

**UKRAINIAN LITERATURE  
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK  
OF WORLD LITERATURE**

**A Short Outline of Ukrainian Literature  
from Renaissance to Romanticism**

**by GREGORY LUZNYCKY**

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UKRAINIAN LITERATURE  
FROM RENAISSANCE  
TO ROMANTICISM



The literary creations of Renaissance, Reformation, and Baroque periods exhibit various specifically national characteristics of individual countries, although the basic ideas behind them were of a universal nature and remained the same in all places at all times. The study of these national characteristics of a particular literary age constitute a fascinating subject for the literary scholar, for they reveal in a remarkable manner, the spiritual values of a given nation, independent of the fact whether the nation in question was at that time politically independent, or whether it was a part of a political alliance, as was the case with Ukraine.

The union of the three nations Poland, Rus-Ukraine, and Lithuania, constituted a transitory age for Ukraine, inasmuch as it was the period between the ancient Kyiv State and the Cossack-Hetman State. The three literary periods discussed here (Reformation, Renaissance, and Baroque), came into being in Western Europe, developed there, and were introduced to the Slavic East by merchants who traveled the route from Spain through Ratzbona (Regensburg) and Vindobona (Vienna) to Kyiv, and by Ukrainian students who studied at the famous universities of Germany, Italy, and France. Another instrument of transmission of the western literary ideas was the Catholic Church which played a very important part in this respect. Ukraine, whose culture grew and developed autochthonously and under the influence of Byzantine Culture, was differently disposed towards the reception of West European literary trends than her neighbors Poland and Czech. This divergent reception of influence affected the literary creations; Ukraine produced works analogous to those of her neighbors, but at the same time, she also brought forth literary values with entirely new and original characteristics. We find in Ukraine therefore, a union of the two cultures, of the Slavic-Byzantine and the West European. The best example of this unique cultural symbiosis is the Ukrainian Catholic Church which displays the characteristics of both the East and the West, acquired chiefly during the period of the religious wars. It is interesting to note, that in the West parallel events (religious wars) took place to those in Ukraine, but a spiritual cultural union of this type did not come into being in any one of the western countries.

The Ukrainian literary periods were at all times in an organic union with those of other European nations, so that we are able to formulate an approach on a comparative basis and consider the subject as an integral part of European Literature.

## **I. RENAISSANCE**



## 1. TWO TYPES OF CULTURE

The Renaissance in Western Europe caused radical changes in the spiritual values of mankind. In regards to Humanism we have to remember two aspects: the culturally-educational movement which brought about the rebirth of antique art, and the attitude of mind which attaches primary importance to man and all his faculties and activities. In the West, Humanism was mainly an attitude of the Renaissance Age, in Ukraine, however, it was colored by Christian virtues from the trends of the 11th and 12th centuries and has to be considered not merely as an attitude, but rather as a guiding moral principle, as a basis of the literary *Weltanschauung* (world view) of that time. Generally speaking, we can attribute to the Renaissance of Western Europe three main characteristics. The first, was the antique ideal of the harmonious man; second, the idea of the spiritual liberation of man from the chains of the so called Dark Ages, and third, the discovery of nature and the strong emphasis placed on it.

The Ukrainian Renaissance lacks the first feature of the Western Renaissance. There was no revival of ancient classical Art in Ukraine, because there was no need, no occasion for it. Ukraine was constantly under the influence of Byzantine culture, so that the ancient Greek models were very prominent even before the age of Renaissance, and did not require a rebirth. The Latin language which flourished in the West, was very little used in Ukraine, again, because of the influence of the Byzantine culture. The vigorous reaction against the tenets of the Middle Ages is common to both the Ukrainian and the West European Renaissance. There was, however, no special emphasis on nature in the Ukrainian Renaissance, mainly because nature was very extensively treated in the folklore mainly in the customs of the people. For the same reason, we also find that the erotic motifs, which were at that time so popular in the West, were either completely discarded in Ukraine, or appeared in a weakened form, not at all comparable to those found in the literary works of the western Renaissance. Perhaps the most important difference between the two Renaissance periods in question, is the divergence of their central points. The centrum of the Renaissance in West Europe constituted the secular universities, while the



centrum of the Ukrainian Renaissance was the printing shops, schools, and fraternities, all of which were under the auspices of the Church.

Ukraine at that time already had a literary tradition of its own. The oldest Ukrainian literary documents, such as *The Discourse on Law and Grace* by the Metropolitan Archbishop Ilarion of the 11th century, his sermons as well as those of Metropolitan Archbishop Clement Smolarych of the 13th century, and *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, the immortal epic of the same age, display a well developed system of language. Because of this literary tradition the Old Ukrainian language became the official language of the Slavic East during the late 15th and early 16th century. Thus the *Sudebnyk* (1468), the famous law codex of the Grand Duke Casimir, was written in Old Ukrainian, as well as the Lithuanian Statute of Grand Duchy (1522). Old Ukrainian was used in diplomatic relations between the Muscovite State (the Russia of today), Moldavia, and Tartary. This supremacy of Old Ukrainian lasted until the Pact of Lublin 1596, which gave rise to a political supremacy of Poland. As a result of the clash of two cultures of different origins (Polish culture which had its origin in the Latin culture of the Western World and Ukrainian culture which was largely indebted to Byzantine), numerous changes occurred in the cultural, religious, and social spheres of Ukraine. The literary language of Poland was Latin; in Ukraine, however, Old Ukrainian (frequently referred to as Old Slavic) and Greek were used. The religious life in Ukraine was dominated by the customs and traditions of the Eastern Church, in Poland, the customs and traditions of the Western Church prevailed. Poland was, of all other West European nations, geographically the most advanced country to the East. It had, nevertheless, very close religious ties with Papal Rome and transmitted western literary ideas to Ukraine, which, on the other hand, had close religious ties with Byzantine. Thus, just as Poland was on the outskirts of the Western World, Ukraine was on the outskirts of the East Slavic World. Western literary ideas usually reached Ukraine later than Poland, because of the geographical distance which played a very important part at that time, and because of the fact that Ukraine was constantly at war with the barbaric hordes of the East.

Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, was the center of Christianity of East Europe and also the center of the defense of the whole Christian World. Behind the protective shield formed by Ukraine, literature and arts of the other Slavic nations could develop and flourish, while around Kyiv, in the territory of Ukraine, such opportunities did not avail themselves because of the constant struggle with the invaders of the East. During the 9th and 10th centuries Ukraine was forced to defend herself and the rest of Europe against the Petchenegs; during the 11th century the invasions of the even more dangerous Cumans (Polovtsi) took place, and the attacks of the ever threatening Tataric (Mongolian) hordes lasted up to the late 17th century.

## 2. TWO TYPES OF LITERATURE

In the 16th century, when in the West European countries Renaissance slowly began to decline, in Ukraine it assumed full force. At this time Ukrainian literature, which was greatly indebted to Poland for the transmission of the literary ideas of the West began to exert a strong influence upon Polish literature. Ukrainian folklore flourished and especially Ukrainian proverbs gained a tremendous popularity. This literary phenomenon is analogous to the popularity of proverbs in the West. In 1500, Erasmus of Rotterdam (?1466-1536), the greatest humanist and theologian of the Renaissance, published in Paris a collection of Greek and Latin proverbs under the title *Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami...*, which achieved such popularity that it was reprinted about thirty times during the authors lifetime under various titles, such as *Adagiorum Chiliades*, *Epitome Adagiorum*, and numerous others.

Ukrainian proverbs were used not only in Ukrainian spheres among common people and nobility, but also among the high nobility of Poland as well as in Polish literature of the 16th and 17th centuries in general (see the works of such Polish authors as Jagodzinski, Pielgrzemowski, Waclaw Potocki and others). The correspondence between the Polish King Jan III Sobieski (1674-1696) and his wife Maria d'Arquien, shows that both king and queen frequently used Ukrainian proverbs in order to express some particular idea, or to add color to their discourse. Both church and school used proverbs to teach moral lessons, and although the proverbs generally originated from the speech of the common people, they usually had a universal meaning and were applicable to universal problems.

In Ukraine Renaissance did not solve the problem of literary language as it did in other countries, for example, in Spain. It awakened, however, interest for West European literature and emphasized the secular element in literary works. On the other hand, it also made Holy Scripture accessible for all people, and paved the way for the later religious polemic literature, whose main proponent was the outstanding polemist, the leading scholar of Ukrainian Renaissance Ivan Vyshensky.

Renaissance acquainted Ukraine with such famous literary collections of the Western World as *Fabliaux*, a collection of tales in eight-

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ИЛИ  
**ОТЄЧНИКЪ ПЄЧЄРСКІЙ,**  
СОДЕРЖАЩІЙ  
**ЖИТІА СТЫХЪ**

Црѣвныхъ и бѣгоносныхъ Оцъ нашихъ  
ПРОСІАВШИХЪ ВЪ ПЄЩЕРАХЪ.

На три части раздѣленъ.

СОСТАВЛЕНЪ

Тремя Печерскими Стыми:

Исторомъ, Лѣтописцемъ Руссїйскимъ Сѣмномъ Сѣнкомъ Владимер-  
скимъ и Обждалскимъ и Полукарпомъ, Архимандритомъ Печерскимъ.

Поклѣніемъ же и Пѣснопѣніемъ

Прѣтварю ѿ Хрѣта Гдннхъ Оцъ

ІННОКЕНТІА ГИЗЕЛА,

Млчїю живїю Архимандрита і Стыа Велика Чдотворна Лавры

Печерскїи Кїевскїи.

Исправленъ и ТУПОМЪ Изображенъ.

и чюиже стїи Великой Чдотворной Лаврѣ.

ПЕЧЕРСКОЙ КІЕВСКОЙ.

Старопїсїи Сѣѣшаго Патріарха Константинопольскаго.

Въ лѣто ѿ Созданїа Мїра. 3782. ѿ Рождѣ же Хрѣта, 4782.

Title page of "Paterik," 1661.

syllable rhymed verse which form a marked section of French mediaeval literature; *Gesta Romanorum*, a Latin collection of anecdotes and tales compiled towards the end of the 13th century, which was the most popular book of the time and the source of later literature in Chaucer, Gower, Shakespeare and others; *Legenda Aurea*, the greatest collection of mediaval legends compiled towards the end of the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine; *Lucidarius*, a book in question and answer form about every possible topic, which was written during the 12th century on the prompting of Henry Leo, Duke of Braunschweig, and the works of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), the famous Italian poet, author, and humanist, whose *Decameron* is one of the earliest works in Italian prose and one of the better known books in all literatures. The

*"Tale of Tancred"* from Decameron was put to verse in Ukraine sometime in the 17th century, and the influence of Boccaccio on Ukrainian literature in general can be traced up to the 19th century in the works of Ivan Kotlyarevsky (1769-1838) and Alex Storozenko (1805-1874).

Although Ukraine's literary ties with the Western World was very strong, and the literary ideas of the West contributed greatly towards the development of Ukrainian literature, Ukraine, in adopting those ideas, produced original works of her own and created literary values on the same level as those of the West. This we can see from the fact that the influence exerted by Ukrainian literature on the literatures of her Slavic neighbors, was almost as marked as that exerted by the West European literatures.

### 3. THE LITERARY CENTERS IN UKRAINE

The first printed book in Ukrainian *Instructing Gospel* (*Uchytelne Evanhelie*) appeared in 1569. It was a collection of sermons based on the four Gospels, put to print by two Muscovite printers Ivan Fedorovych (Fedorov) and Petro Mstyslavych, who had to flee from Moscow because the Muscovites, claiming that printing was an invention of the devil, had burned their printing shops and threatened to put them to death on the stake. Thus the two printers fled to Ukraine and founded a printing shop in Zabludiv, Volhynya. Later Fedorovych went to Ostroh, the seat of the Princes Ostrovsky and a prominent center of Ukrainian cultural life, where he printed the entire Bible in Ukrainian. A few copies of this famous *Bible of Ostroh* (*Ostroska Biblia*) have survived to the present day. Only a few years later many other printing shops developed in the main Ukrainian cities such as Lutsk, Lviv, Kyiv and Chernihiv. These cities then became the main centers of the cultural and social life in Ukraine. The printing profession was very highly regarded in Ukraine and printers were held in high esteem, as we can see from an extant panegyric which reads in translation as follows:

“Many values flow from the art of printing,  
Through it all sciences triumph.”

Since the process of printing was at that time very expensive, the owners of the printing shops had to be either rich magnates or financially strong organizations. Ukrainian magnates, however, were for the most part Polonized and did not have any interest in propagating Ukrainian literature. The middle class, on the other hand, which consisted mostly of townspeople, retained their Ukrainian nationality. They organized fraternities (*Bratstva*) based on strict Christian principles with the aim to help the Church and to maintain a high level of morality among their members. In all the literary and educational centers of Ukraine these fraternities owned and supported printing shops and produced literature.

The genesis of these fraternities goes back to the pre-Christian times when the members of one clan lived together, hunted together,



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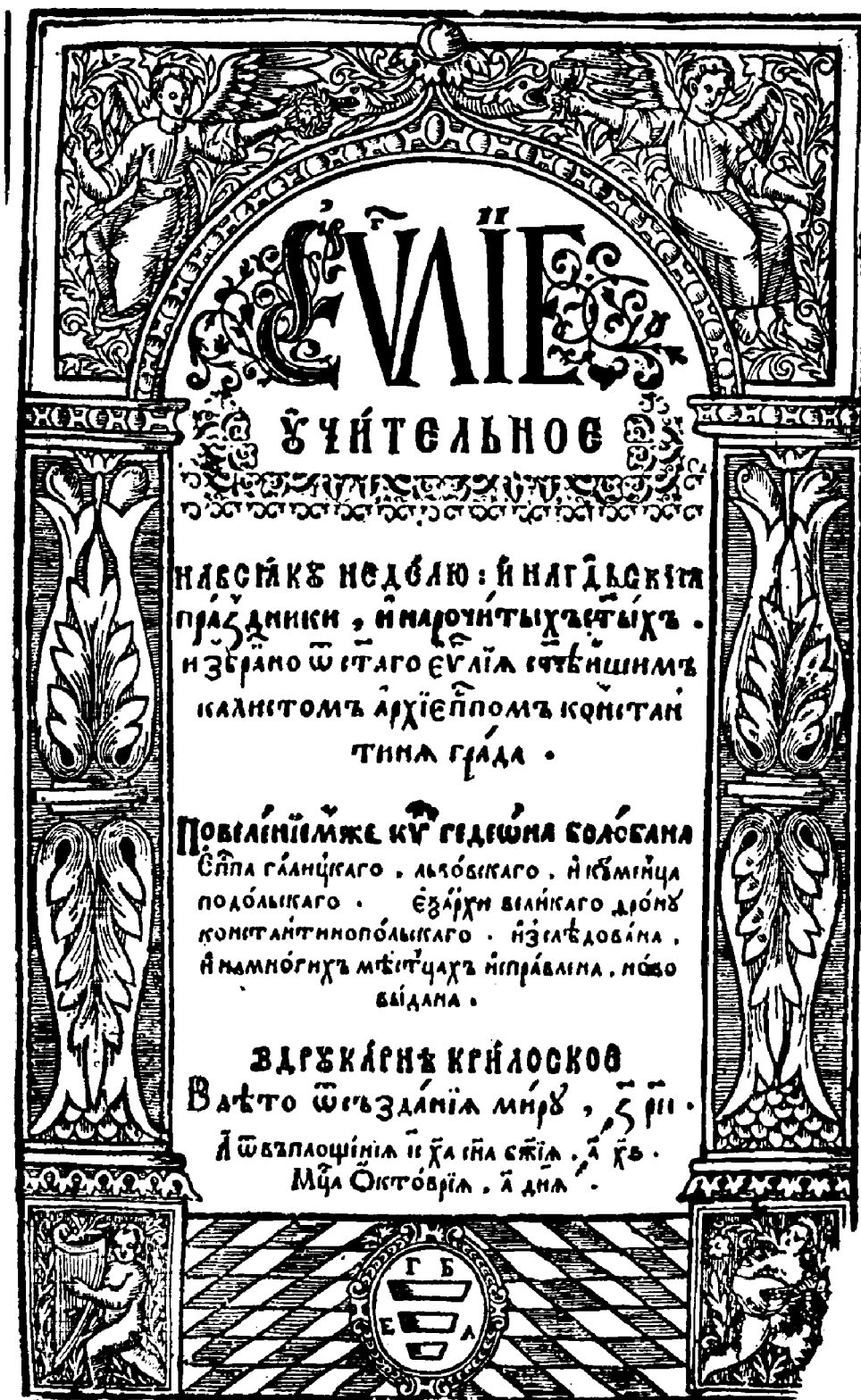
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First page of Bible of Ostroh, 1581.

and defended each other from enemies. This idea, modified by strict Christian principles, was the basis of the ideology of the fraternities.

In the 15th and 16th centuries the fraternities were influenced by professional guilds. These two types of organizations merged together, formed their own laws based on strict discipline, and developed among their members national pride and national ideology. These guilds formed the financial backbone of the country. They distributed funds among poor widows and orphans of their members, set up scholarships



Instructing Gospel, 1606.

for promising students in the more prominent universities of West Europe, built new schools and magnificent churches all over Ukraine, and brought capable scholars, mostly Greeks, to educate Ukrainian youth. In 1453, when the Turks occupied Constantinople, many Greek scholars and philosophers immigrated to Ukraine and contributed greatly towards the intellectual development of the country. After the fall of Constantinople Ukraine became the richest country in the realm of the Eastern Church. The Patriarchs of the Church (Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Antioch), often traveled to Ukraine to raise funds for their churches. At such occasions they frequently awarded the more prominent fraternities with "the right of the broken cross" (stavros pegos), which made the particular fraternity responsible directly to the patriarch and not to the local bishop.



#### 4. LITERATURE OF THE REFORMATION

The Reformation in Ukraine was entirely distinct from that of Western Europe. Ukraine did not produce her own Reform-literature, but rather she was wholly dependent upon West European ideas that came to her from Poland and Czech. In fact, Ukraine frequently served as a bridge between Western Europe and Moscow transmitting literary concepts and ideas from one to the other without being influenced by them herself. A classical example of this phenomenon is a certain Jewish sect, which passed through Ukraine during the second half of the 15th century and went on to Moscow without affecting the cultural and literary life of Ukraine at all. The philosophical literature of this sect, based on the teachings of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), a Jewish philosopher, physician, and master of rabbinic literature, whose greatest work, the *Mishneh Torah*, is a *summa theologiae* of Judaism, left no traces on Ukrainian literature. In Moscow, however, these followers of Maimonides influenced the religious and cultural life to such extent, that the Muscovites forcibly put an end to their activities in 1490. Even the Hussite movement, which had many sympathizers among the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nobility (because of the latter's family ties with the Czech), did not become firmly rooted in Ukrainian soil and had no affect on Ukrainian literature. Perhaps the only reforming group which produced a marked influence were the Bogomils, a religious sect from Bulgaria which taught that God had two sons, Michael and Satanail, who represent good and evil respectively. The philosophy of the Bogumils, based on this dualistic principle, gave rise to countless legends, folklore-narratives and songs, with the elder brother, Satanail, as the protagonist.

During the 14th century the Black Death spread over the greater part of Europe producing a condition of ferment and mystic fervor which resulted in the processions of the flagellants. The flagellants were people who wandered from place to place, from country to country, voluntarily scourging themselves by way of discipline and penance. The flagellant movement originated in Western Europe during the 13th century (Herodotus however, reports that forms of flagellation existed already in ancient Egypt), and having been outlawed for years,

it was revived once again in 1349 because of the Black Death. This movement left a noticeable impression on Ukraine and some specific parts of the sermons of the flagellants can be found in Ukrainian literature of that time.

In most of these sermons the flagellants emphasized the necessity of keeping Friday and Sunday holy, thus in the folklore poetry of that time we often find these two days grieving and complaining to God that people do not revere them.

“Friday lamented before God:  
Never again, dear God, shall I enlighten mankind,  
For they do not want  
To honor me.”

And in regards to Sunday we have the following short poem:

“The bright sun complained to the merciful God:  
I will not rise early in the morning  
To fill the world with light,  
For the evil-born peasants  
Were chopping wood Sunday morning  
And the splinters flew up to my face.”

These English translations will serve only for the purpose of acquainting the reader with the type of poetry discussed, they are, of course, inadequate, insofar as they disregard rhyme and rhythm completely and thus fail to convey the melodious beauty of the poems. One might also point out that the various Ukrainian diminutives, which heighten the poetic affect of the poems to a certain degree, are not translatable into English.

## 5. IVAN VYSHENSKY

In 1485, Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), an Italian monk and reformer, proclaimed in his celebrated sermons that the entire world was in a state of chaos, that virtue and good-will were decaying, and impressed upon mankind the terrible wrath to come. In order to save the world from "misery of sin," Savonarola tried to reform the Church and the secular life. Although in his methods of reforming Savonarola lacked a realistic approach, his efforts provoked a response all over the world, and almost a century later his ideas were adopted and put into practice by the main proponent of the Ukrainian Renaissance, Ivan Vyshensky.

The political situation in Ukraine was completely different from that of Italy. After the Pact of Lublin (1569), almost all Ukrainian lands came under the occupancy of Poland. In Poland at that time the feudal system prevailed with all its shortcomings, one of which was the identification of religion with nationality. As a rule, the Ukrainians were Orthodox; the Poles — Roman Catholics.

Members of old Ukrainian Nobility became Catholics in order to retain their political power, but in becoming Catholics, they lost their Ukrainian nationality and were totally Polonized. Ukrainian Orthodox Church, being devoid of her protection, the nobility, lost a great deal of its strength and rapidly fell pray to corruption. This state of affairs went to such extremes, that any ordinary layman who was willing to supply a certain sum of money, could receive the title of a bishop with all the rights and privileges attached to it, without being consecrated and without having to fulfill the duties and obligations of that post. This corruption and demoralization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was strongly furthered by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, who had jurisdictional rights to her. In 1589, when Moscow bought a patriarchy from him, the Ukrainian hierarchy realized that sooner or later they would be forced to belong to the Patriarchy of Moscow and by belonging to Moscow, the Ukrainian Church would cease to act as a national factor; worse than that, she would become a factor of denationalization. Thus the Ukrainian hierarchy decided to form a separate religious union with Rome in order to save itself from the chains of the Patriarchy of Moscow, as well as to counteract the pressure exerted by the Roman Catholic Church of Poland, the national church of the occupants. This union was signed in Rome 1595, and proclaimed in Brest-Litovsk (1596), by the synod led by the head of the Ukrainian Church, the Metropolitan of Kyiv. A part of the Ukrainian hierarchy and clergy, however, was under strong influence of Moscow, and hated the Roman Catholic Church fiercely. They consequently rejected the union and opposed it bitterly. This gave rise to a religious polemic



ДНЮ ПЯТОМУ ТРИИДЕТИ ТРИ

**Н**ерве оубо слово сътвори хъ обещъ .  
 ѿ деофнае , оннхже на чае , тва  
 интиже ноучи ч . днесоже дне  
 заповѣдавъ апломъ дхомъ сть  
 нхже нсера възнесла . прнннмн  
 же нпоставн себе жнва пострада  
 нн свѣд . възмнозехъ истинныхъ знаме  
 ннхъ . днми четырн десатнми гавла  
 авл нмъ нгала нже оцртвн бжн . инн  
 лнже ннды , повелѣваше нмъ шероалн  
 ма нешадчатнса . нождати обѣтваннѣ  
 шувѣ , еже слышасте ѿ мене . нко іѡаннъ  
 оубо кртнлъ есть водою . выже нмате сре  
 стнчнса дхомъ сть м . непомнозехъ ст  
 днхъ . оннже оубо съшншса , възпрашахъ

31  
 A

блетвн нвсннкдн нл плхн . ннавлзненн  
 ннвгнн .

"Apostol," 1564.

between the Uniates (Ukrainian Catholics who were in favor of the union) and the Orthodox. The intellectual leader for the Orthodox was the monk and polemist Ivan Vyshensky.

Ivan Vyshensky was named after the town Sudova Vyshnia, where he was born sometime around 1550. Little is known about his youth. He studied at the Academy of Ostroh and went from there to Athos, a peninsula in the Aegean sea, which was the seat of mediaval monastic communities. There he spent his whole life, as a monk in a monastery, doing penance, fasting and meditating.

It was there, on the holy mountain in Athos, that he wrote his epistles, through which he, just as his famous Italian predecessor, Savonarola, urged people to do penance and to shun immorality and corruption. His ideal of earthly perfection was the complete withdrawal from the pleasures and joys of this world, which he regarded as very intimately connected with the devil. He was a stout opponent of all sciences and of all books dealing with learned subjects, with the exception of the Holy Bible and the missal. He hated the Pope and the Catholic Church and considered the Byzantine Orthodox Church as the only true Church of Christ, because, as he pointed out, "she suffered humiliation, and suffering humiliation is the sign of the true Church."

Vyshensky urged people to forsake the pleasures of life, to practice asceticism, and to pray. He admonished the people to be simple and humble, saying that "submissive stupidity" is more pleasing to God than "erudite cunningness." In his teachings he is violently opposed towards all secular sciences considering them as devil's inventions and the Latin language, as the language of the devil.

He wrote countless epistles of which only twenty are extant. They are masterpieces of the pathetic renaissance style which captivates even the modern sophisticated reader. All those epistles treat basically the same theme, the superiority of "submissive stupidity" to all possible knowledge. In one of them, Vyshensky urges scholars not to read Aristotle or Plato, but rather the missal and the Bible for they are reliable and true.

In 1605, after spending long years on the holy mountain, Vyshensky revisited Ukraine. He once again preached to the people, but this time his sermons were not crowned with such success for the audiences remained unresponsive. During the years the mentality of the people had changed and his sermons on asceticism did not produce the desired effects. Shortly thereupon he returned to his cell at Athos and died there around 1625.

Girolamo Savonarola and Ivan Vyshensky, although separated by a century and sons of two different nations, have much in common. Both were ascetic monks who wanted to give themselves completely to the service of God, both fought moral decadence, both tried to im-

prove and to reform their Church, both regarded the return to the simple life of the early Christians as the salvation for the world, and both were firmly convinced in the veracity of their mission.

Ivan Vyshensky is the most important figure of Ukrainian Renaissance and Reformation, and his personage has been immortalized by I. Franko in the poem "Ivan Vyshensky."

## 6. FAUST-LEGEND IN UKRAINE

The people of the Middle Ages believed that, for the price of one's soul, one could establish contact with diabolic creatures and attain, with their help the satisfaction of all human wishes and desires. In connection with these beliefs numerous cults developed, such as alchemy, astrology, necromancy, pyromancy and various other forms of magic. With the help of these "sciences" the medieval man tried to contact the supernatural world and to gain knowledge of the essence of things. The most popular figure of such seekers of truth in world literature is Dr. Faust. He became the prototype of the scholar, who tortured by his thirst for knowledge, signed his soul over to the devil in order to gain the latter's services for the fulfillment of his wishes.

The historical Faust was born toward the end of the 15th century in Knitlingen near Wuertenberg, Germany. Although he was from a simple peasant family, he nevertheless had a good education, having studied at Heidelberg and Krakow. He was a student of the natural sciences with an extensive knowledge of medicine, chemistry, and physics, as we can see from the reports of his magic feats written by his contemporaries. Through his magic feats he received the title "Doctor," for, as far as we know, he did not receive a degree from any university. In the years 1507-1536 he wandered through the world, as did most of the students in those days, and visited such places as Venice, Switzerland, Vienna, and Prague under various names, such as Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus Junior, Magus Secundus and others. In the market places of the cities he displayed his magic skills with the help of a trained horse and a dog. He healed the sick, foretold the future, told fortunes from the stars, and recalled the spirits of the deceased. In Venice, according to some sources, people saw him fly through the air, in the famous wine-cellar of Auerbach in Leipzig he rode a beer-barrel as if it were a horse, and in Erfurt he recalled the spirits of the heroes of Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey*.

Already during his lifetime Faust became quite famous. Martin Luther and his friend and protector Melanchton knew him personally, and the former refers to him in many of his sermons. He died around 1540 in an explosion which occurred during one of his

This work became the main source of all the other works about Faust written in all the languages of the world. In the Czech, Polish, and Ukrainian literatures Faust is known as Twardovski; in Ukrainian folklore, however, we also find Faust motifs which are quite independent and original. The main motif of Faust-legend in general, is the signing over of one's soul to the devil for:

a) the unlimited enjoyment of worldly pleasures; b) the mastery of nature and its phenomena; c) the knowledge of the secrets of the universe; d) love and the oblivion attached to it.

Once he has signed the contract, the protagonist suffers from the pangs of conscience and this suffering makes the material of the legend very suitable for the stage. To Christopher Marlowe (1564-93) belongs the honor of first seeing the great dramatic possibility of the Faust legend, for in 1604, he published a drama about Faust under the title *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*.

Various reliable and less reliable reports about the performance of that drama provide us with a very interesting anecdote. During one performance of the drama, as some sources tell us, the real Mephistopholes appeared on the scene in the last act of the play, terrifying all the actors and causing the protagonist to faint. The identical thing was repeated in the Theater of Belsavage, and there, during the scene in which Faust rejects God and tramples the cross, many people became hysterical with fear. Also very interesting is the fact that in Germany and Austria during the seventeen hundreds, the Faust-legend was used for a ballet-pantomime, but most of the actors involved with the play met with various accidents, so that the play was finally prohibited by the government.

Parallel to these aspects a Catholic interpretation of the Faust motifs takes place, in which Faust uses the services of Mephistopholes for religious purposes. In Spain especially, this can be seen in Calderon's symbolic drama *El Magico Prodigioso*, known to the English reader through Shelly's translation. This drama was hailed by the critics as the "Catholic Faust," for the protagonist is presented there in the spirit of Catholic mysticism typical of Spain. The drama also contains strong elements of asceticism, of negation of life and of ecstasy of martyrdom.

In composing *El Magico Prodigioso* Calderon (1600-1681) used the medieval demonological legends which were also very popular in Ukraine during the 15th century. In one of the Ukrainian collections of legends of that time, *The Collection of Father Stephan of Tysleciv (Zbirnyk Teslevcivoho Popa Stepana)*, we find a legend with marked Faust motif, i.e., the pact with the devil in order to win the love of a beautiful girl:



HISTORIA  
**Von D. Johann**  
**Fausten/dem weitbeschreyten**  
**Zauberer vnd Schwarzkünstler/**  
Wie er sich gegen dem Teuffel auff eine be-  
nandte zeit verschrieben / Was er hierzwischen für  
seltsame Abenteuer gesehen / selbs angerich-  
tet vnd getrieben/biß er endtlich sei-  
nen wol verdienten Lohn  
empfangen.

**Mehrertheils auß seinen engen en hie-**  
**derlassenen Schrifften/allen hochtragenden/**  
färwiltigen vnd Gortlosen Menschen zum schrecklichen  
Beyspiel/abscheuolichen Exempel/vnd treuw-  
herziger Warnung zusammen gezo-  
gen vnd in den Druck ver-  
feriget

**IACOBI IIII.**

Seyt Gott vnderthänig / widerstehet dem  
Teuffel/ so fleuhet er von euch.

**CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO.**

Bedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn/  
durch Johann Spies.

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**M. D. LXXXVII.**

In Kesaria lived a famous senator who had a beautiful daughter by the name of Koracia. Koracia had many suitors but she refused to enter the conjugal state, for she had made a vow to the Blessed Mother of God to preserve her virginity and to become a nun. In accordance with her wishes, her father built a monastic cell for her next to a church, and in this cell she lived for three years fasting and praying. — “But Satan, the hater of human salvation and of good works is ever present.” — The senator had among his domestics one who was “the lowest of all servants,” that is, one who was employed to perform the most menial tasks. It was this servant, called Eladiy, in whose heart “the devil enkindled the fire of love.” Eladiy, realizing that there was no hope for him of marrying the daughter of his rich master without someone’s aid, went to a magician for advice. The magician told him to go at midnight to a road-crossing outside the village and to try to call forth one of the devils who lived there in a large swamp. Eladiy goes to the swamp, summons the devil, and beseeches him for assistance. The devil replies that he cannot act on his own, but takes him to Satan himself, to whom Eladiy again pleads his case. Satan agrees to help, but insists that Eladiy sign a contract in his own blood giving him the right to his soul. He insists on the contract, saying that “many Christians have cheated the devils,” so that he does not trust them anymore. Eladiy agrees, and cutting the little finger of his right hand he signs the contract in blood, thus rejecting Christ and giving himself to Satan for eternity.

On the order of Satan all the devils suddenly begin to tempt Koracia, “filling her heart with passionate love and desire” for Eladiy. She flees from her cell and under the threats of committing suicide, she exacts from her shocked parents the permission to marry Eladiy. They marry, and after three years of marital bliss Koracia suddenly discovers that Eladiy prays to the devil and dishonors the cross. Without confiding to anyone, she goes to St. Basil and implores him to help her husband. St. Basil persuades Eladiy to beg God for forgiveness and to do penance. Under the spiritual guidance of St. Basil, the sinner again turns to God and frees himself from the power of Satan.

The popularity of this legend was of such renown that the outstanding Ukrainian historian M. Kostomariv (1817-1885) of the province of Voroniz, recorded this tale as a part of folklore tradition.

In the analysis of this legend we find four common points with the Faustian legend of the Western World:

a) Uncontrollable desire as the cause for the signing over of one’s soul to the devil; b) the inability of the devil to handle the affair by himself without his superior; c) the initial action of establishing contact with the devils takes place on a road crossing; d) the contract has to be signed with the supplicants own blood.

The two new elements added were: the willingness of God to forgive if the sinner repents and the power of the clergy, especially the monastics, over the evil spirits, as symbolized by St. Basil the Great, the founder of Christian monasticism.

Besides these, we also have three purely Ukrainian motifs. The first being the motif of the swamp as the habitation of the devils. This is typically Ukrainian, for in Ukrainian demonology the devils live and multiply in the swamps and use it as their headquarters during the time of their soul-hunting excursions. The second is Satan's want of confidence in Christians based on disappointing experiences with them.

In Ukrainian folklore, as opposed to others, the devil is portrayed as a rather harmless, quite amicable simpleton, who is plagued by human weaknesses and troubles. Generally speaking, the devil is a comical figure, who almost always comes out second best in any conflict with man. Third — the action for the salvation of the doomed sinner's soul is always carried by a woman; the Ukrainian Faust, in contrast to the Faust of the West, is a married man. Our story, in which Koracia through her independent action brings about the salvation of her husband's soul, manifests the Ukrainian folk mentality, which considers the woman as the back-bone and the real protector of the family.

All the motifs discussed above appear only in Ukrainian folklore. Ukrainian literature as such, does not have any original Faust motif. The first literary work about Faust in Ukrainian literature, a ballad entitled "*Twardovski*" was written in 1827 by Petro Artemov-sky-Hulak (1790-1865), who, in this particular work, was strongly influenced by the well-known Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz. The figure of Faust-Twardovski enjoyed a great popularity in Ukraine, from the dawn of Renaissance up to modern times. The Kobzars, the wandering Ukrainian minstrels, depicted his adventures in their songs and Goethe's immortal work was very widely known mainly through the translations of Ivan Franko and Dmytro Zahul.



## **II. BAROQUE**



The Baroque period in Ukraine developed and flourished during the 17th and 18th centuries. In Art, Ukrainian Baroque is frequently defined as the Cossack-Baroque for it falls into the time of the Cossack-Hetman state. During that time, the Cossack aristocracy furthered the construction of various buildings and churches in Baroque style and thus the name Cossack-Baroque originated.

In literature, Baroque was a form of expression and not an inherent part of the subject matter, as it was the case with the other forms of art, for literature was produced for a wide use. One of the chief characteristics of Ukrainian as well as of West European Baroque, is the conglomeration of antique mythology and Christianity. In the religious lyric of that time we find the Blessed Virgin identified with Diana, the Cross with the trident of Neptune and Amor, Cupid as well as other mythological personages with various saints. The first writer and polemist who can be considered a true representative of Ukrainian Baroque was Meletiy Smotrycky, one of the most important figures in the history of Ukrainian literature as well as in the history of Ukrainian Church.

Smotrycky marks the beginning of the Ukrainian Baroque age which terminated with the greatest Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoryj Skovoroda.

## 1. MAXYM MELETIY SMOTRYCKY 1578-1633

Maxym Meletiy Smotrycky was the son of Harasym Smotrycky, the president of the Academy of Ostroh and one of the best publicists of his time. Maxym attended the Academy studying philology under Cyrius Lukaris, a Greek scholar and philosopher, who in 1612 became the Patriarch of Constantinople.

He continued his studies in philology and theology at the Jesuit Academy in Wylno, where he eventually became a secondary school teacher. From 1601 to 1607 Smotrycky was a private tutor and educator of the princes Solomerecky, and traveled with them through Italy, France and Germany where he became acquainted with Lutheranism. In 1617 he entered the monastery and, according to the custom of the Eastern Church, changed his name from Maxym to Meletiy. He soon became an Archimandrite (Arch abbot) of the Orthodox Monastery of the Holy Ghost, and in 1620 he was installed Archbishop of Polock. From the literary point of view his most important work is *Trenos or the Lamentations of the Eastern Church*. He published it in Wylno, 1610 under the pseudonym Theophil Ortolog, and in order to conceal his authorship he stated that the work was a translation from the Greek. *Trenos* is the best example of Ukrainian Baroque, it reflects to a high degree the spirit of the times and is quite readable even for a modern reader. The work itself presents in a pathetic Baroque style the sorrows of the Eastern Church, which is being neglected and deserted by her nobility.

“Woe is me,” cries the Orthodox Church in Smotrycky’s work, “robbed of all my possessions, the yoke on my neck, my hands in fetters, my feet in bonds, chains on my shoulders . . . terror and persecution all around me. Once I was beautiful and rich — now I am despicable and poor. Once I was a queen loved by the whole world — now every one abuses and tortures me. Oh, all you living creatures, nations and all peoples of earth, come and listen to my voice. Come! Find out what I once was and marvel . . . I cry day and night and tears flow down my face like rivers, and there is no one to comfort me . . .”

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church headed by Smotrycky, began to attack Ukrainian Catholics (Uniates). The greatest religious con-



licts took place in the Archdiocese of Polock, because this province bordered on Moscow and the Orthodox exerted a great influence from there. The Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Kyiv, Joseph IX Rutsky, installed Josaphat Kuncevych Archbishop of Polock. Josaphat was one of the prominent leaders of the Ukrainian Catholics and, as we know, he later on became a saint. Smotrycky and his followers continued to agitate people through their polemic works and sermons,



Portrait of the Archbishop Meletiy Smotrycky (1578-1633). In the hands of the Archbishop is seen the bulla of Pope Urban VIII.

so that on Nov. 12, 1623, Archbishop Josaphat was murdered by the enraged Orthodox. His death produced a tremendous effect on Smotrycky, who did not expect such turn of events. He went to Constantinople and to Jerusalem, the cradle of the Eastern Church, seeking to redeem the Orthodoxy and to prove that it was the true religion. Yet neither in Constantinople nor in Jerusalem he was able to find arguments for the support of his ideas. On the contrary, he found there as he himself puts it, heresies, staleness of ideas, total lack of education and strong Calvinistic infiltration. Disillusioned and somewhat bitter he returned to Ukraine and wrote *Apology (Apologia)*, a masterpiece of narrative prose with strong feelings and impulses, advocating the return to the Catholic Church.

In his *Apology* Smotrycky calls upon the Ukrainian Orthodox to "cast errors and heresies under their feet" and to become Uniates. This work produced a tremendous effect on both sides and John Borecky, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, summoned a council of bishops (1628), which condemned the *Apology*, ordered Smotrycky to revoke it and forced him to withdraw into a monastery. On the advice of his friends, Smotrycky revoked his *Apology*, but as soon as he was allowed to leave the monastery, he declared the revocation null and void

and resumed his work for the restoration of Catholicism in Ukraine. During 1628 he wrote three more works dealing with the same topic: *Protestation, Parenesis, and Exetesis*, the latter being an answer to Mushylovsky's *Antidotum*, a work which propagated the unity of Ukraine with the Orthodox Moscow.

Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) received Smotrycky into the Catholic Church, allowed him to retain his title of Archbishop and made him his chief counselor in his quest for unity between the Eastern and the Western Church. The correspondence between Smotrycky and Urban VIII reveals that the Pope had great hopes of achieving the unity between the two Churches with the help of Ukraine, which he considered the link between East and West. In this correspondence Pope Urban VIII also expressed the desire of setting up a Catholic Patriarchy of Kyiv, in order to cement this Union.

Upon becoming a Catholic Archbishop, Smotrycky went to a monastery in Derman, Volhynia and continued his mission, writing epistles and other theological and polemical works. The Orthodox hierarchy, meanwhile, condemned him, making it lawful for anybody to kill him. Thus Smotrycky lived in constant danger, for Moscow had sent agents all over Ukraine, to work against the realization of his plans. Smotrycky died in 1633 and it is generally assumed that he was poisoned by the agents of his adversaries.

## 2. THE CENTER OF BAROQUE LITERATURE

The center of Ukrainian Baroque literature was the Academy of Kyiv. It was reorganized into West European style by the Orthodox Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1633-47), who also introduced Latin as the official language of the academy. Because of these reforms the Academy of Kyiv became the reservoir of scholars for the entire Slavic world. It was the determining force of literary trends, forms, and ideas. Its scholastic standards were very high, besides Latin the required languages were Old Ukrainian and Greek, and also great emphasis was placed on philosophy and mathematics. Numerous foreign students attended the academy, among these were Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians and even Arabs. The records show, that in 1715 the enrollment at the academy totalled 1100 students, which is an unusually high number for that time.

In the second half of the 17th century a number of scholars left the academy and went to Moscow, where they extended a pronounced influence on the cultural life of the Muscovites. These scholars were theologians, poets, and dramatists who, although Ukrainian by birth, created a new epoch in Russian literature. The more prominent of these men were: Epiphaniy Slavenecky († 1675), a philologist active as the chief editor of the liturgical works in Moscow; Simeon Polocky (1624-1680) and Stepan Yaworsky (1658-1722) two poets and dramatists; Danylo Tuptalo (1651-1709), known in the Russian Orthodox Church as St. Demetrius of Rostov, a famous theologian, author of biographies of Saints and organizer of schools; Thephan Prokopovych (1661-1736) a well-known dramatist, author of numerous tragicomedies and organizer of Russian Church under Peter I; Theophylact Lopatynsky (1685-1741), Hawryil Buchynsky († 1731), and many others. Although the authors mentioned above wrote some of their works in Ukrainian language and thus they are a part of Ukrainian Baroque, their greatest output was in Russian, so that they have to be considered as figures of Russian literature.

As the 17th century drew to its close, in Ukraine the so-called gongorism begins to spread. Gongorism was a flowery, bombastic literary style invented by Luis de Gongora y Argote (1561-1627), a Spanish



lyric poet and dramatist. Gongorism brought with it "*cultureanismo*" (cult of the word), which was characterized by word-painting, stylistic games, strained metaphors, fanciful hyperboles, and other extravagant literary devices.

The elaborate French style also begins to spread in Ukrainian Baroque, the Ukrainian literature of that time, however, does not display the variety of form characteristic of West European literatures. There are no original novels nor long narrative poems in Ukrainian Baroque, although translations of West European literary works of the two genres were widely read. There are, on the other hand, numerous original lyric poems, short novels, dramas, sermons, chronicles, and tractates, some of which rise far above mediocrity. Unfortunately, however, most of these works are anonymous so that we know relatively little about the writers of Ukrainian Baroque.

The most interesting side of this age is the language. Up to now Old Ukrainian was the literary language, in the late stages of Baroque, however, we find strong influences of the proverbial language of the common people. The type of language in a literary work was contingent upon the genre, thus for example, in drama the living unadulterated language of the people prevails, in lyrics, on the other hand, Old Ukrainian is the dominant mode of expression.

In regard to the general character of this period as far as language is concerned, the important change was that Old Ukrainian, the literary language of the land, gradually passed into the early stages of New Ukrainian, so that the age of Baroque terminated the epoch of Old Ukrainian literary language.

### 3. THE LYRIC OF UKRAINIAN BAROQUE

During the early seventeenth century poetry or rather versification enjoyed great popularity in Ukraine. Even *Adelphotes*, the standard work on grammar, used verses in presenting and explaining various grammatical constructions. Poetry was governed by the principle of syllable-counting, although this principle was contrary to the natural harmony of the Ukrainian language, which, because of its tonic nature, is very suitable for the application of the genuine principles of versification, i.e., those based on the proper arrangement of stressed and unstressed syllables. Death was the favorite topic in Ukrainian Baroque poetry, thus one of the representative poems of that period is a dirge commemorating the death of Hetman Petro Konashevych Sahaydashny, who died in 1622. We render here one stanza of this dirge in English translation:

“You live as if you never had to die  
Seeking to devour all earthly riches,  
Searching for vain, earthly glory,  
Forgetting the fact that you must die.”

The variety of metric forms in the later Baroque poetry was exuberant; over 150 different metrical patterns were known and employed by the poets, depending on the contents of their work. Numerous poems were written in a partly onomatopoeic form, in which the formation of words was used in imitation of natural sounds (buzz, hiss, kiss, etc.). Also many jocular forms of poems were employed, among these the so-called “crabbed form” (*rakovyj virsh*), in which each stanza could be read from left to right and vice-versa without any change in the meaning. A virtuoso of such form of poetry was Lavrentiy Velychkovsky († 1673), whose poems served as models in the theoretical works on Ukrainian poetry of the seventeenth century. There were also poems whose structural form was that of an egg, a chalice, moon, axe, etc. Very popular, was also the so called leonin verse, in which each one half-line rhymed with the other. The most charming collection of such verses was written around 1680 by a poet known as Ivan, to his lady love Fevronia. The leonin verse was later modernized by Juriy Konysky, a prom-

inent dramatist and poet, who made it subject to the rules of tonicity. He divided each first half-line in two parts, rhyming the middle with the end and thus giving an entirely new form to the verse.

The love lyric of Ukrainian Baroque is greatly influenced by the folklore. Over most of the poems lies a deep melancholy and a touch of pessimism:

“I roam through the world  
Without solace and joy,  
Oh woe, my doleful woe,  
I myself know not  
What to begin.”

The disconsolate grief expressed in this stanza is brought out very effectively through the usage of the deep u-sound, which terminates each of the five lines in the Ukrainian version. Such literary devices, however, we are not able to reproduce in translation, so that much of the original force of the poem is lost to the English reader. Not all lyrics, however, are of such melancholy, pessimistic nature. Some simply describe the enjoyment of beauty and the delight of love:

“Your little eyes cast looks so beautiful  
That cause my heartbeat to refrain,  
My soul’s in flames, my heart is aching,  
O you most exquisite lily!”

True love, however, encounters various difficulties and obstacles, because people like to gossip and to spread ugly tales. Thus our anonymous poet issues the following warning to careless lovers:

“He who fails to keep his love secret,  
Will be lost like a dog when people find out about it.”

On parting, the saddest experience of all lovers, another anonymous poet has this to say:

“-----  
My enchanting lady is leaving me,  
Oh dark eyes, dark brows  
Lips of sugar and teeth of pearls,  
How difficult it is to remember  
That it is forbidden to caress you.  
Oh you beautiful Venus where are you tonight?

Although we know nothing about the author of this particular poem, we can safely say that he belonged to the upper social spheres, for he makes use not only of the common folklore motifs, but also displays a refined language and a knowledge of sophisticated, courtly vocabulary.

The Welsh epigrammatist John Owen (c. 1560-1622), author of *Epigrammata*, a collection of short poems treating pointedly, concisely, often satirically, a single thought or event usually ending in witticism, was very highly regarded in Ukraine, and the translations of his works enjoyed a great popularity. Velytshkovsky, to whom we have referred above, also wrote epigrams in the same style. Perhaps the best example of the latter's creations in this field, insofar as amusing wit is concerned, can be found in the following two lines:

“Everyone thinks that writing is an easy matter,  
But although only three fingers write, the entire body aches.”

The greatest collection of epigrams (altogether 369) in Ukrainian was left behind by Clementiy, a monk about whom nothing definite is known. In his epigrams he discusses all kinds of topics including music, art, poetry, courtly life, etc. These epigrams are characterized by a sharp, healthy wit and a thorough knowledge of life. One of his typical epigrams reads in translation as follows:

“He who knows how to drink well,  
Receives his spending money from God Himself.”

During the Baroque age emblematic poems, i.e., poems used to describe objects with symbolical meanings, were especially liked in Ukraine. Hryhoriy Skovoroda, the greatest Ukrainian philosopher and a talented poet, developed in his works a complete theory of emblematics. The sun, according to Skorovoda, generally conveys the meaning of truth; circle – eternity; dove – bashfulness and modesty, etc. The emblematic poetry came to Ukraine from the West, mostly from Spain and Germany, where it was extremely popular. The greatest collection of original Ukrainian emblematic poems *Itica I Yerepolityca*, enjoyed numerous editions (it was reprinted in Lviv as late as 1760), and the poems contained therein were known and quoted by young and old. The function of an emblematic poem is to analyze and to explain the picture which it accompanies, thus, for example, a picture showing a sea, a river, and a glass of water is followed by these lines:

“The wide sea has big waves  
Small rivers have little waves  
The water in the glass has no waves,  
That is the proceed from humility.”

The above mentioned Skovoroda expresses, under the influence of folklore, the same idea in one of his better known poems:

The sycamore by the water  
Always sways its head,  
Reckless winds blow



Breaking the sycamore's arms . . .  
 Why should I reflect upon  
 That my mother bore me in a village?  
 Let those ransack their brains  
 Who strive for higher things,  
 I shall live peacefully  
 A pleasant life.

А Селанди, дождь стои, аки они  
 поили правного сна крива, и не ходи  
 ли кривати. аки коши и ты старши  
 жидкиши, князя и пано и учителии  
 и. котрии тои самниа шмтокали и  
 пни крива, и да того ты сипи и зо  
 рниши шмалеи илаки хои: и ни да  
 ла того иного не ходи кривати. и  
 аки радости коши, яко по и поте  
 ршныи аки многи е пани. що  
 не ходи кривати правного закона  
 криво, и цркви стои соборной. и кы  
 мокалиюта. аки и пты - котрии то  
 похвокали сля иволи и жоны поем  
 ли. хоптаи крива правного илю  
 иш хку и цркви стои, а преса крив  
 ти оуи клкитила нашиго ха. аки  
 ли то розказане шми пани саст  
 коему, що кы оукаш састы хромы  
 и недостаточны криво его: що кы  
 оужикали шной крива. Званы  
 ты клян Змежи жидок, оучени  
 ци хку и апам. котрии то састы  
 клян и хршмы и недостаточны,

Diminished page of Instructing Gospel, 1668.

A variation of the emblematic poem was the so called escutcheon poem. Such poems usually expressed the gratitude of a poet to a rich nobleman, who provided the funds necessary for the printing of the poetic works. Thus this type of poem is an eulogy of the nobleman's escutcheon or coat of arms, which also serves to explain the symbolic

meaning of the various figures and signs found on them. The escutcheon of Petro Mohyla, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv (1633-1647), who was a descendent of the Royal House of Moldavia, contains, among other things, two swords and a lily with a crucifix. Some unknown poet explains these items as follows:

The two swords show valour in knightly deeds,  
The lily and crucifix symbolize the Christian faith.  
In this house, therefore, true devotedness  
And immortal glory will reign forever.

Very typical of the Ukrainian Baroque was also the jocular form of poetry. The acrostic form, for example, which was common among the Greeks of the Alexandrine period, as well as among the Latin writers, was very highly regarded by the poets of that age. The acrostic is a short verse composition, so constructed that the initial letters of the lines, taken consecutively, form a certain meaning — usually the name of the author himself. In some cases, one could also deduce the date on which the poem was written by finding the numerical meaning of some particular letters in the poem, which were often emphasized for that purpose. Such poems were known as cabalistic verse. Their authors generally speaking, were not concerned with the contents of their works as such, but rather devoted all their energy to form and euphony. Both Tuptalo and Velychkovsky, to whom we referred previously, excelled in this kind of poetry. But the model of euphonistic perfection is a dialogue in poetic form, in which man and God discuss faith and acts. In this dialogue words are arranged in such manner that they form a mosaic of sounds, so that it is practically impossible to render any parts of the poem in English.

The poetry of the Baroque age placed great stress on form and euphony. It also enriched the rhyme to a great extent, because at that time, the device of incomplete correspondency (assonance of modern poetry) was introduced and frequently employed and the masculine rhyme became acceptable as genuine rhyme.

#### 4. EPIC POETRY

No great original, secular epic of Ukrainian Baroque has been preserved to our times and there is some doubt whether such work ever existed, since there were no literary circles which would create an atmosphere favorable for the genesis of a secular epic and, generally speaking, the secular epic was not too popular during the Baroque age altogether. There is a translation of Torquato Tasso's (1544–1595) *Gerusalemme Liberata*, a story of the crusades with a heightened religious fervour, based insofar as style is concerned on *Vigil* and considered by many scholars as one of the greatest epic poems of all times. The Ukrainian translator of this work is unknown, and it is yet to be determined whether the translation was made from the original Italian text or from another language. There is also an epic poem by Samuel Mokrievych, who, around 1697 rendered a poetic version of the book of *Genesis* and of the Gospels of St. Matthew. Besides these there are also fragments of an epic based on St. John's *Apocalypse*, the authorships of which is unknown. *Hail Mary (Bohorodyce Divo)* and *The Eight Beatitudes (Visim Blaczenstv)* by I. Maksymowych are long (23,000 and 6,000 lines respectively), original religious epics about which relatively little has been written. All of the works mentioned here belong to the didactic type of epic poetry, as does the rather short (902 lines) epic *Concerning the Right to pass Judgment (O pravosudiu pravdi i bodrosti)*, written in 1724 by a virtually unknown poet who called himself Kosak Klymovski. This poem is not a panegyric but rather an admonition for Czar Peter I to be a just ruler. On the basis of this work we are able to postulate that the Ukrainian intelligentsia of that time was not completely subjugated by the Russian regime, for the author of this work expresses strong sentiments of independence and, to a certain extent, challenges the absolute power of the Czar. Another original epic poem of that age is *The War of the Seven Cardinal Virtues with the Seven Cardinal Sins* (1737) by Ioasaphat Horlenko, Bishop of Bilhorod. This poem has a prologue and an epilogue and contains close to 1000 lines. It is interesting not only because of its vivid account of the symbolical battles between virtues and sins, but also because it comprises numerous military terms and expressions of that era. It has a great deal of meta-

phors and other literary devices typical of the Baroque, and the entire war is connected with the feast-days of the whole year.

Also very popular at that time were religious stories based on the *Apocrypha* and folklore tales with demonological contents. The authors of such stories were generally monks. The most prominent of these was Leontiy Karpovych, who never left his cell without an hour-glass, for he valued time very highly and considered every moment of leisure as wasted. He followed the general trend of the time, so that his works are, for the most part, didactic. In one of his stories he says: "If a drop of ink falls on a white linen one can perceive it instantly; but on a black linen even a large blot is not easily detected. He who has a clean conscience and commits a venial sin, will realize his wrongdoing and repent; but he who is void of a clear conscience is not able to realize that he has sinned and therefore it is very difficult for him to reform." Leontiy Karpovych was a great propagator of frequent reception of the Holy Eucharist which he compared to the light of the sun: "... just as one standing in sunlight is able to see even the smallest blot, in the same manner, the person who frequently receives the Holy Eucharist is able to see his sins." This view was transcendent of its time, for the Orthodox even to-day do not encourage this practice, while on the Catholic side, the Saint Pope Pius X issued a special proclamation concerning this matter, during the early years of the twentieth century. Karpovych followed in these matters the voice of Pope Urban IV (1261–1264), who, in 1264, ordered the whole Church to observe the Feast of Corpus Christi. Karpovych, we believe, was the first in the Eastern Church to raise his voice in the matters of homage of the Holy Eucharist.

The religious stories did not have such virtuosity of form as religious poems. The individual personages of the stories are only interesting to the reader insofar as they are inherently connected to life and fate which are ruled by God. In this sense there is a certain element of predestination in Ukrainian Baroque, based, of course, on religious beliefs and convictions. But since the theme of the religious stories of that time is, for the most part, the struggle between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, our literary scholars were not interested in their forms but rather in their contents. Because of this, many of the original thoughts in these works as well as the expressions of moralizing, philosophical ideas are, even now, completely disregarded.

Ukrainian criticism took the stand, that this particular genre of didactic prose prevented the development of other genres of Baroque prose such as, for example, the adventure novel, which was very popular in the West. This seems to be the main reason why this genre did not merit the interest of Ukrainian scholars. We should remember, however, that Baroque literature as a whole reflects the spirit of seventeenth

century during which Ukraine exerted a definite influence on the neighboring Slavic nations.

As we have previously observed, a great interest in demonological elements developed in Western Europe during the Renaissance. Yet while in the countries of the West numerous witch trials took place—in Ukraine such spectacles were very rare. On the other hand, the view of the power of evil, of Satan, was in Ukraine equal to that of God. This view did not come into being during Renaissance nor Baroque; it goes back to the Ukrainian literature of asceticism which flourished during the Middle Ages. According to this view, demonological powers are able, even under adverse circumstances, to acquire ascendancy over a human being. Thus in one of the stories of Tuptalo's collection *Ceti-Mineyi* (12 vols.), a witch is carried off by the devils while she attends Mass in a church. This characteristic trait of Ukrainian mentality prevailed for a long time, so that even to-day a certain type of dualism (*dvoyevirja*) exists among the Ukrainian people.

## 5. THE SERMONS

In our modern days sermons are generally considered to lie beyond the scope of literature. During the days of the Baroque, however, the sermon was one of the most liked literary genres. Generally speaking, there were three main types of sermon:

1. Sermons based upon or closely connected with Holy Scripture;
2. Moral sermon, which is the most interesting type for a literary historian, insofar as it points out the errors and deficiencies of the era in general, and
3. The panegyric sermon, a eulogy in honor of some deity, saint or person.

The effect of a sermon was contingent not only upon its contents, but also on the manner in which it was delivered. It had to appeal either to the emotions or to the intellect of the listeners, for most of the listeners of that day were not too religiously inclined. In order to be effective, the sermon had to comprise a certain dose of humor, irony, a great deal of metaphorical expressions, and even an occasional paradox. Sermons built on a paradox were highly appreciated in Italy, where they constituted a specific genre; in Ukraine, however, sermons of this type were not as popular. The sermons provide us with a valuable insight into the life of all social spheres of the Baroque age, starting with the peasants and terminating with the clergy and the nobility. This particular genre flourished in Ukraine during the Baroque, but most of the works which have been preserved to our days were printed in Moscow, where, because of a strict censorship, their stylistic as well as linguistic value was greatly impaired.

The father of Ukrainian sermon genre was Kyrylo Tranquilion Stavrovetsky († 1646), professor at the fraternity school of Lviv, later on, Archimandrite of Chernyhyv. His first work was *Instructing Gospel (Uchytelne Evanhelie)*, a collection of sermons published in 1619. This work evinces a thorough knowledge of Arianism, Calvinism, and the Latin writers of that time. The form of his sermons is rhetorical, for during his discourse he refers to the Saints as if they were present there. His second great work, written during the early part of 1646, is *Pearl*

of High Value (*Perla Mnohocinnoye*), which displays all the basic characteristics of the first one.

The principal theorist on this genre of the Ukrainian Baroque was Ioannikiy Galatovsky († 1688), author of numerous sermons, the most important of which are, "*The true Messiah*" (1659) and "*The Key to Understanding*" (1665). His most significant work, however, is the treatise *Instructions, or the Manner of Constructing a Sermon* (*Nauka Aĭbo Sposob Zlozenia Kazania*) written in 1659, in which he lists the various devices to be used "to arouse the interest of the listener." The sermon, he says, has to contain diverse elements which should be "sometimes clever and unusual, sometimes happy, and sometimes sad, for diversity captivates the fancy of the people." He demands besides the use of religious material (the Gospels and the writings of the Fathers of the Church), also the use of materials from history, from chronicles, from the sermons of other preachers, as well as an occasional treatment of the fauna and flora, to be used primarily for exemplification. He himself makes frequent use of metaphor and simile and quotes extensively from other authors. At times he paraphrases the classics, especially Aristophanes, and uses them as basis of his discourse. The theme, according to Galatovsky's theory, is the corner stone of the sermon, which is normally divided into the following parts:

1. *Exordium*—the beginning during which the preacher introduces his subject, invokes the help of God or of the Blessed Mother, and entreats the patience of his listeners.
2. *Narratia*—the main part of the discourse which treats the topic stated in the introduction.
3. *Conclusia*—the final part; usually a summation of the *narratia* with the admonition to do good and avoid evil.

All three parts have to agree with the theme of the sermon, for the theme is "like a large river into which all the smaller rivers flow."

A high quality of style display the sermons of Antin Radyvylivsky (†1688), a contemporary of Galatovsky, and an abbot at Monastery of St. Nicholas in Kyiv. Radyvylivsky approaches more closely the folklore literature. He uses *Gesta Romanorum*, makes frequent comments about the state of things of his day and, what is most important, modernizes the antiquity. He regards Moses as the "Hetman" of the people of Israel; St. John the Apostle as the secretary of heaven, and St. John the Baptist as the marshal of God. Each Saint appearing in his works has his own coat of arms charged with the heraldic bearings of the owner. Thus St. Michael, for instance, has a sword on his escutcheon, because of his martial deeds in the service of God. Radyvylivsky often employs Latin proverbs in his works and dramatizes large por-

tions of his sermons through the use of dialogue. These sermons are also adorned with picturesque scenes, such as the greetings extended to the Holy Trinity by the angels, the rejoicing in heaven after the Resurrection of Christ, and many similar episodes with charming pictorial quality.

To the late Baroque belong the sermons of the Orthodox Archbishop Lazar Baranovych (1593-1693), the President of the Academy of Kyiv. The most prominent of these sermons were "*The Spiritual Sword*" (1666) and "*The Trumpets of the Preacher's Words*" (1674). Baranovych belonged to the group of politicians who propagated a federation of Moscow, Poland and Ukraine, and in his works he appears more as a politician than as a man of letters. He was one of the leaders of the group of Ukrainian authors and scholars who went to Moscow at the closing of the 17th century. Following the footsteps of Baranovych, two prominent Ukrainian preachers, Dmytro Tuptalo Rostovsky (1651-1709) and Stepan Jaworsky (1658-1722) also left Ukraine and went to Moscow. Tuptalo, inasmuch as his literary output is concerned, is a representative of Baroque symbolism. One of his most characteristic sermons is the funeral oration at the grave of Innocent Gisel († 1685), the Archimandrite of the Petcherska Lavra. In this oration Tuptalo compares Gisel to a column of Solomon's temple and draws an analogy between the temple and the Petcherska Lavra by comparing and contrasting even the smallest constituents of each. We can deduce from the general arrangement of his sermons that he must have been an excellent orator, expertly skilled in all the dramatic devices. In modern times, his fame rests chiefly on the work *The Golden Fleece covered with Dew* (*Runo oroshennoe*), the collection of his best sermons written in 1680. His sermons are built on dialogues containing long complex sentences, numerous parallelisms and antitheses. The composition of his sermons is very complicated. At the beginning of each many problems are stated in the form of questions which are later on answered in the various parts of the sermon. Most of the time, however, the answers are so symbolical that it is very difficult to understand them. Tuptalo brings out the manifold symbolical meanings of water and of the various trees, which were supposedly the constituents of the cross on which Christ died; refers very frequently to the Apocrypha and to other legends and interprets the name of Adam as microcosmos. In his sermons we encounter many anecdotes of the ancients, as well as interesting original ideas. In one of his works, for example, he has a preacher meeting a deceased person and the ensuing dialogue between the two has a tremendous dramatic effect. Very often he has also employed alliteration in his sermons. One reference to St. John Chrysostom, for instance, reads as follows: "O zlatoslove, zlatohlaholyve, zlatouste Joane, zlotymy tvoimy ustamy . . ." ("Oh thou of gold-



en words, thou of golden sayings, Oh John of golden speech with your golden lips . . .”)

Tuptalo's sermons are the best of those of the Baroque age; they display a certain perfection of form, clever use of parallelism, antithesis, and other rhetorical devices, as well as many fresh, original ideas. Although his style is extremely flowery and ornate, the contents, the ideas of his works, nevertheless, do not suffer on account of this exaggerated manner of presentation. In his voluntary exile in Russia, Tuptalo organized school theatres on the model of the famous school theatre of Kyiv. He also founded a similar theatre in Rostov, Russia, and wrote many plays which were produced there. His works of that period evince an intense yearning for Ukraine, which interred in him until his death.

The most splendid exponent of literary ornamentation of the Baroque age was Stepan Yavorsky. His fame rests chiefly on *the Rhetorical Hand (Retorychna Ruka)*, a poetic study of the Ukrainian Baroque, and on *The Rock of Faith (Kamin Viry)* written in 1728 and directed against Protestantism. In his poetics he lists 59 types of metric patterns and traces them back to the poetics of the ancients. His sermons also contain dialogues, symbolism, play on words, witty comparisons, and the usual literary devices of the Baroque. He refers to Noah as “the famous admiral,” and addresses God as follows: “Oh heavenly pharmacist, how wondrous is thy pharmacy!” He was a fearless preacher who did not believe in concealing his criticism behind symbols, as it was the case with Tuptalo. In one of his sermons in Moscow he bluntly stated that he had always “searched for truth and hoped to find her in Moscow, but,” he continues, “some people told me that truth avoids this city, for she is afraid of the knout and of slave labor camp.”

German mysticism exerted a certain influence on Ukrainian Baroque. S. Todorsky delivered many sermons in which the ideas of German mystics were incorporated. But only non-essential fragments of these orations have survived to our times, so that we know very little about this particular type of sermon.

A very popular literary form of the Baroque was the tractate, a scientific discussion of a single literary, philosophical, or religious topic. There were many tractates in Ukraine, written both in Ukrainian and Latin. Among those writers who preferred the Latin languages in this particular genre was H. Skovoroda, whose works we shall discuss more extensively in the future chapters. Besides this type, there were also polemical tractates characterized by an emotional style. To this group of writers belonged Cassian Sakovych, Meletiy Smotrycky, and Zacharias Kopystiansky. A typical example of the scientific tractate is *The Mirror of Theology (Zercalo Bohoslovia)* written by K. T. Stavrovetsky in 1618. This work contains the first dogmatic treatise, in-

tended for the use of the Orthodox. The Orthodox Church, however, condemned the book and Stavrovetsky thereupon became a Catholic. Another important work, a tractate on moral theology, was written by Giseler in 1661, under the title *God's Peace for Man* (*Myr z Bohom Czoloviku*). There was also a type of popular scientific tractate of which the Carpatho-Ukrainian Michael Andreello was the main exponent.

## 6. HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

A literary genre of great historical importance was the *litopys* which was introduced to Ukraine during the latter part of the 12th century, and reached its peak in Western Europe, during the early 17th century. The *litopys*, or to use the English word, chronicle, is one of the richest sources for the study of history and of culture of past ages in general. Most of the works of this genre were of an autobiographical nature, written in diary form with emphasis on the recording of every day events, such as weather, quality of food, manner of dressing, etc., but at the same time, they also preserved many important historical events. The *litopys* also presents us with an overall view of the intellectual-educational level of the time, for many of the writers refer to and frequently quote famous authors of the West as well as of the antiquity. One of the most interesting Ukrainian chronicles is *Hustynsky Litopys* (1670), which was written in the monastery of the city Hustyn by the monk Michael Losytsky. This author, in speaking about Homer, asserts that the latter was not only a poet but also a superb chronicle writer and a great patriot, who tried to revive his countrymen's regard for their glorious past. The *litopys* is also sometimes called chronograph from the Greek *chronos* (time) and *grapho* (I write), or *diyary* from the Latin word *dies* meaning day. There was a great abundance of such works in Ukraine, all of which were colored by a national ideology. The national ideology of a particular work occasionally submerged itself into a Slavic ideology and sometimes into that of Orthodoxy, but there is not a single chronicle of the Baroque which does not contain some sort of world view, be it national, Orthodox, or Slavic in general.

The flowerage of the *litopys* was advanced by the Polish-Ukrainian wars and a great number of these memoirs are actually chronological accounts of historical events in a pragmatic manner. Because of the huge bulk of material they had to cover, the authors, in order to bring about a union between internal and external events, chose the memoir form for their purpose. In this particular field there had long since existed a tradition in Ukraine, for at that time the *Chronicle* (*Povist vremenych lit*) of Nestor (1056-1114), was already well

known, as was the colorful *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (1205-92), a monumental work which even today may still be read strictly for the sake of enjoyment. Because of this tradition, the *Hustynsky Litopys* was, in a way, an echo of the *Chronicle* of Nestor.

The *litopys* genre of the Ukrainian Baroque can be broken down into three essential parts:

a) Monastery chronicles; b) Family chronicles; c) Cossack chronicles.

The monastery chronicles comprise a separate sub-genre, for they are limited to a particular monastery and deal only with things and events pertaining to it. A special monk was usually assigned to the task of recording the events at the monastery but it was the responsibility of every monk to acquaint himself with its history. Thus at dinner, after saying grace and reading a brief passage from the life of the particular saint whose feast day it happened to be, the monks also listened to a reading of the monastery chronicle. The contents of such chronicle gave information about the founding of the monastery, about the various visitors which frequented it during the years, the orders of princes regarding the settlement, and even details of the financial situation of the community.

At this time, it seems necessary to point out the differences which existed between Russian and Ukrainian monasteries. In Ukraine, the monasteries were centers of moral and physical assistance of one's fellow-man; in Russia, the chief concern of the monks was to save themselves. Ukrainian monasteries were built mostly in the cities or not too far from them, so that the monks could maintain a close contact with the populace; in Russia on the other hand, monasteries were built far away from all settlements in places usually referred to as *pustynia*. The Ukrainian monks were morally bound to serve the people and not only to save themselves. The entire organization of Ukrainian monastery life was based on the same principles as those which governed the life of all secular communities. The ideal of Russian monks, however, was to become an *otshelnyk*, i.e., an anchorite who forsakes worldly life in order to save his soul. Because of these vast differences between the two monastic systems, the Russian Empress Catherine II, liquidated a great number of Ukrainian monasteries by the *ukas* of February 25, 1764, and by subjugating the rest, she hoped to destroy the customs and traditions of Ukrainian monks.

The family chronicles limited themselves to the description of events occurring within a given family circle. Needless to say, such chronicles varied in accordance with the social position of the family. Most families of the nobility had their own chronographers who kept a record of the matrimonial unions of various members of the family, as well as of banquets, the theatrical performances which the family at-

tended and other more or less important events pertaining to the various members of the family. Besides the family chronicle of the nobility, there are also chronicles of the clergy which also provide us with valuable historical data.

The Cossack chronicles give us an overall view of the circumstances under which the Cossack-Hetman State came into being and reveal many interesting aspects of the liberation wars and of Cossack diplomacy. These chronicles, therefore, serve not only as a source for the study of historical events, but also as a source for the study of the cultural background of the epoch.

The importance of the chronicles insofar as the perpetuation of historical data is concerned, was realized already by the writers of the Baroque age. In the *Hustynsky Litopys* for example, we find the following thoughts expressed in the foreword of the author:

"Everyone has an inborn love for his country and this love has the attraction of a magnet . . . The authors of Ukrainian chronicles were mere mortals, well aware of the fact that they had to die, but because of the love for their country they fervently desired to preserve the past for the future generation. Therefore they described the past in their chronicles . . . If nothing were recorded, nothing of the past reported to the world, everything would pass with the body into the earth and people would not know what had happened in previous ages."

The authors of most Ukrainian chronicles are unknown. Some of the chronicles never reached us, although we have certain data about them from other works. We know, for example, of the memoirs of Samilo Zorka, a nobleman of Volhynia and chancellor for many years at the court of Hetman Bohdan Chmelnysky. Zorka's lost chronicle was used by the Cossack memoir writer Samilo Velytshko in his works, as well as the *Pereyaslavsky Litopys* 1636, which is also lost. The authors of the Ukrainian chronicles were conscious of their nationality and did not shun the discussion of problems attached to it. They bring out the rapid denationalization of Ukrainian nobility and the dark sides of the relations between the Cossack nobility and the proletarian class. The authors of the chronicles were usually eyewitnesses of the events of the Chmelnysky era, while in the description of the preceding epoch, they rely mostly on oral tradition. One of the most important memoirs of the 17th century is the *Lvivsky Litopys*, which received this name because it was found in the city of Lviv. It takes in the years 1498-1649 and gives exact information about Galicia, Podolia, the region around Kyiv, and that around Pereyaslav. The author is a fervent Ukrainian patriot and, probably, a member of poor nobility who was an official clerk at the court. He is a monarchist, for he sympathizes strongly with the hetman, but at the same time he also displays certain democratic tendencies, especially in his enthusiastic descriptions of the comrade-

ship of the Cossacks. He writes very interestingly about the life of the Cossacks in general, emphasizing that friendship was for them the supreme virtue.

An original Cossack *litopys* is the anonymous *Memoirs of an Eyewitness* (*Litopys Samovydcia*) written in a vivid and objective manner. It takes in the years 1648-1702, i.e., the time of the origin of the Cossack-Hetman State. In this work the historical form of presentation dominates the memoir form used in the preceding works. The author omits unimportant details and directs his attention chiefly to the essentials. This manner is pragmatic; he gives a clear account of the events connecting them with their causes. This anonymous author must have been a member of the nobility serving as a diplomat and occupying a rather high position in the chancery of the hetman. He never speaks of the masses nor of the common social problems as such, but rather devotes himself to the analysis of more abstract questions. People such as our anonymous author were usually very rich, and performed their functions for the sake of honor and without any material reward. They were frequently dispatched to foreign countries as envoys or ambassadors to promote the cause of the Cossack-Hetman State. Our author seems to be one of this group for he displays a thorough knowledge of the political affairs of that time. He protests vehemently against the Turkophile policy of the country and objects against any kind of alliance with the Mussulmans. Although he appears to be very religious, he voices no opinion on matters pertaining to the Church. The hetman is for him not only the head of the state but also the head of the entire nobility. In this respect our unknown author is in accord with the noblemen of Western Europe, who viewed the position of the king in the same manner. In connection with the hetman's chancery (which was at the same time the chancery of the state), we have to mention the *diyariyi*, the clerks who wrote the chronicles. The function of these officials was to record the administrative activity of the entire state department.

It frequently happened, however, that individual officials, because of the constant practice in writing, acquired certain literary skills, and since during the Baroque age versification was loved and admired, they often rendered their accounts in verses. Such artistic official reports are, of course, of no great aesthetic value; but the versification on the other hand, does not detract from the value of their actual contents, on the contrary, it renders them more effective and more agreeable for reading.

## 7. THE THEATER OF COSSACK BAROQUE

The use of the term Cossack Baroque is not very appropriate insofar as the delineation of the theater of that era is concerned. The Cossack nobility was neither the sole creator nor perpetuator of the theatrical arts in Ukraine, although just the opposite was true in the case of architecture. The school theater of Western Europe, which also enjoyed a considerable popularity in Ukraine, had no roots in the history of Ukrainian theater and cannot be considered more than a pedagogical expedient in the Ukrainian schools which were interested in furthering and developing stage technique.

The beginnings of Ukrainian theater go back to the pre-Christian customs of the Ukrainians, and it was not until the Baroque age that significant foreign elements began to infiltrate the Ukrainian stage.

The so-called *dialogy* mark the beginning of Ukrainian Baroque theater. These dialogues had their origin in the Holy Liturgy and were, consequently, very popular with all the schools. Written in either Ukrainian or Latin, the dialogues were usually recited by the students at some extraordinary occasion, such as holydays, the visit of a prominent ecclesiastic or of an influential school dignitary. In 1614, for example, the students of the Basilian school in Lutsk greeted the visiting Catholic Metropolitan of Kyiv, Joseph IV Rutsky, with ornate dialogue recitations.

The question whether the dialogues belong to the history of literature or to that of the theater, has as yet not been settled by the scholars. Some assert that because of the multitude of characters usually found in the dialogues (Angels, God's Mercy, Divine Love, Free Will, and others even more characteristic of the Baroque, such as Fortune, Titan, Charon, etc.), they are to be considered as a part of the theater. Others, however, state that dialogues do not belong to the theater, for they lack action, movement as well as mimicry.

The first play to appear on the Ukrainian stage was the translation of the Greek passion play *Chrystos Paschon*, which was brought to Ukraine in 1630. The drama was not a word for word translation, but rather a revision of the original version with the inclusion of many new elements as well as the omission of several first hand motifs. The

person of Christ, for example, did not appear on the stage in the Ukrainian version, because the Ukrainian people had a very great reverence for the Son of God, and did not deem it respectful to have Him personified on the stage. Perhaps the oldest Ukrainian passion play is *Meditations on the Passions of Christ the Savior* (*Rozmyslanie o Muki Chrysta Spasytela*) written by J. Wolkovych in predominantly dialogue form. From the numerous West European plays of the two cycles, the Passion plays and the Nativity plays, only fragments appeared in Ukraine. These fragments, however, bring out the theatrical dependence of the Ukrainian Baroque Theater and the works of the Western World. In Lviv during the year 1670 there was a passion play performed, of which only the prologue and five scenes survived. This drama contains many motifs from the Apocrypha as well as other legends about the Blessed Virgin. For example, the angel searching for Jesus at Mount of Olives in order to give Him the chalice, encounters the Blessed Virgin who begs him to relinquish the chalice to her. The angel refuses, and thereupon the Blessed Mother breaks out in tears. This scene, known as "The Lament of the Mother of God," is the most famous of that age. An antiprologue of an unknown passion play of the 17th century has also survived. In it, Adam and Eve mourn over their fall, and the latter excuses herself for eating the forbidden fruit by saying that she was overcome by an insuperable desire to be like God.

The greatest output of Passion plays was between 1690-1710, for during that time there came into being such dramas as *The King of Human Nature* (*Czarstvo Ludskoyi Natury*), 1698; *Eternal Wisdom* (*Mudrist Predvichna*), 1703; *An Act concerning the Passions of Christ* (*Diya na Strasty Chrystovy*), 1704; and *The Triumph of Human Being* (*Triuwf Ludskoyi Istoty*), 1706. The religious drama soon became impregnated with Ukrainian historical symbolism. A specimen of such type of play is the anonymous *Picture of the Passions of this World* (*Obras Strasty choho Switu*), a static, kaleidoscopic drama which was performed in the School Theater of the Academy of Kyiv in 1739.

Among the characters of that drama are Mars, Pallada, Bellona, and other mythological figures. Mars symbolizes Ukraine and Bellona Russia. During the course of events Mars urges Rebellion, who in turn symbolizes Hetman Mazepa to speak up against Bellona. The latter, however, conquers Rebellion and leads him away in chains. This drama has to be considered as a step towards an independent genre of historical plays — the *tragedy* (tragicomedy). Written in an almost pure folk language is the powerful drama *The Lay of the Destruction of Hell* (*Slovo o Zbureniu Pekla*), which has its roots in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. It contains no allegorical figures and thus there is no pronounced influence of the Western theater, and contrary to the ancient tradition, the person of Christ does appear on the stage. This



drama originated in Western Ukraine; it exhibits an excellent scene technique, extravagant stage decorations and many comical episodes. One very amusing moment unfolds, when Christ, after His Resurrection, descends into Hades and finds Lucifer barricaded with his army behind the portals, seeking to prevent His entrance. Christ blesses the portals and they fall apart. Thereupon He sprinkles Lucifer and his cohort with Holy Water, causing terror and confusion among the inhabitants of the underworld. The reactions of the various devils are indeed very amusing, Lucifer, for example, cries in a panic-stricken voice: "Woe! Woe is us, gentlemen! They break down the fortifications and spray us with some kind of stinging water!"

The drama of the Cossack Baroque consisted of four parts. 1) the antiprologue; 2) the prologue; 3) the scenes, i.e., the main body of the play; 4) the epilogue.

In the antiprologue some symbolical figure such as Human Nature, Love, Peace, or the like, appeared on the stage and delivered usually a mournful monologue. During this monologue another character made his entrance and tried to comfort the speaker; thus a dialogue developed. At this point, the antitheses of the preceding symbolical figures come forth, so that Love is confronted with Hate, Peace with Turmoil, Joy with Sorrow, etc. A debate ensues, during which the central figure, the one who delivered the opening monologue, begins to waver in its convictions. With the entrance of the next character, the situation usually takes a turn for the worse. Then the last symbolical figure to appear in that scene, changes the course of events for the good, and brings the antiprologue to its conclusion.

The prologue of the drama narrates briefly the main events of the play and gives a short account of the plot.

After the third part, the actual subject matter of the play, follows the epilogue with a moral lesson, how to act in order to achieve that which has to be achieved.

The various stage productions of the Ukrainian Baroque were governed by the unity of time, and, therefore, the stage as such usually comprised three floors. The uppermost was heaven, the one in the middle — earth, and the lowest — hell. All of these were connected with revolving stairs, so that the actors could change their places in a matter of seconds.

Around 1680 arises a new type of drama, the miracle play, and with it numerous plays about the Assumption of Our Lady. The oldest of this kind of plays is *The Drama about Oleksiy the Man of God (Drama pro Oleksyia Czolovika Bozoho)*, printed in Kyiv, 1674. The structure of the miracle play differs from that of the ordinary drama of the Cossack Baroque. It has a prologue, two acts, an epilogue, and two so-called *intermediyi*, which may be considered as the inception

of Ukrainian comedy. The *intermediya* was a short, comical act based either on truth or fiction and performed between the acts of the play. Its comicality was contingent not only upon the subject matter and presentation of the dialogues, but also on the attire of the actors and the use or misuse of the various objects which were set up on the stage for that particular purpose. The contents of the *intermediya* were completely detached from the contents of the play, just as the characters who appeared there had nothing in common with the characters of the play. The *intermediyi*, however, could be connected with each other, forming a united whole, or, on the other hand, they could also exist as separate entities. It was usually performed between two long and serious acts, in order to provide the audience with comic relief. Since the *intermediyi* were written in the unsophisticated language of the common people (as were the prologue and the epilogue), they usually enjoyed a tremendous success and soon formed a separate genre of dramatic literature, which eventually developed into Ukrainian comedy proper.

A group of dramas was the morality play commonly referred to as moralities. In Western Europe, the moralities corresponded to the love allegory and dominated the whole field of literature. In Ukraine, it was a similar case, although the allegorical factor was not as strongly emphasized. The moralities are not only interesting from the literary point of view, but also from the social insofar as they reveal to us the customs and manners of the people of that particular era. The most interesting of the Ukrainian morality plays is Warlaam Lashczewsky's *Tragekomediya* (1740), a dialogue consisting of five scenes in which, besides other personages, two sisters appear; Ahafiya, who is in heaven, and Faula, who is in hell. Their dialogue provides us with an insight into the people's view on moral and social problems. Faula confesses that she, while living on earth, used heavy make-up, "spoke with her eyes" to the young men she met on her too-frequent walks, and thought about nothing other than music, dancing, and fun. "Such is the fate," states the moralizing author in regards to Faula, "of those who don't observe the commands expressed in the Holy Gospels, and don't appreciate the wisdom of life which they contain."

Under the influence of the Jesuit theater of Western Europe, Ukrainian historical drama developed. The two outstanding plays in this genre are Theophan Prokopovych's *Vladimir* and the anonymous drama *The Grace of God (Laska Bozha)*. Theophan Prokopovych applied very successfully the rules of the Jesuit drama to his plays. Having studied in Rome in 1700, he was very well acquainted with the principles of the Jesuit drama as well as with principles of dramatic art in general. With *Vladimir*, which was dedicated to Hetman Mazepa, the historical drama of the theater of the Cossack Baroque reach-

es its zenith. The drama itself differs from the various plays discussed insofar as structure is concerned, for it contains a prologue and five acts during which the chorus appears. The first act of this type of play is called *prostasis*, i.e., the beginning or introduction; the second *epitasis*, the beginning of the action as such; while the third and fourth act during which the action approaches its climax, are known as *kastasis*. The fifth and final act in which the actual climax occurs is referred to as *katastrophy*. This act terminates with the delivery of a panegyric oration by the chorus in honor of Hetman Mazepa. This play contains no *intermediyi*, so that the comic element is not separated from the actual drama, but rather runs through the entire course of events. Another innovation is the satire of contemporary persons, who, however, are placed in the historical times of Vladimir the Great. The satire becomes apparent even in the names of characters. Some high priests for example, are endowed with names like ox-eater, chicken-consumer, drunkard, and the like. These particular characters represent the clergy of that time, which the author sharply criticized. The dialogues of the drama are very vivid and present in a witty and at times sarcastic manner all the shortcomings of the contemporary society.

*The Grace of God* was first staged at the school theaters of Kyiv in 1728. It also has five acts with a chorus which appears in every second act. As it was the custom of the Baroque age, the play has a host of historical and mythological personages. Thus we see the muses, Apollo, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and Hetman Chmelnytsky. The chorus of the play consists of children while the central figure, which also serves as a type of announcer of actions taking place behind the scenes, is News which symbolizes Ukraine. National, patriotic, and religious motifs are, as is the case with most dramas of the Baroque, strongly emphasized in this play. Its form resembles that of the *dumy*, the Ukrainian folk epics which were sung by wandering minstrels. Although the authorship of this work has not been definitely determined, there are reasons to believe that it was written by Innocent Nemnovych, Professor of Poetics at the Academy of Kyiv, at the occasion of the election of Hetman Danylo Apostol in 1727.

Another drama from that period is the presentation of the biblical episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The scenery of this play demands opulent decorations (sea, ships, desert, etc.); the actual seduction scene, however, was not included in the play, although various allegorical figures such as Sin, Conscience, etc. make frequent allusions to it.

In the middle of the 18th century the school theater which flourished in all the prominent cities of Ukraine, slowly, begins to decline. Since many of the students who took part in the various stage productions in Ukraine, were natives of Byelo-Russia, Serbia and Croatia,

these countries became well acquainted with the Ukrainian stage and used it as the basis for their own theatrical productions.

Very popular even until very recent times was the *vertep*, a representation of the stable at Bethlehem, with the Infant Jesus surrounded by Mary, Joseph, the cattle, the shepherds, and the Magi. In Western Europe, the *vertep*, known commonly as creche consisted of unmoving lifeless figures. The Ukrainian *vertep* belongs to the genre of Marionette theater which originated in Egypt and gradually spread to Western Europe. The creche was employed to acquaint the people with some episodes from the Gospel, especially those which emphasized the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary, since, next to Jesus, she was considered the main figure, and from her name, from Mary, the term "marionette" developed.

Because of its very nature this type of scene offered an excellent occasion for the introduction of characters from various social spheres, and for this reason the presentation was soon secularized. The exact origin of the *vertep* in Ukraine is difficult to determine. It was very popular already in the 17th century, for many manuscripts have survived from that period. Most of these are from Western Ukraine, and contain satirical representations of various professions and beliefs, as well as witty and humorous treatment on the lives of Cossacks, Jews, Poles and Russians.

After the death of Czarina Anna in 1740, Ivan VI, who was at that time only a child, was supposed to become the next ruler. Rosumovsky, however, used this opportunity to bring about a palace revolution with the help of the French ambassador Chetardu and the honor guard of the czarevna. He arrested all the enemies of Elizabeth including Ivan VI (who was later on murdered), and thus paved the way for Elizabeth's coronation as the Empress of Russia in 1742. For his part in her ascendancy to the throne Rosumovsky was rewarded with the office of Oberjaegermeister and with many landly possessions in Russia and in Ukraine. In autumn of that year he married Elizabeth. In 1744 all the male members of the Rosumovsky family received the title of count and later that of prince. Under the influence of her husband, Elizabeth changed her attitude towards Ukraine, made frequent visits to that country, and when in 1747 the Cossack nobility petitioned her to renew the hetmanship, she appointed her brother-in-law, Kyrylo Rosumovsky (1750-1764) to that office. Kyrylo Rosumovsky was a well educated man who, earlier in his life, had studied at the University of Goettingen in Germany, and who, although a Ukrainian, became already at the age of eighteen, the president of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.

Because of the influences of the Rosumovskys, the Ukrainian-Russo relations were not as austere as before. It was a time of change — an era of relative peace reigned, but its reign was, unfortunately, of a rather short duration.

It was at that time that Skovoroda came to Russia, as did Olexa Rosumovsky a few years earlier, in order to sing with the imperial choir in St. Petersburg. Skovoroda, however, did not remain there very long; he yearned for his native Ukraine and returned after a few engagements to Kyiv.

In Kyiv, Colonel Vyshnevsky (who was meanwhile promoted to a general), persuaded him to join an itinerant choir. With this group Skovoroda traveled to Hungary, resigned there from the choir and remained as a church ministrant in Budapest. Soon, however, he was overcome with the desire to see the world, and he set out on foot from Budapest and walking practically all the way, he visited Prussia, Bavaria, Italy, Austria, and Poland. During his travels he attended various academies and universities, and acquired a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German. He also acquainted himself with the pre-Socratic philosophers, as well as with Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Seneca, and others. Besides the philosophers of the antiquity, he also studied the Eastern and the Western Church, and occupied himself in reading Newton and Copernicus. After years of traveling he returned to Ukraine, but was unable to settle down. He became a teacher of poetics at the Seminary of Pereyaslav, but was forced to

resign because he failed to comply with the local bishop's wishes, who wanted him to lecture on the importance of syllable-counting in poetry. Skovoroda informed the bishop that this principle of versification was



**Hryhor Skovoroda**

incompatible with the natural harmony of the Ukrainian language and set out with a bag of books and a flute to wander aimlessly throughout Ukraine.

His friends and followers tried to induce him to take a position as a tutor for the children of the Cossack nobility, but he categorically refused. Finally in 1759, he accepted a lectorship at the College of Kharkiv, but true to his tradition, he left it after a short period of time.

From Kharkiv he went to a nearby village where in a little garden-house placed at his disposal by a friend, he lived the inconspicuous life of a hermit. There, as it is explained in his biography, "he went into himself in order to know himself." Meanwhile his fame grew. Large crowds of people, mostly university students, began to follow him and to listen to his lectures. Among his followers, there was a certain Michael Kovalynsky, who wrote down all his lectures and published them together with Skovoroda's biography.

From his little gardenhouse, Skovoroda made occasional trips to Kyiv. During one of these visits in 1764, he came to the academy, where the president offered him a professorship. Parts of this conversation between the president of the academy and the philosopher were also recorded by Kovalynsky. The president, writes Kovalynsky, entreated Skovoroda as follows: ". . . Do not wander aimlessly all over the world. We are aware of your great talents; enter the monastery, and you will become a famous professor and a pillar of academy." According to Kovalynsky, Skovoroda came forth with this reply: "I don't want to increase the number of your pillars; you have enough unrefined pillars in your monastery."

The governor of the district of Kharkiv, Ivan Ivanovych Shzerbinin, was a very good friend of Skovoroda, and a great patron of arts and sciences. Once, while riding through the streets of Kharkiv, the governor saw the philosopher sitting on the steps in front of a shop. He immediately ordered his driver to stop, and to go and invite Skovoroda to accompany him on his ride. The servant approached Skovoroda and with the words, "the governor wants you," informed the philosopher of the invitation. The latter gave him a blank stare and answered: "I don't know such a person." The amazed servant went back to his master, who after hearing the philosopher's answer, smiled and dispatched him with the words: "Tell him that Ivan Ivanovytch wants him." On hearing this name, Skovoroda quickly exclaimed: "Oh, yes! That man I do know," and joined the governor in his carriage. Governor Shzerbinin, who held the philosopher in high esteem, offered him a professorship in ethics at the College of Kharkiv. But true to himself Skovoroda refused because of the following reasons: "The world is like a theater. In order to present a play successfully in the theater, the roles have to be distributed according to the abilities of the actors. The actor receives applause not for the role but for the play-acting. I have thought and tested myself for a long time, and I realized, that on the theatrical stage of the world, I cannot play any other part than that of a simple and solitary person. I have chosen this part for myself, and I am content with it."

Thus Skovoroda resigned from all positions and became a wander-

ing teacher-philosopher, or as he was commonly known in Ukraine, a walking university.

He wanders through the entire Ukraine, from one acquaintance to another, spends a lot of time among the common people, and philosophizes on his favorite topics, the Socratic "know thyself." Just as Socrates, he searches for a criterion of truth not in the outer world, but rather in the inner life. In his philosophy, however, he is more of a quietist than the Greek. About Socrates and Ukraine, Skovoroda voiced the following opinion: "In Ukraine many people wish to be a Plato, an Aristotle, a Zeno, or an Epicurus; but they forget that the Academy developed from the teachings of Socrates, just as the chicken develops from the yolk of the egg. If we will not have our own Socrates, neither will we have a Plato nor any other philosopher . . ." And on another occasion: ". . . Science should not be limited to scholars only, it should be the possession of all people . . . it should reign in all hearts." True to his word, Skovoroda teaches in schools, in houses, at road-crossings, on market-places, in short, everywhere and everybody. His public appearances provoked also sarcasm and ridicule about the wandering philosopher; but he remained completely indifferent to them, "they say about me," he stated referring to his critics, "that I carry a candle in front of the blind, who cannot perceive light with their unseeing eyes; they say about me, that I am the bell-ringer for the deaf, who cannot hear any sounds. Let them talk! I know what I know and they know what they know.

Skovoroda's philosophy as such was not opposed to serfdom. On the contrary, he says similarly to Plato, that "the people should serve and feed their masters." At the same time, however, there is a certain fatalistic element in his philosophy: "the common people sleep. Yet all sleepers are subjects to awakening. He who sleeps is not dead, and if he awakes, he will be strong." Skovoroda thus was quite aware of the possibility of a revolution, but this realization did not seem to disturb him.

Skovoroda had an almost magic power over his audience; possibly, because his way of life and his teachings were in a complete agreement. His attire consisted of a simple, gray peasant shirt, boots, a walking stick and a flute in his belt. On his back he carried a bag which contained manuscripts and books. This appearance provoked curiosity everywhere he went, be it in the field, in a peasant home, or in the palace of a noblemen. He never asked for any reward for his teaching, and it is quite possible, that he didn't even know the looks of money. He was a vegetarian who ate only once a day, and never slept more than four hours a night. Yet despite all these habits, Skovoroda was no ascetic. He enjoyed banquets very much and liked to tell stories and to jest. Unlike Socrates, who had a wife, Skovoroda was never married.



One of the novels about him (Skovoroda's life was often treated in Ukrainian prose and poetry), *The Major* by I. Sreznewsky, mentions an unsuccessful marriage attempt of the philosopher. In this novel, Skovoroda meets an old, widowed major who invites him to his recluse in the country, where he lives with his young daughter Olena. Olena, so the story goes, is infatuated by Skovoroda's eloquence and falls in love with him. Despite the existing difference in age between the two, her father gives her the permission to marry the philosopher. The wedding date is set, the guests already begin to arrive, but Skovoroda changes his mind in the last minute and flees, leaving his weeping bride and her furious father. Although this story is a work of fiction, it is very possible that such affair actually did take place, and if may well be, that some day it will be conclusively proven.

The death of the philosopher was, just as his life, typically Skovorodic. He spent the last days of his life with his friend, a landowner in Panivanivcy, district of Kharkiv. On November 8, 1794, after a banquet in his honor which was attended by many nobles of that district, Skovoroda walked out into the garden and began to excavate the ground under a linden tree. When his host, after an extensive search, finally found him and inquired for the reason of this strange behavior, the philosopher answered: "The time has come to end my journey. Please, let this be my grave. On its tombstone write the words, the world tried to entice, but it did not succeed." The host, of course, would not believe it. Skovoroda, however, went to his room, washed himself, put on fresh linen, said his prayers, and putting his manuscripts under his head, he laid down on the bed with his arms crossed on the chest. And when on the next day, November 9, 1794, he failed to appear for breakfast, his host went up to his room and found his body already stiff and cold.

From his life and his works we see Skovoroda as a heroic individuality, who had a uniform world-view, a strong moral character, and an uncompromising nature. Skovoroda's philosophy may be regarded as a reaction against the materialistic views of the time, which were propagated by the Ukrainian nobility. He constantly defended everything spiritual and moral and his whole life was dedicated to the preservation of these values. He enjoyed a tremendous influence and popularity among all classes of people. The best example of this is the fact that the nobles of the district of Kharkiv inspired by his teachings, collected shortly after his death the sum of 618,000 rubels and build the first Ukrainian University in the City of Kharkiv. The portrait of Skovoroda was familiar throughout the entire Ukraine, and his name was known even by the illiterate peasants. His popularity is even more amazing, if we consider the fact, that not one of his works was published during his lifetime. Since he wrote only for a selected

circle of friends, who copied some of his works by hand, he never deemed it necessary to have his works printed.

His first work to appear in print was *The Narcissus*, published anonymously in 1798. In 1806 appeared in the periodical *The Masonic Zionc Viestnyk*, his article "First Steps to Christian Ethics" ("Pochatkovi Dveri do Chrystyyanskoyi Etyky").

Skovoroda's literary and philosophic activity may be divided into three periods. From 1760 to 1770, he occupied himself chiefly with the Socratic "know thyself;" the years 1770-1780 were devoted to the study of the manners of achieving internal peace and from 1780 until his death, he analyzed and interpreted the problematical Biblical passages. His literary form was the dialogue modeled after Plato. There is reliable evidence that he also wrote a poetics; this particular work, however, has not been preserved to our times. Another important work which has survived the turbulent times is *Aschan*, which treats the same topics as *The Narcissus*, namely the maxim "know thyself."

According to our division, Skovoroda's most fruitful years insofar as the output of his written works is concerned, are those of the second period (1770-1780). In 1772 he wrote *A Dialogue called Two* (*Rozmova nazvana Dvoye*) and *Dialogue or Conversation about the ancient World* (*Dialog abo Rozmova pro davnyj Svit*). Two other important works of that period are *The Primer of Peace* (*Bukvar Spokoyu*) and *The Dragon of Israel* (*Izrailskiy Zmiy*), written in 1775 and 1776 respectively. This phase of his activity reached its culminating point with *The Wife of Lot*, which, as the title already indicates, displays a marked interest for the Bible.

Skovoroda also distinguished himself as a skilled translator. Yet from his numerous works in that field, only two are extant—those of Cicero and of Plutarch. These two, however, provide us with an excellent example of his ability as a translator and reveal his intimate knowledge of various philosophical problems.

## 9. THE PHILOSOPHY OF SKOVORODA

The constituents of Skovoroda's philosophy are found not only in his works but also in his letters and conversations with friends. There are two main sources of Skovoroda's philosophy: the works of the philosophers of the antiquity and the Christian philosophy found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. Just as his model Socrates, Skovoroda did not leave behind a completely developed philosophical system. In order to get a full picture of his philosophy, one has to consider his life as well as his works. Skovoroda attaches the greatest spiritual importance to the human heart; the heart is for him a microcosm through which one acquires knowledge of the macrocosm. Neither the world nor nature in general can be understood without the knowledge of oneself, of one's own heart. Thus the key to the understanding of the world and all its problems is the human being. The understanding of the macrocosm as well as the understanding of God is contingent upon the "know thyself." Therefore people who are outside of spiritual life, who do not make any efforts to learn about their spiritual self, are far removed from God.

One of the ways through which the "know thyself" maxim may be put into practice is science. But science is only useful if it contributes to the spiritual life of man. Thus Skovoroda says: "We have measured the sea, the earth, the air, and the skies; we dug up earth to get its riches; we classified the planets, determined various distant places on the moon and discovered immeasurable quantities of unknown galaxies. We build huge, complex machines, change the course of rivers, fill up vast abysses, but our spiritual abyss remains empty and our desire for spiritual things increases. The more we occupy ourselves with mathematics, medicine, physics and other mechanical sciences, the more our heart suffers from thirst of knowledge. For all these sciences are servants of one lady and this lady is the spiritual life." Skovoroda asserts that the man who uses science with a materialistic purpose will always desire something new. The chosen science, the queen of all sciences is Christian philosophy, because only through this philosophy man is able to achieve happiness. The Christian philosophy is not limited by time or space; it is universal and it reveals to man all that he should know about himself.

From the maxim "know thyself" Skovoroda develops a system of emblematics which plays a very important part in his philosophy. For Skovoroda there are three worlds. The spacial world, the macrocosm where everything and everybody exists; the microcosm, i.e. the human being, and the symbolical world whose reflection is the Bible. Each of these worlds is made up of matter and form. The spacial world comprises a great number of other worlds about which we know very little. The eye of this world, of the spacial world is the sun, for everything thrives

Къ чему жь сія рѣчь течетъ Къ тому, что въ  
 -сопжѣ фанклій Люди, не только въ тѣлѣхъ,  
 Войнахъ, Коммерціяхъ, до построителствъ  
 Художествъ: но и въ самолѣхъ перождѣ Пунктѣхъ,  
 спрѣхъ, въ Мысляхъ, до Бога касаются. до  
 находитъ Истину: а противоборствуютъ Суетвѣю.  
 Вѣрно, что Шаръ Земный, безъ болотныхъ Лужъ,  
 безъ мертвыхъ Озеръ, безъ чинахъ и долинъ низъ  
 когденъ бѣтъ не можетъ Но въ талихъ мѣстахъ,  
 жабъ, и сроднѣхъ къ плинцѣ да водворяются;  
 а Соколы съ Орлами, въспрѣхъ, въ пространство  
 чистыхъ Небесъ да возносятся остави дражде,  
 для не просвѣщенной Подлости.  
 И такъ благочестивое Сердце, между высшнннми  
 Курганамъ, Буйнаго безбожя, и между подлыми Во-  
 лотами, рабострашнаго Суетвѣя: не уклоняется  
 къ въ правѣ

Serpent handwriting of H. Skovoroda

and develops under it. In the second world, in the microcosm, the head is the center of importance. The third, the symbolical world is reflected by the Bible, for the Bible comprises all beings: heavenly, earthly, and subearthly. These beings are like columns which guide us up to the ultimate truth. Thus in this particular aspect, the Bible is of central importance to the philosopher. Skovoroda points out that the beginning and the end of the Bible is man; not the material man but the spiritual. This spiritual man is the eternal, incorruptible idea of the Creator, incarnated in the human being. One can only conceive this symbolically, that is through a faculty which he calls the "second reason." The spiritual, internal man projects himself by means of concepts, while the

material man projects himself by means of percepts. Each internal man has an innate love—a gift of God which directly unites the recipient with the Creator. To a certain extent, we can classify Skovoroda as a Christian Platonist, because for him, just as for Plato, the internal man is the criterion of evaluation of reality. Similarly to Plato is also his dualistic view of the world which attributes to it two natures the visible and the invisible.

To the question what is God? Skovoroda answers: “The highest being which has no name. God is known,” he continues, “as the Universal Reason, Nature, Existence, Eternity, Eternity, Fate, and Essentiality. Christians call God Spirit, Lord, Father, Wisdom, and Truth.” According to Skovoroda the most correct name for God is Nature and Love. Nature—because all that comes into being receives its existence from Him; and Love—because it is the ultimate cause of all life, of all existence.

In regards to happiness Skovoroda points out that although people are unhappy, happiness can be very easily acquired. One should not search for it, however, in riches nor in health, in fact, one should not search for it at all, because the quest for something renders a human being unhappy. Happiness is everywhere and nowhere. It is like the light of the sun which one can see, which one can feel, in which one can bask, but which is impossible to catch. Happiness is only then accessible to man if he opens his heart to the internal peace. “The peace between our heart and God is the complete happiness.” How can this peace be achieved? We can find this peace only through the increase of knowledge about ourselves. We have to realize our capabilities and our limitations and act according to our nature. Each vocation is based in God’s law; any attempt to resist it is poison, and the person who does so is a killer of his profession.

Skovoroda was fervent propagator of individualism. He did not yield to the spirit of the eighteenth century which urged equality for all people: “Only stupid people try to install equality into the world. Equality is not reasonable for it is contrary to nature. And on another occasion: “. . . God is like a great fountain which fills all kinds of containers according to their capacity. From various tubes flow forth various streams into the containers. The smaller containers, although filled, have less water than the larger ones which are also filled. Therefore they are equal only insofar as they are filled. . . The most degenerate cripple can be just as happy as the greatest hero, but they are not equal.”

With his theory of individualism Skovoroda develops a theory of pedagogy which analogous to that of Jean Jacques Rousseau, for both of them use nature as basis. “The hawk,” says Skovoroda, “can quickly be taught how to fly, but the turtle can never be taught this art. Nature

should not be contradicted. The appletree should not be taught to produce apples for nature has taken care of it." Since the essence of a human being is his heart, all education should be directed not at the intellect, nor at the will, but at the heart, because there is the source of man's spiritual life.

"When the spirit is content, thoughts calm and tranquil, and the heart peaceful, then everything is clear, happy, and blessed."

These, very briefly, are the main ideas of the greatest Ukrainian philosopher whom the world tried to entice but, fortunately, it did not succeed.

## 10. WEST EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHERS IN UKRAINE

The philosophy of the great German thinker Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), was introduced to Ukraine by the first professor of philosophy at the University of Kharkiv Johann Baptist Schad (1758-1834). After the founding of the University of Kharkiv in 1804, various attempts were made to induce Fichte to come to the university and to lecture there. Fichte, however, refused to leave Germany and recommended Schad for the position. The latter came to Kharkiv where through his brilliant lectures he attracted a great number of students and quickly established himself as the most prominent scholar on the faculty of the university. His lectures were based on the principles expounded later in Fichte's *The Science of Ethics as Based on the Science of Knowledge*. He developed the view of the state as an organic whole and stressed the freedom of thought, of conscience and of scholarship. Because of his teachings he was removed from his position by the Russian government and returned to Jena in 1816 where he continued to lecture at the university. In Jena he polemized against the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), with whom he disagreed on the differentiations between practical reason and pure reason and developed his own *Naturphilosophie*. During his stay at the University of Kharkiv Schad educated a great number of Ukrainian scholars such as P. Kovalevsky, A. Herlych, I. Lubachynsky, A. Dudrovysh, and others. After Schad's removal Dudrovysh was appointed to fill his place.

Soon after Schad's expulsion from Ukraine, all his works, the most important of which is *Institutiones Juris Naturae*, were outlawed by the official censors and his student and follower, N. Bilous, Professor of Philosophy at the College of Nyzyn (1825-1830), was also dismissed from his position.

The philosophy of Friedrich Schelling (1775-1854) and of other romanticists was brought to Ukraine by Danylo Kavunnyk Vellansky (1774-1847), who travelled abroad in 1801 and attended various universities of Western Europe. Besides attending the lectures of Schelling, Vellansky also studied under Henrik Steffens (1773-1845), a German philosopher and physicist of Norwegian extraction and an adherent of Schelling and Schleiermacher; and Lorenz Oken (1779-1851), whose

axiom that "all the parts of the higher animals are made up of an aggregate of infusoria or animated globular nomads," is typical of the views prevalent at that time. In 1805 Vellansky went to Russia and lectured until 1837 on natural sciences at the Military Medical Academy in St. Petersburg. His lectures were the first treatment of the romantic *Naturphilosophie* in Russia; they were, however, subject to strict censorship by the czarist government.

Vellansky's *Naturphilosophie* was influenced strongly by Oken. The basis of his philosophy is physiology. The manifoldness of the material world is equal to the one indivisible idea which reveals itself in this manifoldness. The objective form of matter is the essence of nature; the subjective — spiritualized beings. He sees the planet earth as a universal organism in which animals, plants, and minerals subsist as separate members of one body, which is endowed with one and the same life. The process of creation of the world is for him analogous to process of the creation of a work of art, this is one reason why the earth has to develop from primitive, initial stage to ultimate perfection.

An adherent of Schelling's *Naturphilosophie*, a well known Ukrainian linguist and ethnographer Michael Maxymovych (1804-1873), wrote many philosophical works using Skovoroda's philosophy of the heart as the basis. Philosophy is for Maxymovych the love of wisdom (*Lubomudriye*). This is partly the reason why he does not consider philosophy as a separate science, but rather as an integral part of all sciences. The aim of philosophy, i.e., its primary objective, he says, is to establish the inner meanings and the unity of subjects. A philosopher is that person who brings all areas of knowledge to a common origin and develops them into some system. Each science should have philosophical elements. Therefore any science can be the object of philosophical analysis. According to Maxymovych, the philosophy of that time was beginning to receive a historical coloring and in this particular fact he saw the origin of a trend towards the unity between heart and reason, that is to say, towards harmony of life. In his later works on folklore and ethnology Maxymovych, just as Schelling, attempts a symbolic interpretation of folk-poetry. On the basis of folk-songs he makes a rather successful attempt to establish a dominant characteristic of the psyche of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples:

"The Russian songs reveal a spirit of resignation to fate; it does not take an active part in life and appears often to desire to separate itself from everything. The Russian songs therefore, have an aura of grave yearning and hopelessness about them . . . Ukrainian songs reveal a struggle between the human spirit and fate; they are passionate, they have a great emotional intensity and a natural mode of expression . . . in Ukrainian songs there is no hopelessness but yearning and ire; they



have more action . . . The Ukrainian spirit does not find a special form of expression and therefore it turns to nature in order to express itself.”

These characteristic traits of Russian and Ukrainian songs are generally accepted by West European scholars as we can see from the fact that such renowned, modern Slavic philologist as Professor Matyas Murko uses them in differentiating between the Ukrainian and Russian mentality.

During the Austrian occupation of West Ukraine, the University of Lviv began in 1787 to offer courses on the history of philosophy in Ukrainian language. Two young Ukrainian scholars soon became very prominent in this field, they were: Petro Lodyi, who lectured on theoretical and practical philosophy, and Andriy Pavlovych whose field was mathematics, which at that time, however, was considered to be a discipline of philosophy.

Peter Lodyi (1764-1829), was a Carpatho-Ukrainian and an adherent of Christian Wolff (1679-1754), a German determinist and a follower of Leibniz, whose professed ideal was to base theological truths on evidence of mathematical certitude. Wolff's philosophical system became popular throughout the whole world and the two cultural centers of Ukraine, Kyiv and Lviv, soon became active centers of Wolffianism. Lodyi began his scholarly career with a translation of Christian Baumeister's work on ethics, in which the author employed the principles set forth by Wolff. This translation appeared in Lviv in 1790, and contributed greatly towards the popularization of Wolff's philosophy in Ukraine. Besides this particular value, Lodyi's translation is also of importance insofar as Ukrainian philosophical terminology is concerned. Up to that time the Ukrainian language had no standard terms for the various philosophical concepts, so that in writing some philosophical treatise one had to resort to Old Slavic. Lodyi, however, developed from the Old Slavic terms a Ukrainian philosophical terminology, which soon became accepted by the intellectual world.

In 1801 Lodyi was offered a professorship at the University of Krakow, which at that time was also a part of the Austrian Empire. He accepted this position but resigned from it in 1803 in order to go to St. Petersburg, where a pedagogical institute offered him better financial possibilities. In 1819 he became a full professor at the newly founded University of St. Petersburg and remained there until his death. His successor in Lviv was Ivan Lavrivsky (1773-1846), who was also a follower of Wolff. In 1815 Lodyi published an original work on logic in which he polemized strongly against Kant, attempting to refute the latter's basic premises. But despite his polemics against Kant, Lodyi frequently made use of Kantian principles in his philosophy. Since most of his scholarly activity took place in St. Petersburg, Lodyi, just as his predecessor Danylo Kavunnyk Vellansky, belongs to the group

philosophy and their impact upon the development of Ukrainian theological science is immeasurable.

The philosophy of the profound German thinker George W. F. Hegel (1770-1831), produced the strongest echo in the Slavic spiritual world. Among the Poles and the Russians Hegel's philosophy gave rise to a trend known as *messianism*, which, however, did not spring roots in Ukraine. Strong elements of Hegelianism are found, however, in the literature and philosophy of Ukrainian Romanticism. In the history of Ukrainian philosophy Hegel had a great number of adherents, among these were Sylvester Hohotzky (1813-1889), chiefly known for his *Philosophical Lexicon* (4 vols.); Orest Novytsky (1804-1884), and Petro Retkyn.

The most intimate union between philosophy and literature in Ukraine took place during the age of Romanticism, which revealed the Ukrainian psyche to the fullest extent through the poetic genius of Taras Shevchenko.

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