (29,26%). Gleichzeitig werden aber auch die Zuwanderer aus den ukrainischen Gebieten von Charkiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Černihiv und Tauride (42,13%) zur Urbewölkerung gezählt. Daher ist mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit zu vermuten, dass von 93,68% der im europäischen Teil Russlands Geborenen 71,39% Ukrainer sind.

Im "Bericht über den Zustand des Kuban'-Gebietes" (1913) wurden die Ukrainer ebenfalls mit den Russen zusammen in einer Graphik aufgeführt, die Gesamtzahl beträgt 2.825.944 oder 92,64% der Gesamtbevölkerung (Čyžykova 1967, 24-25).

Ethnische Zusammensetzung	1913	
	Anzahl	%
Russen und Ukrainer	2 825 944	92,64
Kaukasische Bergvölkerung	131 566	4,34
Armenier	21 262	0,69
Georgier	1 596	0,05
Deutsche	25 640	0,84
Polen	4 333	0,14
Juden	2 334	0,07
Kalmücken und a. Nomaden	127	0,004
Tataren	2 041	0,07
Andere Nationalitäten	8 312	0,27
Ausländer	27 236	0,89
Gesamt	3 050 391	100

Um zumindest eine annähernde Vorstellung über das zahlenmäßige Verhältnis der Ukrainer zu den Russen zu schaffen, verwenden manche Autoren die Daten der Volkszählung vom Jahr 1897 mit der Zahl der Menschen, die ihre Muttersprache als Russisch oder als Ukrainisch angaben. Nach den Angaben dieser

Zählung betrachten 49,1% der Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes das Ukrainische als ihre Muttersprache, die russische Sprache 41,8% (nach anderen Quellen 41,17%) (Čyžykova 1967, 25; Bilyj 1994, 28).

Durch einfache Berechnungen und unter der Annahme, dass die Bevölkerung, die von 1.911.133 im Jahr 1897 auf 3.050.391 im Jahr 1913 anwuchs, sich einigermaßen symmetrisch auffüllte, wenn man den natürlichen Zuwachs der Nachkommen verschiedener Nationalitäten und der Zuwanderer aus der Ukraine, aus Russland und anderen Gebieten berücksichtigt, dürfen wir wohl vermuten, dass im Jahre 1913 im Kuban'-Gebiet 1.494.692 Ukrainer und 1.257.063 Russen lebten. Die Zahl der Russen kann sich in solchen Schätzungen höchstwahrscheinlich zugunsten der Ukrainer reduzieren, weil ein Teil der Ukrainer Russisch als Muttersprache angegeben haben könnte, da sie auf dem Territorium Russlands wohnten, in dem das Russische Amtssprache war, und sie immer auch eine Russifizierung erduldeten. Über die Anzahl der ukrainischen Bevölkerung zeugen auch die Angaben der Landwirtschaftszählung des Jahres 1917, wonach die Ukrainer 56% und die Russen 36% der Gesamtbevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes bildeten. Es gibt wissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse, die belegen, dass vor der Revolution von 1917 die Ukrainer 60% der Gesamtbevölkerung dieses Gebietes ausmachten – 1.791.000 Menschen (Bilyj 1994, 28-29).

Dies wird auch durch die allgemeinen Daten der Volkszählung in der UdSSR 1926 bestätigt, nach denen sich im Kuban'-Gebiet 850.985 Menschen (66,58%) Ukrainer nannten und 715.222 Personen (55,95%) die ukrainische Sprache als ihre Muttersprache angaben. Im Bezirk Armavir nannten sich 266.566 Personen Ukrainer (34,45%), die ukrainische Sprache erkannten jedoch nur 70.093 Personen (9,05%) als Muttersprache an; im Bezirk Majkop nannten sich 86.003 Personen (31,35%) Ukrainer, dabei gaben das Ukrainische als Muttersprache nur 33.962 Personen (12,38%) an (Čyžykova 1967, 31). Das bedeutet, dass 135.763 Ukrainer des Bezirks Kuban', 196.463 Ukrainer des Bezirks Armavir und 52.041 Ukrainer des Bezirks Majkop das Russische als ihre Muttersprache nannten. Insgesamt waren es somit 384.267 Ukrainer, die nach dem Kriterium der 'Muttersprache' als Russen gezählt werden konnten.

Die Materialien der vorrevolutionären Revisionen und Volkszählungen weisen auch auf das Anwachsen des nationalen Bewusstseins der Ukrainer hin. So haben gemäß der Volkszählung des Jahres 1897 908.818 Bewohner des Kuban'-Gebietes das Ukrainische als ihre Muttersprache angegeben; damit wurde die Zahl der Ukrainer höher als die Zahl der Russen (Čumačenko 2004, 196).

Trotz der tendenziösen Behandlung der ethnischen Besonderheiten der Bevölkerung im Kuban'-Gebiet während der allgemeinen Volkszählung in der UdSSR vom Jahr 1926 musste damals dennoch konstatiert werden, dass "die quantitative Dominanz der Ukrainer im Westen sowie der Russen im Osten, die sich im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jh. bildete, lange Zeit unverändert blieb" (Čyžykova 1967, 23).

Die nationalen Verhältnisse im Kuban'-Gebiet (in den Grenzen von 1914 gemeinsam mit dem Schwarzmeer-Gouvernement) sahen im Lichte der Volkszählung von 1926 folgendermassen aus (Kubijovč 1994, 1219):

Nationalität	in Tausend	in %
Ukrainer	1 674	47,1
Russen	1 460	41,0
Bergvölker	172	4,9
Armenier	79	2,2
Deutsche	38	1,1
Griechen	35	0,9
Weißrussen	27	0,8
Andere	72	2,0
Gesamt	3 557	100,0

Nach Angaben dieser Volkszählung wohnten 3 106 852 Ukrainer im Nordkaukasus. Im Kuban'-Gebiet nannten sich 62% der Einwohner Ukrainer, dabei überstieg in einigen Gebieten diese Messgröße 90% (Čumačenko 2001, 55).

Das Wachstum des nationalen Bewusstseins der Ukrainer des Kuban'-Gebietes rief während der Ukrainisierung der 20-er und 30-er Jahre in der Staatsführung der Sowjetunion Besorgnis hervor. Sie kehrte in den 30-er Jahren zur Politik der Russifizierung (Entukrainisierung) zurück, womit in hohem Maße die ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes beeinflusst wurde. Die Entukrainisierung des praktisch ukrainischen Landes, die von der Hungersnot von 1932–1933 sowie einer mächtigen Zwangsdeportation aus Kosaken-Dörfern mit ukrainischer Bevölkerung in die nördlichen Regionen der UdSSR begleitet war, führte zu einer fast 10-fachen Verringerung der ukrainischen Bevölkerung im Vergleich zum Jahr 1926 (Čumačenko 2004, 199).

Die zweifelhafte Ansicht, dass die Ukrainisierung des Kuban'-Gebietes einen gewaltsamen Charakter hatte, während die Ende Dezember 1932 verkündete Entukrainisierung im Kuban'-Gebiet eine 'Wohltat' gewesen sei, wird von Viktor Čumačenko stichhaltig dementiert (Čumačenko 2004, 198). Der Prozentsatz der Ukrainer unter den Opfern des Holodomor, der Deportationen und des bolschewistischen Terrors „erreichte 70%, d.h. die ukrainische Bevölkerung des Kuban'-Gebietes verlor in den Jahren 1929–1933 mindestens 1.575.000 Menschen“ (Bilyj 2005, 33). Dennoch blieb nach den Berechnungen von Bilyj der tatsächliche Prozentsatz der Ukrainer weiterhin recht hoch: Im Nordkaukasus war er bei 50,5% und im Kuban'-Gebiet bei etwa 30%. Es ist unstrittig, dass jeder Ukrainer, der im Kuban'-Gebiet nach der Entukrainisierung unter den Lebenden weilte, verstand: Als Ukrainer im Kuban'-Gebiet zu sein, ist nicht nur 'perspektivlos', sondern auch lebensgefährlich.

Spätere Volkszählungen (nach den Repressalien und der Hungersnot) lieferten überzeugende Beweise dafür: "Bei den Durchführungen der Allgemeinen Volkszählungen 1939 und 1959 in der UdSSR wurde diejenige ethnische Zuge-

hörigkeit eingetragen, zu der sich der Befragte selbst zählte, auch auf die Frage nach der Muttersprache wurde die Sprache benannt, die der Befragte als seine Muttersprache nannte” (Čyžykova 1967, 32). Laut der Volkszählung vom Jahr 1939 blieben offiziell nur 4,3% der Ukrainer in der gesamten Provinz (Bilyj 2005, 34). Nach den Angaben der Allgemeinen Volkszählung vom Jahr 1959 in der UdSSR, “nannten sich 89,4% der Bevölkerung der Region Krasnodar Russen, Ukrainer 3,9%” (Čyžykova 1967, 32). So bildeten die Ukrainer zusammen mit den Russen wieder 92% (genauer 92,3%) der Gesamtbevölkerung – wir erinnern daran, dass es im Jahr 1913 92,64% waren. Dabei hat sich aber der Prozentsatz drastisch zugunsten der Russen verändert, von allen Ukrainern betrachteten nur noch 40,6% Ukrainisch als ihre Muttersprache.

Die von politischen Repressalien, Kollektivierung und Hungersnot begleitete Entukrainisierung und der staatlich legalisierte, dominierende Zustand der russischen Sprache, begleitet von Nivellierung und Zerstörung alles Nationalen, hatten ihre Folgen. Schon im Jahre 1967 stellten russische Forscher zum 50. Jahrestag der Großen Sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution siegesbewusst die Probleme als Fakten der Kuban’-Realität dar: “Die Änderungen in der Definition der nationalen Zugehörigkeit bei der Bevölkerung des Kuban’-Gebietes, die in einem relativ kurzen, historischen Zeitraum stattfanden, wurden von einem komplizierten Komplex von Faktoren verursacht. Die Ausführung der leninistischen Nationalpolitik, die sozioökonomische Transformation des Landes – die Kollektivierung der Landwirtschaft [sprich: Vertreibung, Exil nach Sibirien, Hungersnot – L.M.], der sozialistische Aufbau, neue Bedingungen der Arbeit und des Alltagslebens zerstörten die Abgrenzung verschiedener Bevölkerungsgruppen der Vergangenheit, trugen zur Bildung einer wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Einheit bei. Ein großer Zustrom von Übersiedlern aus verschiedenen Teilen des Landes in das Kuban’-Gebiet in den 1930-er Jahren und in den Nachkriegsjahren, mit erheblicher Dominanz der Russen [sprich: Zugewanderte Russen, demobilisierte Rotarmisten anstelle der von der Hungersnot und Unterdrückung vernichteten Ukrainer – L.M.], verstärkten eine größere Annäherung zwischen den russischen und ukrainischen Bevölkerungsgruppen” (Čyžykova 1967, 33).

Die Volkszählung von 1989 zeigte eine weitere Verringerung des Prozentsatzes der Ukrainer unter der Bevölkerung des Gebietes auf 3,88% (Bilyj 2005, 35). Doch “die Forscher bezeugen, dass praktisch alle diese in den offiziellen Statistiken registrierten Ukrainer nach dem Jahr 1933 in das Kuban’-Gebiet kamen. Daraus können wir schließen, dass diejenigen Ukrainer, die Ureinwohner des Kuban’-Gebietes waren, in der Zeit der Volkszählungen einfach als Russen gerechnet wurden” (Bilyj 2005, 35).

Es muß auch erwähnt werden, dass die Politik der Russifizierung im Kuban’-Gebiet seit den Zeiten der Zerstörung der Zaporozher Sič bis in unsere Tage von der planmäßigen Änderung einiger national bedeutungsvoller Namen begleitet wurde. So bekamen kosakische Truppenteile im Kuban’-Gebiet, die ‘Kureni’, den Namen ‘Regimenter’, die Militär*regierung* wurde Militär*kanzlei*. Die Bezeichnungen der ersten Siedlungen der Schwarzmeer-Kosaken (Zaporozher

Kosaken) ab 1792 als ‘Kurin’ (Laubhütte), die deutlich auf ihre kosakische (ukrainische) Herkunft verwiesen, wurden nach der ‘besonderen Verordnung des Zaren Nikolaus I.’ im Jahre 1842 in ‘Stanica’ umbenannt (Bilyj 1994, 32). Das Heer der Treuen Kosaken, aus Teilen des Niederen Zaporožer-Heeres und des Niederen Registrierten Zaporožer-Heeres, die vereint in den russischen Dienst gingen, aufgestellt im Jahr 1788 unter dem Namen ‘Schwarzmeer-Kosakenheer’, bekam im Jahr 1860 nach der Vereinigung mit sechs Brigaden des Kaukasischen Heeres der Linien-Kosaken den Namen Kuban’-Kosakenheer. So verwandelten sich die Zaporožer Kosaken, aufgestellt als die Treuen Kosaken, zunächst in die Schwarzmeer-Kosaken, dann in die Kuban’-Kosaken, die schon dem Namen nach zu urteilen keine Beziehung zu den Zaporožer (d.h. ukrainischen) Kosaken hatten. Bei den Nachkommen der Zaporožer änderte man die ukrainischen Nachnamen in russische um: Hrim wurde zu Gromov, Mal’ko zu Malev etc. Mit der Einführung von Personalausweisen bekamen alle Ukrainer des Kuban’-Gebietes den Eintrag “Nationalität: Russe” (Bilyj 1994, 102). Eine derartige ‘Metamorphose’ fand sogar mit dem Familiennamen des berühmten russischen Schauspielers Poretčenkov (früher Poričenko) statt, der in Donec’k gegen ukrainische Soldaten kämpfte, die den Flughafen verteidigten. So geriet die Nachkommenschaft der Zaporožer Kosaken auf verschiedene Seiten der Barrikaden. Und dass die “wilden Urenkel der glorreichen Urgroßväter” (T. Ševčenko) ihre Waffen leider gegen ihre Brüder erhoben, ist nicht ihre Schuld.

Die Frage nach der Identität der Kuban’-Kosaken bekam in Russland seit der Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine eine besondere Schärfe. Gestützt auf historische Dokumente, die die politische Motivierung der Theorie der Entstehung einer “neuen ethnischen Gruppe” im Kuban’-Gebiet ablehnen, überzeugen die Argumente des Kuban’-Ukrainers Viktor Čumačenko (2004, 194-200). Dass die Theorie, derzufolge die Kuban’-Kosaken russische Kosaken und die Bewohner des Kuban’-Gebietes Teil des russischen (und nur dieses!) Volkes seien, einen ideologischen, aber keinen wissenschaftlichen Charakter besitzt, belegen auch zahlreiche regionale Lehrbücher für Geschichte (Maslov 2000, 108; Terchbratov 2000, 176; Ratušnjak 2000, 231), die in den letzten Jahrzehnten verlegt wurden und in denen die Charakteristik der nationalen Struktur der Bevölkerung vom 19. bis zum ersten Drittel des 20. Jh.s differenziert dargestellt wurde. Wichtige Daten über die nationale Differenzierung der Bevölkerung des Kuban’-Gebietes stammen allerdings aus der Nachkriegszeit, als die nationale Frage bereits ‘entschieden’ war (Čumačenko 2004, 199).

Allerdings bleibt der ukrainische Anteil der Bevölkerung des Kuban’-Gebietes beträchtlich, – 195.883 Menschen sogar nach offiziellen russischen Angaben (Bilyj 2005, 36). Die Schaffung günstiger Bedingungen für die nationalen und ethnischen Minderheiten nach den Jahren der Unabhängigkeit in der Ukraine, insbesondere für die russische, setzt zweifellos auf ein angemessenes Verständnis für die Probleme der sozialen und ethnisch-kulturellen Entwicklung der Ukrainer seitens der Regierung der Russischen Föderation. In dieser Hin-

sicht hätte die Erfahrung der 1920-er bis frühen 1930-er Jahre genutzt werden können, als auf dem Territorium Russlands ein vom Staat unterstütztes Netzwerk von ukrainischen Kultur-, Bildungs- und Informationseinrichtungen funktionierte. Dies geschah aber leider nicht.

Dreimal näherte sich das Kuban'-Gebiet einer wahren geistigen Blüte, einer Wiedergeburt: vor der Revolution des Jahres 1917, in den 1920-er bis in die frühen 1930-er Jahre sowie in den 90-er Jahren des 20. Jh.s. Ebenso oft wurde dieser Lauf gewaltsam unterbrochen: durch die revolutionären Ereignisse 1917, durch den Holodomor und die Unterdrückung der 20-er und 30-er Jahre, durch das Fehlen jeglicher Unterstützungsprogramme für die ukrainische Diaspora der Gebiete im nahen Ausland der Ukraine (1990-er Jahre). Wir tragen die Verantwortung dafür, dass die "reduzierte, heutige Generation der Ukrainophilen des Kuban'-Gebietes" nach der Hungersnot des Jahres 1933 und der siebenjährigen Unterdrückung des Sowjetregimes in den Jahren nach der Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine endgültig den Glauben an die Fähigkeit der ukrainischen Politiker verloren hat, den Glauben an die Möglichkeit einer fruchtbaren Partnerschaft, für die es sich lohnen würde, eine erfolgreiche Karriere in Russland und familiäres und persönliches Wohlergehen zu opfern; vielmehr sagen sie uns nun: "Lebe wohl, Ukraine, wir waren die letzten" (Čumačenko, 2005). Dennoch haben wir eine Chance – zumindest wollen wir daran glauben – mit ihnen einen Dialog zu beginnen für eine erneute, fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit und die Wiederherstellung all dessen, was in langen Jahren zerstört wurde oder verloren ging!

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## ÜBER DIE SPRACHENPOLITIK UND DIE SPRACHSITUATION

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*Der Artikel befasst sich mit der Sprachsituation in der Ukraine nach der 'Revolution der Würde' 2013 – 2014 unter Berücksichtigung der historischen Entwicklung der ukrainischen Sprache in der Ukraine, der Rolle der ukrainischen Nationaleliten und der Frage des sprachlichen Bewusstseins der Bürger als wesentlichen Kriteriums der nationalen Identifikation der Ukrainer. Es wird die Notwendigkeit des Ukrainischen als Staatssprache in der ukrainischen massenweissprachigen Gesellschaft aufgezeigt.*

*Schlüsselwörter: Sprachenpolitik, Sprachsituation, sprachliches Bewusstsein, Entrussifizierung, Ansehen der ukrainischen Sprache.*

## ПРО МОВНУ ПОЛІТИКУ ТА МОВНУ СИТУАЦІЮ

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*У статті розглянуто мовну ситуацію в Україні у світлі подій після Революції Гідності 2013 – 2014 років та з огляду на історичний розвиток української мови в Україні. Порушено питання ролі українських національних еліт та мовної свідомості громадян як визначальної ознаки національної ідентифікації українців. Вказано на необхідність утвердження української як єдиної державної мови в українському масово двомовному суспільстві.*

*Ключові слова: мовна політика, мовна ситуація, мовна свідомість, дерусифікація, престиж української мови.*

Die Sprache ist der Spiegel einer Nation;  
wenn wir in diesen Spiegel schauen, so kommt uns  
ein großes treffliches Bild von uns selbst daraus entgegen.<sup>44</sup>

Friedrich Schiller

Fragen der Sprachenpolitik und Forschungen über die Sprachsituation in der Ukraine sind genauso alt wie ihre Geschichte selbst. Ihre Aktualität haben sie auch nach der Verkündung der Staatsunabhängigkeit 1991 nicht verloren und sind vor allem mit dem Problem der ukrainisch-russischen Zweisprachigkeit und dem Status der ukrainischen Sprache in der Ukraine verbunden. Dabei sind die

<sup>44</sup> Schiller, F., Sämtliche Werke, München 1960, Bd. 1, S. 474 f.



Sprachenfragen ein wichtiger Bestandteil eines anderen wesentlichen Problems – der ukrainischen nationalen Identität, und gerade dadurch nehmen sie eine Sonderstellung in der Ukraine ein.

### *Rückblick in die Geschichte*

Ein intensiverer politisch bedingter Sprachkontakt zwischen der russischen und der ukrainischen Sprache auf dem Territorium der Ukraine besteht seit 1654<sup>45</sup>. Im Rückblick auf die historische und kulturelle Situation der letzten rund 350 Jahre, in der sich die ukrainische Sprache entwickelte und funktionierte, lässt sich feststellen, dass ihre Position, ihr Status und ihr Ansehen gegenüber dem Russischen nie gleich waren. Verfolgungen, Verbote und Einschränkungen des Ukrainischen u.a. im Bildungsbereich, in der Redaktionspolitik, im Verlagswesen (Virčenko 2010) insbesondere im 19. und 20. Jh. haben die Möglichkeiten ihrer funktionalen und stilistischen Differenzierung sowie ihrer Bereicherung deutlich eingeschränkt und dazu geführt, dass immer mehr Sprecher des Ukrainischen auf das Russische bzw. Suržyk<sup>46</sup> gewechselt haben.

Besonders aktiv und zielgerichtet wurde dieser Prozess in der UdSSR als offizielle Doktrin eines harmonischen Nebeneinanders der Allunionssprache und ‘zweiten Muttersprache’ Russisch mit den jeweiligen eigenen Muttersprachen betrieben und propagiert. Im Einklang mit der offiziellen Staatspolitik und der Ideologie betonten auch sovjetische Sprachwissenschaftler die Gleichheit des Russischen und der anderen Nationalsprachen in den Republiken der UdSSR und betrachteten die Wechselwirkung des Russischen und u.a. des Ukrainischen als positive sprachliche Erscheinung: “Die Zweisprachigkeit in der Ukraine ist jene Art vom Bilingualismus, bei der beide Sprachen, die sich auf einem hohen Entwicklungsniveau aller ihrer Funktionstile befinden, in gleicher Breite und im gleichen Umfang vom Volk gebraucht werden” (Beloded 1981, 57)<sup>47</sup>. Heutige ukrainische Soziolinguisten bezeichnen dagegen diese Sprachsituation als paradox, denn entsprechend der Verfassung der Ukrainischen Sowjetrepublik galt nur das Ukrainische als Staatssprache, in der Praxis aber funktionierten im Land uneingeschränkt zwei Sprachen – das Russische und das Ukrainische, in manchen Regionen sogar nur das Russische (Ruda 2012, 5). Die russische Sprache dominierte in allen Bereichen des staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens. Sie war

<sup>45</sup>Am 18. Januar 1654 wurde in Perejasliv (heute Perejasliv-Chmel’nyč’kyj, Gebiet Kyjiv) vom Rat der ukrainischen Zaporozher Kosakenführung ein Treueid auf den russischen Zaren Aleksej I. abgelegt. Von Het’man Bohdan Chmel’nyč’kyj wurde der umstrittene Vertrag von Perejasliv unterzeichnet – nach ukr. Lesart ein Abkommen zweier unabhängiger Staaten, nach russ. Lesart die territoriale Angliederung des ukrainischen Kosakenstaates an das russische Zarenreich.

<sup>46</sup>Eine Mischsprache – Ergebnis der ‘Angleichung und Assimilation’ des Ukrainischen an das Russische. Als gemischte Form der Rede ist in den verwandten und strukturell ähnlichen ostslavischen Sprachen Belarussisch und Russisch ist z.B. auch in Belarus’ die ‘Trasjanka’ verbreitet.

<sup>47</sup>Übersetzung hier und im weiteren aus dem Ukr. und Ru. ins Dt. von uns (N., Š.).

die Sprache der Staatsmacht, der Armee, der Kultur, der Bildung und der Wissenschaft. Gegen das Ukrainische wurde dagegen konsequent eine Politik der Einmischung in die innere Struktur der Sprache von der Phonetik bis hin zur Syntax, in ihre Kodifizierung mit dem Ziel der Zwangsassimilation und der Angleichung des Ukrainischen an das Russische betrieben, was zur Vernichtung seiner Eigenart geführt hat: Die traditionelle ukrainische Rechtschreibung wurde verletzt; falls es z.B. in der Reihe der Synonyme Wörter gab, die dem Russischen ähnelten und andere, die nur im Ukrainischen verwendet wurden, strich man letztere ohne Bedenken heraus etc. (Ševeljov 2008, 311; Kul'tura fachovoho movlennja 2005, 29-30). Das Verdrängen des Ukrainischen aus allen Lebensbereichen schränkte die Möglichkeiten des Ukrainischen ein, verlangsamte seine Entwicklung in historischer Hinsicht und führte auch dazu, dass ein bedeutender Teil der Ukrainer im Bewusstsein zwischen 'eigener Sprache' bzw. 'Muttersprache' und 'fremder Sprache' in Bezug auf das Russische nicht mehr unterscheiden konnten.

Die meisten Dokumente und Fakten über die offizielle Sprachenpolitik der UdSSR gegen das Ukrainische wurden erst Ende des 20. – Anfang des 21. Jh.s öffentlich zugänglich und allgemein zur Kenntnis genommen. Ab diesem Zeitpunkt bezeichnen die ukrainischen Sprachforscher dieses Geschehen als 'Linguozid'<sup>48</sup>.

In den Jahren der Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine nach 1991 erwies sich die staatliche Sprachenpolitik zur Unterstützung des Ukrainischen als Staatssprache als unwirksam, und die Sprachsituation hat sich kaum zum Besseren verändert.

Wenn man die Ergebnisse zusammenfasst, die in den Forschungen Juliane Besters-Dilgers über die Sprachenpolitik unter den Staatspräsidenten Leonid Kravčuk, Leonid Kučma, Viktor Juščenko und in Nadija Knjazevs Studien über die Sprachenpolitik Julija Tymošenkos gemacht wurden (Besters-Dilger 2010; Knjazev 2010), kann man behaupten, dass die Sprachenpolitik der Periode 1991-2009 uneffektiv war nicht nur wegen des Mangels an einer grundlegenden Rechts- und Normativbasis, sondern auch wegen fehlenden politischen Willens der ukrainischen Regierung, einer starken Politisierung der Sprachenfragen und wegen deren manipulativem Gebrauch von Politikern verschiedener Richtungen vor den und während der Wahlen (Zabolots'kyj 2007; Ruda 2012; Romaniuk 2015); ein weiterer Grund sind fehlende unabhängige, speziell geschaffene Behörden zur Kontrolle und zum Monitoring von Sprachenfragen (Knjazev 2010, 102).

Die Sprachenpolitik zur Unterstützung des Ukrainischen von 2010 bis 2013 läßt sich als Fehlen einer staatlichen Sprachenpolitik bezeichnet: In dieser Zeitperiode wurde ein aus dem politischen Lager des 2014 gestürzten Präsidenten V. Janukovyč forciertes Dokument verabschiedet (begleitet von handgreiflichen Auseinandersetzungen der Abgeordneten der Opposition und der "Partei der

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48 Begriff aus: *Ukrajins'ka mova u XX stolitti: Istorija linhvozydu. Dokumenty i materialy* (2005).

Regionen” von V. Janukovyč in der Verchovna Rada<sup>49</sup> und von starken öffentlichen Massenprotesten bis hin zu Hungerstreiks von Aktivisten auf den Straßen der Großstädte) – “Das Gesetz über die Grundlagen der staatlichen Sprachenpolitik” von S. Kivalov und V. Kolesničenko<sup>50</sup>, das faktisch eine zweite Staatssprache etablierte – das Russische<sup>51</sup>.

Demzufolge wurden am Vorabend des Euromajdans 2013–2014 die Sprachenfragen durch die Verfassung der Ukraine (Artikel 10)<sup>52</sup>, das “Gesetz über die Grundlagen der staatlichen Sprachenpolitik” Nr. 5029-VI vom 3. Juli 2012 und durch die Europäische Charta der Regionalsprachen oder Sprachen der Minderheiten, die die Ukraine unterzeichnet und ratifiziert hat<sup>53</sup>, geregelt. Dies sind die wichtigsten Dokumente, alle anderen basieren nur darauf.

Nach dem Euromajdan und in einer Zeit russischer Expansion in die Ukraine und besorgniserregender politischer Entwicklungen, in der für die Ukrainer ein nationales Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl wichtiger denn je ist, bleibt die ererbte erzwungene Massenzweisprachigkeit immer noch vorhanden: In den meisten ukrainischen Städten dominiert in der mündlichen Kommunikation das Russische. Konflikte und Debatten um die Sprachenfrage beunruhigen das Land gerade in einer Zeit, in der ihm die größten Gefahren drohen, und sie sind intensiver als zuvor. Wie der namhafte ukrainische Sprachwissenschaftler Oleksandr Taranenko einmal betont hat: “Besonderheiten der subjektiven Betrachtung der Sprachsituation in der Ukraine seitens derjenigen, die die Interessen der ethnischen Russen und allgemein der russischsprachigen Bevölkerung vertreten, und derjenigen, die für die Interessen der Ukrainer als Hauptnation des Landes auftreten, sind oft nicht einfach unterschiedlich, sie sind absolut gegensätzlich. Einerseits [...] hört man die Erklärungen über die ‘Zwangsumkrisierung’, andererseits [...] – Schlussfolgerungen über weitere bedrohliche Entwicklungen für die Lage der ukrainischen Sprache” (Taranenko 2001, 6).

<sup>49</sup> Das Parlament der Ukraine.

<sup>50</sup> Gesetz der Ukraine “Über die Grundlagen der staatlichen Sprachenpolitik” vom 03.07.2012 Nr.5029- VI. In: Visnyk Verchovnoji Rady Ukrainy 2013, Nr. 23 <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/5029-17>

<sup>51</sup> Bezeichnet vom Parlamentsabgeordneten Andrij Teteruk als Gesetz nicht von 2, sondern von ‘3 K’ – des Kremls, Kivalovs und Kolesničenkos: Das Gesetz sah die Möglichkeit zweier Amtssprachen in Regionen vor, in denen entsprechend der Volkszählung die Zahl nationaler Minderheiten 10% überschritt. Am Ende wurde die russische Sprache in neun östlichen Regionen anerkannt, in einigen Teilen der Westukraine auch die ungarische und die moldauische.

<sup>52</sup> Artikel 10: “Die Staatssprache in der Ukraine ist das Ukrainische. Der Staat gewährleistet die allseitige Entwicklung und das Funktionieren der ukrainischen Sprache in allen Bereichen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens auf dem ganzen Territorium der Ukraine. In der Ukraine wird die freie Entwicklung, der Gebrauch und Schutz des Russischen und anderer Sprachen der nationalen Minderheiten der Ukraine garantiert” In: Vidomosti Verchovnoji Rady Ukrainy, 1996, Nr. 30, st. 141 <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/go/254k/96-bp>

<sup>53</sup> Gesetz der Ukraine “Europäische Charta der Regionalsprachen oder Sprachen der Minderheiten”. In: Vidomosti Verchovnoji Rady Ukrainy, 2003, Nr 30, st. 259 <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/802-15>

Zusammenfassend kann man also feststellen: Die Sprachsituation in der Ukraine ist einerseits das Resultat eines lang anhaltenden Kampfes gegen das Ukrainische als ein mächtiges einheits- und identitätsstiftendes Instrument des Volkes, den Russland vor über 350 Jahren begonnen hat und der bis heute auch in der Form einer sprachlich-kulturellen Expansion andauert. Es wird weiter versucht, das ukrainische Volk dadurch zu spalten, weil einem Teil der Ukrainer das Bewusstsein für die ukrainische Sprache, ukrainische Kultur und ukrainische Geschichte ‘abgezogen’ worden ist. Andererseits aber hat eine nicht-ukrainische und manchmal sogar anti-ukrainische Politik ukrainischer Regierungen der schon unabhängigen Ukraine dazu geführt, dass durch die deformierte Sprachsituation die Staatssprache von der Sprache des Nachbarlandes aus dem ukrainischen sprach-kulturellen Raum verdrängt wurde. Der Informationsraum in der Ukraine wurde nahezu vollständig russifiziert (Virčenko 2010), was den faktischen Verlust des eigenen sprach-kulturellen Raums bedeutete und eine große Gefahr auch für die Souveränität des Landes bildete.

### *Zur aktuellen Sprachsituation*

Am beunruhigsten ist jedoch, dass in Anbetracht der aktuellen Ereignisse ungeachtet der gestiegenen pro-ukrainischen Stimmung bis heute eine ähnliche Situation besteht und die Russifizierung leider immer noch andauert. Zu diesem Ergebnis gelangt die Veröffentlichung der Umfrage “Die Lage der ukrainischen Sprache in der Ukraine 2014-15“ durch die Bewegung ‘Prostir svobody’<sup>54</sup>. Dieses Dokument basiert auf staatlichen Statistiken, soziologischen Ergebnissen sowie auf eigenen Monitoringsuntersuchungen, die in allen Regionen der Ukraine durchgeführt wurden.

Im Vergleich zu den Vorjahren ist der Anteil an ukrainischsprachigen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften zurückgegangen, die russische Sprache dominiert weiterhin in nationalen Fernsehen- und Radioübertragungen. Die Sprachsituation im Dienstleistungsbereich hängt stark von der Region ab – im Osten und im Süden überwiegt deutlich das Russische, aber oft werden auch in der Zentralukraine einschließlich Kyjiv die Rechte ukrainischsprachiger Verbraucher verletzt. In den östlichen und südlichen Regionen der Ukraine ist das Russische verbreitet, und nur im Westen sind auf den Straßen verschiedene Sprachen zu hören.

Der Anteil der Zeitungen, die auf Ukrainisch herausgegeben werden, ist stetig zurückgegangen und betrug in den letzten Jahren 29,5 %. Die Situation bei Magazinen und anderen Periodika ist noch abschreckender – lediglich 9,9 % der gesamten Auflage wurden 2014 auf Ukrainisch publiziert (zum Vergleich: 2010 betrug sie ca. 19,6 %) (Stanovyšče 2015).

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<sup>54</sup> Dt.: “Raum der Freiheit”. Ukrainische Bewegung der Freiwilligen, gegründet im März 2007.

Sogar der durch die Verchovna Rada angenommene Gesetzentwurf № 5313<sup>55</sup>, bekannt als ‘Gesetz über 75% der ukrainischen Sprache im Fernsehen’, konnte die Position des Ukrainischen nicht stärken. Nach den Angaben der Monitorings bewegt sich der Anteil des Ukrainischen in den führenden Fernsehsendern etwa um 30%, die russischsprachigen Programme betragen 35-40%, den Zeitrest nehmen zweisprachige Mischungen ein, in denen eine Person ukrainisch und die andere russisch spricht (wobei gerade in solchen Sendungen das Russische überwiegt), vgl. den Bericht von ‘Prostir svobody’ (Stanovyšče 2015): *S. Anhang Tabelle 1.*

Von einem komplett ukrainischsprachigen Fernsehen oder wenigstens von den deklarierten 75% des Ukrainischen in den meisten Fernsehsendern ist hier keine Rede. Der Anteil des Ukrainischen bei verschiedenen Fernsehanbietern unterscheidet sich stark. Bei den regionalen und lokalen Anbietern ist er sehr heterogen, und je weiter man in den Osten und in den Süden kommt, desto weniger ist das Ukrainische zu hören. Das thematische Monitoring der Fernsehsender, das im Februar 2017 der Nationalrat für Fernsehen- und Rundfunk durchgeführt hat, erbringt folgende statistische Angaben (Stanovyšče 2015): *S. Anhang Tabelle 2.*

Es wird leider prognostiziert, dass es auch in naher Zukunft kein ukrainischsprachiges, sondern immer noch ein zweisprachiges Fernsehen mit gleichen Anteilen des Ukrainischen und des Russischen geben wird (Šamajda 2017).

Wie bedauernswert die Prognosen auch sein mögen, ist zu vermuten, dass die dominante Position des Russischen in den meisten Bereichen der ukrainischen Gesellschaft erhalten bleiben wird, falls die Regierung keine überlegte und klare, der heutigen Situation entsprechende Sprachenpolitik einleitet, die sich auf die Entrussifizierung der Ukraine richtet. Es ist zu betonen, dass diese Frage aktuell ist, beunruhigt und immer wieder zur Diskussion gestellt wird. Davon zeugen die Häufigkeit der Veröffentlichungen in Massenmedien besonders in der Zeit nach dem Euromajdan, aber noch mehr regelmäßige wissenschaftliche Publikationen darüber.

Zu diesem Thema äußerten sich auch wiederholt B. Ažnjuk, B. Bauring, J. Besters-Dilger, V. Brizyn, T. Fuderer, G. Hentschel, O. Kalynovs’ka, V. Kulyk, J. Žluktenko, O. Radčuk, N. Trač, O. Taranenko, V. Trub, H. Zaliznjak, I. Usenko und andere Wissenschaftler, u.a. die Soziolinguisten L. Masenko, H. Mazjuk, O. Ruda, L. Stavyc’ka u.a. In ihren Beiträgen schlagen sie Wege für die Lösung der Krisensituation vor, in der sich die Ukraine befindet.

Solange die Ukraine diese Asymmetrie der Zweisprachigkeit zu Gunsten der russischen Sprache in den meisten Lebensbereichen bewahrt, wird sie weiterhin ein Objekt russischen Einflusses, Strebens und russischer Aggression bleiben. Nicht nur Wissenschaftler, sondern auch Publizisten, Journalisten und Schrift-

<sup>55</sup> Gesetz der Ukraine “Über die Änderung einiger Gesetze der Ukraine über die Sprache der audiovisuellen (elektronischen) Massenmedien”. In: Vidomosti Verchovnoji Rady Ukrainy, 2017, Nr. 26, st. 298 <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2054-19>

steller betonen, dass gerade die ukrainische Sprache Unterstützung benötigt. In der Perspektive und unter den Bedingungen der rationalen Sprachenpolitik wird es sich positiv auf ihren Status in den Regionen auswirken, in denen sie heutzutage in der Minderheit ist, vor allem im Osten und im Süden, denn wie der ukrainische Sprachwissenschaftler Pylyp Selihej, der Fragen des Sprachbewusstseins erforscht, betont: “Die Bildung des sprachlichen Bewusstseins ist keine einmalige Handlung, sondern ein kontinuierlicher lang andauernder Prozess” (Selihej 2012, 33).

Ganz anders ist es mit der Pflege der Staatssprache im Nachbarland: Bei jeder Gelegenheit erinnert der Kreml die Weltöffentlichkeit an die nationalen Werte und Interessen seines Landes. Eine der Prioritäten ist dabei Erhaltung, Entwicklung und Schutz der russischen Sprache<sup>56</sup>. Seit 2000 pflegt das russische Oberhaupt auch den so genannten ‘russkij mir’<sup>57</sup>, indem seine Lebensbereiche erweitert werden. Die Sprache ist dabei einer der wichtigsten Faktoren. Das offizielle Moskau ist bestrebt, im postsovjetschen Raum zu dominieren. Aus diesem Grund ist die Suche nach Anlässen, sich in innere Angelegenheiten der benachbarten Staaten einzumischen, für Moskauer Strategen absolut logisch. Mit der Begründung der Beseitigung der Spannungs- und Konfliktherde in den an die Russische Föderation grenzenden Regionen erklärt der Kreml den allseitigen Schutz der Rechte und Interessen der ‘sootečestvenniki za rubežom’<sup>58</sup>. So entstand die neue russische Doktrin des Schutzes der Russischsprechenden, laut der ein/e Ukrainer/in, der/die im Alltag Russisch spricht, verteidigt werden muss<sup>59</sup>. Damit kann es zum Anlass einer versteckten Aggression werden, alle zu ‘unterstützen’, die ‘unterdrückt’ werden. Wenn ein Bürger der Ukraine russischsprachig ist, dann gilt es für Russen nicht als ein Eroberungs-, sondern als ein Befreiungskrieg. Selbst wenn der russischsprechende ukrainische Patriot diese Logik nicht teilt und sich nicht dem russischen Volk zugehörig fühlt, gehört er aus der Perspektive der Apologeten des ‘russkij mir’ trotzdem zur Risikozone und muss gerettet werden. Gerade aus diesem Grund ist für die Ukrainer die Frage des Status der ukrainischen Sprache eine Frage der nationalen Sicherheit

<sup>56</sup> Verordnung der Regierung der Russischen Föderation vom 23.07.1996 “Föderales Zielprogramm ‘Russische Sprache’“. In: Sbornik Sobranie zakonodatel’stva Rossijskoj Federacii ot 1996, Nr. 32, st. 3925

<http://www.szrf.ru/szrf/doc.phtml?nb=100&issid=1001996032000&docid=5450>

<sup>57</sup> Dt.: ‘russische Welt’. Die Doktrin, entsprechend der nach der Behauptung V. Putins “alle Russen nicht nur durch ihre Kultur, sondern auch durch genetische Abstammung miteinander verbunden sind”. Die zur Doktrin erhobene Idee der ‘russischen Welt’ ist theoretisch nicht haltbar, unrealistisch und politisch gefährlich. De facto wird mit einer solchen Doktrin die Rückkehr in einen Zustand vor dem westfälischen Konzept der Souveränität und der Entstehung der Nationalstaaten gefordert” (Inozemzev 2014).

<sup>58</sup> Dt.: russische Mitbürger außerhalb des Territoriums der Russischen Föderation

<sup>59</sup> Aktuelle Umfragen und Studien zeigen, dass in der ukrainischen Gesellschaft “die Präferenz sowohl in der Verwendung als auch in den Einstellungen zu Fragen der Etablierung der Sprachen deutlich dem Ukrainischen gegeben [wird], ohne etwa dem Russischen seine Existenzberechtigung abzusprechen bzw. das Russische zurückdrängen zu wollen.” (Hentschel, Zeller 2016, 660-661)

und Verteidigung, denn unter dem Vorwand des Schutzes der Rechte der russischsprachigen Bevölkerung der ukrainischen Krim hat Russland die Halbinsel besetzt und annektiert. Aus vorgeblicher Sorge um die Rechte der russischsprachigen Ukrainer hat die Deržduma<sup>60</sup> den Antrag auf Schutz der Separatisten der süd-östlichen Ukraine bewilligt (Šamajda 2016). Vor diesem Hintergrund hält der ukrainische Forscher und Jurist I. Usenko die Erarbeitung und Verabschiedung des “Grundsprachgesetzes”, das ein entsprechendes Gleichgewicht zwischen der Staatssprache und allen anderen Sprachen in der Ukraine sichern wird, für besonders wichtig (Usenko 2017).

### *Zur rechtlichen Regelung der Sprachenfrage*

Aufmerksame Beobachter stellen derzeit einige Fortschritte in der Ausbreitung des Ukrainischen fest, sie sind aber noch zu bescheiden. Jährlich werden ein oder zwei Gesetze verabschiedet, die das Niveau der Russifizierung in dem einem oder anderem engen Bereich reduzieren sollten: im öffentlichen Dienst, im Radio, in der nationalen Filmproduktion, im Fernsehen. In keinem dieser Bereiche aber hat die ukrainische Sprache annähernd den Platz eingenommen, den die Staatssprache in einem unabhängigen Staat besitzen sollte (Šamajda 2017). Nach den Majdan–Ereignissen 2013–2014 führen die ukrainischen Nationaleliten immer noch die Politik der Halbschritte in Sprachenfragen oder ignorieren sie sogar. So verzögerte z.B. ungeachtet der Initiativen mehrerer Parlamentsabgeordneter und starker öffentlicher Proteste das Verfassungsgericht der Ukraine die Entscheidung über die Verfassungswidrigkeit des Sprachgesetzes von S. Kivalov und V. Kolesničenko und erkannte es erst im Februar 2018 an<sup>61</sup>.

Die Verfassung der Ukraine (Artikel 10) ist also heute das einzige Dokument für die Regelung der Sprachenfrage, das den Status des Ukrainischen als Staatssprache bestätigt. Das reicht aber bei weitem nicht aus. Um Manipulationen bei der Behandlung dieses Verfassungsartikels zu vermeiden, braucht man eine genaue gesetzgebende Ausführung. Die Sprachpolitik muss mehr denn je gut durchdacht sein, damit der an der Grenze des Gleichgewichts balancierende Status quo sich nicht wieder in öffentliche Unzufriedenheit und Opposition verwandelt. Es ist nur die Frage, ob die ukrainischen Nationaleliten in der Lage sind, diese legislative Lücke so schnell wie möglich auszufüllen? Es bleibt nur zu hoffen, dass es ihnen bald doch gelingen wird: Eine Gruppe von Wissenschaftlern und Sprachaktivisten hat einen Entwurf des neuen Sprachgesetzes<sup>62</sup> ausgearbeitet, der die Entwicklung und Anwendung der ukrainischen Sprache in verschiedenen Bereichen des öffentlichen Lebens erheblich erweitert; er wartet

<sup>60</sup> Dt.: das Parlament Russlands

<sup>61</sup> Beschluß des Verfassungsgerichtes der Ukraine v002p710-2018 vom 28.02.2018 Nr. 2-p/2018 In: <http://zakon0.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/v002p710-18>

<sup>62</sup> Gesetzentwurf “Über die Gewährleistung des Funktionierens des Ukrainischen als Staatssprache” № 5670-д vom 09.06.2017. In: [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4\\_1?pf3511=61994](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=61994)

aber seit 2017 immer noch auf die Annahme durch das Parlament. Die bekannte Strategie des Verzögerns und des üblichen Ignorierens der Sprachenfragen ist nicht mehr hinnehmbar. Nur ein Gesetz, das den Status der ukrainischen Sprache schützt, und Institutionen, die die Umsetzung des Gesetzes kontrollieren und Sanktionen für seinen Verstoß verhängen, können die sprachliche Situation zugunsten der Staatssprache irreversibel verändern. Auf seine Genehmigung wartet demnächst noch ein Dokument – der Staatsstandard der Ukraine „Ukrainisch als Fremdsprache: Stufen der allgemeinen Beherrschung und der Diagnostik“. Nur zwei Sprachen in Europa haben bis jetzt keine Zertifizierungsprüfung - Ukrainisch und Belarussisch. Dagegen sind nicht nur alle offiziellen europäischen Sprachen (Spanisch, Portugiesisch, Italienisch, Französisch, Tschechisch, Polnisch, Bulgarisch usw.) zertifiziert, sondern auch regionale Amtssprachen wie Baskisch, Katalanisch oder Galizisch. Zusammen mit der Zertifizierungsprüfung für Sprachkenntnisse ist der Standard also eines der Werkzeuge der europäischen Sprachenpolitik, die darauf abzielen, Sprachen zu bewahren, zu fördern und zu popularisieren. Daher ist ein vollwertiger Eintritt der Ukraine in den europäischen Raum ohne die Genehmigung dieses Dokuments kaum möglich.

*Die ukrainisch-russische Zweisprachigkeit: Argumente (pro) contra*

Mit Recht bezeichnet der Sprachwissenschaftler Jurij Ševčuk von der Columbia Universität die Zweisprachigkeit in der Ukraine als einen Euphemismus, eine Maske, eine intellektuelle Manipulation und am treffendsten als eine ‚sprachliche Schizophrenie‘, die die weitere Entwicklung auch der ukrainischen Kultur negativ beeinflussen kann (Ševčuk 2015). Die Ukraine ist vor allem die ukrainische Sprache, Kultur und Tradition. Deshalb ist für die Zukunft der ukrainischen Sprache und des ukrainischen Staates ein nationales Sprachbewusstsein und ein Bewusstsein für die Würde der Sprache von entscheidender Bedeutung: “[...] Sprache als Grundlage, oder zumindest wichtiger Faktor der Nationsbildung trat dann in den Vordergrund, wenn wesentliche andere Merkmale einer Nation fehlten. Auch auf die Ukraine trifft zu, dass von einem seit langem klar begrenzten Territorium, von einer gemeinsamen Geschichte, Kultur, Religion oder gar längerfristigen Staatlichkeit nicht die Rede sein kann. Diese Tatsachen machen eine ukrainische Nationsbildung nicht a priori unmöglich; sie erklären lediglich, warum besonderes Gewicht unter anderem auf den Faktor Sprache gelegt wurde. Sprache bietet zudem den großen Vorteil, eine bereits viele Jahrhunderte andauernde kontinuierliche Existenz einer Gruppe glaubhaft zu machen, ohne dass sich diese Behauptung in der Regel genau (z.B. im Hinblick auf die territoriale Abgrenzung) nachprüfen lässt” (Besters-Dilger 2011, 375).

Für die ukrainische Sprache gibt es keinen anderen Ort, wo sie sich entwickeln könnte – im Unterschied zur russischen. Ohne die Verdienste der russischsprachigen Patrioten der Ukraine in irgendeiner Weise schmälern zu wollen und mit dem gebührenden Respekt ihnen gegenüber muß man dennoch feststellen, dass Probleme und der Krieg in der Ukraine vor allem in den Gebieten angefan-



gen haben, in denen die russische Sprache vorherrschte (dies belegen deutlich Landkarten der Ukraine, auf denen die Verteilung der russischsprachigen Bevölkerung und der Krisengebiete verzeichnet sind).

Oftmals führen Gegner dieser Argumentation als Beispiel die Schweiz, Kanada, Irland oder andere Länder an, wo auf einem Territorium mehrere Sprachen funktionieren. Hierbei vergessen sie aber, dass es in der Schweiz keine entsprechende nationenformende Ethnie gibt, sondern vier der Größe nach unterschiedliche ethnische Bestandteile, zudem ist die Mehrsprachigkeit in der Schweiz nicht Folge eines früheren Kolonialstatus und der Vorherrschaft einer Kolonialsprache. In Kanada ist keine der zwei Amtssprachen die Sprache der Ureinwohner, sowohl englisch als auch französisch sind die Sprachen der Eroberer. Die Iren wiederum sprechen unfreiwillig englisch, versuchen dies deshalb jetzt zu ändern und ihre Sprache wieder in Gebrauch zu nehmen. Ein Beispiel, welches vergleichbar mit der Situation in der Ukraine ist, aber selten angeführt wird, ist Weißrussland mit zwei offiziellen Amtssprachen. Es ist allseits bekannt, dass das Weißrussische sich in einem desolaten Zustand befindet. Ganz anders z.B. das Litauische: In den baltischen Staaten hat die strenge Bewahrung einer einzigen Amtssprache zu anderen Resultaten geführt (Palij 2015).

In den Situationen eines Sprachkonflikts<sup>63</sup> konkurrieren selbstverständlich nicht die Sprachen, sondern ihre Sprecher. Wie der französische Linguist André Martinet feststellt, besiegt eine Sprache die andere nicht weil sie schöner ist, sondern weil ihre Sprecher aggressiver, engagierter und hartnäckiger sind. Die Folge der russischen Assimilationspolitik ist die Tatsache, dass die Mehrheit der Ukrainer die sprachliche Standhaftigkeit verloren haben, sie unterwerfen sich auch heute noch dem Diktat der russischsprechenden Kommunikationspartner (Masenko 2016).

Zahlreiche Studien und Umfragen zeigen, dass Russen in der Ukraine selten zweisprachig sind. Meistens handelt es sich bei den Zweisprachigen um ethnische Ukrainer (wie auch ausnahmslos bei den Ukrainischsprachigen). Dies verdeutlicht, dass nicht die Nationalität, sondern die Sprache das entscheidende Merkmal für Patriotismus ist. Daher ist die sprachliche Widerstandsfähigkeit (die Fähigkeit der Ukrainer, ihre Muttersprache zu bewahren) der Garant für die Lebensfähigkeit der Nation und die politische Stabilität, denn "eine Nation sollte ihre Sprache stärker als ihr Territorium verteidigen. Selbst, wenn sie ihr Territorium verliert, so wird immer eine Chance und eine Möglichkeit bestehen, es wieder zurückzugewinnen. Verliert eine Nation jedoch ihre Sprache, wird sie nie wieder ein eigenes Territorium besitzen" (Jusčuk 2015).

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<sup>63</sup> Obwohl die ukrainisch-russische Zweisprachigkeit in der Ukraine von der russischen Regierung und prorussischen Politikern in der Ukraine als Sprachenkonflikt dargestellt wird, sind wir auch der Meinung: "Die Ukraine der Gegenwart hat zweifellos verschiedene Probleme mit der Etablierung und Verteilung der ukrainischen und russischen Sprache in der Gesellschaft. Ein grundlegender ukrainisch-russischer Sprachenkonflikt innerhalb der Bevölkerung ist jedoch bei etwas eingehender Betrachtung nicht erkennbar." (Hentschel, Brüggemann 2015, 118). Vgl. zur Konfliktgefahr auch Masenko (2010, 130 -131).

Einst sagte, so hart es auch klingen mag, der tschechische Gelehrte Josef Jungmann: “Tscheche ist nur der, der Tschechisch spricht”. Man muss allerdings berücksichtigen, dass dies zu einer Zeit gesagt wurde, als es offiziell verboten war, in Ämtern bzw. staatlichen Institutionen Tschechisch zu sprechen, und inoffiziell wurde die Sprache aus allen anderen Lebensbereichen herausgedrängt. Heutzutage gibt es in der Tschechischen Republik kein Sprachproblem mehr. Vielleicht hätte man, wenn man das heutige Tschechien und die Lage der tschechischen Sprache mit der Lage des Ukrainischen vergleicht und dies auf die ukrainische Realität überträgt, nicht nur die Sprache, sondern auch das Land bewahren können, indem es von innen vereinigt wird? Betrachtet man die neueste Geschichte der Ukraine, ist es wichtig zu verstehen, dass die Zukunft der Ukraine als eines einheitlichen, unabhängigen Staates in der Ukrainischsprachigkeit liegt. Wie Prof. Michael Moser betont, “[...] wird die Ukraine so lange, wie sie sich als Land darstellt, in dem es nicht nötig ist, das Ukrainische zu können, für ein etwas anderes Russland gehalten” (Moser 2012).

Interessanterweise verschwindet die sprachliche Identifikationsspaltung unter Gleichdenkenden fast völlig, wenn es um die Zukunftsperspektive der Ukraine geht: Unter denjenigen, die sich in der Europäischen Union sehen, lassen 86% keinen Gedanken über die Ukraine und Russland als ein einheitliches Land zu (Drul’ 2017). Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kam bei soziologischen Umfragen nach Sprachprioritäten etwas früher auch die Soziolinguistin Hanna Zalznjak: “Die analysierten Zusammenhänge zwischen Angaben über die Zivilisations- und Integrationsbevorzungen der Einwohner des Landes und ihre sprachlichen Sympathien erlauben zu behaupten, dass die Bevölkerung, die ukrainisch spricht und die Verbreitung des Ukrainischen für die Priorität der Sprachenpolitik hält, zur europäischen Richtung neigt. Die Bevölkerung, die russisch spricht und sich für Russisch als zweite Staatssprache einsetzt, bewertet die Geschichte der Ukraine unter dem russisch-imperialen Blickwinkel und neigt zur euroasiatischen Richtung”. Aber “die Verfügbarkeit korrelativer Abhängigkeiten zwischen den Zivilisationsorientierungen der Bevölkerung und ihren Sprachprioritäten lässt behaupten, dass die Verbreitung der europäischen Integrationsbevorzungen in der Ukraine von der Festigung der Position der Staatssprache begleitet sein wird” (Zalznjak 2010, 163-164).

Bedauerlicherweise erliegt heute der Großteil der ukrainischen Gesellschaft einer neuen Ideologie, die ein alternatives und postkoloniales Verstehen des Ukrainetums hervorbringt, dem wesentliche erkennbare nationale Charakteristika fehlen – in erster Linie die Sprache. J. Ševčuk meint hierzu: “Der hybride Krieg an der Front im Osten hat sich auf eine kulturelle, gesellschaftliche Front übertragen. Zuvor konnte man relativ klar erkennen, wer Befürworter und wer Gegner der Ukrainer in der Sprachen- und Kulturfrage war. Jetzt ist der neue eigenartige Begriff ‘neue’ Patrioten entstanden – Patrioten, die die Ukraine lieben, aber nicht die ukrainische Sprache. Vor diesem Begriff muss allerdings ernsthaft gewarnt werden. Es ist wieder ein neues Gesicht des altbekannten russischen Imperialismus” (Ševčuk 2015).

Es gelang Russland, eine große Anzahl von Territorien und Völkern zu erobern und dadurch zu assimilieren, dass es vor allem ihre Identität, und zwar den sprachlich-kulturellen Raum, vernichtete. Deshalb sollte man wachsam bleiben, weil unter dem Vorwand der Toleranz eine geistige Besatzung aufgedrückt werden könnte. Es besteht die Gefahr, dass jetzt anstelle der globalen 'weichen' Russifizierung durch das Russische Reich und die Sowjetunion in den russischen Einflussgebieten die patriotische Russifizierung kommen könnte. Sie könnte nun absolut straflos 'die Normierung' des sprachlichen Raums in der ukrainischen Gesellschaft so fortsetzen, dass die ukrainische Sprache die russischsprachigen Patrioten in der Ukraine nicht sehr stört (Marusyk 2015). Und das Problem liegt hier nicht so sehr in der Identifikation der Nation, wie die ukrainische Schriftstellerin Lina Kostenko betont, sondern viel mehr in der Krise der Selbstbestimmung eines national desorientierten Teils der Gesellschaft (Kostenko 2001, 16).

Allgemein sollte betont werden, dass die Staatsunabhängigkeit von 1991 die nationale Selbstidentifikation der Ukrainer positiv beeinflusst hat, auch in den süd-östlichen Regionen. In den ersten 10 Jahren der Unabhängigkeit ist die Zahl der Personen, die sich als Russen bezeichnet haben, zurückgegangen (um 22%), die Zahl der Ukrainer ist dagegen angewachsen. Der Krieg hat diesen Prozess beschleunigt. Ganz deutlich beweist dies der Vergleich der Ergebnisse von Umfragen, die die vier führenden ukrainischen soziologischen Zentren (KMIS, Rejtin,h, SOCIS und Razumkov-Zentrum) im März 2017 mit 14.000 Respondenten, gleich verteilt in allen Gebieten der Ukraine, durchgeführt haben, (Hryniv, Čeh 2017): S. *Anhang Tabelle 3*.

Der Anteil derjenigen, die sich als Personen ukrainischer Nationalität bezeichnen, ist ukraineweit von 12 auf 19 % gestiegen. Dabei zeigen sich beispielweise die höchsten Zahlen im Charkiver Gebiet, wo sich die Zahl derjenigen, die sich als Russen bezeichnen, um 46% reduziert hat (Hryniv, Čeh 2017).

Darüber hinaus zeigen die Umfragen des Kyjiver internationalen Instituts für Soziologie von 2012, 2014 und 2017 zur Sprachsituation und Sprachenpolitik auch deutlich, dass sich nicht nur Aktivisten, sondern auch Millionen ukrainischer Bürger die ukrainische Sprache in den Massenmedien wünschen, besonders nach 2014, ‚auch dann, wenn sie in anderen Lebensbereichen vorwiegend das Russische verwenden. Der Vergleich der Antworten der genannten Jahre weist in allen Fällen – Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Filme, Fernsehsendungen, Internet u.a. – auf eine deutliche Verschiebung der Präferenzen vom Russischen zum Ukrainischen hin (Kulyk 2017). Diese Tendenz ist allgemein als positiv zu betrachten: Mehrere Sprachforscher haben öfters betont, dass ausschließlich die Erkenntnis der wichtigen Rolle der ukrainischen Sprache und der ukrainischen Kultur durch die Bürgern selbst zum Wiederaufbau der nationalen Einheit führen und dadurch zur Wiedergeburt der Nation beitragen wird (Hryniv, Čeh 2017).

In diesem Zusammenhang beeinflussen die gesetzlich festgelegten Quoten für das ukrainische Buch, den Film, das Lied unmittelbar die Bedingungen für

die Entwicklung oder vielleicht sogar für das Überleben der ukrainischen Kultur. Die ukrainischen Schulen müssen noch nachdrücklicher ukrainisch werden und die Sprache nicht nur auf die Unterrichtsstunden beschränken, da das Ukrainische in den Pausen und vor allem zuhause meistens in den Hintergrund tritt. Die Zweisprachigkeit ist ein Joch für die ukrainische Sprache, wie auch Jurij Vynnyčuk betont. Sie hält die ukrainische Sprache im Stillstand, sie behindert sie in ihrer Entwicklung – im Gegensatz zu anderen, west- und südslavischen Sprachen (Vynnyčuk 2016). Er führt als eines der Beispiele an, dass neue Termini im Ukrainischen nicht selbst entstehen, sondern über den Sprachvermittler – das Russische. Serhij Ośnač ergänzt diesen Gedanken über die Zweisprachigkeit und warnt sogar: “Solange die Ukraine sie pflegen wird, solange bleibt sie ein Objekt für den russischen Einfluss, für Eingriffe und Agression” (Ośnač 2015) (Gegenbeispiel: die baltischen Staaten). Deswegen könne man davon ausgehen, dass das Schlagwort ‘Jedyna krajina – edinaja strana’<sup>64</sup> nicht korrekt sei, es kann doppeldeutig verstanden werden, sowohl von Ukrainern als auch von Russen. Nicht zufällig behauptet die Soziolinguistin Larysa Masenko, dass dieses Schlagwort “... in Wirklichkeit die Zweisprachigkeit auf der staatlichen Ebene fixiert und damit den russischen Staat als zweiten Staat bestätigt. Somit wird das Land nicht vereinigt, sondern geteilt” (Masenko 2014). Diese liberale Einstellung wird das Sprachproblem nicht lösen können – kein einziges Land hat sich auf der Basis einer liberalen Ideologie im Bereich der sprachlichen Selbstbestimmung behauptet. In Europa entstanden die Nationalstaaten auf der Grundlage ihrer nationalen Sprache und auf der dadurch geschaffenen Kultur, auch auf der Grundlage ihrer Traditionen und der gemeinsamen Bewertung der geschichtlichen Ereignisse (Masenko 2014). Man sollte sich deshalb auf den Erhalt nur einer Amtssprache konzentrieren, und es wäre richtiger, das Schlagwort ‘Jedyna Ukraïna – jedyna mova’<sup>65</sup> zu benutzen. Die ukrainische Erfahrung der letzten Jahrzehnte bezeugt, dass doppelte Standards die Gesellschaft nur destabilisieren, deswegen sollte man sich auf konkrete Orientierungswerte einigen. Einer davon muß ohne Zweifel die ukrainische Sprache sein.

### *Abschließender Gedanke*

Abschließend und unter Berücksichtigung zahlreicher Forschungen und Vorschläge von Wissenschaftlern, Publizisten und Schriftstellern lässt sich festhalten, dass der Status der ukrainischen Sprache in der Ukraine von zwei Faktoren abhängt – vom kollektiven Willen ihrer Bürger und vom Handeln der ukrainischen Nationaleliten auf der staatlichen Ebene. Dringend erforderlich wären jetzt neue Betrachtungen und Veränderungen in der Sprachenpolitik, die Verab-

<sup>64</sup> Dt.: ‘Ein einheitliches Land’ auf Ukr. und Russ. Am 2. März 2014 initiierten die 6 führenden Fernsehsender, die meistens den ukrainischen Oligarchen gehören, ein Logo mit diesem Schlagwort und Erläuterungen dazu in zwei Sprachen. Damit wurde signalisiert, dass sich in der ukrainischen Sprachenpolitik nichts verändern wird. <http://itk.ua/ua/page/yedyna-kraina/>

<sup>65</sup> Dt.: ‘Einheitliche Ukraine – einheitliche Sprache’

schiedung moderner, der Situation und den Entwicklungen angepasster Gesetze unter Einschluß der Empfehlungen von Fachleuten, die die Sprachprobleme erforschen und Lösungen für kritische Fragen des Ukrainischen in der Ukraine anbieten. Davon ist die aktive Verbreitung und Popularisierung des Ukrainischen auf dem ganzen Territorium des Landes ohne Ausnahmen abhängig, denn gerade die Sprache ist heutzutage Garant für Stabilität, Sicherheit und auch für den Erhalt der Nation. Das Beispiel der Krim und der okkupierten östlichen Gebiete des Landes hat es überzeugend bewiesen. Das Ukrainische zu erlernen und es ständig zu verbessern, sollte das Bemühen eines jeden Ukrainers werden. Dabei geht es nicht nur um das Ethnos, sondern auch um die Staatsangehörigkeit.

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## ANHANG

Tabelle 1.

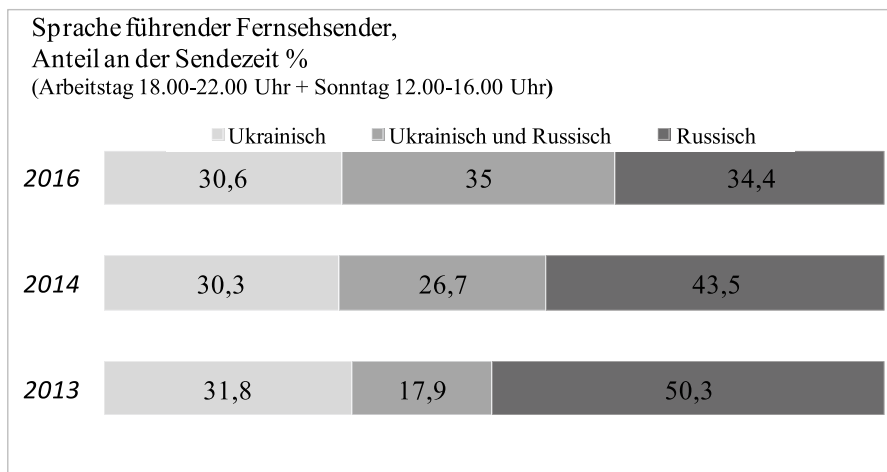


Tabelle 2.

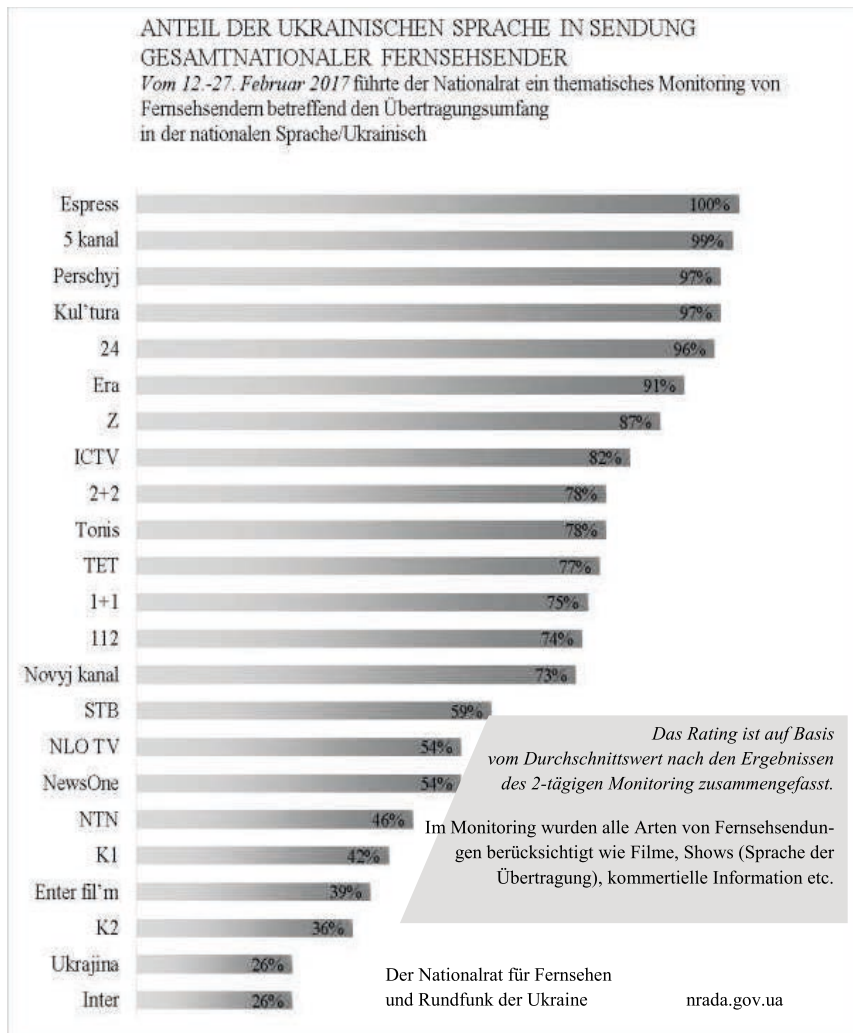




Tabelle 3.

## Aufteilung der Antworten nach Altersgruppen

Zu welcher Nationalität zählen Sie sich?	Ukraine	18-24	25-35	36-45	46-55	56+
Ukrainer/in	90,6	94,4	93,2	91,5	90,0	87,5
Russe/in	6,3	2,8	4,2	5,1	6,8	9,1
zu anderer Nationalität	2,7	2,5	2,3	2,8	2,7	3,1
weigerten sich, die Frage zu beantworten	0,4	0,3	0,3	0,5	0,4	0,3

## **DO YOU WANT TO SHARE MY IDENTITY: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNICATIVE ASPECT OF MODERN ORTHODOX WEBSITES<sup>66</sup>**

*Iaroslav Pankovskyi*

(Canada)

*This article formulates a linguistic theory for the analysis of websites with respect to their communicative efficiency. In particular content is analysed. The analysis is structured around verbal, structural, and audio-visual aspects of headlines. The theory has been applied to the analysis of two key Ukrainian Orthodox Church websites in Canada and in Ukraine. The results of the analysis show what aspects of the websites can be enhanced. The theoretical framework can be extended to explore and improve the communicative efficiency of other non-profit organisation and educational institution websites.*

*Key words: Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Web, website, content, involvement, verbal, structural, and audio-visual aspects.*

## **ХОЧУ ПОДІЛИТИСЯ ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЮ: ЛІНГВІСТИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ КОМУНІКАТИВНОГО АСПЕКТУ СУЧАСНИХ ПРАВОСЛАВНИХ ВЕБ-САЙТІВ**

*Ярослав Паньковський*

*Ця стаття формулює лінгвістичну теорію для аналізу комунікативного аспекту веб-сайтів. Точніше – проаналізовано контент. Дослідження проведено у зв'язку із вербальним, структурним та аудіо-візуальним аспектами заголовків. Теорію було застосовано до аналізу двох ключових веб-сайтів Української Православної Церкви у Канаді та Україні. Результати аналізу показують, які аспекти можуть бути підсилені. Теоретична основа може бути застосована для дослідження та покращення комунікативного аспекту інших благодійних веб-сайтів та веб-сайтів освітніх закладів.*

*Ключові слова: Українська Православна Церква, Веб, веб-сайт, контент, залучення, вербальний, структурний та аудіо-візуальний аспекти.*

*Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature*  
(Мк. 16:15)

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<sup>66</sup> This paper is based on the research presented at 2013 Congress for the Humanities and Social Science in Victoria University: Victoria, BC, Canada.

### *Introduction*

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church<sup>67</sup> is the only institution in which the population's trust is stably high. The Church, in turn, understands the importance of maintaining ongoing communication with society and particularly with youth because the Church sees the family as the core of a healthy society and youth as its future. As a priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC-MP<sup>68</sup>) remarks:

“Having quit the Soviet period, we have lost a lot in the religious sense. One of the major losses is the absence of the practice of handing down spiritual experience from parents to children. Therefore, I am deeply convinced that today as never before we should endeavour to consolidate the efforts of the Church, the state, and the army in a struggle for the moral wellbeing of our people and first of all youth” (Stecjak 2011).

This quote emphasizes the importance of promoting high moral standards among people and also expresses concerns in relation to the loss of connections between the Church and society due to the political constraints. Therefore, while not excluding all other people from communication the Church is particularly interested in reaching youth.

Thus, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is interested in engaging youth and is looking for ways to do so. The modern world lives in the digital era where a lot of communicative exchanges occur electronically. The Orthodox Church does not exist apart from society and makes efforts to incorporate the Web into communication with people. The number of Ukrainian Orthodox Church websites is steadily growing. At the same time, it is not enough to have a Web presence; this presence must have a purpose.

In the light of the growing importance of the Web in the modern world of communication, the present paper aims at answering one research question: how efficiently the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is communicating with youth and other people via the Web. In order to answer this question, the present paper looks at one of the key aspects of websites – the content. According to Martinec and Van Leeuwen (2009, 19),

“users visit your Web site for its content. [...] The design is there to allow people access to the content. The old analogy is somebody who goes to

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<sup>67</sup> The Soviet regime made atheism its official doctrine. All religious beliefs were controlled, suppressed, and/or eliminated. In the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had the official title of the Ukrainian exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church received autonomy on October 27, 1990. It should be noted though that the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church goes back to the times of the original Baptism of Kyjivan Rus' by St. Vladimir (Volodymyr) in 988.

<sup>68</sup> The official name of the UOC-MP is the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In order to differentiate between this Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), the ‘MP’ is added.

see a theater performance: When they leave the theater, you want them to be discussing how great the play was, and not how great the costumes were.”

This quote emphasizes the role of content in functioning of a website. Content can attract users and help to enter and maintain dialogic relationships with them. It is in connection with this dialogic potential and the ability to engage users that the analysis is conducted in the present paper.

Content on Orthodox websites is represented by articles in the form of headlines which fulfil the function of links leading to the full stories. If, after reading a headline, a user is interested, s/he can continue reading the article in full by clicking on the headlines which is linked to the full text. Therefore, particular attention should be paid to headlines. In order to understand better the nature of Web communication and its perspectives for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the next section will define the Web and discuss benefits of Web communication for users and the Church.

### *1. The role of the web in efficient and effective communication*

*Il n'est qu'un luxe véritable, et c'est celui  
des relations humaines (Exupéry 1954, 42).*

The quote above by Exupéry can be roughly translated as ‘the biggest luxury is the luxury of human relations’. Communication is what can build relations between people. Communication can be established in different ways. One of the ways to establish communication in the modern world is through the Web:

The *World Wide Web* (WWW) can be defined as:  
*a system of hypertext documents connected between one  
an other and accessed via the Internet.*

The uniqueness of Web-mediated communication lies in its potential to establish contact with users across *space* and *time* since users can navigate to a Church website regardless of how far they are from the Church and can access materials published on a website anytime and regardless of when these materials were published. Another important feature of the WWW is that like other mass media such as TV and radio, the Web has the potential to reach a lot of people simultaneously.

Web communication plays an important role in the life of modern society. Users benefit from it since connection to the WWW grants them access to the educational materials including religious resources, latest news, social networks, forums, and other information through their computers and mobile devices. The Church may also benefit from the Web since the medium allows disseminating

information promptly among countless users, and, what is important at a moderate cost as compared to radio or television broadcasting.

Realizing these advantages, the commercial sector has perceived the Web as a marketing tool to reach consumers (Maynard, Tian 2004) and been rapidly augmenting its presence on the Internet ever since. In contrast, the Orthodox Church has been slow in adopting the technology. The present research arises in connection with the growing potential of the WWW to communicate with people.

The linguistic nature of this research plays a central role in exploring the communicative aspect of websites rather than the technical one, which is important since the goal of Web use by organizations is to communicate effectively with users. Web use has been studied most extensively within Web architecture (e.g. Palmer 2004) and Web usability studies (e.g. Nelson 2008; Nielson 2008; 2000; Kent, Taylor 2003; Jo, Jung 2005; Sturgill 2004). There are a few linguistic studies which focused on different aspects of websites such as design (Martinec, van Leeuwen 2009), content (Knox 2009; Economou 2009), and navigation (Djonov 2005; 2007; 2008). Most of these studies were conducted in the US and English-speaking or Greek-speaking contexts. Few empirical studies, if any, can be found on Web use by Ukrainian religious organizations in Ukraine or Canada. The purpose of the present paper is to fill in this gap. Thus, the current analysis focuses on the communicative aspect of Orthodox Church websites and in doing so aims to develop a linguistic model for determining communicative potential of websites in connection with their content. In order to understand the growing potential of the Web for communication with users in Canada and in Ukraine it is necessary to look at the current situation with Web use in these countries. Therefore, the next section will examine this question.

## *2. The current situation with web use in canada and in ukraine*

*Through the development of the Internet, I have  
come to see that the computer is one means by  
which I can "feed the flock" as pastor  
(Burch 2004, 1)*

The commercial sector views the WWW as "the most exciting marketing innovation in history" to reach its consumers (Maynard, Tian 2004) and is constantly augmenting its presence on the Web. The increasing presence of different organizations on the Web is a trend which develops alongside the tendency of growing numbers of users reported in practically all the countries in the world (The World Bank 2011).

According to Statistics Canada, the percentage of Internet users in Canada was 27.3 million people in 2009 (Statistics Canada 2010) and 27.8 million peo-

ple in 2010 (Statistics Canada 2011<sup>69</sup>). The total population of Canada is about 34 million people (Internet World Stats 2011) which means that the penetration of the Internet during these years was 80.3% and 82% respectively.

The situation with Web use is somewhat different in Ukraine. In 2009 there were 15.8 million Internet users in the country (Bigmir Net 2010). The number of Internet users in 2010 reached over 21 million people (Bigmir Net 2011). Taking into consideration that the population of Ukraine is a little over 45.4 million people (World Bank 2011), it is possible to conclude that approximately a third of the population (34.8%) in 2009 and about a half of the population (46.3%) in 2010 had regular access to the Internet.

In comparison, the average Internet penetration in the world constitutes only 34.3%. Thus, Canada's and Ukraine's Internet penetration exceeds considerably the world average. Furthermore, more than three fourths of the population in Canada and almost one half in Ukraine use the Web regularly. This creates tremendous communicative potential for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to reach people, particularly youth.

In order to understand whether and to what extent the Church uses this potential, this study focuses on website content and more specifically article headlines. One of the most efficient linguistic theories that has been devised specifically for thorough analysis of headlines is the Involvement framework (Chovanec 2003); this framework will be used for the present analysis. However, since the original framework was applied to newspaper headlines and does not take into account the peculiarities of Web texts and reading paths on the Web, the present study will have to adjust the framework to reflect these peculiarities. The details pertinent to the Involvement framework are explained in the following section (3).

### *3. The methodological background*

#### *3.1 The Involvement Framework*

*[N]o verbal text can construct the same meaning as a picture, no mathematical graph carries the same meaning as an equation, no verbal description makes the same sense as an action performed*  
(Lemke 1998, 110)

The Involvement framework directs research of linguistic means used in a text to bridge the discursive gap. The use of block language in headlines allows the author to create an impersonal 'objective façade' which corresponds well to

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<sup>69</sup> The data are taken from the 2010 Canadian Internet Use Survey. Based on a sample of approximately 22,600 individuals aged 16 years, the information reflects internet penetration among people living in census urban areas or agglomerations; "[s]ignificant differences in use rates exist based on age, income, location and other factors" (Statistics Canada 2011).

the function of providing impartial information for readers. However, headlines need to fulfil another important interpersonal function – to attract readers (Isani 2011). The latter function does not quite agree with block language which is associated with impersonality and detachment. The mismatch between the use of block language and the need to relate to readers in a more personal way results in the *discursive gap* (Fowler 1991). Fowler (1991, 47) notes that

“[t]he basic task for the writer is to word institutional statements [...] in a style appropriate to interpersonal communication, because the reader is an individual and must be addressed as such.”

Fowler’s quote not only explains the phenomenon of the discursive gap, but also the need to fill the gap. The task of filling the gap may be achieved through the adaptation of the conversational style because

“conversation implies co-operation, agreement, symmetry of power and knowledge between participants. The reasons for adopting conversational style have partly to do with the construction of an illusion of informality, familiarity, friendliness” (Fowler 1991, 57).

Narrowing the discursive gap by adopting a conversational style allows the author to activate the involvement phenomenon while enhancing the interpersonal metafunction of the written text. The linguistic features available to the author for this purpose include the *choice of lexis* (e.g. neologisms, evaluative adjectives), *deixis*, *metaphors*, *elisions* (e.g. don’t), some forms of *contractions* (e.g. asap<sup>70</sup>), a *variety of syntactic structures* (e.g. interrogative and exclamatory sentences, imperatives), and the use of *quotes* (Fowler 1991; Chovanec 2003). All these linguistic features may be used to decrease the integration of a written text and in this way to adopt a fragmentation more characteristic of the oral mode. Decreasing integration and increasing fragmentation helps to bridge the discursive gap contributing thus to the involvement phenomenon. The analysis may be facilitated by grouping these features into two categories: (1) *lexicogrammar*: neologisms, evaluative adjectives, deixis, metaphors, elisions, contractions and (2) *syntax and punctuation*: interrogative, exclamatory, and imperative sentences and quotes.

Originally, the Involvement framework had been applied to print media such as quality newspapers and tabloids (Chovanec 2003; Tannen 1982). However, unlike print media, the Web content has its own particularities such as the inclusion of audio and video materials as well as peculiar reading paths.

In his recent study, Nielsen (2008) examined 45,237 page views with 30 to 1,250 words per page. His study showed that on the average Web page, users read only 28% of the words. Since the percentage is calculated under the condition that users do not view any images and do not spend any time on exploring

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<sup>70</sup> ‘as soon as possible’.

the navigation tools of the website, which is unlikely, the real percentage would be closer to 20%. This figure suggests an interesting reading pattern on the Web: users do not read more than the fifth part of the text found on a Web page. Furthermore, using the same data set, Nielsen managed to show the average time users spend on pages with different word counts (see Figure 3.1 in Appendix). Figure 3.1 shows that the more information a page contains, the more time users spend to read it. However, not all the information is read. Users spend a fixed time of 25 seconds on a page and an additional 4.4 seconds per 100 words as can be seen from the formula in Figure 3.1. This signifies that users spend relatively little time reading on the Web.

The implication of this research for Web headlines is that it is important to “be wise to put your word count on a strict diet” (Nielsen 2008). Information that is long is less likely to be read and consequently may not be useful in communicating with users. Brecht (2011) suggests that the structure of article headlines should be limited to 5 to 10 words. However, the average person reads with speed of about 200 words per minute; this means that a reader spends approximately 0.3 seconds a word. Thus, users spend up to 3 seconds for a ten-word headline and still have 1.4 seconds to view an image that may accompany it. Therefore, limiting the number of words in headlines to a maximum of 10 words seems to be a reasonable measure; however, there is no necessity to put a lower limit on the number of words as suggested by Brecht. Therefore, the present study will examine the structure of the headlines on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church websites considering only the higher limit of the number of words (i.e. 10 words).

Besides the word count in a headline, another aspect that may contribute to the involvement phenomenon is the availability of audio-visual means. Unlike printed media, the WWW facilitates the posting of a variety of audio-visual materials (e.g. audio sermons, podcasts, photographs of events, videos) along with headlines. Audio materials may stir users’ interest and attract them to read the article linked to the headline. Photographs of the events may attract attention and create an illusion of objectivity of the article. Videos usually mix the audio and visual modes, combining their advantages, and may arouse readers’ interest while communicating objectivity by the use of the visual mode; in addition, videos have a unique advantage in that they may help users to reduce the time necessary to get information from a page – an important consideration in the context of Web communication where time and attention are precious resources.

Thus, the involvement phenomenon on the Web depends not only on the verbal mode, but also on the structural and audio-visual modes of headlines. This can be depicted schematically in the following way:



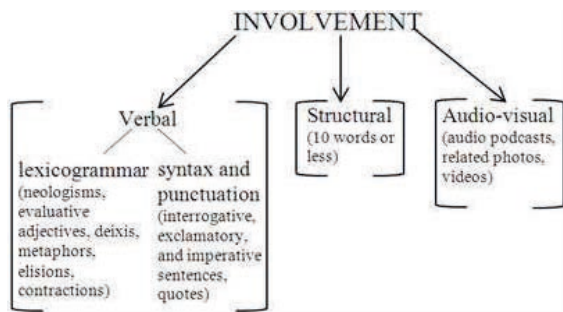


Figure 3.2 *Involvement phenomenon in Web article headlines*

Figure 3.2 shows the contribution of different modes to the involvement phenomenon; all three modes may contribute equally and have the potential to facilitate communication with users. Therefore, these three modes are considered in the present analysis of website article headlines. The following subsection provides a definition of the corpus for the present analysis.

### 3.2 *Definition of the Corpus*

Both UOCC and UOC-MP have their own official websites – the main Web portals of these Churches. These websites are central Web resources and the main source of information for many users across different eparchies of these Churches and beyond. Due to the important role of these sites, the analysis in this paper will concentrate on these sites. The information on the UOCC website is mostly in English; the information on the UOC-MP website is predominantly in Ukrainian.

The corpus for the present study consists of a series of snapshots from the home pages<sup>71</sup> (HPs) of the sites as well as all the pages linked to the HPs. HPs have been considered because of their important role as a likely port of entry for users and because they typically contain the condensed outline of the content on the website and help to orient users. Snapshots have been made in order to ensure that the content of the websites does not change in the course of the analysis and also to be able to collect data from both sites simultaneously. This is necessary to make comparison of results accurate. The data for the present analysis has been collected over six months during six data collection sessions, one each month.

The Web content on the HPs of the websites under analysis consists mostly of article headlines which appear in a link form. The present analysis focuses on headlines because of their important role in establishing and maintaining dia-

<sup>71</sup> Due to the fact that the UOCC website has also a splash screen (SS) which precedes its home page and thus partially takes over its functions, the SS on the UOCC is also included in the analysis.

logue with users. The following section discusses research findings in connection with the content analyzed on UOCC (4.1) and on UOC-MP (4.2) websites. The analysis is followed by the comparison of the results which were obtained in the study (4.3).

#### *4. Research findings*

##### *4.1 Analysis of the Content on the UOCC website*

The total number of news article headlines identified on the UOCC website during the data collection session is 65; 43 were found in the “News & Announcement” section of the SS (see Figure 4.1, A in Appendix) and 22 – in the “Upcoming Events” section of the HP (see Figure 4.1, B in Appendix).

The language of the article headlines on the site is English. There are a number of short-comings that are observable. Unlike effectively-functioning news websites, on which news items are regularly updated and out-dated news is removed, on the UOCC website (during six month-data collection period) most of the old news remained on the site and appeared repeatedly on the splash screen and the HP. This resulted in the duplication of a number of headlines in the corpus being analyzed. The arrows in Figure 4.1 point to the pairs of duplicate headlines on the SS and the HP. The comparison of the headlines from different data collection sessions from these two pages shows that there are only 19 unique headlines on the UOCC website. These 19 headlines were analyzed. Sample headlines which activate involvement on different levels are provided below:

- (1) Hip-Hop<sup>72</sup> to Hopak<sup>73</sup> (3 words)
- (2) A Sad Day In Los Angeles – St. Andrew Parish Desecrated (10 words)
- (3) Annual Gardenton Pilgrimage (3 words)
- (4) Sts Peter & Paul (Glaslyn, Wolia , Marlin, SK) 80th Anniversary (10 words)
- (5) Hierarchs of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada lend support to the Shevchenko Monument in Ottawa, ON (see Figure 4.2 below).

The analysis of the 19 unique units indicates that the involvement phenomenon has been enabled on three different levels: verbal, structural, and audio-visual but with huge variations in the frequency of the appearance of this phenomenon. No involvement phenomenon with respect to the use of syntax and punctuation has been identified. Whereas, on the verbal level, the phenomenon can be observed in 2 article headlines (e.g. examples 1 and 2 above) which constitute 10.5% of the unique article headlines. The involvement phenomenon of these two headlines is accomplished through the choice of lexis (the lexi-

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<sup>72</sup> ‘Hip-hop’ is a street subculture that originated in New York City. It includes the following distinctive elements: rap (aural), break dancing (physical), and graffiti art (visual).

<sup>73</sup> ‘Hopak’ is a traditional Ukrainian folk dance of Cossack origin.

cogrammatical category) and more specifically through a neologism with an expressed social value (hip-hop) and an evaluative adjective (sad).

“Hip-hop” is a term which stands out among other words such as “Orthodox”, “hierarch”, “pilgrimage”, etc. Consequently, the headline functions to attract users’ attention, particularly youth who might find this neologism of interest since it connotes modern western youth subculture which may appeal to young Ukrainian and Canadian users who would like to be a part of it. In headline 2, the author uses the evaluative adjective “sad”. Using this adjective helps the author to bridge the discursive gap by configuring the integrated language of the headline to make it more ‘vivid’ through the expressed evaluation.

On the structural level the involvement phenomenon can be observed in 17 article headlines (examples 1, 2, 3, 4) where the quantity of words does not exceed 10. This constitutes 89.5% of the total number of unique headlines.

Finally, on the audio-visual level, the phenomenon has been identified in only 1 article headline (example 5) which is accompanied by an image (Figure 4.2). This one headline represents 5.3% of the headlines under consideration. Notably, two article headlines enable the involvement phenomenon on two levels simultaneously, namely on the verbal and structural levels (examples 1 and 2). Such a configuration of the lexicogrammatical and structural composition contributes positively to the involvement phenomenon since it allows narrowing the discursive gap associated with block language while maximizing the possible engagement effect through the adjustment of the length of the headline.

The results of this analysis indicate that the communicative potential of the website is limited. In addition the high number of identical article headlines on the UOCC website also suggests that it is rarely updated, and this works against the main purpose of informational and educational websites, which is to share new information with users. Therefore, there is a risk that users who navigate to the UOCC website for new information and do not find it on a regular basis and tailored according to the specific reading passes on the Web may abandon visiting the website.

#### *4.2 Analysis of the Content on the UOC-MP Website*

Unlike the UOCC website, the UOC-MP website does not have a splash screen. All the news article headlines are presented on the website HP. The corpus of the UOC-MP website contains 107 news article headlines which are found in the following sections: the “Latest news” section (see Figure 4.3, A in Appendix) comprises 6 headlines; the “Official news” section (see Figure 4.3, B in Appendix) – 38; the “News of ‘Orthodoxy of Ukraine’ website/Diocesan news” section (see Figure 4.3, C in Appendix) – 45; and the “Publications” section (see Figure 4.3, D in Appendix) – 18. With the exception of one duplicated headline found in the March 2, 2012 data collection session, the remainder of the article titles on the UOC-MP website are original. Thus 106 original news headlines have been found.

The analysis shows that out of 106 original headlines found on the site the involvement phenomenon has been enabled in three different modes – verbal, structural, and audio-visual – which have been used in different frequency. The verbal mode has been used the least followed by the structural level followed by the audio-visual level. Sample headlines which activate involvement on different levels are provided below:

(6) УКРАИНА. Православная молодежь «Согрела своим теплом» всю Украину

UKRAINE. Orthodox youth “Warmed with their warmth” all Ukraine

(7) З благословення голови Синодального відділу УПЦ у справах молоді єпископа Обухівського Іони відбувся загальноукраїнський різдвяний флеш-моб «Молодіжні колядки»<sup>74</sup>

A Ukraine-wide Christmas flash-mob “Youth carols” took place with the blessing of bishop of Obuchiv, Iona, the head of UOC Synodal department of youth matters

(8) ВОЛОДИМИР-ВОЛИНСЬКИЙ. У лютому ковельська «молодіжка» проведе КВК<sup>75</sup>

VOLODYMYR-VOLYNS'KYI. In February, the youth team of Kovel' will organize KVK

(9) КИЕВ. Праздник удался на славу! На території древнішого храму столиці отгуляли Масленицу

KIEV. The feast was a great success! Maslenitsa was celebrated on the territory of the capital's oldest Church

(10) Праздник любви и единства (4 words)

Feast of love and unity

(11) Веб-конференція з представником Української Православної Церкви при Уповноваженому Президента з прав дитини протоієреєм Олегом Мельничуком

Web conference with the representative of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church for President's Commissioner for children's rights archpriest Oleh Mel'nichuk

(12) ТРИПОЛІ-КІЇВ. Наші співвітчизники відсвяткували Пасху в Лівії (8 words)

TRIPOLI-KYIV. Our compatriots celebrated Easter in Libya.

The analysis of the headlines reveals that only 10 headlines on the UOC-MP HP enable the involvement phenomenon on the verbal level. Both lexicogrammatical (examples 6, 7, 8, and 11) and syntax and punctuation categories (example 9) are involved. The overall percentage of headlines enabling involvement in the verbal mode is 9.4%.

<sup>74</sup> The English translation that follows the examples in this section is not a part of the original corpus. They are provided for the convenience of the analysis.

<sup>75</sup> “KVK” is the transliterated name of a Ukrainian game “Club of the Merry and Inventive”. This game is played by young people, especially college and university students. Two teams compete for the title of the “merriest and most inventive”.

In headline 6, the author uses the metaphor “youth ‘Warmed with their warmth’ ” drawn from the name of a charitable event “*Согрей своим теплом*” (“Warm with Your Warmth”). Using this metaphor allows the author to achieve two goals: first, the language of the headline is poetically expressive and personal thus narrowing the discursive gap characteristic of news article headlines, and second, to associate the headline with a popular event that many people would want to read more about. The metaphor involves “Orthodox youth” which may appeal to young users, interested in learning more about how their Orthodox peers contributed to the event.

In headline 7, the writer includes a Ukraine-wide event (“Youth carols”) which he refers to as “*флеш-моб*” (a flash-mob), a neologism recently borrowed from English. Seeing this neologism in the given Ukrainian Orthodox context may stir their interest. Users may want to click on the headline to read the article to discover the meaning of the neologism or to learn why this Orthodox event is called in this unusual way. In this way, the neologism contributes to the involvement phenomenon of the text. Headline 7 includes another youth-related topic which promotes involvement, particularly with respect to young users of the site.

In addition to metaphors and neologisms, the involvement phenomenon on the UOC-MP website is also enabled through the use of contracted forms. Headline 8 announces an upcoming event, a KVK game. Instead of using the full term, “*молодіжна команда*” (“youth team”), the author uses the contracted form “*молодіжка*”. This device increases the fragmentation of the written text and helps to narrow the discursive gap and contributes to the involvement phenomenon. The youth-related topic, as in headlines 6 and 7, may further promote involvement in young users.

In the headline 9, the writer uses an exclamatory sentence, a sentence type which is not common in news headlines since it is thought that it overtly signals the writer’s subjective stance towards an utterance, whereas the requirement of the register of news headlines is to be impersonal and objective. By using this communicative type of sentence the writer is trying to bridge the discursive gap and decrease the language integration characteristic of written texts, strategies contributing to the involvement phenomenon.

On the structural level, the involvement phenomenon has been observed in 28 article headlines (examples 10 and 12) or 26.4% of the general number of the headlines under analysis. The tendency on the UOC-MP website is to post lengthier headlines on the site, which requires more time for reading. Time, unlike information, is a precious resource on the Web and headlines that are written without consideration of this fact are likely to decrease involvement.

Finally, on the audio-visual level, the phenomenon has been identified in 40 headlines (examples 11 and 12) which represent 37.7% of the articles under consideration. The relatively high percentage of article headlines in which the involvement phenomenon is enabled on the audio-visual level is a positive feature in terms of engaging users because modern Web communication is increas-

ingly visual and enabling involvement through the visual channel increases the interpersonal communicative potential of headlines.

To maximize the effect of involvement it is possible to combine features enabling the involvement phenomenon in different modes. In headline 11, both audio-visual and verbal modes contribute to the involvement phenomenon. On the verbal level, the headline contains the neologism “*веб-конференція*” (Web conference) which attracts users’ attention since it is rarely used in the Ukrainian Orthodox context. On the audio-visual level it consists of a photograph of the priest which is posted in line with the verbal text and acts to augment involvement through the visual channel. In headline 12, the structural and audio-visual modes build-up the involvement phenomenon. On the structural level, the 8-word headline is within the 10-word limit. On the audio-visual level, the headline includes a picture depicting an Easter celebration mentioned in the text which reinforces the involvement phenomenon. Overall, only a few article headlines have been revealed to enable the phenomenon simultaneously on verbal + structural (2), verbal + audio-visual (2), and structural + audio-visual (9) levels. No headlines were found that promoted involvement using all three modes. However, building-up the involvement phenomenon by combining different features across two modes at the same time increases chances of users’ engagement.

#### *4.3 Comparison of the analysis results, their implications and conclusions*

This section compares the results of the analysis of the news article headlines of the UOCC and UOC-MP websites with respect to three different modes. The results are summarized in the table below:

Involvement mode		Website	
		UOCC	UOC-MP
Verbal	N	2	10
	%	10.5	9.4
Structural	N	17	28
	%	89.5	26.4
Audio-visual	N	1	40
	%	5.3	37.7

Table 4.1 *Comparison of the involvement configuration in the headlines on the UOCC and UOC-MP websites*

Table 4.1 shows that the patterns of the involvement phenomenon on the UOCC and UOC-MP websites are quite different. Relatively few headlines on both websites enable the involvement phenomenon on the verbal level, only 10.5% and 9.4% respectively. On the structural level, a large majority (89.5%) of the headlines on the UOCC website and only about a quarter (26.4%) on the

UOC-MP website promote the phenomenon. Finally, on the audio-visual level, the involvement phenomenon on the UOCC site has been activated only in 5.3% headlines (which is the lowest percentage among all three modes) as compared to more than seven times this number or 37.7% of headlines on the UOC-MP website.

Overall, the greater part of the headlines on the UOCC website promote the involvement phenomenon on the structural level with only few on the verbal and even fewer on the audio-visual levels; while the greater part of the headlines on the UOC-MP website promote involvement on the visual level with much less on the structural and even fewer on the verbal level.

The research shows that both websites may benefit from further diversifying their verbal content since this may help to narrow the discursive gap and engage more users including youth. Moreover, the UOC-MP website headlines would need to be optimized in terms of their structure since a considerable number of them are too long risking users not reading them in full; or risking users who read the headline in full may decide not to read the article since the headline has provided sufficient information.

The websites communicate with a limited degree of efficiency in the visual mode. The communicative potential of the sites may be enhanced by strengthening the audio-visual mode through the inclusion of photographs, relevant video and/or audio materials. A considerable part of communication on the Web occurs visually and insufficient attention to this aspect may undermine the overall communicative potential. Finally, since users often visit websites specifically to browse through new publications, the UOCC website would benefit from posting more news articles on a more regular basis. The following section (5) draws overall conclusions regarding the communicative potential of the UOCC and UOC-MP websites in connection with their content.

## 5 Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the communicative potential of the UOCC and UOC-MP websites with respect to their content. The theoretical contribution of the present study to the field of linguistics lies in developing a linguistic model which allows analyzing website content as texts, albeit complex in structure and multimodal in nature. Furthermore, the study demonstrates the successful application of this model in analysing the degree to which the selected websites realized their communicative potential. Finally, quantifying research results, a step undertaken in the present research, increases the accuracy of analysis and allows comparing communicative potentials of different websites with a higher degree of precision.

In addition to the theoretical contribution, this study has also practical implications. Specifically, the research findings can be used

- a) to enhance certain features of the UOCC and UOC-MP websites and, possibly, other Ukrainian Orthodox Church websites (e.g. UOC-KP) and

in this way to improve communication with youth and communities via the Web;

b) to inform non-profit and educational institutions (e.g. charitable organizations, universities, colleges, high schools) as to how to establish and maintain effective communication with the public through their websites.

Today, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church continues to incorporate the Web in communication with youth and other people. This format of communication is relatively new for the Church, but an increasing number of people, including youth, rely on it daily. Not all people are able to attend the Church every Sunday (or more often) and not everyone can participate in the life of the Church to a full extent including its numerous charitable, enlightening, and humanitarian events. Therefore, it is important to make sure that people can receive this information from the first source. The Church websites are a unique way to inform people and even to engage them in some of the Church initiatives. However, it is not enough just to post information and it is not enough to post it from time to time. The information on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church websites must be organized in an efficient way and must be posted regularly so that users would seek information from the original source rather than other sources.

This study has conducted research to explore how efficiently the UOCC and UOC-MP communicate with users via their websites. The results have shown that the websites have a limited communicative potential with respect to their content. A lot of efforts can be seen put into production of information, but not enough efforts have been extended in bringing the information to people in an efficient way. On the modern Web, information is not a scarce resource – attention is. Therefore, if the Churches desire to communicate effectively with their users via their websites or to use their websites to invite to participate in Church life, it is necessary to enhance their websites with respect to the verbal, structural, and audio-visual aspects of the content.

The title of this article reads “Do you want to share my identity” – it hints at the potential of the Web: If the Ukrainian Orthodox Church wants to share its Christian identity, websites can help to do so and this article can help by providing theoretical and practical foundation. This paper serves also as a basis for further research in this area. One of the possible directions for future research is to study how Web users see Ukrainian Orthodox Church websites and how they believe these websites can be enhanced to communicate more efficiently.

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## Appendix

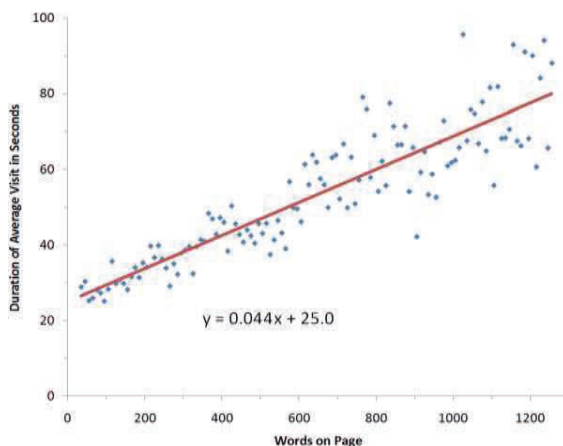


Figure 3.1 Reading time in relation to the number of words on a Web page (Nielsen, 2008)



A

B

Figure 4.1 News sections on the UOCC website



Figure 4.2 The involvement phenomenon enabled in the audio-visual mode on the UOCC website



## UKRAINISCHE IDENTITÄT UND SURŽYK – SYMBOL EINER SPRACHLICHEN VERUNSICHERUNG?

*Ulrich Schweier*

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*Aktuellen Studien zufolge scheint sich gerade unter den nach der Unabhängigkeit geborenen Jugendlichen in der Ukraine eine staatsnational orientierte Identitätsbestimmung auszubreiten. Da die ukrainische Sprache lediglich Symbolwert für diese neue Identität besitzt, ist die erste wichtige Frage, was dies für die tatsächliche Verwendung des Ukrainischen bedeutet.*

*Unter Einbeziehung des sog. Suržyk wird dessen Rolle als Katalysator einer asymmetrischen sozialen Spaltung in sog. Zentristen und Russophone einerseits sowie in Ukrainophone andererseits aufgezeigt. Suržyk als eine wie auch immer geartete Form der Hinwendung zum Russischen wird dabei als Gefährdung für die Verwendung des Ukrainischen bzw. als ein darüber weit hinausgehendes Symbol für eine tiefgreifende, die gesamte Ukraine umfassende sprachliche Verunsicherung gedeutet, die eng mit Problemen der neuen staatsnational gefaßten Identität verbunden ist.*

*Schlüsselwörter: Staatsnationale Identität, Eliten, Sprachloyalität, Symbolcharakter der ukrainischen Sprache, Suržyk, Sprachkonflikt, sprachliche Verunsicherung, Typen slavischer Standardsprachen.*

## УКРАЇНСЬКА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ ТА СУРЖИК — ОЗНАКА МОВНОЇ НЕВПЕВНЕНОСТІ?

*Ульріх Шваєр*

*Результати останніх досліджень демонструють, що серед молоді, яка народилася в Україні після проголошення Незалежності, міцніє державно та національно орієнтована ідентичність. З огляду на те, що українській мові належить суто символічна цінність у визначенні цієї нової ідентичності, передовсім постає важливе запитання: яке значення у використанні української мови цей факт має дійсно.*

*При цьому суржик виступає у ролі каталізатора асиметричного соціального розколоту на так званих центристів і носіїв російської мови з одного боку, та на носіїв української - з іншого. Суржик як різновид повороту до російської мови трактується при цьому як небезпека щодо вживання української, вірніше, як виходяча далеко за її межі ознака мовної невпевненості, яка поширена в усій Україні, і, яка тісно пов'язана з проблемами нової державної та національної ідентичності.*

*Ключові слова:* державно-національна ідентичність, еліти, мовна лояльність, характерний символ української мови, суржик, мовний конфлікт, мовна невпевненість, види слов'янських літературних мов.

### *1. Eliten und popular beliefs: Ukrainophone, Russophone und Zentristen*

Volodymyr Kulyk, der namhafte ukrainische Politikwissenschaftler vom Institut für politische und ethnische Studien der Nationalen Akademie der Wissenschaften der Ukraine (Kyjiv), hat in seinem Beitrag *Einheit und Identität. Sprachenpolitik nach dem Majdan* (Kulyk 2014a) auf eine Verkettung von Umständen hingewiesen, die von einer aktuellen Neujustierung der ukrainischen Identität zu einer wachsenden Spaltung zwischen ukrainischem Staatsverständnis und Sprachgebrauch in der Ukraine führt: „Aber vor allem hat sich das Selbstverständnis verändert, was einen Ukrainer zum Ukrainer macht. An die Stelle eines rein ethnonationalen Verständnisses rückt zunehmend ein staatsnationales. Besonders junge Menschen, die nach 1991 geboren wurden oder zumindest ihre politische Sozialisation nach der Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine erfahren haben, bestimmen ihre Identität heute so: «Ich bin Ukrainer, weil ich in der Ukraine lebe». Russlands Aggression gegen die Ukraine trägt sicher dazu bei, dass dieses staatsnationale oder staatsbürgerliche Bewusstsein stärker werden wird. Damit wird aber auch die Kluft zwischen diesem Staatsverständnis und dem Sprachgebrauch größer“ (Kulyk 2014a, 231). Obwohl sich Kulyk für eine Stärkung der ukrainischen Sprache und eine Intensivierung ihres Gebrauchs einsetzt, wird deutlich, daß er das besondere Potential, „dass das Ukrainische als Symbol nationaler Eigenständigkeit und staatlicher Unabhängigkeit dient“ (Kulyk 2014a, 237; vgl. auch 231 u. 237), und zwar für alle Bürger der Ukraine, höher einschätzt als die Frage nach der tatsächlichen Verwendung der ukrainischen Sprache. Worauf seine Forderungen letztlich hinauslaufen, sind sprachliche Toleranz und „eine positive Einstellung zur sprachlichen Vielfalt“ (Kulyk 2014a, 237) in der Ukraine.

Die von Kulyk geschilderte Wende hin zu einer *staatsnationalen* Identität kann nun allerdings bereits vor dem Hintergrund der im Lande herrschenden Zweisprachigkeit ‘Ukrainisch–Russisch’<sup>76</sup>, die toleriert werden soll, als Bedrohung für die *tatsächliche Verwendung* der ukrainischen Sprache gelesen werden: Zum einen läßt es ja das Bekenntnis zum Ukrainischen “als Symbol nationaler Eigenständigkeit und staatlicher Unabhängigkeit” (s.o., Unterstreichung von mir, U.S) ohne weiteres zu, daß man sich dessen ungeachtet in der Kommunikation der russischen Sprache bedient (vgl. dazu auch Abschn. 2); zum anderen läßt aufhorchen, daß die für die Identitätswende ganz wesentlich verantwortlich gemachte Jugend häufig genau diese Option zu nutzen scheint: “Perhaps the most striking evidence of the persistence of Russian was its particular popularity among the young generation which was raised in independent Ukraine and in-

<sup>76</sup> Diese Zweisprachigkeit gilt für die Ebene der Standardsprachen, wir werden später auch noch die hybride Varietät ‘Suržyk’ in die Betrachtung miteinbeziehen, vgl. Abschn. 2.

creasingly educated in Ukrainian” (Kulyk 2014b, 14). Um es auf den Punkt zu bringen: Vor dem Hintergrund einer neuen *staatsnationalen* Identität wird offenbar ein *Symbol*charakter der ukrainischen Sprache begünstigt, der nicht (mehr) automatisch an eine dementsprechende Sprachloyalität, d.h. die Verwendung des Ukrainischen durch die Sprecher, gekoppelt ist. Eine Loyalität zur ukrainischen Sprache in letzterem Sinne wird gleichsam zu einem unabhängigen und gleichzeitig fakultativen Element, das nicht mehr als notwendiges definitives Merkmal mit der neuen ukrainischen ‘Wir’-Identität verbunden ist.

In seinem Beitrag *What is Russian in Ukraine? Popular beliefs regarding the social roles of the language* unternimmt Kulyk (2014b) den interessanten Versuch, die Wahrnehmung (*perception*) der ukrainisch-russischen Zweisprachigkeit in der Ukraine durch die Eliten des Landes mit der entsprechenden Wahrnehmung durch einfachere Bevölkerungsschichten (*popular beliefs*) zu vergleichen. Als Vergleichsgrundlage dient ihm eine Dreiteilung der Eliten in sog. ‘Ukrainophone’, ‘Russophone’ und ‘Zentristen’ (Kulyk 2014b, 122-126), die insofern interessant ist, als die Zentristen exakt jene Position zu verkörpern scheinen, die bereits oben angesprochen war: Staatsnationale Identität, positive Einstellung zur Zweisprachigkeit und Bekenntnis zum Ukrainischen (lediglich) als Symbol der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit.

Nur die ukrainophone Einstellung ist einsprachig (ukrainisch) orientiert, und allein sie erhebt die entschiedene Forderung nach einer uneingeschränkten Verwendung des Ukrainischen und nach einer kompletten Ausdehnung seiner Funktionsbereiche (Kulyk 2014b, 124ff.). Das Russische gilt für die Ukrainophonen als Minoritätensprache, als Sprache und ‘Waffe’ eines fremden Imperiums und mithin als Objekt der Abgrenzung (Kulyk 2014b, 124-125). Die russophone Einstellung geht von der Forderung nach Gleichberechtigung des Russischen und des Ukrainischen sowie ihrer Sprecher aus. Die russische Sprache ist für sie ein Mittel des Kontakts und der Öffnung, ja ein Instrument der Globalisierung, wobei es zusätzlich inner-ukrainische Realität sei, daß das Russische von allen Bürgern der Ukraine verstanden werde (Kulyk 2014b, 125).

Mit der zentristischen Einstellung, die wir gerade angesprochen haben, befinden wir uns offensichtlich wieder mitten in der Sphäre der Bedrohungen für die *tatsächliche Verwendung* der ukrainischen Sprache: Die Rolle der Sprache bzw. der Sprachloyalität wird von den Zentristen generell heruntergespielt und wichtigeren Fragen wie Wohlstand und Stabilität untergeordnet. Diese Geringschätzung der Sprache(n) und ihrer Verwendung gilt nach Kulyk auch mit Blick auf die aktuelle ukrainische Identitätsbestimmung: “Unlike their ideological rivals, the centrists sought to defend the interests not of one particular group but rather of the entire population, whose interests they saw as not determined by linguistic, ethnic or any other group identity.” (Kulyk 2014b, 126). Aus zentristischer Sicht sind, analog zur russophonen Einstellung, Ukrainisch und Russisch Sprachen des öffentlichen Lebens in der Ukraine, deren Koexistenz unbestreitbar möglich sei. Insgesamt scheint sich zwar aus den Ausführungen Kulyks ein *vermittelnder* Charakter der zentristischen Position zu ergeben, bei einer stren-

geren Lesart zeigt sich jedoch die Beteiligung an einer Asymmetrie, d.h. eine Art von Allianz aus Zentristen und Russophonen gegenüber einer Isolation der Ukrainophonen: Allein die ukrainophone Position vertritt, wie bereits erwähnt, eine Einsprachenlösung und fordert folgerichtig eine breitere (genauer: die dominierende) Verwendung der ukrainischen Sprache sowie eine radikale Ausdehnung ihrer Funktionsbereiche. Die elitäre zentristisch-russophone Mehrheit im Lande hat an derartigen Stärkungen einer einzelnen Sprache, wenn auch aus unterschiedlichen Beweggründen, offenbar kein besonderes Interesse.

Bedrohlich für die tatsächliche Verwendung des Ukrainischen erscheint dies nicht zuletzt vor dem Hintergrund der Tatsache, daß sich gerade die zentristische Einstellung der Eliten offenbar in allen sozialen Schichten des Landes durchsetzt: “Given its dominance in public discourse, it is this ideology that could exert the greatest influence on popular beliefs” (Kulyk 2014b, 126). Ohne hier auf Einzelheiten der kontrastiven Analyse der Wahrnehmungen der einfacheren Bevölkerungsschichten einzugehen, konnte Kulyk (2014b, 137-138) zunächst doch erwartungsgemäß zeigen, daß einer deutlichen Unterstützung der ukrainophonen Einstellung im Westen der Ukraine eine Favorisierung der russophonen Position im Osten und im Süden gegenübersteht. Die *popular beliefs* zeichnen sich nun aber dadurch aus, daß die beiden extremen Einstellungen gerade bei denjenigen Sprechern an Boden verlieren, deren Interessen sie eigentlich vertreten sollten – die ukrainophonen bei den Ukrainischsprechenden, und die russophonen bei den Russischsprechenden (Kulyk 2014b, 138). Genauer betrachtet, geht es darum, daß einzelne Merkmale bzw. Forderungen, die für die Extreme charakteristisch waren, nicht mehr eingefordert werden, wobei auch der Faktor ‘Jugend’ ins Spiel kommt. Derartige tolerante Tendenzen münden in eine sozial übergreifende zentristische Position: “It appears that both Ukrainian and Russian speakers have largely accepted the centrist combination of the symbolic priority of Ukrainian and the actual coexistence of the two languages in most social domains.” (Kulyk 2014b, 138-139). Die beiden zentralen Tendenzen, die Kulyk hier herausgearbeitet hat, sind also ‘Symbolstatus der ukrainischen Sprache’ und ‘Akzeptanz der Zweisprachigkeit’, und beide Beobachtungen sind natürlich grundsätzlich nicht neu. Wir haben allerdings darauf hingewiesen, daß ‘Symbolstatus’ die Abtrennung bzw. Mißachtung der Loyalität zum Ukrainischen (als der selbst gesprochenen Sprache) erlaubt, und daß es ‘Akzeptanz der Zweisprachigkeit’ gestattet, weder das Ukrainische noch das Russische gezielt in seiner Verwendung oder Funktionsbreite zu fördern, sondern sie gleichsam dem freien Wettbewerb zu überlassen. In letzteren, bewußt weniger wohlwollenden Lesarten kommen wir somit exakt auf jene Aspekte zurück, die wir als potentielle Bedrohungen für die *tatsächliche Verwendung* der ukrainischen Sprache identifiziert hatten. In beiden Fällen geht es letztlich darum, daß sich die *Sprecher* von der ukrainischen Sprache abwenden (fehlende Sprachloyalität) bzw. sie nicht polyvalent und häufig genug verwenden. Gleichzeitig bedeutet dies immer in irgendeiner Form die Hinwendung zum Russischen durch eben jene Sprecher.



## 2. Zweisprachigkeit oder Dreisprachigkeit in der Ukraine?

Kulyk hat sich bei seinen Analysen offenbar bewußt auf die Berücksichtigung der beiden koexistenten Standardsprachen – Ukrainisch und Russisch – fokussiert, nur in einer einzigen Fußnote erwähnt er eine prägnante Besonderheit der sprachlichen Situation in der Ukraine,<sup>77</sup> nämlich die zusätzliche Existenz einer “mixed Ukrainian-Russian language” (Kulyk 2014b, 139), hinter der man wohl die hybride Varietät des sog. ‘Suržyk’ vermuten darf. Die Rede von der Bedrohung für die *tatsächliche Verwendung* der ukrainischen Sprache galt bisher ja stillschweigend einer ‘reinen’, d.h. nicht von einer anderen Sprache beeinflussten schriftlich oder mündlich repräsentierten Standardform<sup>78</sup> des Ukrainischen. Wenn man nun, was übrigens keineswegs zwingend ist,<sup>79</sup> unter Suržyk eine von diesem ‘Reinheitsgedanken’ abweichende Varietät des Ukrainischen verstehen will, die durch russische Elemente beeinflusst ist, so darf man mit Sicherheit der ukrainophonen Position unterstellen, daß sich ihre einsprachige Orientierung und ihre Forderung nach einer flächendeckenden Verwendung des Ukrainischen und nach einer Ausdehnung seiner Funktionsbereiche (Kulyk 2014b, 124ff.) keinesfalls auch auf Suržyk bezieht. Ganz im Gegenteil ist davon auszugehen, daß aus ukrainophoner Perspektive Suržyk bzw. der russische Spracheinfluß mit der ohnehin negativ bewerteten russischen Sprache als solcher in eins gesetzt wird, so daß Suržyk ebenfalls zu einem Objekt der Abgrenzung wird.

Wir wollen nun, allerdings ohne jegliche Wertungen dieser Art, der Frage nachgehen, was eigentlich passiert, wenn man Suržyk als Phänomen mit in die Erkenntnisse der zweisprachig gehaltenen Analysen Kulyks (2014a; 2014b) einbezieht: Welche Veränderung der Konstellation bewirkt Suržyk als Phänomen? Stellt er eine Erhöhung der Bedrohung für die tatsächliche Verwendung der ukrainischen Sprache dar? Kann er gar als Symbol für eine tiefgreifende sprachliche Verunsicherung aller Ukrainer gelten – eine Verunsicherung, die mit dafür verantwortlich ist, daß die Bedeutung der Sprache und ihrer Verwendung bei der ukrainischen Identitätsfindung weiter abnimmt?

Wenn wir mehrfach gesagt haben, daß der aktuelle Suržyk-Gebrauch als eine, wenn auch jeweils spezifische, Form der Abwendung des Sprechers vom (‘reinen’) Ukrainischen und gleichzeitig als Hinwendung zum Russischen interpretiert werden kann, dann befinden wir uns mit diesem Hinweis, wenn wir u.a. Hentschel folgen, bereits unmittelbar auf den Spuren der Entstehung der “modernen Ausprägung” der von ihm sog. “ukrainisch-russischen gemischten Rede

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. dazu u.a. auch Danylenko (2015), Hentschel, Taranenko (2015), Reuther (2006).

<sup>78</sup> Siehe zu der damit verbundenen Problematik jedoch auch Abschn. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Vgl. hierzu stellvertretend Hentschel (2014, 4–9), Taranenko (2014) oder auch Del Gaudio (2010).

(URGR)” (Hentschel 2014, 4). Aus seiner soziolinguistischen Perspektive<sup>80</sup> waren es in einer ersten Phase unzählige ukrainischsprachige Land-Stadt-Migranten, die insbesondere vor dem 2. Weltkrieg im Zuge gewaltiger Industrialisierungs- und Urbanisierungserscheinungen in mittlere und kleinere Städte der ukrainischen Sowjetrepublik zogen und sich dort der überwiegend russischen bzw. russisch-sprachigen Führungsschicht sprachlich annäherten. Entscheidend ist nun aber, daß in einer zweiten Phase diese “approximative Redeform” bzw. “hoch variative Rede” (Hentschel 2014, 5) in der Regel zur sprachlichen Basis für die Kinder bzw. für nachfolgende Generationen der Land-Stadt-Migranten wurde. Diese Nachkommen hatten somit, anders als ihre Vorfahren, nicht mehr eine – die ukrainische – (Standard-)Sprache, erworben, die mit einer anderen – der russischen – hätte gemischt werden können. Vielmehr mußten genau umgekehrt letztere Sprachen “aus der primär praktizierten [...] URGR heraus erworben [werden], was meist erst in der Schule mit einer gewissen Systematik geschah [...]. Und dort dominierte in der Regel schon das Russische [...]” (Hentschel 2014, 5). Zu Recht verweist Hentschel (2014, 5) darauf, daß sich “die Herausbildung von Stadtdialekten oder Regiolekten” prinzipiell<sup>81</sup> “in vielen Regionen Europas beobachten lässt”, wobei dort allerdings die daran beteiligte “dominierende Standardsprache” die “Standardsprache der Titularnation” ist. Nachzutragen ist – als weitere Phase der Genese des modernen Surżyk – dessen von Hentschel (2014, 6) so genannte “sekundäre Ausweitung” von den Städten auf die ländlichen Regionen.

Bereits aus diesen wenigen Hinweisen zu einer soziolinguistisch modellierten Entstehung von Surżyk wird erkennbar, daß wir es – zunächst rein linguistisch betrachtet – mit einem äußerst komplexen Phänomen zu tun haben, das bis heute in vielerlei Hinsicht umstritten<sup>82</sup> ist und noch größter Forschungsanstrengungen bedarf. Für die hohe Komplexität wesentlich verantwortlich ist zum einen die enge Verwandtschaft und die daraus resultierende große Nähe und Ähnlichkeit der Geber-Standardsprachen Ukrainisch und Russisch,<sup>83</sup> zum anderen haben wir es mit diffizilen graduellen Übergängen vom ‘Mischen’ zweier Sprachen hin zu einer ‘Mischsprache’ zu tun, was dadurch noch verschärft wird, daß sich, wie in der Ukraine der Fall, “spontanes und konventionelles Mischen überlagern können, solange die beiden «Geberkodes» im aktiven Gebrauch neben den gemischten Formen der Rede sind.” (Hentschel 2014, 9). Genau diese Situation, d.h. variierende, äußerst komplexe Mischformen, -ausprägungen und -

<sup>80</sup> Wie viele andere Forscher verweist auch Hentschel (2014, 6) auf die schon viel ältere Tradition der Sprachenmischung gerade im Westen des ostslavischen Gebiets, sieht aber darin keinen unmittelbaren Vorläufer der URGR.

<sup>81</sup> Vgl. dazu allgemein auch Sinner (2014, insbes. 239ff.).

<sup>82</sup> Vgl. dazu nur stellvertretend den von Hentschel, Taranenko und Zaprudski 2014 herausgegebenen Sammelband.

<sup>83</sup> Auf Einzelheiten dieser ‘Nähe’ können wir hier nicht eingehen, vgl. dazu allgemein Ammon (2005), Kloss (1967; 1976), zu slavischen u.a. Sprachen Keipert (2005), zu vergleichbaren ‘Problemen’ und Fragestellungen etwa in den romanischen Sprachen Bossong (2008, bes. 16ff.).

anteile in Suržykhänomenen bei gleichzeitiger Präsenz der ukrainischen und der russischen Sprache hatten wir im Auge, als wir in der Überschrift zu diesem Abschnitt über Dreisprachigkeit spekuliert haben; gleichzeitig ist diese komplexe Situation auch der Grund dafür, daß wir Kulyks (2014a, 2014b) Reduktion auf die Sprachen Ukrainisch und Russisch für zu ‘idealistisch’ halten.

Der Kontakt zweier oder mehrerer Sprachen bzw. Varietäten<sup>84</sup> impliziert nun – und die sprachliche Situation in der Ukraine ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür – immer Reaktionen, Veränderungen, Interferenzen, letztlich (Macht-)Konflikte. Erinnert sei hier an Neldes Gesetz ‘Kein Sprachkontakt ohne Sprachkonflikt’ (Nelde 2008, 1350ff.) oder an Dirven, Pütz (1996, 684), die “Zweisprachigkeit und Diglossie [...] in erster Linie als ein Ergebnis von Sprachdominanz, Sprachzwang und somit Sprachkonflikt” ansehen. Daß aus Sprachkontakt Kontaktvarietäten (Stadtdialekte, Regiolekte, ‘Mischsprachen’ etc.) entstehen können, hatten wir bereits mit Bezug auf Hentschels Darstellung erwähnt – Suržyk erweist sich also aus dieser Sicht als ‘normale’ Folge eines ‘normalen’ Konflikts.

Das spezifische Konflikt- bzw. das Bedrohungspotential von Suržyk liegt nun aber, und damit knüpfen wir an das an, was wir zu Beginn dieses Abschnitts über das Verhältnis der ukrainophonen Position zu Suržyk gesagt hatten, darin, daß *jede* wie auch immer gewichtete und ausgeprägte Hinwendung zum Russischen aus ukrainophoner Sicht stets als Anpassung an einen konkurrierenden Standard, als Inkorporation und als sprachliche Präsenz des Konkurrenten interpretiert werden kann. Im Unterschied dazu kann die sprachtolerante zentristische Position, die ja zudem die Bedeutung der Sprache(n) anderen Interessen unterordnet (vgl. Abschn. 1), die Existenz von Suržyk in bestimmten Bereichen und Kommunikationssituationen ebenso tolerieren wie die Verwendung des Russischen; aus russophoner Sicht schließlich ist kein Widerstand gegen eine ‘Russifizierung des Ukrainischen’, als die man Suržyk zumindest laienhaft betrachten kann, zu erwarten. Suržyk als Phänomen reiht sich somit in Kulyks Modell als Katalysator einer Spaltung ein, die wir bereits in Abschn. 1 beschrieben hatten: Er verbindet Zentristen und Russophone noch mehr, und er vertieft gleichzeitig den Graben zwischen dieser Allianz und der ukrainophonen Einstellung, die Suržyk als eine verkörperte Gefährdung der ukrainischen Sprache bekämpft.

Eine ganz wesentliche Rolle bei all diesen Vorgängen, die natürlich schon seit längerem bekannt sind, spielt der von Kulyk (2014a, 2014b) immer wieder erwähnte *Symbol*charakter,<sup>85</sup> den die ukrainische Sprache mehr und mehr annehme; wie bereits erwähnt, ergibt sich damit ja die durchaus bequem zu nennende Möglichkeit, die eigene ukrainische Identität *staatsnational* mit Bezug auf das Ukrainische als *Symbol* zu bestimmen, ohne gleichzeitig sprachloyal gegenüber dieser Sprache sein zu müssen. Hentschel (2014, 3) spricht mit Blick auf das Weißrussische,<sup>86</sup> das auf diesem Weg schon sehr viel weiter vorangeschritten ist, nicht zu Unrecht von einem ‘musealen Wert’: “Die Einstellung der «ein-

<sup>84</sup> Vgl. dazu allgemein Sinner (2014), Riehl (2014).

<sup>85</sup> Vgl. dazu auch Wingender (2013, 30).

<sup>86</sup> Vgl. dazu u.a. auch Hentschel, Kittel (2011).

fachen» Weißrussen zum Weißrussischen ist dagegen durchaus positiv. Dies betrifft jedoch eher den symbolischen (negativ formuliert: musealen) Wert, den man seiner «Muttersprache» beimisst, ohne sie faktisch im Alltag zu verwenden.“

### 3. Drei Sprachen – zwei Identitäten – eine Ukraine der Verunsicherung?

Fassen wir unseren Versuch, Suržyk als Phänomen in die Analyse Kulyks (2014a, 2014b) zu integrieren, soweit zusammen: Wenn aktuell bei der Bestimmung der ukrainischen Identität die *tatsächliche Verwendung* einer Sprache (im Extremfall: einer bestimmten Sprache) überhaupt eine Rolle spielt, dann ist dies bei den von Kulyk so genannten Ukrainophonen der Fall, die die sprachliche Loyalität zum ukrainischen Standard in allen Bereichen und Funktionen als *conditio sine qua non* einfordern; nennen wir eine solche Sprachverwendungsaktive bzw. -sensible Identität einmal ‘ukrainische Identität 1’. Die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung, nämlich die von Kulyk so genannten Zentristen und Russophonen, bestimmt ihre eigene ‘ukrainische Identität 2’, ohne dabei für sich selbst (oder für andere in ihrer Gruppe) das Kriterium ‘*Verwendung* des Standard-Ukrainischen’ anzusetzen. Gründe bzw. Schlagworte für die Nichtbeachtung dieses Kriteriums können staatsnationales Denken sein, Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber Sprache(n) und Sprechen an sich, Bekenntnis zu Zweisprachigkeit, Bekenntnis zu einem sprachlichen Symbolwert ohne Loyalität bis hin zu einer Bevorzugung der russischen Sprache. Die Verwendung von Suržyk, wie auch immer er definiert sei, hat nur innerhalb der ‘ukrainischen Identität 2’ einen Platz.

Unsere Nummerierung zweier Identitäten wirkt zunächst suggestiv, wir wollen damit aber die berechtigte Frage stellen, ob wir anhand eines derart gravierenden Unterschieds im Merkmalbestand, der sich in Gestalt des Kriteriums ‘*Verwendung* des Standard-Ukrainischen’ zuspitzt, tatsächlich noch von einer einheitlichen Identität sprechen wollen oder können. Eine Antwort darauf kann an dieser Stelle nicht gegeben werden. Deutlich wird jedoch einmal mehr, daß wir es quantitativ mit einer Asymmetrie zu tun haben, d.h. daß das ‘Sammelbecken’ derjenigen, die unsere Identität 2 für sich reklamieren (Zentristen und Russophone), deutlich in der Überzahl ist.

Zu dieser Asymmetrie leistet Suržyk seinen ganz eigenen Beitrag, so daß aus dieser Perspektive heraus eine Einschätzung der Situation wie die durch Voss (2008, 554; identisch: 2013, 108) problematisch erscheint: “Suržyk symbolisiert die sozialpsychologische Lage der ukrainischen Osthälfte, die sich weder als Teil Russlands fühlt, sich zugleich aber durch einen radikalen westukrainischen Sprachpurismus abgestoßen fühlt.” Nach unserer Ansicht ist es aktuell durchaus möglich, die areale Limitierung aufzuheben und von Suržyk als einem Symbol zu sprechen, das – wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Wirkungsweise und Funktion – für die heterogene sozialpsychologische Lage in der *gesamten* Ukraine steht.

Wir hatten in Abschn. 2 die Entstehung von sprachlichen Mischvarietäten – gerade unter so spezifischen Umständen wie in der Ukraine – als ein soziolingu-

istisch erwartbares Phänomen dargestellt, das innerhalb wie außerhalb Europas zahlreiche Parallelen zeigt; auch unter dem Aspekt ‘Sprachkonflikt’ war Suržyk als ‘normal’ bezeichnet worden. Will man die Palette der subjektiven Einstellungen, Empfindungen, Wahrnehmungen, Bewertungen, für die dieser ‘normale’ Suržyk mit Blick auf die gesamte Ukraine stehen kann, zumindest grob strukturieren, so kristallisieren sich zwei Enden einer Skala heraus:

1. An einem ‘neutral’ zu nennenden Ende steht Suržyk im Extremfall als Zeichen für Gleichgültigkeit – Suržyk ist dann einfach ein mögliches (unbewußt bzw. nicht-reflektiert benutztes) Instrument, um die eigenen kommunikativen Ziele möglichst einfach und erfolgreich zu erreichen. Bei Sprechern mit höherer Sensibilität gegenüber Sprache(n) und Sprechen wird man Suržyk als ein Zeichen der sprachlichen Toleranz oder des Bekenntnisses zur Mehrsprachigkeit, unter die auch Suržyk subsumiert wird, interpretieren dürfen; letzteres kann sicherlich u.a. für weite Kreise der Zentristen angenommen werden.
2. Am anderen ‘*affektbetonten*’ Ende der Skala steht Suržyk als Zeichen für Reaktionen, die als ‘Angst’, ‘Bedrohungsempfindung’ allein oder als Kombination dieser Parameter mit ‘Abwehr’ oder ‘Bekämpfung’ gedeutet werden können.

Wir wenden uns nur einigen ausgewählten Aspekten dieses *affektbetonten* Skalenendes zu, wobei zunächst die Frage zu klären ist: Angst wovor, bzw. was wird als bedroht empfunden? Hier sind verschiedene Fälle zu unterscheiden: Zum einen kann die ukrainische Sprache *in ihrer Existenz* als bedroht empfunden werden, und zwar im Prinzip durch die bereits dominante Präsenz des Russischen und dessen weitere Ausbreitung. “Transponiert wird die Furcht vor dieser Entwicklung jedoch auf ein anderes Phänomen, das [...] sehr verbreitet ist: [...] die ukrainisch-russische gemischte Rede (URGR).” (Hentschel 2014, 4). Suržyk gerät so – gleichsam in der Rolle eines Stellvertreters – zum Symbol der Angst vor ‘weißrussischen Verhältnissen’, vor einer “faktischen Marginalisierung” der ukrainischen Sprache. Nach Hentschel (2014, 3-4) zeugen die “Beiträge der Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus [...] der Ukraine” zu einem der aktuellsten Sammelbände zu Suržyk<sup>87</sup> “trotz verschiedener substanzieller Unterschiede in ihren Standpunkten, fast durchgehend von dieser Angst.” Suržyk als Symbol der Angst also ganz wesentlich bei Linguisten und Sprachinteressierten, aus anderer Perspektive sicherlich bei den Ukrainophonen, wie sie auch Kulyk im Blick hatte. In Hinsicht auf letztere Gruppe kann Suržyk darüber hinaus, quasi ‘aufgerüstet’, als Symbol für ‘Abwehr’ und ‘Bekämpfung’ des russischen Einflusses stehen (dazu gibt es eine reiche Literatur – angefangen bei linguistischer

<sup>87</sup> Hentschel, G., Taranenko, O., Zaprudski, S. (Hg.), *Trasjanka und Suržyk – gemischte weißrussisch-russische und ukrainisch-russische Rede. Sprachlicher Inzest in Weißrussland und der Ukraine?* Frankfurt 2014.

Fachliteratur, vgl. hier nur stellvertretend Beiträge aus Hentschel, Taranenko, Zaprudski [2014], bis hin zu Schriften mit Agitationscharakter; aufschlußreich ist u.a. auch Serbens'kas bekannter *Antisuržyk* von 1994).

Deutlich weniger häufig beschrieben ist indes eine Angst oder Bedrohungsempfindung, bei der man Suržyk als Symbol für die *persönliche sprachliche Verunsicherung* bei denjenigen interpretieren kann, die eigentlich positiv bzw. loyal gegenüber dem Ukrainischen eingestellt sind und diese Sprache auch durchaus verwenden würden. Spätestens mit Blick auf solche Sprecher wird besonders deutlich, warum wir oben die Ansicht von Voss (2008, 554; identisch: 2013, 108), daß Suržyk “die sozialpsychologische Lage der ukrainischen Osthälfte” symbolisiere, als unzutreffend bezeichnet und stattdessen von einem für die *gesamte* Ukraine gültigen Symbolwert gesprochen hatten.

Taranenko (2014, 268) führt den “eher” bewußten Gebrauch von Suržyk bei “Personen, die im Großen und Ganzen sowohl die ukrainische als auch die russische Literatursprache erworben haben”, u.a. auf die Empfindung “eines gewissen Mangels [...] in der ukrainischen Literatursprache” zurück, zudem auf den Ausdruck einer “gewissen Verlegenheit”; letztere entstehe teilweise auch dadurch, daß “diese Personen nicht gänzlich zur russischen Sprache übergehen” wollten (Taranenko 2014, 268) und deswegen Suržyk verwenden. Ein weiterer Aspekt, der in diesem Zusammenhang wichtig erscheint, ist zweifellos die bereits thematisierte, genetisch bedingte Nähe des Russischen und des Ukrainischen sowie die traditionelle, jahrhundertalte Kontaktsituation beider Sprachen, die eine asymmetrische Einflußnahme zur Folge hatte; so “sind auf dem Territorium der Ukraine weder dialektale und interdialektale Kommunikationsformen noch Zentren des städtischen Prostoriččja übrig geblieben, die nicht vom Russischen beeinflusst wären” (Taranenko 2014, 279–280). In diesen Zusammenhang fallen natürlich auch unbewußte Mischphänomene, für die der geringe Abstand der beiden Standardsprachen verantwortlich gemacht werden kann. Nach Taranenko (2014, 280) kommt zu alledem hinzu, daß “die Zahl derer, die ständig, und nicht etwa aus dienstlicher Notwendigkeit, in der ukrainischen Literatursprache kommunizieren, [...] ziemlich gering” sei.

Suržyk kann somit aus einer Vielzahl von Gründen als Symbol für die *persönliche Verunsicherung* der Sprecher gegenüber der ukrainischen Sprache gedeutet werden, deren spezifische und autonome Konturen sie nicht mehr sicher genug einschätzen können: “Das hat eine starke Zunahme von Variation in der heutigen ukrainischen Sprache zur Folge, zudem wachsende Unsicherheit hinsichtlich der Kenntnis der «richtigen» ukrainischen Sprache nicht nur bei «normalen» Sprechern im Sinne von Laien, sondern auch bei jenen, die beruflich mit der Literatursprache zu tun haben.” (Taranenko 2014, 283). Verantwortlich seien nicht zuletzt auch Normierungsdefizite: “Die Ansichten zu verschiedenen Fragen der Normierung sprachlicher Phänomene differieren erheblich, was, wie bereits gesagt wurde, zu großer Variativität und infolgedessen zu «Ungeordnetheit» in der sprachlichen Praxis führt.” (Taranenko 2014, 284).

Nach unserer Ansicht zeigt sich eine *Verunsicherung* der Sprecher nicht zuletzt auch in der von Taranenko (2014, 276; vgl. dazu auch bereits 269ff.) sehr zutreffend beschriebenen Verwirrung um die “Bestimmung der unteren Grenze”, des “untere[n] Stellenwerts für den Suržyk”, also in der *Verunsicherung um Grenzziehungen*: Wo hört das ‘richtige’ Ukrainische auf, und wo beginnt der Suržykbereich? Potenziert wird dies durch die *Verunsicherung* hinsichtlich der Frage, wie eigentlich der grundlegende *Referenzwert* – das ‘richtige’ Ukrainische – zu definieren sei, und zwar gerade angesichts der Tatsache, daß “sich [...] die Distanz zwischen kodifizierter Sprache und lebendiger sprachlicher Praxis” ständig vergrößere (Taranenko 2014, 283–284).

#### 4. ‘Verunsicherung’ soziolinguistisch modelliert

Das von Monika Wingender entwickelte sog. ‘Tetraeder-Modell’ zur Beschreibung von Standardsprachen (vgl. zum aktuellen Stand Wingender 2013; 2015) ist sehr gut dafür geeignet, abschließend noch einige wichtige ‘Verunsicherungs’-Komponenten soziolinguistisch präziser zu fassen. Natürlich können wir die vier nicht-hierarchischen, interagierenden Komponenten des Modells – die sprachliche, situative, soziale und funktionale – sowie deren jeweilige Merkmalbündel hier nicht ausführlich behandeln, sondern nur eine kleine Auswahl exemplarisch herausgreifen. Entscheidend ist dabei, daß es immer um ein “Geflecht von Merkmalen mit ihren Ausprägungen und Korrelationen” (Wingender 2013, 26) geht, also um ein System von graduierbaren Merkmalen, die in letzter Konsequenz alle voneinander abhängen und sich gegenseitig bedingen.

Mit Blick auf die sprachliche Komponente – “das Material der Standardvarietät” (Wingender 2013, 29) – werden zunächst grundlegende Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Gebersprachen Ukrainisch und Russisch deutlich, und zwar bezüglich nahezu aller von Wingender berücksichtigten Merkmale dieser Komponente: Dem Ukrainischen mit einer vergleichsweise *heterogenen Sprachbasis*, einem hohen *Einfluß anderer Sprachen und Varietäten* sowie der beschriebenen hohen Varianz bei der *Normierung* steht ein in der Ukraine verwendetes Russisch gegenüber, dessen Sprachbasis homogener, dessen Beeinflussung durch andere Sprachen/Varietäten geringer, dessen Norm stabiler ist und das zudem von außen gestützt wird.

Mit der insbesondere von den Ukrainophonen zu Recht ins Zentrum gerückten Forderung nach dem entschiedenen *Ausbau der Funktionssphären* des Ukrainischen ist ein vitales Merkmal der funktionalen Komponente des Tetraeder-Modells angesprochen (vgl. Wingender 2013, 29). Es zeigt besonders anschaulich, wie stark Merkmale verschiedener Komponenten miteinander korrelieren (können) und sich so geradezu als Teil einer ‘Kettenreaktion’ präsentieren: *Ausbau der Funktionssphären* ist von dem funktionalen Merkmal *Vitalität*, d.h. dem “tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch” (Wingender 2013, 29) durch die Sprecher, nicht zu trennen. *Tatsächlicher Sprachgebrauch* wiederum ist direkt mit den *Verwendertitütiden*, einem Merkmal der sozialen Komponente, verknüpft, also mit dem

“Grad der Unterstützung eines Idioms durch eine Sprachgemeinschaft” (Wingender 2013, 30). Bereits ausgehend vom *Ausbau der Funktionssphären* sind zudem beide Merkmale der situativen Komponente in das Beziehungsgeflecht miteingebunden: *Autonomie* als “das konfliktfreie Funktionieren der Standardvarietät in den wesentlichen gesellschaftlichen Sphären” sowie *soziolinguistische Einbettung*, d.h. der “Grad der Einbettung in eine mono-, bi- oder multilinguale Gesellschaft, der Grad der Zweisprachigkeit (Bilingualismus, Diglossie), der Grad der Institutionalisierung [...] in den für heutige Gesellschaften wesentlichen Bereichen wie Schule, Universität, Wissenschaft u.a.” (Wingender 2013, 30–31).

Ohne weiter ins Detail zu gehen, also bereits ohne den Status und den Grad der Ausgeprägtheit der genannten Merkmale genauer zu bestimmen und zu messen, wird deutlich, daß die Position der ukrainischen Sprache in einem solchen Gesamtkräftefeld vergleichsweise labiler ist als die des Russischen; dies gilt mit Blick auf alle der hier ausgewählten Komponenten bzw. Merkmale des Tetraeder-Modells Wingenders. Gleichzeitig wird erkennbar, daß es die Netzwerkstruktur des Modells unmöglich macht, gleichsam nur ‘an einer einzelnen Schraube zu drehen’. Vielmehr wird es der Wunsch nach Stärkung eines einzelnen Merkmals wie etwa des *Ausbaus der Funktionssphären* erforderlich machen, gleichzeitig an einer Vielzahl von weiteren, korrelierenden Merkmalen zu arbeiten und dort ebenfalls Erfolge zu erzielen. Für diese so komplexe und facettenreiche Aufgabe, oder besser gesagt: für diese so facettenreiche *persönliche sprachliche Verunsicherung*, die angesichts dieser komplexen Aufgabe entstehen kann, erscheint uns Surżyk ein Symbol zu sein, das für die gesamte Ukraine Gültigkeit besitzt.

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## UKRAINIAN HIGHER EDUCATION: LANGUAGE REFLECTIONS OF A EUROPEAN CENTERED STRATEGY OF NATION-BUILDING

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*The article provides an analysis of the concept 'higher education' through the prism of the Ukrainian linguistic world view. It studies the contradictory image of higher education as a kind of marker, which expresses the ideas of Ukraine's European identity at the lexical level: on the one hand, a self-contained entity with rich history (Kyjiv Mohyla Academy, Ostroh Academy etc.) and its own national traditions that had been created over centuries; and on the other hand – a newly formed social and cultural phenomenon, which is undergoing many changes.*

*Key words: higher education, educational vocabulary, lexical-semantic groups, language image, national identity, European values.*

## ВИЩА ОСВІТА В УКРАЇНІ: МОВНЕ ВІДОБРАЖЕННЯ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ СТРАТЕГІЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО СТАНОВЛЕННЯ

*Ірина Серебрянська*

*У статті здійснюється аналіз поняття 'вища освіта' через призму мовної картини світу українського народу. Представлено суперечливий образ вищої освіти як своєрідного маркера, що виражає ідеї європейської ідентичності України на лексичному рівні. З одного боку, це самодостатня одиниця з багатою історією (Києво-Могилянська академія, Острозька академія та ін.) і національними традиціями, що формувалися протягом століть; з іншого – соціально-культурне явище, яке знаходиться в процесі становлення.*

*Ключові слова: вища освіта, освітня лексика, лексико-семантичні групи, мовний образ, національна ідентичність, європейські цінності.*

When describing modern society, scholars observe features of a qualitatively new era that has come with the beginning of the third millennium (great changes in relations between different countries, new configurations of international relations, significant transformation of the overall picture of the world, the increasing role of information technology). Education most noticeably responds to all changes that are taking place nowadays. It is "the most apt to reflect and demonstrate the quality of our transformation. The educational system in such circumstances should recognize indicators of social development and influence the development of the processes through educational indicators. The education sys-

tem is the most reliable and civilized means of progress and reforms in social development” (Mjasnikov 2013, 41). It is always difficult for contemporaries to assess changes, their value and importance. In this article we are going to give such an assessment of the situation in contemporary Ukraine through the language, basing on the analysis of media texts. A media text is a reflection of social and cultural tendencies, fresh ideas and thoughts of people on different subjects. It is a good form of emotional and expressive realization of the social and cultural aspect of Ukrainian education.

A word is a reflection of thoughts. Thus, the study of the educational vocabulary, modern connotations and associations can create a complete picture of the true state of education in society. Ukrainian traditional names of the educational concepts and phenomena reveal national mentality, historically embedded in their foundation. New words which appear in our language, new connotations are a good means of representing education’s current state and public attitude to new processes in it.

Language tools represented by social phenomena, including education, clearly demonstrate society’s attitude to the events taking place in the state. We have tried to analyze the problems of the higher education sector through the prism of the linguistic world view of the Ukrainian ethnos and to trace how Ukrainians, building the national system of education based on national traditions and preserving their own national identity, are approaching European principles and gradually becoming representatives of European identity. We regard the national image of higher education, represented through language, as a kind of marker, which at the lexical level expresses the ideas of Ukraine’s European identity.

Education is a complex and multidimensional concept. It is rapidly changing (expanding) its borders and often causes discussions in today’s society. Accordingly the semantic structure of the word *education* is changing. Traditionally it is associated with literacy and limited to the meanings “knowledge” and “learning”, education is “a complex of knowledge acquired during training; level, degree of knowledge acquired during training; education; improving the level of knowledge; training; process of learning; general knowledge (in the community, state etc.); system of educational activities; system of institutions through which these activities is performed; literacy” (SUM-5 1974, 755). Today education is first of all a social and cultural phenomenon – a social institution, a social value and a cultural component. Among the most popular definitions of education one can distinguish the following variants: education is the “process and the result of a person’s mastering of a system of scientific knowledge, practical skills and a particular level of the development of mental, cognitive and creative activities, and moral aesthetic culture, which together define a social image of the person and his individuality” (Encyklopedija 2008, 615); “purposeful processes of transmitting the accumulated information, knowledge, understanding, attitudes, values, skills, behavior patterns, and other competencies between people for

their teaching / learning including communication for achieving educational goals; training and individual development” (Zakon 2016).

According to our analysis, modern lexicographical, scientific and encyclopedic sources propose the following interpretations of education: as a social phenomenon that is an attribute (integral, significant sign) and constant companion of mankind throughout its progressive way of evolutionary development; a social value for everyone and for society as a whole; a special function of society and the state as its important institution concerning its citizens (formation and development of socially significant qualities of each individual as a member of society) and, at the same time, as a function of self-conscious development of citizens; process and result of socialization of the members of society, including people in complex and comprehensive social relationships, without which a man cannot be regarded as a member of society; complex hierarchical system that includes various levels of education which are logically and consistently linked; intangible sector of one of the branches of society, connected with other sectors – culture, science, health, art etc.; special kind of intellectual, physical and administrative activities – teaching, the essence of which is interaction between teachers and those who are subjects of educational influence; learning process as a whole; result of training activities.

The list of interpretations of the concept ‘education’ continues to grow. This process is related to the role of education in the information society, internationalization in education and the establishment of interdisciplinary ties within education and sociology, economics, law etc. All these changes are mostly concerning *higher* education as an important part of any educational system.

Some scholars use the unusual word *patriarchal* to characterize the Ukrainian higher education and university today. What does it mean to be patriarchal for an educational institution? The word means “loyalty to old traditions, matching them” (SUM-6 1975, 96) and is combined with the best examples such as the Ostroh Academy, the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy, which are considered the roots of not only Ukrainian higher education but also European one. Being the cultural and social Ukrainian centers, such higher education institutions are continuing the traditions of the authentic Ukrainian university nowadays, enriching them with new international elements. In terms of the integration of Ukraine into the European economic, political and educational space the role of higher education in this process is very important. It enables a person not only to be competitive in the labor market, but also to become a developed personality. New scientific, technological and human resources are being formed in higher education institutions that generate new knowledge, ideas, technology and provide interaction between education, science and business. Therefore higher education in modern conditions is first of all a social and cultural phenomenon that plays an important role in people’s life and in many branches of science and industry.

So what is the Ukrainian higher education like today? How is it represented in the popular mass media? In order to answer the questions we have monitored texts of the leading Ukrainian media: “Den” (D), “Dzerkalo tyžnja” (DT),

“Ukrajina moloda” (UM), “Urjadovyj kur’jer” (UK), “Ukrajins’ka pravda. Žyt-tja” (UPŽ), “Osvita Ukrainy” (OU), “Pedahohična presa” (PP), “Vyšča osvita” (VO) and others. This is the first attempt in Ukraine to study the image of higher education on the basis of a language analysis.

From the legal viewpoint, the Ukrainian higher education is orientated on two key documents: the European one is ‘Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education’, and the Ukrainian one is Zakon Ukrainy “Pro vyšču osvitu”. According to these official texts we can define several lexical-semantic groups of education vocabulary: ‘Types of higher education institutions’, ‘Participants of education’, ‘Organization of education’, ‘Quality of education’ and others (Serebrjans’ka 2015, 334).

So, we have classified lexical material, selected from newspapers in the same way. It has the following peculiarities in media texts: words and expressions are emotive, figurative and often positively or negatively marked. Sometimes in newspapers one can find opinions about higher education which differ radically. On the one hand, it is a sharp condemnation of the current state of Ukrainian education, which is expressed by negatively marked epithets like *degraded, denationalized and so far from the true values of the Bologna process high school* (D, 30.10.2014). On the other hand, it is the opposite opinion that our higher education is good and the Ukrainian universities have their own valuable traditions. A number of positively marked epithets are used to describe the category ‘Ukrainian education’, for example, *interesting, multifaceted, prestigious: Ukrainian education is interesting, multifaceted and has been recognized prestigious in the international environment* (D, 23.10.2014). Let’s examine in detail the lexical-semantic groups mentioned above:

### 1. ‘Types of higher education institutions’

This lexical-semantic group is represented by nominations of different higher education institutions – traditional ones (*university, higher education institution, higher school*) and new ones according to the last political and social events, when some universities of the eastern part of the country had to leave their places and move because of the war (*evacuated university, universities-twins, universities-migrants* etc.). The nominations of institutions can be divided into several categories according to the following characteristics:

- ‘Ownership of the university’: *state university, national university, private university*;
- ‘Occupation of the university’: *research university, entrepreneurial university*;
- ‘Location of the university’: *metropolitan university, provincial university, peripheral university, regional university*;
- ‘Level of university demand in society’: *prestigious university, famous university, elite university*;
- ‘Quality of university educational services’: *strong university, undemanding university*;

- 'Assessment of university activity': *the best university* etc.

Analyzing the semantics of the educational vocabulary in the context of media texts, we can define several associations, which are connected with the social and political life of the country. The first one is 'University – war'. The war in the country has changed life of many higher education institutions, which have had to move from the occupied territories. In our society new categories and their names have appeared because of such events. Among them is the nomination *universities of the Donbass*. In Ukrainian newspapers such phrases have a lot of synonyms: *universities of Donbass – higher education institutions from the territory of active actions, evacuated universities, university-migrants, universities-twins: Almost all of the evacuated universities have their twins outside the controlled territories: a lot of students and teachers refused to leave the hometown* (DT, 11.12.2015).

The problem of evacuation of the Eastern Ukrainian universities and their education activities is represented in the newspapers by some metaphorical nominations, such as *Rubicon for Luhansk universities* (UK, 18.10.2014); *renewed Donec'k National University; University in exile; copy of Donec'k University* (about its removal to Vinnycja); *Split Donec'k National University* (UM, 14.06.2016). These are new names of old and famous education institutions with difficult fortunes.

Military events in the Eastern Ukraine became the impetus for the revitalization of patriotism and the public activities of universities in different regions, which in many ways try to help each other and to support the Ukrainian army in all possible ways: *Ternopil' University is ready to provide its building for special battalion* (D, 29.08.2014). The issue of patriotism is also implemented by the following metaphor in which a higher education institution is characterized anthropomorphically: *University donates its body to revive the spirit* (about the Donec'k National University which despite of all problems strongly states its Ukrainian position) (D, 02.10.2014).

In the following example the word *university* combined with the epithet *purified from ballast* also expresses the meaning 'patriotism': *The Donec'k University in Vinnycja is a new higher education institution: it has been purified from the 'ballast', those people which have not decided with whom they are: with or without Ukraine* (D, 04.11.2014). So, the association 'University – patriotism' takes an important place in mass media texts along with the association 'University – war'.

'University – politics'. This association is formed by nominations such as the university, born by revolution (D, 02.05.2016) or by a whole sentence such as: *When universities become a platform for political campaigning, this is certainly not good. However it is not good when they are outside of modern political discourse* (D, 21.10.15). So, university is considered an essential part of Ukrainian political life.

'University – business'. Speaking about this kind of university as an *entrepreneurial university*, we note some unusual connotations of the nomination, for

example, the association of university with hypermarket: *University is not a hypermarket which sells education services and entrepreneurship in universities is not synonymous with commerce* (UK, 2014, №153). So, the author emphasizes that the quality of education must be a priority at any university.

Metaphorical nominations of higher education institutions, used in Ukrainian periodicals sometimes are both positively and negatively marked. On the one hand, speaking about the specific institutions of higher education such as the Ivan Franko Pryluc'yy Pedagogical College for the Humanities, its great experience and value for the country, journalists give them metaphorical names such as *the gray-haired by years and eternally young by potential higher education institution* (D, 2015, №101–102), which characterize the university as a good example to follow. On the other hand, using irony marked figurative nominations such as 'universities' in quotation marks, authors criticize some universities, pointing out their disadvantages: *Most of our universities, 'universities' in quotation marks and their affiliates do not provide the appropriate quality and there is no proper learning process* (D, 01.03.2016).

## 2. 'Participants of education'

In media texts this lexical-semantic group is represented by the nomination of students and teachers. It gives them the usual characteristics of mental abilities and belonging to the country: *intelligent students, talented students, lazy students; Ukrainian students, international students*. Being a structural part of the metaphors, such nominations also show students' and teachers' civic position. According to the context we can determine the following associations: 'Students / teachers – political events in Eastern Ukraine and in the Crimea; the war', for example: *students from the Crimea; the Crimean students, students from the Donbass, students-internally displaced persons; students-volunteers; volunteers – students and teachers* (D, 14.01.2015). These word combinations are not new in the language, but they have new connotations: in the political context such students have become a separate category, which requires more attention and care. In current social and political conditions such nominations are often marked negatively, emphasizing educational problems in territories outside Ukraine's control: *Students from the Crimea are our big problem* (D, 17.09.2015).

The association 'Students / teachers – patriotism' in media texts is implemented by the epithet *pro-Ukrainian teachers and students*.

The association 'Students – Majdan' is a symbol of new life and new abilities: *the Majdan has changed the minds of students, and they are no longer afraid to fight for better education, for better learning conditions, they are not afraid of changes and they are ready to take responsibility for them* (D, 19.03.2014).



### 3. 'Quality of education'

In Ukrainian periodicals this lexical-semantic group is represented by the phrase *quality of education and some epithets, providing ambivalent marked characteristics: appropriate, high, low quality education, quality of education inappropriate to modern requirements*, and by nominations of processes, related to the reform of higher education: *Universities optimization; discrepancy of quality of education to modern requirements; The education system is being purified etc.*, for example: *Teachers-scientists ... realize the discrepancy of the quality of education to modern requirements* (UK, 2014, № 153); *the Ukrainian education system is gradually being purified from universities that don't provide students with professional skills* (UK, 23.02.2016); *There is a gradual optimization of the network of higher education institutions, 76 universities and branches that do not provide adequate quality of education have stopped their activity* (Segodnja, 02.02.2016). Metaphorical expressions which describe the educational process, on the one hand, emphasize major problems in the branch which should be solved, and attract public attention to them: *Mistake in higher education* (UK, 01.03.2013); *Education is limping* (UM, 29.05.2012); *Education is hobbling: There will not be quality higher education if secondary education is hobbling* (D, 17.06.2016). On the other hand, such phrases as: *to struggle with low-quality education; to take out higher education from the abyss* identify positive trends in our society: *We should struggle with education and universities of low-quality, which are popularly known as 'diplomas traders'* (UM, 25.11.2011); *Independent testing: to cut low-quality education with a sickle* (DT, 14.10.2014).

Sometimes using metaphorical expressions, journalists personalize the image of higher education as a living being which is ill and needs immediate treatment: *The higher education system is in deep cardiac arrest. It needs resuscitation, it needs a qualified reanimator, otherwise there will be trouble* (Ukrinform, 10.06.2015).

### 4. 'The European vector of higher education in Ukraine'

The orientation of Ukraine towards the European educational space nowadays has significant support from both the Ukrainian community and international experts. Thus, one of Britain's leading experts in the field of education quality assurance Stephen Jackson says: *"I am impressed with the scale of transformation through which Ukrainian higher education is going. The transition from the Soviet system of education to the European one is a complex process that requires much time and considerable effort. This is not just any formal change but a cultural transformation and the battle for the minds and hearts of the people ... I don't see any serious obstacles for Ukrainian higher education to becoming a part of the European educational system. Moreover, the principles your education is based on are similar to the European ones"* (DT, 2016, № 6).

Our research proves that new categories like *European principles*, *European education and technology*, *European educational space*, *the world educational space*, *European standards of education* are becoming the active elements of modern language.

Educational nominations and their combinations fixed in the analyzed texts show the European identity of Ukrainian higher education: *Successful university education in the European educational space*, *Euro-student* (meaning ‘a new type of student’), which are often used in Ukrainian media texts. In addition, we have identified a dual opposition ‘European University – Ukrainian University’: *The university is European by model and Ukrainian in spirit* (about the Ivan Franko L’viv National University (UK, 05.02.2011). Basing on this contrast, it shows the transition of Ukrainian education to higher level. The adjective European implements the meaning “a model of higher education institution of high level” and often denotes Ukrainian universities.

In the context of educational globalization such complex adjective word combinations as *Ukrainian-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian students* often appear in media texts: *Every year more and more Ukrainian applicants go to Poland for college or university studies. The presence of Ukrainian-Polish or Polish-Ukrainian students on the streets of Polish cities is extremely difficult not to notice* (S, 2015.10.27). They represent the process of integration of Ukrainian culture into the European one.

In media texts we come across the names of the following types of Ukrainian educational institutions concerning national and European identity:

‘University of the old model’: *Soviet school* (*Soviet school taught to be a screw* (texty.org.ua 02.09.2013); *Will the Soviet schools be stopped in Ukraine?* (UPŽ, 02.03.2017)); *post-Soviet school* (UPŽ, 31.05.2011); *Universities and institutes of the post-Soviet model* (UK, 11.11.2014).

‘Renewed national universities with a modern European vector’: *European-type university* (about the Dnipro State Agrarian University) (UK, 09.01.2013); *Pro-Western university* (about the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy) (UM, 16.09.2011); *neo-liberal University* (S, 12.01.2015).

The following noun combinations reflect the innovative principles used in national education: *optimizing of the universities’ network* (O, №16 (5659), 2015); *competition of universities* (OU, 20.10.2014); *autonomy of the university* (Facebook, 06.05.2016); *process of internationalization of universities* (Facebook, 14.04.2016); *transparency of universities* (Facebook, 05.12.2015); cooperation between universities and employers; world universities’ rankings (Facebook, 26.04.2014).

In addition, the tendency of Ukraine’s integration into the European education system is represented by the following meanings which complete the language image of national higher education:

‘Academic integrity, transparency and openness of the university’: *the most transparent Ukrainian university* (PP, 21.05.2015); *the honest higher educa-*

*tional institutions* (Facebook, 23.12.2016); *the honest university* (R, №6-7 (366-367), 2016); *non-corrupted educational institution* (VO, 28.03.2017).

‘International orientation and success of Ukrainian universities in the European education market’: *Sumy State University has significant achievements in the national and European educational markets, therefore, it is fairly considered one of the leaders of education in Ukraine* (UK, 15.12.2011); *L’viv University has the best development, it has caught up to the level of the leading European universities* (UK, 05.02.2011).

‘Education of high quality’ is represented by the following nominations: *the educational institution that provides high-quality education and prepares highly qualified specialists* (R, №6-7 (366-367), 2016); *high-quality universities* (Facebook, 01.03.2016).

‘Modernization and improving of the university’: *The university is systematically upgraded* (O, № 28 (5619), 2014); *The university launches anti-corruption campaign* (PP, 21.07.2016); *The university implements anti-plagiarism programs* (Facebook, 10.02.2016).

Thus, the analysis of media texts demonstrates the great attention of the Ukrainian society to the actual problems of higher education. The determined lexical-semantic groups on education are means of communication, criticism and representation of different views on the transformations in higher education.

The vocabulary of higher education in the context of social problems is emotive and ambivalently marked. It creates a contradictory image of the Ukrainian higher education: on the one hand, a self-contained entity with rich history (Kyjiv Mohyla Academy, Ostroh Academy etc.) and its own valuable traditions that have been created over centuries, and on the other hand – a newly formed social and cultural phenomenon, which is undergoing a lot of changes, orienting towards the best European traditions. The associations, dedicated from the context, complete the language image of Ukrainian education and show the real state of modern university.

As a whole the analysis of media texts’ language has demonstrated the formation of a European vector in the field of education. The identification of Ukraine with Europe is being traced and intensified to a large extent through the language. Ukraine’s education gradually absorbs such European values as quality, transparency, openness, autonomy. Thus, the idea of Ukraine’s European identity is an important component of the modern language image of Ukrainian higher education. At the same time, forming the European educational identity, Ukraine does not renounce national identity and its own traditions.

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## LANGUAGE POLICY IN UKRAINE IN POST-SOVIET AND EUROPEAN CONTEXTS

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*The article examines language policy and activism in Ukraine, in comparison to two other Post-Soviet European countries – Georgia and Moldova. The focus of comparison is on legislative similarities and differences, as well as on their development in a historical dimension. The article underlines the importance of the analysis of legal and media discourse for the depiction of language policies and puts research questions for further exploration.*

*Key words: language policy, language activism, discourse-analysis.*

## МОВНА ПОЛІТИКА В УКРАЇНІ В ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКОМУ ТА ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОМУ КОНТЕКСТАХ

*Надія Трач*

*У статті проаналізовано мовну політику та активізм в Україні порівняно з двома іншими пострадянськими європейськими країнами – Грузією та Молдовою. У фокусі порівняння – подібності та відмінності мовного законодавства країн та їхнього історичного розвитку. У статті наголошено на важливості аналізу законодавчого та медійного дискурсів для зображення мовної політики та поставлено дослідницькі запитання для подальшого дослідження.*

*Ключові слова: мовна політика, мовний активізм, дискурс-аналіз.*

In the context of discussions about language policies it is worth beginning with Pavlenko's observation of a "renewed interest in cross-country comparison" and "new questions about post-Soviet multilingualism" (Pavlenko 2013, 263). As Spolsky (2012, 4) duly noted, the former Soviet republics "once released from the Soviet-imposed Russification, moved to establish national languages (old or invented) to guarantee identity, while meeting the challenge of globalizing English and the idealistic European Union policy of protecting minority languages". Putting in this context the three 'new-born' states – Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova – we can see that they immediately met different challenges in the field of language policies. Of course, many similarities can be noticed, such as the fact that all these countries went through military conflicts, even though the conflicts were at different times and of different duration, intensity and losses, as well as caused by different sociopolitical and geopolitical fac-

tors. These conflicts strengthened the importance of identity, and as a result the language issues have been finally put onto the agenda.

Researchers have already underlined some similarities in post-Soviet language management: “Many commonalities can be observed in the manner that national state (re)building processes have been initiated, particularly in terms of the central focus on language development and approaches chosen to language management. Throughout the territory this concentrates on the following three main vectors: (1) reconsolidation of the status of the national languages of the former republics, (2) changed status of the Russian language (and de-Russification), and (3) support for the languages of national minorities” (Hogan-Brun, Melnyk 2012, 594). These affinities become more visible if we compare the articles dedicated to language matters in the Constitutions – of Moldova 1994 (article 13), Georgia 1995 (Article 8), Ukraine 1996 (article 10).

In the first place the state language is proclaimed: “The state language of the Republic of Moldova is the Moldovan language based on the Latin alphabet”; “The state language of Georgia shall be Georgian, and in Abkhazia – also Abkhazian”, “The state language of Ukraine is the Ukrainian language”. As one can see from these short passages, Georgia at that time tended to be the most problematic state in the language concerning matters. The remark is added that the change to the Constitution was added by the Constitutional Law of Georgia of October 2002. In Moldova and Ukraine at that time there were also regions in which a different language regime was provided – Transnistria and Crimea respectively, even though this fact is not mentioned in a general language article of the Constitutions. Another important aspect is a verb modality used in the legislation passages – in the Constitutions of Moldova and Ukraine we find the verb form *is* when their respective state languages are proclaimed, whereas the verb form *shall be* is used in the Constitution of Georgia.

The language article in the Constitution of Georgia is represented by only the one sentence cited above, probably of a later origin, while the statements in the Constitutions of Moldova and Ukraine have their further development. The Constitution of Ukraine supports the state status of the Ukrainian language with the following sentence: “The State ensures comprehensive development and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social life throughout the entire territory of Ukraine”. Whereas, the Constitution of Moldova does not provide any development for the argument of giving Moldovan the state language status.

With the next statement, both the Moldovan and Ukrainian constitutions provide protection for the linguistic rights of ethnic minorities: “The State shall acknowledge and protect the right to the preservation, development and use of the Russian language and other languages within the territory of the State” (Moldova), and “In Ukraine, the free development, use and protection of Russian, and other languages of national minorities of Ukraine, is guaranteed”. Here, several discourse markers can be identified. Firstly, a verb modality deserves attention once again. This time we see *is* in the Ukrainian case and *shall*

in the Moldovan one. Secondly, the term ‘national minorities’ is avoided in a Moldovan context. Thirdly, the importance of the Russian language is underlined in both constitutions.

The next passages are again dedicated to the same topic areas of language policy, but formulated with a slight difference in modalities and term usage: “The State will encourage and promote studies of foreign languages that enjoy widespread international usage” (Moldova); “The state promotes the learning of languages of international communication” (Ukraine). The final passage in both constitutional language articles also has a lot of similarities in terms of modalities: “The use of languages within the territory of the Republic of Moldova shall be established by organic law” and “The use of languages in Ukraine is guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine and is determined by law”.

Why do I pay such detailed attention to the language articles in the constitutions? One could argue that constitutional texts are rather declarative, that the post-Soviet laws were not workable, especially during the early stages, after the Soviet Union collapsed, and, finally, as Spolsky (2012, 5) commented using a proper metaphor: “... although just as speed limits do not guarantee that all cars abide them, so a language law does not guarantee observance”. Nevertheless, I have emphasized these nuances in formulation of state language status to demonstrate how language planning and language policies were briefly formulated at the very beginning of state building, when language was used as a crucial instrument for national identity construction.

The dynamics of language management has shown that formulations in the constitutions actually do not correspond to the real language policy practices. For instance, Ukraine, being so determined in formulating support and promotion of the Ukrainian as a state language, failed in several attempts at organizing a language management institution, while Georgia, which put no details about its state language in the Constitution except for one short sentence, managed to develop several, namely the State Commission for the Georgian Language, the State Chamber of Language and the Subcommittee for the State Language. Many other documents were adopted, for instance the constitutional court decisions on languages in all the three countries – the Decision by the Constitutional Court of Ukraine in December 1999 that explained the domains of the state language usage and promotion, the amendments to the Constitution by the Constitutional law of Georgia in 2002, the Decision by Constitutional Court of Moldova in December 2013 that states that the state language should be Romanian. Many other issues should be analyzed in detail to obtain a holistic depiction of the language policy situation in the three states, among them – current public debates on languages status, along with a media analysis and expert opinions, the current draft laws on languages and national minorities or the newly adopted laws, the current state programs on the development of the state language, or protecting the languages of national minorities etc. And even the first-look comparative analysis gives a fruitful material for considerations.

Therefore, language interactions in Moldova are still ruled by a law adopted in the Soviet times, in 1989, namely the Law of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic on the Functioning of Languages in the Territory of the Moldavian SSR. Ukraine was ruled by a language law with a very similar title, adopted also in 1989, until recently, when in 2012 the new language law “On Principles of the State Language Policy” was drafted and adopted by the team of then-president Victor Janukovyč, with a great emphasis on regionalization and promotion of the Russian language status. Moser (2013) gives a detailed analysis of this document. Hence, this law was not implemented into practice because of the language protests in 2013, the Jevromajdan revolution and the escape of Victor Janukovyč to Russia; therefore the change of political regime caused the change of linguistic regime. Nowadays, several draft laws on language currently are under consideration of the parliament, while a special state commission of lawyers and linguists is established to develop new language law on the basis of those draft laws. Still, language issues are not on the first-step agenda because of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war in Donbas. On the other hand, military conflict centralizes the issues of identity and provokes language debates in the media, especially in such social networks as Facebook. In addition, a wave of language activism is visible in the promotion of state language usage in various domains of public life.

On the contrary, the social communication in Georgia is ruled by the newly-adopted Law of Georgia on Official Language that came into force on 1 January 2016. Aside from prescribing the usage of the state language in different domains, for instance, in the work of public authorities, military and paramilitary forces, as well as in legal proceedings, the Law proposes concrete mechanisms of language situation regulation, for example through the establishment of the Department of Official Language with numerous functions. Among them are the implementation of unified policy in the field of protection, development and use of the official language, development of the unified program of the official language and coordination of its implementation, establishment of the Experts Committee on the official language. Moreover, concrete deadlines are set for language management tasks, for instance “1. Before 1 February 2016: a) the Government of Georgia shall approve the regulations and structure of the legal entity under public law – the Department of Official Language shall determine procedures for establishing its assets; b) the Prime Minister of Georgia shall appoint the chairperson of the Department of Official Language. 2. Before 14 April 2016 the Government of Georgia shall approve: a) the unified program of the official Language; b) the norms and terminology standards of the Georgian literary language; c) procedures for conducting the official language examinations”. Certainly, additional field work should be conducted to analyze how this law is implemented in the complex ethno-political linguistic situation of Georgia, what are the attitudes of linguistic minorities towards this law, what challenges are in the way of its implementation and how they are being overcome by the authorities.



To understand differences between the language policies in the three mentioned above states, it is important to keep in mind that in different Soviet republics Russification was carried out in different ways: “In the Slavic republics, Russian ended up displacing the national language in many spheres and hence enjoyed a privileged position. Russification was especially intensive in Ukraine and Belarus with a concomitant shift towards Russian. In contrast to this there were generally high levels of national language maintenance in the Caucasus and in most Central Asian countries” (Hogan-Brun, Melnyk 2012, 593). The resistance towards Russification in Georgia is also mentioned by Wardhaugh and Fuller in the context of Soviet language policies in the educational domain: “Russian was also promoted as a universal second language and as language of instruction in the schools. However, there was resistance in such areas as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Baltic republics” (Wardhaugh, Fuller 2015, 375). In addition, Pavlenko (2011, 39) underlines that “Russification policies and practices also differed across the titular republics”, as well as the fact that Russification had a dual nature.

Therefore, Ukraine was the most Russified republic, so right after the former Soviet Union collapsed it started the process of de-Russification or Ukrainization, especially in the educational domain, trying to find the old roots of its language and bring back what was lost during the Soviet times (especially in the field of terminology, as well as in orthography standards). This new Ukrainization or the so called “second Ukrainization” (the term “Ukrainization” is used primarily for naming the historical process of Soviet language and cultural policy of *korenizacija* (rooting) on the territory of Ukraine in the 1920-s) provokes resistance from the Russian-speaking population who called it “violent Ukrainization” – this identifier was broadly used in Russian-language media in Ukraine as well. Therefore, sociolinguists point out that “in Ukraine, where ethnolinguistic and linguistic boundaries had blurred, nationalization has involved the process of reshaping cultural practices and identities” (Wardhaugh, Fuller 2015, 376). Furthermore, among the five motives that were important in the nationalization process within the post-Soviet republics, Brubaker mentioned two that have a strong link to the language issues, namely: “the claim that state action is needed to strengthen the core nation, to promote its language, cultural flourishing, demographic robustness, economic welfare, or political hegemony; and the claim that such action is remedial or compensatory, needed to redress previous discrimination or oppression suffered by the core nation” (Brubaker 2011, 1786). The mechanisms of Ukrainization were to some extent similar to Russification instruments. For instance, in corpus planning the new general and specialized dictionaries were published. They reflected purism tendencies, so the words and terms that were introduced from the Russian language or created through Russian derivative models were replaced with the Ukrainian ones – newly-invented or found in the dictionaries from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that were prohibited in Soviet times. These tendencies in dictionaries and language handbooks are vivid even nowadays.

Similarly, Georgia, which demonstrated strong resistance towards the politics of Russification during the Soviet period, started developing and implementing programs of support for Georgian as a state language. Kopečková (2012, 111) points out that “since declaring independence in 1991 Georgia has been struggling to create a national identity using its language policy as one of the tools”. Furthermore, Melikishvili and Jalabadze argue that in the case of Georgia a strong link between language and identity also provokes manipulations: “The Georgian reality has demonstrated that during national revival, a language can obtain the significance of a fundamental ethnic value, and become a means of manipulation of not only cultural, but also political interests” (Melikishvili, Jalabadze 2015, 85).

Moldova changed the orthography of its language from Cyrillic to Latin in 1989, and it was a decision that played a crucial role for national mobilization: “Making Romanian the state language and changing from the Cyrillic to the Latin script were the key issues of the national movement in 1988 and 1989” (Chinn 2005, 310). As sociolinguists underline, “Moldavia became Moldova and its Moldavian language was finally acknowledged to be what it was, a variety of Romanian, and was renamed Moldovan-Romanian” (Wardhaugh, Fuller 2015, 376). Therefore, the issues of language identity (Moldovan-Romanian) have been broadly discussed and still are acute. In addition, the matters of Russian language functioning are extremely important for understanding the general linguistic situation: “Moldova is deeply divided along language lines. The main societal polarization is found in the gulf between the speakers of Russian and of the state language, Romanian / Moldovan. To the first category belong not only Russians, but also national minorities such as Ukrainians, Gagauzians and Bulgarians, who tend to employ Russian more than the state language. The two main linguistic groups inhabit two largely separate societal spheres, with different media and educational institutions” (Prina 2012, 1).

On the other side, the three countries have set the tasks to develop their language policies for harmonization relations among the national minorities and to meet the requirements of the European international law (all countries are members of the Council of Europe and are fighting for their “European dream” of joining the European Union); however, only Ukraine ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. In the case of Moldova, Prina explains the reasons behind non-ratification of the language charter: “The reasons are likely to be linked to the sensitivity of language issues in Moldova. In particular, both language groups have noted the lack of ‘respect’ from the other side” (Prina 2013, 7). In the case of Georgia, the circumstances seem to be more complicated, connected with general sociopolitical dynamics and the complexity of the national minorities within the country. Wheatley explains the non-ratification in detail, linking it to the social context and language attitudes: “Language is a highly politicized issue and Georgian as a language is bestowed with an almost sacred status as a wellspring of the Georgian nation. The centrality of language within an exclusivist ethno-nationalist discourse reached its apo-

gee during Georgia's struggle for national independence in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but remains relevant today. At the same time, the continuing use of minority languages in Georgia is somehow seen by the Georgian majority as an aberration that needs to be corrected. This also dovetails with the notion that national minorities somehow represent a 'third column', whose loyalty to the state can never be guaranteed. The philosophical challenge for the majority Georgian population is to recognize that minority languages offer a source of cultural wealth for the country" (Wheatley 2009, 5-6). Moreover, some of language minority cases have been already highlighted in research literature, for instance, the case of Gagauz autonomy in Moldova (Bodean-Vozian, Soltan 2014, 25-44), ethnography research on Kists in Georgia (Kopečková 2012, 111-127; Sedlářová 2011, 292-302).

Furthermore, in the case of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, its implementation in Ukraine is investigated in detail in Moser's monograph. Moser (2013, 71-88) provides his critical considerations concerning the Ukrainian version of the Charter, depicts the detailed chronology of its ratification and describes the domains in which Ukraine has obligations under the Charter. The conclusion made up by the author after an in-depth analysis reveals a discrepancy between the idealistic European model and its actual implementation in the Ukrainian legal and political context: "Ever since the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages became relevant for Ukraine, it has been largely abused to promote the Russian language at the expense of the state language primarily in those territories of Ukraine where Russian is the predominant language even without a Charter. Aside from the most important fact, namely that Russian cannot be regarded as a regional or minority language in Ukraine from the outset, it must be noted that the document ratification occurred after a series of voting procedures on similar drafts, including violations of standard parliamentary procedures" (Moser 2013, 88).

So far, further explorations and cross country comparisons are crucial for understanding the actors in the language-related conflicts of the countries mentioned above, which legislative mechanisms are used to resolve these language conflicts and whether the European legislation works in a post-Soviet context. The key roles in these processes are played by language management agencies and institutions, as well as by language activists. Therefore, these issues are important for the proposed research.

The *methodology* of the presented research is mainly based on discourse-analysis in its various dimensions – critical discourse analysis, media discourse analysis, legal language discourse analysis. The new trends in these dimensions could be found in the recent literature in the field – critical discourse analysis is depicted in detail by van Dijk with an in-depth explanation of power interactions and a definition of the method as dealing with "the relationship between discourse, domination and dissent" (van Dijk 2015, 479). Concerning language policies, the issues of domination and dissent are often on the agenda when it comes to interactions between the representative of titular or core nation and its

linguistic minorities. Reflecting on media discourse analysis, Cotter points out that it opens doors for diverse approaches (among them discourse analytics, sociolinguistic and non-linguistic) and for depicting various elements: “Discourse structure, representation, ideology, pragmatic and social-semantic meanings, sociolinguistic variation, ethnographic understanding, mediatization processes, and involvement with audience and society are all queried and studied with a wide range of media data” (Cotter 2015, 810). Again, for the field of language policies, discourse analysis of media plays an important role, because it sheds light on the actors of language conflict participation and strategies to promote their linguistic rights. Finally, the legal sphere is another field for lobbying for language and speakers’ rights and interests, and “the field of law, therefore, is a fertile field for discourse analysts because it provides mountains of data for linguistic analysis” (Shuy 2015, 822). Without doubt, language laws are the key factors in understanding and analyzing language policies within the concrete state.

On the other hand, Wodak highlights the main components in discourse analysis concerning language policies: “The specific discourse-analytical approach is three-dimensional: after (1) establishing the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) the discursive strategies (including argumentation strategies) are investigated. Then (3), the linguistic means (as types) and the specific content-dependent linguistic realization (as tokens) are analyzed” (Wodak 2006, 178). Applying this research scheme towards the analysis of the corpus of legislation and media texts will allow us to identify the linguistic markers of the representation of language interests, as well as the general socio-political content of such representations.

Discursive approach to the analysis of post-Soviet language policies has been used, for instance, by Pavlenko in her study of “discursive regimes of language management” in Latvia and Ukraine. Pavlenko concluded that in these countries “from the point of view of discourse-analysis, the associations between languages and identities in the Latvian and Ukrainian postcolonial narratives are formed by three semiotic processes: fractal recursivity, iconization and erasure ... Together, the three processes allow the new nation-states to symbolically distance themselves from Russia and to present a new European face to the world” (Pavlenko 2011, 49). Furthermore, Kulyk has also applied the discursive approach to the examination of language ideologies in the Ukrainian media. He underlines that “the media is a crucial site of the articulation, contestation, and inculcation of beliefs about language, or language ideologies” (Kulyk 2010, 79). Therefore, applying the discourse-analysis approach to language policies and language activism of Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova will give an in-depth understanding of the sociocultural processes, actors in language-related conflicts and their interactions.

Additionally, ethnographic methods of field research (semi-structured interviews with language policy experts and language activists) are planned to be used to give a more detailed description of the subject matter. The text corpus

for this research will be based on the newly adopted language laws and draft laws on languages, as well as on publications in the media concerning language policies and language activism.

The main *research questions* of the proposed study are the following:

- 1) What are the similarities and differences in the language policies of Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and especially during the last few years?
- 2) What are the sociopolitical factors influencing language policy and language activism in each country?
- 3) What discursive strategies are used by different groups of language-related conflicts to promote their language and speakers' rights via different domains, especially by means of language legislation and media?
- 4) How do language activists of different groups (language majority and minorities) use discursive strategies to achieve their goals and strengthen the position and social status of their languages?
- 5) How do these bottom-up grass-roots initiatives interact with top-down state language planning?
- 6) What is the role of language management agencies in formulating and implementing new language policies?
- 7) How do these activities in legal and media domains correspond to European standards in the language policy field?
- 8) What tendency is dominating in the language policy of each state – nationalization, regionalization or internationalization (Europeanization)?

The importance of the proposed research stems from the need of detailed understanding and depiction of the current sociocultural processes of the post-Soviet states. As Pavlenko (2013, 269) stresses, “The study of similarities and differences between linguistic regimes created by the new successor states offers a unique opportunity for comparative study of the influences shaping language maintenance and shift in the new service-based economy”. To answer the above, and related questions, future research should be concentrated on the interaction of different language groups within countries promoting their language and speaker rights. Media and legal discourses are the main spheres where these battles are visible and constructive. Furthermore, the comparison of the regions will allow us find the deeper reasons and factors of language conflicts and will give the basis for the most effective solutions.

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## PHONETIC CONNOTATION IN AN UKRAINIAN LINGUOCULTURAL DIMENSION

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*The article studies phonetic connotation as a linguistic and stylistic category based on aesthetic modes of the author's outlook and linguistic thinking. The research does not only introduce a stratification model of the sound system in the Ukrainian poetic language of the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries according to pragmatic and semantic type of layers, but also allows its objectification in the context of national and cultural paradigms by representing the linguistic mentality of the nation.*

*Keywords: phonetic connotation, association, the Ukrainian poetic language, mythological unit, sound, vocal and consonant units.*

## ФОНЕТИЧНА КОНОТАЦІЯ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ЛІНГВОКУЛЬТУРНОМУ ВИМІРІ

*Людмила Українець*

*У статті розглянуто фонетичну конотацію як лінгвостилістичну категорію, що спирається на естетичні модули авторського світосприйняття й мовомислення й не лише репрезентує стратифікаційну модель звукової системи української поетичної мови ХХ–ХХІ ст. за прагматичним і семантичним типом нашарувань, але й уможливує її об'єктивізацію в контексті національно-культурних парадигм, слугуючи репрезентантом лінгвоментальності народу.*

*Ключові слова: фонетична конотація, асоціація, українська поетична мова, міфологема, звук, вокальні й консонантні одиниці.*

New paradigms of modern Ukrainian linguostylistics have enabled the hypothesis according to which the modelling of the linguistic world-image greatly depends not only on the value of lexical, morphological, word formation and phraseological language means, but also on the integral properties of phonetic units that can change the semantic and pragmatic amount of lexical units in various verbal discourses, and in poetry in particular. According to A. Makarov, artists have always struggled to get to the mysterious depths of human consciousness, turning “all the subconscious impressions into conscious perception”, because the dynamics of musical environment was a cornerstone for any language (Makarov 1969, 180). Naturally, here we are dealing with a meditation on sounds, which at the time of emotional climax allows one to feel and realize



the essence of the author's words, emotions, and, ultimately, understanding the harmony of existence. According to N. Kruševskij, at all times language has to use both the derivation and the expansion of word meanings for naming the infinite and the eternally variable scope of concepts. Therefore, the lexical unit acquires new connotative properties due to its sound frame, and this process is subject to the general trends of a language system's organizational development, since "a word is an aggregate of human sounds associated with a known, more or less defined idea" (Kruševskij 1960, 248). It is not accidental that Maik Johansen, "the delicate master of the sound combinations" (Lavrinenko 2007, 157) and a brilliant representative of modern romanticism, as early as in the 1920s wrote: "The word still remains a molecule of poetry, but its semantic and symbolic load is deepened by means of sounds (...); a poet can create a real tone painting, knowing the endless ability of sounds and sound combinations to reflect the sounds of life" (Johansen 1921, 211). In fact, the artist explained the features of the new, associatively enriched poetic word, the phonetic structure of which represents a distinctively defined intentional focus. It refers to the psychic intentions enabling a motivational connection between the sound and the words' meaning on a phonological level. Objectively, the phonemic frame of a word and its content are not related to each other in the language (however, not so in people's minds). Nevertheless, it is due to the associative image initiated by the sound form (according to O. Potebnja, the internal form of the word) that the phonetic and semantic (formal and semantic) connotation was distinguished in Slavic studies (Buldakov 2011, 20). According to V. Buldakov, the sound continuum of a word as a verbal embodiment of the epistemological, social and psychological nature, reflected in human consciousness as a subjective image of a reality fragment, can be the object of qualification and evaluation activities, and, hence, influence the emotional sphere of the linguistic persona. Thus, it is able to have some symbolic *eidōs* significances (Buldakov 2011, 7).

This approach does not contradict the theory of V. Maslova, who, while working on a psycholinguistic connotation model, produced the hypothesis that connotation (if it is not included in the content plane of a linguistic sign) is only the result of the selection and use of language units in the communication process, and "finds its reflection in the associative structure of connotative words" (Maslova 1989, 109). In her opinion, associative mechanisms may be essential for the generation of connotation, while it "does not point to the world but kind of refers to the associations, creating 'the invisible' world" (Maslova 1989, 112). In the Ukrainian Studies, it was I. Franko who was the first to emphasize that "the poetic technique, based on the laws of psychological perception and association, is best comprehended with the simplest methods and combinations of specific images – they are placed in such a way as to unintentionally touch the most hidden strings of our soul, to open the wide horizons of sense and life relations for us" (Franko 1977, 243). Being an element of internal programming, the associative mechanisms initiate the connotative meanings on the phonological level. Their illocutionary status is manifested in the acquisition of sugges-

tiveness. Vocal and consonant units and their compounds in the lexical unit create sound patterns constituting the organic verbal elements of personalized discourse, and form a complete system of semantic and pragmatic peculiarities. They underline the artistic detail, helping to better convey the artistic intention and content of a lyric composition. According to L. Kozlovs'ka, "such tone painting reveals the original paradigms of image and visual, image and auditory, image and tactile poeticisms" which are indeed "an inexhaustible source of reality aestheticization" (Kozlovs'ka 2004, 113). Due to the connotative structuring on the phonetic level, the poetic language becomes a special organization of interrelated aesthetic language signs. Their organic unity with complex internal connections, ratio and levels creates a semantic capacity with minimal use of language means: "the ambivalence of a poetic word in stanza row and line eventually meets the overall installation of poetic text on the diversity and multidimensionality of content" (Vekšin 1989, 65). Therefore, "the word that appeared in verse is perceived differently even from a purely auditory, phonic point of view" (Gončarov 1973, 241). Ju. Tynjanov was right when he insisted that "considering the phonetic organization of a poetic text, a word in poetry appears to be 'complicated', and this complication is not recognized as an 'obstacle', but as a constructive feature of poetry" (Tynjanov 1965, 182). Connotations generated by phonetic means are capable of providing an "associative 'diving' into the immanent world of language". Then, as A. Mojsienko indicates, we are dealing with "the signs and markers that are characteristic of the author's identity, of the linguistic creativity fragment within the respective time and space limits" (Mojsienko 2004, 7-8). It provides logical grounds for the positioning of a phonetic connotation as a linguistic and cultural phenomenon in modern Ukrainian linguistics. The phonetic connotation not only creates associative and creative, but also a "cultural and historical background of a word by expressing the national specificity of the language" (Taranenko 2000, 248). In the context of understanding the implicit verbal structures as extremely complex pragmatic and semantic models, phonetic connotation is interpreted as a specific axiological concept based on linguistic experience initiated by the appropriate cultural environment (Vereščagin, Kostomarov 1976, 78-79). Analyzing the synergetic coding origins of cultural and historical experience of language and thinking systems, M. Alefirenko, the famous researcher of cognitive and semiological theory of word within the interaction of cognitive and discourse linguistics and cultural linguistics, notes: "The cultural concepts are anthropocentric in nature, and therefore saturated with culture-bearing connotations" (Alefirenko 2006, 12). Indeed, a language "is not indifferent to the allocation of particular verbal sounds to particular meanings, as well as to the extent one sound resembles the other. It is the opposite. The inventory of verbal sounds, their mutual similarities and differences, as well as their relations to values, determine the face and character of the language" (Krytenko 1969, 63). Focusing on the content of images, on hints and comparisons, phonetic connotation as an implicit category (sign and function of ideological and cultural paradigm of language and speaker) models

not accidental but objectively structured intentions of world perception, view of life and world comprehension of the artistic language of the author. It constantly forms the system of secondary meanings based on the primary system of natural language. Thus, connotations generated by phonetic language means appear to be communicatively appropriate only if they form a generalized symbolic value, since, according to O. Čerednyčenko, “the national mentality, embodied in a conceptual picture of the world and recorded in the language, manifests itself primarily in linguistic symbolism, around which the models of reality segmentation unfold” (Čerednyčenko 2003, 7).

Therefore, attempts to align the smallest segmental units in poetic language with the possible potential semantic or pragmatic value accompanying the major value require solving many complex problems. These problems are related not only to the structure of the semantic word component and the information capacity of communication units, but also to the complex nature of the formation of the image-bearing world-view with sound units in the context of disjunctive paradigms of the conceptual and linguistic world-image. Calling the stable associations, vowels and consonants become motivated, and therefore, significant, acquiring a special type of semantics – the phonetic value. Its specificity lies in connotation, that is, the formation of states following the stimulus symbol perception and inevitably preceding the conscious operations with symbols (Osgood, Susi, Tannenbaum 1957). It is not so much about the reflective character of sound units of language which seem to refer to the forms in which they generate a new real value on the subconscious level (connotation), but rather about the phenomenon of perception of such values.

By analyzing various aspects of the phonetic value in line with sound stylistics, S. Bondar', for example, states: “Connotative characteristics of sound act as a linking element between sound, word and text, since phonetic value functions not only at the level of a separate sound, but also at the level of word, phrase and text as an element of its structure formation” (Bondar' 2001, 29). Therefore, due to the correlation of all language means, this implicit element of the language structure performs a range of specific functions. Among them, the most expressive one is stylistic marking of the text. Thus, phonetic connotation is rather not an internal (inherent) but an external (adherent) pragmatic and semantic feature. Although contained in a specific sample of poetic language in the form of sound units scattered all over text, it constitutes “modal information” that acquires semantic self-sufficiency in poetic discourse, and is preconditioned by the common background of speakers.

Probably due to this, mythologemes appeared to be vectors of aesthetic imagery of the poetic language of the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Mythologemes are mental constants usually interpreted from the perspective of conceptual and informational text creation as specific cultural universals – the reflection of a “piece of the objective world in vivid and sensual form by means of direct and secondary nomination” (Molotaeva 1994, 15). In the Ukrainian Studies, the mythologeme motivation of poetic aesthetics that determined the strategy of cognition of the

linguistic and conceptual world-image at the level of semantic and pragmatic organization had always been viewed in terms of scientific priorities when it came to the lexical units – concepts of the national worldview. Thus, in poetic discourse, artists often model the sound metaphors according to the associatively dominant phonetic unit of the mythologeme, the tone of which actually determines the whole system of hidden semes.

An illustrative example is the generation of phonetic connotation with the assonance [o] in the Ukrainian poetic language of the 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries, which, being a specific system, preserves the nationally motivated associations in the form of verbal code as a result of effective functioning of ancient Slavic mythologeme in it – *the sun* as the center of being, the Eye of God, which warms the Earth, bringing life-giving fertility: *Oj sonečku-batečku, / Dohody, dohody / A ty, zemle-matinko, / Urody, urody* (O. Oles’). This archetype is burdened with additional semantic and pragmatic connotations that form associative thinking due to the similarity between the phenomena of objective reality or the similarity of experiences between them. In today’s speech discourse, the *sun* mythologeme loses its pronounced signs of sacredness and traditionally correlates with the properties of light as a natural phenomenon: *U žytach zlotystych, / Strunkokoloskovych (...)* // *Chtos’ horiv svitanno, / Kolinopryklonno* (P. Tyčyna). Thus, in the formation of the pragmatic and semantic layers of the *sun* mythologeme, the determining factors are not only its denotative, but also phonetically motivated information resources (labialization as a symbol of roundness). They play an equally important role in the communicative practice of the Ukrainian society: *I sonce – zolotyj kobzar – / Zbudylo hory i dolyny* (P. Fylypovyč). *Vyjdu z kola tvoho zolotoho. / Ta ne žasyat’ nikoly roky / Zornye svitlo kruh sertsja mojoho* (V. Svidzins’kyj).

Even from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this labialized vowel continues to evolve the dynamics of the poetic language through the intentional seme of ‘round shape’: *Bahrjane sonce. Dužka zolotava / stojt’ nad čornym kapturom hory. / Na p’yat’ vorit začynena Poltava / chovaje oči v tychi javory* (L. Kostenko). This phonetic connotation might not be subordinated to the mythologemic motivation of poetic discourse: *Orel – pečinku (vydyme) – rozder / Na dni žovtka vidkryvšy panoramu, / De (...) Oval’nyj zvuk, jedynyj povodyr* (E. Andijevs’ka). The implicit connotation properties of [o] as the one representing the concept of an ‘oval sound’, contribute to the emergence of the esoteric effect of poetic communication. Although in the linguistics of a patriarchal society the poetic language “creates a picture of the world based on the male point of view, (...) where the female is represented mainly as an object (...) or ignored completely” (Kirilina 1999, 30), in the system of phonostylistic tools, the connotation [o] has never been thought of as a concept of sex-related thinking – a marker of gender asymmetry. In this respect, only the author’s spontaneous connotations could be the possible explanation for the artistic and aesthetic representation of the objective reality phenomena, which correlates with [o]: *Pivni (vikno) i povin’ zelenoho pyva (kriz’ vikno) / vse zvučyt’ na*

(P. Tyčyna). Instead, the [y]-tonality often represents not much of a subjective emotional and semantic concept of the text, but rather an ontological essence of the truly natural sound of the Ukrainian language, with its roots in the historical traditions of the formation of the lexical units' vocal structure. Perhaps, this word-creation motivation was the reason for the lack of connotative implications even in the winged poetic sayings, the acoustics of which is determined by this assonance: *Lyš borotys' – značyt' žyt'!* (I. Franko).

Research of the implicit mechanisms that create aesthetic effects with sound units of the Ukrainian poetic language is not possible without the systematic explanation of the consonants' connotation potential. Within the framework of semantic and pragmatic modernism, expressionism, impressionism and symbolism in the Ukrainian poetic language of the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, powerful trends of intentional reflection of the reality with verbal means, we can often observe shifts from the real to the unreal based on the connotations of the resonant slot [w] and its variants [v], [v'], [j̃]. Usually, it is the result of a completely innovative position of the artists, their “aristocratic spirit”, and, ultimately, “a gravitation towards harmony between reason and feeling, towards the noble culture of thinking” (Kovaliv 2000, 11).

This maxim of the consonant [v] caused by differential characteristics (nature of the movement of the air stream through the articulation gap) is important for the dominant leitmotif of *the wind* – more or less the flow of air without any obstacles in the horizontal direction: *De svavil'nyj viter vil'nyj / Honyt' chvyli vzdovž i všyr!* (H. Čuprynka). Arising on the basis of the intermodal (synesthetic) perception of reality, additional resonant meanings of [v] keep the national archetypal symbolism of the poetic language of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the form of an intentional verbal code: the ancient Slavic mythologeme *viter* (wind) brings out the aesthetic and cultural categories of the linguistic world-image, demonstrating the metaphorization of the denotative correlates *viter* ↔ *volja* (wind ↔ freedom): *Viter voli v poli vije* (V. Kobyljans'kyj); *povijav viter voli* (B. Lepkyj). The lattice of the consonant fricative [v] with its acoustic impression and modelled semantic connotation initiates a national and mental determinism even in the absence of *wind* lexical units: *Jedyna volja volodije svitom / Vede v majbutnye nas* (P. Fylypovyč). This is the only one among many associations of the day. During this period, ‘wind’ becomes a “symbolic way of rapid, free movement, revolutionary energy” for Ukrainian artists (Kostenko 1982, 93): *Nikoho tak ja ne ljublju, / jak vitra vitrovinnja. / Čortiv viter! Prokljatyj viter!* (P. Tyčyna). Gifted with excellent musical hearing, Tyčyna easily laid out the words on the verbal notes, able to initiate a range of associations, combining the wind with a fugue – *viter viter vi terzaje duba (...) osinnij vi* – the highest form of polyphony.

The aesthetic image of the Ukrainian poetic discourse of the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries was significantly affected by the semantic and pragmatic effects of implementation of the resonants [r], [r'], the articulatory and acoustic parameters of which refer to the emotional sphere of language, and form an association asser-

tiveness, sharpness, which occurs through turbulence of the air stream with their pronunciation. Even the term “dryžači” (vibrant), conventional in Ukrainian linguistics for these acoustically distinct sounds, in its denotative essence represents the internal connection of the consonants [r], [r'] with the appropriate associative and phonetic image, correlating in the poetic language with relatively stable associations accumulating the modality of *rujnaciji*, *strachu* (destruction, fear). Under the influence of an incidental, phonetically motivated connection between [r], [r'] and the intangible (non-phonetic) feature of the denotatum of the appropriate lexical units, a certain reformatting of the poetic language takes place; the author's intentions focus not so much on the aesthetic categories of artistic discourse, but rather on the formal and semantic expression of actual relations in the objective reality. That is why the respondents considered the natural seme of the vibrants to be the formation of the artistic image of *rozburchanoji stychiji* (fierce natural power): *Prokljatyj viter! / Vin zamachnet'sja raz / rev! svyst! kružinnja!* (P. Tyčyna).

The tradition of generating the social emphasis of auditive connotation on the basis of the associative correlation of vibrants with storm was strengthened in the poetic discourse by poets with “unusually fresh talent, spontaneous lyricism and acute intellectual insight” (Lavrinenko 2007, 150). Connotation pragmatics of such a sound background enhance the archetypal creative thinking and intentions corresponded as *rev ljuds'kych holosiv* (roar of human voices): *Do Pryp''jati, / Do Pryp''jati / My poimenno pryprnuti / Rukamy našych rik. / Do Kyjivs'koho morja / Roste horoju horja / Marusyn kryk “Rjatuje!” i / hromu hriznyj kryk* (M. Som). Without prejudice to the high artistic standards of the socially marked characteristics of poetic language, with the connotative sharpness of [r], [r'], authors encode not only the tragic but also the solemn tone of human voices, subordinate to the impressive function: *Poryve, poryve, poryve, / razom pivemosja v let. / Bač – rozsvitajet'sja zaryvo. / Chaj i na smert', a – vpered* (V. Stus).

Some phonostylistics think that the sonority of the Ukrainian poetic language is determined by the substantial features of [l], [l'], the acoustic perception of which is regulated by an aesthetic function, appealing only to positive emotions. Ukrainians traditionally interpret the domineering continuum of [l], [l'] in terms of the associative display of *ruchu v nebesnomu prostori* (movement in celestial space) metaphorically *pidnesennja*, *zachoplennja* (enthusiasm, delight): “Easy for pronunciation (and therefore associated in our minds with the notion of lightness in general), the phoneme /l/ (...) makes the depicted image more expressive” (Koptilov 1973, 218). Connotation semes of these repeating smooth resonants are the result of motivational associations that actualize the intention of the *ptašynoho letu* (bird's flight), including *lelek* (storks) and *žuravliv* (cranes): *I zaklyky daleki / Z dalekoji zemli / Letjat', mov ti leleky, / Mov lehki žuravli* (D. Zahul). Often the articulatory and acoustic parameters of the consonants [l], [l'] deepen the implicit value of the national archetypal image of *lebid'* (swan): *Samotn'o pljamijut' lebedi bili* (M. Semenko).

The phonetic connotation of the l-continuum not only symbolizes the idea of beauty and an inviolable purity of the white bird, but also generalizes the suggestion of euphonic standards in a language as a cultural and historical mark of the society's activity. It is no accident that the nuclear intentional micro seme of the connotation field [l], [l'] is *estetyčna konotacija* (esthetic connotation) in the context of the internal form of token-note *lja*, the function of which is to determine the concert mood: *Letyt' kriz' prostir i kriz' čas, / volaje, plače 'lja'* (P. Tyčyna). The energetic harmony of this sound continuum generalizes clarity of thought with allusions on the verge of suggestibility modelled with the *lju* occasionalism based on the example of the musical chord *lja: Splju – ne splju. Čcyjus' vvooljaju volju. Lju. // zaholubij i na moju dolju. Ljuli – lju* (P. Tyčyna).

In terms of aesthetic values, this poetic language demonstrates high standards of romantic and lyrical images of objective reality, where the sound architectonic principles are subjected to the song principle of a lullaby. Consequently, phonetic connotation marks the sound stylistics of a poetic language, being an integral part of its structure. This approach not only represents the stratification model of the sound system of the Ukrainian poetic language of the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries according to semantic or pragmatic layers, but also enables its objectification in the context of national and cultural paradigms.

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### III. GESCHICHTE, ERINNERUNG, IDENTITÄT, IMAGOLOGIE

#### ACCOUNTING DOCUMENTS AS A SOURCE OF IDENTITY STUDY OF THE POPULATION OF THE HET'MANŠČYNA

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(Ukraine)

*The article analyzes documents which recorded the population of the Hetman State — Het'manščyna. The author of the paper studies origin and implementation of the documents and their involvement in awareness-raising strategies. Another aspect of the paper is the possible use of such historical sources for the purpose of studying the Hetman State identity.*

*Key words: Het'manščyna, identity, historical source, accounting records, early modern society.*

#### ОБЛІКОВІ ДОКУМЕНТИ ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО ВИВЧЕННЯ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ НАСЕЛЕННЯ ГЕТЬМАНЩИНИ

*Віталій Дмитренко*

*У статті проаналізовані документи, в котрих обліковувалося населення Гетьманщини. Простежено історію їх виникнення та впровадження. З'ясована їхня інформаційна наповненість. Розглянуті можливості використання цього історичного джерела для вивчення ідентичності населення Гетьманщини.*

*Ключові слова: Гетьманщина, ідентичність, історичне джерело, облікові матеріали, ранньомодерний соціум.*

The problem of determining the cultural identity of a human of the past is a complex and multifaceted task. There are not many documentary sources available, which could shed light on this issue. Nonetheless, the fullest description of current matter can be found in the sources that are called accounting, statistical and accounting-statistical records.

One of the approaches involves contradistinction between the accounting and statistical sources. The comparison between them is usually done on two grounds: scientific orientation of a researcher and applying the research results. It is believed that statistic sources are created with the scientific purpose of investigating different processes and phenomena, and the results of such studies are usually applied in the national policy formation, while the accounting research has nothing but utilitarian value. Such research is done with the purpose of

providing information on a fact or phenomenon. Therefore, the main purpose of the accounting research is purely practical, namely fiscal or military. Nevertheless, one can see the identification of statistical and accounting sources, in other words, the accounting and the statistic documents are considered as synonymous. At the same time, komputs, revisions and censuses are sometimes regarded as the economic and statistical sources.

As for other sources from the history of the Het'manščyna, in our opinion, it is appropriate to talk about their accounting features and indirect statistical ability, and as a result to use "accounting and statistical sources" as a scientific term. Meanwhile, statistic accounting starts being widely implemented in all the spheres of life of the society. That is why the information in these documents reflects social processes in a quantitative measurement and embraces a broad geographical and a considerable period of time needed for historical and demographic research.

The accounting-statistical sources are considered to be written documentary sources which are divided into the church census of population and secular (military-fiscal) documentation. The first group of documents includes metrics books and confession lists, the second group involves komputs, revisions and the General census of Left-Bank Ukraine in the years 1765–1769.

The vast majority of metrics books, confession lists, and the remains of komputs and revisions are stored today in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyjiv (Ukraine CSHAU) and in the Institute of Manuscripts of the Vernadskyj National Library of Ukraine of the NAS (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). Furthermore, the part of confession lists and metrics books is now in the State archives of the Poltava, Sumy and Chernihiv regions. The main places of their storage are the foundations of clerical consistories and commandment. The documents of the Rumjancev census are represented in CSHAK Ukraine (Fund №57 'General census of Left-Bank Ukraine'). A part of the komputs, revisions and records of the Rumjancev census have been published by now in separate editions. The text provided below is a thorough analysis of each source which has been mentioned above.

Metrics books constitute a set of acts of church registration, where such ceremonies as baptism (birth), church wedding (marriage), burial (death) of certain people, were recorded in a chronological way. In some editions such documents are regarded as records of acts of civil status. The first attempt to provide this kind of documentation in the Orthodox Church in Ukraine was done during the church council in Kyjiv in 1646 on the initiative of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla. It was then that all the parish priests were required to keep metrics records. The samples of such records were provided in the famous 'Missal', which was released in the same year. However, their implementation was interrupted by the death of Petro Mohyla in 1647 and the events of the Cossack revolution. Nonetheless, the idea of Petro Mohyla continued to circulate among the archbishops. In particular, the "Church metrics" (1675) of Antonij Vynnyč'kyj (the administrator of the Przemyśl eparchy) contained the records of four parts of a metrics

book: the baptized, the married in church, 'living parishioners', and the deceased. The book by the L'viv bishop Josyp Šumljanskyj "Metrics Album Registry on the Advice of the Holy Church" (1686–1687) demonstrates the existence of metrics records in some churches. The decisions of the eparchy council in Kyjiv in 1691 indicated the need for keeping metrics books in the Kyjiv eparchy. Priests were required to keep two metrics books in their churches. One of them contained the names of the baptized, and the second one – the names of those who took the church marriage (Skočyljas 2001, 80-87).

The final introduction of metrics books to everyday church life on the territory of the Heľmanšćyna refers to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is linked with the reforms of the Russian emperors, starting from Peter the First and out to Catherine the Second. These national reforms, which were based on the principles of enlightened absolutism, required additionally the information on the population of the country. It was the willing to possess reliable data about the number of people who were born, got married and died, that resulted in the establishing of metrics books in the decree of the year 1724.

The expanding of keeping of metrics books directly on the territory of the Heľmanšćyna is connected with the introduction of the Ecclesiastical regulation in 1721 and especially its Appendix in 1722 where paragraph 29 ('On presbyters, deacons and other acolytes') obliged parish priests to keep register books with records on birth and baptizing of newborns in their parish. The law of 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1724 "On keeping of metrics books by priests" contained sample forms for metrics books keeping and sending extracts (consolidated excerpts from the metrics books) and records. Every book had to consist of three parts: "On newborns", "On the married", "On the deceased". Moreover, such data had to be filled according to a special officially established form which was enclosed. Nevertheless, very often priests did not follow these rules (Pribavlenie k duchovnomu reglamentu 1830, 707).

The metric books contained a wide range of information: anthroponymical data (surname, name, patronymic or nickname of a person), gender, age, geographic attribution of a person (belonging to a certain parish, place of living), family-marital status and social status (cossack, villager, etc.), occupation and information about taking of the sacraments.

However, there are many aspects that make the analysis of metrics books' content complicated. First, in the period under study this type of documents experienced the phase of establishment, which influenced the nature and quality of the records, which resulted in their considerable diversity. Second, certain categories of a person's identification, such as surname, nickname, patronymic, had not been fully established at that period of time, which explains their uncertainty. Third, one can state a high level of carelessness among priests and their practical unpreparedness for keeping accounting records. Fourth, the registers fixed first of all religious events, rather than demographical ones: for example, the ceremony of baptizing, rather than the fact of an actual birth. In this regard, it should be referred to the records of unbaptized children (the stillborn) and of

those who were baptized in adulthood (baptized Jews). All these aspects put obstacles for the analysis of a person's identification.

Despite all the uncertainties, the metrical books remain an important source of information about the Orthodox layer of society in the Heřmanšćyna during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These records contain informations that allow the investigation of demographical features during a certain period of time and enable us to trace its dynamics.

Confession lists are the church accounting documents which recorded the information on parishioners' frequency of confessions and Eucharisty. Apparently, the main motive for their appearance was the will of the Russian emperors to possess reliable data on the number and structure of the population of the country, as well as to check its loyalty to the government.

One of the first steps towards the state regulation of confessions was the decree of February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1716. It stated that every person was obliged to confess annually to their priests. In case of violation of the procedure parish priests were obliged to provide the eparchial bishops with lists of unconfessed people, afterwards the bishops had to give those lists to the regional governors. Those who were guilty of not going to confession were fined and forced to take this sacrament. In addition, it was envisaged to carry out a census of dissenters in order to further increase the amount of taxes levied on them. Old Believers were to be registered in the census, except those who lived in the border zone.

The next act of legislation on confession was the decree of February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1718, according to which every priest had to keep annual record books to register those who confessed and those who did not. They had to be stored exclusively in churches. The information from these books was sent to eparchial authorities, and after that to clerical authorities. According to the decree, there was also a system of fines in case of non-confession. Thus, commoners and tradespeople who missed a confession had to pay one ruble fine, twice – two rubles and for three times – three rubles. Villagers in similar situations were charged, respectively, ten hroši, one hryvna and five altyn. Priests were responsible for collecting the fines. There were also sanctions which were levied on priests who concealed the facts of confession evasion by a person, or submitted false information.

In the decree of Empress Anna Ioannovna (Anna of Russia) of February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1737 it was stated that all Orthodox Christians from the age of 7 had to start confessing to their priests and taking Eucharisty during lent. In case some people failed to fulfill these rules, they had to do that during the two next fasts – either Petrivs'kyj or Uspens'kyj. For nonfulfillment of these rules they had to pay a fine (O choždenii na ispoved' povsegodno, i o štrafe za nevypolnenija sego pravila 1830, 166).

According to the Synod Decree of 16<sup>th</sup> of April, 1737, all the confession lists had to contain information about all the parish residents with their confession frequency and Eucharisty taking. The record was done according to class. In addition, the records also contained their homestead (yard where they lived) and

family status. Everyone at the age of 7 and older was obliged to confess, therefore, the age was also recorded. The sample for such records was attached to the decree and was to be sent first to eparchies, and after that to parishes. After receiving necessary prescriptions the priests had eight weeks for sending the filled documents to the clerical authorities. In order to confirm the validity of the confession documents a priest and acolytes had to sign them. The data collected from all over the eparchy were included in a general extract (a sample was also attached to the decree) and forwarded to the Synod (O štrafach za uklonenie ot ispovedi 1830, 114-125).

Legislators provided also a list of questions which had to be asked during a confession. For example, a person could be asked how many fingers were used when crossing oneself (two or three fingers). In case of two-fingers crossing, which meant actually confessing to being a dissenter, the priest had to inform the authorities about the person. The people, who had not confessed three years in a row, were also reported to be in this category. If somebody confessed not in his parish, or later than it was required, it was also recorded in the document. In particular, a person who confessed in a different parish had to provide the nominal list signed by the local priest. The priest who confessed such a person had to give that information immediately to his authorities. In case of these rules not being followed the decree provided the punishment for the priests.

The question of how efficiently this decree was implemented is a complicated and controversial one. Thus, according to V. Mordvinčev, by means of establishing confession lists, confession accounting had been accomplished in the Russian Empire by the end of the 1730s (Mordvinčev 1995, 84). B. Mironov claims that the clergy was resisting the innovation for a long time, so it can be stated that more or less regular keeping of the lists started only after the 1740s–1750s (Mironov 1989, 104-105).

Another problem was the compliance of all the legislative requirements regarding the maintenance of confession lists. If in the case of metrics books besides traditional carelessness a certain conflict was between an innovation and an old tradition, in the case of confession lists it concerned obviously both negligence and formalism. They resulted from missing names of people in the lists, from mistakes in the names, surnames, age of people, etc. Moreover, according to the research by O. Romanova, priests were often careless about the main function of the lists, namely the recording of an actual act of confession (Romanova 2008, 122-148).

The confession lists contain important information on social class, family status, age, household and dwelling of Het'manščyna people in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but the information in the lists appears to be sometimes inaccurate. Thus, the anthroponomy of the confession lists demonstrates considerable diversity. It consists in the changes made in various years when recording the names, surnames and patronymics. The recording of the term "Dvir" (homestead) was also complicated, which resulted in ignoring this notion in some lists. When recording a person's age, priests often made mistakes. Since the lists were made by the

family principle, the family connections were depicted representatively there. However, in many cases not all the family members were recorded. The lists also contain information on the social class of a person, as it was required by the official sample. Nonetheless, it can be claimed that there were also some discrepancies between the recorded information and actual state of affairs.

Despite all of the above-mentioned imperfections, the confession lists remain an important source of information for studying the demography of the Heřmanščyna of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, because this kind of source was actually a full census of the Orthodox population, which was furthermore annually updated.

*The General Census of Left-Bank Ukraine in the Years 1765–1769.* In historiography this source of information is known as the Rumjancev revision, the General census of Malorossija or the Rumjancev census of Malorossija. The census was conducted according to the decree of Catherine II., and it was a logical act in the context of the Russian empress's policy, which was focused on building a well-organized and well-ordered state based on the ideas of enlightened absolutism. The latter required an accurate information of the population, its gender and age diversity, family and property status, etc. Therefore, the main purpose of this document is an accounting one.

The census was directly managed by the governor-general of Malorossija, the Count P. Rumjancev. On September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1765 his order introduced an instruction that regulated the way of conducting the census. It consisted of four parts. The first one contained information about the towns and cities, the second one was for the census of the crown, governmental and monastery estates, the third one for the census of landowners' (military officers') estates, and the fourth one registered Cossacks' properties. The population of all classes was subject to the record in the census except the clergy and the 'new nobility' (Cossack officers).

The second Collegium of Malorossija was responsible for the organization of the census. According to its order dated October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1765, special commissions were formed. Usually these commissions were headed by officers of the Russian army. They were also provided with assistants from regimental and centesimal chancelleries, and all the necessary information. The commission members were to check the received data and to conduct the population census by homesteads. In order to check the validity of information it had to be compared to the data from previous revisions, metrics books and Confession lists. Primarily, the received data were written down in the blacklists, and when one more verification was done, they were rewritten into a clean copy. It should be noted that the clerks, sent from a magistrate and centesimal commandments to work in the commissions, were not paid. For this reason their attitude to the duties was far from being conscientious.

In spite of the wide range and importance of the project the organizers failed to follow it to its logical end. The work on the census was stopped due to the Russian-Turkish war. According to the researchers, only the census books of the

Kyjiv regiment were accomplished from amongst all the ten regiments of the Heřmanščyna (Lytvynenko 1970, 101).

The census data is commonly referred to be divided into three groups. The first group contains the documents related to the organization of a census (explanations, reports, promemoria, the correspondence of authorities and commissions). The second group consists of the documents confirming the ownership rights for real estate (purchase deeds, 'hetmans' universals' 'tsarist charters', etc.). The last group contains the data on the population and households of the settlements of the Heřmanščyna.

The census of towns and cities required the recording of the following data: geographical location of a settlement, existence and quality of fortifications, public buildings, fairs and markets, public lands, police and fire brigade, sources of magistrates' and town-halls' income, as well as a homestead census of the households of town citizens and Cossacks.

The census of villages and hamlets had to include their name, centesimal and regimental affiliation. In case of a mentioned property belonging to a certain owner, his name and social status had to be indicated. Sometimes a document confirming this right to ownership was also attached. The general census included information about property and inhabitants of the homesteads.

The Rumjancev census is considered to be the most full-scale census of the Heřmanščyna population in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The 969 books of the census contain important information about the society of that time. That is why it creates basic grounds for the research of identity determination.

*Komputs and revisions.* The modern source research derives the term *komput* from the Latin verb *computo*, which means *I calculate*. Nowadays, this term has several interpretations. First, it is a register, a census, a number, a names list of Cossacks. Second, it is the main forces of the regular army, financed by the state treasury in the Rzeczpospolita in the 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Third, these are homestead censuses of the population of the Heřmanščyna from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when only the heads of families/homesteads of Cossacks and villagers were accounted. Fourth, these are special censuses of a part of Cossack officers, namely of the Bunchuk and the military community, which were not included into homestead revisions of Cossacks. Those censuses were made by the General Military Chancellery and the Second Malorossija Collegium themselves.

It should be stated that some historians use the term "komput" and "revision" as synonyms, especially if it concerns the documents of the late 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, H. Švyd'ko specifies that their content "is not always identical" and there "were simultaneous campaigns joined in one census book" (Švyd'ko 2004, 3). The author states that primarily the term "komput" was applied for such documents, and after the incorporation of Heřmanščyna into the Russian Empire it was replaced with the term "revision". By the latter the census of the population subject to taxation and military service duty is meant.

According to V. Mokljak, the first komputs appeared after the Cossacks started their official military service in the Rzeczpospolita (Džerela z istoriji

Poltavs'koho polku. Seredyna XVII–XVIII st. 2007, 5). However, the komputs were most popular in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The years of their conducting demonstrate it clearly. Thus, for example, komputs and revisions were conducted 18 times during the 18<sup>th</sup> century on the territory of the Heřmanščyna, namely in the years 1713, 1718, 1723, 1726, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1740, 1743, 1748, 1751, 1753, 1764. In comparison, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the komputs were conducted only three times – in 1649, 1654, and 1666.

Komputs and revisions were usually carried out by regimental chancelleries, as well as by specially sent commissioners. Primarily, centesimal lists were made, and afterwards they were transferred to a regimental chancellery, as well as messages from magistrates and town halls. The data processed by the regimental chancellery were transferred to the General Military Chancellery for monitoring. Unfortunately, centesimal lists of the revisions and komputs were not saved. The only documents which are available for contemporary researchers are the regimental lists.

These types of accounting sources were made with a fiscal or military purpose. Therefore, these lists included Cossacks, as well as people of other social classes (town citizens, villagers, etc.). What is more, the representatives of the clergy were not included in these documents, because they did not do military service and did not pay taxes.

The books were made in two or three copies. Their structure depended on the purpose of a census; however, it contained a number of mandatory structural elements: a title, a preamble with the purpose and initiators, a date (usually a year and a month). The main part of the book was divided into two parts: the revision of Cossacks and the revision of town citizens and villagers.

In komputs and revisions the anthroponymical data were mainly represented by names and surnames. But very often it is difficult to answer whether the record contained a surname or a nickname. It should be noted that the anthroponymical attribution of women occurs rarely as well. They were recorded only as widows-owners of homesteads, which made them fulfill certain obligations.

Geographical attribution was above all represented by a person's belonging to a particular settlement which was a part of a regiment. A record of people's affiliation to regimental officers' ownership can be called a peculiar geographical feature. The comparative study of the geography of people's inhabitation sites recorded in various komputs helps us to broaden our knowledge about the stability/mobility of the society at the time.

The komputs and revisions contain information about the social class of the people who were recorded in the census. First, it enables one to compare the number of people from different social groups. Second, comparison of the data from different komputs allows one to retrace the dynamics in changes of social mobility. Third, the comparison of differences in records makes it possible to compare the changes of correlation inside the groups; this concerns particular settlements, as well as a regiment as a whole. The komput data enables one to



indicate personal and quantitative structure of town workshop members. It also helps to trace the dynamics of changes, both inside workshops and for a comparative viewpoint.

It should be noted that the above-mentioned types of accounting-statistical sources contain a huge undercount of a certain part of the population, mostly women, newborns and children. It can be explained by the purpose of the komputs and revisions. These categories of society were not tax payers and did not do military service. In addition, the accuracy of the records regarding the men of working age appears to be doubtful as well. It can be explained by the fact that a considerable number of people were hired to work outside their place of living, which was a common thing in the Heřmanščyna of that time. As a result, the information from the komputs and revisions allows only a partial exploring of the number, location, social class and social mobility of the Heřmanščyna people. However, these documents can be a good fundamental for historical and demographic researches.

Summing up so far, it can be noted that the accounting documents contain valuable data which allows one to determine the identity of a person according to anthroponymical, social, religious, family and marital, geographical and occupational features. However, the information in the accounting sources of that time does not appear to be consistent and stable. Nevertheless, it allows tracing changes in the identification of a person during a century. At the same time, an open issue remains regarding the validity of such an identity. After all, one cannot provide a complete answer to the important question: Do these records reflect an actual perception of an individual as a person, or do they rather show established clichés of the time?

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## SELF-REALIZATION OF UKRAINIAN WOMEN IN RESEARCH, SCIENTIFIC-PEDAGOGICAL AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES: THE UKRAINIAN EXPERIENCE

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(Ukraine)

*On the basis of processing a wide variety of sources the author reveals the thorny path of the Ukrainian women to pursue higher education and creative self-expression in science, art, teaching in the nineteenth – early twentieth century. Special attention is paid to identifying the historical background and factors of development of the studied phenomenon.*

*Key words: Ukrainian woman, higher education, higher female educational institution, teaching, self-realization.*

## САМОРЕАЛІЗАЦІЯ ЖІНКИ У НАУКОВО-ПЕДАГОГІЧНІЙ І МИСТЕЦЬКІЙ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ: УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ДОСВІД

*Лариса Корж-Усенко*

*У статті на основі опрацювання широкого спектру джерел розкрито тернистий шлях українського жіноцтва до здобуття вищої освіти і творчої самореалізації в науці, мистецтві, викладацькій діяльності у XIX – на початку XX століття. Особливу увагу приділено виявленню історичних передумов та чинників розвитку досліджуваного феномену.*

*Ключові слова: українська жінка, вища освіта, жіночі вищі навчальні заклади, викладацька діяльність, самореалізація.*

Protecting women's rights and gender equality, the range of self-realization opportunities for women, the level of their involvement in different spheres of life, reflect the level of a society's development. The issue of exploring woman's role in the Ukrainian culture has captured the research interest of Marta Bohachevs'ka-Chomjak, Irena Knyš, Oksana Kis', Volodymyr Kravec', Oleksandr Kryvošij, Volodymyr Maslijčuk, Natalja Polons'ka-Vasylenko, Ljudmyla Smoljar. History and historiography of women's higher education, women's contribution to development of science and philanthropy are subjects of works by Larysa Burjak, Oksana Drač, Olena Il'čenko, Kateryna Kobčenko, Volodymyr Kravec', Olena Lucenko, Iryna Malynko, Oleh Melnyk, Iryna Čerčovyč, Ljudmyla Šumrykova-Karahodina. Studies by European and American researchers are essential for understanding the peculiarities of the feminist movement in the Russian Empire (Linda Edmondson, Barbara Alpern Engel, Christine Johanson, Carolina Maegd-Soep, Bianca Pietrov-Annker, Rich-

ard Stites). The five-volume *History of Women in the West* by Georges Duby is one of most important resources for our study.

The main resources on the investigated issue consist of the Antonovyč, Hrynčenko, Hruševs'kyj, Drahomanov and Staryc'kyj families' collections and personal documents of Ukrainian women intellectuals such as Olena Pčilka, Lesja Ukrajinka, Sofija Rusova, Natalja Polons'ka-Vasylenko, Ljudmyla Staryc'ka-Černjachivs'ka, Nadija Surovcova-Olyc'ka, Oleksandra Efimenko (autobiographies, diaries, memoirs, letters), which are preserved at the Institute of Manuscripts of the National Vernads'kyj Library, the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine (Kyjiv, L'viv), the Central State Archives of the Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine, the manuscript funds of the Taras Ševčenko Institute of Literature, the 'M. Ryls'kyj' Institute of Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, museums of famous activists of Ukrainian culture, namely Lesja Ukrajinka, Mykola Lysenko, Panas Saksahans'kij, Mychajlo Staryc'kyj, the state archives of the Poltava and L'viv districts and the Central State Archive of Political Parties and Public Organizations, a significant part of which have been highly classified until the recent years.

The author unites the national paradigm and the national and cultural tradition and interprets them in terms of 'new social history'. The study will focus on exploring ramified blood and spiritual connections (according to Barry Wellman's approach), using sociocultural and gender approaches (based on Joseph Pleck's theory of fragmentary gender roles' transcendence and role strain) and the social transmission theory by Daniel Berto and Izabel Berto-William. The interdisciplinary character of the study means the analysis of works in history, history of education, gender studies, literature studies, art studies and legal studies. The application of comparative and historical along with psychoanalytical methods allows us to determine the creative self-sufficiency of famous women and to define their status in science, culture and society.

The paper aims at undermining the perception of female researchers as pedantic spinsters, fixated on their subjects, who live in 'ivory towers' distanced from the real world. The hypothesis of the author is that highly educated emancipated ladies tried to be multifaceted personalities, successful in different roles: active citizens, caring mothers and wives who not only inspired their husbands but also attempted to become successful in research and educational activities. The interdependence of women in the field of education and in the democratic society, national and gender emancipation are principal values for our study.

The aim of this study is also to define historical prerequisites, objective and subjective factors of scientific and pedagogical as well as artistic works of brilliant representatives of the Ukrainian women in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The logic of the study implies the consecutive revealing of the following aspects: the historical status of women in the Ukrainian culture and mentality; actualization of bright female personalities in order to substantiate conceptual grounds and prospects of female emancipation; formation of higher education of

women in the context of developing feminist, national and enlightenment movements; influence of pedagogical family studies on the self-realization of women in research, educational and artistic activities.

As evidenced by the analysis of recourses on the issue, the ancient traditions of education and philanthropy as well as the comparatively high status of women in the family and society are crucial factors of successful self-realization of the Ukrainian women during the Middle Ages and in the early Modernity period (in comparison to Romanic and Germanic law, where a woman had to have a “guardian”). It is stated in the code of laws “Rus’ka pravda” of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which was created during the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (*Mudryj*) and later represented in the charters of the Grand Principality of Lithuania as well as the Ukrainian common law.

It is a well-known fact that higher levels of knowledge have been an exclusively male prerogative for centuries; however, particularly charismatic women managed to enter the sacred cosmos of educated people. The intellectually saturated activities, which representatives of the principal families of Kyjivan Rus’ mastered, included state governance (namely the realization of regent functions, carrying out diplomatic missions), pedagogical and medical practices. Princess Ol’ga of Kyjiv (Christian name *Elena*), canonized by the Orthodox church, implemented state reforms and established the first hospitals where patients were treated by women (10<sup>th</sup> century); Anna (*Agnes*) daughter of Jaroslav the Wise, wife of Henry I, Queen of France, founder of schools, libraries and monasteries, her wisdom and philanthropy impressed even the Roman Popes. The granddaughters of Jaroslav the Wise: Anna-Janka Vsevolodovna, a founder, head and teacher at the first women’s schools under the patronage of the Andrijiivs’kyj Monastery in Kyjiv; Evpraksija (*Adelheid*) – the wife of the German emperor Heinrich IV., who personally defended herself in a church court and proved her husband’s abusive treatment of her and requested his anathema and dethronement. Evpraksija-Zoja, wife of the Byzantine Emperor, is, supposedly, the author of the first medical treatise written by a woman (Babyšin 1973). Princess Kunigunda Rostislavna of Halyč (*Kunhuta Haličs’ka*) the wife of King Ottokar II. of Bohemia, a member of the Přemyslid dynasty, became the first Czech poetess, and in cooperation with her husband established a higher school in the capital, which became a prototype of the famous Prague University<sup>88</sup>.

It is important to note that it was the family environment that shaped Ukrainian women and encouraged their intellectual and social activities. Thus, in the

<sup>88</sup> For more information see: Vystoc’kyj C. O. (2011). *Knjahynia Ol’ha i Anna Jaroslavna – slavni žinky Kyjivs’koji Rusi*. Kyjiv; Hevrylyšyn M. (2014). *Polityčnyj ta šljubni aspekty zv’jazkiv z anhlijskym korolivstvom u XI st.* Drohobyckyj krajeznavčyj zbirnyk. 17-18. 64-70; Hai Nyžnyk P. (2014). *Knjažny ta knjahini Rusi-Ukrainy (X-XI st.)* [Electronic resource], Access regime: <http://incognita.day.kiev.ua/knyazhnu-ta-knyaguni.html>; Kobyljuch V. (2005). *Molytva Kunehuty*. Dzvyn. 10. 119-120; Lunjak Je. (2011). *Evoljutsija obrazu Anny Jaroslavny u francuzkij i vitčyznjanii istoriohrafiji*. Visnyk Kyjivs’koho nacional’noho universytetu imeni Tarasa Ševčenko. Istorija. 104. 30–33; Ryčka V.M. (2004). *Knjahynja Ol’ha*. Kyjiv.

house of Jaroslav the Wise, married to Swedish Princess Ingigerda (*Irena*), there prevailed a cult of literacy and scholarship; a palace school founded by Jaroslav under the patronage of Sofija's Cathedral possessed a good library and scriptorium, it became a paragon (in the political and the cultural sense) for princes from different parts of Europe. Equally to men, women mastered Greek sciences at home, normally educated by their parents and tutors. In "Life of Theodulija (Efrosynija)", a famous doctor, expert in grammar, rhetoric and philosophy, daughter of Prince Mychajlo of Černihiv (13<sup>th</sup> century) one can read that she was familiar with the works of famous orators and writers such as Vergil, Askilop, Galen, Aristotle, Homer (Life of Efrosynija of Suzdal' 1880)<sup>89</sup>. Apart from this, the girls could master horseback riding, hunting and archery. It is important to mention Anna (Agnes) of France's expertise in hunting introduced hunting with the Queen as a favorite pastime of the French nobility. Nevertheless, most women who wanted to pursue intellectual freedom could satisfy their spiritual needs only in monasteries.

At the same time, history knows cases of the quick rise of women in the social hierarchy in the harem setting. The favorite wife of the sultan of the Ottoman Empire Sulejman the Great, had Ukrainian roots and was known in world history as Roksolana Hurrem. She had a sharp mind, knew foreign languages, had diplomatic skills and poetic talent. This bright woman is known to have started the epoch of the "Sultanate of Women" in a Muslim country (the unprecedented case of a woman's influence on the development of the state), it is during these times that charity funds aimed at building objects of the social and cultural infrastructure (churches, schools, libraries, shelters, canteens, public baths), were established and the interest towards European civilization and Renaissance art in particular rose.

It is worth noting that according to the humanistic education concept, which was popular in Europe for centuries, poetic talent was considered a symbol of intellectual perfection. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the influence of the Renaissance prompted the creation of poetry, songs and the translations of religious texts into the Old Ukrainian language, which was introduced by Olena Kopot, a noblewoman of Volyn' and her husband Ivan Žuravnyč'kyj<sup>90</sup>. Maruša Čuraj was a famous poet and song-writer during the Cossack times (17<sup>th</sup> century).

Many foreign travelers were impressed by a broad spectrum of liberties available to the Ukrainian Cossack women, who, according to customary law, could choose the man they wanted to marry, witness in court, fight against enemies alongside with men (Georgi 1799; Sičyns'kyj 1946). Some women, especially the wives of Het'man Bohdan Chmelnyc'kyj, Ivan Vyhovs'kyj and

<sup>89</sup> Theodulija and her sister Maria, co-authors of the "Life of Prince Mychail of Černigiv" were grandmothers of the Queen-poetess Kunegunda.

<sup>90</sup> For more information see: Kravec' V. (2011). *Stanovyšče ukrajins'koji žinky ta žinočoji osvity v period z XI po XIII stolittja. Ukrajinoznavčyj al'manach*. 6. 33-38; Nud'ha H. (1991). *Ne bijsja smerti*. Kyjiv; Čornopys'kyj M. (2010) *Najdavnijša viršovana satyra v literaturnij interpretaciji Hryhorija Nud'hy*. Visnyk L'vivs'koho universytetu. Filologia. 43. 24-30.

Ivan Skoropads'kyj were actively involved in governing the state, they had their own signets and were known to have signed important documents (Kryvošyj 2013). It is interesting to mention the reflections of Pavlo Alepskyj, son of the Antiochian patriarch Makarij, who in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was astonished to note that most men and women in the “country of Cossacks” were educated, making the observation that the “Athenian wisdoms” were popular among many brilliant and intelligent nuns (Chalebs'kyj 2008).

Christianity provided Ukrainian girls, who were banned from universities and academies, with opportunities to get high level education at brotherhood and monastery schools; girls could be educated at home by tutors, parents and their brothers or by reading books from family libraries. During the Medieval times funding schools, churches and monasteries was one of the main ways of satisfying the spiritual needs of emotionally gifted women (Hanna Hojs'ka, Jaryna Jarmolyns'ka, Olena Čortoryjs'ka-Hornostaj). It is important to mention the famous Ukrainian philanthropist women Halška Ostroz'ka and Halška Gulevyčivna, who sponsored the Ostroh Academy and the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy. Maria-Magdalena Mazepa, mother of Het'man Ivan Mazepa and Anastasia Skoropads'ka, wife of Het'man Ivan Mazepa and a member of the Luc'k brotherhood were known for their charitable activities<sup>91</sup>.

Starting with the “spring of nations” in the 1840s, emancipation processes embraced most of the European and American countries and resonated in Ukraine, which at the time was divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Different aspects of the concept of woman in the Ukrainian mentality and culture were highlighted by Ukrainian thinkers such as Taras Ševčenko, Mychailo Maksymovyč, Oleksandr Bilozers'kyj, Pavlo Čubyns'kyj, Orest Levyc'kyj, Volodymyr Antonovyč, who carried out historical and ethnographical research. They addressed speaking folklore (*‘чоловік і жінка – це найкраща спілка’*, husband and wife is the best union; *‘нема цвіту біліше ожиницьки, нема роду рідніше дружиницьки’*, there is no flower whiter than blackberry flower, there is no one dearer than wife; *‘чоловік без жінки як без розуму’*, a man without a wife is like a man without mind; *‘нема вірніш друга, як вірна супруга’*, there is no friend more loyal than a devoted wife; *‘все до часу, а жінка до смерті’* everything will pass with time, only wife remains until you die; *‘у гарної жінки і чоловік гарний, у гарного чоловіка і жінка гарна’*, a good wife has a good husband, a good husband has a good wife; *‘батько береже доньку до вінця, а муж жінку до кінця’*, father cares for his daughter till she weds, and husband cares for his wife till the end etc.) The authors of the research narratives state that Ukrainian women did not have to endure the domestic tyranny of *Domostroj* (‘Household Management’) and

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<sup>91</sup> In the 19th century Jelysaveta Myloradovyč (Skoropads'ka), every inch a European woman with Ukrainian soul, generous sponsor of the Scientific T. Ševčenko Society, which is said to be analogous to the modern Academy of Science of Ukraine's continued family tradition of philanthropy.

*snochačestvo* (the mother-in-law privilege)<sup>92</sup> which were common in Muscovy, which is an evidence of the relative parity and democratic character of gender relations in the Ukrainian family (Vaščenko 1994).

Rather hyperbolized characteristics of Ukrainian women emphasize their energetic nature, intelligence, love of freedom were part of the national identity, which stood in drastic contrast with the Russian mental field. Thus, the historian M. Kostomarov wrote: “All foreigners were impressed by the domestic tyranny of husbands towards their wives. Russians saw only an animalistic nature in relations between the sexes. In Moscow no one will bend the knee to a woman or flatter her. According to customary law, influenced by the asceticism of Byzantium and the jealousy of the Tatars, talking to a woman was condemned. The Russian woman was a constant prisoner from her childhood till death and could be locked up, as if in a Muslim harem. Ukrainian Cossack women were used to more freedom, wives were companions to their husbands to such an extent that they even went onto the battlefield along with them” (Kostomarov 1992)<sup>93</sup>.

It is symbolic that the first program document on the emancipation of women entitled “Liberation of Women” was elaborated by the Cyril and Methodius society (brotherhood) (1845–1847), a secret political organization, established by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which included T. Ševčenko, O. Bilozers'kyj, M. Kostomarov, O. Markovyč, M. Savyč, the champions of the ideas of national and social equality (especially in education)<sup>94</sup>. Simultaneously, a pleiad of Ukrainian female writers voiced their word in defense of women's rights and the Ukrainian people, namely Hanna Barvinok (Olena Bilozers'ka-Kuliš), Marko Vovčok (Maria Vilins'ka-Markovyč), Olena Pčilka (Ol'ha Drahomanova-Kosač), Lesja Ukrajinka (Larysa Kosač), Valerija O'Konnor-Villins'ka, Maria Zahirnijska (Maria Hrynčenko), Dniprova Čajka (Ljudmyla Vasylevs'ka). Their works inspired people to fight for democratic social ideals<sup>95</sup>. It is important to note that some of the above-mentioned “masters of the art of the word”, who actively revealed the problems of women's self-realization in their artistic heritage, managed to gain international recognition. Thus, Lesja Ukrajinka is among the most talented poetesses in the world. The literary works of Marko Vovčok, who was called the “Ukrainian George Sand”, influenced the development of Bulgarian literature of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and her work

<sup>92</sup> “*Domostroj*” (Household Management): written rules of behavior from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which justified husband's violent treatment of his wife. *Snochactvo* (the daughter-in-law privilege) is a social institution in Russian village, an element of life of a commune that allows for sexual relations between a woman and her father-in-law.

<sup>93</sup> The academician Mykola Sumcov stressed the matriarchal character of traditional Ukrainian society “here a husband submits to his wife and her moral influence to a greater extent”. The pedagogue Hryhorij Vaščenko and the art historian Ščermakivs'kyj expressed a similar opinion.

<sup>94</sup> The Radical Ukrainian-Russian Party was the first to declare the demand for women's equality in its program in L'viv (1989).

<sup>95</sup> For more information see: Tomčuk L.V. (2011). *Fenomen žinoč'ogo pys'menstva v ukrajins'kij literaturi kincja 19 -20 st.* Kyjiv.



“Marusja” was distinguished by the Prize of the Paris Academy and recommended by the Ministry of Education of France to be used at schools in France.

The analysis of sources shows that, at the turn of the century (19–20<sup>th</sup> century) Joan of Arc and Lesja Ukrajinka were considered the most popular symbols of the greatness of the human spirit and sacrificial heroism in favor of their people. The relevance of actualization of bright historical personalities for solving urgent problems of womankind and the future of Ukraine was substantiated by Sofija Rusova, the leader of the women’s movement: “our modern dedicated promoters of ideals of science and life are responsible for the mission of bringing these ideals to the mass of impersonal, oppressed by hard living conditions of inhabitants of Polissja, Prydniprovija, Pryčornomorja, where Bondarivna and Marusja Bohuslavka performed a feat of pride and love, where Halška Hulevyč, Rajna Mohyljans’ka raised the banner of national independence and enlightenment” (Rusova 1996)<sup>96</sup>.

The most effective way to demonstrate the intellectual adequacy of women, their ability to perform civic, scientific and educational activities became higher education. The first swallows in the higher school of Halyčyna, which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time, were the pupils of the L’viv Conservatory of Music, among them the diva of the best theaters of the world Solomija Krušelnyč’ka, who became a teacher at her alma-mater later. Ukrainian women who in the 1890s studied at L’viv University managed to organize a separate women’s section of the influential organization “Ukrainian Student Society”. Among ardent supporters of the ideas of higher education, leaders of enlightenment and women’s movement in the Western Ukraine territories were Sofija Okunevs’ka-Moračevs’ka (the first Ukrainian female doctor), the writers Natalja Kobryns’ka (Ozarkevyč) and Ol’ha Kobyljans’ka, Kostjantyna Malyc’ka (Čajka Dnistrova), Uljana Kravčenko (Julija Šnajder) (Čerčovyč 2013). During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ukrainian women improved their education and were awarded academic degrees at the Vienna University (Irena Levc’ska, Milena Rudnyc’ka, Olena Stepaniv<sup>97</sup>, N. Surovceva-Olyc’ka).

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<sup>96</sup> Bondarivna is a character of the Ukrainian epos, who chose death over life in disgrace. Marusja Bohuslavka is a character of the folk *duma* (Ukrainian folk ballad). She, like Nastja Lisovs’ka (Roksolana) was kidnapped and placed into harem of Turkish Sultan, she was brave enough to set 700 Cossacks held captive in Turkey free. She symbolizes a person able to risk her life to help her native people and serve her native land.

Halška Hulevyč, a Ukrainian woman-philanthropist, *marshalok* (government official of Grand Principality of Lithuania) Lozka’s wife, has donated costs and property for needs of the Kyjiv brotherhood school, which later became Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy. Raina Mogylianka, a Ukrainian philanthropist, sister of Petro Mohyla, Kyjiv Metropolitan, founder and patron of famous Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy. While comparing representation of women in Ukrainian and Russian folk songs, a historian Mykola Kostomarov stated that the former unlike the latter praise not only physical appearance but also high spiritual virtues, that is why even hurt, betrayed and unfortunate characters inspired respect.

<sup>97</sup> Olena Stepaniv was the first female officer who fought for Ukraine as a member of the Legion of Ukrainian Sič Riflemen.

In the Russian Empire the first temporary attempts to let females be admitted to higher education establishments during the reforms in the early 1860s and '70s failed as the female students were convicted for political unreliability and disturbing society's moral. Thus, Kyjiv Higher Women's Courses, established in 1878 by the "Society for Assistance of Women's Higher Education", were closed by the government (1889) due to the rise of students' national awareness. As evidenced by the memoirs of Maria Berenštam-Kistjakova, during that period the Ukrainian national circle of Olena Dobrohraeva was established. It included Oľha Maksymovyč, the teacher-innovator, the daughter of the famous philologist and ethnographer, first rector of the Kyjiv University Mychajlo Maksymovyč, and Kateryna Mel'nyk, one of the first women-archeologists<sup>98</sup>.

Being deprived of the opportunity to study in Ukraine, ambitious Ukrainian young ladies entered European higher schools (especially in Sweden, France and Switzerland), the Bestužev Courses in St. Peterburg, which opened ways for their success and professional self-realization. Such women as Sofija Kovalevs'ka (née Korvin-Krukovs'ka, a descendent of ancient Cossack leaders on her father's side and the German academic Schultz family on her mother's side) became an auditor of Heidelberg and Berlin University, a professor at Stockholm University (1884) and a corresponding member of the St. Peterburg Academy of Science (1889). The artist Maria Baškyrceva (1858–1884) was an alumna of R. Julian's Academy in Paris, the first female artist whose works were exhibited in the Louvre. She is the author of the interesting and popular "Diary", where she fondly described her native Ukraine.

Educational activities and artistic works are little known aspects of the lives of those talented women. Thus, Sofija Kovalevs'ka raised the issue of developing a national higher school, wrote "Spohady" (Memories), a number of novels and novellas ("An Independent Professor", "A Nihilist Woman", "A Fight for Happiness", "The Rajeviskyj Sisters"). The Ukrainian life is given a significant attention in these works (Luhovyj 2004). As the historian N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko states, the Kovalevskyj family was related to the Kosač family, which produced one of the most gifted famous female writers – Lesja Ukrajinka.

<sup>98</sup> The wish of Ukrainian women to get more profound knowledge about their native people prompted them to attend a cycle of private lectures in history of Ukraine by Professor of the Kyjiv University Volodymyr Antonovyč, that were given during the 80s of 19<sup>th</sup> century. This fact is mentioned in numerous papers on Ukrainian studies written and published by the attendees. Ukrainian women participated in summer courses on Ukrainian Studies, held in L'viv in 1904 by "Ukrainian Scientific T. Ševčenko Society" headed by Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj. It is notable that in 1907 the students of Kyjiv higher women's courses, participants of the Ukrainian secret organization "Kiš", gathered 500 signatures in favor of inviting M. Hrushevs'kyi as a lecturer on History of the Ukrainian Literature, but the Council of Professors did not support it. Respectively, among Charkiv female students the activists of national movement, attended lectures of professors of Philology O. Potebnja, M. Sumcov, that taught private classes. It is also important to mention the lawyer Mykola Michnov'skyj, who was the first to teach a course in Ukrainian Language at "Charkiv Mutual Aid Society of Working Women" (1905).

Not having an opportunity to teach in her native country, broken relationship with her parents, lack of understanding and support of her husband due to competition over the recognition in the scientific sphere became the reasons of Sofija Kovalevska's personal tragedy.

Evhenija Solomko belongs to a pioneer group of gifted female scholars. At the age of 25 she defended her doctoral dissertation in Geology at Zurich University (1887) and was teaching at St. Peterburg University temporarily until she married and retired.

Being part of something high and beautiful, the first female intellectuals established educational institutions of different levels and profiles. Among them it is important to mention Maria Raevs'ka, the first professional painter (the title conferred by the St. Peterburg Academy of Arts in 1868), an alumna of the Dresden Academy of Arts, the author of a textbook on methods of painting, the founder of the Charkiv School of Drawing, which became a higher educational establishment<sup>99</sup>, and Natalja Lyntvarova, the founder of a Sumy private school with the Ukrainian language of instruction.

As the time passed, women fought for their right to get higher education in Ukraine during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1901 the scientific boards of the Kyjiv and Charkiv Universities appealed to the Ministry in regard to elimination of gender restrictions in higher education. Ukrainian women who strived for knowledge prepared a series of appeals that gathered about one thousand signatures in their support. The appeals were signed by Lesja Ukrajinca (Larysa Kosač) and her sister Oksana Kosač, the representatives of the families of the coryphes of Ukrainian theater and music Ljudmyla Staryc'ka-Černjachivska, Maria Staryc'ka, Oksana Stešenko-Staryc'ka, their mother Sofija Staryc'ka, the famous Ukrainian composer Mykola Lysenko's daughters Kateryna and Hanna, the philanthropist Evhen Čykalenko's wife Maria, the famous Ukrainian art historians Vadym and Dmytro Ščerbakivs'kyj's sister Evhenija (Kobčenko 2007).

However, it is not until the revolution of 1905 that Russian government was forced to grant women the right to study at universities. By the effort of private and public initiatives a large number of women's higher educational establishments and public organizations was formed. A prominent role in development of women's education in Ukraine belongs to the "Women with Higher Education Society", the "Charkiv Mutual Aid Society of Working Women", and the "Odessa Society for Protection of Women". The All-Russian Women's Congress of 1913 played an important role in the activation of the "female factor" in educational and social processes. It included a section on higher education. Ukrainian women were dedicated in their striving for intellectual independence; it is evidenced by the fact that female students in Odessa, Charkiv and Kyjiv considerably outnumbered those in the Russian Empire.

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<sup>99</sup> In the 60s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Maria Raevs'ka and Elyzaveta Kovals'ka opened private higher courses for women and recruited professors of the Charkiv University, but its activities were stopped by the Russian government (Sukovataja 2007).

After the overturning of autocracy in the Russian Empire and the formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, equality of men and women was proclaimed and the quantity of women in higher education institutions increased rapidly<sup>100</sup>. Thirteen representatives of the intelligentsia, active champions of national and gender equality, known for their research, artistic and educational work and charity, entered the government of the Central Council (*Central'na rada*), among them were Sofija Rusova, Ljudmyla Staryc'ka-Černjachivs'ka, Valerija O'Konnor-Villins'ka, Zoja Mirna, Maria Hruševs'ka, Kateryna Ljubyns'ka and others. In September 1917 the All-Ukrainian women's convention took place, and it ratified the establishment of the "Ukrainian women's society" and founded the journal "Women's Bulletin".

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of pedagogical family studies for the formation of an image of female personality with active disposition, striving for self-realization in the intellectual sphere. However, an intellectual woman could find either a favorable or an aggressive environment in her family when it came to her intellectual self-development. It could be illustrated by the example of several prominent Ukrainian families. Thus, the attempt of Chrystyna Alčevs'ka (née Žuravl'ova) to get higher education faced furious resistance by her father (a teacher at the district college!).

That is why this inquisitive girl had to gain in secret against her father's will, while listening to the tutors who came to teach her brothers. Nevertheless, she was lucky. Her articles, filled with desire to work for her native people's benefit, were published under the assumed name "Ukrajinka" (Ukrainian woman) in Mykola Hercen's journal. They caught the attention of her future husband Oleksij Alčevs'kij<sup>101</sup>. The Alčevs'kij family was among the founders of the Ukrainian society "Hromada" (*Community*) in 1862 in Charkiv (where Chrystyna became to be known as Het'manša ('female hetman')). They erected the first Taras Ševčenko monument, raised five children in the Ukrainian national tradition and took an active part in research activities (Korž 2001). For over 50 years the known Charkiv Sunday school – a world-class methodology center of female and adult education, a winner of numerous international exhibitions, worked on a three-volume reading guide *What Should People read?*, where the best works of foreign literature were represented.

It is important to mention that the attempt of Chrystyna Alčevs'ka to get higher education in the 1880s failed as a result of prohibition by the Russian government, her daughter Chrystyna Alčevs'ka Junior, a graduate of higher pedagogical courses in Paris (1902) managed to get a position of as a teacher of the French and Ukrainian languages in Charkiv, her native city. It is interesting to note that Chrystyna Alčevs'ka Junior became a Ukrainian poetess and the author

<sup>100</sup> In total during the mentioned period five women's higher education institutions were functioning in Charkiv. Women were eager to study at public and people's universities, demonstrating high academic tonus.

<sup>101</sup> Ukrainian Philantropist, one of the richest bankers and industrialists of Russian Empire, the town Alčevs'k in Donbas was named in his honour.

of a known bibliographic directory of the Ukrainian literature, written jointly with Mykola Michnovskij<sup>102</sup>.

For many Ukrainian women, the representatives of spiritually akin families of the national cultural elite such as Kosač, Lysenko, Staryc'kyj, who were generously granted with talent and gifted with words, became the ideals. Some of the most charismatic women are Ol'ha Drahomanova-Kosač (Olena Pčilka), a famous Ukrainian activist, and professor of the Sofija University (Bulgaria), who was called “star of the Ukrainian Renaissance”. Ol'ha Kosač published the substantial work on ethnography *The Ukrainian Ornament* as early as 1876; it was reprinted five times and received recognition at the international exhibition in Paris (1900). The work impressed Sorbonne scholars so much that a series of lectures on Ukrainian national art was introduced to the curriculum. She was the first woman to have been elected a corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Being fluent in several foreign languages, Olena Pčilka and Lesja Ukrajinka saw their mission in bringing Ukraine closer to Europe by means of translating the masterpieces of World literature into their native language and to familiarize the international community with Ukrainian culture and to establish cooperation with their spiritual sisters from Galicia. In 1872 the first meeting of famous Ukrainian women from both banks of Dnipro O. Pčilka and S. Okunevska, initiated by M. Drahomanov, was held in Vienna, which showed the congeniality of their spiritual and national interests. An important event for joining women of the Russian and Austrian parts of Ukraine became the edition of the collection *Pershyj vinok* (The First Wreath), which was initiated and funded by these women.

Ol'ha Kosač, the editor and publisher of the journals “*Ridnyj kraj*” (Native Land), “*Moloda Ukrajina*” (Young Ukraine) and “*Hazeta Hadjac'kogo zemljactva*” (Gadiach Compatriots Gazette) played a pivotal role in the formation of Ukrainian journalism.

Olena Pčilka criticized the education system of the Russian Empire, which, in her opinion, taught by means of drilling and provided perfunctory knowledge, which turned the Ukrainians into slaves. That is why her seven children were home-schooled by herself and private tutors. She tried to raise her children to be spiritually strong and harmonious individuals, worthy citizens of Ukraine, who first and foremost appreciated people for their mind and conscientiousness

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<sup>102</sup> During her mature years Chrystyna Alčevs'ka (senior) mentioned that every minute of communication with university researchers was very important for women striving for knowledge. She recollected about professor O. Potebnja's lectures: “on the historical past of our motherland, our songs, our national poetry has encouraged us to study it, love it. We were mesmerized listening to him for hours, and I am certain that each one of us had sworn that since that moment we would dedicate all our strength to our Motherland and to give our lives to it.” (Alčevs'ka 1912). In general, this style of epistles is common in women's memoirs that allow the author to make a conclusion that is was the progressive pedagogues who inspired women, who inspired passionate women to realize higher social mission to serve their native people.

(Skrypka 2013). Her son Mychajlo became an independent professor at Charkiv University, a physicist and mathematician. He stated that physics was his second passion after folklore.

Lesja Ukrajinka (Larysa Kosač) was distinguished by a profound and multifaceted personality, a will for self-realization. She created poetry, masterfully played the piano, was a good painter, took lessons at Mykola Muraško's drawing school, was skilled in embroidery, dreamt about studying at Women's School of Fine Arts in Warsaw. Larysa was an independent learner since childhood, she successfully developed her intellect encouraged by her mother and uncle – Mychailo Drahomanov. She attended public lectures at university, gave speeches at public lectures in Kyjiv Scientific Society, worked as a literature critic. Larysa took the main responsibility in educating her younger sisters and she performed her duties diligently. She wrote a textbook on ancient history based on the original sources, which her uncle M. Drahomanov had sent her from Europe, she contributed greatly to her sisters' success in preparing for becoming professors. Like her mother, Lesja Ukrajinka realized her own passion for research in the field of ethnography. In 1908 with Hnat Hotkevych's aid she carried out a folklore expedition together with her husband, it was aimed at recording by phonograph a cycle of *kobzar* (Ukrainian wondering bards) folk songs performed by Lesja Ukrajinka. The expedition resulted in compiling three collections of Ukrainian folk songs prepared by the Kosač-Kvitka family.

Nevertheless, despite natural talents and diligence in learning, the Kosač family encountered an important barrier on the way to receiving higher education, which was the label of political unreliability. Thus, Oľha Kosač, Lesja Ukrajinka's sister was arrested during state exams to higher medical courses in St. Peterburg and sent to prison. Her second sister (Oksana) was not allowed to take exams in the Russian capital. That is why she had to get education at the Polytechnic University and the conservatory in Liege. The third sister of the famous poetess – Izydora – managed to enter the Kyjiv Polytechnic Institute, defended a dissertation and later taught at higher education establishments.

It is important to emphasize the deep respect for education of all women in the Kosač family. Thus, Lesja Ukrajinka's aunt, Olena Kosač (married name Teclenko-Prychod'ko), who signed her works with the pseudonym Olena Lastivka and Zovyca initiated and founded higher women's courses in Charkiv in 1904. Oleksandra Kosač (Hryc'ko Hryhorenko), daughter-in-law of Olena Pčilka, a civil activist and writer, was awarded two degrees at Higher Women's Courses in Kyjiv.

In general, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century brought positive changes for Ukrainian women in the sphere of Humanities, which allowed discovering and promoting the beauty of the Ukrainian language and the unique character of native culture. Inspired by the example Oľha Kosač, a teacher from Hluchiv district Pelaheja Lytvytynova-Bartoš, and a descendant of Cossack leaders Tumans'kyj, published numerous remarkable research works. Pelaheja was elected a corresponding member of the French Anthropological Society and an active member of the

Taras Ševčenko Ukrainian Scientific Society (Pjatačenko 2014). The graduate of higher Bestužev courses K. Skaržyns'ka founded the first private Historical and Ethnographic Museum in Lubny that was open for everyone. The avid interest of American art researchers in this unique collection is evidenced by letters from the Washington Museum, which are preserved at the State Archive of the Poltava Region.

A unique way up the pedagogical Olympus was taken by Sofija Rusova (Lindfors), who, having French and Swiss roots, followed her father's example and was concerned with the pain and fate of the Ukrainian people, who were hard-working, talented and unfortunate. Having lost their parents at a young age, Sofija and her sister Maria opened the first Ukrainian 'Kindergarten' and later a school in Kyjiv, where the new generation of the Ukrainian youth was raised. It was the Kindergarten established by the sisters Lindfors that united girls from the Kosač, Lysenko and Staryc'kyj families, who due to their spiritual kinship were called the "United States of America".

Sofija Rusova was an active advocate of the Ukrainian language. She delivered ardent speeches at international forums in France and Belgium, at the first All-Russian convention of activists of people's universities (1908), at the first All-Russian women's convention (1913), where she defended the necessity of abolishing strict censure and implementing native language in Ukrainian educational establishments of different levels. While staying in St. Peterburg, Sofija Fedorivna secretly taught the Ukrainian Literature at Bestužev women's courses in the framework of seminars in Ukrainian History and her husband taught a course in Ukrainian grammar (Na hresnij dorozji 2013).

Being civically active and firm in her principles, Sofija Rusova could be called an "iron lady" because all of her life she suffered social oppression and imprisonment, constantly sacrificed her personal and family well-being for higher ideas. She managed to gain respect and authority among the people due to creating substantial pedagogical works, editing an educational journal "Svitlo" (Light), her knowledge of European theory and practice. As the educator recalled, she was always striving for everything new, artistic, creative, avoiding traditional and formal (Rusova 1928). In 1909 despite the lack of formal academic credentials, S. Rusova was invited to teach pedagogical disciplines, the French language and music at higher women's courses at the Frebel Pedagogical Institute, the Kyjiv Commercial Institute and Cadet Corps. In the period of national renaissance of 1917–1919 she fruitfully worked for the Ukrainian government, heading departments of extra-curricular and preschool education. S. Rusova elaborated a strategy for new school and national education of children and youth, she took an active part in initiating and working of courses of Ukrainian Studies. In 1918 she founded and headed the Ukrainian division at the Kyjiv Frebel Institute, and she served as a professor at the Kamenec'-Podil's'kyj University.

During the 1920s and '30s Sofija Rusova headed the Ukrainian National Women's Council, worked at the International League of Peace and Freedom,

the International Women's Council, was an honorary President of World Union of Ukraine's women. While being in emigration, S. Rusova initiated the establishment of the Ukrainian Pedagogical High Institute, where she later worked as a professor. It is necessary to stress that this establishment was opened in 1923 by the Ukrainian Public Commission and funded by the Czechoslovak government headed by T. Masaryk. The institute had departments of Literature and History, Mathematics and Natural Science as well as Music and Education; it trained teachers for primary and secondary schools. Mature courses<sup>103</sup> and a Ukrainian Gymnasium functioned under its patronage. Scholars of the Institute performed considerable work in the sphere of preserving the national cultural heritage and representation of the phenomenon of Ukrainians in the world. A talented Ukrainian poetess, Olena Teliha, belonged to the group of bright alumni of the Institute. It was closed due to lack of financing in 1933 (Zubko 2010).

Among the promoters of national education were representatives of creative professions, first of all, the daughters of the classics of the Ukrainian theater – Mykola Lysenko and Mychailo Staryc'kyj. Thus, Maria Staryc'ka, a graduate of Higher Women's Courses (Institute since 1918), became a teacher at the M. Lysenko Music School in Kyjiv, the only school with the Ukrainian language of teaching with classes in Ukrainian drama and the bandura. She was a famous director, masterful pedagogue and school director, a mentor to actors, directors, composers. Ljudmyla Staryc'ka-Černjachivs'ka was a masterful lector with good rhetorical skills and acting talent. It is worth noting that the Staryc'kyj sisters manifested their organizational talent while heading ministry departments in the Ukrainian governments of 1917–1919.

Oleksandra Efimenko was the first woman in the Russian Empire to have been awarded a title of doctor honoris causa by the Charkiv University in 1901 for her works on history of Ukraine. She was an independent professor and taught seminars on Ukrainian Studies at the Bestužev courses in St. Petersburg<sup>104</sup>. Another outstanding woman to be mentioned is Natalja Polons'ka-Vasylenko, a graduate of Higher Women's Courses at Kyjiv, assistant (1909) and independent professor of the Kyjiv University, author of an important work on the history of Ukraine. The climax of her creative activities falls on the period of national revolution, when Natalja, while working at five higher educational establishments (the Kyjiv Higher Women's Courses, the T. Ševčenko Ukrainian People's University, the Institute of Geography, the Women's Theological

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<sup>103</sup> Mature courses are courses for individuals that did not have any document, which confirms completing secondary education.

<sup>104</sup> It is interesting to note that in the Russian Empire research in the field of the Ukrainian studies was allowed only in higher educational institutions situated outside of the territory of ethnic Ukrainian land. Thus, according to the analysis by Dmytro Doncov, presented in the research "Ukrainian Students and Political Indifference", among six communities and organization involved in the Ukrainian studies in the Russian Empire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the majority focused on cultural issues, with an exception of women's higher Bestužev Courses in St. Petersburg, the female students did not shy away from political aspects of the Ukrainian studies.



Institute, the Institute of Archeology) became one of the founders of the Kyjiv Institute of Archeology (Polons'ka-Vasylenko 1993).

K. Kobčenko, a researcher in history of education, states that during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the best graduates of the historical and philological department of the Kyjiv higher women's courses (Sofija Ščehlova, Varvara Andrijanova-Perec', Sofija Kovalevs'ka, Leonida Kosonogova), who remained to work at their alma-mater as professor scholarship holders and assistants, became a cohort of talented researchers (Kobčenko 2007). Among the first women independent professors of the Kyjiv University were the chemist Maria Vasjuchnova, the historian Natalja Poloc'ka, the philologist Leonida Kosonohova, the assistant astronomer Jevhenija Lavrentjeva, the historian Ljudmyla Holubovska, the lawyers Svitlana Labina, Ol'ha Jesajeva, Ljudmyla Bergman, and the physician Ljudmyla Šustova-Tymošenko. The analysis of the sources shows that the research schools of Volodymyr Antonovyč, Mytrofan Dovnar-Zapol's'kyj, Ivan Lynnyčenko, and Volodymyr Perec' were the most successful in the sphere of training female scholars in the Humanities.

Simultaneously, the tendency towards differentiation of research interests of the Ukrainian women appeared. Thus, the priorities shifted from specialisation in history and philology, arts and philosophy exclusively towards a significant growth in the number of women who chose medicine (pharmacy), natural sciences and law.

Personal example and the support of a close, respected family member, mostly father, mother, sister, brother, uncle, aunt or husband were a significant factor in motivating Ukrainian women to active self-realization in research, artistic or civil activities. Thus, Marko Vovčok, Olena Pčilka, Chrystyna Alčevs'ka, Sofija Rusova and other prominent women could not fully achieve their goals without support of their 'other halves'. Hanna Barvinok (Bilozers'ka-Kuliš), Maria Zahirna (Hrynčenko), Ljudmyla Drahomanova (Kučyn-s'ka) as well as many other Ukrainian women were good wives of their creative husbands, their best teammates and active participants of different organizations and societies.

Ol'ha Bahalij, Olena Lazorevs'ka and Kateryna Hruševs'ka<sup>105</sup> chose to follow their fathers' paths, the prominent historians Dmytro Bahalij, Mychailo Hruševs'kyj and Oleksandr Lazorevs'kyj, the women rendered considerable accomplishments in research in the field of archeology and sociology. The daughters of the Ukrainian philanthropist Jevhen Čykalenko, Hanna and Viktoria, who received decent education in France and Italy, were actively engaged in public life, promoting the rights of Ukrainian women internationally. Unfortunately, after the establishment of the Soviet government many of the outstanding representatives of famous Ukrainian families were accused of "bourgeois nationalism" and were exiled or forced to emigrate. The lack of true

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<sup>105</sup> Apropos, Kateryna Hruševs'ka criticized the androcentric focus of scientific research and ignoring of the "feminine" (Hruševs'ka 1929).

national elite is still a serious problem for Ukraine, which impedes the development of the Ukrainian state.

Therefore, as a result of the research we have pointed out a number of subjective and objective factors that encouraged women's self-realization in scientific, research and pedagogical activities, namely the democratization and emancipation of society in 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the process of nation building, the development of women's education, science, art, literature, journalism, establishing women's organizations and enlightenment societies; authority and personal example of parents in realization of the creative potential of the younger generation, unity of spiritual values and public ideals of relatives, positive microclimate for cultivating talent and developing natural abilities, encouragement by "the other half" and supporters, necessary personal features and moral qualities (charisma, accomplishment, erudition, conscientiousness, persistence, ambitions).

The prospects of further investigation are related to getting access to collections of original sources preserved in Western Europe, among them are the Archive of Vienna University, where the information on the first Ukrainians who were awarded PhD degrees is kept, the Archive of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (personal funds of professor N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko) and the Slavonic Library in Prague (collection of letters of Lesja Ukrajinka).

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## **“RENDER UNTO CAESAR ...” – THE IDEOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT OF THE TOTALITARIANISM IN UKRAINE**

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(Ukraine)

*The article illustrates the process of the re-shaping of the political consciousness of the Ukrainians under the Soviet occupation in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Special attention is paid to the role of doctrine, research of the place of the leader and the party in the lives of the Ukrainians. The article shows how they destroyed Ukrainian self-identity and imposed a supra-personal and supra-national identity.*

*Key words: political consciousness, leader, Stalin, CPSU, ideology, UkrSSR, Ukrainian / Soviet political Identity.*

## **“КЕСАРЮ КЕСАРЕВЕ ...” – СВІТОГЛЯДНИЙ ЕКСПЕРИМЕНТ ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМУ В УКРАЇНІ**

*Олександр Лук'яненко*

*Стаття ілюструє процес зміни політичної свідомості українців під радянською окупацією у середині ХХ століття. Спеціальна увага приділена ролі доктрини, досліджується місце лідера та партії у життях українців. Показано, як руйнувалася самоідентичність українців та нав'язувалася над-особова та над-національна тотожність.*

*Ключові слова: політична свідомість, лідер, Сталін, КПРС, ідеологія, УРСР, українська / радянська політична ідентифікація.*

The Soviet society was primarily a materialistic. The building of the strongest and the wealthiest state on Earth was the leading goal of the whole country. Thus, its citizens were to be the richest and the happiest. All troubles in their lives with poverty were named transient obstacles on the way to Communism. While reading periodicals and watching documentaries from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century one can find a pretty ideal everyday life for the Ukrainian people. But, as Viktor Kocur has noticed, immersion into the secrets of everyday life helps to refute the myths of the totalitarian system in the best way (Kocur 2010, 9).

The evolution of the political consciousness of educators distinguishes among the studied range of problems. The reason of attention to the issue is logical. The historian John Robert Seeley argued in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that history was actually the past of politics and politics manifested as modern history (Seeley 1914, 189). The idea of the subject of Ukrainian national history had been kept in the depths of the history of the state since the Soviet times. The most

significant layer of research therefore was formed with the works revealing “the view of the historians from above” as they were called by Peter Burke (2010, 13). It was true because the scholars described politics, state-building and prominent political figures first of all.

However, the main components in the current study of everyday life of the educators of the UkrSSR are not politicians themselves but their images in the minds of the people. Why images? The Ukrainian philosopher Jevhen Sverstjuk, when lecturing to the students of the Poltava State Pedagogical Institute in 1957, observed: “image is a focus reflection of life” (State archive of the Poltava region, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr. 620. ark. 321). Repeating the words of the famous contemporary, I can state that the collective image of politicians was formed as the focus of their actions and expressions of opinions about them. People hated or idolized not the real Stalin but the image that they produced in their minds under the influence of personal preferences, collective mood in the micro-groups and of ideological pressure.

The proposed study deals with the political component of the self-identification of the Ukrainians of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Truly, the Soviet Union was as a stained glass created from the nations with their own languages, values and beliefs glued with the totalitarian pitch. Thus, there should have been a difference in the influence on the conciseness of various peoples in the stripy state. And there was. In our recent essays we have already covered the peculiarities of the creation of a Ukrainian national or pseudo-national identity during Soviet rule (Luk"janenko 2014) with the new pantheon of heroes and “cursed” betrayers (Luk"janenko 2015). The Communist state also had a strict plan of moulding a new language identity in the Ukrainian environment (Luk"janenko 2013) as well as influencing the elite in the creation of the specific common global worldview (Luk"janenko 2016). However, the latter had differences that one can identify as “national significance” or a distinct Ukrainian Soviet identification. This variety existed because the country was seeking ways to unify inside the aboriginal nations once added to the melting pot of the socialist land. The state of the minds on the topic of world politics was closer to the problem of the current study. The USSR enforced all its ideas only through the strong state position. We can endlessly argue on the question of autonomy or sovereignty of the UkrSSR, on the issues of the “national specifics” of the policy of Ukrainization once being choked by Stalin or on other points of national liberalization during the whole 70-year period of Communist rule. However, VKP(b) (then CPSU) did its best to eliminate any signs of the unique Ukrainian Communism among Ukapists, Borotbists and others. And by the time discussed in this study – the early 1950's – the central power tolerated no regional diversity in the question of political thought. One could have worn an embroidered shirt but the *Brief Course of the History of VKP(b)* by Stalin should have been the gospel of political truth. If answering the question whether there was a specific Ukrainian Soviet identity I would say “surely, there was one”. However, the scope of the study is not national, but Party authentication. Was there any political difference when

even KP(b)U copied the laws and orders of its “supreme sister” in Moscow? Keeping this in mind I propose to find the peculiarities of the formation of the Soviet political identity in Ukrainian examples – the works of the country’s poets, artists and educators. They were the ones who added local color to the routine process of mincing worldviews.

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was marked by a broad campaign started by the Russian Orthodox Church against new religious movements that Orthodox clerics dubbed as “destructive totalitarian sects”. The war for control over the human minds continues on all fronts. Orthodox missionaries are trying to find destructive and violent totalitarian elements in the actions, statements and ideas of each denomination that is different from the official Russian State Orthodoxy. However, ‘sect-fighters’ of the 21<sup>st</sup> century seek the worst and the most violent elements of enslaving a free human mind in the organizations that, in fact, are acting merely as toy-shops compared with what 1/3 of the globe has been through in recent years. Indeed, it is 70 years of Soviet hypnotic power that with the greatest confidence can be defined as the most successful period of a “totalitarian sect”. That name corresponded to the Communist consciousness much better than to the modern secular movements. That was noted long before today. The Russian religious philosopher Nikolaj Berdjaev mentioned in his work *Origins and Sense of Russian Communism* that “monism of the totalitarian state in any case is not compatible with Christianity, it turns the State into the church” (Berdjaev 2006, 40). In this article we will have a look at the basic elements that made political consciousness of the Soviet citizens in general and educators in particular look like at religious worldview. Soviet Ukraine was forced to mold its citizens’ identity on All-Soviet patterns. The totalitarian state could not let one of the most freedom-loving peoples differ in the melting pot of “brotherly nations”. The distinguishing feature was only in the usage of local artists, educators and images to fulfill the mission of ideological expansion. Thus, the difference in the creation of the god-like image of the totalitarian leader in the hearts and minds of Ukrainians will diverge from the same Russian variant mostly in illustrations but not in methods.

The first point is the creation of the doctrine. Communist society was formed with the help of severe control over information circulation. Everything read, written and proclaimed was under the censorship of party organs. No wonder there was a constant hunger for information. The state used special controlled methods of dosage of information given to the public. In such a deficit of knowledge of events, the close-knit and self-isolated community as a rule put forward a set of ideas that with time turns into the doctrine. The Country of the Soviets as no other in the world could have boasted of an elaborated doctrine of social development. Detailed and promoted from each city square and a village street, it was thrown to the masses as a source of understanding the way to the Flourishing Future. Thousands of trees had died in order to bring to ordinary citizens the tenets of the “Manifesto of the Communist Party” or the next brilliant reasoning of the “Great Leader” Stalin. Thus, only a single Stalin’s speech

“On the task of the executives” or “On industrialization and the right slope of the CPSU (b)” issued 125.000 copies in the Ukrainian language alone (Vydannja promov 1953). The data revealed after the death of Joseph Stalin speaks for itself. The implantation into the consciousness of the masses of the ‘correct’ – Stalinist – attitude towards the reality by the year of 1953 had been made with the help of 9.000 editions of the works of the ‘greatest thinker’ in 101 languages with total circulation of 672.058.000 copies (!) (Vydannja v SRSR, 1953). Bearing in mind that the population of the USSR in 1953 was close to 188 million people, we see that theoretically each citizen could own 3 or 4 books written by the ‘father of nations’. That was more than enough to convince oneself of the sanctity of the teaching.

The teachings of Communism spread “from Moscow to the outskirts” not only as an abstract theory living in the pages of dusty books. In fact, numerous attempts were made (and it is worth noting, quite successfully) to turn the doctrine into reality. There were numerous permanent restructurings of the teaching courses in universities and schools after each ideological infusion from above. We can recall the fateful period of the forced ‘revival’ of the illogical Stalin’s doctrine of language that swept over the Soviet Union in the early 1950s. The idea of the supreme and non-perspective languages was thrown to the masses after being born by the decrepit mind of the old-aged dictator. The theory was created and the masses had to drink it like mother’s milk.

To accomplish that, the educators were forced to rewrite the study programs (curricula) yet again. The new teaching became part of the old courses and new special seminars where the ‘genius’ statements of Stalin were explained to the public. Even the special councils for teachers were held so the ‘linguistic truth’ could be translated to the new generations without disfigurement (M.V. 1951). The seed of the new ideological norm was planted. It was watered down by daily routine. Thus, the students had an obligation to study the brilliant work of a living classic and to refer to it during every study project. For example, Fedir Butko from the Poltava State Pedagogical Institute was criticized for not using a couple of references from Stalin’s linguistic work in his history course report in 1953 (Archive of PNP, f. 1, op. 1956 (B-I), spr. 2289, ark. 23). But the young educators were not the only ones to suffer from the dominance of the new communist theory of languages. The university professors had to correct their plans of research to reinforce the loyalty to the theory of the state leader (State archive of the Sumy region, f.R-5369, op. 1, spr. 166, ark. 16).

As with any mystical doctrine, the Soviet one was much too complicated and trickily coded by the numerous theoretical generalizations and new interpretations of the previous truths. So it was really hard for its ordinary ‘believers’ to verify its truthfulness. The questions could appear only in three cases: if you were in the circle of the opponents of the regime, between the lecturers of Marxism-Leninism during the long targeted debates or simply in times of ‘domestic philosophizing’ in the small communal kitchens when the everyday problems were drowned with the liquid of “stoličnaja” vodka.



The architects of a totalitarian society understood the mechanisms of ideological aggression. In such a way they struggled to distract people from thinking about the essence of the ideology by driving people's attention to the numerous issues socially important and necessary to the state affairs. Being involved in solving the problems (or thinking about being involved), the Soviet citizens paid little attention to the disparity of the doctrine and the reality. As an example, we can name large constructions of Communism – the Baikal-Amur Mainline, the Volga-Don Canal, the Dnipro Hydroelectric Plant, the Poltava (then the Dnipro) Mining Processing Plant and so on. But even they were organized to strengthen the love to their leaders and to their ideas. The beginning of the extensive building, which had to divert the person from reflection, was crowned with the names of famous geniuses who lead forward along the steadfast way to the Communism. Oles' Jurenko, a Poltava poet of the last century, enthusiastically wrote in 1953 confirming that statement:

*And are tirelessly growing  
new buildings in our side.  
Along with Lenin's, is glowing  
Stalin's name far and wide<sup>106</sup>*

To avoid the unwilling search for truth among the ideologically processed masses, every conscious Communist had to deliver a large amounts of lectures. For taking the teaching to the masses was the process all neophytes were engaged in throughout the history of humankind. The Soviet disciples did it as well as constantly replenishing the communal treasury with the 'tithe' – party contributions. However, during these educational meetings with the masses the lecturers themselves lost their capability of analysis, becoming normal transmitters and receivers of the information filtered by the state. Educators were the leaders among those reading ideological lectures to the people in the 'kolchozy', plants, in city halls and everywhere needed. The lecturers were recruited from among the students as well – from the rows of all those -able to say what they were asked to. It was a real mental mockery. It exhausted not only emotionally but also physically. So teachers and students of the Poltava State Pedagogical Institute were frequent guests of various institutions and organizations, where they held a large number of lectures. Sometimes the scale of the accomplished ideological work was impressive when one group of lecturers was reading up to 34 reports on the related topics at a time (State archive of the Poltava region, f. P 251, op. 1, spr. 4829, ark. 78).

Soviet doctrine, though being dressed in the robes of scientific dialectical materialism, in fact, was not projected to be understood. The breadth of the material and the infinity of spheres of its influence convinced that one had to believe in it first. Moreover, that turned it into a universal truth. The "real understanding" of the vague canons became the achievement of a narrow elite group

<sup>106</sup> Here and after the verse is given in our translation – O. L.

of lecturers of historical and dialectical materialism – the interpreter of the ideology. However, even they were not the bearers of the original truth. Special meetings were organized for their enlightenment regularly. Newspapers even published the schedules of the study courses in the school of political education (Prymirnyj 1957). In addition, by being taught, they designed the models of delivering that Soviet truth to the masses.

To ensure the correct interpretation of the “Word” that had come through the sieve of mass consciousness, the center published some “Abstracts”. They had the only faith canons and rules among their lines to correlate the public opinion with the legitimate one. This happened even after the death of the ‘brilliant manipulator’ Stalin. The Communist Party successfully used his methods long after the dictator’s death. Among such examples we find the official point of view on arts through Nikita Chruščev’s speech “On the close relationship of literature and art with the life of the people” (Chruščov 1956) or the legitimized explanation of history in the Abstracts of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPSU “To the fortieth anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution (1917–1957)” (Do sorokariččja 1957).

All others, for whom the doctrine seemed difficult and obscure, already had the answer if they found some discrepancies that had not been polished yet by the ideological sculptors. They should work hard for the public, because when you did not have enough skills to grasp the Communist idea, you should not bother those who had already found the light.

The Soviet machine, as true as any totalitarian sect, tried to create its own world living to its own rules. In addition, it did not stand on the three elephants and a turtle. Everything was as in the old Zoroastrism dualist religion. As befits a doctrine that intends to control the masses, the universe was divided into two parallel worlds – ‘them’ and ‘us’, ‘black’ and ‘white’ (or better to say ‘red’), ‘good’ and ‘bad’. Not only ideological workers, but also artists labored for the benefit of this idea. Therefore, the Ukrainian poet Maksym Ryl’s’kyj (1952) sanctified this foundation of Soviet totalitarian sects with his lines:

*There are two forces on the Earth, the one is shining to the backward,  
The slavery is pedestal, the lie is its upright, –  
Before the second – there is a boom of songs of all the world,  
The gardens of the future and surf of art.*

Needless to specify what kind of power the poet meant under the victors in the struggle between good and evil.

As befits a closed religious formation, the Communist machine did not tolerate free interpretation of its norms and canons that could undermine its unquestionable right to own the truth. That is why the Soviet Union was constantly searching for and pursued representatives of the foreign ‘charities packs’. They were brought to the light so the ordinary people could see that the ‘evil West’

maintained ‘Trockyists, Menševiks, Social Revolutionaries, the bourgeois nationalists, members of kulak parties’ and so on. One of the last examples of those witch-hunts in the USSR was the case of “Joint”, inspired by the inflated imagination of Stalin in winter of 1953. It was named a US intelligence branch to make it look more horrible (Džojnt 1953). But the successors kept the canons of ‘true socialism’ no less zealously even after Stalin. It is seen in the struggle for the only truthfulness with the Yugoslav ideologies. Chruščov in 1957 made it clear that all variants of national characteristics of socialism and ‘special paths’ of the movement to Socialism were considered damaging to the cause of socialist construction in this country as well as to the whole community of socialist states (Vidpovidi 1957). This meant the existence of a ‘new’ socialist doctrine was a menace to the collective ideology and doctrine that allowed controlling of mass consciousness.

If one wants the general doctrinal norms of religious organizations to operate and for masses deftly to execute orders, a religious group needs enemies. And there may be a large number of foes – the more the better for unity. They can be both immanent and transcendent, distant and close. Soviet leaders skillfully used public hysteria about the conspiracy and debunking of all hidden destroyers of the Soviet social myth. It is worth mentioning the almost theatrical trials of the “mean-spirited Judas” Berija or the ‘retrograde’ quartet Malenkov, Kaganovič, Molotov and Šepilov that joined them.

Like most modern destructive religious cults, communist ideology tried to call enemies not only evil capitalists, but also relatives that somehow prevented the ‘true believers’ in their progress to “the light of truth”. And the most successful example is the textbook example of Pavlik Morozov, who exposed his father to the Communist authorities and was in turn killed by his family. Perhaps he may be an illustration not only of communist loyalty, but also the religious tenet “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me” (Matthew 10:37) in the light of the new – Communist – faith. But then it was better to love the Party, not Christ.

Such facts are connected with the idea that members of a closed religious organization have imposed the idea of continuous monitoring of their actions. Much has been said about the collective mania about the comprehensiveness of actions of the KGB in the Soviet Union. Its total monitoring of actions and words only strengthened the religious nature of power politics to be everywhere and to know everything. We will note, however, that such godly characteristics were attributed to the party leader and not to the specific authority body. The best illustration of the glorification of the leader are the words written by the 8<sup>th</sup> grade student of school № 23 of Poltava – Ljudmyla Synjahovs’ka – about the late Stalin in the days of mourning in March of 1953 (Paško 1953):

*He knew about everything, he was following everybody,  
He always found the needed word for each one*

Not infrequently, the supporters of religious faith are told about their chosenness and uniqueness. The Soviet people felt themselves to be in a constant struggle for the salvation of the world. This Messianic predestination is reflected in the title of one of the articles published in regional press in the Sumy region in 1951 – “The Soviet people – the vanguard of progressive humanity” (Lavruchin 1951). Their actions are actions of the chosen foremost of humankind. Here, in Eurasia, people have taken control over their history into their own hands. This has spurred them to outstanding titanic labor feats. Moreover, they were to become the model for imitation to the whole “dark” world.

Oddly enough, but such an understanding of their views and beliefs undoubtedly leads to the fact that people believe the adherents of opposing religions to be mesmerized slain servants of the dark arts. This is suitable for describing how workers of the USSR characterized their US colleagues as well as other ‘opposition’ to the Soviet Union. Even having the same problems and the same wishes, the American laborers did not learn the truth because of their own limitations and bias. Thus, even the talented poet Andrij Malyško joined the ideological propaganda when he published a series of poems under the single name “Beyond the Blue Sea”: among the poetic lines, we find (Malyško 1953):

*I could not swallow sandwiches,  
see the false grace,  
That bread was like with poison  
For me in Detroit and Portsmouth,  
For where I had then my route –  
The kids were begging for some bread.*

In addition, backed by the voice of the inspired ones of that world, the ideological machine was enveloping more and more ordinary citizens, arguing that the West was living behind the veil of its own ignorance and ghostly values that had been debunked by Muscovite rulers long before that.

The Soviet Union showed the best example of the rule associated with totalitarian sects according to which individuality is subject to a collective spirit. The Soviet realm required one to think about the country first, and only then about self. Everything boiled down to the fact that the fulfillment of individual needs and desires by the ordinary people was regarded as a deviation from accepted norms. The solving of problems at work was in many cases regarded as immoral behavior. They could hardly exist in the country of laborers. Individualists were persecuted by the mass zombified by the constant propaganda and demagoguery of the conformists who had learned to ignore personal reflections.

In order to keep followers under control, leaders of religious groups often change the entourage for organizing the hypnotic actions. The new environment helps to bring new emotions to the sacred dream. Something like that was coded into the organizing of the campaigns of major constructions in the undeveloped

lands of the USSR. The same method was present in the involvement of young members of ‘Komsomol’ into the agricultural deeds on the virgin lands. The same scope was hidden under the sending of newly graduated specialists from their native regions to areas of the boundless state very different in culture, language and beliefs from their home. It was quite a successful method of permanent switch of attention from one activity to another during which a person perceived and created something new in the material sphere, not thinking about the problems of the doctrinal truth. In order to stay in a constant state of readiness, the state also organized a ‘career swing’ when an imperious hand either threw the person up to the new career opportunities, or, on the contrary, dropped him below the known potential lowlands of the profession and the social pyramid.

Another technology of mind control needs mentioning in which the believer is tantalized with an immense goal that he can not reach, but still should work towards for his children to have the opportunity to harvest the results of his great aspirations. And the people of the USSR really ‘believed’ in it with all their hearts. The Poltava poet Andrij Hrinčenko wrote in 1951 (Hrinčenko 1953):

*We heard the party from the Kremlin with our hearts,  
it inspires in our hearts the faith  
that on our starry earth  
the eternal spring of commune will come.*

That was a dream and only we – the grandchildren of that generation – know if that communist spring ever visited the “gardens” of the Soviet land.

One of the driving forces that moved the builders of Communism to be strong in their beliefs without asking questions was the fear inherent in most modern destructive religious organizations. Back in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they had their own “devils” who tried to seduce the true believers and to stain the light of communist ideals. The periodicals urged to keep vigilance constantly, because there “still were alive the vestiges of bourgeois ideology, ... there were also preserved the carriers of bourgeois views and bourgeois morality – real people, hidden enemies of our people” (Leninism 1953). In such circumstances when there always was some invisible dark force, one needed a “Soviet Creed of Faith” to dissociate oneself from the invisible praying shield from these ‘ethereal’ and not identified enemies who might stand in a queue and ride in a bus with every citizen.

Moreover, of course, everyone in a close-nit religious community has to follow the leader. Otherwise, it is not worth of talking about any loyalty to the ideals. This issue should be widely discussed in further studies. Here we just note that the Soviet people as religious neophytes tried to get a decent mentor, proven in ideological battles. The students and lecturers of higher education were among those who stepped forward after each call of the Party. They went to the wider public and set the examples to follow on the path to taking after the ideal leader in Moscow.

The coordinated work of the ideological political machine of the USSR of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century was based on similar positions and quite recalls the activities of most totalitarian religious organizations of today. That is why the political everyday life of the educators of the UkrSSR were considered from the point of view of the dominance of 'political religion'. It had its hidden mechanisms of action until the demiurge of Soviet society led it from the Kremlin. However, the time has changed. In addition, like a destructive sect – the being of the totalitarian state came to an end when the resources of the Communist religion came to an end. And now, living in Ukraine after the De-Communization laws of 2015, looking at the attempts of the sovieto-philes to use the lost memory of the past in the destructive activities on behalf of pro-Russian terrorists and standing on the pieces of that demolished Communist colossus, I once again remind myself of the truth, reviled by the Strugackij brothers, that it is really "hard to be a god" in a society of free minds.

As a conclusion, we can state several thoughts outlined in the study:

- the political identity of the Soviet Ukrainians was moulded according to All-Soviet patterns,
- the distinguishing features were seen only in the use of local artists, educators and images to fulfill the mission of ideological expansion,
- the formation of the 'sacred image' of the totalitarian leader in the hearts and minds of Ukrainians bore the same characters as the Russian model varying mostly in illustrations but not in methods,
- Soviet citizens did not pay much attention to the disparity of the doctrine and the reality,
- the educators were among the leaders of those reading ideological lectures to the people mostly losing the capability of analysis, becoming a mere transmitters and receivers of information filtered by the state,
- the 'real awareness' of the political canons was the privilege of a small elite group who gained the right to interpret ideology.

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**DIE UKRAINE-KRISE UND DIE KARPATHO-RUSSINEN.  
EINE SLAWISCHE MINDERHEIT ZWISCHEN  
WESTEUROPA, DER UKRAINE UND RUSSLAND**

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(Deutschland)

*Der Artikel diskutiert die Bemühungen der karpatho-russinischen Minderheit in der Ukraine um Anerkennung und Förderung ihrer kulturellen, sprachlichen und ethnischen Identität. In den letzten Jahren standen dem historische Vorbehalte, politische Ängste und nicht zuletzt die außenpolitisch schwierige Lage der Ukraine im Verhältnis zu Russland entgegen. Wie Vertreter der Minderheit in der Ukraine und in der Diaspora damit vor dem Hintergrund des Euromajdan und der Ukrainekrise umgehen, ist Thema der Erörterungen.*

*Schlüsselwörter: Minderheit, Identität, Föderalisierung, Euromajdan, Russland.*

**УКРАЇНСЬКА КРИЗА ТА КАРПАТО-РУСНИНІ.  
СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКА МЕНШИНА МІЖ ЗАХІДНОЮ ЄВРОПОЮ,  
УКРАЇНОЮ ТА РОСІЄЮ**

*Марк Штегхерр*

*У цій статті розглянуто зусилля Карпато-русинської меншини в Україні до визнання та підтримки їхньої культурної, мовної та етнічної ідентичності. В останні роки цьому заважали історичні передумови, політична обережність і, зокрема, складне зовнішньо-політичне становище України у стосунках з Росією. У центрі обговорення – можливе вирішення цього питання представниками меншин в Україні й діаспорі з огляду на події Євромайдану та українську кризу.*

*Ключові слова: меншина, ідентичність, федералізація, Євромайдан, Росія.*

Nach dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion haben die Anstrengungen regionaler slawischer Minderheiten zur Erhaltung und Pflege ihrer Identität, ihrer Kultur und Sprache einen ungeahnten Aufschwung erlebt. Russinen in der Karpathenregion, an die auch die Ukraine grenzt, in Ungarn, Tschechien oder der serbischen Vojvodina, Lemken, Huzulen in der Westukraine, Slowaken und Ungarn im rumänischen Siebenbürgen, sie alle stützten ihre Hoffnungen auf ein postnationales, tolerantes Osteuropa, das auch den ethnischen Minderheiten, die bisher hinter den Staatsnationen zurücktreten mußten, einen weiteren Raum gewähren würde. In wenigen Fällen konnten sie auf frühere positive Entwicklun-

gen aufbauen, in den meisten knüpften sie an eine kurze Periode der Freiheit an, die mehr als siebenzig Jahre zurückliegt. Die neuen Rechte wurden teils großzügig gewährt, weil postsozialistische Staaten in eine liberale, europäische Ära eintreten wollten, teils setzte man den Minderheiten auch deutlichen Widerstand entgegen, unterstellte ihn Separatismus, die Absicht, die Nation spalten, zerstören zu wollen. Serbien warf der albanischen Mehrheit im Kosovo vor, gewaltsam, mit terroristischen Mitteln seine Unabhängigkeit zu erkämpfen, die der Kosovo schließlich 2008 erhalten sollte. Die Autonomielösung, die das demokratische Belgrad nach dem Sturz Slobodan Miloševićs immer wieder angeboten hatte, war von der albanischen und der internationalen Gemeinschaft abgelehnt worden. Der Fall Kosovo wurde, um nicht als Aufruf an separatistische Bewegungen weltweit mißverstanden zu werden, für singulär erklärt, was jedoch Katalanen, Basken, Bretonen wie auch ethnische Minderheiten in den Nachfolgestaaten der ehemaligen Sowjetunion nicht daran hinderte, sich darauf zu berufen. Ihre Vertreter erklärten, das Recht des Nationalstaates sei von gestern. Dem Recht der kleinen, unterdrückten Ethnien, der europäischen Multiethnizität gehöre die Zukunft. Das Russland unter Präsident Vladimir Putin weigert sich bis heute im UN-Sicherheitsrat, die Unabhängigkeitserklärung des Kosovo von 2008 anzuerkennen, aus Solidarität mit dem 'serbischen Brudervolk', aber auch aus Angst, die eigenen Minderheiten im Gebiet der russischen Föderation könnten dem kosovarischen Vorbild folgen. Gleichwohl unterstützte Putin 2014 die russischen Separatisten in der Ostukraine, um, wie er behauptete, die Heuchelei des Westens zu entlarven, der in der Ukraine den Separatismus verurteilt und ihn im Kosovo unterstützt, der den Nationalismus für überwunden erklärt, ihn aber in der Ukraine gewähren ließe oder sogar tatkräftig fördere. Als russinische Politiker aus der Westukraine in Kyjiv immer wieder mit ihrem Ansuchen nach Autonomie anklopften und jedesmal abgewiesen wurden, wandten sie sich an Moskau, das prompt reagierte und die Russinen als Ethnie anerkannte und versprach, ihre Autonomieforderungen zu unterstützen. Es ist nicht frei von Ironie, daß ausgerechnet Putin die ukrainische politische Klasse mit seiner Anerkennung der Russinen brüskierte, wenn auch dieses kleine Detail eines komplexen Problems im Westen nicht registriert wurde. Die ukrainischen Politiker sprächen zwar stets von ethnischer Pluralität und Toleranz, um dem Westen zu gefallen, wären und seien aber nicht gewillt, die kulturellen Rechte der sprachlichen und ethnischen Minderheiten anzuerkennen, so Vertreter der in der Westukraine beheimateten russinischen Minderheit und der russischen Medien. Die Zerrissenheit, der innere, identitäre Konflikt, der die Ukraine belastet, zeigt sich an der schleichenden und irgendwann offensiv verfolgten Separation derjenigen ukrainischen Bürger aus dem Staatsverband, die sich als Russen verstehen. In der Westukraine, in der Region Transkarpatien gibt es zwar kein formelles Verbot der russinischen Sprache. Aber die Pflege von Sprache und Kultur bleibt privaten Initiativen überlassen: Dichtern, die in ihrem Heimatdialekt schreiben, selbsternannten Politikern, die von einem künftigen Staat Ruthenien orakeln, in dem die russinische Sprache nicht länger als Dialekt des Ukrainischen abgewer-

tet werden würde. Paul Robert Magocsi, kanadischer Historiker, Professor und Aktivist für ein russinisches Eigenbewußtsein, galt Kyjiver Politikern, zumal als Akademiker aus den Vereinigten Staaten bzw. Kanada, als klassischer Separatist, der aus privaten akademischen Ambitionen eine Kunstnation mit erdichteter Historie und aus einem regionalen Dialekt eine Standardsprache konstruieren würde. Dieser Vorwurf müßte den Ukrainern selbst vertraut klingen. Auch sie waren jahrhundertlang als kleine Verwandte der großen russischen Nation herabgewürdigt worden, die sich eine Geschichte anmaßen würden, indem sie das erste slawische Staatswesen, die Kyjiver Rus', zum Ursprung des ukrainischen Staatswesens erklärten.

### *Die multiethnische Ukraine und die Karpatho-Russinen*

Die Ukraine-Krise hat eines wieder bewußt gemacht, was eigentlich vorher schon bekannt war: dass die Ukraine ein Land ist, das man kulturell und ethnisch nicht auf einen einfachen Nenner bringen kann. Die ethnischen Mehrheits- und Minderheitsverhältnisse sind je nach Region sehr verschieden. Während in der Ostukraine der russische Bevölkerungsteil stark ist, gibt es in der Westukraine eine Vielzahl an ostslowakisch-westukrainischen Dialekten und kleinen slawischen Ethnien wie den Huzulen, den Lemken und Bojken. Die westukrainische Region Transkarpatien bzw. die historische subkarpathische Rus ist zwar politisch und rechtlich gesehen Teil der Ukraine. Spricht man aber mit der lokalen Bevölkerung, hört man oft den Satz, hier sei eigentlich nicht die Ukraine. Man pflegt ein Sonderbewußtsein vergleichbar dem des Freistaates Bayern. Die Uhren werden nach mitteleuropäischer Zeit gestellt, und vor allem sei Sprache und Kultur zwar mit jenen der Ukrainer verwandt, aber eigenständig, autochthon. Diese These einer karpato-ruthenischen oder karpato-russinischen Identität wurde und wird von ukrainischen Nationalisten bestritten, was sich heute aus naheliegenden Gründen noch verstärkt hat. Man fürchtet sich unter dem Eindruck der russischen Einflußnahme vor einer weiteren Fragmentierung des Staatsgebietes. Die russinische/ruthenische Identität, so wird behauptet, sei ein Konstrukt westlicher, vor allem US-amerikanischer Exil-Russininnen und ihrer Fürsprecher, unter denen der im kanadischen Toronto lehrende Historiker Paul Robert Magocsi hervorragend hervorsticht. Magocsi, den seine Verehrer wie Verächter "mohučyj Magocsi" (ukr.: der mächtige/einflußreiche Magocsi) nennen, habe den Russinnen die Idee, eine eigene Nation zu sein, eingeimpft, um sie, die doch eigentlich Ukrainer seien und immer gewesen wären, von der ukrainischen Nation zu trennen. Doch diese eigenständige, separate Identität ist kein Konstrukt des ausgehenden 20. Jahrhunderts, keine von der historischen Entwicklung losgelöste Neuentdeckung. Im Siedlungsgebiet der Russinnen, das sich über die an die Karpatenregion angrenzenden Staaten erstreckt, über die Westukraine, die Ostslowakei, Serbien, Rumänien und Polen – weshalb sich die Karpatho-Russinnen auch als die Nation ohne Land, als die Kurden Europas“ verstehen – traten bereits im 19. Jahrhundert Intellektuelle, vor allem Geistliche auf, die sich für die kulturelle

und später die sprachliche Eigenständigkeit der Russinen einsetzten. Der nationale Aufbruch der anderen slawischen Nationen der Donaumonarchie, der Serben und Kroaten, der Polen und Böhmen, war für den slowakischen Russinen, den Dichter, Historiker, Ethnologen, Volksaufklärer, Pädagogen und unierten Geistlichen Aleksandar Duchnovyč (1803–1865) genauso Vorbild wie für Havrijil Kostel'nik (1886–1948), ebenfalls griechisch-katholischer Geistlicher und Russe, in diesem Fall aus der heute serbischen Bačka in der Vojvodina. Kostel'nik mußte sich von einem Redakteur einer Zeitung, für die er schrieb, abfällige Kommentare anhören, weil er seine Gedichte in seiner Heimatmundart gedruckt sehen wollte. Kostel'nik wurde im nachhinein von den sogenannten Ukrainophilen in der Vojvodina in Anspruch genommen, weil er zwar auf der Besonderheit der ruthenischen Kultur und Sprache seiner Heimatregion bestand – er verfasste auch eine Grammatik des Bačka- oder Vojvodina-Russinischen –, aber die Vojvodina-Russinen nicht von den verwandten Ukrainern trennen wollte. Die gegensätzliche Position der Russino- oder Ruthenophilen ist im Grunde eine Folge der Politik im kommunistischen Osteuropa. In Polen oder erst recht in der Ukraine schloß die politische Führung kategorisch aus, daß es so etwas wie eine ruthenische oder russinische Minderheit gebe. Im blockfreien Jugoslawien, unter Staatspräsident Josip Broz Tito, galt dagegen eine im Vergleich zu den kommunistischen Nachbarstaaten liberale Minderheitenpolitik, die es den Russinen freistellte, sich als jugoslawischer Russe oder jugoslawischer Ukrainer zu deklarieren. Da man damit auch den entsprechenden Kulturvereinen angehörte, war es im Interesse einer Förderung und Vertiefung der lokalen russinischen Kultur geraten, sich der russinophilen Position anzuschließen, wenn auch die ukrainische Herkunft nie ernsthaft in Zweifel gezogen wurde. Man sah sich trotz der regional individuellen sprachlichen und kulturellen Entwicklung als zusammengehörig an, eine Haltung, die gerade die Unterdrückung und kulturelle Entrechtung unter den kommunistischen Diktaturen eher verstärkt hatte. Die beträchtlich bessere Lage der jugoslawischen Russinen in der Bačka, in den ersten Siedlungs- und späteren Hauptorten Ruski Kerestur und Ruski Kocur, war auch jenseits der Grenzen bekannt. In Novi Sad gibt es seit den späten 1970er Jahren einen eigenen Lehrstuhl für russinische Sprache und Literatur. So gab es bald einen Bildungsweg, der von der Grundschule bis zur Universität in russinischer Sprache führte, vorausgesetzt, man studierte schließlich auch am russinischen Universitätsinstitut. Grundlage war eine ausgebaute Schriftsprache, die für alle wesentlichen gesellschaftlichen Bereiche einen entsprechenden Wortschatz bereitstellt. Daß das einer relativ kleinen, vor allem bäuerlich strukturierten russinischen Gemeinde in der Vojvodina gelang, kann als beachtliche Leistung gelten, die möglich gemacht wurde durch die liberale jugoslawische Minderheitengesetzgebung. Die weit ausgebaute Schriftsprache der Vojvodina-Russinen steht hinter der These, daß es sich im Falle des Russinischen um die jüngste slavische Literatursprache handele. Um sie als Standardsprache gelten zu lassen, müßte der staatliche Rahmen, etwa eine autonome Region in einem föderalen Staat

hinzukommen, in dem das Russinische in weiten Teilen als Verkehrssprache anerkannt wäre.

### *Kyjiv und die Karpatho-Russinen*

Im westukrainischen Transkarpatien, der ‐Wiege der Russinen‐, wo die Mehrheit der Karpatho-Russinen lebt, ist man von diesem Zustand nach wie vor am weitesten entfernt. Transkarpatien galt in den kommunistischen Jahrzehnten und gilt bis heute als das negative Gegenbeispiel zur Vojvodina. Der dänische Anthropologe Tom Trier erklärte nach einem Forschungsaufenthalt 1999, daß ‐nur in der Republik Ukraine [...] die Russinen nach wie vor alle grundlegenden Rechte als Volksgruppe entbehren, das heißt, aller Rechte beraubt sind, als eigene Ethnie bezeichnet zu werden. Man kann die Probleme der Russinen in der Ukraine kaum ignorieren, wenn man bedenkt, daß die überwiegende Mehrheit der Russinen in Europa in der ukrainischen Region Transkarpatien konzentriert sind‐ (Trier 1999, 3). Auf dem fünften Weltkongress der Russinen, der 1999 im ukrainischen Użhorod, unter dem Protest der ukrainischen Nationalisten gegen die ‐amerikanischen Separatisten und Imperialisten‐, gegen die russinische Pseudo-Nation stattfand, erklärten die Russinen aus den benachbarten osteuropäischen Staaten zusammen mit ihren ukrainischen Verwandten, sie würden nun fühlen, daß sie ein Volk seien, ‐eine Kraft, und daß wir unsere Kräfte vereinen müssen mit allen Russinen in der Welt‐. Man wollte in der Ukraine vor allem die erzwungene Ukrainisierung rückgängig machen, die zum Beispiel in der kommunistischen Tschechoslowakei die Russinen der slowakischen Kultur assimiliert hatte. Ressentiments gegen die russinischen Ambitionen, die in erster Linie kulturell und sprachlich sind, weckten Spekulationen über angebliche politische Ambitionen der russinischen Gemeinde. In den frühen 1990er Jahren gingen in der tschechischen, slowakischen und transkarpatho-ukrainischen Presse Gerüchte um, politische Aktivisten aus den Grenzregionen würden eine Rückgliederung Transkarpatiens, der historischen subkarpatischen Rus', an die Tschechoslowakei fordern, in deren Staatsverband sich die Rus' in der Zwischenkriegszeit befunden hatte. Es war sogar die Rede davon, Transkarpatien könnte an Ungarn zurückgegeben werden oder zwischen Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei aufgeteilt werden. Die Tschechoslowakei distanzierte sich umgehend, und keine der russinischen Organisationen, die seit 1990 gegründet wurden<sup>107</sup>, und ebensowenig der Weltkongreß der Russinen, der 1991 zum ersten-

<sup>107</sup> Vor dem Ende der 1990er Jahre wurden insgesamt fünf neue russinische Organisationen in den Gebieten, in denen Russinen leben, gegründet: neben der ‐Gesellschaft der Karpatho-Russinen‐ in Transkarpatien die ‐Gesellschaft der Russinischen Wiedergeburt‐ (Rusyńska Obroda) in Medzilaborce, Tschechoslowakei (gegründet im März 1990), der ‐Verband der Lemken‐ (Stovaryšynja Lemkiv) im polnischen Legnica (gegründet im April 1990), die ‐Gesellschaft der Freunde der Subkarpatischen Rus'‐ (Spoločnosť priateľ Podkarpatské Rusi) in Prag (gegründet im Oktober 1990), und die ‐Ruska Matka‐ (Russinische Mutter) in Ruski Kerestur, Jugoslawien (Dezember 1990). Im Mai 1991 wurde eine sechste Organisation gegründet, die ‐Organisation der Russinen in Ungarn‐ (Magyarországai Ruszinok Szervezete) in

mal zusammentrat, machte sich Forderungen nach Grenzänderungen zu eigen. Was man dagegen sehr bald anstrebte, war eine Anerkennung als eigenständige Ethnie mit allen kulturellen und sprachlichen Rechten, wie sie die unabhängige Ukraine in ihrer Verfassung, die erst im Juni 1996 verabschiedet wurde, den nationalen Minderheiten zusicherte. 1992 war bereits ein Gesetz für die nationalen Minderheiten verabschiedet und ein bilaterales Abkommen zwischen der Ukraine und Ungarn unterzeichnet worden, das die ungarische Minderheit in Transkarpathien zum Gegenstand hatte. Diese Rechtssetzungen trugen der Ukraine internationalen Zuspruch ein. Doch zwischen Theorie und Wirklichkeit klappte schon damals eine Lücke, die Minderheitenvertreter kritisierten. Die Russinen hofften ebenfalls als Volksgruppe anerkannt zu werden, was Präsident Leonid Kučma mit US-amerikanischer Unterstützung in Aussicht stellte. Doch dieses Versprechen blieb genauso uneingelöst wie das des Präsidentschaftskandidaten Viktor Juščenko. Vorwürfe russinischer Aktivisten, Kyjiv würde die Verfassung verletzen, die den muttersprachlichen Unterricht garantiert, ebenso wie das Europäische Dokument zu Regional- und Minderheitensprachen, das die Ukraine 1992 ratifiziert hatte, verhallten ungehört. Kyjivs Haltung gegenüber Minderheiten könne nicht als europäisch gelten, klagten Vertreter der russinischen Minderheit.

Der zweite Europäische Kongreß der Russinen im Oktober 2008 konstatierte sogar, die anti-russinische Politik der ukrainischen Regierung habe mittlerweile eine Situation geschaffen, die es den Russinen unmöglich mache, als eigenständige Volksgruppe innerhalb der Ukraine zu leben. Konsequenterweise forderte der Kongreß Kyjiv auf, die Autonomie der Subkarpathischen Rus' bis zum ersten Dezember 2008 anzuerkennen. Diese Forderung war von weiteren affirmativen Äußerungen begleitet, die die Verzweiflung der russinischen Volksgruppe offenbaren. Die offizielle Politik Kyjivs sei auf die „Zerstörung und Diskriminierung“ der russinischen Ethnie gerichtet, sie hätte Züge eines Genozids in ihrer eigenen Heimat angenommen<sup>108</sup>. Umso zwiespältiger müsse Viktor Juščenkos Versuch erscheinen, so der Kongreß, den Holodomor, den Hunger-Genozid der Sowjetunion an den Ukrainern in den Jahren 1932/33, in das allgemeine Bewußtsein zurückzuholen, wenn zugleich die Leiden der Minderheiten, historisch und aktuell, übergangen werden. Als das Regionalparlament von Transkarpatien in Užhorod ankündigte, es würde die Autonomie verkünden, wurden alle Abgeordneten gewarnt, daß das Parlament sofort aufgelöst und ihre Entschlüsse annulliert werden würden. Die russinischen Wortführer, Erzpriester

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Budapest. Die Mehrzahl dieser Organisationen hat ihre eigenen russinisch-sprachigen Zeitungen, Zeitschriften oder Zugang zu bestehenden Publikationen. Alle fünf Organisationen haben die prinzipiell gleichen Forderungen erhoben: die Anerkennung als eigene Volksgruppe, die Kodifizierung des Russinischen als Literatursprache und ihr Gebrauch an Schulen, und die Garantie aller Rechte einer nationalen Minderheit für die Russinen in den Ländern, in denen sie beheimatet sind. Im Falle Transkarpatiens sollten die Russinen als die dominante autochthone Volksgruppe anerkannt werden (vgl. Magoosi 1995).

<sup>108</sup> Ausführlicher Bericht über den Zweiten Europäischen Kongreß der Russinen unter: [www.lenta.ru/articles/2008/10/27/rusyns/](http://www.lenta.ru/articles/2008/10/27/rusyns/) i [www.zaxid.net/newsru/2008/10/27/122003](http://www.zaxid.net/newsru/2008/10/27/122003).

Dimitri Sidor und Župan wurden sogar nach Kyjiv beordert, zu “Informationsgesprächen” mit dem Ukrainischen Geheimdienst. Sie wurden angeklagt, gegen die territoriale Integrität des Landes zu arbeiten, womit man im Grunde jede Selbstbestimmung, wenn auch nur kulturell, durch Einschüchterung im Keim ersticken wollte (vgl. *Российская газета* 2008). Auch nach diesen Vorgängen sah Kyjiv keine Veranlassung, zum Beispiel in einem Dokument des Außenministeriums, das auch das Ziel formulierte, die Ukraine in die Europäische Union zu bringen, im Kapitel über den “Schutz der Rechte ukrainischer Bürger” die Russinen zu erwähnen. Kyjiv verletze damit nicht nur die Rechte der russinischen Minderheit, sondern die aller Minderheiten auf ukrainischem Boden. Das Gesetz für die höhere Ausbildung, das das ukrainische Kultusministerium im Dezember 2008 vorlegte, drohte mit neuem Ungemach. Daß Ukrainisch als offizielle Verkehrs- und Unterrichtssprache festgelegt wurde, drohte das Recht der Minderheiten auf Unterricht in ihrer Muttersprache, ob Russinisch, Rumänisch oder Ungarisch, einzuschränken. Während der Proteste auf der Halbinsel Krim wurden Puppen des Ministers für Erziehung, Wissenschaft, Jugend und Sport, Ivan Vakarčuk, verbrannt. Minderheitenvertreter warfen Kyjiv eine systematische Pauperisierung des industrialisierten Ostens und Südostens vor, wenn es die wirtschaftlichen Verbindungen zu Russland unterbinde. Als im Januar 2006 und zwei Jahre später, im Januar 2008, Kyjiv den Transport von russischem Gas nach Transkarpatien blockierte, richtete Użhorod Klagen an die Hauptstadt, sie würde damit die Existenz der Region Transkarpatien und der dort lebenden Russinen gefährden. Die Gasleitungen liefen zwar auch durch die Region, womit zumindest ein kleiner Teil dort bleiben sollte. Doch die Erlöse gingen vollständig nach Kyjiv, was für zusätzlichen Unmut sorgte.

Der selbsternannte Premierminister der Region Subkarpathische Rus’, Petar Gecko, klagte gegenüber der in Moskau erscheinenden *Rossijskaja Gazeta*, Transkarpatien würde der Ukraine ein Viertel des nationalen Budgets einbringen. “Die Gaspipelines nach Europa führen über die Region Transkarpatien. Unser Transitkoeffizient ist dreimal höher als der der baltischen Region und zweimal höher als der anderer benachbarter Länder. [...] Eine halbe Ewigkeit haben wir die Autonomie gefordert, die ganzen letzten Jahre, fast jeden Monat. Und niemand hörte uns auch nur zu”, erklärte Gecko, und fügte hinzu: “Sollte die Autonomie nicht Wirklichkeit werden, dann werden wir für unsere Unabhängigkeit kämpfen. Die Subkarpathische Rus hat sich an Russland gewandt mit der Bitte, die Unabhängigkeit der Subkarpathischen Rus von der Ukraine anzuerkennen.” Die Unzufriedenheit der Russinen in der Ukraine ist also durchaus keine Erscheinung der krisenhaften Tage nach dem Majdan 2014. Sie kann durchaus als Folge der halbherzigen bis indifferenten Minderheitenpolitik des offiziellen Kyjiv betrachtet werden. Da Kyjiv plante, Ukrainer aus anderer Landesteilen bewußt in den russinischen Gebieten Transkarpatiens anzusiedeln – was auch mit Blick auf die mehrheitlich russische Krim geschehen war –, richtete der Sojm, das Regionalparlament Transkarpatiens, einen Hilferuf an die Regierungen und Parlamente der Tschechischen Republik, die Europäische Union und

die Russische Föderation. Man bat den Europarat, die OECD und andere internationale Organisationen, die Defizite der Ukraine in Minderheitenfragen, in ihrem Verhältnis zu Nicht-Ukrainern offiziell zu evaluieren, auch im Hinblick auf die ganze andere, positivere Lage der Karpatho-Russinen in Tschechien, der Slowakei, in Ungarn oder Serbien. 2006 hatte die UN-Kommission für ethnische Diskriminierung erklärt, sie sei über die Lage der Russinen in der Ukraine besorgt und rate Kyjiv dringend, “die Anerkennung der Russinen als eigene nationale Minderheit zu überdenken”. Abschließend bemerkte die Kommission sogar, es gebe “beträchtliche Unterschiede zwischen Russinen und Ukrainern”. Kyjiv ließ sich davon nicht beeindrucken, auch davon nicht, daß russinische Aktivisten andeuteten, die Kyjiver Politik sollte zumindest beschämt sein, wenn selbst Serbien, das für seinen Umgang mit seinen Minderheiten heftigst gescholten wurde, ein um vieles besseres Zeugnis erhielt, was die russinische Minderheit auf seinem Staatsgebiet betrifft. In der Ukraine war und ist Kritik an der forcierten Ukrainisierung der Russinen bis heute kein Thema, während es, wie gesagt, in der Vojvodina, den Russinen überlassen war und ist, sich als Ukrainer oder autochthone Vojvodina-Russinen zu deklarieren. Nur während des jugoslawischen Bürgerkrieges hatten serbische Nationalisten die Loyalität der Russinen angezweifelt. In Kroatien gelang es der Ukraine zeitweise, die Regierung zu überreden, die kroatischen Russinen mit der ukrainischen Minderheit in einer Gruppe zu vereinen und den dortigen Russinen damit eine eigene nationale Repräsentanz zu verweigern.

### *Die Karpatho-Russinen und der Euromajdan*

Die ukrainischen Karpatho-Russinen reagierten verständlicherweise begeistert, als sie die Russische Föderation 2004 als eigene ethnische Gruppe anerkannte, obwohl die Russinen mit Russland historisch und kulturell relativ wenig zu tun haben. Ihre prekäre Lage in der Ukraine, ihre permanent ignorierten Bitten und Forderungen, alles das reichte aus, um Russland zu idealisieren. Die ukrainische Regierung warf Russland vor, ethnische Spannungen zu fördern, obwohl sie gerade im russinischen Fall selbst wenig getan hatte, um das Verhältnis zu entspannen. Das ist auch bedauerlich aus einem kulturellen Grund, der die Russinen eigentlich zu den natürlichen Verbündeten der westlich orientierten orangenen Revolution gemacht hätte. Die westukrainischen Russinen gehören mehrheitlich der unierten, griechisch-katholischen Kirche an und rechnen sich kulturell eindeutig zu Mittelost- bzw. Westeuropa. Eine Stimmung dafür, sich vom ukrainischen Staatsverband abzuspalten, ist erst dadurch entstanden, daß Kyjiv sich allen Bitten und selbst klaren Abstimmungen zugunsten einer Autonomie bzw. Föderalisierung konsequent verweigerte. Als im Dezember 1991 ein Referendum über die Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine stattfand, wurde zugleich in Transkarpatien über die Autonomie für die Region abgestimmt. 92,6 Prozent sprachen sich in Transkarpatien für die Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine aus und 76,8 Prozent für die Selbstverwaltung (Magocsi 1992, 7). Das positive Verhält-



nis der Bevölkerung Transkarpatiens zur ukrainischen Staatlichkeit bei gleichzeitigem Zuspruch zur Autonomie der Region hätte versichernd wirken können. Doch die Angst überwog in Kyjiv. Es könne nicht sein, daß man um die territoriale Integrität fürchten müsse, da gerade erst die Unabhängigkeit errungen sei.

Die so grundverschiedenen Erfahrungen der Russinen in Serbien und der Ukraine wirken sich auf ihre Sicht der Majdan-Revolution aus. Jener Teil der serbischen Russinen, die sich als Ukrainer identifizieren, protestierten lautstark gegen die "Lügen Putins über die Krim und die Ukraine", die die "russische Propaganda" verbreiten würde. Die ukrainischen Russinen waren gespalten. Der "Gesamtkarpathische Verband der Russinen" erklärte, die ukrainischen Russinen könnten keinesfalls den Terror vergessen, der mit der Okkupation und Annexion des Jahres 1944 und in den Jahrzehnten danach über die Russinen gekommen wäre. Daher verurteile der Verband auch die "Okkupation der Krim". Andererseits waren die westukrainischen Russinen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs den Verdächtigungen der ukrainisch-nationalistischen UPA (Українська Повстанська Армія, Ukrainische Aufstandsarmee) ausgesetzt, die überall Separatisten und Verräter witterte. Dass in der ukrainischen Übergangsregierung auch ukrainische Nationalisten saßen, die sich auf den ukrainischen Freiheitskampf der Weltkriegsjahre berufen, die die Kollaboration mit der deutschen Besatzung einschloß, ist der Grund, warum manche Karpatho-Russinen mit gemischten Gefühlen auf die post-revolutionäre Ukraine sahen. Der selbsternannte subkarpathisch-russinische Premier Gecko wurde deutlicher. In einem Schreiben an Putin nannte er die Mitglieder der ukrainischen Übergangsregierung und deren Vertreter in Transkarpatien "galizische Faschisten" und bat den russischen Präsidenten die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen der Russinen zu unterstützen und sie gegen die "Versklavung durch den aggressiven galizischen Faschismus" zu verteidigen, der die Russinen unterdrücken und Ukrainer in die Region umsiedeln würde, um die angestammte russinische Bevölkerung weiter zu schwächen. Der russische Präsident möge den vorsowjetischen Status der Republik Subkarpathische Rus wiederherstellen, und wie in Syrien auch in der Ukraine seine "friedensstiftende Rolle" wahrnehmen. Die Sprache des offenen Briefes an den russischen Präsidenten legte nahe, dass er nicht von Russinen, sondern eher von Russen geschrieben worden war, im Kontext der anti-ukrainischen Propaganda des Kreml, wie ukrainische und auch russinische Kommentatoren meinten. Vertreter des "Gesamtkarpathischen Verbandes der Russinen" schimpften Gecko, den offiziellen Verfasser des Schreibens, einen Agenten Moskaus, der die karpatho-russinische Gemeinde zu spalten versuche. Der Verband verwahrte sich in scharfen Worten gegen die Einzelmeinung Geckos, die den Interessen der ukrainischen Russinen in keiner Weise dienlich wären, und bekräftigte seine Position, daß nur eine europäische Integration der Russinen Transkarpathiens zukunftsweisend sein könne.

Auch Paul Robert Magocsi setzte auf die (west)europäische Karte, auf eine Beilegung russinischer Identitätssorgen um ihre Kultur und Sprache im Rahmen einer europäisierten, postnationalistischen Ukraine. Magocsi, der sich stets

scharf gegen die ukrainischen Separatismus-Vorwürfe an die Adresse der ukrainischen Russinen gewandt hatte, meinte in einem Vortrag, den er 2014 am John-Yaremko-Lehrstuhl für Ukrainische Studien an der Universität von Toronto hielt, Russland wie auch das Orbán-Ungarn würden die ukrainischen Russinen für ihre Zwecke mißbrauchen, um gegen Kyjiv Stimmung zu machen. Orbán und Putin seien nur Produkte der Geschichte ihrer Länder, die sich berufen fühlen, die Ziele ihrer Länder zu verwirklichen. Für Orbán sei ein wichtiges Ziel das Großungarn vor Trianon, einschließlich der Vojvodina, des Burgenlands und Transkarpatiens. Das Ungarn unter Orbán sähe es als sein Recht und seine Pflicht, die Rechte der Auslandsungarn zu verteidigen. Dazu gehören die ungefähr 100.000 Ungarn in der Ukraine. Putin und Orbán würden aus rein eigennützigem Interessen die karpatho-russinische Karte spielen, so Magocsi, der sich auf einen Artikel von Paul Goble bezog. Moskau würde, so Goble, drei Ziele verfolgen, wenn es die sezessionistischen Bestrebungen der Russinen und Ungarn, die an der Westgrenze der Ukraine leben, unterstützt (Goble 2015). Es lenke zum einen Kyjivs Aufmerksamkeit von der russischen Aggression auf der Krim und im Donbass, in den Provinzen Luhansk und Donec'k, ab; dann würde Moskau die immer engere Beziehung zwischen Putin und der zunehmend prussischen Budapester Orbán-Regierung zementieren, die sich als Verteidiger russinischer Interessen gegen die der Ukrainer geriere; und zum dritten suggeriert Moskau, Kyjiv würde durch seinen fortgesetzten Widerstand gegen die russischen Kräfte die Fragmentierung des Landes riskieren. Die Ukraine könne, sollte sie den Widerstand fortsetzen, als eingeschlossenes Land enden, ohne Zugang zum Schwarzen Meer oder zu den Ländern Zentralasiens. Diese Agenda des Kreml würden die Russinen, eventuell unbewußt, unterstützen. Goble bezog sich direkt auf einen Aufruf, den das "Carpatho-Rusin Consortium of North America" veröffentlicht hatte. Darin wurde die Ukraine angeprangert, weil sie sich weigere, die Russinen als Nationalität anzuerkennen, ein Schritt, den alle anderen Staaten in der Region bereits getan hätten. Die Ukraine sollte ihn auch tun und sich hinter die Autonomieforderung der Russinen innerhalb der Ukraine stellen. Diese Autonomie dürfe nicht, wie verschiedene russinische Kommentatoren betonten, mit einer Sezession gleichgesetzt werden dürfe, auf die einige in Ungarn und Russland unter Umständen setzen würden. Gleichwohl würde die Forderung die ethnischen Spannungen zwischen den Russinen und den ethnischen Ukrainern in der Westukraine verschärfen. Moskau würde sich in die russinische Angelegenheit nur einmischen, um einen Keil in die ukrainische Gesellschaft zu treiben und sich zugleich mit Budapest zu verständigen, was wiederum der Europäischen Union Kopfschmerzen bereiten würde.

Ein Artikel in der russischen Online-Zeitung *Segodnja* mit dem Titel "Die Russinische Frage. Wie könnte die russische Position aussehen?" erschien als Bestätigung dieser These. Der Artikel erklärte, die russinische Frage bekäme aktuell eine besondere Schärfe vor dem Hintergrund der Ereignisse in der Ukra-

ine<sup>109</sup>. Russland sollte, so der Artikel, nicht mit Ungarn in einen Wettstreit treten, sondern russinische Kultur und Sprache medial hervorheben und aktiv unterstützen, humanitäre Hilfe bieten, Berichte über die ukrainischen Russinen in den russischen Medien, aber auch und nicht zuletzt in jenen Medien platzieren, die ein westliches Publikum ansprechen. Über diesen unproblematischen kulturellen Diskurs würde der Druck auf Kyjiv von selbst steigen, den Russinen Autonomie zu gewähren. Diese Forderung müsse Russland nicht ausdrücklich erheben, weil diese Aufgabe Ungarn übernehmen würde, so der Artikel, der den Eindruck erweckte, als würde Russland Ungarn als Deckung benützen, um den direkten Vorwurf abzulenken, Moskau wolle die Lage in der Ukraine destabilisieren. Wenn die Agenda schließlich klar würde, könne es wie im Fall der Halbinsel Krim zu spät sein. Moskau hatte jedoch nur eine Chance, russinische Befindlichkeiten für die eigene Agenda auszunutzen, weil sich die Europäische Union in der Vergangenheit gegenüber Kyjiv nicht durchsetzen konnte und die karpatho-russinischen Ansuchen in Kyjiv stets auf taube Ohren gestoßen waren. Erst unter diesen Umständen erschien einem Teil der ukrainischen Russinen Russland als Hoffnungsträger. Die Annexion der Krim stieß bei ihnen auf verhaltenen Neid. Was die Russinen in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten nicht erreicht hatten, nicht einmal in der kleinen Gestalt einer regionalen, auf bestimmte Bereiche begrenzten Autonomie, hätten die Russen auf der Krim dank der starken Unterstützung Russlands innerhalb kürzester Zeit erreicht. Freilich wissen auch die Russinen, daß ihre Anerkennung durch Russland 2004 reine Symbolpolitik, ein symbolischer Fingerzeig an Kyjiv war, der eigentlich Richtung Ostukraine und Richtung Krim deutete. Moskau zog auch nach der Annexion der Krim ein Eingreifen zugunsten der Karpatho-Russinien niemals ernsthaft in Erwägung, mochte man im Westen auch ein russisches Ausgreifen auf die westlichen und nördlichen Anrainer der Ukraine, aktuell namentlich auf das Baltikum für möglich halten. Das Tragische ist, daß die kleine Nation der Russinen von Kyjiv und der pro-europäischen Ukraine, die sich auf dem Majdan manifestiert hätte, genausowenig zu erwarten haben wie von einer Ukraine unter Präsident Janukowyč, der die Korruption und das Oligarchentum in pro-russischem Gewand fortgesetzt hatte. Heute sind es die pro-europäischen Kräfte vom Majdan, unter die sich die alt-neuen Nationalisten mischten, die sich beide schwer damit tun, vertrauensbildende Signale an die Minderheiten zu senden. Vertrauen ließe sich durch eine echte Föderalisierung der Ukraine, durch Autonomielösungen zurückgewinnen, wie der ehemalige deutsche Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder in einem Interview mit der deutschen Tageszeitung *Die Welt* meinte (Aust 2014). Wäre man die Föderalisierung schon vor Jahren angegangen, hätte sich die vorhandene Spaltung der Ukraine, ihre ethnische Zerrissenheit vielleicht nicht derart zugespitzt, dass selbst Russland für eine westlich, traditionell mitteleuropä-

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<sup>109</sup> Vgl.: rossiyonavsegda.ru, 28. Okt. 2014, und: segodnia.ru, 26. Okt. 2014. Der Segodnja-Artikel versucht zu ergründen, wie Moskau sich die russinischen Aspirationen am besten zunutze machen könne, indem es Schritte ergreift, die von den meisten Beobachtern nicht wahrgenommen werden, und indem es seine Aktivitäten mit Budapest koordiniert.

isch orientierte Minderheit wie die Karpatho-Russinen als neuer Hoffnungsträger erscheint.

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**BUCHPRÄSENTATION:**

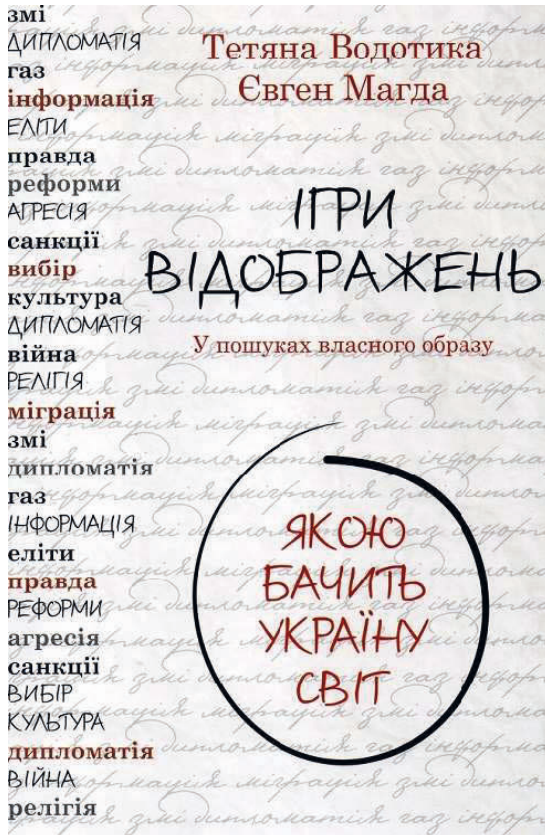
“SPIELE DER WIDERSPIEGELUNG: WIE DIE UKRAINE VON DER WELT GESEHEN WIRD”

**BOOK PRESENTATION:**

“GAMES OF IMAGES: UKRAINE IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD”

**ПРЕЗЕНТАЦІЯ КНИГИ:**

“ІГРИ ВІДОБРАЖЕНЬ. ЯКОЮ БАЧИТЬ УКРАЇНУ СВІТ”



## NATIONAL IDENTITY AS A FACTOR OF FORMING THE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF UKRAINE

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*The authors show the role and place of Ukraine's international image as a factor of conflict in the hybrid war with Russia. In addition, they analyse the factors which affect the image of Ukraine in Europe at present and considering the twentieth century retrospectively. The authors also focus on main messages of the Russian propaganda aimed at discrediting Ukraine as a state and its citizens.*

*Keywords: image, hybrid aggression, information warfare, international image of the state, national identity.*

## НАЦІОНАЛЬНА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ ЯК ФАКТОР ФОРМУВАННЯ МІЖНАРОДНОГО ІМІДЖУ УКРАЇНИ

*Євген Магда  
Тетяна Водотика*

*Автори показують роль та місце міжнародного іміджу України як фактору протистояння у гібридній війні з Російською Федерацією, а також як складової національного цілепокладання. Далі аналізуються фактори, які впливають на імідж України в Європі як на сучасному етапі, так і з точки зору ретроспективи ХХ ст. Описуються також основні меседжі російської пропаганди, які мають на меті дискредитувати державу Україна та її громадян.*

*Ключові слова: імідж, гібридна агресія, інформаційна війна, міжнародних образ держави, національна ідентичність.*

Ukraine was not a clean slate on the political map of Europe and the world. A list of stereotypes defined the image of Ukrainian territory and population. The events of the last several years made Ukraine famous. However, the task for now is to fill this fame with a positive meaning, to stress on Ukraine's perspectives, not only its sufferings and tragedies, which Ukraine has faced during its history. We have to admit, this is not a simple task. The image of Ukraine looks like a mosaic. Moreover, parts of this mosaic have different origins, often they are even inherited from "elder brothers" (like Russia) or "mothers-in-law". But still Ukraine should distance itself from its Cinderella image. In the contemporary world Ukraine needs a clear explanation – why it can play a bigger role in

Europe, than it does now. Just having a good economic and transport potential is not enough.

Image making on the state level grounds on some historical parallels. To a great extent, knowledge and image of Ukraine and Ukrainians in the West are based on stereotypes formed by previous eras, imposed on every new layer of images and impressions. No wonder that the image of Ukraine formed at the same time as its independence in international relations.

During the periods of stateless development, the image of Ukraine in the world was formed through the interpretations of those countries, which possessed Ukrainian territories. They were empires - the Russian and Austro-Hungarian, the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania, the Crimean Khanate etc. Information about the Ukrainian land and people often came from Vienna, Moscow and St. Peterburg, Warsaw, Bachčysaraj and Istanbul. However, even in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Europe knew more about Ukraine than in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it was part of the USSR. This is no coincidence: the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union did everything in their power to destroy the historical memory of Ukrainians and discredit them. The current actions of the Russian Federation in this direction just continue the previous Moscow policy.

The creation of Ukraine's image started in times of Perestrojka at the end of the 1980s. The Čornobyl' explosion of the 26<sup>th</sup> of April, 1986 programmed at least a cautious attitude to Ukraine. Moreover, after the USSR's collapse, on the Ukrainian territory there were 1 million soldiers and the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world. As a result, the newly independent state looked not like a prospective partner, but something dangerous and unknown. In the first half of the 1990s the USA and Western Europe perceived our country only through the prism of Russian interests in a post-Soviet territory. Only after 1997, when a group of former Soviet countries established GUAM in Strasbourg (with US support) and Ukraine joined the NATO program 'Partnership for Peace', attitudes of the West gradually began to change.

But the 'cassette scandal', which happened in 2000 and looked like it was inspired and created by the Russian Federation, and the accusation of Ukrainian of selling radars to Iraq spoil the positive image. It was very unpleasant and humiliating for the former Ukrainian president Leonid Kučma, when the order of the guests sitting at the Paris summit of NATO, was changed so that Kučma did not sit next to the American and Britain leaders.

The Orange Revolution changes the situation for better again. Mass protests against electoral manipulations created a positive informational context. But not for a long time. The ineffectiveness of Ukrainians' elites, their greed and corruption quickly led to dissatisfaction of the world in the leaders of the Orange Revolution.

Russia recognized the Orange Revolution as a threat to its own internal stability. Its actions in response included the sponsorship for anti-Majdan youth movements, the gas wars of 2006 and 2009 aimed at taking the Ukrainian gas transportation system under control.



The triumph of Viktor Janukovyč in the presidential election and the Char'kiv agreements on the extension of the Black Sea Navy's deployment in the Ukrainian ports in 2010 marked the return of Ukraine to the sphere of Russian influence. Viktor Janukovyč was on a short leash from the Russian authorities, and Russia infiltrated its agents in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the Security Service and other governmental institutions. Euro 2012 failed to provide sufficiently strong positive impulse in improving the image of Ukraine since the West perceived the country through the prism of Russia's interests.

The drama of Jevromajdan, the Revolution of Dignity, made Ukraine interesting again for the world and Europe. The death of dozens of people for the European choice and the European values became a really strong stimulus for the West. Unfortunately, this was not enough for fast euro-integration. The geopolitical promiscuity of the Ukrainian elites (more than 20 countries as strategic partners) proved to have too long roots which created serious obstacles for reforms.

In spite of Jevromajdan and Russian hybrid aggression, Ukraine is still often perceived as a weak state, a buffer between Europe and Asia, between the EU and Russia. The international scandals (the Lazarenko affair, the 'cassette' and Kol'čuga scandals), sometimes provoked from outside, polluted the not pure reputation of the Eastern European country with its transitional democracy. Mass-media, while preparing materials on Ukraine, stress problems, scandals, corruption etc. Moreover, sources of information are often located in Moscow, not in Kyjiv. From 2005 Russia started to disseminate the concept that Ukraine is a failure state. No wonder that neither sporting fame nor democratic revolutions could change the situation.

At the moment, Ukraine has a good chance to shake off the image of a victim, which comes from the 19<sup>th</sup> century national literature. It is high time to invent and to present to the world a new face of the country. It may be Aeneas, created by Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj: this life-affirming character has an obvious advantage – it goes back to ancient literature.

The image of the state is produced under the influence of many factors and consists of several blocks or layers. One layer is political culture and the values of society. They determine the perception of the state as democratic or autocratic and its status in the international community.

Society itself is an important factor in shaping a persuasive image of the state. The image is affected by communication principles, structuring, organization and consolidation, wellbeing, the level of civic and personal freedom in society. Another group of factors that affect the image of the state is associated with the history of the people or peoples that became the basis of political nation and their identities. States have their own personalities, which are the basis for the identification of every citizen and are also the basis for their distinction among the nations. Identity is the foundation of the development and construction of a state's international image (Šurko 2007).

There are also internal, external and technological factors of forming the image. The external ones include national interests and priorities, foreign policy, membership in international organizations, the development of relations with strategic partners etc. The internal factors include welfare, respect for the constitutional rights of citizens, level of corruption, crime, shadow economy, social well-being. In addition, such factors as the pride of the country, the desire to live in it and protect it matter as well. Patriotism and respect for public institutions of the population is the key factor to respect others. In other words, the image of the state is a personification of dreams and aspirations of millions of its citizens and evaluations external centers of influence.

The image is an artificial construct and it needs constant developing. We know that there is a difference between the reality and the way it is shown in media. Quite an important factor is the media coverage of certain events. They may talk in positive tones about very different things and keep silent about the country's problems. That mean very much depends on a certain information policy of the state. Unfortunately, Ukraine is still in the process of formulating and establishing it.

Therefore, the image is a reflection of the information policy of the state, its ability to operate on stereotypes of society and use them for their own benefit.

The basis of a national brand should be based on the key idea that distinguishes the country among others. Formation and transformations of identity, and therefore the image of the state is not only a process of constructing awareness features, personality differences, 'isolation' of the community, but also of the distinction between its own and other people's.

The international image of the state is the result of the awareness of the state's own place in the international system. It is a search for this place in the hierarchy of powers, the unique role and status, the choice of development models and methods of interaction with the neighbors leads to the need for self-building strategies of public administration and selection of specific orientations for development, i.e. defining their identity. This issue is especially important to transitional states which are in the process of forming a new system of values (which is typical of the contemporary Ukraine). In this sense, international image and status influence the process of internal transformation in transitional societies (Šurko 2007).

A simple example can help better understand the situation. Hardly any person with a minimal level education, living in Europe, would be confused by the question whether India was a colony of Britain. However, similar questions about the relations between Ukraine and Russia risk hanging in the air. In fact, Ukrainian history and culture for a long time have been in the ghetto of Russian imperial policy, where they were gradually destroyed, but the fact is not a reason today to cherish the image of the victim.

Depending on the audience and concrete tasks, selection of content, accents and technological parameters of messages presenting the image of the country may and should differ. However, any image campaign should ground on an al-

ready formed image of the country. This image should be clear, positive and simple.

In the opinion of Jevhen Kamins'kyj (Ukraine), it is not easy to understand the position of Ukraine in international relations after the USSR's decline. Western countries considered it as a defended country, inasmuch as Ukrainians have not revolted against the communists. Moreover, many Ukrainians were among the communist elite in Moscow and the communist elite in Ukraine itself gained independence. Former experts in Soviet Studies recommended the Western establishment to influence Ukraine's decisions to launch large-scale political reforms in the country and refuse nuclear status (Kamins'kyj 2008, 300–325).

The paradox is that the Ukrainians did not feel defeated after the fall of the USSR. Ukraine began to behave as an equal among the winners of the Cold War. However, these winners would never agree to look upon Ukraine as an equal. Unfortunately, Ukraine did not understand its position and role in international relations at the beginning of 1990s. Ukrainians did not understand that the West looks at the country through Russian glasses, which were comfortable and familiar. From 1991 up until now some Ukrainians believe they live in a world, where everyone knows and is interested in Ukraine. Representatives of the elite and ordinary Ukrainians believe that Western democracies owe something to them. First for taking part in the weakening of the USSR, then for refusing nuclear weapons, and now for fighting for democratic values. But such an inadequate position is a result in mistakes in the self-estimation of Ukraine's importance (Kamins'kyj 2008, 326; Pahirja 2012).

The key task for a new image strategy is not to correct all previous mistakes. The task is to show the reality from an advantageous point of view. Ukraine has enough arguments in its favour. The point is in right packaging, marketing and selling an attractive image of Ukraine. First of all, for Ukrainians themselves and for the world afterwards.

The primary task is to abandon the national inferiority complex. Constant whining is hardly able to evoke positive emotions. Despite the difficult economic and political situation, arguments in favor of Ukraine should be found. We have to create a 'unique offer' for the cooperation of our country with the rest of the world. Europe knows many examples of successful positioning. Geographical location (crossroads of opportunities), the size of the state (space of change) and the desire of the Ukrainians to protect their own interests (nation with pride) can be the basis for an effective branding of the country. Over the past two years, Ukraine has always attracted attention, and the mythology of 'Invictus nation' (thanks to the confrontation with Russia - the world's largest country with the second largest nuclear arsenal in the world) has been given a new impetus for use in the media.

Ukraine should stop emphasizing its differences and stop using the dichotomy "we are good – they are bad". This approach does not work. Anyway, the major part of the international community already already sees Ukraine as an

independent state, not just as a province of the Russian-Soviet empire, not as it used to be seen quite recently.

There is no doubt that the state image is a result of an efficient and relevant information policy and public consensus on this matter. The 21<sup>st</sup> century world is the world of values and cooperation, coordination of efforts, and humanism. Nowadays Ukraine has a unique chance to create and promote its own unique image using the will and potential for changes, concentrated inside the society. Creating a positive image of Ukraine in the world is an element of national goal-setting and consolidation of society in times of crisis and unprecedented examinations.

Every citizen of Ukraine is its ambassador, an ambassador of its brand. Therefore, for the effective implementation of the strategy of creating a positive international image of Ukraine, the coordination of three components should be imperative – public authorities, NGOs and citizens.

Ukraine is facing the battle for its future. Not only on battlefields, of course. Our state will have to prove not only such obvious things as the right to exist, but also provide a springboard for the progressive development and protection of national interests.

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wenn wir in diesen Spiegel schauen, so kommt uns  
ein großes treffliches Bild von uns selbst daraus entgegen.  
Friedrich Schiller*

Die ukrainische Sprache, Literatur und Kultur sind am Institut für Slavische Philologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München seit langem in Forschung und Lehre verankert. Um dies weiterhin gezielt zu fördern, haben wir eröffnet

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